

# Table of Contents

ABOUT THE TRANSLATION .....	9
FOREWORD .....	13
INTRODUCTION .....	17
The Constructed Corpse: Methodology, Structure, and Goals .....	19
Burial between Norm and Practice .....	20
St Augustine and the “Constructed” Sanctity .....	22
The Staged Corpse .....	23
No Fear of the Dead .....	25
Body Parts and the Gaze Upon the Dead Body .....	27
A Topic between Popular Hype and Historical Lack of Interest: The State of Research .....	27
CHAPTER I: THE BURIED CORPSE .....	35
The Corpse and the Resurrection .....	35
The Soul, the Corpse, and the Beyond .....	41
The Eternal and the Eternally Disturbed Grave .....	47
Drowning and the Element of Baptism .....	53
Cremating the Dead: Between Concern and Banning .....	61
The Proper Burial in the Middle Ages .....	67
The Quest for the Phantom: The “Standard” Burial in the Christian Middle Ages .....	68
Symbolism of Light and the Position of the Dead in the Grave .....	70
Solitary Burial and Group Affiliation of the Corpse .....	75

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Corpse is Coming to the Living: The Cult of the Martyrs and the Burial with Saints .....	77
The Development of the Church Graveyard .....	82
Interment in the Time of Crisis .....	88
War Dead and Their Graves .....	90
Death as a Result of Epidemics, the Black Death, and Burial .....	109
The Corpse Portrayed .....	117
Summary .....	124
 CHAPTER II: THE HOLY CORPSE .....	129
Real Presence and the Cult of Relics .....	130
The Holy Corpse as a Self-Determined Being .....	134
Transfer of Relics and Fragmenting of the Corpse .....	136
Desired Relics, Corpse Desecration, and the Dead as a Valuable Treasure .....	142
The Corpse as Proof of Sanctity .....	149
“Corpus Incorruptum,” Mumification, and Created Sanctity .....	152
The Aromatically Smelling Corpse .....	165
Innocent Liquids: The <i>Leichenöl</i> .....	170
Medieval Complementary Logic: The Corpses of the “Valde Boni” and the “Valde Mali” .....	171
Summary .....	174
 CHAPTER III: EMBALMING AND THE PRESERVATION OF CORPSES .....	177
Ancient Embalming in the Middle Ages .....	180
Ancient Mummies and the Christian Occident .....	180
“Aromatibus conditum”—The Biblical Model and Early Christian Embalming .....	183
Embalming in the Time of the Merovingians .....	190
Sanctity and (Repeated) Embalming .....	193
Change of the Embalming Technique in the Time of the Carolingians .....	198
Rotting and the Ideal of a Fast Burial .....	199

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Ritual of Burial and the Transport of the Corpse .....	202
A New Method: Opening of the Corpse to Remove the Entrails and the Badly Smelling Corpse of Charles the Bald .....	205
Embalming in the High Middle Ages .....	210
Transfer of Corpses since the High Middle Ages .....	215
Embalming in the Tenth Century .....	215
Embalming in the Time of the Salian and the Hohenstaufen Dynasties .....	216
Robert Guiscard, Sven Gabelbart, and Embalming in the Kingdom of England .....	223
Embalming in the Kingdom of France .....	229
The Desert and the King of Jerusalem .....	231
Popes and Saints .....	232
Roland, Henry the Lion, and the Deer Hide: Embalming Practice in the Literary Discourse .....	235
Corpse Transport and Social Prestige: Changes in the Process of Embalming in the Course of the High Middle Ages .....	240
Kitchen, Cooking, and the Treatment of the Corpse .....	241
Cooking the Corpse—a "mos Teutonicus"? .....	242
Boiling of Corpses in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries .....	245
The Bull "Detestandae feritatis" by Pope Boniface VIII from 1299 and the End of Boiling Corpses .....	258
The White Bone: The Sanctity of the Boiled Body .....	261
Individuals Charged with Taking Care of the Corpse and Corpse Washing .....	263
Dissection of the Corpse and the Professionalization of Embalming .....	273
Ar-Razi and Medicine in the High Middle Ages .....	275
Henry of Mondeville, Guy de Chauliac, and the Process of Embalming in Late Medieval and Early Modern Medicine .....	277
Innovations in High and Late Medieval Embalming Processes and the Anthropological and Archeological Data .....	290
Opening of the Three Corporal Cavities .....	291

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Application of Mercury .....	295
Wax and Linen .....	297
Galen and the Cold, Humid Corpse: Drying of the Corpse as a Technique in Embalming .....	301
Aerial Drying of the Corpse .....	302
Hygiene or the Preservation of the Corpse: Gypsum, Lime, and Hops .....	303
Booming of Embalming: From the Eighteenth Century to Today .....	305
Embalming, Preservation of the Body, and the Cult of Relics .....	308
Summary .....	312
 CHAPTER IV: AUTHORITY AND THE CORPSE .....	 317
Visiting a Corpse—the Visit by a Corpse .....	318
The Ruler's Corpse as a Sign of Victory .....	325
The Specialists of Death and Their Ruler Clientele: The Location of the Grave and the Row of Corpses as a Means for Legitimization .....	328
Conversion, Legitimacy, and the Beloved Bones of the Ancestors .....	339
Summary .....	341
 CHAPTER V: THE COMMUNITY OF THE DEAD AND THE CORPSE IN THE "ORDO" .....	 345
Hierarchy of the Funeral Sites .....	345
The Unclean Corpse and the Church as a Burial Site .....	347
Old Age, Gender, and Kinship: The Hierarchy of the Burial Sites in Medieval Cemeteries .....	358
Grave Donations Between Here and the Afterlife .....	362
Clothing Provides Status to the Dead: Insignia of Social Class and the Identification of Corpses .....	368
Pedum, Paten, Chalice, and Ring: The Burial of Priests and Bishops .....	369
Crown, Scepter, Orb, and Royal Vestments: The Burial of Emperors and Kings .....	375
Does God Forget the Names of the Dead? Tables with Inscriptions as Burial Objects and Inscriptions on the Sarcophagus .....	383

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Monastic Habit and Valuable Thread: Monks, Noblemen, Simple People, and Their Clothing for the Beyond .....	389
Objects Useful for the Corpse .....	395
Relics, Torture Instruments, and Hosts: Supporters for the Dead .....	396
Written Documents, Indulgence Letters, and Seals as Documents of Faith .....	399
Dead Pilgrims .....	402
Plants and Herbs, Holy Water, Incense, and Coal: Funerary Objects Between Practice and Symbolism .....	404
Shoes for the Day of Judgment .....	408
Summary .....	409
 CHAPTER VI: THE CORPSE AND THE LAW .....	411
The Corpse as the Interim Occupant of an Office .....	412
The Corpse as Both Subject and Object of the Law .....	417
The Corpse at Court .....	418
Strikes with the Sword, Bleeding Corpses, and the Beginning of Forensics in the Middle Ages .....	420
The Cemetery as a Place of Trial .....	427
Marking Borders, Church Authority, and the Value of the Corpse .....	429
The Funeral of the Corpse as an Economic Factor .....	430
The Corpse and Marking of Borders .....	432
Summary .....	434
 CHAPTER VII: THE LIVING CORPSE .....	437
The Sleeping Dead and Its Physically Continued Life .....	443
Signs of Life: Speaking, Bleeding, and Continued Growth of Nails and Hair .....	446
Funeral Ritual to Prevent the Appearance of Revenants .....	449
Placing Weights on the Corpse and the Separation and Breaking of the Legs .....	451
Decapitation .....	454
Impalement, Nailing Down, and Interment at a Crossroad .....	456

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Vampires in the Middle Ages? The Cremation of Revenants .....	459
Obol and Payment of the Dead: Funerary Objects as a One-Way Ticket to the Afterlife? .....	464
The Corpse Besieged by Demons .....	469
The Active Corpse .....	472
Summary .....	475
 CHAPTER VIII: THE DESTRUCTION AND DESECRATION OF CORPSES .....	479
Deviation from the Funerary Ritual as Punishment and Exclusion .....	481
Denial of Burial in Sacred Ground .....	484
On Children Under the Church's Eaves and Pilgrimage Sites: The Unbaptized Dead and Children According to Archaeological Data .....	488
Suicide and the Corpses of Suicide Victims .....	498
Excommunicated Corpses and Death Under the Interdict .....	501
The Example of Emperor Henry IV .....	503
A Few Years of Eternity, or Was There a Permanent Exclusion of Those Who Had Been Excommunicated .....	507
The Last of the Hohenstaufen and Their Excommunication: Conrad IV, Manfred of Sicily, and Conratin the Younger .....	511
The High Medieval Debate on the Punishment of Corpses .....	515
Exhumation as a Weapon in the Fight Against the Cathars .....	518
The Growing Concern with the Moral Integrity of the Dead: Individuals Responsible for Church Desecration, Those Who Rejected Confession, and Those Dead Who Had Died without Their Guilt Having Been Forgiven and Atoned .....	520
In the Case of Doubt Against the Dead: The Liturgists' Fear of the Unknown and the Foreign .....	524
Death with the Lance in Hand: The Burial of Those Who Had Died in a Tournament .....	526
The Burial of the Executed .....	531
Being a Warrior and a Christian: The Exclusion from Burial in Light of Discourse Theory .....	541

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Corpse Desecration .....	543
The Case of Pope Formosus .....	544
Corpse Desecration as a Punishment .....	548
The Ruler's Corpse and the Use of Scalps: Corpse Desecration as a Sign of Physical Superiority .....	557
Burning and Physical Annihilation .....	558
The Symbolism of Fire .....	559
Death by Fire in the Early Middle Ages: Arsonists, Sodomites, Poisoners, Magicians, and Unusual Women .....	569
The Burning of Heretics and Witches in the High and Late Middle Ages .....	575
The Destruction of Corpses in the Early Modern Time .....	592
The Humble Corpse .....	594
Burial in Simple Clothing .....	597
The Corpse Placed on Ash .....	598
Paradise and the Naked Earth: The Burial Site as a Sign of Christian Humility .....	600
The Penitent Approaching the Day of Judgment: Pippin the Short and Prone Burial .....	605
Humility of the Medieval Corpse .....	607
Summary .....	609
 CHAPTER IX: THE CORPSE AS MEDICINE AND MIRACLE CURE .....	613
The Corpse as Royal Blessing? .....	614
The Corpse as a Medium to Create Miracles and Magic .....	615
Charges Against Heretics, Witches, and Jews: Ritual Murder and Mirroring the Eucharist .....	617
The Corpses of Executed People as Medicine .....	619
“Mumia vera”—Mummies as a Medical Drug .....	620
Building Sacrifice and the Corpse as a Weapon .....	630
Summary .....	633