

CHRISTIAN BURIAL PRIVATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH (FRANCE, MID-10TH–EARLY 14TH)

MATHIEU VIVAS
UNIVERSITÉ DE LILLE
FRANCE

Date of receipt: 18th of August, 2016

Final date of acceptance: 4th of April, 2017

ABSTRACT

In the mid-10th century, the Christian Church creates consecrated cemeteries forbidden to those we might call the 'bad dead'. At the same time, the landscape and social practices change thanks to a better defined guidance of the faithful on liturgical, sacramental and juridical matters. Between the 11th and 13th centuries, the clerics define a number of 'bad Christian' groups to be deprived of *sepultura ecclesiastica*, who were previously regarded by historians of written sources and archaeologists as 'outsiders'. Although ecclesiastical justice was uncompromising regarding the future of those excommunicated, their reintegration within the Church was pondered. This study aims to understand these funeral bans and to assess the management of burial areas and their surroundings from a new perspective. Not only does it shed light on the future of the bodies deprived of *sepultura ecclesiastica*, but it also raises the question of the care assumed by the authorities of the 'bad dead'.

KEYWORDS

Burial, 'Bad dead', Cemetery, Excommunication, Multidisciplinary.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Funus, "Mala mors", Coemeterium, Excommunicatio, Multidisciplinaris.

In a proxemic sense the consecrated cemetery is a ‘cultural product’¹ resulting from the practical management of space and the Christian ideology of death.² From the mid-tenth century, thanks to the liturgical ritual of consecration, the burial place becomes the Christian cemetery.³ By opposing the *intra* and *extra cimiterium*, this rite not only creates a consecrated space recognised in the secular world, but also highlights the positive integration of “good Christians”, and the negative rejection of ‘bad Christians’. Burial in a Christian cemetery depends on actions defined by the Church as pious (confession, penance, etc.) or as infamous (sins, crimes, etc.).

In late Antiquity, ecclesiastics define the categories of persons to be excluded from the community.⁴ By canonical sentence (essentially excommunication and anathema), the Church condemns practice and behaviour it deems harmful to the soul’s salvation and the social order. The categorization of these individuals, considered as criminals, continues throughout the Middle Ages; compromise only comes with the Church’s adaptation to socio-economic changes. Various ecclesiastical councils condemn, for example, murderers, infanticides, suicides, usurers, knights killed in tournaments, etc. From the 12th century, when the Church requires that Christians be buried in the parish where they pay the tithe, there appear proper lists of excommunicated deprived of Christian burial. Without repentance ‘bad Christians’ become, at the time of death, the “bad dead”: they are deprived of Christian burial and the *sepultura ecclesiastica*, and doomed to the torments of hell.⁵

1. Borrowed from the American anthropologist Edward T. Hall, Henri Galinié defined the term ‘proxemics’ as “the set of observations and theories concerning man’s use of space as a specific cultural product”: see Galinié, Henri. “Utiliser la notion de ‘distance critique’ dans l’étude des relations socio-spatiales”, *Les Petits Cahiers d’Anatole*, 7 February 2001. 22 September 2011 <http://citeres.univ-tours.fr/doc/lat/pecada/F2_7.pdf>. See also Hall, Edward T. *The Hidden Dimension*. New York: Doubleday, 1966.

2. Rebillard, Éric. *In hora mortis. Évolution de la pastorale chrétienne de la mort aux IV^e et V^e siècles dans l’Occident latin*. Rome-Paris: École Française de Rome – De Boccard, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 1994; Rebillard, Éric. *The care of the dead in late antiquity*. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 2009; Rebillard, Éric. *Transformations of religious practices in late antiquity*. Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 2013; Treffort, Cécile. *L’Église carolingienne et la mort. Christianisme, rites funéraires et pratiques commémoratives*. Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1996.

3. Lauwers, Michel. *Naissance du cimetière. Lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l’Occident médiéval*. Paris: Aubier, 2005; Treffort, Cécile. “Consécration de cimetière et contrôle épiscopal des lieux d’inhumations au X^e siècle”, *Le Sacré et son inscription dans l’espace à Byzance et en Occident. Études comparées*, Michel Kaplan, dir. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001: 285-299; Zadora-Rio, Élisabeth. “The role of cemeteries in the formation of medieval settlement patterns in western France”, *Medieval Archaeology. Papers of the seventeenth annual conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, Charles L. Redman, ed. Binghamton: Center of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1989: 171-186; Zadora-Rio, Élisabeth. “Lieux d’inhumation et espaces consacrés: le voyage du pape Urbain II en France (août 1095-août 1096)”, *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires*, André Vauchez, dir. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000: 197-213; Zadora-Rio, Élisabeth. “The Evolution of Churchyard Burial: Three Case Studies from France”. *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*, 2 (2011): 516-521.

4. Kerin, Charles A. *The Privation of Christian Burial: An Historical Synopsis and Commentary*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1941; Vivas, Mathieu. *La privation de sépulture au Moyen Âge. L’exemple de la province ecclésiastique de Bordeaux (X^e-début du XIV^e siècles)*. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers (PhD Dissertation), 2012: 171-224.

5. We borrow the term ‘bad dead’ from Lauwers, Michel. *Naissance du cimetière...: 167-169*.



Privation of a *sepultura ecclesiastica* may be considered denial of a Christian funeral and liturgical remembrance but from the mid-tenth century, it also represents the loss of the right to be buried in consecrated ground.⁶ Concerning the fate of the ‘bad Christian’s’ body, some written sources declare that such corpses must be laid outside the cemetery, on its outskirts.⁷ If burial in the *cimiterium christianorum* is a sign of belonging to the Christian community, the deceased must be considered worthy of it. Consequently, being placed elsewhere than the consecrated space seems akin to ‘exclusion’.

Supported by written sources, archaeologists and archaeo-anthropologists⁸ have been tempted to interpret some funerary practices and gestures as an expression of the wish to exclude. As such, by matching numbers and norms, the medieval Christian burial has now been defined as individual, non-isolated, oriented like the other burials, and containing an individual laid on his back. All other forms of deposit are regularly described as atypical.⁹ However, although privation of burial and atypical burial may be studied together, the two concepts should not be directly affiliated, as will be demonstrated below.

These introductory elements lead us to consider three themes: the communal space for interments, the Christian burial and the body’s integrity. Our interdisciplinary study of, primarily, French examples concentrates on these points. Firstly the absence of burial will be examined and burial considered as a means of punishment (1). Subsequently, reflection will continue on the topic of spatial distinction and the *prope cimiterium*, space adjacent to the cemetery dedicated to the burial of ‘bad dead’ (2). Finally, we will consider how the effects of privation of Christian burial may be tempered, focusing particularly on ways of reintegrating the community (3).

6. Kerin, Charles A. *The Privation of Christian Burial...*: ix-xv; Treffort, Cécile. *L’Église carolingienne et la mort...*: 157-161.

7. For Medieval England, see: Daniell, Christopher. *Death and Burial in Medieval England*. London: Routledge, 1997: 103 and following.

8. On archaeo-anthropology, see Duda, Henri. *The archaeology of the dead: lectures in archaeo-anthropology*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009.

9. Boissavit-Camus, Brigitte. “Réflexion sur la signification des tombes discordantes dans les ensembles médiévaux et modernes: cimetières de Saint-Martin de Cognac”, *Méthodes d’étude des sépultures, Compte-rendu de la table-ronde des 8,9 et 10 mai 1991 réunie à Saintes*, Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991: 139-144; Treffort, Cécile. “L’interprétation historique des sépultures atypiques. Le cas du haut Moyen Âge”, *Archéologie des pratiques funéraires: approches critiques, actes de la table ronde organisée au Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray, en collaboration avec l’UMR 5594 de Dijon (7-9 juin 2001)*, Luc Baray, ed. Glux-en-Glenne: Bibracte, 2004: 131-140; Vivas, Mathieu. *La privation de sépulture au Moyen Âge...*: 147-167.



1. Lack of burial and outrageous burial: between punishment and infamy

If three features are shared by all sentences of deprivation of burial—the refusal of funerals, the prohibition of a liturgical memorial and burial in the cemetery—they vary, however, in their severity. Thus, a simple abandonment of the body can be replaced by an ignominious burial.

In the 11th century, Ademar of Chabannes, a monk of Saint-Cybard of Angoulême (Charente) and Saint-Martial of Limoges (Haute-Vienne), writes in his *Chronicle* that Théodat, canon-cantor of Sainte-Croix of Orléans, despite his heresy, was buried in the cemetery. During the trial, although his body's exhumation, claimed by the bishop Oury, already suggests its infamous notoriety, this is intensified by the request for it to be abandoned somewhere inaccessible. In his *Sermons*, Ademar of Chabannes however proves that infamy can rhyme with inhumanity.¹⁰ Although he reports that the excommunicated, because they are rejected by the Christian community, must be buried away from the others,¹¹ he also states that they can not benefit from inhumation: their bodies must remain unburied in the streets, left prey to attack by the animals of heaven and earth.¹² This image of a body devoured by wild beasts is not a hapax, it is also expressed in monastic maledictions.¹³

10. Chabannes, Adémar de. *Chronicon*, Book III, chap. 59: *Nihilominus apud Tolosam inventi sunt manichei, et ipsi destructi, et per diversas Occidentis partes nuntii Antichristi exorti, per latibula sese occultare curabant et quoscumque poterant viros et mulieres subvertebant. Quidam etiam Sancte Crucis Aurelianensis canonicus cantor, nomine Theodatus, qui mortuus erat ante triennium in illa haeresi, ut perhibebant heretici ipsi, religiosus visus fuerat. Cujus corpus, postquam probatum est, ejectum est de cimiterio, jubente episcopo Odolrico, et projectum in invium. Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, eds. Pascale Bourgain, Richard Landes, Georges Pons. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999: 180 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 129); *Adémar de Chabannes. Chronique*, ed. and trans. (in French) Yves Chauvin, Georges Pons. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003: 278-279.

While this is an outrageous act, this request probably betrays the personal will of the bishop to tarnish the memory of the deceased, and to refuse him any liturgical memorial: on this point, see Bautier, Robert-Henri. "L'hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XI^e siècle: documents et hypothèses", *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle (IX^e-XVI^e s.)*, Actes du 95^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Reims 1970, *Section de Philologie et d'Histoire jusqu'en 1610*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1975: 63-88. On the sermons of Ademar of Chabannes, see Callahan, Daniel F. "The Sermons of Ademar de Chabannes and the cult of saint Martial of Limoges", *Revue Bénédictine*, 86 (1976): 251-295.

11. Chabannes, Adémar de. *Sermones*, XLV, 11: *Ut sicut exigente reatu eorum animae in illo saeculo a Dei regno extorres sunt, ita corpora a christianitatis separentur sepultura*. Zénaïde, Romaneix, Édition d'un manuscrit autographe d'Adémar de Chabannes, *BnF lat. 2469, ff. 76-112v. 23 sermons et du compte-rendu du concile de Limoges (18, 19 et 20 novembre 1031)*, Paris: École Nationale des Chartes (PhD Dissertation), 2005: II, 103-104.

12. Chabannes, Adémar de. *Sermones*, XLVI, 8: *Omnium qui ibi nunc moriuntur, insepulta super terram per plateas vulgo cadavera jacent. Multa jam facta sunt in escam volatilibus caeli et bestiis terrae, quia non est qui abigat. Signa ecclesiarum et laudes Dei non audiuntur*. Romaneix, Zénaïde, Édition d'un manuscrit autographe d'Adémar de Chabannes...: II, 108. The same image is also included in Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, Book III, chap. 47: *Mox e vestigio super omnem terram Sarracenorum fames incanduit per tres annos, et innumerabilis eorum multitudo fame mortua est, ita ut plateae et deserta cadaveribus replerentur, et fierent homines cibum et sepultura feris et avibus*. Romaneix, Zénaïde, Édition d'un manuscrit autographe d' Adémar de Chabannes...: 167, 260.

13. On the monastic maledictions, see Henne, Philippe. "Les formulaires de malédictions aux X^e et XI^e siècles", *Paroles et lumière autour de l'an Mil*, ed. Jean Heuclin. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du



As proved by many charters, the sentence of *corpus insepultum* is not simply theoretical. For example, a charter written in 1056 by Imbert, bishop of Paris, relates a dispute between one, Hugues, and the Chapter of Sainte-Marie de Verneuil (Eure). Mainard, the Archbishop of Sens, responds to complaints made by the canons by excommunicating the knight, who died without repenting. His body is deprived of burial and exposed for three months in a tree trunk at the mercy of birds and wild beasts. Affected by the decision and eager to end such an outrage, his mourners promise to make amends for Hugues and, to this end, request a *post mortem* absolution and a decent burial for him. The different parties meet at the tree to resolve the conflict.¹⁴

The writings of Ademar of Chabannes and the judicial decision are consistent with the punitive treatment provided by the monastic maledictions and the rite of excommunication and anathema.¹⁵ As a monk of Saint-Cybard of Angoulême and Saint-Martial of Limoges, Ademar of Chabannes could well have been inspired by their rituals.¹⁶ By evoking the image of a corpse left at the mercy of wild beasts, these texts repeat biblical passages, especially from the *Book of Isaiah* and the *Book of Jeremiah*.¹⁷ Although the sentence of *corpus insepultum* represents punishment, the fact that it leaves a body to be devoured by animals prolongs the punishment

Septentrion, 2011: 173-80; Little, Lester K. "Les formules monastiques de malédictions aux IX^e et X^e s.," *Revue Mabillon*, 58 (1975): 377-399; Little, Lester K. "La morphologie des malédictions monastiques," *Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations*, 34 (1979): p. 43-60.

14. *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, charter of 1056: *Quem archiepiscopus iterum et iterum ad iusticiam vocans, cum nullatenus ejus auctoritati vellet obedire, excommunicavit, nobisque licentiam excommunicandi dedit. Diabolico instinctu ejus corde obdurato, cum minime respisceret, morte preventus, exitu miserabili anathematizatus vitam finivit. Cujus corpus insepultum atque in concavo trunco repostum, cum per tres menses avibus et feris esset expositum, conjunx ejusque parentes, miseratione moti, Odonem decanum ceterosque canonicos adierunt, et ut terre commendare liceret, per omnia satisfaciendo quicquid forisfecerat sese emendaturos promiserunt. [...] Post hec ad portum Taver convenientibus in unum, me videlicet Himberto, Parisiensi episcopo, cum Odone decano, et Ivone, Vernoili preposito, domno quoque Mainardo Senonensi archiepiscopo, cum Goiscelino preceptore et archidiacono, ceterisque archidiaconis Richerio et Bernuino, predicti excommunicati uxor Sanscelina, cum parentibus et amicis, inibi devenit, atque sub presentia omnium, pro absolutione mariti sui, adhuc in trunco repositi communique sepultura carentis, prenotata forisfacta ad integrum vadavit [...].* *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. Benjamin Guérard. Paris: Crapelet, 1850: I, 331-333 (doc. No. 26).

15. Vivas, Mathieu, *La privation de sépulture au Moyen Âge...*: 225-243.

16. Lester K. Little has also focussed on malediction formulas written in the monastery of Saint-Martial de Limoges, see footnote 11 for the references.

17. Isaiah 5: 25: "Therefore the anger of the Lord was kindled against his people, and he stretched out his hand against them and struck them; the mountains quaked, and their corpses were like refuse in the streets [...]."; Jeremiah 7: 33: "The corpses of this people will be food for the birds of the air, and for the animals of the earth [...]; 8: 2: "[...] they shall not be gathered or buried; they shall be like dung on the surface of the ground"; 16: 4: "They shall die of deadly diseases. They shall not be lamented, nor shall they be buried; they shall become like dung on the surface of the ground. They shall perish by the sword and by famine, and their dead bodies shall become food for the birds of the air and for the wild animals of the earth"; 16: 6: "Both great and small shall die in this land; they shall not be buried [...]; 25: 33: "Those slain by the Lord on that day shall extend from one end of the earth to the other. They shall not be lamented, or gathered, or buried; they shall become dung on the surface of the ground"; 34: 20: "shall be handed over to their enemies and to those who seek their lives. Their corpses shall become food for the birds of the air and the wild animals of the earth". The biblical texts come from: National Council of the Churches of Christ, "New Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition (NRSVCE)". *Bible Gateway*, 17



beyond death: it creates a negative impact on the physical integrity required for the final resurrection. The abandonment of a body obviously demonstrates the cruelty of such a decision, an inhumanity which reaches its climax in other outrageous *post mortem* treatments: the “ass’s burial” mentioned in 10th-13th century texts is a perfect example.

The ‘ass’s burial’ is first mentioned in 900AD at the Council of Reims. The year he becomes archbishop, Hervé convenes this meeting to pronounce anathema on the murderers of Foulques, his predecessor. Fulfilling the malediction ritual (pronouncing the malediction, breaking of candles, etc.), the ecclesiastics call for the accursed to receive the *sepultura asini*, that their bodies be deposited in manure, face on the ground.¹⁸ In fact, some passages of the Roman Pontifical (liturgical book used by bishops) link malediction and ‘ass’s burial’. Thus, in a chapter dedicated to a *terribilior excommunicatio*, the 10th century *Romano-Germanic Pontificale* reveals that those who monopolise or violate ecclesiastical possessions, but also thieves and murderers, are cursed, anathematized and buried in the manner of asses, in manure to the ground.¹⁹ At the same time, the monk Regino of Prüm describes the same penalty,²⁰ as do Burchard of Worms in the 11th century, the liturgist of the 12th century John Beleth, or *exempla* from the 13th and 14th centuries.²¹ In the case of *corpus inseputum*, the texts are all inspired by *Old Testament* passages, the *Book of Jeremiah* once again, as when the prophet relates the words of God about Joachim, he said: “An ass’s burial he shall have, cast out, a stinking corpse, beyond the gates of Jerusalem”.²²

Although the theme of *sepultura asini* is widely reported by liturgical, narrative and literary texts, it is clear that study of the application of such a sentence is now futile. Besides being deprived of a grave and lying in manure, the texts relate that the individual who receives an ass’s burial be lain outside the cemetery and, sometimes, outside the city. It is important to note that the exclusion is materialised by geographical isolation and by the granting of outrageous atypical treatments.

July 2016 <<https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-Revised-Standard-Version-Catholic-Edition-NRSVCE-Bible/>>.

18. Council of Reims: [...], *etiam in ipso sine vitae suae praesumat unquam dare: sed sepultura asini sepeliantur, et in sterquilinum super faciem terrae sint, ut sint in exemplum opprobrii et maledictionis praesentibus generationibus et futuris. Et sicut hae lucernas de nostris projectae manibus hodie extinguuntur, sic eorum lucerna in aeternum extinguatur. Sacrorum conciliorum, nova et amplissima collection*, ed. Giovanni D. Mansi. Venise-Florence: Huberto Welter, 1902: XVIII/I, col. 184 (First edition 1767).

19. Pontifical Romano-Germanique: *Canonica instituta et sanctorum patrum exempla sequentes, aecclesiarum Dei violatores et possessionis earum invasores, vastatores, vel raptores atque depraedatores aut homicidas Ill. [...]. Sepultura asini sepeliantur et in sterquilinum sint super faciem terrae. Le Pontifical romano-germanique du X^e siècle*. eds. Cyrille Vogel, Reinhard Elze. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963: I, 313-314 (chap. 88) (Studi e testi, 226, 227, 269).

20. Prumensis, Regino. “De ecclesiasticis disciplinis”, *Patrologiae. Cursus completus. Serie latina*, ed. Jean Paul Mignr, Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1880, 243, col. 362 (l. II, chap. 416).

21. Vivas, Mathieu, *La privation de sépulture au Moyen Âge...*: 311-314.

22. Jeremiah 22: 19.



These examples lead to consideration of the ultimate shameful deprivation of burial: burial alive administered by some secular authorities.

Various secular authorities, which enact laws and endow institutions to punish different crimes, make the living or dead body the sign of the punishment. As such, 24 Agenais customs from the 12th-13th centuries, condemned murderers to be buried, alive or not, under the body of their victim.²³ This requirement is also found in some cities of Périgord, Quercy, Béarn or in Toulouse [see illustration. 1]. The generalisation of this sentence in the southwestern quarter of contemporary France would apply within the specific context of the creation of *bastides* between 1250-1270. In fact, most of these customs are concurrent with foundation charters written by Alphonse de Poitiers, Count of Poitiers and Toulouse, and Pons Maynard, royal notary in Agen. In view of the British presence in Aquitaine, it is therefore not surprising to find such a sentence in 1189 or 1190 in a charter of Richard the Lionheart (1189-1199). As he prepares to leave on crusade, the king of England makes orders to punish crimes that could occur on his ship. Thus, he states that “whoever kills on the boat will be attached to the body of his victim and thrown into the sea. As well, whoever kills a man on land will be attached in the same way and buried beneath the ground”.²⁴ The penalty of burying the murderer under his victim is found in a limited geographical area, as proved by its mention in the work of Thomas of Cantimpré (d. 1272). In one of these *exempla*, the preacher relates that a cleric “from Spain”, accused of murdering his wife, is condemned to be buried with the deceased in a pit.²⁵ Although the reference is not specific enough, the

23. See, for example, the customs of Agen: *E, sil plaguat mor d'aquela plagua, totas la calsas d'aquel homesidi son encorsas al Senher, paguat aquo que deuria a sa molher et a autrui tot premeirament, et avant quel Senher, paguat aquo que deuria a sa molher et a autrui tot premeirament, et avant quel Senher agues ni preses sas calsas. E, del cors d'aquel homicidi, diu lo Senher far justicia, so es assaber quel deu far sotzierrar viu sotz lo mort. E asso diu jutgar lo Senher ab sa cort, que devo estre lo Cosselhs et li prodome d'Agén. Coutumes d'Agén*, ed. Henri Barckaussen. Bordeaux: Archives Municipales [Archives Municipales de la Ville de Bordeaux 5], 1890: 236; *The 'Costuma d'Agén': a thirteenth-century customary compilation in old Occitan transcribed from the 'Livre Juratoire'*, ed. and trans. (in English) Frank Ronald P. Akehurst. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010: 36-37, here 36.

24. Richard the Lion Heart, *Charter of 1189 or 1190: Qui hominem in navi interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus projiciatur in mare. Si autem eum ad terram interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus in terra infodiatur*. Rymer, Thomas, *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis, acta publica, inter reges Angliae, et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitatis ad saeculo duodecimo, viz. Ab anno 1101, ad nostra usque tempora, habita aut tractate*. London: J. Tonson, 1727-1735: I, 65; Rapin de Thoyras, Paul, ed. *Histoire d'Angleterre*. The Hague: Chez Alexandre de Rogissard, 1749: II, 631; Hoüard, David, ed. *Anciennes Loix des François ou additions aux remarques sur les coutumes angloises. Recueillies par Littleton avec les pièces justificatives des principaux points d'Histoire et de jurisprudence traités dans ces remarques*. Rouen: Imprimerie de Richard Lallemand, 1766: II, 319-320.

25. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, Book II, chap.1, 11: *Quid etiam et nunc dicam de quodam fratre Petro, ordinis Praedicatorum in Hispania; cuius meritis, mulier triduaana mortua, suscitata est. Erat clericus receptor fratrum, qui uxorem bibulam habebat, per quam saepius gravabatur. Accidit ergo, ut mane mortua inveniretur, et imponeretur viro, quod eam vespere suffocasset. Captus igitur, triduo detinetur, et tandem iudicatur ad mortem. Facta ergo fossa in terra, deponitur vivens inferius, et mulier mortua desuper, secundum patriae leges. [...] Thomae Cantipratani. Bonum universale de Apibus*, ed. Georges Colvenere. Douai: ex Typographia Baltazaris Belleri, 1627: 117; *Thomas de Cantimpré. Les exemples du Livre des abeilles*, ed. and trans. (in French) Henri Platelle. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997: 104.



fact that the author mentions a “custom of the country” reinforces the idea of a geographically circumscribed sentence.

Punishment by interment of the murderer under his victim opens a debate on the burial's infamy.²⁶ It should be noted that it already establishes a close relationship between the murderer and the deceased. Thus, accidental or intentional, the premature death gives the deceased a special status: he is linked to his murderer. Then, even though the abuse is physical, the defamation of the convict and his relatives is undeniable.²⁷ Finally, if the probable public character of the penalty, though only the *exemplum* of Thomas of Cantimpré evokes the presence of onlookers, aims to educate the public present so as to deter potential criminals, it also represents outrageous judicial exposure.²⁸ It remains difficult to quantify the implementation of such punishment, especially in consideration of the scarcity and discontinuity of emission of sources by the courts at the time.²⁹ However, archaeological data provoke further reflection on burial as a sign of infamy.

Excavations at Lauzun castle (Lot-et-Garonne, 1991-1992) revealed an unusual burial which justly enriches the debate [see illustr. 2a et 2b].³⁰ Oriented north-south, this burial contains two individuals placed on their stomach, one may have had his hands tied in his back. It was discovered inside a tower begun between the late 12th and early 13th century [see illustr. 2c and 2d]. The archaeo-anthropologic and stratigraphic observations show that the burial took place before the construction of the tower and establishment of the castle. Radiocarbon dating of bone samples from both subjects confirms this impression: they provide a date range between 1030 and 1198. The filling of two other pits containing bone remains of (at least) four individuals suggests the use of this site as a cemetery. The presence of a parish graveyard 300 meters away, may indicate the burial of individuals topographically outcast, perhaps, by judicial decision.³¹ The idea of sites of justice as burial spaces

26. Vivas, Mathieu. “La mise en scène de l’outrage dans la mort à travers l’étude de la privation de ‘sepultura ecclesiastica’ et des sépultures atypiques (XI^e – XIV^e siècles)”, *Corps outragés, corps ravagés de l’Antiquité au Moyen Âge, Actes du colloque tenu à Poitiers les 15 et 16 janvier 2009*, Lydie Bodiou, Véronique Melh, Myriam Soria, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011: 371-381.

27. On the *fama*, see Gauvard, Claude. “La ‘fama’, une parole fondatrice”, *Médiévales*, 24 (1993): 5-13; Porteau-Bitker, Annick; Talazac-Laurent, Annie. “La renommée dans le droit pénal laïque du XIII^e au XV^e siècle”, *Médiévales*, 24 (1993): 67-80.

28. Castan, Yves. “Exemplarité judiciaire, caution ou éveil des études sérielles”, *Histoire sociale, sensibilités collectives et mentalités. Mélanges Robert Mandrou*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985: 51-59.

29. At the moment, only one case of such a practice has been found: see Vivas, Mathieu. “Les lieux d’exécution comme espaces d’inhumation. Traitement et devenir du cadavre des criminels (XII^e-XIV^e s.)”, *Revue Historique*, 670 (2014): 295-312.

30. Faravel, Sylvie; Sireix, Christophe; Martin, Christian. “Le château de Lauzun (Lot-et-Garonne), évolution de la partie résidentielle de la fin du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle”, *Résidences aristocratiques, résidences du pouvoir entre Loire et Pyrénées (X^e-XV^e siècles). Recherches archéologiques récentes, Actes du colloque tenu à Pau les 3, 4 et 5 octobre 2002*, Dany Barraud, Florent Hautefeuille, Christian Rémy, eds. Carcassonne: Centre d’Archéologie Médiévale du Languedoc, 2006: 365-388.

31. Faravel, Sylvie; Sireix, Christophe; Martin, Christian. “Le château de Lauzun (Lot-et-Garonne)...”: 377.



has been studied by researchers from England³² and Germany³³ and, most recently, by French researchers.³⁴

Such burial sites, distant from the cemetery, raise the question of spatial distinction as a means of punishment and materialise the deprivation of Christian burial.³⁵

2. Beyond the cemetery: between ‘geographical punishment’ and ‘bad Christian’ status

At the same time as the consecration rite of the cemetery appears in the 10th century and is generalised in the 12th century, the Church tends to make the burial place a space dedicated only for ‘good Christians’: those baptised and living in harmony with Christian principles may be buried in the consecrated cemetery. For Christians, the acts committed during their lives thus determine the location of their graves and, consequently, their place in the afterlife. In the late 13th century, an *exemplum* of Thomas of Cantimpré perfectly encapsulates this idea.

While preaching in Brabant, the preacher meets a farmer who had a vision while crossing the cemetery at night: he saw three groups of dead. The first, most numerous group, far from the burial area, was composed of naked and bloody wretches. Less numerous, the second group consisted of individuals, less wretched in appearance and also outside the cemetery, but closer to the latter. The third group contained few people, dressed in bright clothes with shining faces, inside the burial area.³⁶

32. Reynolds, Andrew. “The Emergence of Anglo-Saxon Judicial Practice: The Message of the Gallows”. *Anglo-Saxon*, 2 (2009): 1-52; Reynolds, Andrew. *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs. Medieval History and Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

33. Auler, Jost, ed. *Richtstätten-archäologie*. Dormagen: Archeotopos, 2008-2012.

34. Vivas, Mathieu. “Les lieux d’exécution comme espaces d’inhumation...”; Charageat, Martine; Vivas, Mathieu, eds. *Les fourches patibulaires du Moyen Âge à l’époque Moderne. Approche interdisciplinaire, Actes du colloque international tenu à Bordeaux (Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine) les 23-24 janvier 2014*, 25 September 2015. 5 January 2016. Criminocorpus. Revue hypermédia. Histoire de la justice, des crimes et des peins, 16 June 2016 <<https://criminocorpus.revues.org/3016>>.

35. Vivas, Mathieu. “‘Christiana sepultura priventur’. Privation de sépulture, distinction spatiale et inhumations atypiques à la lumière des pratiques funéraires (X^e – XIV^e siècles)”, *De corps en corps. Traitement et devenir du cadavre. Actes des séminaires de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine (mars-juin 2008)*, Isabelle Cartron, Dominique Castex, Patrice Georges, Mathieu Vivas, Martine Charageat, eds. Pessac: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine, 2010: 193-214.

36. Thomae Cantipratani, *Bonum universale de apibus*, Book 2, chap. 53, 34: [...] *Et erat populus ille super id quod dici potest, aut credi, miseria miserandus, nudus penitus, et per omnia saevius plagis, et cruentatis vulneribus laceratus. Nec mora, a sacerdote illo iterato edito signo crucis, disparuit populus, et alius multo minor numero et horrore, surrexit. Habitu quidem pauper, et colore pallidus videbatur, quasi macie multa et tabe confectus, dissimiles tamen personae, secundum magis et minus. Iterato post haec a sacerdote signo crucis edito, populus repente discessit, et surrexit populus parvus numero, quem solius atrii spatium capere potuisset, longe dissimilis claritate et gloria omnibus hominibus mundi quoscumque vidi. Erant autem vestimenta eorum sicut nix a sole irradiata, et facies omni splendore iucundior, et dixit mihi sacerdos: discevisisti trium populorum dissimilitudines, quas vidisti? Prima illa miserissima gens, sine ulla contritione discedens a seculo, aeternaliter damnata est. Secundo apparentes, cum contritione, sed non peracta poenitentia, mortui sunt. Et illi quidem adhuc poenis gravissimis detinentur, sed tandem*



The beginning of the *exemplum* relates the story and describes the 'ghosts'; the end of the text is devoted to the interpretation of the vision. Thomas of Cantimpré claims that the first group is composed of individuals who died without contrition: consequently they are eternally damned. The second group consists of people who died before completing their penance, but having performed contrition, once purged, their soul will rest in peace. Finally, the last group, inside the *cimiterium* are God's chosen. From a proxemic viewpoint, the *extra cimiterium* spaces are hell and purgatory, while the consecrated cemetery represents heaven [see illustr. 3].

In this *exemplum*, the cemetery is perceived in concentric circles, the type of organisation dominating ecclesial representations in the Middle Ages. In fact, the construction of burial space is accompanied by the creation of an enclosed space (*intra cimiterium*) and a periphery (*extra cimiterium*) itself divided into a space adjacent to or distant from the cemetery. The spaces have different standings, whose visualisation requires boundaries marking the transition from the centre to the periphery [see illustr. 3]. The 'polarisation process' well studied by Alain Guerreau³⁷ is found here. Although the narrative links the three groups to three places in the afterlife, it also demonstrates that the cemetery and its margins are designed and thought of as spaces which anchor a social identity and a Christian's future after his death to the ground.³⁸ Although the *exempla* are frequently taken as literary texts where imagination figures prominently, they cannot contradict practice: the mental construction of space cannot avoid social representation.³⁹ As such, stating that the 'bad dead' are outside the cemetery, would tacitly refer to the law suggesting they be buried on the outskirts of the consecrated area. Study of this *exemplum* invites debate on the existence of places specifically reserved for the burial of 'bad Christians'. Unfortunately, normative sources are rare, discreet and discontinuous on the subject. However some interesting references can be found in synodal statutes and episcopal decisions, sources closer to reality which reflect

purgati, perveniunt ad quietem. Tertia autem gens, populus electus est, qui peracta poenitentia cum Domino gloriatur. Hoc dicto, cum ipso populo sacerdos disparuit, et mox ad matutinam officium campana pulsatur. Ergo autem auditis matutinis et missa, de die regressus sum domum, et tribus mensibus elangui post istam terribilem visionem. Thomae Cantipratani, bonum universale de apibus...: 515-16.

37. Guerreau, Alain. "Quelques caractères spécifiques de l'espace féodal européen", *L'État ou le roi. Les fondations de la modernité monarchique en France (XIV^e – XVII^e siècles)*, Actes de la table ronde du 25 mai 1991 tenue à l'École Normale Supérieure à Paris, Neithard Bulst, Robert Descimon, Alain Guerreau, eds. Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1996: 85-101; Guerreau, Alain. "Le champ sémantique de l'espace dans la 'vita' de saint Maieul (Cluny, début du XI^e siècle)", *Journal des Savants* (1997): 363-419. See also Devroey, Jean-Pierre; Lauwers, Michel. "L' 'espace' des historiens médiévistes: quelques remarques en guise de conclusion", *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations, Actes du 37^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S.P. (Mulhouse, 2-4 juin 2006)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007: 435-453.

38. Baschet, Jérôme. *Les justices de l' Au-Delà. Les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris: De Boccard, 1993; Le Goff, Jacques. *The birth of Purgatory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

39. Bourin, Monique; Zadora-Rio, Élisabeth. "Pratiques de l'espace: les apports comparés des données textuelles et archéologiques", *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations, Actes du 37^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S.P. (Mulhouse, 2-4 juin 2006)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007: 139-147.



bishops' prerogatives in the control of funerary space. The example of section 1 from the Synod of Saintes (Easter 1282) is interesting.

Published by Geoffroy of Saint-Brice, bishop of Saintes (1276-1283), this article concerns burial of the excommunicated dead. It reports that 'corruption today has increased in the dioceses of Saintonge, because some opponents to the Church's principles contest the privation of burial within or near the cemetery [and] it therefore becomes difficult to distinguish the graves of the excommunicated dead from those of the faithful. By this decree, such situations are forbidden under penalty of excommunication. We do not want the violators of this constitution to bury the excommunicated dead within two arpents of land from the consecrated cemetery, under the penalty mentioned previously. In addition, two excommunicated dead must not be buried together outside the consecrated area to avoid mistaking them, by their number, for a consecrated burial ground' [see illustr. 4].⁴⁰

Although this synodal canon reports mismanagement of excommunicated bodies, it remarks above all that opposition to the application of specific treatment for them exists. Study of this synodal prescription therefore suggests, firstly that the medieval Christian cemetery is not as rigid or fixed in space and time as we would think, and secondly that burial of excommunicated dead within the cemetery was probably a common practice. Therefore, a specific funerary practice for the 'bad dead' did not exist. By referring to the number and adjacency of graves located *prope sacra cimiteria*, this requirement evokes the perception and representation of space by the community and, of course, insists on the visibility of burials located outside the cemetery. Relying on this view of the topography of the cemetery and its periphery, archaeologists have attempted to tackle the problem of burials topographically distant.

Graves located at cemetery margins can also be handled by archaeologists. For example, the discovery of an atypical burial in Bourges (Cher), in 2004, enriches the debate.⁴¹ A funeral space enclosed by two walls was discovered. It was occupied between the 10-11th and 15th centuries. All burials were between the two walls, except inhumation 301, placed 50 cm from the north wall [see illustr. 5]. Radiocarbon analysis suggests a date between 1300 and 1423. Thus, while the cemetery was still being used, the individual from burial 301 was consciously placed outside the

40. Constitution of Geoffroy of Saint-Brice, Easter 1282, art. 1: *De sepulture excommunicatorum. Cum in diocesi Santonensi corruptela inolverit quod cadavera excommunicatorum defunctorum ita prope cimiteria vel intra a quibusdam contemptoribus nervi ecclesiae discipline intumulantur, ut vix discerni possint sepulture profane excommunicatorum a cui subjacere volumus violatores constitutionis hujus ipso facto, adjicientes sub pena predicta ne excommunicatorum corpora tradantur sepulture prope sacra cimiteria, per spatium duorum terre jugerum circumquaque, nec ultra quam duo corpora excommunicatorum ponantur simul extra metas predictas, ne propter multitudinem credatur ab aliquibus cimiterium sacrum esse. Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle, précédés de l'histoire du synode diocésain depuis ses origines 5: Les statuts synodaux des anciennes provinces de Bordeaux, Auch, Sens et Rouen (fin du XIII^e siècle), ed. Joseph Avril. Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2001: 74.*

41. Blanchard, Philippe; Georges, Patrice. *Perception et évolution d'un quartier périphérique de Bourges à travers la fouille de la parcelle du 35, rue de Sarrebourg*. Orléans : Service Régional d'Archéologie du Centre (Rapport Final d'Opération, unpublished), 2006.



sepulchral space: an outlying location which would be noted by the community. It is difficult for archaeologists and archaeo-anthropologists to comment more fully on the causes of such a burial: they may, however, evoke its oddity. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognise a desire to differentiate this individual, by isolating him from the others for several possible reasons and so evoke a singular and differential funerary practice.

3. Ways to reintegrate the bosom of the Church and *ad tempus* burial space

Although the Church tries to expel the 'bad Christians' and the 'bad dead', it doesn't banish from its bosom those who wish to repent. It provides rituals that allow reintegration to the Christian community by annulling excommunication and offering again the right to enjoy a *sepultura ecclesiastica*. This includes repentance, for instance, expiatory pilgrimage and confession (made mandatory by canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215). The Church also allows that at the brink of death, if 'bad Christians' show repentance, they can be absolved,⁴² as seen in the synods of Bordeaux (1255) and Saintes (c. 1260).⁴³

The Church also gives weight to the entourage and the family who, during the lifetime or after the death of their 'bad Christian', can intervene favourably on the future of the body and soul of the deceased. An act from the late 12th century reports that Viscount Aimeri of Rochechouart was, for various abuses but particularly for 'bad customs', damned and condemned to be deprived of burial. His son, also named Aimeri, and his bailiff Aimeri Brun, approved by bailiffs, provosts and sergeants of the deceased father, swear on the Gospel and in the presence of the Bishop Sébrand of Limoges to abandon bad customs in the community and on the people of Saint-Augustin de Forges.⁴⁴ Even if there is a dispute concerning the administration of Saint-Augustin de Forges, it appears that the son of the viscount deprived of burial, supports and hopes to obtain a Christian burial for his father.

Hence, the Church cares for the salvation of the souls of all Christians, good or bad, and always provides a way for them to return to the fold. The Church seems

42. Vivas, Mathieu. *La privation de sepultura au Moyen Âge...*: 284-287.

43. Synodal statutes of Bordeaux, year 1255, art 11, *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle...*: 16; Synodal statutes of Saintes, year c.1260, art 35, *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle...*: 46.

44. Charter of the end of 12th century: *Notum vobis fieri volumus quod cum Aimericus de Rupecauardi propter dampna et gravamina et indebitas consuetudines et exactiones quas pluribus ecclesiis et ville Sancti Augustini de Forges intulerat, sepultura careret, Aimericus de Rupe Cauardi filius eiusdem Aimerici mortui et Aimericus Bruni qui terram et filium eiusdem mortui balliabat, [...] super sanctum Evangelium in presentia nostras iuraverunt quod ipsi de cetero villam et terras et homines de Forges et pertinentiis eius in blado et denariis et omni rerum servitio preter lo forestatia et viginti solidos quos feudales prenominati A. de Rupe Cavardi super villam de Forges et homines eius exactorie et per violentiam posuerat et quibus eandem villam cum omnibus pertinentiis manuteneere et ab omni malignatum defensare tenentur incursione, [...] Becquet, Jean. "Les évêques de Limoges aux X^e, XI^e et XII^e siècles". *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, 108 (1981): 115-116.*



to consider the privation of Christian burial as temporary, as shown by the status of the cemetery margins.

Although some normative sources and *exempla* insist on absolution being received *ante mortem*, other texts indicate that it may be granted *post mortem*. They state that to receive absolution, ‘bad dead’ buried outside the cemetery should be exhumed. In the 13th century, several synodal statutes relate that excommunicated dead ‘should not be buried in the ecclesiastical cemetery before absolution, but can be deposited next to the cemetery in a wooden coffin and buried in the ground, and then, for absolution, may be exhumed, absolved and buried in the ecclesiastical cemetery’.⁴⁵ Far from the physical disgrace recorded in the Old Testament, we can see that the body of ‘bad dead’ receives a minimum of attention, that is, a coffin and an interment. Although this confirms that the *juxta cimiterium* space is devoted to the reception of excommunicated corpses, it proves, firstly, that absolution allows reinstatement *intra cimiterium* and, secondly, that the Church authorises binding and loosing both on earth and in the afterlife. As such, the status of the cemetery margins departs from that of the space of banishment: the margins seem rather to represent an area for temporary exclusion. Although atypical, these treatments lead us to reflect, paradoxically, on the humanity of such practices. It is not a question of discussing the differences between the ‘duty to bury’ and the ‘need to bury’,⁴⁶ but of showing that the act of burying *juxta cimiterium* cannot be reduced to infamous punishment or even to exclusion. During the 11th to 13th centuries, liturgists and canonists, taking their sources in writings of authors from Late Antiquity, consider the foundations of the duty of burial. For a large part based on the Augustinian discourse, they recall that burial is not necessary for salvation, but it is essential for the living who feel the need to bury their loved ones. The duty of burial is therefore based on human feelings. Far from the Old Testament images of bodies abandoned to the wild beasts, the burial of ‘bad Christians’ on the outskirts of the cemetery is not therefore a punishment: it rhymes with duty of *humanitas*.

4. Conclusion

At the end of these few pages, we are concerned with two issues: firstly, how the Church paid heed to ‘bad Christians’, and, secondly, the manner in which different judicial authorities handled criminal corpses. These two themes are assessed at two

45. Synodal statutes of Nîmes, Arles, Béziers, Lodève and Uzès, year 1252, art 131: *Verumtamen licet signa penitentiae precesserant, si non fuerit in infirmitate vel mortis articulo ab aliquo absolutus, non debet ante absolutionem in cimiterio ecclesiastico sepeliri, sed juxta cimiterium poni poterit in aliquo ligneo monumento, vel in terra sepeliri, et postmodum cum debebit absolvi, debet exhumari, et absolvi et in cimiterio ecclesiastico sepeliri. Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle, précédés de l’historique du synode diocésain depuis ses origines 2: Les statuts de 1230 à 1260*, ed. and trans. (in French) Odette Pontal. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983: 373.

46. On this topic, see Baudry, Patrick. “La mort: une dimension sociale”, *Antigone et le devoir de sépulture, Actes du colloque international de l’université de Lausanne (mai 2005)*, Muriel Gilbert, ed. Geneva: Labor & Fidès, 2005: 177-187; Thomas, Louis-Vincent. *Rites de mort pour la paix des vivants*, Paris: Fayard, 1985.



levels: that of the body —alive or dead— and that of the space —funeral or other. By going over a study on atypical burials and burials located *extra cimiterium*, we can rise above the idea that individuals buried outside the cemetery are simply ‘excluded’. Commencing by *cimiterium* and *sepultura ecclesiastica* certainly comforts older studies by certifying that consecration of a burial induces opposition between sacred and secular space, but it also encourages the prospect of an antagonism between ‘good’ and ‘bad Christians’, between ‘good’ and ‘bad dead’.

Deprived of *sepultura ecclesiastica*, what happens to the body of ‘bad Christians’? Although biblical imagery reports that their body should be abandoned at the mercy of wild beasts, we now find that the bodies of ‘bad Christians’ may be temporarily interred *juxta cimiterium*: *sepultura ecclesiastica* privation is not, therefore, always manifested by prohibition of burial. Study of written sources and archaeological data highlights a topographic configuration more complex than a simple duality *intra/extra cimiterium*. Indeed, the cemetery margins can be understood as spaces specifically delivered to the burial of ‘bad Christians’. They are, however, like purgatory, places of transition: a person buried *prope cimiterium*, after *post-mortem* absolution and/or reconciliation, can be exhumed and be reinterred in the consecrated cemetery. So far, very little attention has been paid by the scientific community on the displacement and reintegration of the body of the ‘bad dead’. These actions are all the more important because they do not apply to all ‘bad dead’. Thus, if the corpse of a heretic can indeed be exhumed, it can also be exhumed and burned, as Bernard Gui preconciates: the absence of osseous remains does not allow any reintegration into the bosom of the Church.⁴⁷

After work on the integration and relegation of the *Ecclesia*, the question of social reintegration may be confronted. To this end, we strive to show that excommunication and deprivation of *sepultura ecclesiastica* are not irrevocable punishments. Thus, penance, absolution and reconciliation, both *ante* and *post mortem*, are the means of returning to the world of ‘good Christians’ or of the ‘good dead’. Faced with these methods of resocialisation, we can imagine that the Church remains conscious and responsible for the salvation of the souls of all Christians, ‘good’ or ‘bad’, dead or alive. Burial on the ‘bad dead’ side of the consecrated cemetery does not necessarily rhyme with ‘exclusion’ nor is a synonym for permanent deprivation of *sepultura ecclesiastica*. Assuming that excommunication and deprivation of *sepultura ecclesiastica* are not categorical sentences of exclusion, it is clear that they are related to desocialization. By a more or less prolonged temporary banishment, desocialization prevents a person from participation in the social life of, but not complete exclusion from, the community. It represents a medieval, Christian model of exclusion that should certainly not be beheld with contemporary eyes or prejudices.⁴⁸

47. Gui Bernard. *Practica Inquisitionis heretique pravitatis*, V, Appendices, II, 1 and 4. Édition: Gui, Bernard. *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, ed. and trans. (in French) Guillaume Mollat. Paris: H. Champion, 1926-1927: II, 128-131 and 136-137.

48. On multiple definitions of exclusion, see Xiberras, Martine. *Les théories de l'exclusion. Pour une construction de l'imaginaire et de la deviance*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1998.



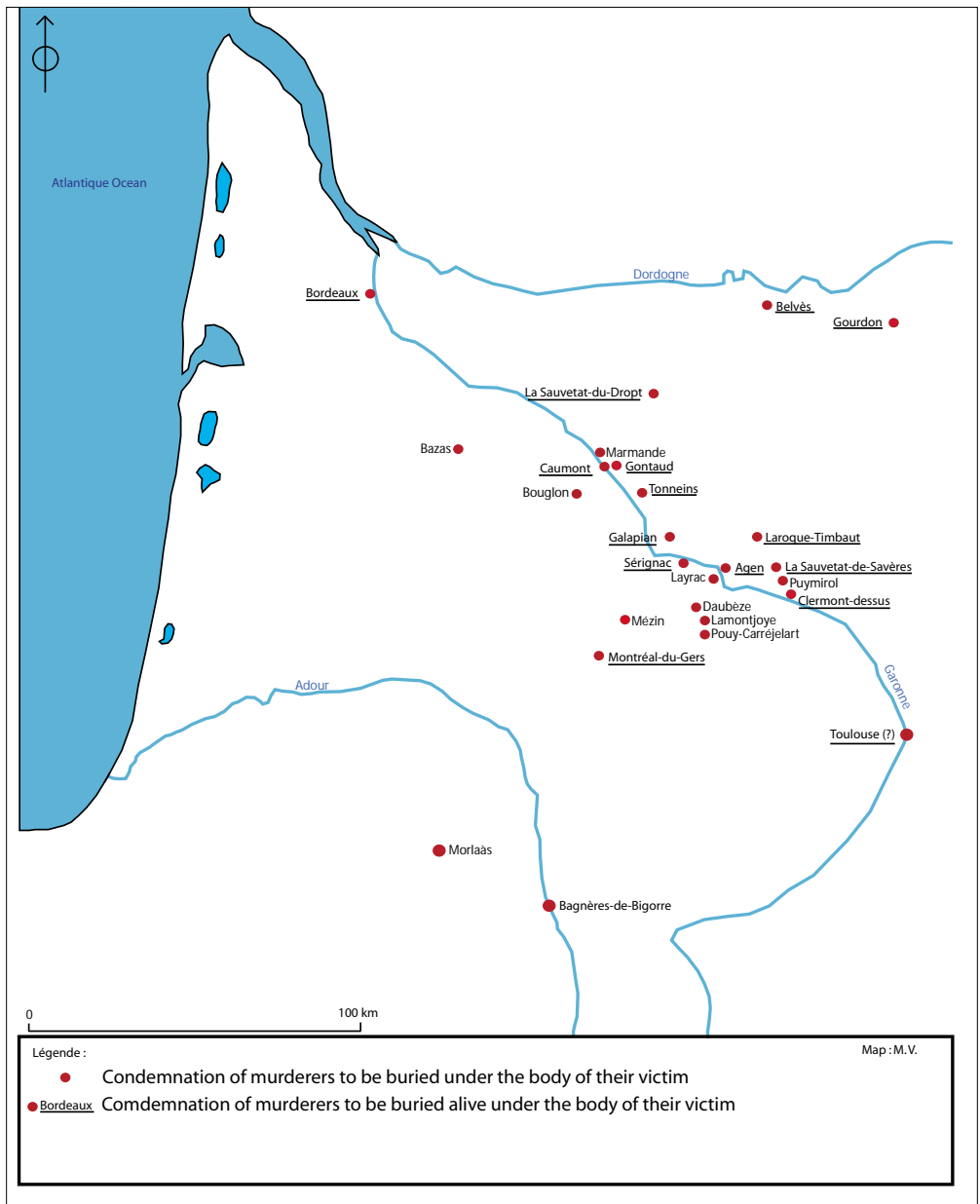


ILLUSTRATION 1: MAP OF LOCALITIES WHERE CUSTOMS MENTION THE CONDEMNATION OF MURDERERS TO BE BURIED UNDER THEIR VICTIM (MAP: MATHIEU VIVAS).



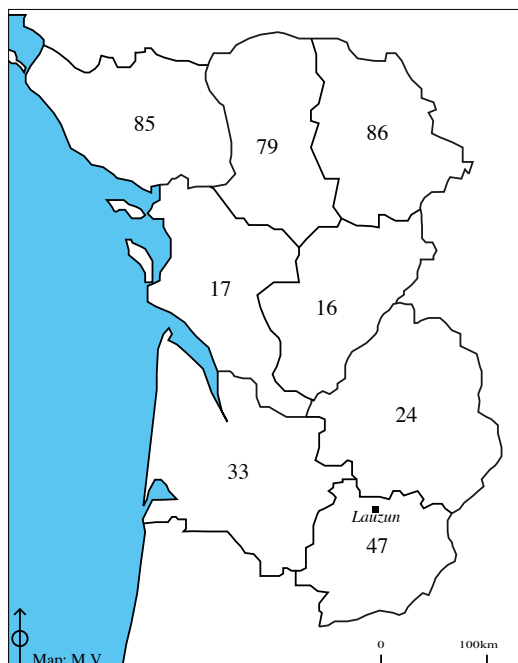


ILLUSTRATION 2A: THE LOCALISATION OF THE CASTLE OF LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE). ON THE MAP, THE NUMBERS CORRESPOND TO THE NUMBERS OF DEPARTMENTS.



ILLUSTRATION 2D: PICTURE OF THE DOUBLE BURIAL. THE PICTURE IS TAKEN FROM FARAVEL, SYLVIE; SIREIX, CHRISTOPHE; MARTIN, CHRISTIAN. "LE CHÂTEAU DE LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE)...: 380, FIG. 18.





ILLUSTRATION 2B: THE CASTLE OF LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE). THE PLAN IS TAKEN FROM FARAVEL, SYLVIE; SIREIX, CHRISTOPHE; MARTIN, CHRISTIAN. "LE CHÂTEAU DE LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE)...: 375, FIG. 13.



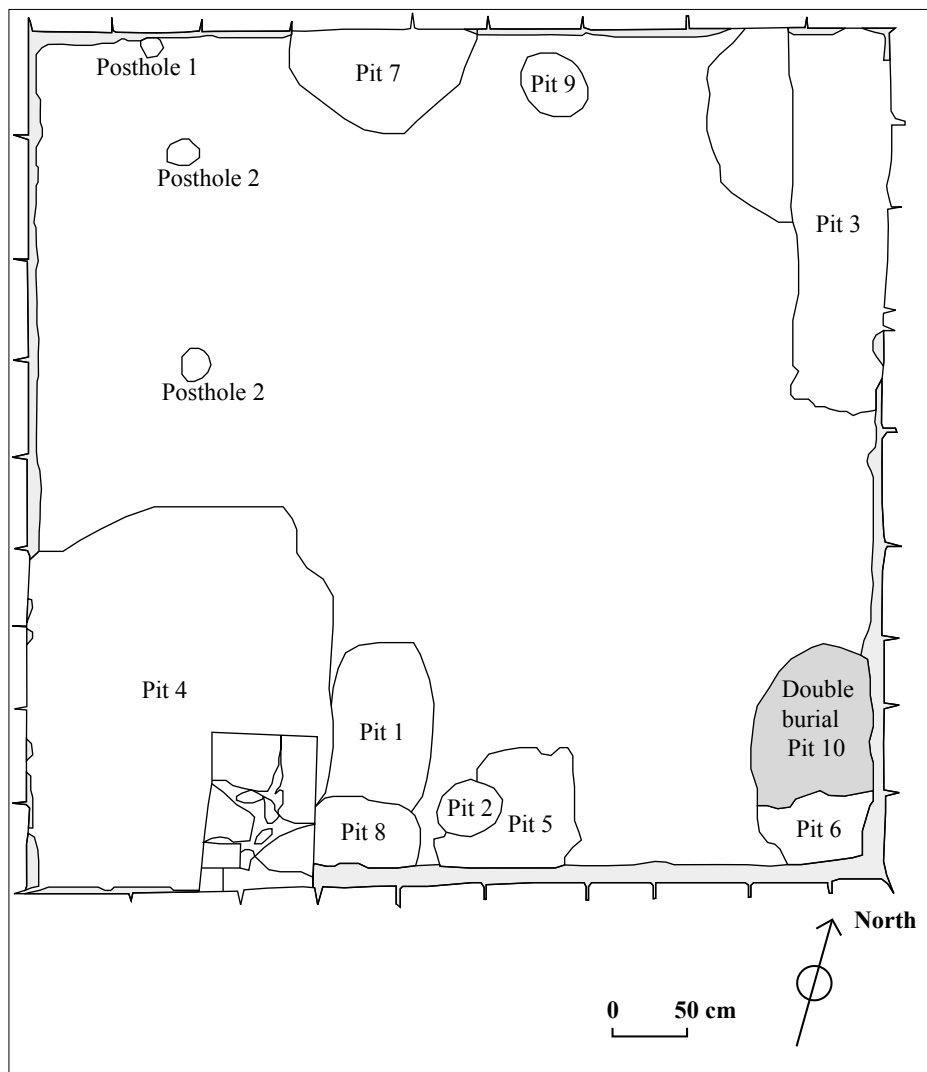


ILLUSTRATION 2C: DONJON OF THE CASTLE OF LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE). THE DRAWING IS TAKEN FROM FARAVEL, SYLVIE; SIREIX, CHRISTOPHE; MARTIN, CHRISTIAN. "LE CHÂTEAU DE LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE)...: 380, FIG. 19. IN THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE DUNGEON, THE DOUBLE BURIAL.

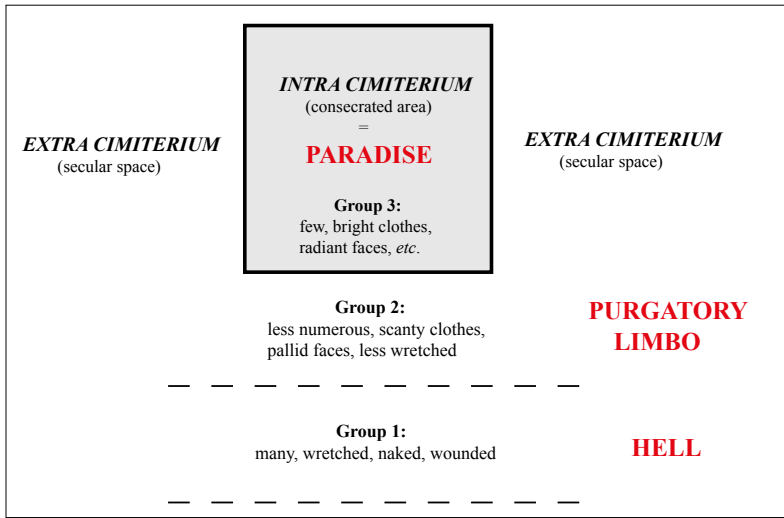


ILLUSTRATION 3: SCHEMA OF THE FARMER’S VISION REPORTED BY THOMAS OF CANTIMPRÉ (DRAWING: MATHIEU VIVAS).

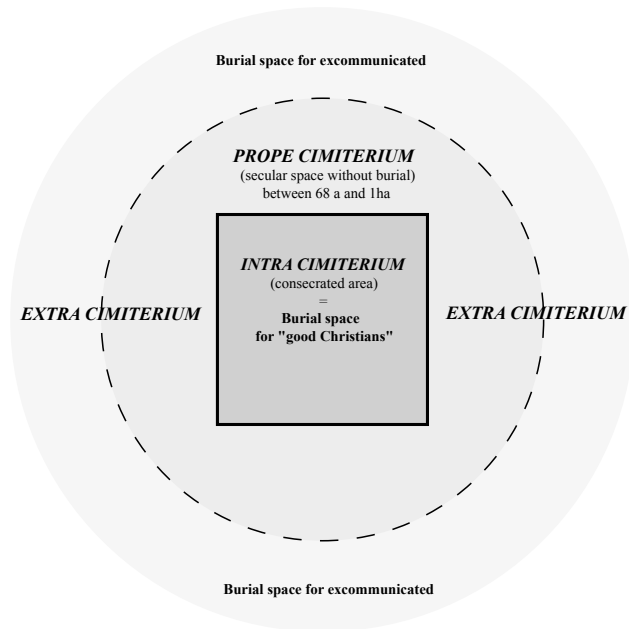


ILLUSTRATION 4: SCHEMA OF THE CEMETERY AND ITS PERIPHERY ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE I OF THE ADDITIONAL SYNODAL STATUTES OF SAINTES (EASTER 1282). DRAWING: MATHIEU VIVAS.



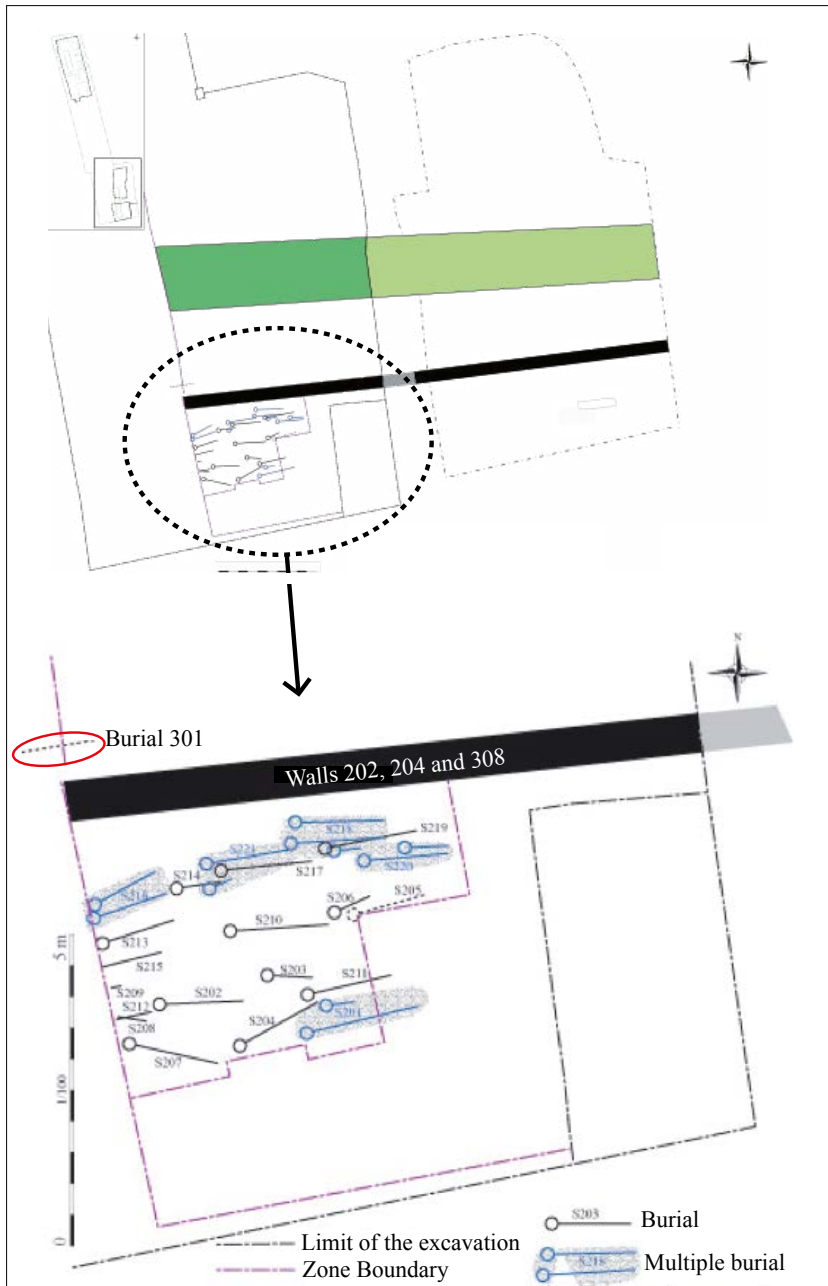


ILLUSTRATION 5: EXCAVATION OF THE CEMETERY NAMED THE *CIMETIÈRE DES PAUVRES*, BOURGES (CHER). THE PLANS ARE TAKEN FROM BLANCHARD, PHILIPPE; GEORGES, PATRICE. *PERCEPTION ET ÉVOLUTION D'UN QUARTIER PÉRIPHÉRIQUE DE BOURGES...*: 139, FIG. 107.