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A Tender Spot: Care, Memory, and Place in Carolingian *Memoria Mortuorum*

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A TENDER SPOT: CARE, MEMORY, AND PLACE IN CAROLINGIAN
MEMORIA MORTUORUM

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THESIS

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
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By

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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MEMORIA MORTUORUM

This thesis argues that in the Carolingian period, the rituals for the memory of the dead, or *memoria mortuorum*, was built on structures that utilized location, space, and architecture as devices for creating mnemonic images for remembering. It also argues for the theological significance of *memoria mortuorum,* which was heavily debated, and that from Augustine to the Carolingians there is a shift in approaches to the theological aspects of practices including burial *ad sanctos* and communal prayers. Augustine's work left an unresolved problem: the need to reconcile the theological aspect with the mnemonic function of memory practices for the dead. In the Carolingian period, the process of reconciliation began, but much of the focus is on the relationship between God and the communities of the living and the dead expressed in proper care to be taken after someone passes on.

A TENDER SPOT: CARE, MEMORY AND PLACE IN CAROLINGIAN *MEMORIA MORTUORUM*

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Chapter One: Introduction

Identity, narrative, place and space are all important aspects in current memory studies, but historians in diverse fields of research have not yet fully addressed the significance and theoretical functions of memory in societies across time and geographic space. There is no clear definition of memory as a process, and the question of whether one definition can even apply to different regions and time periods remains. The degree to which memory is a social or cultural construct is uncertain. But perhaps more important for understanding a culture is understanding memory's function in society and how memory structures the past, whether distant or recent, to fit the present. Memory as a process for remembering the past and using the past to shape narratives for the present is a universal practice.

Although memory's function is in some ways universal, the specifics of memory and its structures differ in particular cultures. An important area of study that addresses this issue concerns the structure of medieval memory: scholars propose that the unique place and function of memory in Middle Ages differed from our own modern experiences and uses of memory. Mary Carruthers suggested that the abstract forms of medieval memory, anchored in conceptual locations, relate to practices of memory in order to obtain, retain, and memorize knowledge, usually for educational, rhetorical and later scholastic purposes.[1] The principle source for understanding this form of memory in the Middle Ages is the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, once attributed to Cicero, which emphasizes the creation and storage of visual images in locations of the mind to be later retrieved with the practice of the "art of recollection."[2]

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[1] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[2] Cicero, *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, with an English translation by Harry Caplan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 205-225, especially 205 and 207; see also Carruthers, *The Book of Memory,* 20-23 and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, rhetoric, and the making of images, 400-1200* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge

However, it is unclear if these ideas about memory can be applied to the social practices of memory pertaining to funerary rites and memory of the dead in the early Middle Ages, or in the Latin, *memoria mortuorum*.[3] Is it possible to explain *memoria mortuorum* as a form of what Mary Carruthers calls a "compositional art"?[4] Is there a process of "invention" in remembering the dead that creates an image to be stored within an architectural location in the mind for recollection?

In part, this thesis argues that in the Carolingian period, the memory of the dead, or *memoria mortuorum*, was built on the same structures that are rooted in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, utilizing location, space, and architecture as devices for creating mnemonic images for remembering. It further argues that these structures of *memoria morturoum* were constructed, shaped and practiced through ritual experiences that influenced Carolingian social memory, in practices ranging from burials to written funerary dedications. Physically, the dead were given specific locations, which writers in the Carolingian period discussed and debated in terms of sacred spaces (i.e. burial near saints as burial in sacred space).[5] The graveyards, churches and monasteries containing the physical remains of the dead supported diverse rituals to foster participation in the process of symbolic expression. The dead were also associated with images and architecture. But there has been little study of the conceptual structures of *memoria mortuorum* and whether they have the same functions and structures such as those which are described in the *Ad Herennium* for the retention of knowledge in memory. A major complication of the problem, which also distinguishes *memoria mortuorum* from other memory practices, is

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University Press, 1998)**,** 9; and Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), xi-xii.

[3] *Memoria mortuorum* is the term I use to refer to any funerary practice and any contribution to the memory of the dead, including funerary and post funerary rituals, as well as the memory itself. I use the Latin to stay close to the original meaning as it is used in the primary source material.

[4] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* 20-23, 34-36.

[5] Samuel Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

the apparently paradoxical notion that this specific memory practice is both private and social.[6]

In other words, there is an additional question of whether *memoria mortuorum* represent

individual, familial, or communal memory; any distinction could affect the practice of

remembering and its results.

The two main scholarly approaches to the topic of medieval memory and funerary ritual

are as yet not adequately synthesized with regard to memory of the dead. The first deals with *ars*

memoria and is in essence an intensely theoretical approach to memory practice in the Middle

Ages that examines scholastic memory and mnemonic devices in the later medieval period.[7]

Beyond the *Ad Herennium* as the foundation for medieval memory techniques in intellectual

endeavors, the main foundation for these studies consists of writings by Thomas Aquinas and

Hugh of Saint Victor, who described and developed memory techniques which were to be used

in education and learning.[8] The second approach examines the funerary rituals in their own right,

applying both historical and anthropological methods to study the meaning of the rituals.[9]

Anthropological studies have flourished much more in this field than historical studies. For

example, Howard Williams, a scholar of early medieval British archaeology, has explained the

significance of material culture in providing mnemonic devices for social memory, and funerary

practices (what he calls, "tech-nologies of memory").[10] But a full historical study is still missing.

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[6] Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory,* trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 55-68, 90-91; Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoires," in *Representations,* no. 26 (Spring 1989): 14.

[7] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory,* 53-55 and *The Craft of Thought*, 11.

[8] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 1-4, 100-103.

[9] Zoe L. Devlin, "Social memory, material culture and community identity in early medieval mortuary practices," in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, vol. 14 (2007): 38-46, especially 38 and 42; Howard Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-4; and Bonnie Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 6-12.

[10] Howard Williams, "Material culture as memory: combs and cremation in early medieval Britain," in *Early Medieval Europe*, vol. 12, issue 2 (2002): 89-90. "Tech-nologies" of memory, a term which he always hyphenates, refers to any device that is utilized for the construction and transmission of memory, giving the device a complex identity to express better its functionality for society.

While discussions within the anthropological body of scholarship do address the topic of memory as a purpose, and even an outcome of funerary rituals, there are still the implications of the theoretical approach to memory to be integrated in these studies. Yet, because theoretical studies of memory primarily focused on scholastic memory, *memoria mortuorum* does not seem to have a place in the theoretical body of scholarship.

In view of this, a study of *memoria mortuorum* seems necessary, and the Carolingian evidence offers insights into how the conceptual structures of *memoria mortuorum* and memory practices, shaped by rituals, functioned in Carolingian culture and society. My study of this kind of memory focuses on the meanings of ceremonies for the dead as they relate to the structures of memory practice outlined in the *Ad Herennium* and developed through a range of practices and texts between the fifth and ninth centuries. It thus consolidates two areas of research that usefully illuminate the cultural and social practices inscribed in the funerary rituals. Furthermore, it leads to an understanding of how the intellectual structure of memory shaped remembering as expressed in funerary practices, which in turn had effects on the construction of religious, social, and political identities in early medieval Christian communities and their relationship to both past and present. Beyond these ideas, this thesis argues that Carolingian understanding of *memoria mortuorum* included not just the memory of the dead itself, but also the processes of care for the living and the dead, as well as the rituals that served as vehicles for the construction and transmission of common memories. It argues for the significance of Carolingian *memoria mortuorum* for the living community and the identity of the living.

The first chapter of this thesis surveys the scholarship on memory and history, in order to frame the questions addressed in this study. Scholarship shows that memory techniques, such as archive storage and historical writing, shape memory narratives over time. Historians over the

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past few decades have focused on how changes in archive storage and writing also affect our understanding of past cultures in association with our own. The historiographical framework is essential not only to understand how to read sources of memory from the past, but also to understand the relationship between writing and storing memories. With this groundwork, it will be possible to analyze early medieval memory practice, within the context of ritual, practice, and memory techniques.

The first chapter of this thesis further explores the theoretical aspects of *memoria mortuorum* as rooted in the *Ad Herennium.* Identifying the elements of *memoria mortuorum* helps to understand how the Carolingians perceived the practice. The theoretical aspects of memory were the foundation for early medieval memory practices, including funerary rituals to produce *memoria mortuorum.* Furthermore, this chapter explores the relationship of funerary rituals to the theological questions surrounding Carolingian discussions of *memoria mortuorum.* The Carolingian authors discussed in this thesis wrote their works with a backdrop of theological debates and discussions such as the Predestination, Adoptionist, and Eucharistic controversies as well as discussions about the resurrection of the body. Concerns over sacred space and the importance of the location of burials and funerals were also discussed by Carolingian writers. These discussions influenced their thinking about what was required for *memoria mortuorum*, including care for the bodies of the dead as well as care for the living as they constructed and preserved the memories of the deceased. The intellectual context influenced their use of classical and patristic sources in their arguments. Additionally, this chapter will explore the Carolingian perspectives on the purpose of funerals and mortuary rituals; the chapter considers how much they explicitly address the issues of memory, and how closely they connect issues of memory to funerary rites.

The second chapter delves into Augustine's influence on Carolingian understanding of *memoria mortuorum.* For Augustine, *memoria mortuorum* is more about care for the living than a service to the dead.[11] This is an idea that is not abandoned by the Carolingian period, although Carolingian writers expanded upon this idea to include both the care for the living and the dead. The close relationship between the two communities in the practice of *memoria mortuorum,* as framed by Augustine, is one of the main influences that is common in all of the Carolingian authors discussed in this thesis, and thus this chapter will lay the foundation for understanding how the Carolingians used Augustine's interpretation to develop their own arguments and interpretations of funerary rituals and their connection to memory.

The third chapter shows more specifically how the Carolingians used Augustine's interpretations. It is evident that Carolingian authors were aware of *memoria mortuorum* as encompassing care for the living. But, within their own intellectual context, they also expanded the ideas of *memoria mortuorum* to include both the care for the living and the dead. They situated arguments about *memoria* and *cura* for the dead in debates about sacred space and theological interpretations of funerary ritual, employing exegetical techniques and appropriating patristic and classical sources to understand the purpose of funerary rituals.

The fourth chapter applies the ideas in the previous chapters to a case study: it explores an example of *memoria mortuorum* in practice to show the use of writing memory as a process of *memoria mortuorum* that exhibits both care for the dead and the living. In this case, it is in the form of a funerary dedication written by Paschasius Radbertus to honor Adalhard.[12] In this

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[11] Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda,* ed. Joseph Zycha, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum,*vol. 41(Vienna: Tempsky, 1900), 629-630; Eric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, trans. Elizabeth Trapnell Rawlings and Jeanine Routier-Pucci (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009). Rebillard argues that "the love of one's own body," a quote from Augustine that is repeated in Carolingian texts, was a rather new way to interpret care for the dead in Augustine's time.
[12] Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Sancti Adalhardi,* (Migne, PL, 120, Col. 1507-1556C).

dedication, there are echoes of the theoretical structures of *memoria mortuorum* and the theological environment explained in the first chapter. Also, it shows how Paschasius appropriated patristic and classical models of funerary dedications to write his own. In so doing, Paschasius constructed a memory of Adalhard that maintained a close connection between Paschasius and the deceased, as well as constructed a common memory intended for the living community. While there is no evidence of how the living community interacted with Adalhard's grave or Paschasius' text itself, his writing nevertheless expounds upon the Carolingian ideas of *memoria mortuorum* as explained in the first through third chapters.

Carolingian *memoria mortuorum* was shaped by the same theoretical structures as outlined in the *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*. But what is more significant is how the Carolingians interpreted and understood *memoria mortuorum* as encompassing not only the memory of the dead, but also how that relates to the community of the living in care for both the dead and the living for the construction of such memories. This study explains how *memoria mortuorum* fosters a communal identity by creating what becomes a common memory from the funerary rites and practices. It shows how the Carolingians interpreted and used patristic and classical sources to further their own arguments about *memoria mortuorum*, which also connected them to a particular Christian past. With this understanding, this study will not fully answer all questions about *memoria mortuorum*, but will, in fact, raise larger questions about the significance of *memoria mortuorum* for Carolingian communities, with the ideas discussed in this thesis as a necessary foundation to answer such questions.

Chapter Two

Part 1: Memory Scholarship in Historiography

The latter half of the twentieth century, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, saw a rise of scholarship in the historical study of memory. Patrick Hutton, in his review on recent scholarship in memory, has said: "A new awareness about the revolutions in the technologies of communication across the ages has led historians back to memory's sources in the mythological imagination of cultures or primary orality."[1] Scholars who seek to define the distinctions that give the past and present meaning consider the study of memory and history essential for understanding modern historical narratives. Scholars have addressed memories of the Holocaust, World War II, Japanese-American internment, and the Vietnam War, among other events in history.[2] These scholars struggled with three important questions: how are these events remembered? How should they be memorialized or preserved in memory? And, how have the processes of remembering structured the relationship of the past to the present?

Jacques LeGoff emphasized the significance of this relationship by asking whether or not the past gives significance to the present, and if so, how.[3] LeGoff wrote in a time when history was favored over memory because of the supposed malleability of memory and its manipulation by historians. He questioned where and how information is stored, as well as how scholars decide what to store and what to write about. He also provided an analysis of different eras in history and how people in these eras tended to view the past. His outline was framed on the following scheme: in antiquity, there was a valorization of the past with a sense of a decadent

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[1] Patrick Hutton, "Recent Scholarship on Memory and History," *The History Teacher*, 33, 4 (2000): 533. Hutton's examination of the historiography in memory studies points vividly to crises of identity in the time of globalization and post-World War II era that influenced memory scholarship in the 1970s aand 1980s.

[2] Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory,* trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), xi-xii, 5-6, 13; Hutton, 533-536.

[3] LeGoff, xi-xii, 5-6, 13.

present; in the Middle Ages, the present was situated between the weight of the past and the hope of an eschatological future; in the Renaissance, the emphasis was on the present, distancing it from the past; and in the nineteenth century, the focus was on progress toward the future.[4] LeGoff's outline, using spatial language of distance and proximity, supplies a spatial expression of temporal awareness of the past throughout history. Today, scholars refute this outline because of its categorical assumptions, but nevertheless it brought the discussion of the relationship between the past and present to the forefront for analysis in memory studies. Ultimately, according to LeGoff, memory is actualizing past impressions or information represented about the past, making resemblances of that past for the present.[5]

From this line of thought, it is generally understood that collective memory has a structure and a place that shapes our understanding of history. But scholars continued to raise questions about memory's reliability and whether or not sources derived from memory are appropriate in a historiacal narrative or discourse. The question became: how reliable is memory for the study and writing of history? The majority of twentieth-century memory studies were primarily concerned with the malleability of memory and/or history. Some scholars contended that memory was inevitably more malleable than history, and therefore is not a reliable source of information for the writing of history. LeGoff, for instance, claimed that memory is "more dangerously subject to manipulation and by time and by societies given to reflection than the discipline of history itself."[6] But he commented that history enters the "dialectical process of

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[4] LeGoff, 11; Hutton, 537-539. Hutton explains that a collective memory evokes a presence of the past, and thus explains the way mnemonic images are manipulated by public authority. Memorable places can be located on the landscape of memory (such as in actions of commemoration), following an "ancient art of memory." Hutton claims that "history becomes an art of locating these memories."

[5] LeGoff, 51. LeGoff also comments on the "structuration and self-organization of memory", something that he says was recent at the time he wrote this book, with the common trend of scholarship distinguishing between oral and written memories.

[6] Ibid., xi-xiii.

memory and forgetting experienced by individuals and society."[7] Pierre Nora, another leading

memory scholar and a close contemporary of LeGoff, commented at about the same time that

"memory and history are in opposition" and that history "suspects memory."[8] Nora's ground-

breaking piece on *les lieux de memoires* came during the bicentennial of the French Revolution.

In this work, Nora sought to reconcile the conflicting views about the significance of memory for

French history, while at the same time he tried to develop and apply a new theory of memory.

Nora viewed memory as a process that has changed its function over time and in the

modern world has become a largely individual, rather than collective practice.[9] Since Nora's

work, a division formed between interpretations that privileged, respectively, collective and

individual memory.[10] Also, historians developed a distinction between oral and written forms of

memory (for instance, personal spoken narratives in contrast to inscriptions on monuments).

Many scholars from different academic fields have applied one or another of these theories to

their subjects and focused on either oral or written transmission of memory as the vehicles for

remembrance. Vietnam War scholars, for example, tended to look at memorials and sites of

memory as part of a collective process, arguing that war memorials tend to be generic and deny

individual experience of memory, while scholars such as Pierre Nora explain processes of

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[7] LeGoff, 5-6.

[8] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoires," *Representations,* no. 26 (Spring 1989): 8, 10.

[9] Nora, 7-24, 14; Hutton, 539-545. Nora has emphasized that modern memory is archival, and proposed that for historians at least it is no longer a social practice, but has been interiorized as an individual constraint. For Nora, this was perhaps due to changes in technology and the way things and information are stored. LeGoff also commented on such techonological changes and transformation of historical archives (LeGoff, 90-91, 99).

[10] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 37-53; 37-40. Nora, 13-14. Halbwachs believed that memory depended on the social environment to recall, recognize and relocalize memories. He distinguished between three groups and forms of social memories: family, religious groups, and social classes. Nora, in part, responded to this, saying that with the changes in memory practices, functions, and the technological developments in archives that influence these changes, there needed to be a redefinition of such social groups and identities to understand the relationship between memory and history.

memory as an individual practice experienced differently by each person and more often practiced through writing and reading.[11]

Overall, most of these studies have elucidated the significance of an event for a nation's history. In the past couple of decades, however, the nationalistic tone of memory studies has lessened and recent scholarship has sought to reduce the distinctions between written and oral sources, and individual and collective memories, or to ignore such distinctions altogether, in order to focus instead on the everyday processes that make memory.[12] The relationship between the past and present remains important in later studies of memory. Although Nora and LeGoff saw memory as malleable, and history as only a little less malleable, other historians have moved further away from criticism of memory as an appropriate tool for understanding history. Before, historians saw a dichotomy between memory and history, dividing and analyzing each one separately. After Nora's publication this dichotomy was broken, opening the field for wider study in more historical contexts.

Many of the questions in memory studies now ask specifically about the theoretical structures and processes of memory and the changing relationships between past and present, which govern the way memory is shaped (i.e., what should be remembered from a particular past, and why, and how).With this new approach, memory studies have moved beyond twentieth-century nationalist narratives, opening up the field for other scholars, particularly those studying the pre-modern world. For medievalists, in particular, memory studies have increasingly become a way to answer questions about medieval perceptions of the past and how these perceptions structured certain aspects of medieval society. Medievalists have raised

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[11]Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, "Practices of Looking: Images, Power, and Politics," in *Practices on Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). See also in same volume: "Viewers Make Meaning," 10-69.

[12]Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 10.

questions about the specific processes of memory and much attention has been given to the

social and cultural contexts of medieval "rememberers".[13] Medievalists have also tended to avoid

the distinction between oral and written memory. Medievalists have looked at histories that were

used for remembrance and memory, such as narratives, as well as symbols, architecture, and art,

asking questions about their memorial significance for medieval society. LeGoff himself wrote

about memory in the Middle Ages in his work on memory and history, arguing that, in the

medieval period, there was a process of Christianization of collective memory for cyclical

liturgical and lay memory.[14]

  Much of LeGoff's focus is on the art of medieval memory and its place in rhetoric; he

cites the work of Frances Yates on the subject of the "art of memory."[15] Yates was one of the

earliest scholars to write about the art of medieval memory. While her work did not propel

memory studies at the time of its publication the way Nora's and LeGoff's did, hardly any

medievalist today can write a study of memory without citing her work. Her contribution to

memory studies for medievalists was thinking about memory as an art, and defining artificial

memory. The art of artificial memory was the process of constructing images that shape the

narrative of memory specifically for remembering, recalling, and reciting. For Yates, the ability

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[13] Geary, 51. Geary uses the term 'rememberers' frequently to refer to those who participate in the processes of memory, whether individually or in a group, such as a family or larger community. It also brings attention to the human agency involved in memory practices. Here and throughout, I am using the term 'rememberer' in the same sense wherever it appears.

[14] LeGoff, 68-80. His discussion of memory in this context described what he called "ethnic memory", which is a collective memory grounded in origin myths, with a concern for an ancestral past, and a "technical knowledge that is transmitted by practical formulas deeply imbued with religious magic." He argues that the writing of memory, and other memory practices for that matter, brought commemoration or celebrations of events that bound groups together. This is what LeGoff, following Jack Goody, describes also as a sort of "linguistic recoding" in memory practices in the commemoration of people, places, events, etc.

[15] LeGoff, 69; Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966), xi, 50-104. Yates sought to provide a full history of the art of memory, focusing on the use of images for the architecture of memory. LeGoff agreed with this theory, and discussed the Christianization of memory as a form of "rhetoric" that constructed collective memory between liturgical and lay memory in commemorations for the dead.

to recite stored information is the most important act of memory. Much of her work elaborately describes methods of making images that are a part of the structures of memory.[16]

Both Yates and LeGoff brought the issue of rhetoric to the forefront for subsequent medievalists. Medieval writers subscribed to the notion that memory was the most important part of rhetoric as a practice, and it is the process of invention that makes the art of memory vital for writing and constructing meaning. For studies in the art of medieval memory, the focus is still on rhetoric, but the significance of rhetoric is different from what LeGoff and Yates suggested. Mary Carruthers, in responding to Yates' work, broke new ground in thinking about *ars memoriae*. Carruthers breaks with Yates in emphasizing that the art of memory is a compositional art: an art of thinking. Artificial memory is not just about the ability to recite stored material, which, to Carruthers, is a common misconception. What is most significant about *ars memoriae* is the act of invention, and subsequently the act of storing memory in architectural locations in the mind.[17] The emphasis is, again, on rhetoric, particularly on how it encompasses, among other things, literary invention. Carruthers also emphasizes the structure and order of rhetoric in artificial memory and invention, and how structure and order create meaning in a process of symbol-making.[18]

Carruthers utilizes this theory of rhetoric to approach educational practices in the universities and scholastic settings of the High Middle Ages. In these medieval settings, memory meant knowledge and morality, and thus rhetoric and memory were the foundation for education in the Middle Ages.[19] Carruthers' study detailed the structures and processes of medieval

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[16] Yates, 4-5, 10-11.

[17] Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, rhetoric, and the making of images, 400-1200* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 9-11, 16-17, 23.

[18] Ibid., 11, 18.

[19] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1-5.

memory by exploring medieval modes of writing and invention, information storage, and the rhetoric of writing and architecture as fundamental structures for memory processes.[20]

Carruthers also addresses the issue of communal and social memory in contrast to individual and private memory.[21] This resonates with some of the earlier concerns of Nora and LeGoff, but Carruthers avoids establishing a strict dichotomy of social and private memory practices. Instead, she states that memory work is fully social and political, and a "truly civic activity."[22] Rhetoric is what integrates the individual and communal processes, using images and figures, as well as topics and schemes to sort and order the tools for composing memory with the participation of both the individual and a collective group.

Studies of memory and rhetoric do not only address the art of memory and its theoretical structures. Recently, medievalists have become interested in the everyday practices of memory and how memory functions in other facets of medieval society. Prominent examples come from studies in medieval political and social history.

Patrick Geary's work is an example of how twenty-first century medievalists use and study memory to analyze its place and function in medieval society. Geary, like Carruthers but more so, clearly moves past the former dichotomies of memory and history, oral and written, and even individual and collective memories.[23] Instead, he studied the everyday practices of memory and looked for the continuities and discontinuities with the past in medieval narratives, and what they reveal about the social and political aspects of medieval history. His goal was to examine the competition for power over the past in a time when the state of the present was contested, and he sought to do so by examining how memories of key political figures were manipulated by the

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[20] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory.*
[21] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought,* 21.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Geary, *Phantoms*, 6, 10.

authors of the narratives.[24] His studies examine the politics of medieval society, showing how

decisions about narrative construction were politically fueled as it was then seen fit by the author

of the narrative.[25] Geary focuses on how people remembered, and on what information was

preserved, reorganized and recalled. He emphasized that how something is stored affects

remembering and influences the personal, familial, and communal memories of the past. In

organization and storage, rememberers creatively forget and remember certain people, places, or

events. This echoes the ideas expounded by Nora and LeGoff decades before. In a later work,

Geary readjusts the notion of "creative forgetting" to include also a readjusted sense of

relationship to the past. This more complex model creates a new and more useful process of

transmission, adaptation, and suppression, but he still subscribes to his earlier ideas about the

storage and creation of memory narratives in society.[26]

Geary's ideas differ from LeGoff's outline in the sense that he sees the relationship of

memory and history as changing not just from era to era, but also within eras. Whereas LeGoff

crudely characterized the Middle Ages as a period conceived as lying between a weighty past

and an eschatological future, Geary argues that the past was often reconstructed to fit the needs

of the present.[27] Geary also sees both memory and history as malleable, but he does not condemn

either one for this malleability.

Other medievalists also explored the manipulation of memory and remembering in

historical writing and narratives. Rosamond McKitterick, for instance, has studied the practice of

writing history in the Carolingian world, and reached comparable conclusions to those of

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[24] Geary, *Phantoms*, 20-21.
[25] Ibid.*,* 177-181.
[26] Patrick Geary, "Oblivion between Orality and Textuality in the Tenth Century" in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography,* eds. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 111.
[27] Geary, "Oblivion between Orality and Textuality", 177-181; LeGoff, 11-22.

Geary.[28] Her focus is on literacy and the acts of reading and writing history as a means of developing a sense of European identity. The sources used in these studies, such as the histories of Carolingian kings, diplomas, and capitularies are often used for political history. McKitterick and Geary's methods and arguments, in part, echo some of the previous memory studies that concerned modern politics and memory in history. However, because McKitterick and Geary worked in an area of premodern research, there is no focus on nationalism that studies of the modern world tend to address. The importance of their studies lies in their observations of the structures and processes of memory to understand better the early medieval perceptions of the political and cultural landscape of early medieval society.

Two other areas of interest are evident in the works of Geary and McKitterick that have also expanded in the past few years: identity and place. The topic of identity, especially, has changed in significance. Whereas earlier studies were focused on national identity (often in response to a national identity crisis), more recent studies have instead looked at how memory relates to individual and communal identities, not nationality. Memory scholars studying identity also continue to focus on rhetoric and the manipulation of memory, but focus specifically on how they relate to and affect personal, familial, and communal identities. Both Geary and McKitterick, in studying the composition and construction of historical narratives in the Middle Ages, address the question of identity, suggesting that the way medieval authors shaped the past to fit the present produced a growing sense of a European identity (for example, in McKitterick's study, it would be a growing sense of a Carolingian identity; Geary looks at a broader range of sources, chronologically).

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[28] Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Historians are not only concerned about a collective political identity; they are also concerned about a collective social identity. For medievalists, memory studies about social identity focus most often on monastic environments to establish relationships between memory and identity.[29] Catherine Cubitt, in studying monastic memory and identity in Anglo-Saxon England, commented that:

> "A monastery's identity was constructed out of many things: the nature of its founding…its traditions…its buildings and their furnishings and its liturgy…These combined to create distinctive identities for individual houses."[30]

Thus, to approach the question of identity and memory, there is still the need to understand rhetoric and the construction of memories. In this case, it would lie in the rhetoric of the liturgy and the narrative about the monastery's founding as well as the architectural structure of the building. What Cubitt has found is that there is a collective identity among Anglo-Saxon monasteries as part of a whole Christian community. But she also found that within each of the monasteries, the monks in them had a particular, local, communal monastic identity as well. Memories varied from monastery to monastery, and thus there was a sense of different identities.

A variety of identities is also found in the other main area of study for medieval social memory, memory of the dead. With regard to this particular memory practice, Zoe Devlin's studies of memory and material culture show how people used ritual and objects to construct community identity through mortuary practices.[31] Funerary practices created communal

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[29] Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995).

[30] Catherine Cubitt, "Monastic memory and identity in early Anglo-Saxon England," in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain,* eds. William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), 272-273.

[31] Zoe Devlin, "Social memory, material culture and community identity in early medieval mortuary practices," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 14 (2007): 38. Devlin recognized funerals as the key settings for the manipulation of memories, and showed how memories are highly selective and context-driven, fostering the sense of "social memory" described by Halbwachs and, to some degree, by LeGoff and Nora.

memories and identity in particular settings; in this case, the funeral sites: the cemeteries and the churches. Devlin makes it clear that "social memory" can mean a collective, popular, imaginative, historical or cultural memory. Furthermore, she asserts that social memory incorporates remembrance and commemoration in specific ways, which is something that earlier memory scholars tried to address in their research, as Nora and LeGoff did in addressing French national history and commemoration of particular events.[32] The funeral is an important part of memory and remembrance because it is the event that allows for remembering, construction and reconstruction of memory, and thus the formation of identities of the deceased and living. The funerary objects serve to remind mourners of the deceased in life, and these objects create representations of the past for the present and future. How the memory is constructed and interpreted, discussed and acted upon is what makes it social.[33]

In terms of community and communal identity, Bonnie Effros has argued for the significance of funerary rituals as a fundamental aspect of any culture's identity. Effros suggests that by the Carolingian period, practices such as Christian burials, Masses for the dead, recitation of names, communal prayers, and other liturgical ceremonies established a more permanent and eternal sense of membership in a Christian community.[34] She argues that by forbidding Saxon mortuary customs such as cremation and burial mounds, Charlemagne was tactically forcing the Saxons to adopt a Carolingian identity, thus suppressing their cultural identity that would otherwise be expressed in their mortuary practice, in an effort to reduce the risk of insurrection.[35] Effros also argues that burial practices and funerary ceremonies created a familial responsibility to honor the dead, thus reinforcing ties within kin groups, as well as creating new ties. She

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[32] Devlin, 39-40.
[33] Ibid., 42-43.
[34] Bonnie Effros, "*De partionibus Saxoniae* and the Regulation of Mortuary Custom: A Carolingian Campaign of Christianization or the Suppression of Saxon Identity?" *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire,* 75 (1997): 267-269.
[35] Effros, "*De partionibus Saxoniae,*" 272, 274-276, 285.

further asserts that such practices, as a result, shaped imperial regulations concerning funerary ritual. Certain theological and ideological interpretations of ritual (such as ideas about sacred space and resurrection of the body) in turn shaped collective memories and organization of the images pertaining to those memories.[36] Commemoration of the dead, therefore, heavily influenced Carolingian communities.

This process of community construction in remembrance and commemoration is similar to what other medievalists, such as Geary, McKitterick, and Carruthers, have argued about memory processes. Devlin's study, along with Cubitt's, highlights the social aspect of memory, showing how memory is deeply engrained in everyday social practices. Nora and LeGoff, too, wanted to explore the theories and ideas of memory, remembrance, and commemoration, but they missed the significance of everyday processes of memory and its function as an art of construction and invention. This is the biggest contribution of recent memory studies. What is important to draw from this is that collective identity is not necessarily national, as was suggested in earlier studies; it even may only apply to smaller groups of people. This is the nature of a social identity compared to a political one. Either identity, however, can be challenged and transformed by memory and its construction depending on the forms of rhetoric that are employed. But there is no condemnation for the malleability of memory or history in these studies; rather, the authors investigate this malleability to understand memory's function in medieval society. Memories are highly selective and context-driven, and this is not an inherent weakness.

Memory studies do not end with the question of identity. The relationship of place and space to the rhetoric of memory is also a weighty question. Simon Schama has argued for an

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[36] Bonnie Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 6-12, 61-75.

exploration of the richness, antiquity and complexity of landscape traditions; he argued that physical places and spaces structure memory throughout particular landscapes.[37] Schama looks to landscapes to argue that all physical spaces have meanings that are culturally constructed, even if we think that they are free from our cultural interventions, and the memories that are constructed in these spaces make them "immortal."[38] Memorials, architecture, and basically any kind of constructed image in or of a space shape the memory that is evoked in that space. The rhetoric and the narrative of the image is important in understanding how people manipulate space and shape memory in the construction of political and social identities. The landscape and the physical environment that provide a visual image, therefore, are just as significant to the rhetoric and narrative of memory as the social and political environments.

An example of looking at the rhetoric of space and memory is the work of Antonio Sennis. Sennis has looked at the "narrative of places" in medieval monasteries, examining how landscapes are perceived, described and imagined as representations of eternal truth for the founders of the monasteries.[39] For the founders, the landscape must provide a physical and spiritual center, and represent perfect correspondence between the divine will, natural laws, and social order.[40] Space becomes the physical and mental image that evokes memory. Sennis further examines space as "discourse," where time and space are linked in a constructed 'narrative' within the landscape. In the early medieval world view, these places are where holy and earthly

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[37]Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopfe, 1995), 14-15, 17.
[38] Schama, 9, 61.
[39] Antonio Sennis, "Narrating Places: Memory and Space in Medieval Monasteries," in *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300,* eds. Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall and Andrew Reynolds (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006): 279-280.
[40] Ibid., 280, 282.

spaces meet.[41] The preservation of the new sacred places and the objects associated with them preserves the memory, while the destruction of such places causes the loss of memories.[42]

This is also important in that every sensory element is involved in apprehending a symbol of an invisible reality that is attached to space.[43] Memory is experienced and embodied in the landscape. Sennis sees a process where space builds memory, and memory eventually constructs written texts, and then texts lead to power; that is, they offer people the ability to change and manipulate the narrative and the memory, and thus also shape and reshape identity.[44]

The subject of place, space, and landscape is crucial in studies of memorials and acts of remembrance through commemoration. Scholars such as Schama and Sennis show that spaces are culturally constructed, and therefore memorials and other forms of commemoration (such as grave sites and significant buildings) are also culturally and socially constructed and attached to a particular meaning and memory that is to be remembered. The rhetorical processes that construct spaces and their cultural meanings also relate back to the cultural construction of identity that Geary and McKitterick described. This idea leads to questions about the function of memory and its significance for medieval society. Memory was especially significant in moments of political and social instability.

The rhetorical processes of memory were essential in constructing a communal and a personal identity that could withstand the tumultuous periods of the Middle Ages. Carruthers, Geary, McKitterick, Devlin, Cubitt, and Sennis all begin to touch on this issue in their work by answering questions about the theoretical structures of memory, but the significance of memory for medieval society is still a rather new area of research filled with unanswered questions. One

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[41] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981).
[42] Sennis, 282, 288.
[43] Ibid., 288, 291-292, 293.
[44] Ibid., 293-294

of those questions is about the way memory in the Carolingian world functions in the context of memory of the dead, or *memoria mortuorum*. To explore the question of function, it is necessary to understand the intellectual frameworks and theological questions that influenced Carolingian thought about memory practice and funerary rituals dedicated to the dead.

Part Two: Intellectual Frameworks and Issues

During the early medieval period, there were many changes in the practices of funerary ritual. Early medieval writers in the ninth century debated about what rites were proper and should be allowed, including and excluding certain practices, such as funerary feasting, which some authors identified as a pagan practice and not a suitable practice for Christian *memoria mortuorum*.[45] The justification for particular rituals is hardly ever transparent, and it is rarely clear why some rituals were considered suitable for *memoria mortuorum* and not others. Clues to the reason for permissible practices can be found in the intellectual context of the period. Several theological discussions, such as those about the resurrection of the body and about sacred space, influenced ideas about funerary rites. Most prominent in these discussions are questions about care for the body and the role of the living in the funerals and their role as active rememberers. Therefore, an examination of Carolingian theological discussions is essential for understanding these rituals and their significance for this society. But to understand Carolingian attitudes toward funerary rituals as a part of *memoria mortuorum*, an understanding of the theoretical structures of *memoria mortuorum* is also necessary.

Memoria mortuorum was not as rigid a form as the discursive structures of memory devices used in later medieval scholasticism. This is a unique practice because funerary rituals have a unique place in commemorative structures. They are definitely not the same practice as

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[45] Effros, 48-61.

the later medieval scholastic memory in function and purpose, and they are also distinct from

historical writing and memory in the early Middle Ages. In the late Middle Ages, most of those

who actually performed academic memory practices and created this kind of academic memory

held positions in universities. However, in the case of *memoria mortuorum,* in any era, nearly

anyone could participate in the actual construction of symbols, images, and meaning.

Visualization and images are essential in most practices of memory and remembering. In

medieval memory practices, the foundational text for drawing upon the mnemonic aid of images

is the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which lays out instructions for 'artificial memory,' meaning the

invention and storage of images in mental locations that provokes memory.[46] This is a Roman

Latin text, once attributed to Cicero, which employs Greek doctrine in its instruction in the art of

rhetoric, but its author is unknown. Some scholars say that this could be compilation of notes a

student copied from his teacher, others say it is an original composition. There are some, such as

Frances Yates and Mary Carruthers, that think it is a mix of both circumstances.[47] The third book

of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* explains the art of artificial and natural memory, giving special

attention to artificial memory as invention and process.[48] It describes in detail the composition

and invention that take place in the memory process. The compositional act of memory is the

most fundamental part of the practice. It is the composition and invention of images that instigate

the process of creating and calling memories. Thus, visual rhetoric (referring to the symbols and

ideas expressed in the components of rituals, architecture, and images and the meanings created

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[46] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 9; *Book of Memory,* 20-23, 34-35.
[47] For a discussion of authorship, see: Harry Caplan, trans., *Rhetorica ad Herrenium* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954), vii-xiv, xxi-xxvii.
[48] Ibid., xx-xxi, liii.

or set forth through these components) is an important tool in constructions of memory, and for this reason it was often used in medieval academic and later scholastic circles.[49]

In *memoria mortuorum*, the funerary ritual, including burial, involves images and the process of making images that would evoke memory. Visuality is encompassed in ritual acts, and therefore visual images and symbols are just as important as the acts and physical locations of funerary ritual.[50] This process is seen in the practice of burial *ad sanctos*. In late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, burial *ad sanctos* (meaning, physically proximate to a saint's relics), as seen in the "cult of saints," was thought to have a mystical power for the protection and care for the souls of the deceased.[51] If a person was buried near a saint, the saint became an "invisible companion," a more divine presence that would assist the deceased when he or she left the earthly body.[52] There were related post-burial rituals associated with the sites of the cult of saints, such as prayers for the dead.[53] Many prayer rituals developed as a result of the close relationship between the living and the saints, and the prayers were intended to ask the saints to intercede for the souls of the deceased, with the belief that the saints had an almost divine power

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[49] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 1-19; Dickinson, 15-24.

[50] Hans Henrik Lohfert Jorgensen, "Cultic Vision—Seeing as Ritual: Visual and Liturgical Experience in the Early Christian and Medieval Church," in *The appearances of medieval rituals : the play of construction and modification* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004): 173-175, for a discussion about "visuality" in ritual and the importance of visual space, image and practice that creates a mystical liturgical experience in the medieval Christian church.

[51] Brown, 1-21. Brown's work interprets the cult of saints as the "joining of Heaven and Earth and the role, in this joining, of the dead human beings" in society. He looks at the cult of saints and burial customs because he claims that burial customs are stable aspects of most cultures in that every culture has some form of such customs, even though they are not neatly categorized.

[52] Ibid., 50-52.

[53] Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 2, 25, 27-29, 251. McLaughlin recognizes a distinctive pattern related to prayers for the dead in the early medieval period that reflected distinctive social, economic, and cultural structures of early medieval society. The association of the dead with specific liturgical communities through the vehicles of ritual practice linked communities together with the saints using deep ecclesiological symbolism.

to answer and act as intercessors for the Christian dead. All of this is evidence of a close relationship between the living and the dead that results in specific ritual practices.[54]

The theoretical structures of *memoria mortuorum*, based on image and symbol-making and mnemonic devices, also play an integral role in the memory process. Augustine refers to the prayers of and sacrifices for the dead who are buried near saints and martyrs.[55] Burial near martyrs and saints increases the desire of the community to offer sacrifices and supplications. This practice, in theory at least, relates to the notion of community and its role in memory construction and the creation of a common narrative of memory based on group identity and the relationship between the living and the dead. The site of memory, here meaning the place of the saint near whom the dead are buried, becomes a place of communal ritual, involving common practices. The funerary rituals, before and after the funeral, foster a sense of a communal identity, specifically a Christian one. Offerings and prayers, celebrated on anniversaries of the saint's death, for instance, would involve not only the individual deceased, or even one family. Rather, they would incorporate all of the dead in the community, as sort of a celebratory "day of the dead." The mention of mothers offering their prayers for the sake of all, or the extra care

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[54] Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), especially 3, for a full discussion about the elements, aspects and differences of the relationship between the living and the dead in the central Middle Ages.

[55] Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda,* ed. Joseph Zycha, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum,*vol. 41(Vienna: Tempsky, 1900), 629-630. "*Sed non ob aliud vel Memoriae vel Monumenta dicuntur ea quae insignita fiunt sepulcra mortuorum, nisi quia eos qui viventium oculis morte subtracti sunt, ne oblivione etiam cordibus subtrahantur, in memoriam revocant, et admonendo faciunt cogitari*.;" *"Cum itaque recolit animus ubi sepultum sit charissimi corpus, et occurrit locus nomine martyris venerabilis, eidem martyri animam dilectam commendat recordantis et precantis affectus"; "Si autem deessent istae supplicationes, quae fiunt recta fide ac pietate pro mortuis, puto quod nihil prodesset spiritibus eorum quamlibet in locis sanctis exanima corpora ponerentur."* "But these tombs of the dead which have become famous are called *memorials* or *monuments* because they call to mind those who by death have disappeared from the eyes of the living, and by bringing them to mind, they have not disappeared from men's hearts through forgetfulness.";" "When therefore a mind recollects where the body of a very dear friend lies buried, and in the process the place represents itself to his thoughts as a place made reverent by the name of a martyr, such a state of mind then commends that soul to that martyr by his remembrance and prayer."; "If, however, these supplications which are made with true faith and devotion for the dead should be lacking, there would be no advantage to their souls, I think, however holy the places be in which their lifeless bodies are buried." Trans. Glen L. Thompson *On the Care of the Dead*. www.fourthcentury.com/on-the-care-of-the-dead (accessed 1 December 2014), chapter 6. The last citation is my own translation. Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own.

involved in providing more than enough sacrifices or prayers rather than too few for the dead, alludes to the recognition of a communal practice, solidifying a common Christian identity on the level of the local community.[56]

Ideas about the theoretical components of *memoria mortuorum* do not change, at least not noticeably, in the Carolingian discussions. What does change in the discussion is the influence of theological debates related to the resurrection of the body and sacred space, both of which affected ideas about proper care for the bodies, the specific practices of the funeral, and the role of the living in the entire process. Predestination and Eucharist debates, as well, had some possible influence, mainly coming from the writings of Augustine, whose ideas about these debates were certainly well known to the Carolingians.[57] An understanding of the difference between the body and soul, the fate of the soul after death, and the components of rituals as being either representative or figurative created complex debates about funerary practices and their connection to memory. The specifics of Augustine's discussion and its influence on the Carolingian discussion will be detailed in subsequent chapters. But it should be noted that these debates fostered a particular environment that affected how authors such as Augustine and Carolingian authors framed their ideas.

Another important discussion, also expounded in the works of Augustine, is about the belief in the resurrection of the body, a discussion that greatly influenced beliefs about care for

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[56] Augustine, *De cura*, pg. 631. *…adduuat defuncti spiritum non mortui corporis locus, sed ex loci memoria viuus matris affectus.* "…it is not the location of the dead body, but the living devotion of the mother out of memory of the place which affords this aid."

[57] Stephane Gioanni, "Moines et évêques en Gaule aux Ve et VIe siècles: la controverse entre Augustin et les moines provençaux," *Médiévales: Langue, textes, histoire,* 38 (2000): 149-161; Rainer Hugener, "Lebendige Bücher. Materielle und mediale Aspekte der Heilsvermittlung in der mittelalterlichen Gedenküberlieferung," *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung: Zeitschrift des Mediavistenverbandes,* 18, 1 (2013): pg. 122-140; Max Suda, "Beurteilung des leblosen Körpers in Augustinus' Gutachten De cura pro mortuis gerenda," *Körper ohne Leben: Begegnung und Umgang mit Toten,* 5:3 (1998): 414-421; Willemien Otten, "Between Augustinian Sign and Carolingian Reality: The Presence of Ambrose and Augustine in the Eucharistic Debate Between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie" in *Dutch Review of Church History,* vol. 80 (Jan. 1, 2000): 137-156.

the bodies of the dead.[58] Augustine's treatise, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, specifically

discusses care for the body in relation to *memoria mortuorum*, and this work is particularly

referenced in the Carolingian treatises. Augustine's discussion raised questions about what

funerary rites were permitted in order to care properly for the body. During the Carolingian

period, there was also an attempt to understand the purpose for these rites and why they were

permitted. Burial rites, clothing, prayers, the outward appearance of the grave or tomb, and all

other architectural aspects of the funeral were examined. Amalarius of Metz (writing around

823) sought to interpret the meaning of the offices for the dead, and his discussion also included

ideas about burial and the care of the body, using exegetical methods to do so. Claudius of Turin,

also, gave his interpretation of the meaning of funerals in general, as expounded in his exegesis

on the biblical first book of Kings, as a way of caring not just for the dead, but also the living.

Also wrapped up in the debates about resurrection and the role of the living in care for

the dead is issue of space and location. As already explained, location, physical and conceptual,

is an important aspect of *memoria mortuorum*. The idea of space as sacred was a contentious

issue in the early Middle Ages, especially for those thinking about monasteries and churches as a

place where heaven and earth met.[59] This debate influenced discussions of funerary ritual,

particularly in terms of the cult of saints and burial *ad sanctos*. Carolingian debates about sacred

space, too, affected Carolingian ideas about the locational and spatial aspect of *memoria

mortuorum.* In a number of Carolingian treatises, authors discuss their interpretations of funerary

ritual using biblical models and examples for understanding the purpose of the ritual spaces and

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[58] Augustine, *De cura,* 629-630; Rebillard, 67; Effros, *Care of the Body,* pg. 69-75. Effros discusses belief in the resurrection and care for the dead in the context of grave violations and efforts to protect the integrity of graves and bodies in the Merovingian period. See also: Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) for a full discussion about the belief of the resurrection in the Middle Ages and the subsequent relationship between the body and Christian spirituality. Though her discussion primarily applies to the central and later medieval periods, her theories and methodology also apply to the early medieval period.

[59] Samuel Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 42-43.

their significance for *memoria mortuorum*.[60] Amalarius of Metz, in particular, discusses the issue

of sacred space, and Claudius of Turin hints at the significance of space and location in general

for funerary rituals.[61] Paschasius Radbertus, whose work is an example of *memoria mortuorum*

in practice, also utilizes theories about space to elicit memories of the deceased by the

association of space with the deceased group or individual, and also by the association with the

ritual practiced by the community.

In their texts, several purposes for the funeral are seen: it symbolically reinforces the

belief in resurrection of the body, which is a concern for the living and gives reason to devote

such care and attention to the dead; it is a concern for the living because the living want to

reassure themselves about the care that will be taken for them in their death, but also it is comfort

to know that a loved one has equally been cared for in their funeral arrangements; it solidifies the

idea of a place and space for communal rituals intended to construct and create memory

narratives.[62] And each of these early medieval authors uses ideas and arguments from Augustine

as their chief source of authority about funerary ritual, practice, and meaning.[63]

This focus on the role of the living community also raises an important distinction in the

discussion of *memoria mortuorum*: *cura* and *memoria*. Care and memory are separate ideas, but

the Carolingians tended to discuss both as if they were intertwined with one another in the

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[60] Amalarius of Metz, *Liber Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ed. Iohanne Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera* t. 2 (Rome: Universitas Gregoriana, 1947), and Eric Knibbs, ed. and trans., *On the Liturgy Volume II, Books 3-4* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2014); Claudius of Turin, *XXX Quaestiones Super Libros Regum.* PL, Vol. 104; Florus. *Libellus de tenenda immobilite Scripturae veritate et SS Orthodoxorum Patrum Auctoritate Fideliter Sectanda. Caput XIV: An Christus passus sit pro omnibus qui ante eius adventum mortui sunt.* PL, Vol 104.

[61] Collins, 48-50.

[62] Evidence and analaysis of this will be expounded in more detail in Chapter 4.

[63] It should be noted that based on archaeological evidence, there are changes in burial and ritual customs between the time of Augustine to the ninth century. But, the ideas about funerary ritual as process for making memory are continuous, even if the ritual itself had undergone change. See, Effros, *Caring for the Body and Soul,* 206-209 for further discussion of changes in burial customs. Effros asserts that changes and variations in the rituals themselves may reflect regional differences, but the written evidence still suggests common significance of funerary ritual and memory for society in general, despite these disparities between written and material sources.

processes of *memoria mortuorum*. The issue of care alone is separated into two categories, namely care for the living and care for the dead. Care for the living is a significant topic of discussion in Augustine's treatise, and it is an idea that is shared also by the Carolingians. The idea of care for the living meant that all the funerary processes were to comfort the living and console them as they underwent loss, and to assist them in the construction and preservation of the memory of the deceased. The Carolingians were aware of *memoria mortuorum* as caring for the living, but they also had an understanding that *memoria mortuorum* encompassed also the care for the dead. Furthermore, this care is what affected the construction of the memory of the deceased by the living, and thus the preservation of the memory of the dead to be shared within the community resulted from this care. This is evident in the ways in which the Carolingian authors discussed in this study primarily used Augustine's interpretations for their arguments as a foundation for their own interpretations.

In terms of the actual practices, it is still difficult to categorize the specific funerary rituals of the Carolingian period beyond what the sources discuss. General pre-burial practices (such as cleansing and clothing the body) and communal prayer and offerings (i.e. mass for the dead) are most commonly mentioned and explained by the Carolingians. Occasionally, details about the selection of a burial place are mentioned, but briefly. Additionally, family prayers are referenced in passing as a way to discuss the value of prayers for the living and the dead. These issues were what the Carolingian authors considered most important. These issues were also situated in the discussions of the resurrection of the body and sacred space. It makes sense that these authors, as they were thinking about these debates, were also trying to interpret the exact purpose of pre- and post-burial rituals and why they are so significant in the first place. Their interpretations reflect ideas about care for the body that was an important part of the discussion

of the resurrection. The location of burials and Carolingian attachment to saints also reflects ideas about sacred space and permissible practices within those spaces.

Ideas about the resurrection of the body in relation to care for the dead, both physically and spiritually, as well as care for the living in practices of *memoria mortuorum* characterize the environment in which the Carolingian treatises are set. Additionally, ideas about sacred space relate especially to the theoretical components of memory practice in terms of burial *ad sanctos* and physical burial locations. The following chapters will assume this context as the intellectual frame for Carolingian interpretations of funerary ritual and the practice of *memoria mortuorum*, and therefore will focus more on the specifics of arguments of the Carolingian authors named above. The next chapter will focus on Augustine's interpretation of funerary ritual, specifically burial *ad sanctos,* as a question of *cura* for the living rather than the dead. Augustine also explains how this idea fits within the theoretical components of *memoria mortuorum,* providing some of the references from which the Carolingians drew their own ideas.

Chapter Three: For the Living- Augustine's Influence

In 421, Augustine directly addressed the question of burial near the saints and its purpose as a funerary ritual in his treatise titled *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*.[1] In doing so, he presented his own interpretation of *memoria mortuorum*, its function in certain funerary rituals (in this case, burial and care of the dead body), and association of the dead with particular spaces and locations, using theological arguments to support his position. Augustine's theological interpretations are referenced and cited many times in the Carolingian works on *memoria mortuorum*, more so than any other patristic author. It is thus essential to understand Augustine's views on funerary ritual in order to interpret Carolingian ones. Augustine's ideas about the separation of the body and the soul and about the resurrection of the body, which had an influence on his ideas about care for the dead, and the connection between funerary ritual and *memoria mortuorum* laid the foundation for later Carolingian discussions of the meaning and function of ritual and memory.

For Augustine, memory, as a distinct concept, functioned within the theoretical processes of visualization outlined in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.[2] The visual and rhetorical practice and function of memory are described with eloquence in Augustine's *Confessions, Book X* (written

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[1] Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda,* ed. Joseph Zycha, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*,vol. 41(Vienna: Tempsky, 1900)*,* pg. xxxxi.

[2] Augustine's direct knowledge of the *Ad Herennium* is rejected by most scholars.See: James O'Donnell, *Augustine: A New Biography* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 120-126. For more discussion about Augustine and the *Ad Herennium,* see also: P. Ruth Taylor, "'Pre-history' in the ninth century manuscripts of the *Ad Herennium*," *Classica et mediaevalia: Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire*,44 (1993): 181-254, particularly pg. 248. A contrary view, however, is that Augustine was very familiar with such sources, and that he did, in fact, rely on them in some of his explorations of rhetoric and memory. See: James M. Farrell, "The Rhetoric(s) of St. Augustine's *Confessions,*" *Augustinian Studies,* 39:2 (2008): 265-291, particularly pg. 277-281. For more on the transmission of the *Ad Herrenium* throughout the Middle Ages, see: John O. Ward, "Ciceronian Rhetoric and Oratory from St. Augustine to Guarino da Verona," in *Cicero refused to die: Ciceronian influence through the centuries*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 163-196. For more on Augustine's knowledge of the architectural metaphor for memory, see: Yates, 46-49; Carruthers, *Book of Memory,* 146-147. I argue here is that there is a particular way in which authors like Augustine and the Carolingians after him think about memory that is prevalent among the sources, regardless of whether or not either of them used this source personally.

around 397) primarily in his description of the "palace of memories."[3] Although Augustine

wrote the entire work of the *Confessions* as if he were speaking directly to God, constantly

praising, asking and telling him what he needs to say, he knew that it would be read by human

readers. The full purpose of the *Confessions* was to teach human readers about God's grace. It is

in the tenth book that Augustine writes about memory. Here, he discusses how he is able to know

and recognize who he is and who God is.[4] While Augustine does not outline instructions for

memory as they were outlined in the *Ad Herennium*, he does use similar language involving

location and storage of images, particularly in his discussion of the "palace of memories."[5] The

importance of images and their invention and composition is equally great in Augustine's

description as it was in the *Ad Herennium*.

     In *De cura pro mortuis gerenda,* there are still dimensions of this description of memory

in his discussion of burial *ad sanctos*. Responding to a letter from Paulinus asking about the

benefits of burial *ad sanctos,* he states that the only real reason for burial *ad sanctos* is so that the

greater and holier image of this 'spiritual' location would be better stored in the rememberer's

mind for recall at a later time.[6] Here, the reader can sense the theory of memory Augustine

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[3] Augustine, *Confessions: Volume I Introduction and Text,* ed. and trans. James J. O'Donnell (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012), 123. "*Transibo ergo et istam naturae meae, gradibus ascendens ad eum qui fecit me, et venio in campos et lata praetoria memoriae, ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum de cuiuscemodi rebus sensis invectarum.*" "So, I shall also pass above the power of my nature, ascending by degrees toward Him who made me, and I come into the fields and broad palaces of my memory, where there are treasures of innumerable images, brought in from all sorts of objects by the senses." See Marianne Djuth, "Memory, Imagination, and the Inner Self in Augustine's *Confessions"* in *Intellect et imagination dans la philosophie médiéval* (Turnholt: Brepols, 2006), 716-730.

[4] Augustine, *Confessions,* 122-123.

[5] Augustine, *Confessions,* 123; Djuth, pg. 720-721.

[6] Eric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, trans. Elizabeth Trapnell Rawlings and Jeanine Routier-Pucci (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009), 76-78; Augustine, *De cura,* 629-630. "*Cum itaque recolit animus ubi sepultum sit charissimi corpus, et occurrit locus nomine martyris venerabilis, eidem martyri animam dilectam commendat recordantis et precantis affectus*"; "*Sed non ob aliud vel 'memoriae' vel 'monumenta' dicuntur ea quae insignita fiunt sepulcra mortuorum, nisi quia eos, qui viventium oculis morte subtracti sunt, ne oblivione etiam cordibus subtrahantur, in memoriam revocant et admonendo faciunt cogitari.*" "When therefore a mind recollects where the body of a very dear friend lies buried, and in the process the place represents itself to his thoughts as a place made reverent by the name of a martyr, such a state of mind then commends that soul to that

described in the *Confessions*, such as the importance of images, and their invention and storage for recall. His main point in this treatise refutes the idea that the body must be buried properly (i.e. in a Christian grave that has been identified as such by Church leaders) in order to save the soul, and that without proper burial the soul will not survive. He tells Paulinus that not all Christian bodies are buried in the same way, especially if a Christian has died in battle or somewhere far from home. But despite this, God knows how to manage and resurrect all of his creation, so place does not necessarily matter.[7] The only real importance for burial *ad sanctos* is that the constructed holy image evokes the memory of the deceased much more easily than burial far away from such a recognizable presence. The image of the saint and the church would be greatly magnified in a person's mind and better stored in the "palace of memory," making it easier to recall for *memoria morturoum*. For Augustine, this is not so much a spiritual practice as much as it is a mnemonic device.

But there are some difficulties in the various points of this treatise, all points which cause Augustine to wrestle with the theological and theoretical purposes for funerary rituals devised for *memoria mortuorum*. Augustine's method of dealing with contradictions between the theological and theoretical aspects of *memoria mortuorum* is the distinction he raises between *cura* and *memoria*. *Cura* is an important issue in Augustine's discussion, from care of the body before burial to the burial itself. *Cura* also highlights the care given by the living to the dead, and this emphasizes the role and the responsibility of the living to care for the dead and preserve their memory. Augustine implicitly ties the notion of *cura* to *memoria* in that the preservation of the

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martyr by his remembrance and prayer;" "But these tombs of the dead which have become famous are called memorials or monuments because they call to mind those who by death have disappeared from the eyes of the living, and by bringing them to mind, they have not disappeared from men's hearts through forgetfulness." Trans. Glen Thompson.

[7] Augustine, *De cura*, 626, "*Multa itaque corpora christianorum terra non texit, sed nullum eorum quisquam a caelo et terra separavit, quam totam inplet praesentia sui, qui novit unde resuscitet quod creavit.*" "The bodies of many Christians, then, have not been covered by the earth, but none of them have been separated from heaven and earth, the whole of which he fills with his presence." Trans. Glen Thompson.

memory of the dead results from particular processes of caring for the body and soul of the dead. Because of this implication, he cannot deny the importance of preserving the memory of the dead, or the purpose of preserving such memories.

In the context of other discussions about the resurrection of the body and Augustine's understanding of the resurrection, care for the body is also significant because the body will one day rise again with the coming of Christ. This is another reason why Augustine does not deny the importance of care for dead, even if it is for the sake of the living. This understanding reveals the belief in the eventual resurrection of the body.[8] This discussion is further complicated, though, in that Augustine also differentiates carefully between the body and the soul in this treatise and in his own theology, using the argument that the soul does not suffer in the way the body does, and that when the body dies the soul does not suffer the death experienced by the body.[9] On the one hand, the care for the body is almost strictly for the living, because if the soul is separated from the body, then it should not matter where the body is buried or how it is prepared for burial. All of the components of the burial ceremonies are there to comfort the living alone, as they serve no purpose for the dead. On the other hand, if the resurrection of the dead is to happen, then care for the body is necessary to a degree for the dead, too, especially since the body served as a "vessel" for the soul to use for all holy work done during the lifetime of the person. He states that: "…the bodies of the dead, especially of the just and faithful, are not to be despised or cast aside. The

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[8] Max Suda, "Beurteilung des leblosen Körpers in Augustinus' Gutachten De cura pro mortuis gerenda," *Körper ohne Leben: Begegnung und Umgang mit Toten,* 5:3 (1998), 414-421. Suda deconstructs Augustine's treatise, taking each section and analyzing Augustine's treatise as an example of Augustine's personal ideas regarding the resurrection of the body, an example which helps readers to better understand his logic throughout the rest of the treatise. See also: Effros, *Caring for the Body*, pg. 70-75 on the belief in resurrection of the body as it pertains to burial rituals and material evidence.

[9] Augustine, *De cura,* 635. "*Si autem humanum erga suam carnem consideremus affectum, potuit inde terreri uel contristari uiuus, quod sensurus non erat mortuus; et haec erat poena, quoniam dolebat animus id de suo corpore futurum, quamuis cum fieret non doleret.*" "But if we think of a man's human feelings towards his own body, it is possible for him while still alive to be frightened or saddened by what he would not feel when dead." Trans. Glen Thompson.

soul has used them as organs and vessels for all good work in a holy manner."[10] Augustine

further states that such care is "representative of God's care," and, therefore, caring for the

bodies of the dead should certainly not be neglected. In the same section, he also explicitly

associates this care with the belief in the resurrection of the body.[11] This suggests that, as a holy

vessel for the soul, the body deserves care because of its association with holiness and eventual

resurrection.

Augustine's theological arguments and rhetorical strategies reveal the true complexity of

the issue. In essence, Augustine's ideas about the body and the soul, in connection with belief in

the resurrection of the body, deeply influenced his interpretation of the meaning behind funerary

ritual and the ritual's significance for *memoria mortuorum.* Augustine does state, however, that

no matter where one is buried, God still has the ability to raise one from the ground, as God

created the entire world and therefore has no limits on what he can raise from the dead and from

where.[12] Even the question of separated limbs, a likely form of injury on the battlefield,

presented no boundary to God for the resurrection of the body, according to Augustine, since the

body would be resurrected anew, that is, meaning that the body will not look exactly the same as

it did upon death.[13] The soul is separated from the body already, and that is what marks the

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[10] Augustine, *De cura*, 631."*Nec ideo tamen contemnenda et abjicienda sunt corpora defunctorum, maximeque justorum ac fidelium, quibus tanquam organis et vasis ad omnia bona opera sancte usus est spiritus.*"
[11] Ibid., 628. *"Verum istae auctoritates non hoc admonent, quod insit ullus cadaueribus sensus, sed ad dei prouidentiam, cui placent etiam talia pietatis officia, corpora quoque mortuorum pertinere significant propter fidem resurrectionis astruendam."* "However these authorities in no way suggest that dead bodies can experience any feeling; but rather, they signify that the providence of God (who is pleased with such acts of piety) is concerned also with the bodies of the dead, in order that our faith in the resurrection might be strengthened." Trans. Glen Thompson.
[12] Ibid.*,* 626, "*Multa itaque corpora Christianorum terra non texit: sed nullum eorum quisquam a coelo et terra separavit, quam totam implet praesentia sui, qui novit unde resuscitet quod creavit;*" "The bodies of many Christians, then, have not been covered by the earth, but none of them have been separated from heaven and earth, the whole of which he fills with his presence." Trans. Glen Thompson.
[13] Fernando Vidal,"Brains, Bodies, Selves, and Science: Anthropologies of Idenity and the Resurrection of the Body," *Critical Inquiry,* 28 (2002): 930-942. One of the difficulties concerning Augustine's anthropology of the human body and soul is the connection between the soul and body itself. While separate, there is still a deep

condition of death. The care for the body is only meant to help console the living and to assist them in preserving the memory of the deceased.

To understand this, Augustine's response can also be read as an attempt to comfort a grieving mother, as Paulinus had requested; he reassures her that her son's soul would not be affected by his grave's distance from a martyr's remains.[14] To assure her that supplications made from faith and devotion would ultimately be of true aid for the dead, if there is any to be given, Augustine wrote that it was not the location of the body, but rather the way in which the place evoked memory for the devoted mother that aided the dead.[15] By preserving the memory of the deceased, the living feel more secure in the salvation of the soul of the deceased. Augustine emphasizes the act of care for the living as the purpose for certain ritual processes (i.e. burial *ad sanctos*), highlighting the agency of the living and the activity necessary for the creation of memories.

To Augustine, the living have a sense of duty to care for the dead, and fulfilling this duty gives them comfort. Using their "palace of memories", the living community preserves the memory of the deceased through ritual practices, but primarily it is for their own comfort and peace of mind. But it is not just *cura* for the living that is important in funerary ritual. *Cura* for the dead is equally significant; as such care rests on biblical and theological foundations.

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connection between the two, creating a sort of paradox for the salvation and fulfillment of the soul that is created by God.

[14] Augustine, *De cura,* 652-653. "*Non igitur ideo putandum est vivorum rebus quoslibet interesse posse defunctos, quoniam quibusdam sanandis vel adjuvandis martyres adsunt: sed ideo potius intelligendum est quod per divinam potentiam martyres vivorum rebus intersunt, quoniam defuncti per naturam propriam vivorum rebus interesse non possunt.*" "So we should not think then, that just because the martyrs assist in healing or helping some men that any dead person who wants can be an influence in the affairs of the living. Rather we are to understand that the martyrs are interested in the affairs of the living through divine power, for it is not possible for the departed by their own nature to be interested in the affairs of the living." Trans. Glen Thompson.

[15] Ibid., 632. "*Et quod ad idem sepulcrum recurrit animo et filium precibus magis magisque commendat, adiuuat defuncti spiritum non mortui corporis locus, sed ex loci memoria uiuus matris affectus.*" "And in that her thoughts return to this same tomb, and in her prayers she more and more prays for her son, the spirit of the departed is aided, not by where its dead body has been placed, but by the living affection of the mother which remembers that place." Trans. Glen Thompson.

Quoting Ephesians 5:29, Augustine comments, "whatever is spent for burying the body, it is not an aid to salvation, but a duty of humanity according to that love by which 'no one ever hated his own flesh.'"[16]

Thus, the living can secure their own salvation if they perform this duty of humanity, following the same sentiment that David felt when he buried Saul and his son Jonathan in the Book of Kings.[17] It is thus clear that Augustine does not deny the importance of burial, and even notes the importance of funerary prayers for the care of the soul after burial has taken place, asserting that such ceremonies of prayer, sacrifices, and almsgiving are spiritually necessary for *memoria mortuorum*.[18] Care for the body of the deceased is something that should not be ignored, on theological grounds of resurrection and providing care as God would.

This reveals some contradictory points in the overall point of his treatise, which is that "the care of the funeral arrangements, the establishment of the place of burial, the pomp of the ceremonies—are more of a solace for the living than an aid for the dead."[19] His overall point is also stated more bluntly: "If an expensive funeral is of any advantage to an evil man, a cheap

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[16] Augustine, *De cura*, 658-659. *"Corpori autem humando quidquid inpenditur, non est praesidium salutis, sed humanitatis officium secundum affectum, quo nemo umquam carnem suam odio habet."*

[17] Ibid., 625-626. *"Proinde ista omnia, id est, curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exsequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum." "...Cur ergo illi, qui Saulem et eius filium sepelierunt, misericordiam fecisse dicuntur et ob hoc a rege pio benedicuntur, nisi quia bene afficiuntur corda miserantium, quando ea dolent in mortuorum corporibus alienis, quae illo affectu, quo nemo umquam carnem suam odio habet, nolunt fieri post mortem suam corporibus suis, et quod sibi exhiberi volunt, quando sensuri non sunt, aliis non sentinetibus currant exhibere, dum ipsi sentiunt?"* "So all these things, that is, the care of the funeral arrangements, the establishment of the place of burial, the pomp of the ceremonies, are more of a solace for the living than an aid for the dead.;" "…why, then, are those who buried Saul and his son said to have done mercy, and for this are blessed by that pious king, unless because the hearts of the merciful men were morally affected; when those hearts grieve for the dead bodies of other men, by that affection through which no man ever hates his own flesh, what would they not wish to have done after their own death to their own bodies; and what do they wish to be presented for them, when they will have no feeling, that they take care to do by others now having no feeling while they themselves still have feeling?"

[18] Ibid., 658-659. *"...non existimemus ad mortuos, pro quibus curam gerimus, pervenire, nisi quod pro eis sive altaris sive orationum sive elemosynarum sacrificiis sollemniter supplicamus…"* "We should not think that [any aid] comes to the dead, for whom we give care, except what we solemnly beseech for them with sacrifices either of the altars, of prayer, or of almsgiving."

[19] Ibid., 625. *"Proinde ista omnia, id est, curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exsequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum."*

one, or none at all, is of no disadvantage to a devout soul."[20] Augustine argues that it is "no aid to the salvation" of the deceased, but more for the "love of one's own flesh" to care for the dead. Particularly, *cura* for the living is the driving force that encourages the ritual acts in the first place. However, it is just as clear that Augustine did not devalue the care for the dead, but instead intended to shed light on the meaning behind the ritual of burial *ad sanctos*, and at least to elucidate its purpose for the living as a commemorative act.

It is perhaps because of this increased intricacy that Augustine makes his argument with the two distinct notions of *cura et memoria,* with *cura* further separated into categories of care for the living and care for the dead. The finer distinction between *cura* for the living and the dead further helped to reconcile the theological and theoretical interpretations of funerary ritual. Augustine's discussion seems to suggest some theological concerns about the fate of the body after death, which is implicitly tied to the possibility of resurrection. If part of his argument is that care for the body is for the solace of the living, then the other part is that the anxiety about such care is indicative of belief in the resurrection. It is the ceremony around the care for the bodies that ensures proper measures are taken.

For Augustine, although he could not ignore the theology of funerary rituals, the mnemonic components of *memoria mortuorum* were more interesting, which is perhaps also why he focused primarily on *cura* as the incentive for funerary ritual, with *memoria* as the result of *cura*. Augstine did not sufficiently explicate *memoria*, although it is the process that leads to both forms of *cura*. Because *De cura* identifies *memoria mortuorum* as an essential process, it became a foundational framework for studies of *memoria* in the Carolingian period. It is one of the few texts that explore both the mnemonic components and the theoretical structures of memory practice while also grappling with the purpose of funerary ritual in Christian theology.

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[20] Augustine, *De cura*, 630. "*Si aliquid prodest inpio sepulture pretiosa, oberit pio vilis aut nulla.*"

Augustine's insistence on the function of burial *ad sanctos* as a comfort for the living shows that

such ideas about the mnemonic components of *memoria mortuorum* carried more weight than

the theological in his argument, and thus best serve as his overall interpretation of funerary ritual.

also, he agrees that the practice altogether serves as part of a systematic mnemonic device to aid

only the living. Book X of the *Confessions* implies that Augustine agreed with the theory that

memoria, and also *memoria mortuorum,* was grounded on the mnemonic structures such as those

explained in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium.*[21] But, his ideas about the resurrection of the body and

how it relates to care for the dead expanded and made intricate the process of *memoria*

mortuorum, by connecting it to the visual aspects of the funeral and geographic proximity of the

mnemonic image of the saints.

For the Carolingians, there is a specific role of the living, associated with their devoted

duty to the dead that is reassurance for them; the process of caring for the dead allows the living

to preserve their memory. These ideas will be expounded further in the following chapter, which

provides an analysis of three Carolingian treatises, all of which discuss *memoria mortuorum* in

the context of burial and post-burial rituals (such as prayers and alms-giving). Each of these

treatises makes direct references to Augustine's treatise about care for the dead. But, whereas

Augustine tended to favor the argument that *cura* is primarily for the living, based on the

theoretical structures of *memoria mortuorum*, the Carolingian arguments are more mixed. To the

Carolingians, it was not merely just the care for the living and the use of funerary ritual to aid the

living that was most important, but care for the dead was just as prominent, due to theories about

the resurrection of the body and participation in life with Christ. Carolingian authors include

arguments about sacred space and the funeral to expound upon the theological aspect of *memoria*

mortuorum in ways that Augustine did not. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on the emotional

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[21] Augustine, *Confessions,* pg. 123*; Rhetorica ad Herrenium.*

aspect of funerary ritual that is somewhat lacking in Augustine's treatise, or, rather, it is at the very least not explicitly present. The question of sentiment and the purpose of the funeral are tied to the Carolingian ideas about *memoria mortuorum.*

Chapter Four: For the Dead- Post-Augustinian Influences

Although Augustine expounded upon the significance of *cura* for the process of *memoria mortuorum,* the question of the cultural significance of *memoria* was still unanswered. Many of Augustine's ideas about memory and funerary ritual were shared by the Carolingian writers, even if their personal stances differ in some aspects.[1] But their use of Augustine's ideas was just as influenced by their intellectual environment as were Augustine's interpretations influenced by his in the fifth century. The idea most commonly adopted from Augustine with regard to funerary ritual and memory was that the funeral was merely a ritual process designed to aid the living more than the dead, since the ritual, in essence, did little more than construct images, meaning and memory. But what is interesting about the Carolingian appropriation of Augustine's *De cura* is that the Carolingian writers not only address the issue of care for the living in processes of *memoria mortuorum,* but they understand *memoria mortuorum* as a memory practice that also encompasses special care for the dead (burial, care of the body, communal prayers, mass for the dead, etc.) and the responsibility of the living to construct the memory of the deceased and preserve it as a community. They were more conscious of debates over sacred space and the use of images and architecture; debates over predestination also had an impact on their theories about the body and the resurrection. Their appropriation of classical and patristic sources also shaped their interpretations of funerary rituals in the context of *memoria mortuorum*. The Carolingians, therefore, worked harder to answer questions about the theological purposes for *memoria mortuorum,* using Augustine, among other patristic and classical sources, as a foundation for their theories and perceptions of funerary ritual and memory for the dead.

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[1] Ann Matter, "Theological freedom in the Carolingian age: the case of Claudius of Turin" in *La Notion de liberté au Moyen Age*, *Islam, Byzance, Occident*, ed. George Makdisi, Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983): pg. 287.

For some Carolingian authors, the construction and practice of funerary rituals was—just as it was for Augustine—a tool not just for caring for the dead, but was more importantly a tool for care of the living. Amalarius of Metz, writing in the ninth century, addressed the issue of care for the living in the third and fourth books in his large work, *Liber ecclesiasticis officiis* (sometimes known as the *Liber officialis*), written sometime around 823.[2] Overall, this entire work is a treatise in which Amalarius interprets divine offices, rituals, and liturgies using an exegetical method to explain why masses are celebrated in the order and manner that they are.[3] It is difficult to place this work in a general context with other Carolingian works, mainly because of the peculiar ways in which Amalarius both adheres to and departs from earlier and contemporary exegetical traditions. He often claims to receive his insights from the Spirit, whereas other exegetes attribute their knowledge to a patristic source.[4] But, he also fits into a contemporary exegetical tradition in that he was attempting to explain, using biblical precedents as examples, the meaning of complex practices. His exegetical method follows Bede's method, which understood scripture as having four senses: one literal and three spiritual (one of which was allegory).[5] While he used Bede's exegetical method, the ultimate sources that authorized his claims were patristic writings, especially Augustine.[6] In other words, Amalarius treats liturgy as a source to which he can apply exegetical approaches parallel to ninth-century biblical

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[2] Amalarius of Metz, *Liber Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ed. Iohanne Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera* t. 1 (Rome: Universitas Gregoriana, 1947), 68-69.

[3] Ibid., t. 2, 19. "*Servus ego vester, quamvis minimus omnium, afficiebar olim desiderio, ut scirem rationem aliquam de ordine nostrae missae, quam consueto more caelebramus, et amplius ex diversitate quae solet fieri in ea…*" "I, your servant, although the least of all, was once moved by a desire to know the purpose behind the order of our mass, which we celebrate in accordance with established custom." Trans. Eric Knibbs, *On the Liturgy, Volume I, Books 1-2* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard Universty Press, 2014), 19.

[4] Celia Chazelle, "Amalarius's *Liber Officialis*: Spirit and Vision in Carolingian Thought," in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* ed. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishing, 2005), 332.

[5] Samuel Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 42-43.

[6] John Contreni, "Carolingian Biblical Studies," in *Carolingian Essays,* ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 71-98.

commentaries.[7] There are also some connections in his discussion about liturgy to some of the major debates of the ninth century, such as those over sacred space and divine authority.

It is significant that Amalarius was a rather idiosyncratic figure in his method of interpretation. He uses the exegetical method to interpret the sacred meanings of ritual specifically, considering actions and gestures as equated to practices or events in sacred scripture.[8] He is thinking about how space, location, objects, and images evoke certain processes, including memory, through ritualistic performances.

Although very little is known about Amalarius's personal life, it is known that he was a member of powerful circles in the Carolingian Empire, and thus had considerable fame and influence. This is evident in Amalarius's response to letters from Charlemagne about scripture and correct liturgy, and from his imperial service as ambassador to the Byzantine emperor Michael I.[9] Beyond this information, there is not much evidence from his early career, and most of the information we have about the latter part of his career is mainly from his adversaries. He was often opposed for his exegesis of liturgy, his opponents claiming that allegorical interpretations belong to scripture only, not the material world. Some, including Agobard and Florus, even accused him of being an Adoptionist, which strengthened the controversy surrounding Amalarius and his writing.[10]

While it is known that Amalarius worked in imperial service and was bishop of Metz for a time; the *Liber officialis* was dedicated to Louis the Pious.[11] The content of this work provides some additional context. The first thing to note about Amalarius's text is that throughout the four

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[7] Contreni, 337-338.
[8] Collins, 42. Collins sees Amalarius' reason for using this method in the context of debates of sacred space; Amalarius is attempting to identify certain religious practices (such as Mass) and locations (the monastery and sacred buildings) with a biblical past.
[9] Collins, 43-46;Hanssens, pg. 65-66.
[10] Collins, 57, 63; Hanssens, 68, 76-77.
[11] Collins, 48. Hanssens, 68-72.

books, he cites patristic authors, largely in harmony with contemporary Carolingian practices, as displayed in the Adoptionist, Eucharistic, and Predestination controversies.[12] The fact that he was harshly opposed by his adversaries is also further evidence of his involvement in current discourse, and it is also evidence that his work was widely read even if it was often refuted.

In his third book, Amalarius addresses different topics related to the specific parts and duties of divine offices, liturgical feast days, and aspects of various rituals, some of which he addresses in earlier books, but to which he adds more details in the fourth. With regard to funerary ritual and memory, Amalarius devoted one chapter (44) in his third book and two chapters (41 and 42) in his fourth to the subject. III.44 is where Amalarius interprets the mass for the dead. IV.41 describes the particular care taken in Christian funerals and its significance, and IV.42 again discusses the office of the dead in similar contexts as his discussion of the mass for the dead.

As it was for Augustine, *cura* for the living is a central idea in Amalarius' interpretation of the meaning and purpose of funerary rituals. Amalarius argues that the ultimate goal for many rituals is to imitate Christ and use the ritual to bring the believer closer to Him. Using his exegetical method, Amalarius, throughout, asserted that fellowship with Christ is the reason that many funerary rituals involve cleansing and physical care for the body. Amalarius states in the very beginning of chapter 44 that the office for the dead is unique in its very nature because it is performed in a way that imitates the office conducted in the death of the Lord. In the specific case of funerary rituals, primarily in the context of preparation and the performance of burial

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[12] Collins, 48; Hanssens, 70-76.

ceremonies, Amalarius equates the care given to the bodies of the dead to the care that was given to Christ's body upon his death.[13]

But it is not burial alone that is involved. Other forms of care came from prayers and services intended to aid the salvation of the soul. Amalarius further relates these general practices of funerary ritual to the Lord's passion, and while he does not provide specific biblical quotations, he does suggest that when Christ died, He initiated the process by which the memory of the dead is created.[14] Death, in a way, is not something that is thought to be the end, but is a point at which the memory of the deceased is made by the actions of the living. For the dead, Christ led the way to salvation with his own death, conquering death for Christians who follow him. According to Amalarius, this fellowship with Christ, the recognition of Christ's authority in salvation, and the biblical precedent for burial practices are the ultimate reasons for masses for the dead. It is a way for the living to re-enact and participate in the care given to Christ as one body of Christ (the Church), while also handing over the deceased to Christ.

The next section in the same chapter about the days on which the funerary rituals are held continues Amalarius' argument by interpreting some of the more precise details. Amalarius discusses in part of this chapter the practice of cleansing ceremonies for the body of the living for the third, seventh and thirtieth days after death, asking why this done. He traces this practice directly in the Old Testament, referring to Numbers 47: "Whoever touches a human corpse will be unclean for seven days. They must purify themselves with the water on the third day and on

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[13] Amalarius of Metz, 381. "*Notandum est etiam quod officium pro mortuis ad imitationem agitur officiorum quae aguntur in morte Domini.*" "We should also note that the office for the dead is conducted in imitation of the offices that are conducted for the Lord's death." Trans. Eric Knibbs, 257.

[14] Ibid., 382. "*Recordatio mortuorum nuncupativa agitur ante "Nobis quoque peccatoribus"; ibi finitur memoria mortis Domini, et inchoatur mors nostra, per confessionem peccatorum, ac ideo merito ibi agitur memoria transeuntium qui in Domino moriuntur.*" "A commemoration of the dead, by name, is celebrated before *Nobis quoque peccatoribus.* At that point the memorial of the Lord's death is over, and our own death begins through the confession of our sins. It is thus appropriate to commemorate at that point those who passed away and died in the Lord. For Christ preceeded them; we follow." Trans. Eric Knibbs, 257.

the seventh day, then they will be clean;" and Deuteronomy 34: "…Working near an unclean

corpse of man signifies a polluted soul." From this, Amalarius concludes, "the purging of dead

men through sacrifices from the priests on the third and seventh day is congruent with human

nature." He continues by describing how, by doing this, the living hope to purge sin from

themselves and the dead.[15]

The significance of the third, seventh, and thirtieth days returns again in IV.42.

Amalarius recognized that he had already addressed this issue in his references to the Old

Testament, but he stated that he still needs to identify further the significance of these days for

funerary practices. What concerns him especially are the days between the signified third,

seventh and thirtieth days, and why those three are the only ones that are designated for burial,

prayers, and mourning.[16] Rather than relying specifically on the connection between these

numbers and those of the Old Testament references, Amalarius identifies the third day of the

funerary ceremony with Christ's resurrection.[17] The seventh and thirtieth days he identifies with

the Sabbath and the actions of Moses and Aaron.[18] There is still a deep connection to the

traditions set forth in the Old Testament, but there are also typologies that are present in the New

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[15] Amalarius, 383. "*Similiter peccatum quod per corpus gessit, cupimus purgare in quarto die post tertium diem, id est septimo post mortem suam.* "We likewise desire to cleanse the sin performed through the body on the fourth day after the third day—that is on the seventh day after the death of the body." Trans. Eric Knibbs, 257.

[16] Ibid., 535. "*Habemus scriptum in quodam sacramentorio quod officia mortuorum agenda sint circa tertiam diem, et septimam, et tricesimam.*"; "*De his tribus terminis ponemus auctoritatem sanctarum scripturarum. Dicitur in libro Sapientiae de exeqiis: 'Fili, in mortuum produc lacrimas, et, quasi dira passus, incipe plorare , et secundum iudicium contege corpus illius, et non despicias sepulturam illius. Propter delaturam autem amare fer luctum illius una die, et consolare propter tristitiam, et fac luctum secundum meritum eius uno die, vel duobus propter detractionem.'*" "We have it written in a sacramentary that offices for the dead are to be celebrated on the third, seventh and thirtieth days."; "We will include the authority of the holy scriptures on these three periods. In the book of Wisdom it is said of funeral ceremonies: 'My son, shed tears over the dead and begin to lament as if you had suffered some great harm, and according to judgment cover his body and neglect not his burial. And to avoid accusation weep bitterly for a day, and then comfort yourself in your sadness, and make mourning for him according to his merit for a day or two to avoid detraction.'" Trans. Eric Knibbs, 605.

[17] Ibid., 536. "*Possumus per tertiam diem commendati defuncti tertiam diem resurrectionis Domini ad memoriam reducere…* "Through the third day of commemoration for the dead, we can call to mind the third day of the Lord's resurrection…" Trans. Eric Knibbs, 607.

[18] Ibid., 537.

Testament, directly related to Christ. Thus, Amalarius examined funerary ritual and assessed the deep connection the rituals have typologically to Christ's passion and resurrection, but also to the biblical precedent set for the physical care of the body to maintain a close connection to Christ and honor Him.

Although Amalarius does not quote it exactly, the discussion of care for the bodies of the dead by the living is very similar to the notion Augustine proposed, namely the "love for one's own body" as the catalyst for any funerary practice to provide care for the dead.[19] The main parallel is the focus on the bodies of the living, not just the dead. In Augustine's discussion, one of the primary concerns he identified was not merely sentiment for the deceased, but also a conscious awareness among the living of the care that they desired to be given to them upon their own deaths. This awareness fostered a subconscious tendency to use funerals and ceremonies to demonstrate the care they wish to be given to them. Another result of this awareness was the feeling that because they had provided proper care, they themselves were thus deserving of proper care.[20] Amalarius also demonstrates at least some focus on the body in the context of cleansing, or the "purging of sins." For Amalarius, the significance is based on precedent in the Old Testament, but it is also significant that the bodies of both the dead and the living must be cleansed, and sins purged. Care for the bodies of both the dead and the living must be done properly, and he especially pays attention to the cleansing of the living bodies. Perhaps the ceremonies of the Carolingians were not literal manifestations of those in the Old Testament, but Amalarius does see typological parallels between Carolingian practice and those established by the ancient Israelites, and later most especially by Christ. Thus, it was not just care for the dead

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[19] See Chapter 2, n. 16, supra.
[20] Rebillard, 85-88.

that was a concern, but care for the living. This care was given through participating in the

funerary ritual for the deceased.

Amalarius' discussion of communion of the deceased's soul with Christ in death, and

prayers that were offered for the dead to aid in salvation is not the only instance in which

Amalarius emphasizes the care for the dead. [21] Amalarius seeks to authorize further his claims

about care for the dead by quoting directly from Augustine about why people celebrate masses

for the dead.[22] Specifically, Amalarius focuses on the point where Augustine explains that the

mass is not necessarily good for everyone, but only for those who were deserving of such

ceremonies while living. However, because it is impossible to discern who is deserving of such

things while living, it is necessary to perform such rituals for all of the faithful, almost as a

precautionary measure.[23] For this reason, explained Amalarius, anniversary days are repeated for

the deceased, and just like the saints, they are brought back in memory for the utility of the

faithful.[24]

This interpretive method is also used in IV.41, when Amalarius tries to explain what the

care and attention given in funerals actually means. Again, this repeats the idea of the care in

Christian funerals as allegorized by Amalarius' exegesis of the New Testament. Amalarius

begins chapter 41 by writing about a letter from Bede that describes the funeral of the holy priest,

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[21] See note 15 and 16 above.

[22] Amalarius, 381; Augustine, *De cura,* 625-626, 638-639.

[23] Augustine, *De cura*, 658. "*Quamvis non pro quibus fiunt, omnibus prosint, sed eis tantum pro quibus, dum vivunt, comparator ut prosint. Sed quia non discernimus qui sint, oportet ea pro regeneratis omnibus facere, ut nullus eorum praetermittare ad quos haec beneficia possint et debeant pervenire…*" "Yet this does not benefit all for whom such things are done, but only those who prepared for such benefit while they were yet alive. But since we cannot determine who these people are, we ought to do them for all those who have been reborn, so that none we do not overlook anyone whom these benefits can and should reach." Trans. Glen Thompson.

[24] Amalarius of Metz, 385-386. "*Anniversaria dies ideo repetitur pro defunctis, quoniam nescimus qualiter eorum causa habeatur in alia vita. Sicut sanctorum anniversaria dies in eorum honore ad memoriam nobis reducitur super utilitate nostra , ita defunctorum, ad utilitatem illorum et nostram devotionem implendam, credendo eos aliquando venturos ad consortium sanctorum.*" "And so the anniversary day is celebrated on behalf of the dead, because we do not know how their case is progressing in the other life. Just as an anniversary day in honor of the saints commemorates them for our benefit, so should we observe the anniversary of the dead for their benefit and our devotion, through our belief that they will one day arrive in the communion of saints." Trans. Eric Knibbs, 265.

Cuthbert.[25] Amalarius pays special attention to Bede's mention of shoes, clothing, and dress, asking what else Bede wished "to say where he said, 'he was prepared with his shoes in the way of Christ'?"[26] In response, Amalarius asks why such care is taken to properly clothe the dead, since it cannot be much benefit for them if they do not feel the same necessity of clothing as the living. To explain the funerary process, using clothing as his source and example, he looks to the New Testament, noting to how Jesus was clothed and recognized in different episodes of the Gospel, from his life, death, and resurrection. He particularly refers to the resurrection, noting that Mary Magdalene, upon seeing the risen Christ, at first believed him to be a gardener.[27] He also discusses the clothing of angels in heaven, mentioning that they are clothed in white. Amalarius wonders if humans, upon their resurrection in the future, would be clothed or need to be clothed when raised up.[28]

What this does is reaffirm a belief in the resurrection of the body. This was a concern for the living when thinking about care for the dead.[29] The living thought about how care for the dead might help aid the deceased in the afterlife, and while this referred to prayers and offerings given for the soul of the deceased, it also included the care for the physical body, with the living wondering if such care was of any aid to the deceased. Again, to back up his claims, or at least to validate his questions, Amalarius quoted from Augustine's treatise, saying, "that the funeral rites we ought to make for our dead are rather for our well-being than for theirs, and if there were no

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[25] Amalarius, 531. "*Aperte dominus Beda declarant in exsequiis sancti Cuthberti quomodo vestiri oporteat sacerdotem defunctum…*" "Clearly, the lord Bede declared in the funeral of holy Cuthbert how the deceased priest should be clothed…"

[26] Amalarius, 531-532. "*Sed mirari coepi quid vellet dominus Beda dicere, ubi dixit, 'in obviam Christi calceamentis suis praeparatus'…*"

[27] Ibid., 532. "*Coepi cogitare utrum illis duobus qui eum in via conspexerunt apparuit vestitus, quando eum cogitabant peregrinum esse, etiam et Mariae Magdalenae, quando eum credidit hortulanum esse…*" "I began to wonder whether the clothes were apparent to those two women, who observed him in the streets, when they thought him to be a traveler; even also Mary Magdalene, when she believed him to be the gardener…"

[28] Ibid., 532-533. "*Similiter cogitavi quod angeli apparuissent vestiti. Unde legitur de illis secundum Joannem, 'Vidit angelos in albis sedentes.'*" "Similarly I considered that the angels appeared clothed. Whence it is read concerning them, according to John: "He sees the angels sitting dressed in white."

[29] Bynum, 1-29.

funerals, those who died in Christ are not injured, and that he who performs the funeral rites for them does so for love of Him who promises that the body will be resurrected."[30] Amalarius continues with this opinion, stating that "all of this—the care of the funerary ritual, the condition of the burial, the pomp of the ceremony—are more for the solace and comfort of man (that is, the living survivors) than the aid for the dead."[31]

While debates about care for the body were influenced by discussions of topics such as the resurrection of the body, the question of the location of burials was another significant debate of the Carolingian period. The identification of holy spaces and sacred ground where the bodies were to be placed, reflecting on earth the image of Heaven, became intricately wrapped in the discussions about proper care for the bodies of the dead. The primary focus of this debate was about how to identify physical spaces as holy, which would determine what practices were appropriate for certain spaces, particularly burials and prayer rituals for the construction of *memoria mortuorum.* For both Augustine and Amalarius, physical space and location is important for the process of *memoria mortuorum*.

The holiness of a space, how it is identified, and how the holy spaces are connected to a New Jerusalem is one of the primary points of the Carolingian debate.[32] Burial *ad sanctos,* since it involves ideas of holy space and the utility of such spaces, would seemingly have been part of the debate in discussions of funerary rituals related to this practice. It is sometimes difficult, though, to understand what Amalarius thought about burial *ad sanctos,* or the cult of saints. His reliance on Augustine to make his argument is not uncommon in such treatises of this period.

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[30] Amalarius, 533. "*…occurit mihi ut legerem Augustinum de Civitate Dei, et ad Paulinum de cura pro mortuis gerenda…tamen intelligi potest exsequias nos debere facere circa mortuos nostros potius pro nostra salute quam pro illorum, et si non fuerint exsequiae, ipsis, quo in Christo mortui sunt, nihil obesse, et quod qui eis facit exequias, ob amorem illius facit qui promisit corpora resurrectura.*"
[31] Ibid., 531-532. "*Proinde omnia ista, curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exsequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia quam subsidia mortuorum.*"
[32] Collins, 48-51.

But, based on his writing, Amalarius perhaps disagreed with Augustine about the significance of

space. Augustine argued in his treatise that burial *ad sanctos* did not serve a holy purpose. Space

nearest a saint's relics was not necessarily more holy than anywhere else for burial. But

Amalarius opined that some spaces were more sacred than others.[33] Yet his treatise also seems to

suggest that everything pertaining to the funerary ritual is for the emotional and mental comfort

of the living participants, not so much the spiritual and physical aid for the dead. Amalarius

explicitly recognized that places were designated for prayer, mass, and offerings for the dead.[34]

The funeral ritual is performed in such designated places and celebrated by the living to ensure

the preservation of the memory of the deceased. It was the actions and the physical scene of the

funerary ritual that evoked the processes of memory. By keeping the deceased's memory alive,

the living could be comforted knowing that they had properly cared the dead, and thus have

cared for themselves emotionally and mentally, even if on a subconscious level.

This idea is cited and explained not only by Amalarius. Claudius of Turin, like

Amalarius, discusses funerary ritual in his interpretations of the second book of Kings.[35] After he

became bishop of Turin in 817, Claudius refuted the enthusiasm of the faithful in Turin for the

cult of saints and relics, generally expressing opinions that in some ways represented iconoclasm

about the reverence of images and their use for *memoria mortuorum*.[36] Little is known about

Claudius's personal life, with the only evidence being some letters from his contemporaries. He

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[33] Collins, 48-51.

[34] Amalarius, 537. *"Sunt etiam loca in quibus generaliter pro omnibus defunctis omni tempore, excepto pentecostes et festis diebus, oratur in officio vespertinali et matutinali. Sunt et alia in quibus missa cotidie pro isdem caelebratur."* "There are places in which generally [prayers] for all the dead are spoken in the offices of vespers and matins in every season, except for Pentecost and festal days. There are also other times in which the daily mass is celebrated for them."

[35] Claudius of Turin, *XXX Quaestiones Super Libros Regum*, Patrilogia Latina, Vol. 104, Col.0692C.

[36] Pascal Boulhol, *Claude de Turin: un évêque iconoclaste dans l'occident carolingien. Etude suivie de l'édition du commentaire sur Josué* (Paris: Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes, 2002), 9-10, 22-23; Michael Gorman, "The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious," *Speculum*, 72, 2 (1997): 279-284; Matter, 51-52.

was a controversial figure, and some contemporaries accused him of being an Adoptionist, which he strategically denied through his exegetical compositions.[37] His commentary on Kings was one such effort to deny the accusations and win back some of the support he had lost when he began criticizing the adoration of images (particularly the cross) in 816 as bishop of Turin, and as result began the second phase of the Iconoclastic controversies.[38] This commentary was written around 824, and was addressed to Theodemirus, whose support Claudius wished to regain.[39] His commentary was written in a way that answered some questions posed by Theodemirus, based in correspondence that still survives.[40]

Claudius' discussion of funerary ritual is in the preface to the second book of his commentary on Kings, in which he explains David's desire to conduct a funeral for Saul and Jonathan in the Old Testament.[41] In the text, Claudius is careful about how he addresses issues related to such debates as the Iconoclastic controversy, but it is particularly interesting how he addressed the question of the necessity for funerals and burial. He relies mostly on the works of Augustine in his discussion of such subjects, with much of his work representing compilations of

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[37] Gorman, 282-284; Matter, 52-53.

[38] Micahel Gorman, "The Commentary on Kings of Claudius of Turin and its Two Printed Editions (Basel, 1531; Bologna, 1755)," in *Biblical Commentaries from the Early Middle Ages* (Sismel: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2002), 289-290, 306-307. The first phase of the Iconoclast controversy included the Council of Nicaea in 787, the compilation of the *Libri Carolini* by Theodulf of Orleans, and the Council of Frankfurt in 794. Gorman provides a thorough history of the manuscript of the exegesis on Kings, and comments extensively on its distribution, publication and preservation. He also provides a detailed summary of the letters and how information from those letters relates to the production of the commentary on Kings.

[39] Gorman, "The Commentary on Kings", 307-308.

[40] Gorman, "Commentary on Kings", 303-305, 309-310.

[41] Claudius, Col.0692B . *"Post mortem Saul venerunt viri Juda, et unxerunt David in Hebron, ut regnaret super domum Juda: et nuntiatum est David, quod viri Jabes Galaad sepelissent Saul; misit ergo David nuntios ad viros Jabes Galaad, dixitque ad eos: 'Benedicti vos a Domino, qui fecistis misericordiam hanc cum Domino viro Saul, et sepelistis eum, et nunc retribuet quidem vobis misericordiam, et veritatem.'"* "After the death of Saul, men came to Juda and anointed David in Hebron, so that he might reign upon the house of Juda: and it was announced to David that the men of Jabesh Gilead had buried Saul; therefore, David sent messages to the men of Jabesh Gilead , and said to them: Blessed are you by the Lord, who have made this mercy with the Lord for the man Saul, and buried him, and indeed now he will repay your mercy and trust."

Augustine's writings.[42] As a disciple, more or less, of Augustine, Claudius faced challenges in working with the Augustine's contradictory texts. Claudius, of course, knew they were inconsistent, but to favor his own views he often chose Augustine's earlier texts, including his treatise about care for the dead.[43] Claudius's mention of care for the dead is very brief. However, while Claudius's citation of Augustine in this instance might seem at first to be a comment made in passing, a closer look shows that the quote from Augustine's treatise *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* specifically addresses care for the dead and funerary ritual.[44] What is most important for Claudius, it seems, is the role of human sentiment in funerals.[45]

Claudius' overall reasoning for this is that ritual is performed simply because of human affection. To Claudius, this is why there is so much attention given to the funerals in the Bible. Like Augustine, Claudius emphasizes in this particular text that worry over the funeral on the part of living is simply because of the "love for one's own body," meaning that the living want to ensure that the same care is taken for their own body in their death. He does so by asking:

> "Why then are those who buried Saul and his son said to have done mercy, and for this are blessed by that pious king, unless because the hearts of the merciful men were truly affected; when those hearts grieve for the dead bodies of other men, by that affection through which no man ever hates his own flesh, what would they not wish to have done after their own death to their own bodies; and what do they wish to be shown to them, when they will be without feeling, that they take care to do for others now having no feeling while they themselves still have feeling?"[46]

The question that seems to be posed here, in the context of the book of Kings, is about why David felt so compelled to have a funeral and proper rites performed for someone who represented one of his enemies. Eric Rebillard emphasizes Augustine's notion that the burial of

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[42] Matter, 56.

[43] Matter, 56.

[44] Augustine, *De cura,* pg. 639. Cited in: Claudius, Col.0692C.

[45] Augustine, *De cura,* 638-639.

[46] Claudius, Col.0692C-D. *"Cur ergo isti, qui Saulem, et ejus filium sepelierunt, misericordiam fecisse dicuntur, et ob hoc a rege pio benedicuntur, nisi quia bene afficiuntur corda miserantium, quando ea dolent in mortuorum corporibus alienis, quae illo affectu, quo nemo unquam [Col.0692D] carnem suam odio habet, nolunt fieri post mortem suam corporibus suis, et quod sibi exhiberi volunt, quando sensuri non sunt, aliis non sentientibus curant exhibere dum sentiunt."* This is a direct quote from Augustine, *De cura,* ch. IX.11, pg. 639.

the body is done out of "love for the body," following a passage from Ephesians 5:29. For Augustine, Rebillard argues, the value of *cura mortuorum* is as much a belief in the resurrection as it is a sentiment of the human heart. Augustine was writing not about the uselessness of burial, but rather the importance for living Christians of burial. Both as a belief and sentiment, the desire for burial is part of the process of *memoria mortuorum*.[47] In agreement with this train of thought, Claudius is asserting that underneath the pomp of funeral, it is largely human sentiment that motivates such care for the dead. Claudius does not mention specific actions that are taken in funerary ritual, and he does not go into depth to try and explain them the way Amalarius did, but he does address the emotional aspect of *memoria mortuorum* that every participant in a funeral knows and understands.

Claudius' brief discussion also comments implicitly on space and physical location in relation to images and the meanings in images and ritual in particular physical contexts. However brief Claudius's mention of funerary ritual may be, it has some important implications. Claudius may not deny the theological importance of burial for Christians, but based on his inclusion of the particular case that Augustine made concerning the function of burial *ad sanctos,* he also tacitly exhibits sentiments against the emphasis placed on images and materialistic ritual, focusing more on David's sentiment for Saul's death and his desire for Saul's burial.[48] Although indirectly, this discussion refutes the supposed practicality of the cult of saints for the souls of the dead, with the implication that the symbolic function of the cult of saints is constructed by the living, and thus not by God necessarily, and instead is a function of human sentiment. In other words, Claudius does not argue against the cult of saints, but his efforts to understand David's desire for the funeral of his enemy emphasizes the emotional aspect of *memoria*

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[47] Rebillard, 85-88.
[48] Claudius, Col. 0692B-D.

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mortuorum more than anything else. He would perhaps have agreed that space, based on proximity to saints, was not inherently sacred, or at least he did not consider a discussion of its actual sacrality as important as the practicality of the space for memory. Images such as those in shrines do not make a space holy. The one thing that is clear from his text is that the funerary ritual is for the living to remember and care for their dead, focusing on the point that the devotion to such care and memory is sentimental.[49]

Such interpretations about sacred space fostered ritual practices that shaped a communion between the living and the dead. There was a community of the dead that was in some ways created through these rituals, as was collective remembrance of the deceased. But, what also resulted from these rituals was a special community among the living, comprising those who were responsible for the care and memory of the dead, and who would one day also become a part of the community of the dead.

One Carolingian author in particular, Florus of Lyons, discusses *memoria mortuorum* in a way that identifies funerary rituals as a communal practice among Christians. In addition to burials and prayer, Florus also discusses ritual practices such as the distribution of the Eucharist at funerals or communal prayers. The idea of funerary ritual as fostering a common Christian memory through communal practice is expounded more clearly in a treatise in which Florus integrates these ideas about *memoria mortuorum* and funerary ritual. Florus takes a different approach than that of Amalarius and Claudius in that he attempts to explain for whom, specifically, the sacrifices and rituals for the dead should be offered. He is quite restrictive, at least more explicitly than Amalarius or Claudius. To Florus, funerary rituals practiced by members of the Church should only be done for those who died in Christ. His reason for this is that Christ died for the faithful, so that they may be saved. Like Amalarius, Florus compares the

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[49] Claudius, Col.0692C.

care for the dead to the care of Christ at his death. If care for the dead emulates the care of

Christ, it should be reserved only for those who "died in Christ," meaning those who died with

the sacred rite of baptism.[50] The funerary rituals of the Church are the responsibility of the

Christian community, and therefore only those who are thought to be saved should be honored

with these rituals.

Not surprisingly, Florus cites Augustine as an authority concerning this idea.[51] Florus

implied that certain ritual practices, such as silent prayers and offerings for the dead, are part of a

common practice within the Christian community.[52] This emphasizes, again, the agency of the

living, as the rituals are performed by the community of living. It becomes the responsibility of

the living community, due to their devotion, to offer sacrifices and supplications after the

funeral.[53] Furthermore, Florus emphasizes the necessity of prayers and sacrifices for all of those

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[50] For the attribution of this work to Florus, see Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, *Florus von Lyon als Kirchenpolitiker und Publizist : Studien zur Persönlichkeit eines karolingischen ʼIntellektuellenʼ am Beispiel der Auseinandersetzung mit Amalarius (835-838) und des Prädestinationsstreits (851-855).* Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter, 8. (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 1999). Florus, *"Libellus De tenenda immobiliter Scripturae veritate et ss. Orthodoxorum partum auctoritate fideliter sectanda. Caput XIV. An Christus passus sit pro omnibus qui ante ejus adventum mortui sunt."* PL Vol. 121(Col. 1123A-1129C). Col.1129A-1129B. *"Ex his verbis sancti doctoris manifestissime docemur ut pro his tantum, qui baptismo Christi regenerati incorporantur Ecclesiae, quae est corpus Christi, corpus Christi debeat offerri. Et quisquis pro eis qui minime sunt regenerati, nec corpus Christi effecti, dicit illud sacrificium offerendum, censet eos esse corpus Christi, qui nunquam incorporati sunt membris Christi..."* Col. 1128D-1129A ... "From these most words of the holy teacher, we are taught most clearly that the body of Christ ought to be offered only for those who were reborn with the baptism of Christ and incorporated into the Church, which is the body of Christ. And whoever says that sacrifice ought to be offered for those who are least reborn, and have not yet been made the body of Christ, thinks that they are the body of Christ who were never incorporated as members of Christ [the Church]."

[51] Ibid., Col. 1128D-1129A. *"Pater Augustinus in libro de Cura pro mortuis gerenda, ita dicens: 'Non sunt praetermittendae supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum, quas faciendas pro omnibus in Christiana, et catholica societate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus eorum, sub generali commemoratione suscepit Ecclesia; ut quibus ad ista desunt parentes, aut filii, aut quicunque cognati vel amici, ab una eis exhibeatur pia matre communi.'"* "Father Augustine, in the book "Care to be taken for the Dead", observed thus, saying: "Supplications, which ought to be made for all in a Christian manner, should not be permitted for the spirits of the dead; the Church undertakes in general commemoration the deceased in Catholic society, as their names are silently mentioned; in this way commemoration is made in common by one devoted mother for those who lack such prayers, whether parents, sons, or any relations whatsoever, or friends."

[52] Ibid., *"Et post aliqua: 'Quae cum ita sint, inquit, non existimemus ad mortuos pro quibus curam gerimus pervenire, nisi quod pro eis sive altaris, sive orationum, sive eleemosynarum sacrificii solemniter supplicamus; quamvis non pro quibus fiunt omnibus prosint, sed eis tantum, pro quibus dum vivunt comparatur ut prosint."*

[53] Augustine, *De cura, "Si autem deessent istae supplicationes, quae fiunt recta fide ac pietate pro mortuis, puto quod nihil prodesset spiritibus eorum quamlibet in locis sanctis exanima corpora ponerentur."* "If, however, these

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who have died in Christ in the same terms that Augustine used. Augustine, for example, says that it is better to have an abundance of prayers and supplications than not enough.[54] For Florus, it is not just enough for one person to offer prayers and sacrifices, but as individuals are part of the one body of Christ (i.e. the Church), it is necessary for the community to take part in the practice together. This is the reason for funerary rituals and *memoria mortuorum*. Participation in funerary prayers and offerings is part of the *cura* for both the living and the dead because they are all connected to one another as a one, unified Christian community. Because Christ sacrificed his own body for all those who lived, died, and have yet to be born, every Christian that has been reborn through Christ deserves the rituals of communal prayer and offering.[55]

Among these Carolingian authors, *cura* for the living as the purpose of *memoria mortuorum* and funerary ritual is a common theme. This idea is established in the context of discussions about burial and debates about sacred space. For Amalarius and Claudius, there is a deep understanding of *memoria mortuorum* as *cura* for the living. And Florus, although his treatise does not necessarily reflect his opinions about the burial *ad sanctos* or sacred space, also sees funerary rituals as the responsibility of the living, following Augustine's logic concerning

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supplications which are made with true faith and devotion for the dead should be lacking, there would be no advantage to their souls, I think, however holy the places may be in which their lifeless bodies are buried." A possible time for rituals involving sacrifices and prayer would be anniversaries of the martyr's death, near which the dead are buried, or the patron saint of the community. It was most likely a ritual intended to care for all the dead, not just a single person or family.

[54] Florus, Col. 1129A-B. "*Sed quia non discernimus qui sint, oportet ea pro regeneratis omnibus facere: ut nullus eorum praetermittatur, ad quos haec beneficia possint et debeant pervenire. Melius enim supererunt ista eis, quibus nec obsunt nec prosunt, quam eis deerunt quibus prosunt.*" "But, even though we do not know who these are, we ought none the less to do such works for all Christians, so that no one of them may be neglected for whom these aids can and ought to come. It is better that there be a superabundance of aids for those to whom works are neither a hindrance nor a help, than that there be a lack for those who are thus aided."

[55] Ibid., Col. 1129A-B. "*Ex his igitur omnibus diligenter ac fideliter consideratis certissime et clarissime ostenditur pro omnibus fidelibus Christi, qui fuerunt, aut sunt, vel erunt, factam esse passionem Christi. Pro fidelibus Christi offerri sacrificium Christi; pro corpore Christi immolari corpus Christi.*" "From all this, you observe diligently and faithfully that it is certainly and clearly shown that the passion of Christ was made for all faithful in Christ, who were, are or will be. The sacrifice of Christ is offered for the faithful in Christ; the body of Christ is sacrificed for the body of Christ [the Church]."

care for the dead. But he also restricts these practices as intended for only the baptized Christian community.

In the cases of Amalarius of Metz and Claudius of Turin, who were actively involved in the Carolingian discussions of sacred space, each analyzed the use and importance of images, space, and location as a part of the memory process of *memoria morturorum.* Based on his incorporation of ideas from Augustine, Florus, too, was perhaps familiar with these same ideas involving space and location related to spaces of memory and locations of the saints. They present a similar understanding of memory process and structure, using it to explain funerary ritual and *memoria mortuorum.*

The opinions of these Carolingian writers do not always seem to concur, nor does their interpretation of Augustine's texts always align. Nevertheless, as contemporaries they are all familiar with and actively participating in the same intellectual environment, and they are thinking about similar ideas. They would perhaps agree, even with different opinions, that the funerary ritual is a materialistic and image-laden process that creates the mnemonic devices for remembering the dead, and this process and structure is built on the same theoretical foundations that had been in circulation for centuries.

These ideas, related mostly to care for the living, are based on Augustine's influence. But, it is also clear that the Carolingians were more focused than Augustine on how these ideas also related to care for the dead and the rituals performed for them. Amalarius, Claudius, and Florus looked at the funeral and how, as a ritual, it evokes a memory of the deceased for the living, created by the living. The living community uses the space, the physical location, to assist in the construction of memory and its subsequent preservation. They are very conscious of the fact that it is a responsibility of the living to do this, as Augustine also was. But rather than focus

mainly on care for the living, these Carolingian authors focus more on the relationship between the living and the dead, and they proposed that *memoria mortuorum* comprises all of these things: *cura* for the living and the dead (including burial rites, post-funeral ceremonies, use of space, etc.), and *memoria* for the dead that is also a common memory shared among the living (the result of *cura*). This is not to say that Augustine did not reflect on the purpose of funerary ritual as also *cura mortuorum*, but there is an apparent emphasis on the care for both the living and the dead that is more apparent by the Carolingian period. Using Augustine gave their work a greater authority, but as they incorporated his interpretations in their own environment, they made their own arguments about *memoria mortuorum*, revealing a more complex concept and practice.

The following chapter examines an example of *memoria mortuorum* in the funeral oration, or dedication.[56] The act of writing the funeral dedication and its transmission is a form of funerary ritual that contains the same theoretical structures that Augustine, Amalarius of Metz, Claudius of Turin and Florus outline, and that had been outlined in the *Ad Herennium*. The funeral dedication as a process of *memoria mortuorum* has unique implications for the construction and transmission of an individual and a common memory and identity, and it implies a special relationship between the past and the Carolingian present that is evidenced through the use of patristic funeral orations and classical poetry. Furthermore, the funeral dedication, as do other funerary rituals, has the potential to unite the community, and foster a special relationship between both the communities of the living and the dead.

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[56] I have decided to refer to the funeral speeches as dedications, because "oration" or "speech" has the implication that these were only spoken. I contend that whether they were spoken, read, heard, or simply written in private, it serves the same purpose for *memoria mortuorum.*

Chapter Five: Writing Memory-Paschasius Radbertus

The connection between writing and memory allows exploration of *memoria mortuorum* and its representation in written form. Funerary dedications incorporate the theory and processes of *memoria mortuorum* explained in the introductory chapter of this thesis. Paschasius Radbertus, a monk of Corbie (professed around 812) wrote a biography of one of his heroes, Adalhard, who was once an abbot of Corbie (until about 826 or 827).[1] Paschasius' text begins with a funerary dedication that shows how he used writing to construct and transmit a particular memory of Adalhard. Furthermore, this text gives clues as to how the use of the funerary dedication may have functioned in the construction of a common memory while commemorating the dead.

In this biography, Paschasius clearly expresses his grief and makes his suffering manifest in his vivid prose. In his preface, rather than speaking merely to the readers of this biography, he instead steers his conversation directly to Adalhard, calling out his grief and sadness. All the while, he constantly praises his hero's excellent virtues, which he deems worthy of permanent memory.[2] It is for this reason, as explained by Paschasius, that he decided to write his biography.[3] In Paschasius' text, particularly his preface, he frequently cites not only patristic

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[1] Alan Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's Cousins: Contemporary Lives of Adalard and Wala* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1967), 1-2; Mayke DeJong, "Paschasius Radbertus and Pseudo-Isidore: The Evidence of the *Epitaphium Arsenii"* in *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble,* ed. Valerie L. Garver and Owen M. Phelan (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), pg. 158-159; David Ganz, *Corbie and the Carolingian Renaissance* (Paris: Jan Thorbecke Verlag GmbH & Co., 1990), 103-104; Steven A. Stofferahn, "A New Majesty: Paschasius Radbertus, Exile, and the Master's Honor" in *Medieval Monks and Their World: Ideas and Realities-Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan,* ed. David Blanks, Michael Frassetto and Amy Livingstone (Lieden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 64-65, 68.
[2] Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita sancti Adalhardi* (Migne PL 120, Col.1507-1556C).
[3] Ibid., Col. 1509A-1509B. *Quapropter officiosissimum est, sicut dixi, sanctos imitari viros, videlicet praefatum Ambrosium, et beatum Hieronymum, reliquosque sacros imitabiles viros, qui suis epitaphia charis facundissime condiderunt. Et si non assequi eorum jura facundiae queo, materiam tamen loquendi scias non deesse; quia eum recolere scribendo cupio virum, quem sanctum et admirabilem universus pene praedicat orbis; quem quia vidimus, et usi familiaritatis ejus amore, licet indigni sumus, omnino tacere, quamvis indocti nequimus; ut dum eum oculis videre negamur, saltem mentis officio prosequi mereamur.* "It is, therefore, most fitting, as I said, to imitate holy men, namely the aforementioned Ambrose, and blessed Jerome, and other imitable holy men, who most eloquently

texts but also classical poets.[4] His incorporation of past commemorative works and classical

poetry reveals much about his knowledge and attitudes toward these texts, and he also explicates

part of his purpose for writing by doing this. Paschasius appears to have been intimately familiar

with the works of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, to name just a few, but he was also familiar

with the poetry of Fortunatus.[5] His references to "other imitable holy men," after Ambrose and

Jerome, could refer to several past authors. Although not mentioned by name, Augustine

particularly comes to mind because of Paschasius' discussions of memory. Augustine's

Confessions, along with the works of Ambrose and Jerome, were available in the monastery of

Corbie.[6] Paschasius uses poetry as a way to shape the literary style of his commemoration,

giving his work an elevated presentation that is potentially worthy of the honor of the patristic

and classical authors who had written in the past. Paschasius used poetry to create a

commemorative piece that serves as what David Ganz calls the revival of the "genre of

consolation."[7] Rather than merely expressing Adalhard's virtues in prose, poetry helps

Paschasius frame his grief and illuminate what was memorable about Adalhard.

Paschasius' commemoration of Adalhard represents a form of memory that uses

narrative, but exhibits some of the basic principles of memory theory. This text is not merely

about Adalhard the man, but about his virtue and character. In this process of commemoration

the subject loses some of his individuality. In one way, he becomes part of the community of

readers, listeners, and writer, and in another way he becomes a Christian example for all to

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put together their epitaphs. And if I do not adequately follow the height of their eloquence, you nevertheless know the material for such speech is not lacking; by writing I seek to recall him whom the whole world proclaims as holy and admirable. We have seen him and enjoyed the love of his intimate acquaintance. So, although we are unworthy and unlearned, we cannot be entirely silent. While we no longer see him with our eyes, we should at least attend him with the service of our mind." Cabaniss, 26.

[4] Ibid., 20-21.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ganz, pg. 23-24.

[7] Ibid., pg. 23, 26.

follow (sort of a "father among fathers"). It is both a personal and a communal memory that Paschasius wanted to establish. On one hand, it is personal in the sense that Paschasius wished to enshrine Adalhard in his own mind and permanent memory, in his "palace of memories." On the other hand, his work establishes the memory of Adalhard in communal memory by displaying it as a memorial in his written narrative and in the letters of the gravestone.[8]

Two aspects of Paschasius' text have attracted scholarly attention, although they have not been reconciled. Most scholars tend to focus on the political implications of Paschasius' commemoration, considering the fact that he wrote in Corbie, which was a royal monastery, and that his subject, Adalhard, was deeply involved in some of the political debates of the royal family, notably concerning the subsequent marriage of Charlemagne after his repudiation of his Lombard wife, ending his alliance with king Desiderius.[9] Paschasius' biography of Adalhard in general is situated in a delicate web of debates and political tensions. Another common line of investigation in current scholarship places texts like Paschasius' biography of Adalhard within the larger context of contemporary Carolingian historical writing, in general as part of a larger investigation of literacy in the Carolingian world.[10] In other words, scholars have been especially interested in the use of writing by the Carolingians to establish a political and cultural past.

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[8] Paschasius, Col. 1509C-1509D. *"Qua pietate, licet mentis ingenio segnis, tui recordor, virorum charissime Adalharde pater, senectutis decus, species sanctitatis, forma virtutum; in tantum, inquam, tui recordor, amoris vinculo, ut vix admodum me valeam inter utraque temperare negotia… Unde, mi votorum charissime, tui superspargo more vulgi sepulcri jura floribus, ornare cupiens funus litterarum officiis: quatenus tuarum aromata virtutum non tumulo teneantur clausa, sed longe lateque in exemplum futuris fragrent temporibus."* With this piety, therefore, albeit in a sluggish mind, I recall you, O father Adalard, most beloved of men, adornment of old age, image of holiness, model of virtues. With the bonds of love, I recall you. Scarcely can I restrain myself between both emotions…So, my dearest of ancients, after the manner of the multitude, I bestrew your sepulcher with flowers. But I also seek to adorn the grave with letters, so that the odor of your virtues may not be shut up in a tomb, but may be fragrant far and wide for future times." Cabaniss, 26-27.

[9] Ganz, 22-24. This incident caused Adalhard to flee the court, and it took a few years for the cousins to reconcile. This also makes some of the chronological details of Adalhard's early stay at Corbie unclear.

[10] Gerd Althoff, "The Variability of Rituals in the Middle Ages" in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography,* ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); In same volume: Phillipe Buc, "Text and Ritual in Ninth-Century Political Culture: Rome, 864" in *Medieval Concepts of the Past,* 123-138; John Mitchell, "Literacy Displayed: the use of inscriptions at the

These approaches, however, ignore the significance of Paschasius' work as a commemorative text to construct a memory of the deceased individual, Adalhard, following the cultural and religious practices of *memoria mortuorum*. There is an aspect of Paschasius' writing style that suggests an association with "imaginative memory." Paschasius was actively reflecting on the past life of Adalhard, including his virtue and character, and his commemoration of Adalhard enabled him to construct an image of that past in writing. Whether true or false, the details of the commemoration are what Paschasius thought to be true and worthy of writing down, and in the process of doing so he created a memory of his dead patron.[11]

It is not always clear if the person for whom the commemoration is written maintains his or her individuality, or whether the written narrative perhaps functioned in the same or similar ways as other poetry in the Carolingian world as elegant, civilized, coded statements for the elite.[12] Marc Mastrangelo has commented on individuality in late antique poetry, arguing that there is an individualist view of the "self" which is conceived as inner space (i.e. within the soul), and that this inward self is essential for a communion and bond with God. This is an idea

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monastery of San Vincenzo al Voltuerno in the early ninth century" in *Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe,* ed. Rosamond McKitterick (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 189-193.

[11] For these concepts, cf.: Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995). Remensnyder, using the phrase "imaginative memory," argues against the notion of characterizing the monastic foundation legends as mere fiction. She argues, instead, that even with omissions, additions, and inevitable exaggerations, what was written in the narrative was believed to be true at least by the author, if by no one else. The author considered it important to represent the history and identity of the monastery, and therefore contributed to the actual character and nature of the monastery. See also: Bernd Schneidmuller, "Constructing the Past by Means of the Present: Historiographical Foundations of Medieval Institutions, Dynasties, Peoples, and Communities" in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography,* eds. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 168-192. Schneidmuller's argument is in the context of central medieval French historiography, but like Remensnyder, he sees a longing for continuity and harmonization of dynastic history as a characteristic of narratives. The practice of staging history by means of the present is as much a part of the medieval reality as the diplomatic sources, with no distinctions between fiction and reality that are claimed in the modern world.

[12] Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), x-xi, 39-42.

also shared by Augustine in his work on "Confessions", which many Carolingian authors, including Paschasius, would have known.[13]

There is, perhaps, a process of viewing the self as becoming less individualized in rituals pertaining to *memoria mortuorum.* For instance, the subject of the funeral commemoration becomes a part of the self with the writer and the reader (though in different ways). There are also other ways in which the identity of the deceased individual is simultaneously lost in narrative, which includes the funeral oration. The narrative in Paschasius' text relates to a construction of a "salvation history"; Paschasius uses poetry and panegyric to produce a figure for emulation.[14] The deceased is placed outside of the text, noticeable to all though generally unknown on a personal level to the audience. The actual text of the panegyric, as Thomas Hagg and Philip Rousseau assert, mediates between admirers and heroes, whether living or dead. The speaker and/or writer points to the subject in his address to the audience, thus making a connection between the two. What this does, in the author's efforts to create a common memory, is to foster an immediate and shared awareness among the author and his audience of the memory, established by the presence of the subject.[15] Ancient forms of narrative and poetry offered many examples, tropes, and techniques for the construction of images relating to a

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[13] Marc Mastrangelo, *The Roman Self in Late Antiquity: Prudentius and the Poetics of the Soul* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), see pg. 1-3, 44, 46. Mastrangelo presents an interesting theoretical approach by examining how a Roman Christian identity itself becomes tied to the idea of narrative in general, and the recontextualization of Roman history in late antiquity, by authors such as Prudentius who use Roman poetry and narrative to do this, contributes to this idea of a Roman Christian imperialism, and thus a Roman Christian identity.
[14] Mastrangelo, pg. 1-4, 44. The "salvation history," as Mastrangelo calls it, refers to the immortality achieved through the poetic expression of the Christian faith. The poet establishes a connection between himself and his audience, and the message in his work is a salvific one. He articulates a vision of the Christian empire, and uses poetry as his source of knowledge for the means of salvation. This becomes part of a newer Christian genre.
[15] Thomas Hagg and Philip Rousseau, ed. *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000), 2, 14.

Christian memory. Using panegyric, especially those written about the saints to construct models of virtue, made praise for the dead central to such models.[16]

According to Peter Godman, the survival and creative refashioning of the classical tradition of poetry in the early Middle Ages, and the adaptations and invention of poetic form in response to political actuality are two themes in the use of poetry and panegyric in the Carolingian period.[17] In the case of panegyric, there is a "calculated reflection on the art of praise," with the act of praising concurrently setting forth an example for emulation, therefore giving the primary focus to the individual rather than the historical events.[18] The writer of the biography or panegyric lets loose imagination, in order to paint a vivid picture of the hero.[19] Writing a commemorative text, including a funerary oration, can be intended to create either a history or a common memory from the particular point of view of the author, who uses the image of the hero in the text to present a moral exemplar to the audience. Paschasius was consciously writing his text as a commemoration, drawing upon models of the funerary commemorations of patristic and classical poetry and panegyric.[20] By comparing a Carolingian example with older ones, one can see the development of a commemorative genre in Carolingian poetry and biography.

This connection to the legacy of writers such as Ambrose and Fortunatus is perhaps even more significant than the political context of the work. A comparison between Paschasius' commemoration and earlier commemorations reveals some interesting similarities, suggesting also some of the features of Paschasius' knowledge and education. It is clear to some extent in

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[16] Hagg and Rousseau, pg. 24.
[17] Godman, pg. xi.
[18] Hagg and Rousseau, pg. 7.
[19] Hagg and Rousseau, pg. 4. See also Remensnyder's book on the topic of "imaginative memory" (cf pg. 65, n. 165).
[20] Ganz, 24, 44-45, 50-51. Examples included Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Fortunatus, Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, Isidore, Bede and Alcuin.

Paschasius' text that he knew about the theoretical implications of *memoria*, particularly

memoria mortuorum, and that he was familiar with Augustinian ideas of the "palace of

memories" and the purpose of memorials, in writing and imagery.

　　Theoretically, Paschasius Radbertus' act of writing in honor of his patron, Adalhard, was

part of the process of forming memory. Writing, in itself, is description for memory, in that all

things that are remembered, whether they are events, things, persons, places, etc., are only

remembered because they are theoretically "written" within the mind. The *Rhetorica ad*

Herennium, for example, discusses this at length in Book 3.[21] Inscriptions on wax tablets, with

the letters acting as the images that are stored in the mind, are a central component of memory

theory discussed in the *Rhetorica*, with the individual person, the human actor in this process,

being the primary creator and archive for these images.[22] Furthermore, Augustine discusses the

act of writing in his metaphorical Palace of Memories, which he describes as a library containing

endless metaphorical scrolls and inscriptions known to his memory, ready for recall at any

time.[23] Paschasius himself refers to the significance of letters in his description of the grave,

when he expresses his desire to place letters on the grave that can be read, and experienced, by

any who pass by.[24]

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[21] Cicero, *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*. With an English translation by Harry Caplan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 205-225, especially 205 and 207: "The artificial memory includes backgrounds and images…the backgrounds are very much like wax tablets or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like the script, and the delivery is like the reading."

[22] Nora, 20-21; Halbwachs, 33 for his discussion of archives and memory theory. See, also, Mastrangelo, 52 for the use of late antique inscriptions and poetry to "research" for contemporaries.

[23] Augustine, *Confessions,* 123. "*Transibo ergo et istam naturae meae, gradibus ascendens ad eum qui fecit me, et venio in campos et lata praetorian memoriae, ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum de cuiuscemodi rebus sensis invectarum.*" The "scrolls and inscriptions" refer to the nature of memories as they are stored in the mind. They are images through inscriptions that can be read.

[24] Paschasius, Col.1509D-1510A: "*Unde, mi votorum charissime, tui superspargo more vulgi sepulcri jura floribus, ornare cupiens funus litterarum officiis: quatenus tuarum aromata virtutum non tumulo teneantur clausa, sed longe lateque in exemplum futuris fragrent temporibus. Neque enim more quorumdam censeo pueros hinc inde super tumulum constituere, qui tuas fingendo laudes debeant decantare, ut instar lugubrium carminum ad fletus et gemitum audientium pectora concitent; sed veritatis jura mihimet torpentis otio ne abdicentur, litterarum fidei commendabo, atque ita tuo refrigeratus alloquio, tui per saecula memorabor; neque a meo poteris evelli animo, nisi*

The theme of 'writing memory' appears more than once throughout Paschasius' preface. From Ambrose's *De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio*, Paschasius quotes: "Although what you grieve to write may increase sorrow, yet we are greatly refreshed by memory of him whom we have lost and whom we lament. While we write and direct our mind toward him and fix our attention on him, he seems to us to live again in speech."[25] Building upon this idea, Paschasius continues: "…and to make his way gently but completely into the marrow of our mind."[26] To Paschasius, Adalhard was another great image that was kept in the burrows of the mind. Just as saints before were kept alive through images, relics, prayers, and narratives, Adalhard himself was to be memorialized in the words from the pen of Paschasius. Writing, with its images in the form of letters, like the buildings and architectures of memory sites, fixes the memory of the deceased within the mind of the writer, as well as the reader. In practice, the narrative becomes a kind of literary memorial.

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nomen tuum laudesque depromam." "So, my dearest of ancients, after the manner of the multitude, I bestrew your sepulcher with flowers. But I also seek to adorn the grave with letters, so that the odor of your virtues may not be shut up in a tomb, but may be fragrant far and wide for future times. Unlike certain ones, I do not think that children, drawn from here and there, should be assembled at your tomb to feign your praises in song and by lugubrious notes to incite the hearts of listeners to weepeing and moaning. But not to abdicate the rights of truth by sloth and torpor, I will entrust them to faithful letters, and thus refreshed by your encouragement, I will remember you through the ages. You will never be away from my mind if I begin to spell out your name and praises." Cabaniss, 27.

[25] Ambrose, "*De obitu Valentiniani*", *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum,* Vol. 73, ed. Otto Faller (Tempsky, 1962), pg.329. "*Etsi incrementum doloris sit, id quod doleas, scribere; quoniam tamen plerumque in eius, quem amissum dolemus, commemoratione requiescimus; eo quod in scribendo dum in eum mentem dirigimus, intentionemque defigimus, videtur nobis in sermone reviviscere."* This is in a collection of Ambrose's sermons, this one a funeral oration on the death and funeral of Valentinian. There is another oration by Ambrose, dedicated to Theodosius, and it is possible that Paschasius knew of this one as well, but this is only speculation. Both funerary orations are rich in scriptural citations, and both are thought to have influenced political and social directions to the successors of these emperors (see, Johannes Quasten, *Patrology, Volume IV: The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicea to the Council of Calcedon* (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, Inc., 1988), 174-175; Paschasius Radbertus, Col. 1507C, *Quoniam, sicut beatus Ambrosius in opere super Valentinianum dixit: «Etsi incrementum doloris sit id quod doleas scribere, tamen plerumque in ejus, quem amissum dolemus, commemoratione requiescimus; et dum scribendo mentem in eum dirigimus, intentionemque defigimus, videtur nobis in sermone reviviscere, et totus medullam mentis nostrae influere.»* . "However, just as the blessed Ambrose in his work on Valentinian said: "And if that which you grieve to write increases grief, still by writing we direct our mind toward him and we fix our attention on him, so that he seems to us to revive in speech, and he gently flows into the marrow of our mind."

[26] Ibid.

Furthermore, Paschasius sees the act of writing Adalhard's biography as a pious duty to be fulfilled, and something that should be done for the benefit of future generations so that others may know of Adalhard's virtues[27] : "While we no longer see him with our eyes, we should at least attend him with the service of our mind."[28] Paschasius saw it as a responsibility for the living to keep consciously the memory of the deceased in mind, a process engrained in acts of care for the dead. The care for the dead was a concern in the minds of contemporaries, and burial practices were at times in question in both patristic and Carolingian debates.[29] There is a sense that remembering through prayer offers some aid to the deceased, and in this way memory lives through commemorative rituals, ranging from the funeral and burial to the funeral oration and written dedication.

Rather than limiting the memory to that of the individual man, Paschasius situates Adalhard within a group of "fathers" who act as guides to virtue for the living. Paschasius gives a rather general reference to this group instead of focusing strictly on Adalhard's role as a "father," suggesting that this is an exclusive group of individuals who serve as moral examples; this grouping diminishes Adalhard's individuality, as he is placed within a symbolic group. In one aspect, Adalhard is so unique that he deserves an individual commemoration. But in another, he has already lost some of his individuality, residing after his death among other "fathers" who apparently served as similar examples.

This is not the only reference that exhibits stylization in the rhetoric regarding Adalhard's individual status after death; the second is rather more subtle. In a section of the commemoration

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[27] Paschasius Radbertus, Col. 1507D, *Caeterum posteritatis negotium est ut eorum exempla virtutum litteris commendemus, quatenus et nostrum charitatis debitum proximis persolvamus, et Patrum exempla, quos imitari debeant, filiis non negemus.*

[28] Paschasius Radbertus, Col. 1509A-1509B, "*...ut dum eum oculis videre negamur, saltem mentis officio prosequi mereamur.*" Cabaniss, 25-26.

[29] See chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis for a full discussion of these debates and interpretations of *memoria mortuorum* and the use of funerary rituals.

in which Paschasius declares his duty to the tomb of Adalhard, Paschasius describes how he shall

"adorn (Adalhard's) sepulcher with flowers," and it is in this section that his stylistic flair can

clearly be detected. Again featuring the theme of writing, Paschasius says that he "also seeks to

adorn the grave with letters, so that the odor of your (Adalhard's) virtues may not be shut up in a

tomb, but may be fragrant far and wide for future times…I will entrust them (rights of truth) to

faithful letters, and thus refreshed by your encouragement, I will remember you through the ages.

You will never be away from my mind if I begin to spell out your name and praises."[30] Part of

Paschasius' intended purpose for writing is, in a sense, to enshrine Adalhard in permanent

memory, and he does so through careful rhetorical references that illustrate his methods.[31]

The message that Paschasius intended to convey to posterity was a message of praise for

virtue in overcoming grief, and Adalhard was the prime example of a virtuous man deserving

praise. The virtuous message was also a reason for Paschasius to write, despite his grief. Near the

end of his preface, Paschasius references the poetry of Fortunatus, expressing his grief thus:

> As a loving lamb driven from the breast of its mother
> Wanders sorrowful and anxious in grassy fields:
> Now it flees to the plains, beating the air with its bleatings;
> Now it returns to the folds. Without the mother nothing is pleasant.[32]

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[30] Paschasius Radbertus, Col. 1509D-1510A, *Unde, mi votorum charissime, tui superspargo more vulgi sepulcri jura floribus, ornare cupiens funus litterarum officiis: quatenus tuarum aromata virtutum non tumulo teneantur clausa, sed longe lateque in exemplum futuris fragrent temporibus. Neque enim more quorumdam censeo pueros hinc inde super tumulum constituere, qui tuas fingendo laudes debeant decantare, ut instar lugubrium carminum ad fletus et gemitum audientium pectora concitent; sed veritatis jura mihimet torpentis otio ne abdicentur, litterarum fidei commendabo, atque ita tuo refrigeratus alloquio, tui per saecula memorabor; neque a meo poteris evelli animo, nisi nomen tuum laudesque depromam.* Cabaniss, 26-27.

[31] Mastrangelo, pg. 52. Mastrangelo analyzes the phrase "hidden letters" in Prudentius' narrative, claiming that such a phrase contributes to a historiographical character of the text and a relation to archival research. It is interesting to consider the connection between this kind of archival attribution to the modern processes of memory. This raises the question of various processes of memory in the early medieval period, particularly pertaining to memory of the dead and the use of narrative.

[32] Venantius Fortunatus, Appendix, I, vii, 3-6 (Migne PL, 88, Col. 593C), cited in Cabaniss, pg. 28 and 210. *"Et ut verbis Fortunati utar: Qualiter agnus amans genitricis ab ubere pulsus, Tristis et herbosis anxius errat agris: Nunc fugit ad campos, feriens balatibus auras; Nunc redit ad caulas, nec sine matre placent."*

Just after this poem, Paschasius reassures Adalhard, and the readers, that he intends to overcome this grief for the sake of announcing Adalhard's virtues. Furthermore, he explains that it is all for the better, since his hero is no longer suffering the troubles of this world, but has experienced what Paschasius refers to as "the wedding of the Lamb." Congratulatory praise, instead of simply grieving, for the dead was important for *memoria mortuorum*. Going back to Paschasius' reference to Ambrose, grieving without praise was considered almost as forbidden in commemorating the dead. This is because, as Paschasius says, grieving gives the impression that one finds no meaning in life, that one is born and dies with no purpose. Grieving in this way implies that there is no reunion with God in Heaven after death, for those who are just. Emphasizing the blessings given to the dead reminds the living of the joys to be had in eternal life in Heaven for those who are just.[33] Paschasius also notes this in Chapter 5, this time referencing the apostle Paul's prohibition of weeping, which alone is a futile act.[34]

Ambrose's funeral speech on the death of Valentinian exhibits similarities to Paschasius' explanation of his sadness. Paschasius' reference to the loss of Adalhard, to his unfulfilled wish

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[33] Paschasius, Col. 1507D-1509A: *"Novimus igitur eos non periisse post mortem, sed beatius immutatos, ut moriendo ad immortalia summae felicitatis gaudia pervenirent.Idcirco non omnino penitus oblitterandi sunt a memoria, praesertim tales, quorum non desiisse hinc mortis evulsio fuit, sed in melius commutasse. Neque enim fatendum est, juxta quorumdam perfidorum insaniam, quod Scriptura inquit: Exiguum et cum taedio est tempus vitae nostrae, nec est refrigerium in fine hominis, et non est qui agnitus sit regressus ab inferis (**Sap. II, 1**). Neque hoc dicendum, quod ex nihilo nati sumus, et post haec futuri sumus quasi non fuerimus. Verum igitur est et incunctanter profitendum, Christum resurrexisse a mortuis, et mortem moriendo vicisse, ut similiter omnes, qui in Christo moriuntur, non jam mortui, imo in Christo vivi atque beati inveniantur. Deus enim vivorum est (**Marc. XII; Luc. XX**), et non morientium, eo quod in illo qui vivit, omnes qui in ipso sunt, vivi inveniuntur. Unde et Scriptura eos dormientes appellare consuevit."* "We know, therefore, that they have not perished after death, but in dying have been transformed in blessedness and came through to joyous immortality of highest happiness. For that reason, they are not at all inwardly forgotten from memory, especially such examples, whose removal by death was not a cessation, but a commute to a better place. And it is not to be asserted, as according to the madness of certain faithless one, that Scripture says: "The time of our life is petty and loathsome, nor is there refreshment at the end of a man, and there is no one known to have returned from the dead." Nor should this be said, that out of nothing we are born, and that after this we will be as if were nothing. Truly, therefore, it is declared that Christ rose from death, and in dying had conquered death, so that similarly all, who died in Christ, are not now dead, but live in Christ and are found blessed. For God is of the living, and not of the dead, because those who are in Him are found alive in Him who lives. Whence also Scripture is accustomed to call them 'sleeping' (say they are sleeping, not dead)." Cabaniss, 25-26.

[34] Paschasius, Col.1510C: *"… prohibente, ut dixi, Apostolo, multum flere volens non audio…"* "Since [as I said] the Apostle forbids, I dare not weep much." Cabaniss, 28.

that he had had more time with him, and to his fight with his grief, are very similar to what

Ambrose wrote: "What shall I lament first? What shall I first deplore with bitter complaint? The

days of our promises have been turned into our tears, for indeed Valentinian came to us, but not

as was hoped."[35] Further on, Ambrose says: "O Lord, since no one can grant to another more

than what he desires for himself, do not separate me after death from those whom in this life I

have held most dear."[36] All throughout the rest of the text, however, Ambrose balances this

expression of grief and sadness with praises about Valentinian's leadership, loyalty, and courage-

-virtues that are fit for an emperor.[37] Paschasius expresses the same ideas in the first chapter of

his preface (the chapter that contains the quote from Ambrose), which also balances his grief

with praises. The poem from Fortunatus used in conjunction with the themes from Ambrose's

oration provided a literary model for Paschasius to successfully balance grief and praise.

Praise was an important part of grieving, the significance of which should not be

underestimated since it is an integral theme in these texts. Grieving alone was not useful for

commemorating the dead. It was praise that memorialized the life of the deceased; pure grief did

not do this. Alcuin, who was an eighth-century scholar in Charlemagne's court, wrote about this

more than once in his letters comforting correspondents for the loss of friends. Very rarely were

Alcuin's references to the dead about sadness and grief. Instead his writing was comforting: he

urged joyful praise for the fact that the deceased were now celebrating in Heaven, not suffering

and succumbing to evil in the earthly world. In his letter announcing the death of the doctor

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[35] Ambrose, *De obitu Valentiniani,* 329-330. "*Quid igitur primum defleam? Quid primum amara conquestione deplorem? Conversi sunt dies nobis votorum nostrorum in lacrymas; siquidem Valentinianus nobis, sed non talis qualis sperabatur, advenit.*"

[36] Ambrose, 367. "*Domine, quia nemo habet, quod alii plus deferat, quam quod sibi optat; non me ab illis post mortem separes, quos in hac vita charissimos sensi.*"

[37] Ambrose does not refer to many specific historical events. Mainly, he focuses on Valentinian's brave actions in battle and his loyalty to his people in his efforts to ward off the "barbarians." In another oration, Ambrose's "Oration for Theodosius", he does a similar thing, focusing on the virtues of the emperor, but also emphasizing the inheritance of these virtues for the prince, Theodosius' son. See: Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii oratio, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum,* vol. 73, ed. Otto Faller (Tempsky: 1962), 371-401.

Basilius, Alcuin ends by praising his devoted service, claiming it is this part of Basilius'

character that allowed him to go and live with Christ in Heaven.[38] Basilius, Alcuin believed,

lived on in eternity, and in memory, and his death was thus a rather joyful occasion even though

he was lost to the world.

Also, in a letter addressed to Charlemagne, Alcuin comforts Charlemagne as he grieves

for a lost friend, who apparently died at a young age.[39] When faced with the difficult question of

why someone who so virtuous, just, and pious could die so young, Alcuin asserts that it was

because he was taken away from earthly troubles and evils that could potentially corrupt him.

Therefore, his loss should not be grieved, but instead be congratulated and praised by the

living.[40] Thus, in nearly all commemorative works written for the dead, the praise of the life of

the deceased was integral for the purpose of grieving; praise also inspired those mourning to

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[38] Alcuin, Letter 45, in MGH, Epistolae, Vol IV: Epistolae Karolini Aevi II, 90-91. "*Tu vero, fideliter et veraciter in illius permanens caritate, spem habeas in illius bonitate et magnam in eius servitio devotionem; ut ille te honorificet in eternum et, nostri memor per te tuosque amicos, valeas in eternum.*" "But you, faithfully and veraciously living in his love, may you have hope in his goodness and greatness in his devoted service; so that he may honor you in eternity and, in our memory through you and your friends, may you be well in eternity."

[39] Alcuin, Letter 198, in MGH, 326-329. "*Vivit vero pater in filio, magister in discipulo, amicus in amico, si morum dignitas et sapientiae nobilitas permanet in posteris. Quid, si in miseriam humanae conditionis animae filiius moritur ante patrem in flore iuventutis? Tollitur iustus, ne militia inmutetur cor eius. Iudicia Dei abyssus sunt multa. Nil sine causa erit in mundo; nec unus passer cadat in laqueum aucupis sine patre nostro, qui in caelis est; non capillus de capite perit. Non enim nobis luctum incutere debet, cum quislibet carus noster a peregrinatione pergit ad patriam, a morientibus ad veventes, ab exilio ad regnum. Consolatio nostra fiant verba veritatis: 'Qui credit in me, si mortuus fuerit, vivet; et omnis qui vivit, et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum.' Proinde sciamus caros nostros in operibus caritatis morientes Deo vivere et saeculo mori. Qui operibus misericordiae cotidie Christo cum apostolo dicunt: 'Cupio dissolve et esse cum Christo'. Felicius vadat qui amicos relinquit superstites sibi, quam qui superstes erit amicis.*" "But the father lives in the son, the master in his disciple, a friend in a friend, if dignity and noble wisdom remain in the latter. What, if in the misery of the condition of the human spirit the son dies before the father in the prime of his youth? The just is removed, lest his heart be changed to evil. Many things are sent to the abyss by the judgment of God. Nothing is without cause in the world; not one sparrow may fall into the noose of the bird catcher without our father, who is in Heaven; a hair is not lost from the head. For we ought not excite our mourning, when our beloved is taken from the world to the Father, from the dying to the living, from exile to the kingdom. Our consolation becomes the word of truth: "He who believes in me shall not perish but have everlasting life; and all who live, and believe in me, will not perish for all eternity." Hence, let us know that our dear ones, dying in works of love/charity, live for God and die from the world. Those who work daily for Christ say with the Apostle: 'I wish to be removed and to be with Christ.' Let him be happy who leaves remaining friends for himself, rather than he who will be with remaining friends."

[40] Alcuin, "Letter 198." "*Mors boni hominis migration est ad meliorem vitam, quae non est plangenda, sed congratulanda.*" "The death of a good man is to a movement to a better life, which ought not be grieved, but congratulated."

examine the good character of his life and, for some, like Paschasius, to enshrine him in memory though writing.

Again, this idea appears in a treatise written by Ambrose, "On the Good of Death."[41] In this treatise, Ambrose describes three kinds of death: 1) the death of sin (which is the evil death), 2) the mystical death, where one dies to sin and lives to God, and 3) the separation of the soul from the body.[42] The last two, especially the latter, present the good of death, for it is separation from the worldly troubles to the glory of Heaven to be with God.[43] Ambrose emphasizes the justification for praise of death in this treatise, and it is an idea that can certainly be seen in the Carolingian texts. Ambrose provides a consoling thought to those who are grieving their dead; similarly, funeral orations and narratives are within a genre of consolation, emphasizing the same idea. Such emphasis on praise over grief allows writers like Ambrose, Jerome, Paschasius, and Alcuin to focus on the memorable nature of the deceased.[44]

Ambrose was not the only patristic writer to emphasize praise in commemorating the dead. Jerome, too, encourages praise as a proper act in the process of *memoria mortuorum*, in his epitaph for Nepotian, written to Bishop Heliodorus in 396.[45] Jerome wrote to Heliodorus in an effort to console his friend for the loss of his nephew, which was due to fever. For the first part of this text, on proper mourning and praise for the dead, Jerome uses a quote from the New Testament, claiming that the Apostle Paul forbids Christians to weep for the deceased, since one

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[41] Ambrose, *De bono mortis.* PL vol. 16, Col.0539C-0568A.

[42] Ambrose, *De bono mortis*, Col.0540B: "*Sed mortis tria sunt genera. Una mors peccati est, de qua scriptum: 'anima quae peccat ipsa morietur.' Alia mors mystica, quando quis peccato moritur et deo vivit, de qua ait item apostolus: 'consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem.' Tertia mors, qua cursum vitae huius et munus explemus, id est animae corporisque secessio.*"

[43] This last type of death, the separation of the soul from the body, may also relate to certain ideas about the care for the body of the dead after death. This is also reminiscent of Augustine's theology and interpretations of funerary rituals for care of the dead.

[44] See the technical use of "literary memorial" above on pg.70.

[45] Jerome, *Ad Heliodorum* (on the death of his nephew Nepotian, Epitaphium Nepotianorum), LX, 11, as numbered in PL, xxii, 596BC.

should not feel sadness, but should rejoice in the fact that the person was taken away from the

wickedness of the world and is now received in Christ.[46] Again, he mentions the fact that the

dead are sleeping, as Paschasius states in his preface and Ambrose as well. Jerome also remarks

on Nepotian's absence, and yet his simultaneous presence, in the way that Paschasius remarks on

Adalhard's absence and presence.[47] The presence for both indicates a presence of memory.[48]

Not only does Jerome emphasize praise for the dead and the proper ways for mourning,

but he also cites classical sources, going by the example of the "rhetoricians" when it comes to

honoring and eulogizing the dead.[49] In his reference to these examples, Jerome lays out some

specific structural elements that make a proper eulogy for the deceased, with the intention of

building up the glory of the soul of the deceased. For instance, Jerome says that it is best to start

with the ancestors of the deceased and the virtues of their family, and then build up to the subject

in a way that makes him more "illustrious by the virtues of his forefathers."[50] Although Jerome

says he will not do this, but rather focus on the praises of the soul, it is significant that he does

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[46] Jerome, *Ad Heliodorum*, "*Quid igitur faciam? Jungam tecum lacrymas? Sed Apostolus prohibet, Christianorum mortuos, dormientes vocans* (***1. Thess. 4***). *Et Dominus in Evangelio: «Non est,» inquit, «mortua puella, sed dormit» (**Marc. 5. 39, et Luc. 8. 52**)*. "What shall I do? Shall I join my tears with you? The apostle forbids [this], speaking of dead Christians as 'those sleeping.' Also, in the gospel the Lord says, "the girl is not dead, but sleeps."

[47] Paschasius, 1510A-1510B. "*Unde tua praesens absentia mihi manens, novos in me generat lacrymarum affectus: ita tamen ut praesentia absens faciat gratulari, quam jam perveneris ad diu promissa gaudia felix.*" "Your present absence, still affecting to me, generates new tears in me; yet your absent presence may bring rejoicing that you have already arrived to long-promised happiness." Cabaniss, 27.

[48] Jerome. "*Jungamur spiritu, stringamur affectu, et fortitudinem mentis, quam beatus Papa Chromatius ostendit in dormitione germani (Eusebii fratris sui), nos imitemur in filio. Illum nostra pagella decantet, illum cunctae [al. nostrae] litterae sonent. Quem corpore non valemus, recordatione teneamus. Et cum quo loqui non possumus, de eo loqui nunquam desinamus.*" "Let us, who have lost then be joined together in spirit, let us bind [ourselves] in affection and let us imitate the fortitude of mind, which the blessed Pope Chromatius showed in the loss of his brother (Eusebius). Let every little page that we write echo [his name], let all our letters ring [his name]. If we can no longer clasp him to our hearts, let us hold him in writing; and if we can no longer speak with him, let us never cease to speak of him."

[49] For example: Jerome. "*Haec praecepta sunt Rhetorum, ut majores ejus qui laudandus est, et eorum gesta altius repetantur, sicque ad ipsum per gradus sermo perveniat…*" "The advice of the rhetoricians in such cases is that you should first search out the remote ancestors of the person to be eulogized and recount their exploits, and then come gradually to your hero; so as to make him more praiseworthy…"

[50] Jerome, "*Haec praecepta sunt Rhetorum, ut majores ejus qui laudandus est, et eorum gesta altius repetantur, sicque ad ipsum per gradus sermo perveniat: quo videlicet avitis paternisque virtutibus illustrior fiat, et aut non degenerasse a bonis, aut mediocres ipse ornasse videatur. Ego CARNIS bona, quae semper et ipse contempsit, in animae laudibus non requiram.*"

follow the pattern regardless, as he is writing to Nepotian's uncle, the bishop Heliodorus, and he does briefly glorify their lineage.[51]

Paschasius also refers to rhetoricians and the art of rhetoric in his Life of Adalhard.[52] His very mention of the Invention of Rhetoric, attributed to Cicero, suggest his knowledge of the same rhetoricians to which Jerome was referring. Paschasius writes about Adalhard using a similar structure as Jerome. He carefully builds up the praises of Adalhard, focusing on his personal virtues that represent the glory of his soul. As with any biography intended to proffer praise for the subject, Paschasius does remark upon Adalhard's noble heritage (even though he asserts very clearly that Adalhard refrained from the riches privileging the nobles). He also discusses the representation of his memory in the same way as Jerome does for Nepotian.

It is clear that there is an appropriation of classical and patristic models in Paschasius' writing. It is not only style that is appropriated, but also a focus on some central themes. In this case, the theme of purity and Christian virtue also clearly follows classical and patristic models. The language of poetry and stylized prose allows Paschasius to express his grief while at the same time enshrining Adalhard in memory, particularly in his comparison of Adalhard to the lamb. Both Paschasius and Fortunatus' references to a lamb poetically link the subject to the holy image of the Lamb (a reference to Christ), making the subject holy by association to an eternal and sacred image, and the eternal and sacred memory of the subject. Although Paschasius can

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[51] Jerome also says a similar thing in his "Epitaph for Paula", written to Eustochium. He says in the letter that Paula was born from a noble stock, with a noble father and mother, who was descended from Scipio Africanus. Right after this, though, he says that he will not linger on these earthly details, since it is Paula's spiritual deeds that are most significant. See: Jerome, *Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae* in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum,* Vol. 55, Epistula CVIII, edited by Isidorus Hilberg (Tempsky: 1961), pg. 306-307.
[52] Paschasius. 1518D. "… *in libro secundo de inventione rhetoricae artis*…"

"neither touch nor see" Adalhard, it is Adalhard's virtue that continues to live within the living of the world, and that makes him holy by association with the Lamb. [53]

"Virtue" was not uncommon in medieval commemorations of the dead. Alcuin wrote an epitaph for the bishop Willibrord, the first half of which was entirely about inner virtue and dutiful acts.[54] Piety, meekness, honor, patience, compassion, modesty and generosity to the poor were the excelling attributes of a man of God.[55] Alcuin wrote in a way that that fluidly expressed the virtues of Willibrord in a poetic fashion, making them visible and memorable to readers. There is a mention of "hymns" in the same epitaph by Alcuin, placed at the end.[56] The mention of these "hymns" could signify a connection between poetry and *memoria*. Alcuin says that "in the ides of the eighth month, he migrated to the palace of heaven; He was joined to the coming angels, praising Christ, With heavenly hymns, he is always and without end blessed."[57] This

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[53] Paschasius, Col.1510D: *"Ergo venerunt nuptiae Agni, inter delicias paradisi frueris, vox tua sonuit jam in auribus meis, et audita est vox turturis, ita dicens: Sicut audivimus, fili, sic vidimus in civitate Domini. Audivimus quidem gloriosa, sed cernimus potiora, in civitate Domini virtutum, Virtutum ergo, et non vitiorum, quia Deus fundavit eam in aeternum fundamento perpetuitatis. Intelligo quidem plane talia te canentem, sed suspiro dolens, et gemo anxius, longe interdum a tuo sejunctus consortio: et quod serius est, orbis te virtutis virum praedicat, nec contingimus, nec videmus."* "The wedding of the Lamb has come, you enjoy delights in the midst of paradise; your voice has sounded in my ears; and the voice of the turtledove is heard, saying: 'As we have heard, O sons, so have we seen in the city of the Lord. We have indeed heard glorious things but we discern even more powerful attributes in the city of the Lord of virtues.' It is, therefore, 'of virtues', not of vices, because God founded it on a perpetual foundation forever. I know that you are indeed already singing such matters, but grieving I sigh and anxious I groan, now for a long time separated from your company. And because it is later, the world proclaims you as a man of virtue, although we neither touch nor see you." Cabaniss, pg. 28.

[54] Alcuin, *De moribus et de obitu sancti Patris.* In MGH, Poetae, Vol. I: Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, pg. 215-216. *"Vir fuit iste Dei, patiens, moderatus, honestus/moribus egregius, et in omni strenuus actu,/corde pius, humili mitis, rigidusque superbo, /solator miseris, et inops sibi, dives egenis. /qui postquam vitae meritis perfectus in annis, /bis octena pius complevit lustra sacerdos, /ter quater et menses, mensis jam jamque Novembris. Idibus octenis, coeli migravit ad aulam, /coetibus angelicis junctus, coelestibus hymnis /collaudans Christum semper sine fine beatus."* "This was a man of God, patient, moderate, honest, /excelling in character, and prominent in every action, /pious at heart, meek with humility, righteous above insolence, /a comforter of the miserable, and poor to himself, wealthy to the poor. /He who was accomplished in the years after his life, /two times eight times the pious priest completed the sacrifice, /three times four and /in the ides of the eighth month, he migrated to the field of heaven, /he was joined to the coming angels, praising Christ /with heavenly hymns, he is always and without end blessed."

[55] Alcuin, *De moribus,* 215: *"Vir fuit iste Dei…"*

[56] Ibid., 215-216: *"Idibus octenis, coeli migravit ad aulam, /coetibus angelicis junctus, coelestibus hymnis /collaudans Christum semper sine fine beatus."* "In the ides of the eighth month, he migrated to the palace of heaven, /he was joined to the coming angels, praising Christ /with heavenly hymns, he is always and without end blessed."

[57] Alcuin, *De moribus,* 215-216.

relates to *memoria* because singing and praises from the living reinforce his immortality in memory. While the poem is most likely saying that it is Willibrord that is singing and praising Christ while in heaven, it illustrates that this is a triumph and that because of Willibrord's virtues, he was able to "migrate" to heaven and enjoy this triumph. This allusion to migrating to a new palace is also in Fortunatus' poem, which Paschasius quotes.[58]

Another Carolingian author of epitaphs, Hrabanus Maurus, who was a student of Alcuin, also includes such themes in his works. In particular, in his "Epitaph for the Abbot Walachried," Hrabanus, in a poetic fashion, describes Walachfried's role as a pastor for the sheep, "inviting his sheep to the field of the king."[59] This is different from Alcuin's reference, as well as Paschasius', to the Lamb, but Hrabanus uses the imagery of the sheep and the similarly sacred image of the pastor to guide his sheep to the proper course of life, toward the field of the king, an allusion to the Kingdom of God. Hrabanus further writes just after this line that Walachfried has left a virtuous example tested by death itself.[60] Throughout the epitaph, Hrabanus refers to the Christian values and character of the abbot, and his role as a shepherd indicated a sort of guiding authority. Hrabanus periodically addresses the reader directly in his epitaphs, further emphasizing the intended place, use, and transmission of the funerary text throughout the community and the direction in which the message was written.[61] The message of virtue, here, serves the same purpose as does Paschasius' and Alcuin's; all use the imagery of sheep, lambs, and shepherds in poetry to transmit their message. The journey from the earthly field to the

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[58] Paschasius, quoting Fortunatus, PL, Col. 1506C: *"Et ut verbis Fortunati utar: Qualiter agnus amans genitricis ab ubere pulsus, Tristis et herbosis anxius errat agris: Nunc fugit ad campos, feriens balatibus auras; Nunc redit ad caulas, nec sine matre placent."* Cabaniss, 27.

[59] Hrabanus Maurus. *"Epitaphium Walachriedi Abbatis"* in MGH, edited by Ernst Dummler. *Poetae Latini Carolini Aevi,* Volume 2, 239. *"…Invitans instanter oves ad Pascua regis…"* "…Inviting ernestly the sheep to the pastures of the king…"

[60] Ibid., *"Moribus ipse probus virtutum exempla reliquit /discipulis pastor, plebis et almus amor…"* "The honorable man himself left virtuous examples for habits/ a pastor to students, a nourishing love of the students…"

[61] For example, Hrabanus Maurus, 239. *"…pro hoc, posco, fideles funde preces Christo, sicque places domino."* "…for this, I ask, the faithful pour out prayers to Christ, so that you may please the Lord."

heavenly one is a joyous transition, an allegory for death that particularly invokes a holy image featuring the lamb. Adalhard and Willibrord perhaps shared some of these virtues, and were both fixed in permanent memory through these acts of writing, with poetry making their virtuous memory visible to all who could see and read it.

In all of these examples, the deceased becomes a holy image and an exemplar to the living. In a sense, the deceased takes on a different identity than he had while living, at least as a model of virtue. The message of the oration was not necessarily about Adalhard the man, but about what Paschasius thought was more important: his "virtues." While he does not expand on what these virtues are exactly (at least not in the preface), they are virtues that Paschasius thought others should recognize. In his poetic commemoration to the bishop Willibrord, Alcuin, too, seems to exhibit this attitude.[62] It is interesting to note that Alcuin does not mention the bishop's name in the poem; in fact, if one did not know beforehand, there is no way to really determine for whom the poem was written based on the text alone. This is not to argue that it is generic, for there is not a generic form of commemorating the dead. Rather, this shows that it is not merely the man personally who was commemorated, but his personality as a man of God. The "odor" of Adalhard's virtues would be available to any who pass by the tomb. Paschasius was also sure to mention that these virtues would be there for future times as well, indicating a permanence, or at least an immortality, of the memory that was grounded in the grave site and in the letters.

The imagery of flowers not only provides a visual image, but also evokes an olfactory sense of recognition. It would be a stretch to link this fragment to the idea that Paschasius was

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[62] This could be an instance where Alcuin's influence, stemming from his epigraphical writings, seems to show in later Carolingian commemorative works. This would mean that Alcuin, too, was a part of the older tradition of commemorative writing, but much closer in time to Paschasius. See: Cecile Treffort, "La place d'Alcuin dans la redaction épigraphique carolingienne," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest,* vol. 111-3 (2004): 355-356.

reaching out to an illiterate audience. Instead, this should best be taken as a strong use of imagery in stylized prose. However, it is difficult to ignore the connection of this fragment to ideas of memory in relation to memorials and grave sites. The flowers and letters present a prevailing image of the power that the grave site can hold in the transmission of a memory, and thus a transmission of a narrative or an idea. Such a description of the grave marks a link between the audience and the subject, in both narrative and reality.[63] The physical landscape, around the grave site, serves as a locative cue for memory. The memory and identity that are constructed out of the ritualistic creation of the tombstone, the inscriptions, the interactive gesture of layering flowers, and any other related image fosters a visible connection between the living and dead, and by extension a connection between the living and a memory.[64]

There is a process involved and a method that writers of biography and panegyric use to accomplish this connection between the living and the dead. Paschasius' reference to letters presents a two-fold purpose: one to establish a connection between his audience and his commemorative text, but also to establish a connection between his audience and the grave. Narratives, like funeral speeches and biographies, also foster a connection between the living and the dead in that they construct a memory and offer a way for the writer to present what could become a common memory and identity.[65] Funeral commemorations, from speeches and epitaphs to inscriptions, were meant to be visible, audible and understood effectively. In Hrabanus Maurus' epitaph for Guntram, for example, there is a description of Guntram, and where he is, with a plea to the audience to pray for Guntram so that he would be welcomed into

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[63] The audience consists of anyone who heard or read Paschasius' work, or passed by the grave itself; however, it should be noted that this text does not represent the actual, physical grave. We don't know what the grave actually looked like.

[64] Hagg and Rousseau, 24.

[65] Hagg and Rousseau, 4-7, 16, 24; Mastrangelo, 3.

Heaven.[66] There is an immediate connection made with the audience and the subject, creating a close relationship between the living and the dead. The use of the funeral speech to build a relationship between the audience and subject is a method of constructing a subject's identity and a collective identity within a group (which stems also from the established relationship between the author and the audience).[67]

All of these ideas contribute to the function of the funerary commemoration in the context of *memoria mortuorum.* The memory of Adalhard represented by Paschasius Radbertus was "inscribed" in narrative that was used in a way that established a relationship between the audience and the subject, and thus opened the way for the audience to receive the encoded message within the narrative. The letters of the text wove together a story that revealed the nature, character, and identity of Adalhard that others could perceive through reading or hearing. It was also a personal endeavor for Paschasius the writer, for the very act of writing allowed him to inscribe the memory of his patron into his own mind, and to store it for eternity in his "Palace of Memories." Using classical and patristic examples of poetry and prose, Paschasius created a memory using the narrative of the funeral commemoration as the vehicle for the transmission of that memory to the community. The epitaphs written by Alcuin also represent the Carolingian adaptations of classical and patristic examples of funerary commemorations, with poetry providing the method with which to establish a particular relationship with the subject and using that relationship to convey an ideological message.

Commemorative poetry and writing, such as epitaphs and works by Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus, were influential for later Carolingian funerary inscriptions, attesting to the influence of

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[66] Hrabanus Maurus, "*Epitaphium Gundramni"*, 238. "*Pro quo, tu lector, digneris fundere Christo, posco, preces domino, ut faveat famulo.*"
[67] Mastrangelo, 4.

poetry on commemorative writing.[68] Cecile Treffort, a leading scholar on the epigraphic tradition

and Alcuin's epitaphs and poems, has argued that Alcuin was heavily influenced by ancient

traditions of poetry, as well as by the example of epitaphs for Roman popes, as evidenced in one

of his epitaphs for Pope Hadrian I.[69] She also argues that it was perhaps the time of educational

reform in which Alcuin was writing and its emphasis on reading, writing, and interpretation that

made his work even more influential and authoritative for future Carolingian inscription

writers.[70]

In this context of epitaphs and commemorative texts, *memoria mortuorum* forms a set of

functions, from *cura* for the living, the upkeep of the grave and the performance of ritualistic acts

to insure personal care of one's body after death, to the memorialization of the honorable dead

and, the instantiation of their virtues, both for praise and as an exemplar for the living. Funerary

ritual is thus imbued with multiple purposes. *Cura* for the dead supports connections between the

communities of the living and the dead. *Memoria* ensures that this connection is maintained for

the benefit of living society.

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[68] Cecile Treffort, 353-355. For a historiographic discussion of the study of epitaphs in history, see also: Vincent DeBiais and Robert Favreau and Cecile Treffort, "L'évolution de l'écriture épigraphique en France au Moyen Age et ses enjeux historiques," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 165 (2007): 104-107; and: Vincent DeBiais, "L'écrit sur la tombe : entre nécessité pratique, souci pour le salut et élaboration doctrinale. À travers la documentation épigraphique de la Normandie medievale" in *Tabularia « Études »*, 7 (2007): 179-202.
[69] Treffort, 354-356.
[70] Ibid., 354-355, 359-360.

Chapter Six: Conclusion- The Function of *Memoria Mortuorum* in the Carolingian World

       This study has made several claims about the theoretical structures of *memoria mortuorum* and Carolingian attitudes toward funerary ritual. In addition, it has provided an examination of these theoretical structures in written funerary dedications. It seems clear that funerary rituals do, indeed, involve the same memory processes that are explained in the *Ad Herennium*. Processes of image-making, symbol-making, and architectural storage in the mind, and in the landscape, are all parts of the funerary ritual. Exactly how or why memory should be created was a significant debate in the early medieval discussion of funerary rituals. The theological significance of *memoria mortuorum* was debated, and from Augustine to the Carolingians, there is a shift in approaches to the theological aspects of practices including burial *ad sanctos* and communal prayers. Augustine's work left an unresolved problem: the need to reconcile the theological aspect with the mnemonic function of memory practices for the dead. In the Carolingian period, the process of reconciliation began, but much of the focus is on the relationship between God and the communities of the living and the dead expressed in proper care to be taken after someone passes on. Despite their varying views, Amalarius of Metz and Claudius of Turin engage the question of the significance of burial, especially burial *ad sanctos*, when it comes to funerary practice. Florus, too, recognized some of these aspects of funerary rites in the context of the significance of Christian rituals for a Christian community.

       For both Augustine and some Carolingian authors, burial *ad sanctos* may or may not validate the concept of holy or sacred space, but as a mnemonic device, it serves its purpose for funerary rituals and memory of the dead. For the most part, it is the ritual of burial itself that is most important, and as long as the rituals are performed properly, the dead and the living will benefit. The location merely gives the setting and triggers the memory of the dead and drives the

acts of remembrance in the mind of the rememberer. While Paschasius does not express any opinions, or even mention burial *ad sanctos*, the language in his text about a particular space of the grave (where the living community can see, hear, smell, and experience the site and remember Adalhard) and the preservation of the memory in the mind through writing are just as closely connected to this theoretical foundation of *memoria mortuorum*. Florus also emphasizes the importance of location for the act of making images that trigger memory processes, but he takes it a step further by restricting the practices to Christians. Throughout his discussion, there are implications about how the location of the rituals and the memory processes serve to create a sort of solidarity among the local community. In this case, this solidarity is established under a religious identity. Furthermore, it is clear that it is not just one person, or even one family, for whom the community practices the rituals, but it is for all of the dead. From this, it is understood that the entire local living community is responsible for *memoria mortuorum*, and thus they are responsible for creating a unique relationship between the living and the dead that fosters a communal memory, and by extension a common identity.

We begin to see this idea more clearly in the examination of the funerary dedication written by Paschasius Radbertus. In his dedication, Adalhard is the individual subject, but he seems to lose his individuality to a certain degree. According to Paschasius, Adalhard has become one of many ancients who provide an example of virtue for the living to imitate. By writing, Paschasius is honoring Adalhard based on this fact and ensures that his memory will be preserved for the living community. In relation to the dead, Paschasius places Adalhard within a particular identity of honorable ancients, and in this sense Adalhard is no longer an individual, but is part of a larger group identity that is honored by the rituals of *memoria mortuorum.* But it is not just the dead that are gathered into one identity, but also the community of the living. In

relation to the community of the living, the funerary dedication is a practice that establishes various connections: between the writer and the individual reader, to the person reading aloud and the crowd, and even between the writer and the dead. The nature of the funerary dedication offers a way for the community to come together to hear, read, speak, and/or write the memory of the deceased. Even if it is one writer, those who are in some way interacting with the text within one kind of literacy or another also participate in the construction of the memory. This is an example of how a funerary ritual, in this case the act of writing memory, creates a bond within the living community and unifies the identities of the dead, thus also creating a common memory in the same way that Florus' discussion of funerary ritual implies the solidarity of a Christian community.

The fact that Paschasius draws from patristic and classical examples of funerary orations and writings strengthens the notion of a relationship between the Roman and early Christian past with the Carolingian present. Admittedly, Paschasius wanted to imitate writers such as Ambrose and Jerome, whom he considers to be "imitable holy men," and he cites classical poetry such as that of Fortunatus and references rhetoricians like Cicero. Paschasius is not the only Carolingian example of this. Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus also do this in their epitaphs, following the structures and literary genre of classical poetry and using patristic references to honor the dead in their works. It is not an uncommon practice to do this in the Carolingian world. Amalarius, Claudius, and Florus also reference earlier works through their use of Augustine's writing; Augustine, in turn, was familiar with classical works as well. Augustine's discussion of memory and his theories of memory practice almost mirror the processes laid out in the *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, attributed to Cicero. In this case, Amalarius, Claudius, and Florus only specifically reference Augustine, but they too were perhaps familiar with the same classical sources. Even if

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they were only familiar with the memory processes like those rooted in the *Ad Herennium* and in the works of Augustine and other patristic and Carolingian authors, they still build a relationship between their ideas and a past source.

Based on the evidence here, *memoria mortuorum* conforms to the architectural processes like those described in the *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, and the significance of place and location is in part that it is a mnemonic device for rememberers to honor the dead. This is the foundation of early medieval memory theory and practice related to the dead. In addition, the locations provide the setting for the community to come together, and the ritual practices create a common experience, narrative, memory, and later a common identity. This identity becomes a Christian one, and the community recognizes itself under this collective identity.

The most significant characteristic of Carolingian *memoria mortuorum*, and the crucial point in this argument, is the emphasis on care for the living and the dead in the preservation of memories of the deceased individuals or groups. Augustine casts his interpretation of funerary rites as primarily an act of care for the living. The Carolingians also adopt this idea, but they expanded their view to encompass care for both the living and the dead, under the influence of theological and liturgical trends. These trends consisted mainly of discussions and debates about the resurrection of the body and nature of sacred space. Utilizing Augustine, and other patristic and even classical literature, the Carolingians were able to legitimize this expansion in their interpretation. The incorporation of spatial cues and theological interpretations of funerary rituals fostered a practice that allows for the construction of a communal and individual memory in the context of *memoria mortuorum* that represents also a Christian ideal and a Christian memory.

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