

## Memory and identity: the *Annales necrologici* of Fulda<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

In 779, some thirty-five years after their monastery was founded in the north-eastern periphery of the Frankish empire, the monks of Fulda started the *Annales necrologici*: commemorative registers in which they listed the names of their deceased fellow-brethren.<sup>2</sup> Commemoration of the dead had its roots in pagan antiquity and the early Christian church. Christ himself had given the most important impetus for commemoration when he instructed his disciples: “This is my body, which is given for you. Do this for a commemoration of me”.<sup>3</sup> Already at a very early stage Christian scholars acknowledged the value of prayer, the saying of mass and the giving of alms for the dead, for which they found examples in the Scripture.<sup>4</sup> The names of those to be prayed for were recorded in special liturgical books or texts serving *memoria*,<sup>5</sup> earthly representatives of what was believed to be God’s heavenly Book of Life.<sup>6</sup> The *Annales necrologici* are one of the extant early medieval witnesses to this old tradition of commemorative prayer.

As the *Annales necrologici* are structured by year and contain the names of dead monks, historians in the nineteenth century have named them ‘*Annales necrologici*’, a name that is still in use today, although we know that in late medieval times the monks themselves called it ‘*Liber mortuorum fratrum monasteriorum*’.<sup>7</sup> The *Annales necrologici* differ from other extant memorial books that can be roughly divided into necrologies and *Libri vitae* (or *Libri memoriales*, *Libri viventium*).<sup>8</sup> Necrolo-

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on Chapter One of my doctoral thesis *Sacred time, sacred space. History and identity at the monastery of Fulda (744–856)* (PhD, Amsterdam 2003). I thank Scott Bruce, Paul Cobb, Richard Corradini, Mary Garrison, Rob Meens, Irene van Renswoude and Jaap-Hein Vrugink warmly for their valuable comments. The mistakes that remain are entirely my responsibility.

<sup>2</sup> Otto G. Oexle, *Memorialüberlieferung und Gebetsgedächtnis in Fulda vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, in: *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter 1*, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 136–177, at 145; Karl Schmid, *Die Frage nach den Anfängen der Mönchsgemeinschaft in Fulda*, in: *ibidem*, 108–135, at 132–133.

<sup>3</sup> Lc 22, 19; 1 Cor 11, 24–25. Giles Constable, *The commemoration of the dead in the early Middle Ages*, in: *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M.H. Smith (The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 28, Leiden/New York 2000) 169–195, at 169; Rudolf Boon, *De Joodse Wortels van de Christelijke Eredienst* (Mededelingen Prof. Dr. G. van der Leeuwstichting 40, Amsterdam 1968) 29–56.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Mcc 12, 43–46; 1 Tim 2, 1–8. See Constable, *Commemoration* 171–172.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoria* meant more than “memory” in the early Middle Ages. Its meaning included the remains of the dead, the places where they were buried, the relics of saints, their shrines and their altars, as well as the acts performed in their honour, the offerings, prayers and masses. See for example Constable, *Commemoration* 169; *id.*, *The Liber Memorialis of Remiremont*, in: *Speculum* 47 (1972) 261–277; *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid/Joachim Wollasch (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48, München 1984). Here I use it to refer to commemoration of the dead and the living in the prayers of the members of religious communities.

<sup>6</sup> Apc 20, 12–15.

<sup>7</sup> Johann Friedrich Böhmer was the first to use the name ‘*Annales necrologici*’. Oexle, *Memorialüberlieferung* 139, note 12. In the late medieval period a monk of Fulda had added ‘*Liber mortuorum fratrum monasteriorum*’ to the first page of one of the manuscripts of the *Annales necrologici* (Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 1r). See: Otto G. Oexle, *Die Überlieferung der fuldischen Totenannalen*, in: *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter 2*, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 447–504, at 467.

<sup>8</sup> From the eighth and ninth centuries the following memorial books have survived: *Das Verbrüderungsbuch von St. Peter in Salzburg*. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift A1 aus dem Archiv von St. Peter

gies only registered the names of the dead and the dates of death and were arranged according to months and days like calendars and martyrologies. *Libri vitae* – so called because the people whose names were recorded in it hoped to win eternal life – contained the names of both the living and the deceased and arose from the use of diptychs. Necrologies were used during the daily Office of religious communities; the *Libri memoriales*, which often also contained prayers and texts of masses, presumably lay permanently on the altar.<sup>9</sup> Of course this classification of necrologies and *Libri vitae* does no justice to the variety of the written testimonies of commemoration. Sometimes names were scribbled in the margins of other liturgical texts such as an evangelarium or a martyrology. Some manuscripts contain lists of abbots, bishops or royal genealogies. Sometimes the names of those to be prayed for were engraved at the setting where commemoration took place itself. The altarpiece of Minerve that carries names from the Merovingian and Carolingian period testifies to this habit to carve the names of those to be prayed for at the spot of liturgical observance.<sup>10</sup> All these entries and lists, which are not easy to categorise, were part of *memoria* too.

Compared to other commemorative lists from the early Middle Ages, the *Annales necrologici* attract attention because the monks of Fulda used the year of Incarnation (*Annus Domini*) as its organising principle, a relatively rare way of timekeeping in this period. Another feature of the *Annales necrologici* is that, as we shall see, they initially almost exclusively registered the names of the deceased monks of Fulda. Extant registers of other religious communities often also included the names of befriended families, benefactors and others soon after the communities started them. The names of the monks or nuns themselves were written down, together with the names of members of befriended religious communities, kin groups and local families, with whom these religious communities had special ties through kinship, gifts, political alliances or prayer bonds.<sup>11</sup>

For almost three centuries the monks of Fulda continued the *Annales necrologici*, although its form, function, and scope changed. This article investigates the meaning of the *Annales necrologici* and their particular form for the community of Fulda in the eighth and ninth century. As I hope to show, commemoration of the dead was not only aimed at intercession and salvation. It could also be

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in Salzburg, ed. Karl Forstner (Codices selecti phototypice impressi 51, Salzburg 1974); Monumenta Necrologica Monasterii S. Petri Salisburgensis. Liber confraternitatem vetustior (ed. Sigismund Herzberg-Fränkell, MGH Necrologia Germaniae 2, Berlin 1904); Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis 1 (ed. Alexander Hamilton Thompson, Surtees Society 136, Durham/London 1926); Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester: British Library Stowe 944, together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D. XXVII (ed. Simon Keynes, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 26, Copenhagen 1996) 49–65; London, BL Cotton Domitian A.VII (ed. Jan Gerchow, Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen mit einem Katalog der Libri Vitae und Necrologien, Berlin 1988) 109–154; Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia (ed. Dieter Geuenich/Uwe Ludwig, MGH Libri Memoriales et Necrologia NS 4, Hannover 2000); Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau (ed. Johanne Autenrieth/Dieter Geuenich/Karl Schmid, MGH Libri memoriales et necrologia NS 1, Hannover 1979); Subsidia Sangallensia: Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den Verbrüderungsbüchern und zu den älteren Urkunden des Stiftsarchives St. Gallen (ed. Michael Borgolte/Dieter Geuenich/Karl Schmid, St. Galler Kultur und Geschichte 16, St. Gallen 1986); Libri Confraternitatis Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis (ed. Paul Piper, MGH Necrologia Germaniae, Supplementum Berlin 1884, repr. München 1983) 1–144; Liber memorialis Romaricensis. Pars I: Textus, Pars II: Tabulae e Codice 10 Bibliothecae Angelicae Phototypice Expressae (ed. Eduard Hlawitschka/Karl Schmid/Gerd Tellenbach, MGH Libri memoriales 1, Dublin/Zürich 1970); Liber viventium Fabariensis, Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen, Fonds Pfäfers Codex I, 1 (ed. Albert Bruckner/Hans R. Sennhauser/Franz Perret, Basel 1973). See also Nicolas N. Huyghebaert, Les documents nécrologiques (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 4, Turnhout 1972).

<sup>9</sup> Otto G. Oexle, *Memoria* und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 10 (1976) 70–95, at 74–76; Eckhard Freise, Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria, in: Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter, ed. Karl Schmid/Joachim Wollasch (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48, München 1984) 441–577. The demarcation line between necrology and *liber vitae* is not this strict. In some manuscripts you find both forms of commemoration.

<sup>10</sup> Oexle, Memorialüberlieferung 74.

<sup>11</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, History and Memory in the Carolingian World (Cambridge 2004), especially chapters 7 and 8, 156–185; id., Social memory, commemoration and the book, in: Reading and the Book in the Middle Ages, ed. Susan J. Ridyard (Sewanee Medieval Studies 11, Sewanee 2001) 5–25; ead., Constructing the past in the early Middle Ages: the case of the Royal Frankish Annals, in: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 7 (1997) 101–129, at 101–103; James Fentress/Chris Wickham, Social Memory (Oxford 1992).



Fig. 1: Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 6r.

directed at the constitution of community and the creation of a shared, collective identity. In what comes next the following questions are raised: Whom did the *Annales necrologici* record? What was the purpose of their characteristic appearance? And how were these commemorative registers used? Let us first look more closely at the manuscript tradition of the *Annales necrologici* before trying to answer the questions just posed (See Figure 1).

### THE MANUSCRIPTS

In early medieval times several copies of the *Annales necrologici* existed, but only five fragments of these copies have come down to us. Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6v-29v, was composed around 875 and continued until the late tenth century (the edition by Karl Schmid *cum suis* refers to this text as (I)). It contains the names of monks who died between 779 and 980. Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 6r-21v (II), was written at the beginning of the tenth century and continued with intervals until 997. It lists the names of those who died between 779 and 920, and between 967 and 997. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4012, fol. 1r-4v (V), dates from 923–37 and is transmitted to us in a sixteenth century copy by Conrad Peutinger. Here we find the names of those who passed away between 779 and 793 and between 862/3 and 890. Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 22r-24r (III), was started in the last quarter of the tenth century, running from 946 to 976. And BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 30r-38v (IV), was initiated around 1023.<sup>12</sup> It holds the names of those who died between 971 and 1065 (See Figure 2). Unfortunately, no late eighth-century or early ninth-century copy has survived, so it is impossible to find out what the *Annales necrologici* originally looked like.

The *Annales necrologici* are implicated in other commemorative texts. Apart from the *Annales necrologici*, Ottob. lat. 2531 includes two prayer agreements, in which monks of Fulda promised to safeguard the peace in their community and to pray for fellow-brethren in the event of illness and death. One was initiated in 863, called ‘Conventio’, the other one is a new, shortened version of the ninth century prayer agreement and dates from the eleventh century.<sup>13</sup> Further, the manuscript contains a diptych of deceased kings and bishops and a list of monks drawn up under Abbot Hadamar (927–956). Fulda B 1 holds an early tenth century copy of the 863 Conventio. Besides the codex is composed of a catalogue of the abbots of Fulda (the *Gesta abbatum*, also called *Catalogus abbatum*), written in the beginning of the tenth century, two abbots lists and three lists of monks of Fulda.<sup>14</sup> The manuscript further includes registers, written between the early 870s and the late 880s, that list the names of monks and possibly young clerics in training (*scholastici*) living in dependencies of Fulda, namely Rasdorf, Hünfeld, Großburschla, Holzkirchen and *sancti Bonifatii cella*.<sup>15</sup> The Munich manuscript is made up of a list of the abbots of Fulda, a list of kings and the archbishops of Mainz, and the so called ‘Folcer-list’, a list of monks possibly composed in the tenth century.<sup>16</sup> In other words, all the other texts that the manuscripts contain also served the *memoria* of the monastery, just like the *Annales necrologici*. In addition to this, most of the texts concerned only the monastic community of Fulda, a feature that will also come to the fore in the analysis of the *Annales necrologici*.

<sup>12</sup> For an extensive description of the manuscripts see Oexle, *Überlieferung* 458–485.

<sup>13</sup> Prayer alliances, exclusively for the monks of Fulda.

<sup>14</sup> One composed around 822 (the so-called ‘Recheo-list’), one led by Abbot Haicho (917–923) and one headed by Abbot Hadamar (927–956) and archbishop Hiltibert (923–927).

<sup>15</sup> For an interpretation of the meaning of these lists, see: Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 12, Leiden/New York/Köln 1996) 142; Madge M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (Leiden/New York/Köln 1992) 119–129; Karl Schmid, *Auf der Suche nach den Mönchen im mittelalterlichen Fulda*, in: *Von der Klosterbibliothek zur Landesbibliothek. Beiträge zum zweihundertjährigen Bestehen der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda*, ed. Artur Brall (Bibliothek des Buchwesens 6, Stuttgart 1978) 108–135, at 132–133.

<sup>16</sup> Oexle, *Überlieferung* 467–474. The ‘Folger’ list is difficult to date. See Otto G. Oexle, *Mönchlisten und Konvent von Fulda im 10. Jahrhundert*, in: *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter* 2, 2, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 640–691, especially at 641f.

Manuscript	Reference in edition Schmid	Date of composition	Years for which the copy of the <i>Annales necrologici</i> lists the dead
Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6v-29v	(I)	around 875, continued until late 10th C	779–980
Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 6r-21v	(II)	beginning of 10th C, continued until 997	779–920, 967–997
Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 22r-24r	(III)	the last quarter of 10th C	946–976
Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 30r-38v	(IV)	initiated around 1023	971–1065
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4012, fol. 1r-4v	(V)	923–37, transmitted in 16th-C copy	779–793, 862/3–890

Fig. 2: Table of extant manuscripts of the *Annales necrologici*

The extant fragments of the *Annales necrologici* are quite similar. BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6v-29v, and Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 6r-21v, both start with the name of the first abbot of Fulda, Sturmi, marked in red ink, followed by a list of Fulda abbots.<sup>17</sup> All manuscripts indicate the years under which the names of the dead monks are grouped in red ink and initially divide the names in three columns per page (later in two). The scribes of each manuscript considered Christmas the beginning of a new year. They even made similar mistakes in the different manuscripts, which implies a shared origin. Yet, the fragments also reveal differences, especially after the year 875.<sup>18</sup> Until this year there probably was a common ‘source’; thereafter the manuscripts seem to have been kept up to date independently of each other. Perhaps the extant fragments, apart from one kept in the mother convent, are copies of older exemplars of the *Annales necrologici* that were used by the communities attached to the satellite churches of the monastery on the neighbouring hills, Frauenberg (St Mary), Johannesberg (St John) and Ugesberg (All Saints).<sup>19</sup> Geographical proximity and intensive mutual contact would account for the similarities between the lists. From the end of the ninth century onward Fulda’s satellite communities of St Mary, St John and All Saints became more independent with respect to the mother convent, and this would explain why differences in the manuscripts start to occur after 875. Another possibility is that the *scriptorium* of the mother convent made copies of the *Annales necrologici* in 875 and that they were distributed to the nearby dependencies only then, possibly as a way of tying them, as they were gaining independence, closer to the mother convent.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6v-29v, lists the abbots of Fulda from Sturmi until Thioto (†871) (fol. 6v). Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 6r-21v, lists the abbots from Sturmi until Ercanbald (†1021) (fol. 5v).

<sup>18</sup> Oexle, *Überlieferung* 487.

<sup>19</sup> In the eleventh century the newly founded church of St Andreas, which was built west of Fulda, got a copy.

<sup>20</sup> Oexle, *Überlieferung* 484–495.

## RULES OF REGISTRATION

Thanks to efforts of the *Societas et Fraternitas* research group from Münster, which has made a critical edition of all the extant texts concerning the *memoria* of Fulda, a substantial part of both the individuals and groups mentioned in the *Annales necrologici* has been identified.<sup>21</sup> The group of scholars led by Karl Schmid has compared the names in the *Annales necrologici* to other sources that list the names of Fulda monks, such as two lists of the monastic community in the confraternity book of Reichenau, the so-called Baugulf list of 782 (*Nomina fratrum de congregatione sancti Bonifacii de monasterio quod Fulda nominatur*), and the Hrabanus list of 825/26, both named after the abbot of Fulda under whose aegis the lists were composed. The lists in Reichenau's confraternity book seem to comprise all monks who lived in Fulda at the time the texts were made, including those who lived outside the mother convent in the dependencies of the monastery.<sup>22</sup> Almost all the names on these lists were also recorded in the *Annales necrologici*, meaning that in the late eighth and early ninth century most monks of Fulda found their way into the *Annales necrologici*.<sup>23</sup> Once a monk of Fulda, a man apparently remained monk of Fulda for the rest of his life (and afterlife). Even when a monk had left the monastery to make an ecclesiastical career for himself, his link with the community was often not broken and he could well be recorded in the *Annales necrologici* after his death. An example is Hrabanus Maurus, monk of Fulda and abbot of the monastery between 822 and 842. Of Hrabanus, who had left the neighbourhood of the monastery to become archbishop of Mainz in 847, we know that he looked upon himself first and foremost as monk of Fulda, even though he no longer lived there. In the epitaph that he composed for himself, Hrabanus summarised what he considered to constitute his identity. He wrote:

“In this city [Mainz] I was born, and from the holy baptismal font I was reborn.

Thereafter I learned the holy doctrine in Fulda, where I, made monk, have obeyed the orders of my seniors and where the guideline of life to me was the Holy Rule.”<sup>24</sup>

When Hrabanus Maurus died in 856, the monks entered his name in the *Annales necrologici*.<sup>25</sup>

Some abbots were more concerned to keep the list updated and uninterrupted than others. We know that for example in the periods 795–806 and 812–823 not all the names of the deceased brothers were registered. Some names were absent, most likely due to internal friction or more urgent commitments that absorbed all the time of the monks, resulting in a waning interest in commemoration.<sup>26</sup> Around 824, when Hrabanus had taken up office as abbot, he made sure that the names of the monks, who had been left out, were now inscribed in the *Annales necrologici*.<sup>27</sup> The fact that the abbot took care to update the lists, indicates the importance that Hrabanus attached to including every monk of Fulda in these commemorative registers.

<sup>21</sup> See the parallel registers in: *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter 3*, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978). See also Eduard Hlawitschka, *Zur Erschließung der Memorialüberlieferung aus dem Kloster Fulda*, in: *DA 38* (1982) 166–179; Schmid, *Suche* 125–162.

<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately the Baugulf list is now incomplete. Probably it once encompassed all the monks of the Fulda congregation. Karl Schmid, *Mönchslisten und Klosterkonvent von Fulda zur Zeit der Karolinger*, in: *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter 1*, ed. id. (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 571–640, at 629.

<sup>23</sup> Franz-Josef Jakobi, *Die geistlichen und weltlichen Magnaten in den Fuldaer Totenannalen*, in: *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter 2*, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 792–887, at 800, note 55; Schmid, *Mönchslisten* 615.

<sup>24</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *Carmen 97* (ed. Ernst Dümmler, *MGH Poetae Latini aevi Carolini 2*, Berlin 1884, repr. 1964) 243–244: *Urbe quidem hac genitus sum ac sacra fonte renatus, | in Fulda post haec dogma sacrum didici. | Quo monachus factus seniorum iussa sequabar, | norma mihi vitae regula sancta fuit.*

<sup>25</sup> Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 6r-21v (AD 856); In BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6v-29v (AD 856), a different hand adds *Rabanus eps 04 02*. In the diptych of 875 (BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6r) Hrabanus is entered as follows: *II no. feb. ob. Hraban epis. et mo.* See the edition *Fuldaer Totenannalen* (ed. Otto G. Oexle/Karl Schmid, *Edition der fuldischen Gedenküberlieferung. Die Klostergemeinschaft Fulda im früheren Mittelalter 1*, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 271–363, at 296.

<sup>26</sup> Schmid, *Suche* 142–152.

<sup>27</sup> Schmid, *Mönchslisten* 618–619.

Not all the names in the *Annales necrologici* refer to monks of Fulda, though the exceptions in the lists running from 779 to the middle of the ninth century are few. First of all, not every individual in the *Annales necrologici* was a professed monk. Einhard (†840), raised in Fulda, courtier of Charlemagne and later abbot of, among others, Michelstadt and Seligenstadt, is listed in the *Annales necrologici*, even though he had never received the tonsure.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless the monks of Fulda regarded Einhard as one of their own and after his death wrote down his name with the other fellow-brethren. Other examples of special cases are Leoba (†782), one of the few women in the *Annales necrologici* until the middle of the ninth century, and Samuel, bishop of Worms (838–856) and abbot of Lorsch (838–856). Their names are in the *Annales necrologici* too, listed near the year in which they had died, even though they came from other communities. They all had a special relation with Fulda. Samuel was a friend of Hrabanus Maurus. As young, brilliant students they had studied together under the famous scholar Alcuin in Tours. Leoba, a relative and disciple of Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary who had founded Fulda, had a special position in the monastery through her bond with the martyred bishop. According to her biographer, Rudolf of Fulda, she was the only woman who was ever allowed entrance in the abbey church of Fulda to pray at Boniface's grave.<sup>29</sup> After her death she was buried in the abbey church – at the request of Boniface.<sup>30</sup>

Sometimes it is very difficult to understand the reasons for including or excluding a person, as, for example, in the case of Alcuin. In spite of repeated requests on Alcuin's part to be remembered in the prayers of the monks<sup>31</sup> he was not honoured with an entry in the *Annales necrologici* when he died in 804, even though he had been the teacher of Hrabanus Maurus and Hatto, had been a friend of Baugulf and was remembered as a devotee of Boniface's monastery in his biography, the *Vita Alcuini*.<sup>32</sup> Boniface, one of the founders of Fulda, is not in the *Annales necrologici* either (nor in any abbots' list of Fulda or the *Gesta abbatum*).<sup>33</sup> His absence can easily be explained from the fact that he was a saint, whose name was to be found in calendars and martyrologies, and the *Annales necrologici* do not record saints.<sup>34</sup>

Considering the important role the popes had played in Fulda's history, one would also expect to find their names in the *Annales necrologici*. In 751 the Roman pontiff had granted the abbey the papal privilege. This privilege, bestowed in the seventh and eighth centuries to only select religious communities, placed the monastery under direct authority of the Apostolic See and offered the monks a means to counter the influence and claims of the bishops of Mainz and Würzburg.<sup>35</sup> Rome was important to the monks of Fulda. On several occasions the monks of Fulda turned to Rome as a

<sup>28</sup> Fuldaer Totenannalen, ed. Oexle/Schmid 289; Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 6r.

<sup>29</sup> Rudolf, *Vita Leobae abbatissae Biscofesheimensis* 22–23 (ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 15, 1, Hannover 1887) 118–131, at 130f.

<sup>30</sup> Other examples are: a certain bishop Pacificus (nothing is known of him), Megingoz, bishop of Würzburg (?753–?793) and Wolfger, bishop of Würzburg, who had negotiated in the conflict between the monks of Fulda and their abbot Ratgar. *Annales necrologici*: respectively 788, 793 and 832. See also Jakobi, *Magnaten* 838–840.

<sup>31</sup> Alcuin, *Epistola* 250 (ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH EE 4, Berlin 1895, repr. 1974) 405. However, Alcuin was mentioned in Hrabanus' martyrology: Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium* 19 May (ed. John McCulloh, CC CM 44, Turnhout 1979) 48.

<sup>32</sup> *Vita Alcuini* 11 (ed. Wilhelm Arndt, MGH SS 15, 1, Hannover 1887) 182–197, at 191: *Cum igitur senectute unigue infirmitate plus solito se sentiret affectatum; diu et secum tractaverat, velle se significavit regi Karolo saeculum relinquere, postulans licentiam apud sanctum Bonifacium monasticam vitam secundum regulam sancti Benedicti ducere*. Yet, we have to take into account that this *Vita* was written around 829.

<sup>33</sup> Boniface is not mentioned in the diptych, BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6r, but is in the list *Moguntiae sedis* (Clm 4012, fol. 5v).

<sup>34</sup> Franz-Josef Jakobi, *Zu den Amtsträgerlisten in der Überlieferung der Fuldaer Totenannalen*, in: *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter* 2, 2, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 505–525, at 512. The monks of Fulda did record Leoba in their *Annales necrologici*. Did this mean that Leoba was not considered a saint in the years immediately after her death? This seems to have been the case.

<sup>35</sup> Papal privileges were issued for Bobbio, Wearmouth-Jarrow, Malmesbury, Farfa and Saint-Denis. See Ulrich Hussong, *Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsabtei Fulda bis zur Jahrtausendwende*, in: *Archiv für Diplomatik* 31 (1985) 1–225, at 61–85; Barbara Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space. Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester 1999) 106–109; Ian N. Wood, Jonas, the Merovingians and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Colum-*

source of authority and sanctity, for example when they sought an architectural model for the construction of the new abbey church or when they longed for relics of new patrons.<sup>36</sup> However, Fulda did not include the names of the popes before the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>37</sup>

Furthermore, the *Annales necrologici* do not contain the names of allied religious communities for remembrance in prayer. Such confraternities, associations for commemorative prayers, came into being from the eighth, ninth centuries onward. The prayer associations were instituted between individuals and groups, clerics and laymen. Communities exchanged lists of names and prayed for the members of the other community.<sup>38</sup> The most famous example is the confraternity book of Reichenau that was started circa 824.<sup>39</sup> The codex includes more than fifty communities, which yields a total of almost 40.000 names.<sup>40</sup> As is revealed by the lists within the Reichenau confraternity book, Fulda was involved in similar confraternities. Probably during the abbacy of Baugulf (779–802), a list of the Fulda community was sent to Reichenau; Hrabanus (822–842) certainly forwarded one when he had been abbot for only a couple of years.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, one would expect lists of Reichenau monks in Fulda's commemorative book, as confraternities were reciprocal.<sup>42</sup> Yet, these confraternities were not included in the *Annales necrologici*. Only from the end of the ninth century onward scribes recorded the names of the abbots of befriended religious communities such as Hersfeld, Lorsch and Corvey in the *Annales necrologici*.

The only two groups of outsiders that seem to have been consistently included in the commemorative lists from the start were the archbishops of Mainz and the Carolingians. Fulda had a special relationship with this Episcopal See ever since it was founded. Boniface had been bishop of Mainz. When Boniface died in 754, his successor in Mainz had fought with the monks of Fulda over the jurisdiction of the monastery, but since the Carolingian king had settled the legal status of the monastery relations between Fulda and Mainz became friendlier. The archbishop of Mainz (Mainz became an archbishopric in 782) was responsible for the dedication of many of Fulda's dependent churches and the consecration of the clergy of the monastery. He interfered when there was internal conflict in the monastery and was present at important occasions such as the dedication of the abbey church in 819.<sup>43</sup>

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*bani*, in: *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History*, ed. Alexander C. Murray (Toronto/Buffalo/London 1998) 99–120.

<sup>36</sup> Raaijmakers, Fulda 101–111 and 167–208; Richard Krautheimer, *The Carolingian revival of early Christian architecture*, in: *The Art Bulletin* 24 (1942) 11–38.

<sup>37</sup> Jakobi, *Magnaten* 800 and 842–867.

<sup>38</sup> Karl Schmid/Joachim Wollasch, *Die Gemeinschaft der Lebenden und Verstorbenen in Zeugnissen des Mittelalters*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967) 365–405; Otto G. Oexle/Karl Schmid, *Voraussetzungen und Wirkung des Gebetsbundes von Attigny*, in: *Francia* 2 (1975) 71–122.

<sup>39</sup> Karl Schmid, *Bemerkungen zur Anlage des Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuches. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der 'visio Wettini'*, in: *Landes- und Geistesgeschichte. Festschrift für Otto Herding zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Kaspar Elm/Eberhard Gönner/Eugen Hillenbrand (Stuttgart 1977) 24–41; id., *Wege zur Erschließung des Verbrüderungsbuches*, in: *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau* (ed. Johanne Autenrieth/Dieter Geuenich/Karl Schmid, MGH *Libri memoriales et necrologia* NS 1, Hannover 1979) LX–CI, at LXV–LXVIII; Johanne Autenrieth, *Beschreibung des Codex*, in: *ibid.* XV–XLI, at XV–XVI.

<sup>40</sup> Autenrieth, *Codex* XLI.

<sup>41</sup> Schmid, *Mönchslisten* 572–596.

<sup>42</sup> See for example *St Bénigne de Dijon and Cluny*. Joachim Wollasch, *Das Projekt Societas et Fraternalitas*, in: *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. Dieter Geuenich/Otto G. Oexle (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 111, Göttingen 1994) 11–31, at 18f.

<sup>43</sup> Lull of Mainz ordained Eigil priest, Heistolf Hrabanus. The archbishop of Mainz dedicated the abbey church, when it was finished in 819: *Candidus, Vita Aegil I*, 15 (ed. Gereon Becht-Jördens, *Vita Aegil Abbatis Fuldensis a Candido ad Modestum edita Prosa et Versibus. Ein Opus Geminum des IX. Jahrhunderts. Einleitung und kritische Edition*, Marburg 1994) 15; *Candidus, Vita Aegil II*, 17, ed. Becht-Jördens 55–60. For the interference by the archbishop of Mainz in Fulda during the Ratgar conflict, see: *Chronicon Laurissense breve IV*, 44 (ed. Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *NA* 36 [1911]) 15–39, at 38.



The Carolingians also had a special bond with Fulda. In 743, or 744, Carloman, *maior domus* in Eastern Francia, had fitted out Boniface with land in Buchonia to found Fulda.<sup>44</sup> In 765 Pippin, Carloman's brother, and by then king of Francia, placed Fulda under his immediate protection (*tuitio*) and thereby turned it into a royal abbey.<sup>45</sup> In exchange for protection, wealth and status, the monks of Fulda had to pray for the salvation of the king, his family and the people subordinate to him. Additionally, Fulda received some of its most important landholdings from the Carolingians. Under Pippin III there had been relatively little involvement on the part of the Carolingian king with affairs in Fulda, but Charlemagne and his successors drew the monastery into their policy of expansion and consolidation of Carolingian rule.

One extant copy of the *Annales necrologici* (Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. B 1, fol. 6r-21v, probably copied during the abbacy of Haicho (917–923) and continued at intervals until 996), lists the names of members of the Carolingian family, and of their Ottonian successors, and the archbishops of Mainz; the other one (BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6v-29v, composed around 875 and continued until the end of the tenth century) does not.<sup>46</sup> It is very difficult to determine which manuscript reflects who was listed in the *Annales necrologici* in the eighth and ninth century. According to Otto G. Oexle the scribe of Ottob. Lat. 2531 had omitted the names of the Carolingian dynasty and those of the archbishops of Mainz, because he recorded them in a diptych. Yet, Franz Jakobi has argued that the diptych was copied from an older example.<sup>47</sup> When then were the names of the Carolingians and the prelates excluded from the *Annales necrologici*? One could also argue that a diptych was made precisely because their names were originally not recorded in the lists. Furthermore, one of the counts listed in the diptych is also mentioned in the *Annales necrologici*.<sup>48</sup> Had the scribe forgotten to omit him? Another matter of dispute is that some Carolingians (for example Bertrada, the wife of Pippin the Younger, and Hildegard and Fastrada, wives of Charlemagne) are listed under the wrong year.<sup>49</sup> To give one example, Hildegard died in 783 and is enlisted under '780'. Does this mean that their names had not been in the *Annales necrologici* originally, but had been added later, or vice versa?<sup>50</sup> In all cases the evidence is not conclusive, and can be interpreted to support both opposing views.<sup>51</sup>

Even if the Carolingians and archbishops of Mainz were recorded, the *Annales necrologici* still did not reflect the contemporary ties of the monastery with other aristocratic families and other religious communities, although these certainly existed, nor even the intellectual exchanges that flourished at that time and of which Fulda was an integral part.<sup>52</sup> It was clearly a deliberate deci-

<sup>44</sup> Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda, nr. 4 (ed. Edmund E. Stengel, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck 10, Marburg 1913–1958) 1f.; Hussong, Studien 30f.

<sup>45</sup> Eigil, Vita Sturmi 20 (ed. Pius Engelbert, Die Vita Sturmi des Eigils von Fulda. Literarkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck 29, Marburg 1968) 155; Hussong, Studien 100–108.

<sup>46</sup> Oexle, Totenannalen 470.

<sup>47</sup> Jakobi, Amtsträgerlisten 510.

<sup>48</sup> Count Beffo (†855).

<sup>49</sup> To mention some others listed in the *Annales necrologici*: Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Lothar I, Lothar II and Louis the German. BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6v-29v, also lists the names of members of the royal family from the 860s onward, including Louis the Younger (†882), Carloman (†880), Arnulf (†899), Louis the Child (†911), Count Conrad I of Lahngau (†906), Conrad I (†918), Henry I (†936) etc. If *Theotrada abbatissa* can be identified as Theotrada of Argenteuil (†861), daughter of Charlemagne and Fastrada, she is the first Carolingian included, otherwise it is Lothar II (†869).

<sup>50</sup> Oexle, Totenannalen 485.

<sup>51</sup> Anyway, if the Carolingians and the archbishops of Mainz were originally included in the *Annales necrologici*, it would confirm their special relation with the abbey. If their names were not listed, it does not prove that Fulda did not have a special relation with them, for all outsiders were excluded.

<sup>52</sup> Fulda for example was involved in an intensive exchange of manuscripts, students and teachers with Tours. Not only did Abbot Ratgar (802–817) send Hrabanus and Hatto to Tours, he entrusted Brun Candidus to the care of Einhard. Modestus went to Clemens Scottus to study grammar and likewise did students from other communities come to Fulda for education, for example Lupus of Ferrières, Walafrid Strabo and Ermanrich of Ellwangen. See also Eckhard Freise, Studien zum Einzugsbereich der Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda, in: Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren

on rather than accidental omission not to incorporate these contacts outside the community in this particular form of commemoration. Why did the monks of Fulda choose this form of *memoria*? The monks did not want to exclude people from outside from their prayers; this would have meant the extinction of a monastery dependent on the generosity of the world outside. Fulda needed to compete with other religious communities. Therefore it had to attract benefactors, offering them all sorts of benefits such as a place in their commemoration. To close all doors for outsiders, including the gate to salvation, would have been disastrous for the existence of the monastery.<sup>53</sup>

Probably the monks of Fulda recorded the names of those who did not find their way in the *Annales necrologici*, but who did take part in the beneficial effects of the monks' prayers, elsewhere. In the *Supplex libellus*, which sets out the practice as it existed in Fulda before Ratgar became abbot of Fulda in 802, we read that on the anniversary of Sturm the monks remembered their first abbot and the founders of the monastery, by which probably the patrons of the monastery in the early days of its existence are meant.<sup>54</sup> In addition, the monks prayed daily for the king, his family and the *populus christianus* during Office, and every Monday for all living benefactors before the altar that contained the relics of Boniface.<sup>55</sup> As said before, the manuscripts that hold fragments of the *Annales necrologici* also include a diptych of deceased kings and bishops and a list of kings and the archbishops of Mainz. The lists were written around 875, but probably older examples underlie them. There thus must have existed some kind of registration of those who had a right to commemoration in the liturgy because of their special relation with Fulda, or, alternatively, an oral tradition, but all these are now lost to us.<sup>56</sup> The fact that their names were not included in the *Annales necrologici* tells us something about the meaning of these lists. To understand why the monks of Fulda initially decided to enlist only their fellow-brethren, we need to look at the circumstances in which the *Annales necrologici* originated.

#### NEED FOR COHESION

By the time the first entries of the *Annales necrologici* were written, Fulda had become a large, important royal abbey, with extensive property and monks living dispersed over a wide area. Around 779 some three hundred and sixty monks populated the mother convent and the *cellae* of Fulda.<sup>57</sup> By gifts, purchase and exchange the monastery had acquired rural estates from Frisia in the far north to the Bodensee in the south, and from Lotharingia in the west to the eastern frontier of the

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Mittelalter 2, 3, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 1003–1269. *Catalogus abbatum* (ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 13, Hannover 1881) 272–274.

<sup>53</sup> Albertus Demyttenaere, *The Claustralization of the World* (Utrecht 1997); earlier published in: *Klasztor w Sponleczenstwie Sredniowiecznym i Nowozytnym*, ed. Marek Derwich/Anna Popóg-Lenartowicz (Warszawa 1996) 23–41; Barbara Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca–New York 1989).

<sup>54</sup> *Supplex libellus monachorum Fuldensium Carolo imperatori porrectus (AD 812 and 816/17) 1* (ed. Josef Semmler/Kasius Hallinger, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 1: Initia consuetudines benedictinae. Consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, Siegburg 1963) 321: *pro Sturmii quoque abbate et fundatoribus monasterii istius in anniversaria obitus die unam Vigiliam et unum psalterium per singulos annos.*

<sup>55</sup> *Supplex libellus 1*, ed. Semmler 321: *... quod liceat nobis orationum, psalmodiae et Vigiliarum modum tenere, quem patres nostri habuerunt pro amicis nostris viventibus atque defunctis; id est quotidianam precem pro te, domine auguste, et pro liberis tuis et pro omni populo christiano, ... in secunda quoque feria uniuscuiusque septimanae orationem pro omnibus elemosynas nobis tribuentibus: id est eundem psalmum quinquagesimum, quem tota congregatio iuxta corpus beati martyris simul prostrata cantavit cum oratione dominica et versibus.*

<sup>56</sup> See also Alcuin, *Epistola 250*, ed. Dümmler 405; the diptych of 875, in: *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter 1*, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 215f., Faksimile-Teil, Abbildung 6. For a detailed analysis of these sources see my thesis.

<sup>57</sup> Liudger, *Vita Gregorii abbatis Traiectensis 6* (ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15, 1, Hannover 1887) 63–79, at 72: *quadringentorum circiter monachorum, exceptis pulsantibus et aliis minoribus personis, quorum numerus multiplex erat valde*; Schmid, *Mönchslisten 572–582*; De Jong, *Oblation 242–244*.

Frankish empire, which the monks themselves administered.<sup>58</sup> That the community that inhabited the monastic complex and its dependent *cellae* was not a homogeneous and often not a harmonious community. Monks came from different geographical and social backgrounds and were further divided into for example those who had entered as child oblates and those who had come to monastic life as adults; into the seniors and the juniors; and into monks who had achieved the clerical orders and those who had not. To manage such a dynamic and heterogeneous community cannot have been an easy undertaking. The growth of the population of the monastery, the flux of young oblates and the extent of the property of the monastery must have put the community under pressure. Moreover, the Carolingian rulers involved the royal abbey into their political spectrum. At the same time the monks needed to concentrate on preserving the purity of the worship of God. Inevitably these conflicting demands generated friction. Material and personal growth and commitments to the outside world must have weighed heavily upon the minds of the monks and their abbot, for how could they balance inner purity and sacredness on the one hand and secular responsibilities on the other?

Beside the problem of having to balance prayer and secular obligations, the monks of Fulda faced another dilemma in the late 770s: the first abbot and founder of Fulda, a charismatic figure and important point of reference for the community, did not have many more years to live. Sturmi was probably already in his seventies and, if we are to believe his biographer, “weak and weary with age”.<sup>59</sup> After his stay with Charlemagne at the fortification of Eresburg, during a Saxon campaign, Sturmi returned home very ill. This was in 779, the very year that the *Annales necrologici* seem to have been initiated.<sup>60</sup> By then the other founding father of the monastery, namely Boniface, had been dead for twenty-five years. There were thus three potential threats to the coherence and continuity of Fulda: the rapid growth, an increasingly dispersed community, and Sturmi’s approaching demise.

For a relatively new monastery crisis and discord after the death of the founding abbot were real dangers, as is shown by Boniface’s letter to the community of Fritzlar from around 747. The reason for this epistle was the death of the abbot of Fritzlar, a religious community that fell under Boniface’s care:

“I call upon your affection in fatherly love to maintain the order of your monastic way of life the more strictly now that our father Wigbert is gone. Let the priest [also called] Wigbert and the deacon Megingoz expound the rule to you. Let them have charge of the canonical hours and the office of the Church. They are to give advice to the others, to instruct the children and to preach the Word of God to the brethren. Let Hiedde be prior and rule the servants, and let Hunfrid assist him, if need be. Styrmi will take charge of the kitchen. Bernhard is to be labourer and will build our cells as needed. In all matters, wherever necessary, consult Abbot Tatwin and do whatever he may direct. Do your utmost to maintain your chastity, to help each other in your communal life together and to persist in brotherly love as far as your powers allow you to, until, God willing, I shall be with you again. Then together we will praise God and give thanks to him for all his gifts.  
Farewell in Christ.”<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Werner Rösener, Die Grundherrschaft des Klosters Fulda in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit, in: Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen. Kultur – Politik – Wirtschaft, ed. Gangolf Schrimpf (Fuldaer Studien 4, Frankfurt am Main 1992) 209–224; Ulrich Weidinger, Untersuchungen zur Wirtschaftsstruktur des Klosters Fulda in der Karolingerzeit (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 36, Stuttgart 1991) 119.

<sup>59</sup> (Würzburg manuscript) *infirmum, iam senectute fessum*; (the other manuscripts) *iam infirmum ac senectute fessum*. Eigil, Vita Sturmi 25, ed. Engelbert 161.

<sup>60</sup> Eigil, Vita Sturmi 24, ed. Engelbert 160; Joachim Wollasch, Mönchtum des Mittelalters zwischen Kirche und Welt (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 7, München 1973) 35.

<sup>61</sup> Bonifatius, Epistola 40 (ed. Michael Tangl, S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae, MGH EE Selectae 1, Berlin 1955) 64f.: *Paterno amore dilectionem vestram obsecro, ut eo maiore monasterialis normam vitę custodire studeatis, quo pater noster Uuigbertus defunctus est. Uuigbertus presbiter et Megingotus diaconus regulam vestram vobis insinuet et spirituales horas et cursum ecclesiae custodiant et ceteros admoneant et magistri sint infantum et predicent verbum Dei fratribus. Hiedde sit prepositus et servos nostros admoneat; et Hunfridus adiuuet illum, ubicumque opus sit. Styrme in coquina sit. Bernhardus operarius sit et edificet domuncula nostra, ubi opus sit. Et de omnibus, ubicumque vobis necesse sit, Tatuuinum abbatem interrogate et quodcumque vobis insinuet, hoc facite. Et unusquisque studeat secundum vires suas et proprios mores in castitate conservare et in communi vita vestra alterum adiuuare et in fraterna caritate permanere usque ad praesentiam reversionis nostrae in Dei voluntate. Et tunc simul laudantes Dominum in omnibus ei gratias agamus. Valet in Christo.* Translation by Ephraim

Boniface comforted the brothers of Fritzlar now their abbot had died and arranged the tasks and relationships among them. Obviously the neglect of a monastic way of life and the falling apart of the community were genuine dangers for a relatively young religious community that just had lost its leader. With the letter the bishop tried to safeguard its continuity, concord and harmony. Boniface's letter is but one example, which bears witness to people's awareness of the challenge of the difficulties of keeping a community together and safeguarding its continuity.<sup>62</sup>

The making of the *Annales necrologici* matches perfectly with the need to create coherence and continuity in the monastery of Fulda. The lists united all the monks of Fulda, whether they lived in the mother convent or in the *cellae* of the monastery. The exclusion of outsiders strengthened the unity that the *Annales necrologici* tried to express and accomplish even more. Continuity was created through the listing of the names of the deceased monks, going back to Fulda's founder Sturmi. Together the names formed an unbroken chronological link that connected the present with the past of the monastery.

Let us now look at whether the intention to create continuity and cohesion expressed by the *Annales necrologici* was also reflected in the liturgical context in which these lists were probably used or in the practice of burial.

### BURIAL AND LITURGY

Presumably, the deceased monks of Fulda were not only listed together in the *Annales necrologici* but were also buried together at the same cemetery, waiting for their resurrection. The first source to mention a monastic cemetery is the *Vita Aegil*, written in the 840s and dedicated to Fulda's fourth abbot Egil (818–822). The text recalls among other things the construction of the funerary chapel that Egil started in 820 as a place of intercessory prayer for the souls of the dead monks who lay buried at the cemetery. It was a small, round church (*rotunda*) with a vaulted crypt and ambulatory.<sup>63</sup> The church was dedicated to the archangel St Michael, here called upon as the guide of the souls of the dead.<sup>64</sup> The layout and architecture of the chapel, the holy objects it contained (the Eucharist), the relics inside the altars (for example earth from Bethlehem and a piece of Christ's tomb) and the dedication St Michael, all symbolised the redemption of mankind through Christ and were meant to help the dead.<sup>65</sup> Egil built the church on the monastic cemetery, *qua corpora fratrum hinc defuncta iacent*, that lay north of the abbey church. Other sources also suggest that only monks of Fulda were buried at the cemetery, as they refer to the burial ground as *coemiterium fratrum*.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately the cemetery has never been properly excavated. We therefore cannot know with certainty that for example lay benefactors were not interred there. That the cemetery was exclusively for monks is an attractive suggestion that cannot be proved nor disproved.

The importance of being part of one community – one that extended from the world of living into the realm of the dead – as it was expressed textually by the *Annales necrologici* and possibly spatially in the cemetery, also came to the fore in liturgical practice. Since the *Annales necrologici*

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Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface, with a new introduction and bibliography* by Thomas F.X. Noble (New York 2000) 45f., slightly altered by me.

<sup>62</sup> One way of dealing with these problems was the production of texts that defined the congregation in terms of physical and spiritual boundaries, for example in the shape of a *Vita*, a foundation history or a monastic rule. For example, the *Vita Caesarii* and Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani*. See Albrecht Diem, *Keusch und Rein. Eine Untersuchung zu den Ursprüngen des frühmittelalterlichen Klosterwesens und seinen Quellen* (PhD Utrecht 2000) 10.

<sup>63</sup> Candidus, *Vita Aegil* I, 17, ed. Becht-Jördens 16.

<sup>64</sup> Hrabanus, *Martyrologium*, ed. McCulloh 12; Olfried Ellger, *Die Michaelskirche zu Fulda als Zeugnis der Totenseelsorge. Zur Konzeption einer Friedhofs- und Grabkirche im Karolingischen Kloster Fulda* (Veröffentlichungen des Fuldaer Geschichtsvereins 55, Fulda 1989) 71–78.

<sup>65</sup> See for the allegorical meaning of the church: Candidus, *Vita Aegil* I, 17, ed. Becht-Jördens 16. Further: Ellger, *Michaelskirche* 71–78.

<sup>66</sup> Hrabanus, *Martyrologium* (16 January), ed. McCulloh 12; *In monasterio quoque Fuldae dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis in cimiterio fratrum*. In the *titulus* that Hrabanus dedicated to the church, he wrote: *in coemiterio fratrum in ecclesia sancti Michaelis*. Hrabanus Maurus, *Carmen* 42, ed. Dümmler 209.

were structured by year, it was impossible to use these lists to commemorate the monks individually on their day of death. Extant sources of liturgical traditions in Fulda show that the monks of Fulda indeed always remembered their fellow-brethren as a group and not individually. In the *Supplex libellus* we read that each day at morning service and after vespers the monks remembered the deceased *fratres* with an antiphon and psalm. Every first day of the month they said a Vigil and fifty psalms for their fellow-brethren.<sup>67</sup> From one of Alcuin's letters (around 801/02) we know that he had written a formula for mass for the deceased monks; again, not individually, but for all the deceased monks together.<sup>68</sup> From the middle of the ninth century onward liturgical calendars composed in Fulda note on 11 October "a remembrance of the monks", *recordatio fratrum*, which is another reference to a form of communal commemoration in Fulda.<sup>69</sup> There is no written evidence that the *Annales necrologici* were used during these observances, but it is likely that they were. Given that memorial books usually were placed upon the altar one may assume that during the ceremonies this is also where the *Annales necrologici* were placed,<sup>70</sup> quite possibly near the tomb of Boniface or the one of Sturm, the other founder of Fulda and its first abbot.<sup>71</sup>

The commemorative gatherings, where all the monks remembered those members who had already passed away as one group, must have effected and strengthened the cohesion of the Fulda community, encompassing both the living and the dead. Through commemoration, the deceased were brought into the presence of the remembering community: the eternal and the temporal were linked.<sup>72</sup> Without doubt the monks did not recite the names of all the brethren that were written down in the *Annales necrologici* out loud. In the course of time the lists simply became too long. With the increasing number of people that a community had to remember also elsewhere the recital of names became less common.<sup>73</sup> Some communities considered it sufficient to refer to the list of names that lay on the altar.<sup>74</sup> Sometimes a general formula was used, embracing the names of those to be prayed for, as for example: "for all Christians, all who in fear of you are revealed to me, a sinner, and who have donated their alms".<sup>75</sup> The *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont contains three mass formulae, of which one was written to remember the deceased fellow-nuns. This mass was celebrated: "for... the peace ... of the abbesses and nuns who rest in Christ in this monastery or elsewhere and of who the names are written in this memorial book, and [for the peace] of all the faithful orthodox Catholics

<sup>67</sup> *Supplex Libellus* 1, ed. Semmler 321f.: *pro defunctis ergo fratribus nostris commemorationem illam, quam quotidie bis habuimus, id est post matutinam celebrationem et vespertinam, quae est antiphona videlicet Requiem aeternam et prima pars psalmi Te decet hymnus deus, versus et collecta; in kalendis vero omnium mensium unam Vigiliam et quinquaginta psalmos.*

<sup>68</sup> Alcuin, *Epistola* 250, ed. Dümmler 405: *Misi cartulam missalem vobis, o sanctissimi presbiteri, ut habeatis singulis diebus, quibus preces Deo dirigere cuilibet placeat: ... vel etiam fratribus de hoc saeculo recedentibus facere velit orationes.*

<sup>69</sup> The first calendar in which this commemoration was listed is Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Barth. 32, fol. 3r. For the edition of this calendar, and the other Fulda calendars dating from the ninth-twelfth centuries, see: Sirka Heyne, *Studien zur Mainzer und Fuldaer Liturgiegeschichte* (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte 73, Mainz 1996).

<sup>70</sup> The *Annales necrologici* probably were no showpiece. The copy displayed in a showcase in the Hessische Landesbibliothek in Fulda is about 20 by 30 cm, with no illuminations.

<sup>71</sup> This is where remembrance of the living benefactors took place, and in his letter accompanying the formulae for mass Alcuin referred to it as a place of prayer. So, perhaps also other kinds of commemoration took place at Boniface's tomb. Cf. Alcuin, *Epistola* 250, ed. Dümmler 405.

<sup>72</sup> Boon, *Eredienst* 79–86; Otto G. Oexle, *Die Gegenwart der Toten*, in: *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. Herman Braet/Werner Verbeke (*Mediaevalia Lovaniensia* 1, 9, Louvain 1983) 19–77.

<sup>73</sup> Oexle, *Memorialüberlieferung* 77. See also Constable, *Remiremont* 263f.; Edmund Bishop, *Some ancient Benedictine confraternity books*, in: *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*, ed. id. (Oxford 1962) 349–361, at 354.

<sup>74</sup> For example: *Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum et eorum quorum nomina ad memorandum conscripsimus ac super sanctum altare tuum scripta adesse videntur*. Jacobus Pamelius, *Liturgica Latina* 2 (Köln 1571) 180; Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite. Its Origins and Development* 2, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Westminster 1986) 164, note 25.

<sup>75</sup> Adalbert Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter*. *Iter Italicum* (Freiburg 1896) 128: *... omnium Christianorum, omnium qui mihi peccatori propter tuo timore confessi sunt et suas elemosynas ... donaverunt*. Cf. Jungmann, *Mass* 2, 164, note 24.

who rest here in Christ and of all who rest in the vicinity of this monastery".<sup>76</sup> Perhaps the celebrant in Fulda used a similar clause referring to the *Annales necrologici* or to the monastic cemetery in his prayer for the deceased monks of Fulda. Clearly, the significance of the commemoration of the dead and its effect did not solely depend on quantities of recited names.<sup>77</sup> The presence of the book of names on the holy altar, sanctified through the proximity to the relics of the saint(s) and the consecration ritual, as well as the regularity and the communal nature of the ritual, always within the same setting, caused the effect of commemoration.

From the second quarter of the ninth century also the meaningfulness of Sturmi as representation of Fulda's foundation, as we have seen it in the *Annales necrologici*, is evoked in liturgical ritual. As stated earlier, two extant copies of the *Annales necrologici* start with the name of Sturmi, marked in red ink, followed by a list of his successors. Representing the foundation of the monastery Sturmi was considered to be the beginning of Fulda's history and therefore became the starting point of the *Annales necrologici*.<sup>78</sup> Under Eigil (818–822), the liturgical commemoration of the deceased monks of the community was also tied to the anniversary of Sturmi, first abbot and founder of Fulda. Eigil's dealings were first of all aimed to stimulate the veneration of Sturmi, who used to be remembered with a Vigil and Psalter, but was now turned into a patron saint of the monastery with a translation, a Vita and an anniversary.<sup>79</sup> The abbot instituted that on Sturmi's anniversary the Vita Sturmi, which he shortly before had written and which largely deals with the foundation of Fulda and its beginning years, was read out during the mealtime of the monks. By connecting the anniversary of Fulda's founder and first abbot, Sturmi, with the remembrance of the monks who had died since Sturmi's death, Eigil positioned the community of Fulda firmly in time, and the chronological structure of the *Annales necrologici* was enhanced.

The place of commemoration of the dead *fratres* might therefore have been the grave of Sturmi, which was near the altar of St Ignatius, a famous second-century martyr, in the northern aisle of the abbey church. As said above Eigil had also built a funerary chapel, but this *rotunda* was too small to house all the monks of Fulda. Communal gatherings to remember the deceased fellow-brethren probably still took place in the abbey church, presumably near the sepulchre of Fulda's first abbot, if not at Boniface's grave.

### SALVATION HISTORY

Even though the wish to create coherence and unity seems a plausible explanation for why the *Annales necrologici* initially only listed monks of Fulda, it does not explain why the initiators of this commemoration decided in favour of an annalistic form to record the names of their deceased fellow monks.<sup>80</sup> First of all, structuring time according to the year of Incarnation (*Annus Domini*) was a relatively rare way of timekeeping in this period. It did not become common until the ninth century.<sup>81</sup> Secondly, other memorial books were ordered like calendars, arranging their entries according to the date of death, or they divided the names of those to be prayed for into different categories, for example 'living' and 'dead', 'kings' and 'bishops'. We know of only one other extant medieval example of commemorative lists similar to the *Annales necrologici* of Fulda, i.e. the *Annales*

<sup>76</sup> Liber memorialis Romaricensis, ed. Hlawitschka/Schmid/Tellenbach 42 (on fol. 19v–20r): *pro ... requiem ... abbatum et sororum in hoc monasterio siue ubicumque in Christo quiescentium et quorum nomina in hoc memoriali scripta videntur vel omnium fidelium catholicorum orthodoxorum hic in Christo quiescentium et omnium qui in circuitu in hoc monasterio requiescunt*. 'In circuitu' can also refer to the ambulatory of the monastery.

<sup>77</sup> Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca–New York 1994) 55–101.

<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately it is no longer possible to retrieve whether this was due to Eigil's doing.

<sup>79</sup> Eigil seems not to have immediately succeeded in his attempts to turn Sturmi into a saint. See Raaijmakers, Fulda 82–85.

<sup>80</sup> To give some examples of headings: *anno ab incarnatione domini* (BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6v); *annus domini* (Ibid. fol. 24r, and Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Hs. B 1, fol. 17r), *anno domini incarnationis* (Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Hs. B 1, fol. 6r).

<sup>81</sup> McKitterick, *Memory* 86–93.

necrologici of Prüm, composed in the eleventh century and continued until 1104.<sup>82</sup> But this was a clear case of imitation: the monks of Prüm deliberately copied Fulda's example, including the lists of Fulda monks, because of an exclusive confraternity of prayer between both communities.<sup>83</sup> Given the relative rarity of this kind of timekeeping on the Continent in the eighth century it is striking that the monks of Fulda structured the 'Book of Life' of their community according to Incarnation years.

As I have argued elsewhere the *Annales necrologici* need to be considered in light of a broader tradition in Fulda that covered both liturgical *memoria* and annalistic historiography and that included the *Annales Fuldenses antiquissimi*.<sup>84</sup> *Annales Fuldenses antiquissimi* is a nineteenth century name for entries made by Fulda monks in the margins of Easter Tables (See Figure 3).<sup>85</sup> In the margins of the cycles, monastic scribes had entered notations that concerned Carolingian history, and happenings related to their own community and the neighbouring area, which were therefore important for the *memoria* of the monastery, such as the foundation of the monastery, the beginning of the building of the new abbey church and the election of Ratgar in 802.<sup>86</sup> In 779, the same year in which the *Annales necrologici* were started, a new edition of the *Annales Fuldenses antiquissimi* was made.<sup>87</sup> As Richard Corradini convincingly has shown, the short historical notes in Easter cycles were used to connect two kinds of time: the liturgical cycles of the martyrologies, necrologies and calendars and the linear dating according to Incarnation years. He places the marginalia in the context of the attempt of the Carolingians to establish themselves within the monastic *memoria* for the benefit of their salvation and the well-being of the empire. By orienting important events of royal and local history in relation to the Incarnation of Christ, the Frankish people and the local community that recorded these events were incorporated in salvation history. As such the historical notes in the Easter Tables bridged temporal time and eternal time. Secular history was situated within the liturgical cycles and became part of the collective memory of the monastic community.<sup>88</sup> In a similar way, the *Annales necrologici* were intended to structure time in relation to the Incarnation of Christ. By listing the names of their fellow-brethren under the year *Anno Domini* in which they had died, the monks of Fulda embedded their past, represented by the deceased members of the monastic community and starting with Sturmi, Fulda's founder, in salvation history. Every time the lists were put on the altar for liturgical use, all the names were commended to God and the promise of eternal life that this book contained was strengthened and revalidated.

<sup>82</sup> Schmid, Suche 130.

<sup>83</sup> Prüm's *Annales necrologici* included the file of Fulda monks registered between 1039 and 1065 and members of communities with which Fulda had entered into a prayer alliance. Edition: Die Prümer Totenannalen (PT), (ed. Otto G. Oexle/Karl Schmid, in: Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter 1, ed. Karl Schmid [Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978]) 364–384; Oexle, Memorialüberlieferung 136f.; Gerd Althoff, Die Beziehungen zwischen Fulda und Prüm im 11. Jahrhundert, in: Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter 2, 2, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 888–930, especially at 889, 919 and 922–926.

<sup>84</sup> Raaijmakers, Fulda 47–53.

<sup>85</sup> Easter Tables are tables made for a longer period of time in which priests could easily look up when Easter should be celebrated.

<sup>86</sup> See the edition included in Richard Corradini's article: Zeiträume – Schrifträume. Überlegungen zur Komputistik und Marginalchronographie am Beispiel der *Annales Fuldenses antiquissimi*, in: Vom Nutzen des Schreibens. Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz, ed. Walter Pohl/Paul Herold (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 5, Wien 2003) 113–163. The Münster manuscript is transmitted to us, but as one page is missing, the historical notes for the years 741–759 and 760–778 are absent. Corradini, Zeiträume 131; id., The rhetoric of crisis: Computus and Liber annalis in early ninth-century Fulda, in: The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages. Texts, Resources and Artifacts, ed. Richard Corradini/Max Diesenberger/Helmut Reimitz (The Transformation of the Roman World 12, Leiden/Boston 2003) 281–282.

<sup>87</sup> The question is whether the initiation of the *Annales necrologici* was only related to the *Annales Fuldenses antiquissimi*, or whether there was also a link with the lunar cycles. As Corradini has pointed out to me, in 779 a new nineteen-year lunar cycle started. 1063 was the last year of the 532-year cycle. Shortly afterwards the *Annales necrologici* stopped.

<sup>88</sup> Corradini, Rhetoric 303f. See also the contribution of Irene van Renswoude in this volume: Time is on our side: liturgical time and political history in the Chronicle of Lobbes.

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In dñi In hac con lum luo Dispo  
 m xpi die celum cu pab papu Dispo  
 ... ..  
 Decdi mül in xum utd ap  
 Decdu x xi in cum xl ap papu si pua  
 Decdm xi xxi i x id ap xumpo  
 Decdm xii in i in id ap in monasteria pul  
 Decdu xxi in ii in id ap u p ap  
 Decdm xxi in iii in id ap x p ad xxi  
 Decdm xii in iii in id ap in p ap  
 Decdm xxi in i u xumpo x p ad xxi oco  
 Decdx xxi in iii in id ap id ap  
 Decel xxi in iii in id ap in p ap  
 Decli xxi in iii in id ap xumpo xumpo xxi  
 Decdm xxi in iii in id ap utd ap xxi  
 Decdm xxi in iii x p ap um p ap xxi  
 Decdm xxi in i xi in id ap xumpo xxi Boni panti axi  
 Decdu xxi in ii xii p ap um id ap xxi  
 Decdm xxi in iii xii in id ap u p ap xxi  
 Decdm xxi in ii xiii in id ap in id ap xxi  
 Decdm xxi in iii xii in id ap in p ap xxi  
 Decdx xxi in xii in id ap x p ap xxi Eñ

Fig. 3: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14641, fol. 38r.



## CHANGE

The *Annales necrologici* do not present a static view of Fulda, but rather show how the community's self-definition changed over time. At first only monks of Fulda found their way into the lists; the exceptions can be counted on one hand. Under Hrabanus Maurus and his successors the policy to include only monks of Fulda in the *Annales necrologici* slowly started to change. From the 830s onwards the names of some bishops and of a few noblemen and -women appear in the *Annales necrologici*. The second half of the ninth century saw a steady rise in the inclusion of 'outsiders'. The abbots of allied monasteries nearby, namely Lorsch, Corvey and Hersfeld, were included, as were members from aristocratic families from Eastern Francia, Thuringia and Eastern Saxony. Lay people became even more prominent in the lists as the number of monks in Fulda and accordingly the number of entries in the *Annales necrologici* declined.<sup>89</sup> Around the year 900 the number of ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries listed in the *Annales necrologici* decreased, to expand again in the tenth century, with a high point in the 980s–990s.<sup>90</sup>

We can only guess what the reasons behind these changes were. According to Jakobi the insertion of names of outsiders was due to a shift of the balance of power and the collapse of Carolingian rule.<sup>91</sup> Because of changing political circumstances the monks of Fulda, who had always been closely connected with the Carolingian kings, became more and more dependent on local aristocratic families. As the monks of Fulda came to rely on others for patronage and protection, the names of those with whom the monastery had entered into alliances of prayer and protection were also entered into the *Annales necrologici*.

In my opinion this explanation is not completely satisfactory. First of all, Jakobi assumes that the Carolingians had been listed in the *Annales necrologici* from the start, but as we have seen there are also good reasons to believe that the names of the members of the Carolingian family were added only later. Secondly, local patrons already played an important part in monastic politics before the downfall of the Carolingians. They had been long remembered for this by the monks, who, as we have seen, said prayers for the founders and benefactors of the monastery. Thirdly, even though the balance of power changed, the relationship of Fulda and the Carolingians remained close. The abbots still did good service for the rulers, travelling to Rome as their envoys and marching in the king's army against the Moravians and later the Magyars.<sup>92</sup> Fourthly, an increasing dependence on local families for patronage and protection does not inevitably lead to inclusion in the *Annales necrologici*. A diptych listing the names of the patrons would also have served the purpose of rewarding these benefactors for their benevolence. Nevertheless, what then caused the change is difficult to establish. To get a better understanding of these developments more research needs to be done.<sup>93</sup>

Along with the alterations in the scope of the *Annales necrologici* the meaning of the commemorative registers for the community changed. It was probably no coincidence that simultaneous with the easing of the regulation concerning who was enlisted in the *Annales necrologici* and who was not the monks of Fulda started to turn to other forms of commemoration and to other means of recording their dead. We know that during the abbaacy of Sigihart (869–891) it became common to commemorate deceased fellow-brethren on their day of death. In the *Gesta abbatum* we read that after the monks had read a chapter from the Rule of Benedict and the relevant entry from the martyrology they sang three psalms in commemoration of the *fratres* who had died on that particular day.<sup>94</sup> One would expect that the monks used a necrology for this, but if such a book ever existed, it has

<sup>89</sup> Schmid, *Mönchslisten* 615.

<sup>90</sup> Jakobi, *Magnaten*, 792–887.

<sup>91</sup> Jakobi, *Magnaten* 865f. See also Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages. The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, Cambridge 2000) 210–250.

<sup>92</sup> Rudolf Schieffer, *Fulda, Abtei der Könige und Kaiser*, in: *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen. Kultur – Politik – Wirtschaft*, ed. Gangolf Schrimpf (Fuldaer Studien 4, Frankfurt am Main 1992) 39–55, at 48–50.

<sup>93</sup> To fully understand this change it is necessary to inventory each individual and his specific relation with Fulda. I hope to continue this line of research in the revision of my thesis into a book.

<sup>94</sup> *Catalogus abbatum*, ed. Waitz 273: *Hic constituit anniuersariam fratrum eodem die defunctorum cotidie cum tribus psalmis statim post capitulum.*

left no trace. The two necrologies of Fulda that have been transmitted to us contain the names of monks who died around 1000.<sup>95</sup> One copy of the *Annales necrologici* (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4012), which records the names of those who passed away between 779 and 793 and 862/863 and 890, also includes the dates of death of the deceased monks, although like the other copies it is structured according to the year of death. The dates of death were thus known in Fulda, but the *Annales necrologici* were not the means with which to look them up.

Archaeological sources also suggest that in the second half of the ninth century Fulda monks were commemorated individually. Near the *rotunda* of St Michael archaeologists have found stones with the names and dates of deaths of Fulda monks engraved on them. The oldest stone belongs to a certain monk named Harthleih, who died 21 January 863.<sup>96</sup> These commemorative stones, of which two were built into the church of St Michael, hint at individual remembrance of the deceased fellow-brethren on their day of death at least from the 860s onward. This change, however, did not result immediately in a loss of value of the *Annales necrologici* for the monastic community. They were continued and used until 1065.<sup>97</sup> And even though Abbot Sigihart had instituted a commemoration of deceased fellow-brethren on their date of death, we have also seen that it was under his abbacy that a new copy of the *Annales necrologici* (BAV Ottob. lat. 2531, fol. 6v-29v) was made. However, the meaning of the *Annales necrologici* and their function seems to have slowly changed. They were no longer an exclusive instrument to create internal cohesion. Additionally, the *Annales necrologici* no longer recorded the names of all the monks of Fulda.<sup>98</sup> Of those who inhabited the monastic dependencies, not all found their way into the lists. Furthermore, the names of those who lived in the cells differed substantially from the ones of those who resided in the mother convent, presumably because each community had its own network from which it recruited monks.<sup>99</sup> This could be an indication of the growing independence of the dependencies in relation to Fulda at the end of the ninth century.

## CONCLUSION

In the initial phase the *Annales necrologici* cannot have been more than a list of names on a piece of parchment. Within three centuries they had become an impressive pedigree of the community of Fulda. Together the manuscripts of the *Annales necrologici* contain a substantial part of the history of Fulda, from the first abbot until the eleventh century. Using Incarnation years the monks embedded this past, represented by their deceased fellow-brethren, in an order of time of which Christ was the beginning and the end. Structuring the lists of deceased monks according to *Anno Domini* referred, at least in the eighth and ninth century, to the belief that the history in which the monks took part was salvation history. Their part in this history started with Sturm, who in the monastic tradition came to be remembered as first abbot and founder of Fulda and who as such personified the holy moment of the monastery's foundation. His name constituted the beginning of the *Annales necrologici*.

Given that commemoration first of all was directed at the intercessory prayer, which aimed to ensure salvation, the monks of Fulda seem to have initiated the *Annales necrologici* not only to record feelings of unity but also to effect and direct them. They wrote the names of their dead in the *Annales*

<sup>95</sup> Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek ms. Scal. 49, fol. 1–47, a martyrology composed around 1020–1030 with necrological notes added in the same period in the margin, and Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Hs. 4<sup>o</sup> D 28, fol. 2r-62r, a necrology of Frauenberg from the first half of the fifteenth century. Joachim Wollasch, *Die Necrologien in der Edition der Gedenküberlieferung von Fulda*, in: *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter* 2, 2, ed. Karl Schmid (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8, München 1978) 931–52, at 934–938.

<sup>96</sup> Ellger, Michaelskirche 93; Ludwig Pralle, *Das Dom-Museum zu Fulda* (Fulda 1972) nr. 8.

<sup>97</sup> In addition to this, observances to commemorate the monastic community as a whole continued to exist. See for example: *Sacramentarium Fuldense Saeculi X* (ed. Gregor Richter/Albert Schönfelder, Fulda 1912, repr. in: Henry Bradshaw Society 101, Farnborough 1977).

<sup>98</sup> Schmid, *Mönchslisten* 633f.

<sup>99</sup> Schmid, *Mönchslisten* 634.

necrologici not only as mnemonics during the practice of commemoration, but most of all as witnesses to the membership of the community of Fulda. One of the things that tied all the monks of Fulda together was the knowledge that after their death, their names would be inscribed in these lists and that they would be commemorated together with their fellow-brethren who had passed away before them, participating in the beneficant prayers of the living monks, until the End of Times when all monks of Fulda would be reunited in the presence of God. The prominence of being one community was also enforced in the liturgy and possibly at the cemetery. None of the monks was remembered individually; all were commemorated as one *congregatio*, in a recurrent ritual, in the same liturgical space.

This started to change around the middle of the ninth century. While bishops, abbots and abbesses of other monasteries, and members of aristocratic families found their way into the *Annales necrologici*, the monks themselves turned to other forms of commemoration. Still, the lists did not lose their value in forming and symbolising the identity of the living community, while preserving its collective memory. The *Annales necrologici* are therefore a valuable reflection of the dynamics of creating a community and of how this process changed over time.

