Sacred time, sacred space. History and identity in the monastery of Fulda (744-856)
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Commemoration of the dead

A symbol of the past

In 1752 pope Benedict XIV ended an age-long struggle between the monastery of Fulda and the bishop of Würzburg, who had tried to gain control over Fulda and its property ever since it was founded in 744.¹ By making Fulda an *exemtes Bistum unter Wahrung der monastischen Verfassung* the pope settled the dispute about the rank and rights of the monastery once and for all: Fulda itself became a bishopric and as such was equal to other dioceses like Würzburg in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. On the occasion of the granting of this privilege, a highlight in the history of Fulda, the abbot of Fulda wanted to offer the pope a proper gift. He decided upon one of the two manuscripts in the library of Fulda that contained the *annales necrologici* of the old monastery.²

The *annales necrologici* are a form of commemoration that the monks of Fulda started in 779 under the abbacy of Sturmi.³ As the ‘annals’ are structured by year and as they contain the names of dead monks, historians in the nineteenth century have named them *annales necrologici*, a name that is still in use today.⁴ From 779 onward the monks wrote down the names of their deceased fellow brethren in these lists structured by year until 1065, when they seem to have switched to another form of *memoria*. But until that moment the *annales necrologici*, of which there existed several copies, were the focus of commemoration in the community of Fulda.

In the initial phase the *annales necrologici* cannot have been more than a list of names on a piece of parchment.⁵ Within three centuries they had become an impressive pedigree of the community of Fulda. When in

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¹ Like the archbishop from Mainz. Concerning the strive between Lull of Mainz and Abbot Sturmi see the following chapter.
² O.G. Oexle, ‘Die Überlieferung der fuldischen Totenannalen’ in: *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda* 2.2, pp. 455-6. It is not certain that this was the occasion that part of the *annales necrologici* disappeared to the Vatican archives, but it is most likely.
⁴ Johann Friedrich Böhmer was the first to use this name. Oexle, ‘Memorialüberlieferung’, p. 139, footnote 12. In late medieval times the brethren of Fulda themselves called it *Liber mortuorum fratrum*. Oexle, ‘Die Überlieferung der fuldischen Totenannalen’, p. 467.
⁵ Of the first monks listed in the *annales necrologici* someone had also written down the dates of their deaths. This might mean that the first list that was made was intended to be a necrology or a *liber vitae*. 
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1752 the abbot of Fulda was looking for a suitable present for the pope, the *annales necrologici* had not been in use for ages. Nevertheless the text seems not to have lost its symbolic value for the community. It contained a substantial part of the history of Fulda, from the first abbot and founder until the eleventh century. Its elevation to the status of a bishopric was one more highlight in the history of the Fulda. Therefore the abbot perhaps thought that the book containing the *annales necrologici*, as an important symbol of the glorious past of the community, was a proper gift to offer the pope on an occasion that was so important for the monks.

This chapter, however, does not deal with how the community of Fulda used a distant past as a symbol of collective identity in the eighteenth century, but focuses on the early medieval period, when the monks of Fulda initiated the *annales necrologici* and when the lists of Fulda’s dead monks were still part of *memoria*, not *historia*. To the living monks of the eighth and ninth century the registers did not represent a distant, almost foreign past. Instead, the people whose names the *annales necrologici* contained were part of their own, present-day community. Through the succession of years and names the present was connected with the past and, as I shall argue in this chapter, grounded in salvation history.

The aim of the chapter is to show how the monks used the *annales necrologici* to create coherence and continuity, in other words how these annalistic lists contributed to the creation of an identity of the monastery, and how they bear witness to an awareness of community, even though their main purpose was not the expression of a group consciousness, but the salvation of the people enlisted. Not everybody had a prominent place in the commemoration of a religious community. A selective process

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6 *Memoria* meant more than ‘memory’ in the early Middle Ages. Its meaning includes the remains of the dead, the places they were buried, the relics of saints, their shrines and their altars, as well as to the acts performed in their honour, the offerings, prayers and masses. See for example Giles Constable, ‘The commemoration of the dead in the early Middle Ages’, in: *Early Christian Rome and the Christian West*, ed. Julia M.H. Smith (*The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453* 28: Leiden/New York 2000) pp. 169-195, here p. 169; idem, ‘The *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont’, *Speculum* 47 (1972) pp. 261-77; Catherine Cubitt, ‘Memory and narrative in the cult of early Anglo-Saxon saints’ in: *Uses of the Past*, p. 29; Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, New York 1994); *Memoria: der Geschichtliche Zeugniswert des Liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, eds. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (MMS 48: Munich 1984). In this chapter I use it to refer to commemoration of the dead and the living in the prayers of the monks.

7 Not to say that the monks did not make a distinction between living and dead. See Constable, ‘Commemoration’, p. 170.


9 Apart from the prayers for the *populus christianus*. 

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determined who was to be recorded in a community's Book of Life and who was not; who religious communities wanted to be associated with, and what past they wanted to remember. Often 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.\(^\text{10}\)

Religious communities were not free to determine who was to enter the Book of Life and who was to be excluded. A religious community had to appeal to the noble families. It needed its support and gifts and had to make sure that the land-owning and mighty elite wanted to associate itself with the community, its patron saint(s) and social networks. In this manner commemoration also reveals a lot about the self-images of aristocratic families: with what saints, religious communities and social circles they wanted to be associated with.\(^\text{11}\)

What is peculiar about the *annales necrologici* is that these lists almost exclusively listed the names of the deceased monks of Fulda for almost eighty years, while extant commemorative registers of other religious communities also included the names of befriended families, benefactors and others soon after the communities started them.\(^\text{12}\) This makes the *annales necrologici* a reflection of the community that is exclusive and inward looking. This self-definition, represented by the *annales necrologici*, however, changed over time. Whereas the *annales necrologici* in the beginning mainly recorded the names of monks of Fulda, from the early tenth century onward 'others' such as kings and bishops start to appear more frequently in these lists of the dead.\(^\text{13}\)

Another feature of the *annales necrologici* is that the monks of Fulda used the year of Incarnation (*Annus Domini*) as its organising principle, a relatively rare way of timekeeping in this period. Other memorial books were structured like calendars, arranging their entries according to the date of death, or they divided the names of those to be prayed for into

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\(^{12}\) Even though the *annales necrologici* are unique in excluding outsiders for some eighty years, other religious communities knew commemorative practices that only concerned the members living inside the community and that therefore strengthened the internal cohesion, too. For example, most *libri vitae* started with a list of the members of their own community, be it monks or nuns.

\(^{13}\) Jakobi, 'Magnaten', pp. 792-887, for a summary see p. 793.
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different categories, for example ‘living’ and ‘dead’, ‘kings’ and ‘bishops’. In this sense the annales necrologici of Fulda are different from all the other forms of commemoration that have been transmitted from the early medieval period, and, as a matter of fact, from medieval times in general. There is only a single other extant example of a similar commemoration of the dead: the annales necrologici of Prüm, composed in the eleventh century and continued until 1104. But this was a clear case of imitation: the monks of Prüm deliberately copied Fulda’s example, because of an exclusive confraternity of prayer between both communities.

I will not only consider the annales necrologici but also other forms of commemoration, both in Fulda and in other religious communities. Putting Fulda in a broader context not only reveals the individuality of this particular community, it also shows that each community had its own way of commemoration. Before turning to the annales necrologici let us briefly have a look at the origin and developments of memoria.

Memoria

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’. The celebration of the Eucharist is the substance of the Christian faith. It is the main reason for Christian believers to come together. Paul explained to the Corinthians: ‘For whenever you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord’s death until he comes’. Through the remembrance of Christ’s death and the Covenant with God the community of the faithful was constituted.

Christianity is a commemorative religion. Christians not only remembered Christ but also the dead, as through Christ’s death they were given the chance of salvation. Already in a very early stage Christian scholars acknowledged the value of prayer, the saying of mass and the

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15 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.
17 I Cor 11: 26.
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giving of alms for the dead. They elaborated on references to the importance of prayer and intercession of the living for the dead in the Scripture. In Antiquity commemorative meals near tombs (convivia) were a common feature. Christians practised the same ritual, only did they not celebrate the day of birth as pagans did, but they remembered the day of death, because it was the birth into eternal life. Further they replaced the meals on tombs with masses and alms. At first Christians made no difference between those who had died a violent death because of their faith, and those who had not. They remembered both groups on the day of death and at the burial place. From late Antiquity onward the two commemorative modes of the dead and of martyrs diverged and developed separately, though the two kinds of observances kept on intersecting and overlapping.

From the fourth century onward we have written proof that the Christians not only prayed for the dead but also for the living. Texts have been transmitted to us with lists of names of living people, though it is not clear whether they comprised members of religious communities, benefactors or secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Prayers for both living and dead are transmitted from the fifth and sixth century onward, from Rome and Gaul. Christians registered the names of living and dead whom they wanted to remember on tablets, also called diptychs. Later clerics also inscribed them in the margins of sacramentaries and calendars, and in lists of religious communities and churches.

In the course of time religious communities, especially monasteries, became the prayer specialists that shouldered the vicarious responsibility for the procuring salvation of the living people and played an intercessory role for the dead. They were ideal places to pray to God. The monks and

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23 Bede mentions such a list in his Vita S. Cuthberti. Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: a Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede’s Prose Life, texts, translations and notes by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge 1985) pp. 146-7. From time to time the names were also engraved at the setting where commemoration took place itself. For example, the apse wall of the cathedral of Parenzo carries a necrology, a list of names that was ordered according to the day of death, from the sixth till ninth century. Inscriptiones Italae X/2 Parentium, ed. Attilius Degrassi (Rome 1934) nr. 95-182, p. 45. The altarpiece of Minerve is engraved with names from the Merovingian and Carolingian period. For both examples see; Oexle, ‘Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung’, p. 74. They were memorial ‘books’ of stone, right at the spot of the liturgical observance.
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nuns placed their lives completely at the service of God and of his servants, the saints. Monastic life was centred on the worship of God and veneration of the saints, whose relics their churches housed. Accordingly they lent themselves to intercession on behalf of the salvation of the Christian people.24

Religious communities produced special liturgical books or texts serving memoria, which roughly can be divided into necrologies, libri vitae (or libri memoriales, libri viventium) and single lists of groups.25 Necrologies 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.26

Of course this classification of necrologies and libri vitae does no justice to the variety of the written testimonies of memoria. Sometimes names were scribbled in the margins of other liturgical texts such as an evangelium or a martyrlogy. Some manuscripts contain lists of abbots, bishops or royal genealogies.27 All these entries and lists, which are not easy to categorise, were part of memoria too.

In the course of the early Middle Ages the commemoration of the dead and the living became ever more prominent in the liturgy of religious communities.28 In the seventh century the merit of the saying of masses for the dead was generally accepted. In a letter to Boniface Pope Gregory III stated: 'the teaching of the holy church is that anyone, who is

26 Oexle, 'Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung', p. 74-76; E. Freise, 'Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria' in: Memoria: der Geschichtliche Zeugniswert pp. 441-577. This demarcation line between necrology and liber vitae is not this strict. In some manuscripts you find both forms of commemoration.
27 See for example Oexle who in Forschungen zu Monastischen und Geistlichen Gemeinschaften im Westfränkischen Bereich (MMS 31: 1978) analyses extant lists of the communities of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Saint-Denis, St Martin (Tours), Lyon, Langres and of the capitel of Paris.
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truly Christian, should offer oblations for his dead and that the priest may remember them in his prayers'.

It is not certain when the first extant office of the dead was written, but it may have been in the time of Gregory the Great (590-604). The first offices of the dead in Rome are attested in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Under the Carolingians commemoration received a new impulse. As Arnold Angenendt, amongst others, has argued, the Carolingian era was characterised by an explosion of private masses (for living and dead, for groups and individuals) and other liturgical observances, and parallel to this the period marked a growth of the number of priest-monks. The Frankish rulers stimulated the increase of masses, prayers, penitence and spiritual bonds through their church reforms, the collection of relics and liturgical books from Rome, Spain and other places, the building of churches and their educational program. Furthermore, the rulers tried to regulate the new developments, making sure that a common liturgical pattern was followed in each church throughout their realm.

The annales necrologici

From 779 till around 1065 the monks of Fulda wrote down the names of their fellow-brethren who had passed away in the annales necrologici. Probably this way to register the deceased was started during the abbacy of Sturmi. Otto Oexle has pointed out that the abbot's entry in the book is followed by a small list of monks who had died before Sturmi, though also in 779. This indicates that the annales necrologici were started under the abbacy of Sturmi. In addition to this, an early ninth century text assigns this first abbot as the initiator of Fulda’s monastic customs (consuetudines). Oexle has interpreted consuetudo to include Fulda's specific way of commemoration and thus the composition of the annales necrologici.

The annales necrologici were not just one book; several copies existed. Only five fragments of these copies have been transmitted to us. One section is composed around 875 and extended in 893 (Roma, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus Latinus 2531 fol. 6v-29v;

29 ‘Sancta sic tenet ecclesia, ut quisque pro suis mortuis vere christianus offerat oblationes atque presbiter eorum faciat memoriam.’ Bonifatius, Epistolar, nr. 28 (AD. 732), pp. 50-1. Translation by Emerton, The Letters of Saint Boniface, p. 36. His translation is slightly altered by me.

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from now on Ottobonianus I), one was written at the beginning of the tenth century and continued with intervals until 996 (Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Hs. B 1 fol. 6r-21v; Fulda I), one dates from 923-37 and is transmitted to us in a sixteenth century copy of Conrad Peutinger (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex latinus monacensis 4012 fol. 1r-4v; Clm 4012) one part was started around 975 (Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Hs. B 1 fol. 22r-24r; Fulda II) and one fragment, finally, was initiated around 1023 (Roma, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus Latinus 2531 fol. 30r-38v; Ottobonianus II). Unfortunately no late eighth-century or early ninth-century copy has survived, so it is impossible to find out what the *annales necrologici* looked like originally.

The *annales necrologici* are implicated in other commemorative texts. Apart from the *annales necrologici* (Ottobonianus I and II), Ottobonianus Latinus 2531 includes two confraternities of prayer: one initiated in 863, called *conventio*, the other one dates from the eleventh century. Further the manuscript contains a diptych of deceased kings and bishops and a list of monks made up under Abbot Hadamar (927-956). Fulda B1 (containing Fulda I and Fulda II) holds the *conventio* of 863 too. Besides the codex is composed of a catalogue of the abbots of Fulda (the *gesla abbatum*, also called *catalogus abbatum*), written in the beginning of the tenth century, two abbeys lists and the Recheo list, a list of monks of Fulda composed around 822. The manuscript further includes registers, written between the early 870s and the late 880s, that list the names of monks and *scholasticici* living in Rasdorf, Hünfeld, Großburschla, Holzkirchen and *sancti Bonifatii cella.* In this manuscript we also find the list of monks led by Abbot Haicho (917-923) and a list of monks headed by Abbot Hadamar (927-956) and archbishop Hiltibert (923-927). The Munich manuscript is made up of a list of the abbots of Fulda, a list of kings and the archbishops of Mainz, both living and dead, and the so called Folcer-list. The latter is a list of monks possibly composed in the tenth century. In other words, all the other texts that the manuscripts contain served the *memoria* of the monastery. Most of the lists concerned the community of monks. 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

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34 For an extensive description of the manuscripts see Oexle, "Die Überlieferung der fuldischen Totenannalen", pp. 458-85.
35 Prayer alliances, exclusively for the monks of Fulda.
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placed\textsuperscript{38}, quite possibly near the tomb of Boniface.\textsuperscript{39} A frequent use in liturgy would explain why only fragments of the \textit{annales necrologici} have survived.

![Image of annales necrologici]

\textbf{Figure 3: annales necrologici}
Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Hs. B 1 fol. 6v

The extant fragments of the \textit{annales necrologici} are very similar. Each one of them starts with the name of the first abbot of Fulda, Sturmi, marked in red ink, and a list of dead abbots.\textsuperscript{40} All manuscripts indicate the

\textsuperscript{38} The \textit{annales necrologici} probably were no showpiece. The copy displayed in a showcase in the Hessische Landesbibliothek in Fulda (Fulda I and II) is about 20 by 30 cm, with no illustrations.

\textsuperscript{39} This is where remembrance of the living benefactors took place and indicated as place of prayer by Alcuin, so perhaps also other kinds of commemoration. Alcuin, \textit{Epistolae}, ed. E. Dümmler \textit{MGH Epp. IV Karolini Aevi II} (Berlin 1895, repr. 1974) nr. 250, p. 405.

\textsuperscript{40} Ottobonianus I, fol. 6v lists the abbots of Fulda from Sturmi until Thioto (†871), Fulda I, fol. 5v from Sturmi until Ercanbald (†1021).
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years under which the names of the dead monks are grouped in red ink and divide the names in three columns per page. The scribes of each manuscript consider Christmas to be the beginning of a new year. They even made similar mistakes in the different manuscripts, which implies a shared origin.\textsuperscript{41} Yet, the fragments also reveal differences, especially after the year 875.\textsuperscript{42} 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 already long before 875 there had been copies of the \textit{annales necrologici} in the neighbouring churches of St Mary, St John and St Peter, apart from the one kept in the mother convent.\textsuperscript{43} Geographical proximity and intensive mutual contact would account for the similarities between the lists. From the end of the ninth century onward the satellite communities of the monastery on the neighbouring hills became more independent with respect to the mother convent, what would explain why differences in the manuscripts start to occur after 875. Another possibility is that the \textit{scriptorium} of the mother convent made copies of the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{44}

As far as we can tell from the surviving manuscripts the name of a dead brother was not copied into the \textit{annales necrologici} immediately after his death. Sometimes scribes registered the names of the deceased monks regularly in the codex, sometimes they did so at long intervals.\textsuperscript{45} A comparison between the \textit{annales necrologici} and lists of living monks has shown that for example in the periods 795-806 and 812-823 not all the names of the deceased brothers were registered. Some names are absent in the \textit{annales necrologici}, most likely due to internal friction or more urgent commitments that absorbed all the time of the monks, thus resulting in a waning interest in commemoration.\textsuperscript{46} 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 community's \textit{liber vitae}.\textsuperscript{47} The fact that the abbot took care to update the \textit{annales necrologici}, indicates how

\begin{itemize}
\item For an extensive comparison of the different manuscripts see Oexle, 'Die Überlieferung der fuldischen Totenannalen', pp. 484-93, here p. 484.
\item Idem, p. 487.
\item In the eleventh century the newly founded church of St Andreas of Fulda, west of the monastery also got a copy.
\item Oexle, 'Die Überlieferung der fuldischen Totenannalen', pp. 484-95.
\item Siegfried Zörkendörfer, 'Statistische Untersuchungen über die Mönchslisten und Totenannalen des Klosters Fulda' in: \textit{Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda} 2.2, pp. 993-4. The \textit{annales necrologici} cannot be proven to be exhaustive!
\item Schmid, 'Auf der Suche nach den Mönchen', pp. 142-52. See also the next chapter.
\item Schmid, 'Mönchslisten', pp. 618-9.
\end{itemize}
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important it was that the list of names was uninterrupted and that every monk was enlisted in it.

The question about which names the *annales necrologici* recorded, and, thus who the community considered to be a member or not, is very difficult to answer. No contemporary explanation of who was to be enlisted in the *annales necrologici* has survived. The *Socletas et Fraternitas* research group from Münster, however, have compared the names in the *annales necrologici* to other sources that list the names of Fulda monks, for example the lists of the community of Fulda in the confraternity book of Reichenau.48 Two of these lists (the so-called Baugulf list of 78249 and the Hrabanus list of 825/6) seem to comprise all the monks of Fulda, including those who lived outside the mother convent in the dependencies of the monastery. The heading of the Baugulf list is *Nomina fratrum de congregatione sancti Bonifacii de monasterio quod Fulta nominatur*. Almost all the names on these lists were also recorded in the *annales necrologici*. In the early stages the people listed in the *annales necrologici* thus appear to have been mainly monks of Fulda, including those who did not live in the mother convent.50

Once a monk of Fulda, a man 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, which makes sense considering the vow he had made when he had entered the monastery, 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.51 When Hrabanus Maurus died in 856 the monks entered his name in the *annales necrologici*.52 The *annales necrologici* thus reflect what it meant to be a member of Fulda and the strength of the monastery’s identity on the one hand, and the


49 Probably the list once encompassed all the monks of the Fulda congregation, thus also monks living in dependencies of Fulda. Unfortunately now it is incomplete. The names of 384 monks are registered in it. Schmid, ‘Mönchslisten’, p. 629.


52 Fulda I (AD 856); In Ottobonianus I (AD 856) a different hand adds *Rabanus eps* 04 02. In the diptych of 875 (Ottobonianus I, fol. 6r) Hrabanus is entered as follows II no. feb. ob. *Hraban eps. et mo.* See ‘Edition Fuldaer Totenannalen’ in: *Die klostergemeinschaft von Fulda* 1, p. 296.
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particular importance of this list for the construction of the identity of the community on the other. The names of the dead were written in the annales necrologici not only as mnemonics during the practise of commemoration, but most of all as witnesses to the membership of the community of Fulda.

Yet, not all the names in the annales necrologici refer to monks of Fulda, though the exceptions 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, amongst others, Michelstadt and Seligenstadt, is listed in the annales necrologici, even though he had never received the tonsure. 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 under the year in which they had died, even though they came from other communities. Yet, they all had a special relation with the monastery. Samuel was a friend of Hrabanus Maurus. They had studied together in Tours. Leoba had a special position in the monastery through her bond with Boniface and because she was buried in the abbey church of Fulda.

One extant copy of the annales necrologici (Fulda I), probably copied during the abbacy of Haicho (917-923), also lists the names of members of the Carolingian family, though some (for example Bertrada, the wife of Pippin the Younger, and Hildegard and Fastrada, wives of Charlemagne) under the wrong year. Hildegard, for example, died in 783 and is enlisted under ‘780’. These mistakes might indicate that their names had not been in the annales necrologici originally, but had been added later.

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53 Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda I, p. 289; Fulda I fol 6r.
54 Other examples are: a certain bishop Pacificus (nothing is known of him), Megingoz, bishop of Würzburg (7753-7793) and Wolfer, 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’, pp. 838-40.
56 To mention some others listed in the annales necrologici: Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Lothar I, Lothar II and Louis the German. Ottobonianus I also lists the names of members of the royal family from 860s onward (including Louis the Younger (†882), Carloman (†880), Arnulf (†899), Louis the Child (†911), Count Conrad I of Lahngaü (906), Conrad I (†918), Henry I (†936 etceteras). 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).
57 See the lists for the years 780, 781 and 791 in the annales necrologici. Oexle claims the opposite; that the members of the royal family had been enlisted, but that the scribe of Ottobonianus I, the other extant copy of the annales necrologici, had omitted the names of the Carolingian dynasty when he made a new copy of the lists, because he recorded these
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Possibly Abbot Haicho added the names of the Carolingians to create continuity with the current royal dynasty, the Ottonians, who had just risen to power.

If the Carolingians had been originally listed in the *annales necrologici*, as Oexle has claimed, they had not done this for practical reasons, as mnemonics for commemoration preserving their names, but to show that these royal relations were exclusive members of their community, which further only included the monks themselves, and thus to stress the importance of the Carolingians for their sense of community. For the *annales necrologici*, as I will show further on in this chapter, did not facilitate the remembrance of individuals or specific groups.

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 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*. Surprisingly, 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*). 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. But 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.

One would also expect to find the names of the archbishops of Mainz in the *annales necrologici*, because Fulda had a special relationship with Mainz. The see was occupied by Boniface’s successors. In addition to


60 ‘Cum igitur senectute unique infirmitate plus solito se sentiret affectatum; diu et secum tractaverat, velle se significavit regi Karolo saeculum relinquere, postulas licentiam apud sanctum Bonificium monasticam vitam secundum regulam sancti Benedicti ducere...’ *Vita Alcuini* ed. W. Arndt, MGH SS 55:1 (Hanover 1887) c. 11, p. 191. Yet, we have to take into account that this *Vita* was written around 829.

61 Boniface is not mentioned in the diptych, Ottobonianus I, fol 6r, but is in the list *Moguntiae sedis* (Clm 4012, fol. 5v) though not as the first in the list.


63 Contrary to the *liber memoriales* of Remiremont for example, the *annales necrologici* did not list saints amongst the dead monks.
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this, the archbishop of Mainz was responsible for the dedication of most of Fulda’s churches and the consecration of the clergy of the monastery. Yet, the first archbishop of Mainz to be listed amongst the deceased monks was Heriger (913-927).

Additionally, the names of popes were recorded in the *Annales necrologici* only from the early eleventh century onward. The occasion then might well have been the visit of Pope Benedict VIII and Emperor Henry II to Fulda, 1 May 1020. At this day the pope celebrated mass and in the presence of the emperor and the monks confirmed all papal privileges granted to the monastery in the past. Thereupon Henry II assigned Fulda’s sovereignty and the right of free election of the abbot to the pope, attempting to make Fulda an abbey of emperors and popes and to bind the Imperial church to Rome. Yet, it remains strange that the abbey, which had strong ties with the Apostolic See since 751, did not include the names of the popes before the beginning of the eleventh century.

Practice

Since the *Annales necrologici* were structured by year, it was impossible to commemorate the monks individually. Contrary to practices based on necrologies and calendars that consisted of a day by day remembrance of the individual community members, in the form of name recitals, all the monks of Fulda had to be commemorated at once, as a community, not as individuals. Liturgical sources of around 800 indeed confirm that the monks of Fulda always remembered their fellow-brethren as a group and not individually. 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. From one of Alcuin’s letters (around 801/2) we know that he

64 Lull of Mainz ordained Eigel priest, Heistolf Hrabanus. The archbishop of Mainz dedicated the abbey church, when it was finished in 819: Candidus *Vita Aegil I*, c. 15, p. 15; *Vita Aegil II* c. 17, pp. 55-60. Thus the fight between Lull and Sturmi did not severely damage the relations between Fulda and Mainz. Probably already under Sturmi the conflict was settled and bonds were tightened.

65 Apart from Hrabanus but he was monk of Fulda. Jakobi, ‘Magnaten’, p. 805.


69 ‘pro defunctis ergo fratibus nostris commemorationem illam, quam quotidiem 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
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had written a formula for mass for the deceased monks, again, not individually but for all the deceased monks together.70

These commemorative gatherings, where all the monks remembered those members, who had already passed away, together, must have effected and strengthened the cohesion of the community, of the living and dead. Through commemoration, the deceased were brought into the presence of the remembering community: the eternal and the temporal were linked. Memoria extended the present community to the past - the past that had been carefully selected to commemorate.71 It is highly unlikely that the monks recited the names of all the brethren that were written down in the annales necrologici out loud. With the increasing number of people that a community had to remember also elsewhere the recital of names became less common.72 But the significance of the commemoration of the dead and its effect did not solely depend on quantities of recited names.73 The presence of the book of names on the 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. Repeatedly, within the same setting, Fulda's past was made present to the monks in prayer.

Confraternities

Of the early medieval period the following other memorial books have been transmitted to us: the libri vitae of Salzburg74, Durham75 and St Giulia

kalendis vero omnium mensium unam Vigiliam et quinquaginta psalmos'. Supplex Libellus, c. 1, pp. 321-2. Also specified are daily prayers for the king, his children and the populus christianus and prayers for the living benefactors every Monday in front of the Boniface's sepulchre. I will come back to this later when I deal with other forms of commemoration in Fulda.

70 'Misi cartulam missalem vobis, o sanctissimi presbiteri, ut habeatis singulis diebus, quibus preces Deo dirigere cuilibet placeat: [...] vel etiam fratribus de hoc sæculo recedentibus facere velit orationes'. Alcuin, Epistolae nr. 250, p. 405.

71 Boon, Joodse Wortels, pp. 29-56; Oexle, 'Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung' pp. 79-86; idem, 'Die Gegenwart der Toten', pp. 19-77.

72 Oexle, 'Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung', p. 77. See also Constable, 'The Liber Memorialis of Remiremont', pp. 263-4. Constable was the first to point out that the liber memorialis of Remiremont cannot have served the community of nuns as a practical record of individual names for the commemoration of individuals or specific groups or that this even had been the intention of the nuns. Edmund Bishop claims the same for the codex of St Gall: 'Some ancient Benedictine confraternity books' in: Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church, ed. idem (Oxford 1962), pp. 349-61, here p. 354.

73 McLaughlin, Consorting with Saints, pp. 55-101.

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and San Salvatore in Brescia\textsuperscript{76}, the \textit{libri confraternitatum} of Reichenau\textsuperscript{77} and St Gall\textsuperscript{78}, the \textit{liber memorialis} of Remiremont\textsuperscript{79} and the \textit{evangeliarium} of Pfäfers (containing material for remembrance of the community)\textsuperscript{80}. The codex of Salzburg is the oldest \textit{liber vitae} still extant; it originated around 784 and was initiated by Bishop Vergil of Salzburg (749-784). Being extended over time, it was used down to the tenth century. This book orders the entries according to \textit{ordines}. It first lists the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, then the apostles of the New Testament, followed by the martyrs and confessors, the living bishops and abbots, the living monks and novices.\textsuperscript{81} In addition the book includes the names of the king and his family (amongst others Charlemagne, his wife Fastrada, and Louis the Pious), the dukes and their kindred (amongst others Tassilo, his Longobardian wife Liutpric and their son Theodo), clergy, nuns, religious men and women.\textsuperscript{82} The second part of the book follows a similar order,

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\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{76} Der \textit{Memorial- und Liturgicodex von San Salvatore, Santa Giulia in Brescia}, eds. D. Geuenich and U. Ludwig, MGH \textit{Libri Memoriales et Necrologia NS.} 4 (Hanover 2000).

\textsuperscript{77} Das \textit{Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau}.


\textsuperscript{81} It is uncertain what is meant with \textit{ordo pulsantium}. "Das Verbrüderungsbuch von St. Peter in Salzburg", p. 30, footnote 111.

\textsuperscript{82} 'Ordo patriarcharum seu prophetarum testamenti veteris; ordo apostolorum, sanctorum martyrum et confessorum; ordo episcoporum vel abbatum vivorum; ordo monachorum vivorum; ordo pulsantium vivorum; ordo regum vivorum cum coniugiibus et liberis; ordo ducum vivorum cum coniugiibus et liberis; ordo episcoporum vivorum; ordo abbatum vivorum; ordo sacerdotum vivorum vel diaconorum seu clericorum; ordo sanctimonialium vivarum seu religiosarum feminarum; ordo communis vivorum vivorum
\end{footnotesize}
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but contains the names of the deceased. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries lists of relics and some charters were added.

All of the codices are arranged by different principles but what they have in common is that they divided the community of prayer into orders of ‘living’ and ‘deceased’ (for example *nomina fratrum* – *nomina fratrum defunctorum*; *nomina vivorum* (fratrum) – *nomina defunctorum*; *nomina amicorum viventium*). Furthermore, all contain the names of not only the members of the religious community charged with commemoration, but also those of befriended families, benefactors, kings and their relatives, ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries and 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. They were reciprocal; communities exchanged lists of names and prayed for the members of the other community.83

The most famous example is the confraternity book of Reichenau that was started circa 824.84 Probably most of the lists were entered into the *liber vitae* at the same time, meaning that the scribe had the lists lying in front of him. The codex includes more than fifty communities, which yields a total of almost 40,000 names.85 It consists of two parts: first the associated religious communities are mentioned, followed by the living and dead benefactors of the monastery. Around 800 Reichenau had also established an exclusive prayer alliance with the abbey of St Gall. Every first day of the month the monks of Reichenau and St Gall said Vigils for the deceased monks of both monasteries, and on the 14th of November a *commemoratio* was held for the deceased *fratres*.86

The origin of these confraternities of prayer is unclear. Some historians have designated the Anglo-Saxons as the initiators (as a way of bringing together and uniting dispersed *peregrini*);87 others have pointed at

relegiosorum’, followed by similar categories but then *defunctorum* instead of *vivorum*. *Das Verbrüderungsbuch von St. Peter in Salzburg*, (facsimile) pp. 5-27.


85 Idem, p. XLI.


Frankish initiatives. In the case of Reichenau the confraternity book seems to be based partly on an earlier example, the so-called association of prayer of Attigny. During the council that took place in Attigny in 762, those present took the initiative for this bond of mutual prayer. Fifteen communities that attended the council are mentioned in the book of Reichenau; some of them headed by the bishops and abbots that represented them during the council. This confraternity book also contains some monasteria that were present at a council in Dingolfing, around 770. Councils were apparently important opportunities for representatives of religious communities, including monasteries, to meet others, make contacts and institute those contacts for example through prayer.

The number of confraternities listed in the memorial books and the geographical scope of the groups involved varied by community. Reichenau had prayer bonds with over a hundred communities, St Gall lists thirty-eight communities, Remiremont fourteen, Brescia six, Pfäfers seven and Salzburg had entered into five or six confraternities. The confraternity book of Reichenau reflects a network of prayer that stretched across Europe, Remiremont’s focus of remembrance was very local. 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; certainly Hrabanus (822-842) forwarded one when he had been abbot for only a couple of years. Therefore one would expect lists of Reichenau monks in Fulda’s commemorative book, as confraternities were often

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88 Jan Gerchow has argued that the origin of prayer confraternities should be explained by a change of liturgy and mentality towards death and soul. Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen*, pp. 59-70.
89 Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau, p. LXIII; Attigny, MGH Concilia 2/1, pp. 72-3.
90 See Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau, pp. 14-15, 24-5, 59, 63, 64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 83, 84, 85, 87.
91 Concilium Dingolfingense, MGH Conc. 2/1, nr. 15, pp. 93-97. See also Heinrich Berg, *Quellenkundliche und Prosopographische Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des Österreichischen Raumes im Frühmittelalter* (Diss. Wien 1986), pp. 10-5.
92 Not all confraternity books can be explained from councils. For example the one of Salzburg does not reflect the above-mentioned councils, though the initiator of the *liber vitae* was present in Attigny.
93 The spiritual bonds stimulated and strengthened the *unitas* of the Christian church. That is why the prayer bonds suited the attempts of the Carolingian rulers to create unity and harmony within their empires well. The question whether the Carolingians as a part of their imperial policy consciously stimulated the creation of confraternities has yet not been answered.

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Yet, these confraternities were not included in the *annales necrologici* or any other extant Fulda manuscript. Only from the end of the ninth century onward scribes included the names of the abbots of Hersfeld, Lorsch and Corvey in the *annales necrologici*. Possibly the monks of Fulda recorded the names of the members of the communities, with which they had established prayer alliances, elsewhere.

Because the *annales necrologici* mostly comprised monks of Fulda in the Carolingian period, the lists do not reflect the contemporary ties of the monastery with 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. 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. It was clearly a deliberate decision rather than accidental omission not to incorporate these contacts outside the community in this particular form of commemoration.

Other forms of commemoration in Fulda

There must have been lists of kings and bishops as well or oral commemorative traditions, but all these are now lost to us. 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. Also, 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. There must have been some kind of registration of the

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96 For example Lupus of Ferrières, Walafrid Strabo, Ermanrich of Ellwangen. See also Freise, ‘Einzugsbereich’, pp. 1003-1269.
97 I will come back to this in the next chapter.
98 ‘pro Sturmi quoque abbate et fundatoribus monasterii istius in anniversaria obitus die unam Vigliam et unum psalterium per singulos annos’, *Supplex Libellus* c. 1, p. 321.
99 ‘In primis petimus pietatem tuam, clementissime imperator, quod liceat nobis orationum, psalmodieae et Vigiliarum modum tenere, quem patres nostri habuerunt pro amicis nostris viventibus atque defunctis; id est quotidianam precem pro te, domine
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members of the Carolingian dynasty, apart from perhaps the annales necrologici, and the benefactors of the monastery, or, alternatively, an oral tradition. The Supplex Libellus does not say when these commemorative regulations might have been instituted, but Sturmi could have well been the initiator.

The cartula missalis which Alcuin had sent to the Fulda monks around 801 not only contained a formula for a mass for deceased monks, but also for living friend(s), both with an individual and a group-ceremony. This fact supports the idea that commemoration of specific individuals and groups, which were closely connected to the abbey through ties of friendship, existed in Fulda already in the second half of the eighth century.

During the abbacy of Sigihart the monks composed a diptych (Ottobonianus I, fol. 6r), which was added to a new copy of the annales necrologici, also written in the 870s. To the left the scribe had written Nomina defunctorum regum, to the right Nomina defunctorum episcoporum, in capitals and with red ink. Of some of the persons enlisted he also added the day of death. In the right corner of the left column, at the bottom of the page, the scribe had entered a list of counts.

The cause of this revival and reinforcement of commemoration in Fulda was presumably the visit of Louis the German to the monastery in 874. The care of this king for the spiritual well being of his father led to a renewed interest in commemoration and gave an impulse to the renewal of the annales necrologici and the making of the diptych. In February 874 the king had had a vision of his father, being tortured for his sins and asking his son desperately for spiritual help. Thereupon Louis the German immediately sent a letter to all the monasteries in his empire in which he ordered prayers to be said for his suffering father. He himself went to

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auguste, et pro liberis tuis et pro omni populo christiano, quam mane, quando in unum conveniuntus et caputum de regula coram fratibus legebatur, exurgentes post lectionem ter versum 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende' adiuncta 'Gloria Patri' cantantes flexis genibus psalminus quinquagesimun simulum simul cum versibus et collecta; in secunda quoque feria uniuscuiusque septimanae orationem pro omnibus eleemosynas nobis tribuentibus: id est eundem psalminus quinquagesimun, quem tota congregatio iuxta corpus beati martyris simul prostrata cantavit cum oratione dominica et versibus.' Supplex Libellus, c. 1, p. 321.

100 'vel pro quodlibet amico vivente, vel etiam pro amicis plurimis', Alcuin, Epistolae nr. 250, p. 405.
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Fulda, where he celebrated Easter and prayed for the emperor's salvation. He asked the monks of this monastery to celebrate a thousand masses.103

Compared to the annales necrologici the diptych of 875 was composed relatively late, but it contains the names of persons who had died long before its composition, and older examples might underlie it.104 To the left the Carolingian kings are listed, to the right the archbishops of Mainz. All died before 875.105 In the case of the Carolingian family the editor probably used older lists that held the names of both living and dead persons.106 The list of Boniface's successors in Mainz must have had forerunners as well.107 The diptych also contains the names of counts, particular benefactors of the monastery, but this list presumably did not have an antecedent, because it appears not to have been systematically structured like the other ones.108 Probably the counts are selected from charters, letters and narrative sources according to their gifts to the monastery, which were substantial.109 It is striking that those from outside listed in the annales necrologici mainly came from a certain area, namely Thuringia, eastern Saxony and the part of Francia around the Rhine and Main, in other words the region where Fulda possessed most of its property and that lay in the monastery's sphere of influence. As said before, the monks of Fulda could, because of changing political circumstances, no longer depend on patronage and protection from the king as they had done before, but needed to turn to local aristocratic families.

Given the disintegration of the Carolingian empire at the time the diptych was composed, it should be noted that the scribe not only recorded the East Frankish kings in his list, as was the case in the later diptych of 923110, but also Pippin and Bernard of Italy, Lothar I and II and

103 Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 7 (Hanover 1891) AD. 874, p. 82. Dutton, Politics of Dreaming, pp. 219-24.
104 Jakobi, 'Amtsträgerlisten', p. 505.
105 See the edition in: Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda 1, pp. 215-6. Some of the names in the diptych are marked by a sign that referred to their position in the annales necrologici. The same we see in the abbots' lists. See for example Ratgar. Schmid, 'Auf der Suche nach den München', p. 135.
107 Idem, p. 515.
108 Even though we know from the Supplex Libellus that the benefactors of the monastery were remembered every Monday. However, if there ever had been a list of benefactors, it was not copied into the diptych. De first count mentioned in it is Asis, count of Thuringia, who died in 836.
110 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4012 fol. 5v. The list of kings in this diptych was composed after 919 and lists most of all East-Frankish kings. It tries to connect the Ottonian kings to the Carolingians as a way of legitimisation. See Jakobi 'Amtsträgerlisten', pp. 518-25.
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a *Karal rex* that might be identified as Charles the Bald. The shift in the balance of power in the Carolingian empire in the late ninth century contributed towards the opening of the *annales necrologici* for specific aristocratic families outside the monastery, it did not result in favouring the East Frankish kings above the other members of the Carolingian family. The tradition in Fulda to list the names of all the Carolingians, originating in the time of Charlemagne, survived formal political division.

The Carolingian kings, but most probably also the archbishops of Mainz, took a prominent position within the commemoration of the Fulda community from the start. As we have seen the names of the Carolingians appear in one manuscript of the *annales necrologici*, Fulda I, and apart from this, there seems to have been a list registering the living and dead royal family members. Even though the monks did not include the names of the archbishops in the *annales necrologici* the bond with the successors of Boniface was also part of the social memory of the monastery and of specific importance for the construction of the identity of the community. Despite the difficulties that Fulda and Mainz encountered, for instance in the 870s when the bishop of Mainz started a fight with Fulda over the Thuringian tithes, each archbishop of Mainz was listed and remembered. It should be noted that the archbishops and Carolingian kings were not remembered for their individual, special relations with Fulda, but because they belonged to a group connected to Fulda. The alliances with the archbishop and the Carolingians went back so many years that they had become institutionalised and part of the community’s collective memory.

In later times the community of Fulda certainly remembered groups and individuals in its prayers. Fulda’s *sacramentaria*, of which the earliest dates from the early tenth century, include masses for the community and the abbot, for all living and dead, for a friend, for relatives, for the faithful and for a deceased person (be it a bishop, an abbot, a monk, a benefactor). At the latest in the second quarter of the eleventh century, but most probably earlier, around 1000, the monks of Fulda also used a necrology, which contained the names of members of the community, families, friends and benefactors, for commemoration.

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112 Jakobi, *Magnaten*, p. 563. The monks also faithfully recorded each Carolingian king, including Louis the German who deposed Thioto (856-869) and Arnulf, who forced Sigihart (869-891) to withdraw.
113 *Sacramentarium Fuldense Saeculi X*, eds. Gregor Richter and Albert Schönfelder (Fulda 1912) repr. in: *Henry Bradshaw Society Cl* (Farnborough 1977), for example nrs. 385, 400, 408, 409, 456 and 457.
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During Abbot Sigihart (869-891) it became common to commemorate the deceased fellow-brethren on their day of death. After the monks had read the Rule of Benedict and the martyrology they sang three psalms in commemoration of the *fratres* who had died on that day.\(^\text{115}\) One would expect that the monks used a necrology for this, but if such a book ever existed, it has left no traces. The two necrologies of Fulda that have been transmitted to us (a martyrology, composed around 1020-1030, with necrological notes, added in the same period, in the margin (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. Scal. 49 fol. 1-47) and a necrology of Frauenberg from the first half of the fifteenth century (Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Hs. 4° D 28, fol. 2r-62r) contain the names of monks who died around 1000, which indicates the existence of a necrology at the very beginning of the eleventh century.\(^\text{116}\)

Under Abbot Sigihart the policy to only include monks of Fulda in the *annales necrologici* also changed. During his abbacy relations with the outside world became more prominent in these lists. At the same time numbers in Fulda declined and accordingly the number of entries in the *annales necrologici*.\(^\text{117}\) According to Franz-Josef Jakobi the insertion of names of outsiders was due to a shift of the balance of power and the collapse of Carolingian rule.\(^\text{118}\) Because of changing political circumstances the monks of Fulda, who of old had been closely connected with the Carolingian king, became more and more dependent on local aristocratic families.\(^\text{119}\) 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*. The initiative of Sigihart was pursued and further extended by Abbot Hiltibert (923-927), under whose abbacy Fulda became an Ottonian royal abbey. Both Hiltibert and his successor Hadamar (927-956), a trusty follower of Otto the Great, made sure that the names of the Imperial aristocracy, both ecclesiastical and lay, were systematically recorded in the *annales necrologici*.\(^\text{120}\)

This is quite a change compared to the Carolingian period; contrary to the late eighth and first half of the ninth century, the *annales necrologici*


\(^{117}\) Schmid, 'Mönchslisten', p. 615.

\(^{118}\) Jakobi, 'Magnaten', pp. 865-6.

\(^{119}\) Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 210-50.

\(^{120}\) Though not the names of those in power in Western Saxony. Jakobi, 'Magnaten', p. 866. Abbots Hadamar, Hatto II (956-968), Werinheri (968-982) and Hatto III (991-997) had all served the Ottonian kings and had been closely involved in the politics of the Ottonians. Schieffer, 'Fulda, Abtei der Könige und Kaiser', p. 49; Sandmann, 'Folge der Äbte', pp. 190-3.
now came to include the connections that the monastery kept up due to its position as royal abbey and the close involvement in the politics of the Ottonians. Changing political circumstances alone do not explain this, for Fulda had played a prominent role in Carolingian politics too. The easing of the regulation concerning the membership of the *annales necrologici* must therefore have been related to a change in the meaning of these lists and their function within the community. They seem to have no longer been an exclusive instrument to create internal cohesion, possibly because other ways to bind the community of monks together had taken precedence (a necrology perhaps?). The fact that the *annales necrologici* during the first eighty years excluded outsiders from registration indicates their importance for the creation of coherence in the monastic community of Fulda. This exclusive membership bound the monks strongly together as a group.

The origins of the *annales necrologici*

In the following I will try to explain why the monks of Fulda started the *annales necrologici* and why they chose this particular form to structure the collective memory of their community. By the time the first entries were written, Fulda had become a large, important monastery, with extensive property and monks dispersed over a wide area. As we have seen, some four hundred monks populated the mother convent and the cellae of Fulda, amongst whom there were many children who needed special care and education.\(^{121}\) To manage such a dynamic 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 prayer for the Carolingian dynasty and the faithful, and 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. The rapid changes in the community due to the expansion and the new pursuits most likely raised questions about the identity of the monastery, which had changed from a small religious community into a powerful royal abbey.

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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. Sturmii was probably already in his seventies and, if we are to believe his biographer, 'weak and weary with age'. After his stay with Charlemagne at the fortification of Eresburg, during a Saxon campaign, Sturmii returned home, very ill. This was in 779, the very year that the *annales necrologici* seem to have been initiated. By then the other founding father of the monastery, namely Boniface, had been dead for twenty-five years. Along with rapid growth and an increasingly dispersed community, Sturmii's approaching demise posed a threat to the coherence and continuity of Fulda.

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 (*monasterialis normam vitae*) 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. Sturmii 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.  

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122 (Würzburg manuscript) 'infirmum, iam senectute fessum'; (the other manuscripts) 'iam infirmum ac senectute fessum', Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, c. 25, p. 161.
124 'Paterno amore dilectionem vestram obscurro, ut eo maiore monasterialis normam vite custodire studeatis, quo pater noster Uuigbertus defunctus est. Uuigbertus presbiter et Megingotus diaconus regulam vestram vobis insinuent et spiritales horas et cursum ecclesiae custodian et ceteros admoveant et magistri sint infantum et predicent verbum Dei fratribus. Hiedde sit prepositus et servos nostros admoveat; et Hunfridus adiuvet illum, ubicumque opus sit. Styrme in coquina sit. Bernhardus operarius sit et edificet domuncula nostra, ubi opus sit. Et de omnibus, ubicumque vobis necessa sit, Tatuuinum
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Boniface comforted the brothers of Fritzlar now their abbot had died and arranged the tasks and relationships amongst them. Obviously the neglect of a monastic way of life and the falling apart of the community were real 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. Another example concerns Remiremont in the first half of the ninth century. Remiremont had been founded in 620 on top of a mountain in the Vosges as a double monastery. In 817 the nuns accepted the Rule of Benedict and a year later moved their convent to the valley. The congregation of monks then ceased to exist. In 820 or 821 the nuns started a liber memorialis containing the names of all the nuns who had lived in the monastery from the foundation till the present and their benefactors. The occasion was an agreement of the abbess to commemorate the living and the dead in a daily mass. Between 817 and 850, vitae were written of the founders of their community, Romaricus, Amatus and Adelphius. The cultural productivity of the nuns can be explained as a way to safeguard the continuity of their community, to reinforce their past and legitimise their existence, now that they had moved to a different place and accepted a new way of life. In my opinion the nuns tried to come to grips with this breaking point in the history of their community.

Likewise the making of the annales necrologici matches perfectly with the need to create coherence and continuity in the monastery of...
Fulda. 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. The structure according to years *Anno Domini* must have strengthened the effect of continuity. The chronological order, from the present back to the year in which their founder Sturmi had died, created a sense of history and continuity. At the same time the book seems to have 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. Not that the monks wanted 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, an opportunity for eternal life. To close all doors for outsiders, including the gate to salvation, would have been disastrous for the existence of the monastery.\(^{129}\) As we have seen, the monks of Fulda did remember their patrons in their prayers, but there only has not survived any written record of its details.

**Anno ab incarnatione Domini**

Even though the wish to create coherence and continuity seems a plausible explanation for why the *annales necrologici* 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-brethren.\(^{130}\) Fulda was the only early medieval monastery that used this annalistic form to record its *memoria* that we know of.\(^{131}\) Often memorial books were ordered like a calendar, listing the days of death of those people involved, according to liturgical, cyclical time. 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 collective memory of their community according to Incarnation years.

No single system of chronology was universally employed, but there were several traditions – Jewish, Roman and early Christian – to

\(^{129}\) Demyttenaere, *The Claustralization of the World* ; Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*.
\(^{130}\) To give some examples of headings: *anno ab incarnatione domini* (Ottobonianus I, fol. 6v); * annum domini* (Idem fol. 24r, and Fulda I, fol. 17r), *anno domini incarnatione* (Fulda I, fol. 6r).
\(^{131}\) Apart from Prüm, to which I have referred at the beginning of this chapter.
which the Carolingians reverted. Ancient writers had structured their narratives for example according to generations of rulers (a dating system closely tied to political systems), Indictions (periods of fifteen years linked to taxation) or used a reckoning from the foundation of Rome. To this variety of chronologies the Christians had added the cycle of the liturgical year, based on the life of Christ. Further, they divided time into six periods. Time started with creation and ended with the End of Times and thus was linear. Five periods had passed and after the sixth Christ would come to bring the Last Judgement. Christ also marked the beginning of the last era before the End of Times. To structure the passage of time in this last era some Christian scholars reckoned from the Passion of Christ, others (amongst which Dionysius Exiguus and Bede) from His birth. During the reign of the Carolingians it became more common to name the years after the Incarnation of Christ, but it took a while before the reckoning of Anno Domini had replaced other systems of chronology.

In general Carolingian kings favoured the Christian way of recording the passing of time above other ways of timekeeping. Their ideology of kingship was deeply rooted in Christianity. In two ways chronology was important to the Carolingians. First of all they occupied themselves with correctio of the church and their people, including the chronological correctness of the liturgical calendar and the calculation of the date of Easter and the uniformity of liturgical practice within the Frankish church. It was important that Easter was celebrated on the correct and the same day throughout the whole empire. But the calculation of the date of Easter was very complicated and controversial. As Easter Sunday falls on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal Equinox (when the day and the night are equal in length) the computation of Easter depends both on the solar and lunar cycles. Because of the complexity and the variety of traditions of computation Christian scholars such as Dionysius Exiguus (ca. 525) and Bede (673-735)

132 McKitterick, ‘Constructing the past in the early Middle Ages’, pp. 101-29.
134 For example Augustine, Dionysius Exiguus and Bede. There also existed the division into four empires.
136 Following Augustine, they ought not to have said when the end would come - but some did still predict it. R. A. Markus, ‘Living with sight of the end’ in: Time in the Medieval World, pp. 23-34.
137 Mauskopf Deliyannis, ‘Year-dates’, p. 11; DeClercq, Anno Domini (Chapter Five) pp. 149-88.
138 McKitterick, ‘Constructing the past’, p. 110.
139 Innes and McKitterick, ‘The writing of history’, p. 197.
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thought of a system that took into account both the movements of the sun and the moon, with which clerics could determine the date of Easter. They also made tables for a longer period of time in which priests could easily look up when Easter should be celebrated. The tables were divided into periods of nineteen years. Both Dionysius Exiguus and (following him) Bede used Incarnation years and Indictions to structure the tables. The Carolingian royal court engaged itself with the regulation and unification of these methods of computation. They stimulated the dispersion of certain texts, mostly Bede's work and that of Dionysius Exiguus. As a result there was an intensified production of Easter Tables, annals, encyclopaedic works and textbooks on Computus from the 770s onward.

Secondly, the ruling dynasty wanted to root themselves, their people and their past in salvation history. This might explain for example the emergence of a new form of history writing in the Carolingian period: the annals. This form of recording the past explicitly linked the present to the whole course of Christian history. The rise of counting years after Anno Domini must also been seen in this light, though also in this respect the role of the Frankish rulers should not be exaggerated. Only from the middle of the ninth century did the naming of years as Anno Domini become common. In addition to this, the spread of this kind of time-keeping was not only indebted to the initiatives of the Carolingians, but there also existed an interest in Incarnation years in religious communities, aside from royal efforts.

140 A cycle of 532 years that existed of 28 19-year cycles.
141 Every 19 years the course of the moon and the course of the sun converge. Every 532 a whole new cycle starts.
142 Corradini, 'Zeiträume - Schrifträume', pp. 116f. See for example the Admonitio Generalis, c. 52-62, pp. 57-8. Also: Arno Borst, Der Karolingische Reichskalender und seine Überlieferung bis ins 12. Jahrhundert, MGH Libri memoriales 2 (Hanover 2001); idem, Zeit und Zahl in der Geschichte Europas (Munich 1999). McKitterick has doubted the intermediary role ascribed to Bede in the transmission of knowledge of Dionysius Exiguus' work to the Franks. She argues that the interest of the Carolingians in the calculation of Easter and Incarnation years derived directly from Dionysius Exiguus, not Bede. 'Constructing the past', pp. 108-10; idem, 'The perception of time in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages' in: The Transformation of Tradition, ed. Marco Mostert (Leiden, forthcoming).
144 The oldest example on the Continent is the Concilium Germanicum, in the 740s. It was also used for the Council of Soissons, 2 March 744. Bede and Willehad used Incarnation years to denote the dates of death in the Historia abbatis and the Vita Bonifatii. In the Vita Ceolfridi the anonymous author used it to mark the foundation date of Wearmouth. DeClercq, Anno Domini, p. 180; Engelbert, Vita Sturmi pp. 26-7.
145 To give one example, writers of charters used regnal years to date the charters for a very long time. Innes and McKitterick, 'The writing of history', p. 198; Mauskopf Deliyannis, 'Year-dates', pp. 10-3.
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Even before Carolingian attempts to Christianise chronology the monks of Fulda were familiar with the dating according to Incarnation years, possibly thanks to their Anglo-Saxon contacts. In England it was common to date according to Incarnation years (in combination with Indiction years) from the seventh century onward. Bede used this way of timekeeping in his De temporum ratione liber. The monks of Fulda knew the work of Bede, perhaps via Boniface or Lull, whom we know to have asked the communities of York and Wearmouth for copies of Bede’s treatise.

Between 750 and 778 a Northumbrian manuscript that contained the De temporum ratione and Easter Tables of Bede (532-778) and the cycle of Dionysius Exiguus, arrived in Fulda (Münster, Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv Msc. I, 243 originally fol. 1r-8v, now fol. 1r-2v and 11r-12v; CLA IX, nr. 1233). Before the manuscript with the Easter Tables arrived in Fulda, it probably had been in Lindisfarne. Here someone had written a catalogue of Roman emperors with the regnal years and events from the Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian history in the right margins of the Easter tables, near the year in which they had happened. In Fulda the monks added another section of Easter tables (779-1063) to the Anglo-Saxon manuscript (Münster, Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv Msc. I 243 originally fol. 9r-16v, now fol. 3r-10r; CLA IX nr. 1234). Before 779 the manuscript seems to have left Fulda. Otherwise the death of Sturmi would have been recorded in it. However, the monks had made a copy of the manuscript, and supplemented the Anglo-Saxon historical notes with entries of their own history. This manuscript is no longer extant, but copies of it are.

146 Mauskopf Deliyannis, ‘Year-dates’, p. 11.
147 Also in: Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, ed. C. Plummer in: Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica I (Oxford 1966) For example: Book 1, cc. 2, 3 and 6, pp. 13, 15 and 17; Book 2, cc. 1, 3 and 5, pp. 73, 85 and 89; Book 3, cc. 4 and 14, pp. 134 and 154; Book 4 cc. 1, 24 and 26, pp. 203, 261 and 268; Book 5 cc. 2 and 6, pp. 283 and 292.
150 Idem, pp. 130-1.
151 It is very difficult to determine whether the monks also added historical notes in the tables till 778, because there is one page missing. Corradini, ‘Zeitraume – Schriftraume’, pp. 131-2.
152 Idem, p. 132.
153 The Fulda copy of Münster Msc I is transmitted to us in three manuscripts: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cvp 460 (binio) (late eighth, early ninth century); Kassel, Hessische Landesbibliothek & Murhardsche Bibliothek (Gesamthochschulbibliothek) Z 2 ms. astron. 2 fol. 1r-8v, (beginning of the ninth century); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14641 fol. 32r-46v/47r; CLA IX, nr. 1306 (late eighth century). Corradini, ‘Zeitraume – Schriftraume’, pp. 133-4.
In the margins of the cycles, 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. The notes were not spontaneous, ad hoc responses to important events, but were made at intervals of some years. In later times these entries have been edited as the Annales Fuldenses antiquissimi (AFa).

According to Eckhard Freise the historical notes served as aids for the monks to find their way in the Easter Tables, for these Easter cycles were difficult to survey. In other words, they did not proceed from any intention to write a history of the monastery, but from the wish to

154 See the edition included in Corradini’s article ‘Zeiträume -Schrifträume’. The Münster manuscript is transmitted to us, but one page is missing, the historical notes for the years 741-59 and 760-78 are absent. Corradini, ‘Zeiträume -Schrifträume’, p. 131; idem, ‘Rhetoric of crisis’, pp. 281-2.
155 For example after 794, 814 and 822. Freise, Anfänge, p. 49.
156 When Hrabanus Maurus became abbot of Fulda in 822 the AFa were no longer continued, but the annales necrologici received a new impulse. The official redaction of the AFa ended in 814; only in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cvp 460* and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14641 did someone record the events of 817 and 818, when Ratgar was deposed as abbot of Fulda. Apparently, someone from the circle of Hrabanus Maurus wrote the notes. Corradini, ‘The rhetoric of crisis’, pp. 290-2.
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structure time. Since there was no fixed organising principle to structure the passage of time yet, the *AFA* helped to bring about unity in the chronology.\(^\text{157}\)

Richard Corradini offers a wider context for Freise's hypothesis and shows that the meaning and function of the *AFA* are a lot more complex.\(^\text{158}\) He has compared several manuscripts that contain historical notes in the margins of their Easter tables.\(^\text{159}\) All the manuscripts include texts used for *memoria*, liturgy and computation. Corradini argues that, besides being fixing points in complex cycles, 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 dating according to Incarnation years. He places the making of notes in the margins of Easter Tables 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 monastery.\(^\text{160}\)

In my opinion the *annales necrologici* arose from the same tradition as the *AFA*, a tradition that covered both liturgical *memoria* and annalistic historiography and that was aimed to save particular events and persons related to Fulda from oblivion. For in 779, the same year in which the *annales necrologici* were started, a new edition of the *AFA* was made. This probably was no coincidence.\(^\text{161}\) Both texts recorded the collective memory of the community.\(^\text{162}\) The *annales necrologici* listed the community of deceased fellow-brethren, the *AFA* were concerned with events that were important for the monastic community. Many of the events written in the margins concerned the death of important persons (such as the death of


\(^{158}\) In his impressive article 'Zeiträume - Schrifträume', pp. 160-227.


\(^{161}\) The question is whether the initiation of the *annales necrologici* was only related to the *AFA*, 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.

\(^{162}\) Apart from events such as the dedication of the chapel of St Michael or the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor the authors of the *AFA* recorded many deaths.
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Boniface, Pippin, Carloman, Charlemagne, Baugulf and Eigil), which indicates that the AFa might have been used for liturgical practice and that liturgical memoria and historiography can not easily been distinguished from each other. It seems that both the historical notes in the Easter tables and the annales necrologici were about structuring time in relation to the Incarnation of Christ, connecting Fulda's history to the eschatological future of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

After the initiation of the AFa and the annales necrologici the monks of Fulda continued to use time-keeping Anno Domini to incorporate events related to memoria into the linear progression of Christian history. In for example the Chronicon Laurissense breve (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cvp 430*), the Vita Sturmi (written in late 810s) and the Vita Aegil (written in 840s) only certain important happenings linked to memoria were dated according to Incarnation years: the death of Bede, the death of Boniface, the coronation and death of Charlemagne163, the first time Sturmi and his brethren set foot at the place where they would found Fulda after the donation of Carloman (in other words the foundation of Fulda), the death of Pippin164, the dedication of the new abbey church and the church of St Michael.165 As such the monks of Fulda embedded only the fundamental memory of their community (the deaths of its members, including the Carolingians, and the sanctification of the monastery) in salvation history.166

Conclusion

From the foregoing account the following main points emerge. In comparison to other communities, Fulda’s collective commemoration, based on the annales necrologici, stands out because it embraced the entire community and excluded outsiders for a relatively long period, whereas others soon also included the names of befriended groups, the royal family, and other religious communities.167 Furthermore, the annales necrologici are special in that they list the deceased brethren according to the year in which they had died in a period, in which dating according to Incarnation years was still rare.

Given that commemoration first of all was aimed at the intercessory prayer, which aimed to ensure salvation, the annales necrologici seem to have sprung from a need to create coherence and continuity within the

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163 Cvp 430* fol. 1v, fol. 4r, fol. 7r, fol. 8r (facsimile in Corradini, Die Wiener Handschrift Cvp 430*).
164 Eigil, Vita Sturmi, c. 13, p. 144, l. 4; c. 22, p. 157, l. 4.
165 Candidus, Vita Aegil II, c. 20, l. 765 and 913.
166 For example, charters were dated by means of Indictions and the reigns of kings.
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monastery in a time when both the community of monks and the property of the monastery had grown considerably, and when Sturm was close to death and the future of the relatively young monastic community was to be reviewed. The majority of the monks lived outside the mother convent, taking care of the property of the monastery, managing and cultivating it or possibly performing pastoral duties in the neighbourhood.

Including mainly monks of Fulda the *Annales necrologici* brought about a sense of a bounded community. No matter how far away they lived, each monk was registered in the same book after he had died. Even after having left the monastery and having moved somewhere else, for example to take up an ecclesiastical position, the name of the monk was listed with the others. Neither death, nor distance, nor a new career could change the fact that one was a monk of Fulda. The *Annales necrologici* incorporated and united the entire Fulda community. The fact that Hrabanus Maurus, when he became abbot of Fulda in 822, took care to include the names of the monks, who had not been registered in the 810s, shows the importance of including each monk.

The prominence of being one community was also enforced in the liturgy. Every day after Lauds and Vespers all the deceased monks were remembered in the prayers of the living monks, who probably gathered in front of the tomb of Boniface, their patron saint, commending their fellow-brethren to God. Every first day of the month a vigil and fifty psalms were sung for the dead. None of the monks was remembered individually; all were commemorated as one *congregatio*, in a recurrent ritual, in the same liturgical space.\(^{168}\)

Research so far has put an emphasis on commemoration as a way to express solidarity in times of crisis. Indeed there are many examples of intensifying prayer commitments during periods of misfortune, distress and extremity.\(^{169}\) But shaping feelings of solidarity and defining the community went hand in hand. 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.

As we have seen the use of Incarnation years to structure the lists of monks should be considered in relation to the *Afa*. The monks of Fulda embedded the basic memory of their community and of their main patrons, the Carolingian family, 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 to the belief that the history in which

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\(^{168}\) Probably in later times commemoration of the deceased monks also took place in the dependencies of Fulda close by: Frauenberg, Johannesberg, Petersberg and Andreasberg.

the monks took part was salvation history. Every time the *annales necrologici* 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. Additionally, for the monks of Fulda the *annales necrologici* must have testified that they were part of a long history, a history that started with Sturmi and the holy moment of the monastery’s foundation and would be continued after their death.

In the second half of the ninth century the exclusiveness of the *annales necrologici* changed. Particularly in the late ninth century and under the Ottonian kings it became common to include ‘outsiders’, such as kings, noble men and women, bishops and abbots, in the *annales necrologici*. Partly, this had to do with a shift in the balance of power in the East Frankish kingdom due to which Fulda for patronage and protection came to rely on local aristocratic families. But most of all it arose from a new meaning of the *annales necrologici*, which seems to have no longer been an exclusive instrument to create internal cohesion, for the monks of Fulda.