

Failed Ritual? Medieval Papal Funerals and the Death of Clement VI (1352)

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It is the purpose of this chapter to investigate if and how the arrival of the Black Death, the dreaded fourteenth-century plague, influenced the burial practices and funerary rituals of the late medieval papacy. Contemporary writers everywhere described the painful and radical socio-cultural changes brought on by the pandemic, but fewer sources focused on the death of the ‘highest’ European of all, the leader of Christian Europe, the pope.

After reviewing summarily the recent historiography on the Black Death and burial practices, this chapter will turn to consider the papal death ritual. Grounded in information provided by ceremonial books of the late Middle Ages, this chapter will address the care of the papal corpse for its burial. Our knowledge of medieval ecclesiastical funerary practices comes from ceremonial books called *ordines*. These existed throughout the early Middle Ages, but the most explicit ceremonials were authored by François de Conzié and Pierre Ameil, both contemporaries of the Great Western Schism (1378–1417). This chapter will

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specifically rely on Pierre Ameil's *ordo* because of his focus on the Pope's body and his detailed orchestration of funerary practice, scripting behavior during the Pope's agony, embalming, exposition of the corpse, and transport to the funerary chapel. This investigation will then turn to the specific case of Clement VI (1342–1352), the pope who reigned during the initial assault of the disease in 1348, and one of Avignon's most flamboyant popes, whose 1352 funeral contradicted expectations and protocol. The events linked to Clement's funerals raise issues outside of the field of ritual studies. If burial protocol was altered during his funeral, some four years after the initial onslaught of the Black Death, was this specific breach tied to prevalent medical theory? Or, more plainly put, was his hasty burial linked to concepts of infection and contagion?

Because of Greek influence, historians have usually viewed medieval theories of contagion in somewhat negative terms. As Vivian Nutton states

On almost all ancient schemata, contagion, whether in the strict sense of a disease transmitted by touch or in the wider one of a disease of contiguity, was only rarely invoked to explain the origin of an illness, and even when it was, it formed only one part, and not necessarily the most important part, of a complex of overlapping alternatives.¹

This approach has recently been somewhat refined with authors like Justin Stearns warning that 'if we recognise that diseases are social constructions at least as much as they are biological entities, then we need to maintain constant vigilance against the temptation of finding today's diseases and their means of transmission in the past'.² As we will see later, in the case of the plague, the late Middle Ages understood contagion, but linked it to the 'corrupted air theory'. This meant that people understood that the 'airborne' disease penetrated the body through the pores rather than via touching. Still, what Pope Clement's funeral-circumscribed example can demonstrate is that the arrival of the plague dismantled traditions even at the highest court of Europe.

While it is not my purpose to discuss the disease's origin and history, it can be stated that by the mid-fourteenth century the Black Death (in its bubonic, septicemic, and pneumonic forms) may have been the most devastating disease to have ever touched European soil, destroying between 30 and 60% of its population between 1346 and 1353. It is assumed, among rigorous discussions and debates, that the pandemic was caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*, which traveled via the fleas of rats from China to the Crimea and from there on to European ports.

Maybe spurred on by the recent Ebola epidemics, plague studies have been blooming. In a recent essay, Monica H. Green qualifies the Black Death as ‘the highest of any large-scale catastrophe known to human-kind’.³ She emphasizes how the growing field of microbiology has recently influenced plague studies, allowing the mapping the gene’s history, and, in 2011, the reconstruction of the *Yersinia pestis* genome. Her essay also highlights how even if questions are still being answered our knowledge of the geographic and chronological span of the so-called ‘Second Pandemic’ (for the disease’s late medieval iteration) has vastly increased. The Black Death ranged from Tibet to the Atlantic islands and the Mediterranean basin across species and climate zones, and could have begun as early as the 1260s. Giving relevance of the past to the present she determines that ‘evidence is increasingly suggesting that though small localized outbreaks of plague occur regularly wherever it has established enzootic foci, the commonality of more widespread outbreaks is due to climatic factors’.⁴

As the focus of research broadens, plague studies have become inter- and multi-disciplinary, uniting science, technology, engineering, and mathematics researchers with those from the humanities. Green concludes that

using the categories of modern science to reconstruct plague’s histories—adopting an outsider’s (etic) perspective on the material history of plague—is actually essential to reconstructing the history of participants’ experiences of those material conditions and the resulting experiences of sudden death, economic devastation, and social chaos (an emic perspective). Both are valid, and both are necessary to a historical enterprise that unites the efforts of scientists and humanists alike.⁵

It is evident that this pandemic had consequences far and wide: in a largely rural Europe, the population’s decline changed agricultural practices and facilitated a conversion from goods to cash rents. The surviving rural population may have even profited for a short while from more favorable living conditions. Rents went unpaid, land uncultivated, and the working force was temporarily able to negotiate favorable terms. Eventually, the lords resisted, demanding a return to status quo, while peasants and laborers rebelled. The so-called jacqueries and urban revolts of the second half of the fourteenth century were crushed, but the conversion to wage labor was irreversible; it spread from farmlands to urban centers, bringing Europe into a pre-modern, capitalist age.

With the arrival of the plague, individuals chose either retreat from the world or live hedonistically in the present for themselves, foregoing many of the charitable tenets of Christianity, like burying their ‘own’ dead. The European population became obsessed by death. We find ‘her’ in art, in the macabre gisants that adorned the tombs of the wealthy, in the danse macabre that accompanied parishioners to their churches, reminding them that ‘she’ was oblivious to status, social, and gender stratifications. ‘She’ was on the page of the *Ars moriendi*, training its readers to accept their fate with dignity and humility, and prepare for the inevitable.

Uncertainty overwhelmed the medieval mind. ‘She’ was God’s punishment for all human sin. Penance and repentance offered solace. Flagellants ambled the paths of the continent, singing, praying, prostrating themselves to no avail. The scourge did not abate. Flagellants in their zeal of purification also attempted to rationalize the unthinkable with extravagant accusations; sometimes they blamed the church, but most often the religious groups that had been historically marginalized, and mostly the Jews.

The age of the Black Death is the ‘dark age’ of pogroms and of accusations against ‘others’: heretics, the poor, healers, wanderers, or anyone else who did not conform tightly to Christian social norms. In a era of high stress and social anxiety, a society that represented itself in the image of a body—the Christian body—could easily rationalize healing itself with the ‘cutting off’ or ‘bleeding’ of its body’s diseased parts, in keeping with the bodily metaphor.⁶ Eventually, the initial epidemic abated, and the European population learned to live with plague for the next 400 years or so.⁷

Clement VI, the ‘pope of the plague’, attempted to control the effect of the disease without overreacting.⁸ The Black Death reached Avignon, where he resided, in February 1348.⁹ It enters papal records under the term ‘mortalitatis pestem’.¹⁰ A chronicler of Clement’s rule describes its effects. The plague caused ulcers and bumps (buboes, or *bossa*) in the groin area and armpits; survivors were too few in number to bury the dead. Kinship ties disappeared, parents and children abandoned each other as the disease killed humans along with cats, dogs, chickens, and other animals.¹¹ Clement acted in somewhat scientific fashion. According to sources, given that post-mortem examinations to identify cause of death were taking place in Italian cities, the pope also ordered them in Avignon.

Anatomical examinations, in which many corpses were opened, were carried out in many Italian cities, and also, on the pope's orders, in Avignon, to discover the origins of this disease, and it was found that all those who died suddenly had infected lungs, and had been coughing up blood. And this form is the most dangerous of all these terrible things, which is to say that it is the most contagious, for when one infected person dies everyone who saw him during his illness, visited him, had any dealings with him, or carried him to burial, immediately follows him, without any remedy.¹²

Louis Heyligen of Beeringen asserts that half of the population of Avignon died of the disease and, as in many other cities, the pope acquired new lands to bury the dead when local cemeteries proved insufficient. Clement offered spiritual comfort to the immense numbers of dying, granting a plenary indulgence to all those who were both 'confessed and contrite' and—because he was still a man of his time—recommended processions of atonement:

To be brief, at least half the people in Avignon died; for there are now within the walls of the city more than 7000 houses where no one lives because everyone in them has died, and in the suburbs one might imagine that there is not one survivor. Therefore the pope bought a field near Notre-Dame des Miracles and had it consecrated as a cemetery. By 14 March 11,000 bodies had been buried there, and that is in addition to those buried in the churchyards of the Hôpital de Saint-Antoine and the religious orders and in the many other churchyards in Avignon ... And the scale of the mortality means that for fear of death men do not dare to speak with anyone whose kinsman or kinswoman has died, because it has often been observed that when one member of a family dies, almost all the rest follow. And it is the common report among ordinary people that the sick are treated like dogs by their families—they put food and drink next to the sick bed and then flee the house ... Priests do not hear the confessions of the sick, or administer the sacraments to them. Everyone who is still healthy looks after himself. So it happens every day that a rich man is carried to his grave by these ruffians, with just a few lights and no mourners apart from them, for while the corpse is going along the street everyone else hides away indoors ... Around the middle of March, after mature deliberation, the pope granted a plenary indulgence to all those dying confessed and contrite; the indulgence to be valid until Easter. He also commanded the performance of devout processions with the chanting of litanies on specified days of the week.¹³

Linked to what could be labeled, maybe understandably so, mass hysteria, processions of penitents (flagellants) turned to violence. Using burial grounds as evidence, a team led by Anna Colet has recently demonstrated the link between this type of religious fervor and violence against the Jewish community. Excavating in the Catalan town of Tàrraga, Colet and her team unearthed communal graves where bodily remains showed evidence of brutalities. These physical remains corroborate Jewish and Christian textual evidence that mentioned some of the earliest violence against the Jewish population after the beginning of the plague in 1348.¹⁴ Protecting the Jewish population as best as he could, the pope reissued in July 1348 the 1120 bull *Sicut Judaeis*, which originally protected the Jewish population in the aftermath of the First Crusade. In September 1348, Clement ordered his clergy to protect the Jews, and again in October spoke out against the pogroms, pointing to the financial motivations behind the attacks.¹⁵ Still, the pope's involvement with the disease had its limits. According to the chronicler Mathias of Neuenburg, Clement spent the epidemic 'shut up in his chamber where he had large fires continually burning', hoping, along with many others, that isolation would keep contagion at bay.¹⁶

The Black Death killed many and there is no doubt that the pandemic affected funeral practice. Even though a semblance of normal funerary behavior can be found in places where the mortality did not impede traditional practices, mass graves appeared in numbers unencountered up to then. Traditional medieval burial saw the body washed, then wrapped in a shroud, and placed at the cemetery in either a coffin or directly into the ground.¹⁷ Still, not all people (*naciones*) buried their dead without clothes. Gulielmo Durando's *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (1230–1296) highlights an Italian custom that required laymen to be fittingly dressed, shod and booted for Judgment Day.¹⁸ One's status could affect the practice—monks wore their cowls and sometimes laymen also chose to follow a similar practice.¹⁹

Traditional burial occurred in consecrated ground, in a cemetery. Sharon Dewitte, discussing plague burials at East Smithfield in London, recognizes that while some cemeteries were appropriate for the increased number of dead caused by the plague, mass burial grounds were also utilized (as we have seen earlier in Avignon) to accommodate the growing numbers. East Smithfield cemetery was one of these mass burial grounds. Interestingly, mass burial did not equate with negligence. At East Smithfield the dead had been buried with care, laid on their back

with their heads toward the west and feet toward the east.²⁰ This correlates with the conclusion S. Kacki and her team reached for villages in the south of France. ‘Only when the highest peaks of mortality were reached, the customary funerary practices were discarded and mass graves were dug. This shows that despite the increased mortality may lead to the simultaneous inhumations of several individuals in the same pit, the funerary practices were not substantially modified.’²¹

This image of decorum contrasts with contemporary sources that paint disruptions like in Italy, where

the living made preparations for their burial, and because there was not enough room for individual graves, pits had to be dug in colonnades and piazzas, where nobody had ever been buried before. It often happened that man and wife, father and son, mother and daughter, and soon the whole household and many neighbours, were buried together in one place.²²

In Provence,

When [people] are dead, boorish yokels from the mountains of Provence—poor, half-naked men, with no finer feelings—will come, and (assuming they are paid enough) will carry the dead to burial. Neither kinsmen nor friends visit the sick. Priests do not hear the confessions of the sick, or administer the sacraments to them.²³

What these texts demonstrate is a breaking down of customary behavior and tradition. In summary, regarding burial practice, it can be assumed that while traditional practices remained in place as long as they were manageable, certain areas witnessed cultural dislocation by the sheer and overwhelming number of dead. It remains to be seen if ritual also broke down in the papal court.

Knowledge of medieval ecclesiastical funerary practices comes from ceremonial books—*ordines*. These existed throughout the early Middle Ages with, for example, the *Ordines Romani* centering on the liturgy of the great Roman churches. Yet the most explicit papal funerary ceremonies were the *ordines* of François de Conzié and Pierre Ameil.²⁴ Both authors focused on court ceremonials, regardless of the court’s location. Ritual uniformization is one of the church’s greatest successes; it allowed for continuity even as the court moved from one location to another—something quite common in the Middle Ages. Ceremonial books of

the mid-twelfth century prescribed that cardinals convene three times after the death of the pope: for his death and burial, the day after (for the Mass for the Dead), and on the third day to discuss the forthcoming election (after the Mass of the Holy Spirit). As in the case of anyone else, expectations rested on a somewhat quick burial of the pope after his passing. In 1274, Pope Gregory X's bull *Ubi periculum* defined the conclave (a safe and secretive space where cardinals focused solely on an unencumbered papal election) and lengthened the interval between death and burial to allow for the arrival of absent cardinals, and for the preparations of the cardinals' quarters within the conclave.

The span of time that separated death and burial became known as the *novena*, for its traditional nine days. It involved liturgy, ceremonial, and propaganda, and it aimed at emphasizing continuity. Lengthening the span of time between papal death and burial first of all separated the death of the pope from that of common mortals, and allowed the display of rituals that epitomized the continuity of the church. Ritual evolved in conjunction with the development of the papal 'dual-body' metaphor. His physical body died, but his institutional body persevered in the church. Following Byzantine imperial tradition, the pope's body was exhibited to the public.²⁵ In this way, the crowds could testify to the pope's death. Viewing the corpse with his visage uncovered, they looked upon the human face of the ecclesiastical institution, as the attending cardinal electors attested to the continuity of the church when they entered the conclave. *Novendiales* (*novenas*) and honorific burial linked the maintenance of the ecclesiastical body with the demise of the physical body of the pope.²⁶ In sum, rituals and the political necessities of transitions somewhat formalized the development of various means to preserve the corpse, ideally for several days. Physical preservation buttressed the institutional goals of the transition from one pope to the next.

Cardinal Stefaneschi, who wrote one of the most thorough *ordines* sometime between 1300 and his death in 1341, clarified the *Ordo sepeliendi clericos romane fraternitatis* but did not offer much details of the death of the pope per se.²⁷ The first explicitly papal funerary ceremonials were the *ordines* of de Conzié and Ameil.²⁸ Since I have discussed the details of these *ordines* elsewhere, I will focus here solely on items specific to the care of the pope's body.²⁹ François de Conzié was named *camerlengo* of the pope by Clement VII in 1383 and kept the title until his death on 31 December 1431. As *camerlengo*, or chamberlain, his primary task was to head the Apostolic Chamber, the financial

organism that administered the revenues of the papacy. But his prerogatives ran far and wide, and the officer can be considered the 'prime minister' of medieval popes. As de Conzié was penning his ceremonial for the Avignon pope, his contemporary, the Patriarch of Grado, Ameil, was similarly penning one for the Roman Pope Urban VI, to whom he had remained faithful.³⁰ Pierre Ameil's *ordo* covers the death of the pope, focusing more particularly on the pope's body and its environment, prescribing behavior during the pope's agony, embalming, exposition of the corpse, and transport to the funerary chapel. Ameil terminates his *ordo* with a rubric concerning the conclave and a few historical notes on the deaths of popes Gregory XI and Urban VI, noting the exact placement of the candles that adorned the latter pope's coffin, a focus suggesting his attachment to the person of the deceased pope.

According to this ceremonial, the final hours of the pope were orchestrated with minutiae. Ameil advises that the physicians attending the pope should forewarn his confessors of his impending death so that they might help him prepare spiritually. The *camerlengo* was to summon the cardinals to the pope's bedside some two or three days before the end to witness the pope's drafting of his last will and testament, choose his burial site, and enjoin the cardinals with several recommendations including repaying the Church's debt. The pope was to bless the cardinals before they withdrew.

Once left with his small group of familiars, the pope received the Final Anointing, and the *camerlengo* and chamberlains secured all his goods. Pillaging papal goods was a well-established tradition by the fourteenth century and protocol attempted to remedy it with protection.³¹ The *camerlengo* ordered the closing and securing of all the gates of the papal palace, allowing only a single one to remain open for communication. Meanwhile, the pope confessed, received the Eucharist, and petitioned an indulgence *in mortis articulo*. Having described this, Ameil then moved to a detailed account of the body's preparation for burial.

Discussing the embalming of popes, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani finds the first reference to this custom in the life of Pope Pascal II, who died in 1118 after a lengthy reign; in this case, cavities were not filled, but he was simply 'covered with Balsam'.³² Paravicini Bagliani considers the case isolated and independent from the later development of the public exposition ritual. Two centuries of silence follow Pascal's case and the next detailed descriptions come from Ameil's *ordo* dating from the 1380s. There is evidence of a somewhat formal cleansing *ordo* (if not specifically

embalming) before the fourteenth century in a book that describes the customs of the later thirteenth century (1261–1294), while discussing the role of the almoner in the papal obsequies. Almoners prepared the pope's corpse, dressed him according to custom after receiving papal regalia from the penitentiary, and then passed the body on to the penitentiaries.³³ As a somewhat dubious reward for these intimate services, the main almoner was to receive the bed in which the pope had died. Note that embalming was not really considered, and the corpse was simply 'prepared'; we can assume by rubbing it with oil and maybe balsam.

It can be assumed that since Boniface VIII's bull *Detestande feritatis* (also known as *de Sepulturis*), issued on 27 September 1299, prevented the cutting or portioning of the body to preserve it, embalming was supposed to maintain the integrity of the body for funerals. The bull responded to a practice that had developed throughout the thirteenth century with high-ranking ecclesiastical and royal officials and then spread to the middling class. Individuals required in their testaments that if they died abroad, or away from home, their flesh and bones be separated in order to have easily transportable remains buried in the location of their choice. Multiple burials allowed for a multiplicity of intercession and suffrages. Prayers would be uttered for a same person in different location, multiplying as such their efficiency.³⁴ Boniface states:

when one of theirs, either noble or high dignitary, dies away from his home (which is most often the case), when he had chosen to be buried in his land, or far away from where he died, Christians who follow this perverse custom moved by sacrilegious care, savagely drain him of his entrails, and horribly dismembering him or cutting him to pieces, throw him in water to boil him over the fire. When finally the flesh separates from bones they bring back the bones to the chosen place of inhumation.³⁵

Boniface denounced all those who required to be disemboweled, boiled, and partitioned to be interred somewhere else than where they died. For the ones wishing reburial, Boniface favored a two-steps approach of, first, a local burial, followed by a later exhumation and transportation to the final resting place once the body had decomposed. For these later cases, we can assume that bodies were simply embalmed for the length of the viewing.

In his *regimen custodiae corporum mortuorum* the famous medieval surgeon Guy de Chauliac (1300–1368) explains two types of

embalming: a ‘clean’ practice for the cold season, which he considered a better fit for bodies that were skinny and dry, and a more invasive one, better fitting for fat bodies.³⁶ In both cases, the body was laid face-down to prevent swelling. If this measure failed, he recommended that the abdomen be punctured on several locations to release ‘water and wind’. De Chauliac adds that this advice came to him from an apothecary of the pope, Jacopo Migliorini, who claimed to have embalmed several popes.³⁷

De Chauliac’s narrative of a traditional embalming relied heavily on Rhazes (854–925), the renowned Persian physician and philosopher.³⁸ De Chauliac lists all the spices to be employed in the creation of the embalming formulae (aloe, myrrh, acacia, etc.), and for lengthy exposures (as in the case of a pope) he recommends frequent washing of the body with salted rose water, or the rubbing of the body with a secret balm that he suspects exists because he has heard of it, but whose recipe he cannot find! It is of note that Rhazes’ embalming consisted of a tight wrapping of the body with adhesive bandages, and it is somewhat difficult to comprehend how a body could be simultaneously washed frequently for long conservation without removing all of these bandages. In any case, a prolonged exposition and lasting embalming required an extensive, time-consuming manipulation of the body. Loosely translated, the text recommends the following:

Regarding the preservation of the body of the dead.

There are two ways to preserve the body of the dead for some time, and for preventing putrefaction. The first one comes from Rhazes, by means of pushing into the intestines through the anus decoctions of enemas (*clisteribus*) made with bitter apple, and red borax. To conveniently execute the procedure one needs to put the dead’s head down then straighten it (*capite existent declivi and postea erecto corpore*), so that the body stands on its feet; one then compresses the stomach to expel all large feces (*stercus*). This done, one must inject the body with a second concoction (*clisteri*) made with aloe, myrrh, acacia, *ramic* (which is nutmeg, *gallia muscata*), alipte, the skin of pomegranates, cypress nuts, nutmeg, sandalwood, aloe wood, salt, cumin and alum dissolved in vinegar, and rose water, and clog the anus. This injection must be maintained in place with cotton and tow soaked in the same decoction, under a good bandage (*binda*) in order to contain and totally clog the plug. One will put quicksilver (mercury, *argentum vivum*) in the nostrils, ears and mouth to prevent the brain to liquefy. Rhazes then advises to soak the body for some time in that same

preparation (*medicamine*) and then that the body be covered with alkitrán, which is black pitch. Finally, he wants us to plug all holes and pores of the body by means of bandages that envelope and bind all parts. This is usually done like this: prepare large quantities of tape (*sparadrapi*), which is made with black pitch, resin, pine resin, incense, mastic, storax, arabic gum, and tragacanth, and the previous powder. One must have enough tape to envelop each separate leg to the buttocks, and each arm to the shoulder, and the rest of the body up to the head; and it must be sawn well formed with the tape snug against the skin, and seal the seams with melted pitch, arms must be placed along the sides, and legs and feet joined close to each other. Once done you must sprinkle the whole surface of the bandage with the powder described previously, and fill empty spaces with twisted tow soaked in the preparation of the second injection. And one wraps once again the whole body of the same tape ensuring that the seams of this second envelope are opposite those of the first, and one seals the seam with the same molten pitch that was used previously; then one powders for a second time with the same preparation the entire surface of this envelope, which must be covered for a third time with oilcloth and whose seams must be sealed with pitch. Once done one must bind the body tightly and with great strength like we do with bales of merchandise and once the body is wrapped in clean linen, it is placed in a sealed leaden coffin whose openings and edges have been sealed with a hot iron. On can put odoriferous herbs in the coffin such as roses, marjoram, mint, balsamithea, wormwood, and others, or we can put the body in a wooden box of cypress or walnut wood that will be sealed properly, and tied with iron bands, to which six rings will be attached to enable powering up and carrying conveniently. Some wrapped them in cow or horse leather.

For the second form of embalming, one must cut open the belly and pull out all of the entrails. Then one stuffs the cavity with the powder described above and with a great quantity of salt and cumin. After which the body is sewn back and wrapped like described above. If you want to preserve the entrails, you must clean them and powder them. Then put them in a leaden box, then in another box.³⁹

Chauliac's embalming aimed at preventing the corpse's decomposition for at least eight days. Piero Argellata, a famed surgeon at the University of Bologna, confirmed this estimation when he prided himself on having prepared Alexander V's body so expertly that he lasted eight days. This was certainly an accomplishment, since Alexander V, who had died in Bologna in 1410, was left with his face, hands, and feet exposed and visible.⁴⁰

Papal embalment did not follow Chauillac to the letter, but Ameil's rendering approximates his methods pretty accurately. The preparation and dressing of the corpse took place in the secret/private chamber of the pope.⁴¹ As the penitentiaries recited the Office of the Dead, the seven penitential psalms, and other prayers contained in their books, brothers of the Bull (seal) Office or of the papal almshouse washed the pope's body with warm scented water, and a barber shaved his head and beard.⁴² The brothers and an apothecary filled his anus, mouth, ears, and nose with cotton, oakum or myrrh, incense, or aloe if available, then they once again rubbed the body with a good white wine heated with smelling herbs, and with a good Garnache wine provided by a chamberlain or butler. The next step included stuffing the throat with herbs, spices, and cotton, his nostrils with muscade, rubbing the body vigorously, including the hands, and anointing it for one last time with a good balsam provided by the *camerlengo*.⁴³

Once prepared, penitentiaries dressed the body with trousers (*bracas*), shirt (*camisiam*), hose (*caligas*), and a tunic (*tunicam*). They arranged the corpse 'as if sitting' (*quasi sedendo*) and covered the pope in his red papal garments (*sacris vestibus rubei coloris*) that included first his white sandals (*sandaliis albis*), belt and cincture (*cinctorio et subcinctorio*), fanon (*fano*), stole (*stola*), short tunic (*tinucella*), maniple (*manipulo*), dalmatic (*dalmatica*), gloves (*cirothecis*), chasuble (*planeta*), and a pallium borrowed from the body of St. Peter (*pallio de corpore Petri sumpto*)⁴⁴; they folded the fanon (the short cape reserved solely to the pope that rested over his chasuble) on his head and around his shoulders as if he were going to officiate and placed on his head his white biretta and mitre without pearls or gold—'*et plicent fanum super caput, et circa scapulas circumdent, ac si deberet celebrare, et ponant in capite eius birettam albam cum mitra alba sine perlus et sine auro*'.⁴⁵ Ameil stresses that the cross found on the pallium was held by three pins, as customary, and the pope was laid on a bier over a mattress covered with red silk and gold cloth, his head and feet resting on pillows covered with silk and gold.⁴⁶ Ameil's next rubric details how penitentiaries transported the body from the papal chamber to the chapel, preceded by sub-deacons and cantors who sang the '*Subvenite sancti Dei*' and how the body was eventually buried, sometimes only temporarily until a subsequent reburial at the pope's final resting place of choice.

Up to now I have emphasized texts that were written close to two generations after the arrival of the plague in 1348. Still, one can assume

that these written customs reflect and enshrine behavior that had been evolving for decades. It is my assumption that the preparation of the papal body did not change much between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The preparation of the body was tied to the period of waiting that separated the burial of the deceased from the initiation of the conclave that would name his successor. The entire span of times covered some nine days (the *novena*). Thus the body had to be preserved, at the longest, for this span of time. But in reality most popes were buried a couple of days after their death, thus the methods of preservation did not need to be extraordinary. Still, it is worthwhile asking if the arrival of the plague in the mid-fourteenth century changed protocol and forced the ecclesiastical institution to adapt. Could we surmise a practical significance to embalming, to prevent for example foul odors and disease from escaping the decaying papal body and offending the noses of mourners? Evidence is scant, but it is still interesting to note that the most accute discussion of medieval embalming is found in Guy de Chauliac, the surgeon of the plague.

In addition, another question must be asked: if embalming preserved the corpse for public presentation and vigil, did the arrival of the plague freeze and stop this practice (we know it existed before its arrival) or accelerate its spread? In sum, was the stuffing of all body cavities recommended by individuals like de Chauliac (who were aware of the contagion), and embalming used as a means to prevent and contain the spread of the disease? Did embalming follow the ‘miasma’ theory of the time by preventing bad air from contaminating the attendants at the funerals? Or was embalming simply part of the transition of the double persona of the pope, mortal in his human body, but preserved for a few days so people could see that a pope like all humans died but remained immortal in his representation of the institutional body?

While we know that embalming was not frequently detailed in *ordines* until the 1380s, it seems that, again according to Chauliac, it was practiced in the middle of the fourteenth century, thus prior to the arrival of the plague. A way of testing the relationship between plague and embalming is to look at what happened to the body of the pope of the Black Death, Clement VI. According to the pope’s biographers as edited by Etienne Baluze, when Clement died on 6 December 1352 the funeral took place at Notre-Dame des Doms, and he remained there until he was brought to Chaise Dieu abbey, his final resting place. Intriguingly, a review of the six papal biographies shows no mention of the exposition

of the body.⁴⁷ Now, it should be noted that Clement's death could be labeled somewhat suspicious, especially during plague years. Clement's fifth biographer tells us that 'Clement, having held the papacy for ten years, was struck with an abscess on his back, he had gone for lunch with his family, and once left alone with his chamberlain, the abscess broke and submerged [drowned] his heart, he died suddenly.'⁴⁸ His second and third biographers mention that his burial took place the day after his death, on 7 December.⁴⁹ Clement had a 'growth' on his back and a severe illness that had lingered for more than a year after he made his deathbed confession in December 1351, a year before he actually died.⁵⁰ According to records, we know that the Apostolic Chamber spent a substantial 2490 florins for his funeral, including all the mourning cloths, embroideries (close to 400 florins just for these), alms, and masses. The scribe noted that on 7 December Peter of Frigidavilla, the administrator of the almshouse, received 400 pounds to give to the poor on the day Clement's body was carried to the church for his burial. In addition, on 7 December, Johannes de Seduno, the pope's almoner, received 40 pounds to throw to the crowd of poor (a tradition) while the casket traveled to its burial at Notre Dame des Doms. Similarly, the master of the wax received reimbursement for his expenses during the funeral, dated 6–8 December. Note that all the evidence comes together to indicate that 7 December was Clement's burial date, that is, a single day after his death. Clement's body was not exposed and laid in state, and thus liturgical protocol was breached. A scribe also cared to note that a smith had been paid to seal Clement's coffin shut—'*pro ferrando cassam sive archam, in qua repositus est d. Clemens papa VI, 20 fl*'—while he laid in the Chapelle Neuve of the papal palace before his burial in Avignon cathedral.⁵¹ All elements show that Clement's body was not exposed, and buried rather rapidly, may I add, without respecting the *novena*'s ritual.

While I have argued in *Raiding Saint Peter* that protecting the corpse and its expensive trappings may have been a means of protecting the pope's body from the traditional pillaging that took place at the death of a pope, I am now wondering if the epidemic did not rewrite Clement's funerary script.⁵² If we look at a final piece of evidence, the chronicle of Albert of Strasbourg, we note that the chronicler states that after Clement's death his body was covered with lime to destroy the flesh in order to be exhumed and reburied at Chaise Dieu: '*positus in calce pro destructio carnis, in monasterio Casa Dei, in quo olim abbas fuerat, iussit se sepeleri*'.⁵³ Incidentally, this would match Boniface VIII's 1299 request

in his bull *Detestande feritatis* to hasten bodily decomposition before transportation in order to prevent post-mortem dismemberment. Still, one wonders if the passage of the plague did not also rescript Clement's hasty burial, speeding up decomposition and as such minimizing the risk an exposed body represented.

A means to test this supposition is to turn to Clement's successor. The humble Innocent VI (1352–1362) received the funeral expected of his rank, while Clement VI, ironically a man who thrived on pomp and who thought of himself as 'the pope who knew how to be pope', was buried somewhat like a commoner. Some ten years after Clement's hasty ritual, on 12 September 1362 records show that a certain Johannes Garrigie kept vigil with Innocent's body for two nights and recited masses.⁵⁴ The funeral lasted nine days—the usual *novena*. The body was exposed for two days in the Grande Chapelle of the palace, guarded with honors during vigils. Masses were sung throughout the days. The casket was then carried to the Cathedral of Notre-Dame des Doms on the first day of the *novena*, which ended with his inhumation on 22 September 1362 at the Charterhouse of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. Expenses covered the various cloths necessary for the staff's mourning garb, funerary expenses, and the alms distributed to the various orders of the city, almshouses, hospitals, and the poor on the day the cortège transported the body from Notre-Dame to Villeneuve.

While the pope's funeral script had been re-established for Innocent, it is of note that it was again re-evaluated for the re-burial of Clement VI. In February 1353 Clement's body was exhumed in Avignon, we have to assume now decomposed, and transported to La Chaise-Dieu in accordance with his last wishes. His successor Innocent VI offered the sum of 5000 florins for the journey. The cortège that accompanied Clement to La Chaise-Dieu left on 28 February 1353. The procession included Hugues Roger, the late pope's brother, Cardinal of S. Lorenzo in Damaso; Guillaume de la Jugie, Cardinal Deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin; Nicolas Besse, Cardinal of S. Maria in Via Lata; Clement's nephew Pierre Roger de Beaufort, the future pope Gregory XI, Cardinal Deacon of S. Maria Nova; Clement's cousin Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille, Cardinal of S. Maria in Trastevere; and Count Guillaume Roger de Beaufort, Clement VI's older brother. Still, the cortège was not as numerous as the forty-four figures that surrounded the pope's tomb at La Chaise-Dieu, representing the kin and friends that Clement had supported during his reign. His large and impressive tomb is still

visible there today.⁵⁵ For our purpose here it is important to note that Clement VI's 3500 florins and 120 gold écu tomb was planned during his lifetime, adorned with a white marble effigy designed by the tomb's architect and sculptor, Pierre Boye, and that surely to help in its design a wax portrait (*ex-voto*) '*formatam ad similitudinem pape*' had been sent to Chaise-Dieu in 1351.⁵⁶ Hence, in the case of Clement, if his physical state had prevented an ostentatious display of the papal corpse during his actual funeral, his reburial allowed making up for lost ritual. People never saw his face unveiled during the monstration, but the procession that accompanied his reburial to Chaise-Dieu resembled the typical papal funerary procession, with, for this occasion, a papal effigy awaiting at his arrival.

What this somewhat convoluted analysis may demonstrate is that in some cases concerns could rewrite traditional liturgical scripts. After the height of the plague even the pope's household was conscious of the danger caused by an infected body (even if Clement did not die of the plague) and remained suspicious enough to rewrite the script of the pope's funeral, going as far as covering his body in lime to hasten his decomposition. Late medieval scientists looked beyond the 'god's wrath' approach to the disease, even accepting the latter premise did not preclude studying its physical manifestation. Among various theories ranging from a certain alignment of planets to volcanic eruption, the dominant causation of the disease and its spread was found in miasma or the corrupted air theory. As Rosemarie Horrox explains

Scientists were agreed that the physical cause of plague was the corruption of the air—or, rather, since air was an element and could not change its substance—the mixing of air with corrupt or poisonous vapours, which when inhaled would have a detrimental effect on the human body. Where they differed was in the explanations they gave for the corruption. Some causes were obvious. Everyone agreed that the air could be poisoned by rotting matter, including dead bodies, or by excrement or stagnant water.⁵⁷

She offers ample evidence supporting this medieval understanding of infection or contagion.⁵⁸ Medieval public health and sanitation actually functioned on this basis and was essentially not as 'backward' as generally assumed; anything that putrefied and rotted was usually ordered removed from public sight and smell to prevent contagion while aromatics offered a preventive. Anything aromatic from the burning of incense

to spices offered palliatives. A warm or hot body favored aerial penetration, thus behavior also needed to be accommodated and exertion avoided. The corrupt air theory was so pervasive that, as Luke Demaitre argues, ‘even though “contagion” is derived from the Latin word for touching, in the manuals ... the term referred to infection by air rather than to direct physical contact’.⁵⁹

As Carole Rawcliffe has recently demonstrated in her magisterial *Urban Bodies*, ‘the conviction that epidemics spread through the medium of polluted air remained unshaken until the reign of Queen Victoria’, and precipitated sanitary measures in most medieval cities.⁶⁰ Although the words ‘infection’ and ‘contagion’ in their Latinized forms did not appear in documentation before the sixteenth century, Annemarie Kinzelbach shows that ‘Inhabitants of late medieval and early modern towns in southern Germany had notions of both “miasma” and “contagion.”’ She adds, “Infection,” for example, signified something nonphysical passed on to others or received from them, something physical or non-physical in the air entering the human beings, something that was transported by contact with persons and things, and an organism like a worm in fishes.’⁶¹ These ideas were not limited to northern Europe. Focusing on universities’ masters of the late Middle Ages (mainly French and Italian), Jon Arrizabalaga already concluded in his seminal 1994 article that

The concept of contagion as a means of pestilence transmission from one person to another is present in most of these works, in clear disproof of the widely accepted historical assumption that this idea and its development in the late Middle Ages were achievements of the city laymen’s ‘healthy’ empiricism opposed to the aerist and miasmatic views held by university physicians. As said above, air spread and contagion can no longer be considered as contradictory views of the diffusion of pestilence, but rather as referring to two different and successive stages of its dissemination, the air being in addition the place where pestilence is first generated.⁶²

A final evidence for the presence of ideas of contagion and infection in the late Middle Ages can be found in social reactions and behavior. Discussing Milanese responses, Ann Carmichael states ‘The Milanese practices during epidemics would lead eventually to the most brutal—if in some sense logical-expression of an unqualified contagion theory: prosecution, persecution and execution of the *untori* or plague spreaders in the 1630 plague.’⁶³ Thus it could be argued retroactively that most

medieval plague legislations that enforced quarantines and ejected perceived 'polluted' bodies from their urban perimeters in fact understood the concepts of contagion and infection.⁶⁴

But the question of Clement's funeral remains. Was the papal court at Avignon cognizant of the latest medical theories? There is no doubt that it was. After all, Clement requested the presence of Guy de Chauliac, one of the most renowned physicians of his time, at his court. Clement was an educated pope who read what was called 'natural philosophy', or natural sciences. He was not, for his era, a religious 'obscurantist'. And he searched for solutions.⁶⁵ His papal letters offer little mention of concrete medical notions to fight the '*mortalitatis pestem*', if only one order to cease preaching the crusades in Cyprus because soldiers could not be available in sufficient numbers to defeat the Turks.⁶⁶ The pope's focus remained on spiritual and financial palliatives, offering plenary indulgences, and lightening or eliminating ecclesiastical taxes in areas that had been the most touched. Avignon and its administration also understood the concept of infection. Like many European cities, it enacted throughout the period sanitary regulations that aimed at promoting urban hygiene and healthy living conditions.⁶⁷

Thus, I would suggest that Clement's funeral reflected his reign and court. For his entourage, even the pope remained a man, and his decomposing body's emanations and secretions could transmit the disease. Re-burial may have been in his case a convenient excuse to quickly dispose of his body during his funeral. The link between the dead body and the epidemic had been made, to the point of changing what should have been immutable: the papal funerary script. Only Clement's reburial corrected the breached protocol of his death and restored decorum. Once the shock of the first onslaught of the disease passed, traditions and protocol fell back into place. The death of a pope could be honored with a showing of his body, corrupted or not.

NOTES

1. Vivian Nutton, 'Did the Greeks Have a Word For It? Contagion and Contagion Theory in Classical Antiquity' in *Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-modern Societies*, Lawrence I. Conrad, and D. Wujastyk, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 161.
2. Justin K. Stearns, *Infectious Ideas: Contagion in Premodern Islamic and Christian Thought in the Western Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 5.

3. Monica H. Green, 'Editor's Introduction' in *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death. The Medieval Globe* vol. 1, Monica H. Green, ed. (Kalamazoo MI: Arc Medieval Press, 2014), p. 9. I refer to her bibliography for an up-to-date discussion of the causes and consequences of the disease.
4. Green, 'Editor's Introduction', p. 13. In a second article Green reiterates her suggestion that the disease affected a large span of Afro-Eurasia, including sub-Saharan Africa and the coasts of the Indian Ocean. See Monica H. Green, 'Taking "Pandemic" Seriously: Making the Black Death Global' in *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death. The Medieval Globe*, vol. 1, Monica H. Green, ed., pp. 27–61 (Kalamazoo MI: Arc Medieval Press, 2014).
5. Green, 'Editor's Introduction', p. 15.
6. On the metaphors of the body Christian and politic, see my 'Body Politic' in *Sage's Encyclopedia of Political Theory*, ed. Mark Bevir (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2010), vol. 1, pp. 133–137.
7. Among a large literature and by no means an exhaustive list, see, in chronological order, Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (London: Collins, 1969); Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); David Herlihy and Samuel Kline Cohn, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); John Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting Famine, War, Plague, and Death in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Ole J. Benedictow, *The Black Death, 1346–1353: A Complete History* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004); John Aberth, *The Black Death: The Great Mortality of 1348–1350—A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005); Green, ed., *Pandemic Disease*.
8. For a discussion of Clement VI see: Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Étienne Anheim, *Clément VI au travail: Lire, écrire, prêcher au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2014); and Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy (1309–1417): Popes, Institutions, and Society* (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), pp. 69–85.
9. Etienne Baluze and Guillaume Mollat, *Vitae paparum avenionensium; hoc est Historia pontificum romanorum qui in Gallia sederunt ab anno Christi MCCCIV usque ad annum MCCCXCIV*, vol. 1 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1914–1927), p. 305.
10. See for example in the papal letters *Ut per litteras apostolicas: Les lettres pontificales* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011), #003965, a letter dated 24 September 1348 allowing a derogation of normal statutory rule

of entrance into minor and major orders because too many clergymen have died, cannot be replaced, and sacraments go uncarried; or #002496, dated 8 September 1351, requiring the cessation of the preaching of the crusade because of the high mortality.

11. Baluze and Mollat, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, p. 251.
12. Horrox, *The Black Death*, p. 42.
13. Ibid., 43–44.
14. Anna Colet, Josep Xavier Muntané i Santiveri, Jordi Ruíz Ventura, Oriol Saula, M. Eulàlia Subirà de Galdàcano, and Clara Jáuregui, 'The Black Death and Its Consequences for the Jewish Community in Tàrraga: Lessons from History and Archeology' in Green, ed., *Pandemic Disease*, pp. 63–96.
15. Horrox, *The Black Death*, p. 221.
16. Aberth, *From the Brink*, p. 120.
17. Sacha Kacki, Lila Rahalison, Minoarisoa Rajerison, Ezio Ferroglio, and Raffaella Bianucci, 'Black Death in the Rural Cemetery of Saint-Laurent-de-la-Cabrerisse Aude-Languedoc, Southern France, fourteenth Century: Immunological Evidence'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38 (2011): 582.
18. 'Debent quoque fideles christiani sepeliri induti sudariis, prout Prouinciales obseruant, quod sumunt ex euangelio in quo legitur de sudario et sindone Christi. Quidam uero cilicio insuuntur, ut hac ueste insignia penitentie representent, nam cinis et cilicium arma sum penitentium. Nec debent indui uestibus communibus, prout in Italia fit; et ut quidam dicunt debent habere caligas circa tibias et subtelares in pedibus, ut per hoc ipsos esse paratos ad iudicium represententur.' Guillelmus Durandus, *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, A. Davril, T. M. Thibodeau, and B. G. Guyot, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), lib. VII, cap. 35, par. 40, l, pp. 442–446.
19. See Joëlle Rollo-Koster, 'Avignon's Capitalization and the Legitimation of Transiency' in *Images and Words in Exile: Avignon and Italy in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century (ca. 1310–1352)*, Elisa Brilli, Laura Fenelli, and Gerhard Wolf, eds. (Florence: SISMELE-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), pp. 266–269, where I discuss laymen and women's requests to be buried in mendicant cowl.
20. Sharon N. DeWitte, 'The Anthropology of Plague: Insights from Bioarchaeological Analyses of Epidemic Cemeteries' in Green, ed., *Pandemic Disease*, pp. 104–105.
21. Kacki et al., 'Black Death', p. 586.
22. Horrox, *The Black Death*, p. 21.
23. Ibid., p. 44.
24. This early section of the chapter revisits an earlier version presented in 'Death of Clergymen: Popes and Cardinals' Death Rituals' in Joëlle Rollo-Koster, ed., *Dying in the Middle Ages: Death Scripted Death*

- Choreographed* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 164–185. See also Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance: Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'occident* (Bruxelles: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1983) and *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance: Le retour à Rome ou le cérémonial du patriarche Pierre Ameil* (Bruxelles: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1985), pp. 216–233.
25. On ritual exchanges between Eastern and Western church see Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Alexander Daniel Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, and Maria G. Parani, *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
 26. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Morte e elezione del papa* (Rome: Viella, 2013), pp. 215–226.
 27. Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance: Tome II. De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Brussels: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1981).
 28. Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance: Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'occident* (Bruxelles: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1983) and *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance: Le retour à Rome ou le cérémonial du patriarche Pierre Ameil* (Bruxelles: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1985), pp. 216–233.
 29. I discussed the detail of these *ordines* in my *Raiding Saint Peter: Empty Sees, Violence, and the Initiation of the Great Western Schism (1378)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 44–59. To date, they have been used mainly by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) and *Morte*, pp. 226–251.
 30. Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge*, pp. 216–233.
 31. This is the topic of my *Raiding Saint Peter* and 'Episcopal and Papal Vacancies: A Long History of Violence' in *Ecclesia et Violentia: Violence against the Church and Violence within the Church in the Middle Ages*, eds. Radosław Kotecki and Jacek Maciejewski, pp. 54–71 (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).
 32. Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, p. 134.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
 34. On this practice see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 'Démembrement et intégrité du corps au XIIIe siècle'. *Terrain* 18 (1992): 26–32; on the multiplicity of intercessionary suffrages see Jacques Chiffolleau, *La*

comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen âge, vers 1320–vers 1480 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1980).

35. Paravicini Bagliani, 'Démembrement et intégrité', p. 29. My translation.
36. It should be highlighted that Chauliac lived at the papal court and served as 'physician of the pope' for Clement VI; for his biography see André Thevenet, 'Guy de Chauliac, père de la chirurgie'. *Bulletin de l'académie des sciences et lettres de Montpellier* 28 (1998): 207–222. For the quoted passage see Guido de Chauliaco, *Cyrurgia magna*, tract. 6, doct. 1, ch. 8. See also *La Grande chirurgie de maistre Guy de Chauliac ... traduite nouvellement en François ... par Maistre Simon Mingelousaulx ... première édition [suivi de l'Antidotaire]* (Bordeaux, 1672), pp. 522–524.
37. Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *The People of Curial Avignon: A Critical Edition of the Liber Divisionis and the Matriculae of Notre Dame la Majour* (Lampeter, UK and Lewinston, ME: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2009), pp. 91, 139, 165, 330–331; Anne-Marie Hayez, *Le terrier avignonnais de l'évêque Anglic Grimoard: 1366–1368* (Paris: CTHS, 1993), p. 156.
38. See for example Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā, and María de la Concepción Vázquez de Benito, *Libro de la introducción al arte de la medicina o 'isagoge'* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1979); Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā, *The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes* (London: Murray, 1950); Sarah Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam: Ibn Al-Rawāndī, Abū Bakr Al-Rāzī and Their Impact on Islamic Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); and Rawiya al Waseet, *Al Razi* (London: Islamic Information Services, 1978).
39. Guido de Chauliaco, *Cyrurgia magna*, tract. 6, doct. 1, ch. 8, in for example the most recent edition, Guigonis De Caulhiaco (Guy de Chauliac), *Inventarium sive chirurgia magna*, ed. Michael McVaugh (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 307–308; or Guido de Chauliaco, *Cyrurgia magna*, tract. 6, doct. 1, ch. 8 in *La Grande chirurgie de maistre Guy de Chauliac ... traduite nouvellement en François ... par Maistre Simon Mingelousaulx ... première édition [suivi de l'Antidotaire]* (Bordeaux, 1672), pp. 522–524.
40. Paravicini Bagliani, *Morte*, pp. 240–241. Traditionally, the face of the pope was covered when exposed in the chapel, uncovered for the public display in the church, and covered again when he laid on his bier.
41. 'Lavatur enim in camera secreta, et induitur sacris vestibus, prout est dictum'; Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge*, p. 220.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
43. 'apothecarius et dicti fratres de bulla obturent sibi bene omnia foramina cum bumbasio vel stupa, anum, os, aures, nares, cum myrra, thure, et aloe, si possit habere [...] lavetur etiam corpus cum bono vino albo et calefacto

cum herbis odoriferis, et cum bona vernagia, que cubicularii vel buticularii pape debent dictis lavatoribus administrare [...] 'Guttur vero impletur de aromatibus et speciebus cum bombasio, et etiam nares cum musqueto. Ultimo etiam totum corpus multum fricetur et ungatur cum balsamo bono, et etiam manus' in ibid., p. 219.

44. On the consecration of the pallium in the tomb of St. Peter or at the altar of St. Peter see Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale: basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*, vol. 2 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1994), pp. 710–712 and Steven A. Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool: The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016).
45. Dykmans, *Le cérémonie papale de la fin du moyen âge*, p. 219.
46. *'Ipso vero sic parato, dicti penitentiarii ponant eum super feretrum novum vel lectica, in quo debet esse bonum matalacium coopertum de serico rubeo cum una pulcra vona seu coopertorio etiam de serico rubeo, et desuper debent esse duo panni de auro se tenentes. [...] Item subtus caput eius sit pulvinar coopertum de panno aureo. Et post pedes eius in eodem feretro aliud pulvinar consimile cum floxis de serico et cordonibus de auro super quod debent stare duo capelli seu pilei pape. Pulvinaria debent esse latitudinis feretro.'* Ibid., pp. 219–220.
47. See Baluze and Mollat, *Vitae paparum avinionensium*, 'Vitae 1 Clement', p. 261: 'Ipse tamen finaliter infirmitate gravatus, humiliter penitens de commissis, devotique receptis ecclesiasticis sacramentis, in veritate et sinceritate fidei ac unitate sancte matris Ecclesie spiritum Domino commendavit anno Domini MCCCLIJ, die sexta mensis decembris, pontificatus sui anno undecimo. Fuitque sepultus in ecclesia majori Avinionensi, demum transferendus ad dictum monasterium Case Dei, in quo vivens suam perpetuam elegerat sepulturam. Vacavitque Sedes diebus duodecim'; 'Vitae 2 Clement', p. 272: 'Illum enim quedam tunc invasit infirmitas, propter quam sexto die mensis decembris tunc immediate sequentis, in videlicet beatissimi Nycholay festo, spiritum Domino reddidit, et memoria ejus in benedictione semper erit. Exequie vero dicti summi pontificis in cathedrali ecclesia Beate Marie Avinionensis fuerunt in c[r]astinum [7 decembris] sollempniter celebrate. Et demum exinde corpus ejus juxta dispositionem ipsius ad predictum Case Dei monasterium, quod ipse pontifex in ecclesia et domibus mirabiliter ampliavit et possessionibus augmentavit, fuit portatum per dominos fratrem et nepotes ipsius cardinales et comitem Bellifortis aliosque nepotes et consanguineos ejus, simul et dolentissime nec minus cerimonialiter quam honorabiliter sociatum, sed virtus ejus honoris obsequium non attingit, et in sepulcro novissimo, quod ipsemet vicens et vivens in Villanova, Avinionensis dyocesis, sibi fecerat

fabricari, quodque pretiosissimi et politissimi operis est, illuc delato et in capella quam preter illas supradictas construi *fecerat sepultus est clementissimus ille Clemens anno Domini MCCCLIJ, pontificatus sui undecimo, die sexto⁷ mensis decembris*; anima cujus in pace requiescat. Amen'; 'Vitae 3 Clement', p. 288: 'Illum enim quedam invasit infirmitas, propter quam sexto die mensis decembris, tunc immediate sequentis, in festo beati Nicholai spiritum Domino reddidit, et memoria ejus in benedictionibus erit semper. Exequie ejus in ecclesia beate Marie Avinionensis fuerunt in crastinum sollemniter celebrate. Et demum exinde corpus ejus, juxta dispositionem ipsius, apud predictum Case Dei monasterium, quod ipse pontifex in ecclesia et domibus ampliavit, et capellaniis bene dotavit, et possessionibus augmentavit quampluribus, decoravit honorifice, portatum fuit per dominos [fratrem] et nepotes ipsius cardinales superius nominatos, necnon per alterum fratrem ejus, dominum comitem Bellifortis, aliosque nepotes et consanguineos ejus, quos in papatu bene noverat, nullo spreto, devotissime simul et dolentissime nec minus cerimonialiter quam honorabiliter sociatum, sed virtutes ejus honorum obsequium non attingit, et in sepulcro novissimo, quod ipse in Villanova, Avinionensis diocesis, fieri sibi fecerat fabricari, quodque politissimi et pretiosissimi operis est, illuc delato, et in capella quam preter alias supradictas pinguissime reddituatam ad hoc a fundamentis ibi construi fecerat situato sepultus est clementissimus ille Clemens, clementie speculum, caritatis hospes, misericordie pater, pietatis allumpnus, liberalitatis minister, justitie pugil, equitatis athleta, concordie sator, et pacis amator, modestie norma, religionis exemplar, amicitie fomes, anchora spei, fidei basis, complacentie mos, eloquentie flos, honor generis et patrie decus; anima cujus requiescat in pace. Amen. Sedit annis XJ, mensibus VJ et diebus XVJ'; 'Vitae 4 Clement', p. 297: 'Hic die sexta decembris, in die sancti Nicolai, anno Domini MCCCLIJ, Avinione, in palatio apostolico, ad Christum migravit. Sepultus est in monasterio de *la Casa de Dio*, Claromontensis dyocesis.' The emphasized Italics are mine.

48. Baluze and Mollat, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, 'Vitae 5 Clement', p. 303: the most medical, 'Postquam vero predictus Clemens papatum tenuerat per decem annos, percussus apostemate in dorso, cum familiares sui ivissent prandere, solo camberlano secum relicto, ipsius apostema erumpens et cor ejus submergens, subito expiravit.'
49. Baluze and Mollat, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, 'Vitae 2 Clement', p. 272 and 'Vitae 3 Clement', p. 288.
50. Odoricus Raynaldus and Caesar Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici Ab Anno Quo Desinit Card. C. Baronius, 1198 Usque Ad Annum 1534(-1565) Continuati ... Auctore O. Raynaldo, Etc. Tom. 13-21 (1694)*, vol. 6, Chap. 38, p. 550.

51. Karl-Heinrich Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Benedikt XII, Klemens VI und Innocenz VI* (Paderborn, 1914), pp. 481–482.
52. Rollo-Koster, *Raiding Saint Peter*, p. 141.
53. Christian Wurtisen, *Germaniae historici, qui post Henrici III imperatoris aetatem trecentis annis scripserunt / 2 Continens Dominicanorum Colmariensium fastos, Conradum Vecerium de Henrico VII Imp. et M. Alberti Argentinensis Chronicon integrum, à Rudolpho primo, vsque ad Caroli quarti obitum ... Cum rerum et verborum Indice copiosissimo* (Francofrdi: Wechel, 1585 apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, 1586), p. 156.
54. Baluze and Mollat, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, ‘Vita 1 Innocent VI’, p. 330: ‘Domini MCCCCLXII, die XII mensis septembris, pontificatus sui anno decimo fuitque sepultus in ecclesia majori Avinionensi, demum transferendus ad dictam domum Cartusiensem Villenove, in qua vivens suam perpetuam elegerat sepulturam. Vacavitque Sedes diebus quadraginta quinque. Et circa idem tempus, paulo ante, obierat [26 maii 1362] Ludovicus, rex Sicilie, Johanna regina, conjuge ejus, remanente sine quacumque prole.’ Eugène Déprez, ‘Les funérailles de Clément VI et d’innocent VI d’après les comptes de la cour pontificale’. *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 20 (1900), pp. 248–249 quotes, ‘Item pro exequiis prefati quondam domini Innocentii pape VI, videlicet domino Johanni Garrigie preposito Barchinonensi, pro expensis per ipsum factis de mandato dominorum cardinalium de Canilhaco, Lemovicensis et de Urcinis et camerarii Sedis Apostolice, videlicet pro illis qui dictum *funus vigilaverunt per duas noctes* et pro illis qui missas in magna capella palatii celebraverunt, quamdiu funus ibidem fuit, et etiam dum funus portabatur ad ecclesiam more solito, ac etiam pro helemosina data cuilibet conventu[i] quatuor ordinum mendicantium et septem conventibus monialium et Cartusiensium Villenove et pauperibus religiosis et hospitalibus Avinionensibus, et pro C. missis celebrandis singulis diebus per novenam ipsius domini pape, ac pro helemosina data prelati et personis religiosi ac presbiteris et clericis verecundis, et pro preparando dictum funus M V° XX V flor. — Item VIIe L lib. monete Avinionensis. Item magistro Guillelmo Adzemarii olim custodi cere dicti quondam domini nostri pape de expensis factis per eum de mandato domini camerario pro cendato albo nigro et rubeo, tela et torticiis per ipsuin factis fieri et certis expensis per ipsum factis pro dictis exequiis in magno libro declaratis M VIIe LXII flor. IX s. XI den. ob. — Item Lamberto Lambertesqui et ejus sociis societatis Albertorum antiquorum habitatoribus Avinionensibus pro pannis per ipsos traditis et deliberatis pro raubis nigris certorum familiarium ipsius quondam domini nostri pape, V IIIe VI flor. XVIII s. VI d. Summa totalis soluta pro dictis exequiis contenta in presenti Capitulo

- est IIII CXCIII flor. VII LI lbr VIII s. V den. ob. monete Avinionensis. (Arch. Vat., Introitus ex Exitus, 296, f° 71 recto). Déprez, 'Les funérailles', actually remarks that his funeral was grander than his predecessor: see p. 241.
55. Eugène Déprez, 'Les funérailles', 238–239.
 56. Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 144.
 57. Horrox, *The Black Death*, p. 100.
 58. See for examples Horrox, *The Black Death*, pp. 158–206.
 59. Luke E. Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013), p. 63.
 60. Carole Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies: Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 124–125.
 61. Annemarie Kinzelbach, 'Infection, Contagion, and Public Health in Late Medieval and Early Modern German Imperial Towns'. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 61 (2006): 388.
 62. Jon Arrizabalaga, 'Facing the Black Death: Perceptions and Reactions of University Medical Practitioners' in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, eds. Luis García-Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, and Andrew Cunningham (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 287.
 63. Ann G. Carmichael, 'Contagion Theory and Contagion Practice in Fifteenth-Century Milan'. *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991): 254.
 64. I am thinking here more specifically about anti-Semitic legislations. See for examples Horrox, *The Black Death*, pp. 206–226.
 65. For the latest discussion on the pope see Étienne Anheim, *Clément VI au travail: Lire, écrire, prêcher au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2014). See also my *Avignon and its Papacy (1309–1417): Popes, Institutions, and Society* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), pp. 69–85 for a discussion of Clement VI and more specifically pp. 82–84 for his actions during the plague. Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) remains the fundamental biography of the pope.
 66. See *Ut per Litteras*, Clément VI, # 002496 (dated 8 September 1351).
 67. See Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, pp. 229–233.

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