

# Made in the skull's likeness: of *transi* tombs, identity and *memento mori*

Jakov Đorđević

## Introduction

Once there was an image of a king in the now lost *Danse macabre* mural at the cemetery of the Holy Innocents in Paris, and it was modelled after the tomb effigy of Charles VI.<sup>1</sup> Thus, this cryptoportrait referred to the identity of a particular king, not only by the costume and regalia of French rulers, but also by similarity in appearance to the late monarch's *gisant*. This example illuminates more than just the visual importance of tomb sculpture. It emphasizes the bond between sepulchral art of the later Middle Ages and the personal identities of those for whom it was commissioned. Sculpted effigies were truly markers of remembrance. By the thirteenth century it became customary for those of high rank to commission life-size figures for their tombs, and during the fourteenth century individualized features were slowly being introduced to the images of the represented.<sup>2</sup>

But to remember a deceased in this period virtually meant to remember praying for his soul so that he could be saved from purgatorial pains much earlier than he would actually have been without the aid of the living. There were many means of ensuring salvation in late medieval Europe. While some were more

*I would like to thank Professor Marek Walczak and Mateusz Grzęda for their efforts in bringing together the conference, and to the other participants for the stimulating discussions. Also, I am immensely grateful to Professor Jelena Erdeljan for the incisive comments and suggestions on a written version of my paper, as well as for her help with preparing the text in English translation. This paper contains some of the results achieved in the project no. 177036, supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.*

<sup>1</sup> This argument is convincingly discussed in the article by Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Of Dead Kings, Dukes and Constables: The Historical Context of the *Danse Macabre* in Late Medieval Paris', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 161: 1, September 2008, 149–152.

<sup>2</sup> See Stephen Parkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009, 85–148. However, in Italy it seems that the individualizing features were introduced a bit earlier, in the second half of the thirteenth century. See Dominic Olariu, 'Réflexions sur l'avènement du portrait avant le XVe siècle', in *Le portrait individuel. Réflexions autour d'une forme de représentations, XIIIe-XVe siècles*, ed., Dominic Olariu, Bern: Peter Lang, 2009, 83–101.

orthodox than others,<sup>3</sup> for those powerful and wealthy enough tomb sculpture was supposed to fulfil that goal. Cherishing the memory of the persons buried beneath, effigies were often designed to meet the task of redeeming the deceased they represented.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, it was essential for the image above the entombed corpse to be able to herald the identity of the departed individual. The argument delivered in the following pages will, hopefully, bolstered this contention by showing how identity could be displayed in the late Middle Ages even through the means by which this was achieved paradoxically seem to dissolve the very idea of identity.

Instead of a recumbent figure in a peaceful and deep sleep, or as a resurrected body looking toward the gates of Heaven, *transi* or cadaver tombs bore the representation of a deceased as an unsightly naked corpse, already affected by the grip of decay. Many variations of this type of funeral monument survive through Europe to this day, ranging from the so called 'double-decker' *transi* tombs to the verminous cadaver effigies.<sup>5</sup> A number of them can be studied separately as the subjects in their own right, revealing particular design solutions that encouraged unique performative experiences in interaction with the beholders.<sup>6</sup> However, this paper will concentrate on a trait common and essential to all *transi* tombs – their power to express identity of the dead buried beneath by turning the corpse into a 'portrait' of the deceased instead of an emblem of death.

### Purifying decay

The meaning of an image does not depend only upon the intentions of its patron or creator, but also on the cultural background of its viewer. Gaze trained by all kinds

<sup>3</sup> Indulgences might be the most famous example of the additional means in achieving salvation. Nevertheless, various amulets and magical objects and diverse ritual practices were also employed with the same goal, even though some of them were condemned by the official church teaching. See, for example, Roberta Gilchrist, 'Magic for the Dead? The Archaeology of Magic in Later Medieval Burials', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52, 2008, 119–159. Particularly illuminating example of this way of thinking represent 'sanctuaries of grace', which were the places where stillborn babies were resurrected for just an instant in order to be baptized and, thus, not be damned to spend the whole eternity in the Limbo of small children. See Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, trans., Teresa Lavender Fagan, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998, 145.

<sup>4</sup> See Geraldine A. Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy: Donatello's Pecci Tomb in Siena Cathedral', *The Art Bulletin*, 77: 3, September 1995, 445–459.

<sup>5</sup> For a general overview of *transi* tombs, see Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1973; and Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, London: British Museum Press, 1996, 139–152.

<sup>6</sup> The good example represents the tomb of Alice de la Pole, duchess of Suffolk, with its almost totally hidden *transi* figure, which will be discussed in this paper, though briefly.

of social experiences projects the acquired knowledge unto the 'medium' and out of that interaction a graspable image to the beholder is borne.<sup>7</sup> In other words, while *transi* tombs appear to be so explicit and clear in their unspoken message to the people of the twentieth or twenty-first centuries, that message was significantly different in the Middle Ages. Therefore, it is of utmost necessity to avoid reading today's assumptions concerning death and dying back into these funeral monuments. Instead, one should try to observe them in the context of the desires that lead to their fashioning.

The corpse on the tomb offered a statement about one's fate in the afterlife. Bonds between body and soul became so intertwined in the later Middle Ages that the body could stand as a symbol for the soul.<sup>8</sup> These bonds were present in both theological discussions and popular beliefs.<sup>9</sup> The incorruptible bodies of saints are excellent indicators of this matter, as well as some funeral practices such as burying the dead with their shoes on and placing staffs beside them. These objects were supposed to aid the deceased along their journey to the other world, and their physicality was not perceived as contradictory to the spiritual form adopted by the deceased individual in the afterlife.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the sufferings that the soul experienced in Purgatory were envisioned as somatic torments which could sometimes even be seen on the corpse of the dead, as attested in a number of stories.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, it seems that the purifying of the soul was simultaneously followed by the cleansing of the body as well. And for a cadaver to be cleansed it had to be left without any trace of former flesh, in other words, it had to pass through the whole process of decay; to putrefy in order to be purified. Maybe this belief is most clearly grasped if one tries to understand the miracle of accelerated decomposition, which was believed to be the property of the soil brought from Jerusalem. Both Camposanto in Pisa and the cemetery of the Holy Innocents in Paris were said to possess earth for burial brought from the Holy Land that was able to

<sup>7</sup> See Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, trans., Thomas Dunlap, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011.

<sup>8</sup> R. C. Finucane, 'Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the later Middle Ages', in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed., Joachim Whaley, London: Europa Publications Ltd, 1981, 60. On relations between body and soul in later Middle Ages, see also Caroline Walker Bynum, 'The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages', in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, New York: Zone Books, 1991, 181–238.

<sup>9</sup> See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995, 279–343.

<sup>10</sup> For these practices see Gilchrist, 'Magic for the Dead', 126–128; and Peter Dinzelbacher, 'The Way to the Other World in Medieval Literature and Art', *Folklore*, 97:1, 1986, 71.

<sup>11</sup> See Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, 295–296; Phillippe Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977, 354. On Purgatory in general, see Jacques Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, Paris: Gallimard, 1981.

decompose corpses in just a few days.<sup>12</sup> Why would anyone desire such a miracle unless it promises salvific outcome? Therefore, miraculously accelerated dissolving of the flesh must have been perceived as affecting the time soul spent in Purgatory, shortening its stay.<sup>13</sup>

In context of bodily dissolution, Nancy Caciola's study is of particular interest. By analysing medieval accounts and scattered folkloric beliefs, she has shown the presence of a notion in Northern Europe that a dead individual could not join the community of the ancestors before the process of bodily decomposition was fully completed.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, during this period of transition the departed member of society was able to visit the living as an animated cadaver, a revenant, which means that his or her vitality was bound to the flesh, and with it the shadow or marks of the previous individual survived.<sup>15</sup>

*Transi* tombs brilliantly asserted this net of ideas and beliefs. The deceased was represented as passing through the liminal period of decay, which meant that his soul was undergoing purgatorial torments.<sup>16</sup> The beholder was invited by the horrifying image to aid the dead individual because his prayer had the power to accelerate this process. Verminous effigies particularly carried the capturing strength to engage the viewer into the salvific performance of helping the dead.<sup>17</sup> They showed cadavers filled with worms, snakes, frogs, even mice; all this in order to give the impression to the pious viewer that his prayer was truly effective and

<sup>12</sup> Miracle performed in Pisa is recounted in: Michel de Montaigne, *Oeuvres Complètes de Michel de Montaigne. Journal de voyage en Italie* (vol. 2), ed., Arthur Armaingaud, Paris: L. Conard, 1929, 177–181; and for the same miracle performed at the cemetery of the Holy Innocents in Paris, see Gilles Corrozet, *Les antiquites, chroniques, et singularitez de Paris, ville capitale du royaume de France, avec les fondations and bastimens des lieux: les sepulchres and epitaphs des princes, princesses autres personnes illustres: corrigées augmentées pour la seconde edition*, Paris: Gilles Corrozet, 1561, 65–66.

<sup>13</sup> The miracle at Camposanto in Pisa is discussed in Jakov Đorđević, *Makabrističke predstave u zapadnoevropskoj umetnosti od XIII do XV veka. Osobnosti ikonografije severno i južno od Alpa*, MA dissertation, University of Belgrade, 2013, 53–67.

<sup>14</sup> Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Sanctity and Possession in the Later Middle Ages*, PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1994, 157–161, especially 160; Nancy Caciola, 'Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture', *Past & Present*, 152, August 1996, 3–45 especially 34.

<sup>15</sup> Caciola, 'Wraiths', 31–34; Katherine Park, 'The Life of the Corpse: Division and Dissection in Late Medieval Europe', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 50: 1, January 1995, 111–132. For the numerous stories of returning revenants, see also Claude Lecouteux, *Fantômes et revenants au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Éditions Image, 1986.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Christina Welch, 'For Prayers and Pedagogy: Contextualizing English Carved Cadaver Monuments of the Late-Medieval Social and Religious Elite', *Fieldwork in Religion*, 8: 2, 2013, 133–155.

<sup>17</sup> For a general overview on verminous effigies, see Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Food for Worms - Food for Thought: The Appearance and Interpretation of the "Verminous" Cadaver in Britain and Europe', *Church Monuments*, 20, 2005, 40–80.

was banishing the loathsome vermin out from the corpse. Simultaneously, the soul in Purgatory was being freed from the corresponding sins.<sup>18</sup> It is interesting to note that the *transi* monument in Avignon of Cardinal Jean de la Grange was guarding only the corruptible – the perishable – parts of his body. He had demanded that after his death his corpse be boiled, and flesh and entrails separated from the bones. Thus, while the skeleton was buried in Amiens, under a different monument, the *transi* tomb was supposed to provide prayers for the vanishing of the Cardinal's sinful remains.<sup>19</sup>

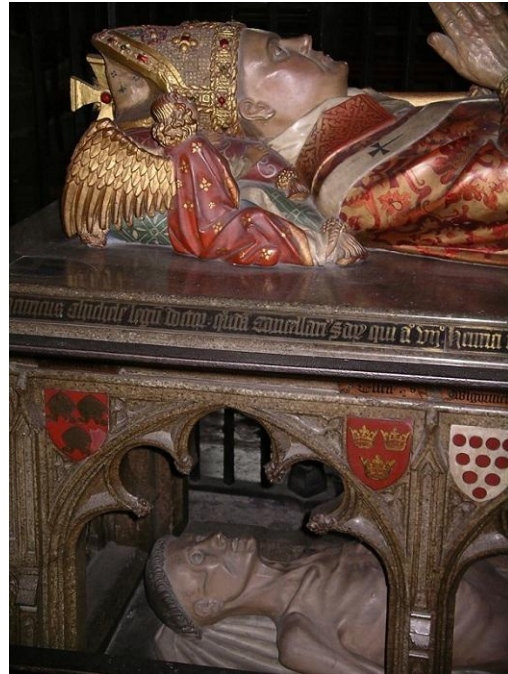


Figure 1 Tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele (d. 1443). Finished c. 1425, Canterbury Cathedral.  
Photo: Tony Jones.

On the other hand, it is notable that *transi* tombs were often filled with heraldic tokens (figure 1). As on other contemporary funeral monuments, they were contributing to the construction of the deceased's particular identity. However, they themselves were the image of the collective family body to which the departed

<sup>18</sup> See Pamela M. King, 'The Iconography of the "Wakeman Cenotaph" in Tewkesbury Abbey', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 103, 1985, 141–148; Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 83.

<sup>19</sup> Anne McGee Morganstern, 'The La Grange Tomb and Choir: A Monument of the Great Schism of the West', *Speculum*, 48: 1, January 1973, 54. The main benefit from the practice of boiling and dividing the corpse was the multiplication of burial places intended for a single person (more tombs promised more potential prayers). On this practice see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse', *Viator*, 12, 1981, 221–270.

strove to be incorporated.<sup>20</sup> This urge was embedded in cadaver effigies quite naturally, for the deceased was represented as half-through in obtaining the 'collective likeness' of all members of the lineage. Only when nothing was left but the dry bare bones, the dead individual achieved the goal and became part of the community of ancestors.<sup>21</sup> This belief was in perfect harmony with the doctrine of Purgatory, not interfering with its postulates. It should also be noticed that there was a striking difference in attitude of medieval people toward a decaying corpse as opposed to a dry bare skeleton. While the former was concealed far from the eyes of the living beneath the ground, the later was placed in the ossuary to be easily visible to all cemetery's visitors. In medieval society the dead were an active part of the community,<sup>22</sup> and the best evidence of this were the ossuaries placed within the church walls in such manner that skulls were directed toward the altar in order to be able to follow the celebration of the Mass together with the living.<sup>23</sup> Being the bones of just the ordinary dead, without the remains of the condemned and excommunicated,<sup>24</sup> they were truly the image of those who rest in peace and wait for the day of future resurrection of the flesh.

### Of flesh and clothes

Powerful and wealthy people of the later Middle Ages strove to embody their personal desires, salvific hopes, and dynastic or communal aspirations through tomb sculpture. While the cost was an important factor in determining the appearance of a resting place, certain restrictions existed depending on the person's position in society.<sup>25</sup> Those of a lesser standing had to obey the stricter rules. Nevertheless, despite the many privileges, a king with his 'body politic' was common good to the realm and thus had to confine his personal desires.<sup>26</sup> The

<sup>20</sup> On the coat of arms as a 'dynastic and genealogical face', see Belting, *An Anthropology of Images*, 66–67.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 157–161; Caciola, 'Wraiths', 34.

<sup>22</sup> See Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in Middle Ages*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.

<sup>23</sup> Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, 204.

<sup>24</sup> On the exclusion of those 'unworthy' of burial in the sanctified ground of medieval cemeteries, see Finucane, 'Sacred Corpse', 55–58; and Michel Lauwers, 'Le cimetière dans le Moyen Age latin: Lieu sacré, saint et religieux', *Annales HSS*, 54: 5, 1999, 1066–1068.

<sup>25</sup> In Florence, for example, the appearance of a tomb was strictly regulated by the state laws; see Andrew Butterfield, 'Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 26, 1994, 47–67.

<sup>26</sup> Queens, on the other hand, were not obliged to fulfill such royal expectations, and there 'burial tradition' is 'more individualized'; see Pamela M. King, "'My Image to be made all naked": Cadaver Tombs and the Commemoration of Women in Fifteenth-Century England', *The Ricardian*, 13, 2003, 312. On king's body politic, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton



Figure 2 Tomb of Alice de la Pole (d. 1475), duchess of Suffok. St Mary, Ewelme, Oxfordshire.  
Photo: Aidan McRae Thomson.

English monarch Edward IV expressed the desire in his will to be buried beneath a double *transi* monument; however, as in the case of Louis IX, his instructions were never carried out, apparently perceived as unfitting. Whereas Saint Louis wanted to be inhumed under an unmarked slab as a token of his Christian humility, the same need of presenting humbleness guided King Edward to make a demand as he did: '[W]e will oure body be buried lowe in the ground, and upon the same a stone to bee laide and wroght with the figure of Death [...] and upon the same tumbre an Image of oure figure.'<sup>27</sup> It is very suggestive that even though Edward IV clearly conceived the corpse as an emblem of death, the royal wish still seemed inappropriate. Obviously, his contemporaries could not see the figure of the decomposing cadaver as detached from the royal self, and, therefore, this image threatened the integrity of king's body politic. This is not strange taking into account that all surviving double *transi* tombs indicate, way or another, that the decaying corpse is a representation of a distinguished dead individual. The memorial of Alice de la Pole, duchess of Suffolk, is particularly revealing. The unsightly figure of the noble lady is almost entirely hidden from the beholder's gaze under a heavy structure while her resurrected body is placed on top of it (figure 2). However, albeit it cannot be seen from the outside, the sculpted cadaver is surrounded by devotional images of the Annunciation, Mary Magdalene, and John

---

University Press, 1957. It is also interesting to note that the heart of a king could make the earth 'fertile with saintly or royal power'; Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, 204.

<sup>27</sup> For the tomb of Edward IV, as well as for the excerpt from his will, see Kenneth Rooney, *Mortality and Imagination: The Life of the Dead in Medieval English Literature*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, 5; and for the tomb of St. Louis, see Parkinson, *The Likeness of the King*, 103.





Figure 3 Tomb slab of Antonio Amati. Third quarter of the fifteenth century, S. Trinita, Florence.

Photo: Francesco Bini.

the Baptist.<sup>28</sup> Set above the late duchess' metamorphosed body, these paintings established perpetual visual prayer and spiritual protection for the deceased in the same manner as the word 'Emmanuel' inscribed twice next to the corpse of Henry Chichele did.<sup>29</sup> These are testimonies which unequivocally imply that the waning figure on the *transi* tomb cannot be perceived as a mere personification of death, because none of the mentioned prophylactic elements would have had any meaning unless they were placed beside the image of remains of the deceased individual.

But the question of how an identity was created through a cadaver monument is very thought-provoking. While measurements and weight were true marks of the self in the late medieval period, *transi* tombs utilized traditional representational means of portrayal like heraldic tokens and inscriptions.<sup>30</sup> The double-deckers could even rely on the upper figure as well. However, clothing was never employed on any sculpted or carved cadaver, testifying that the idea of the corpse's nudity was an integral part of *transi* tombs.

Looking from a geographical point of view, this type of funeral monument is a phenomenon belonging to Europe north of the Alps. Yet, one can still find in Florence the sole existing example that contradicts the imaginary barrier which

<sup>28</sup> King, 'My Image to be made all naked', 307.

<sup>29</sup> Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 46. For the image and text as a perpetual prayer on the wall, see Madeleine Gray, 'Images of Words: Iconographies of Text and the Construction of Sacred Space in Medieval Church Wall Painting', in *Sacred Text -- Sacred Space: Architectural, Spiritual and Literary Convergences in England and Wales*, eds, Joseph Sterrett and Peter Thomas, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011, 15–34.

<sup>30</sup> On measurements as the bearers of self, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*, New York: Zone Books, 2011, 98–99; Parkinson, *The Likeness of the King*, 95–96. For the brief overview on representational procedures used in order to fashion identity of the depicted in medieval portraiture, see Stephen Parkinson, 'Likeness', *Studies in iconography*, 33, 2012, 15–28.



divides Apennine Peninsula from the northern European regions. The remarkable and curious tomb slab of Antonio Amati, doctor of law, strongly stands out among contemporary Florentine sepulchral art, for it bears the only known representation of the dead with the cadaverous face in Italy (figure 3).<sup>31</sup> However, Kathleen Cohen excluded it from her seminal study *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol* because she determined a set of criteria that refused to take into account any figure of a corpse which was clad in the ceremonial garments of deceased's former office.<sup>32</sup> Drawing from her research based upon the northern cadaver monuments, she justifiably concluded that the true *transi* tomb always carried the image of a naked or shrouded body already affected by the grip of death.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the tomb slab of Antonio Amati is even more surprising, not simply because of its geographical placement, but because the late doctor of law was represented as a fully clothed man with death's-head instead of a face.

The Florentines had strict regulations when it came to organizing funerals and erecting funeral monuments, therefore, it is not particularly challenging to determine the place of Amati's tomb in the broader social context of this Renaissance city. Belonging to one of the four elite groups, the patron was entitled to arrange his burial space with a carved portrait of himself in the interior of the church of Santa Trinita.<sup>34</sup> The slab with its effigy was designed in the third quarter of the fifteenth century and compared to the other contemporary sepulchral representations, it does not actually stand out as exceptional in anything but this *macabre* element. Truly, cadaver tombs were not part of the experience of *Trecento* and *Quattrocento*. However, the *macabre* notion was well known to Italy through numerous depictions of the tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead, the theme of Triumph of Death, and the images of Adam's skull.<sup>35</sup> The notebook of Jacopo Bellini attests that even more ideas of this sort travelled back and forth across the Alps – in one drawing the artist envisioned how a *transi* tomb of a professor should

<sup>31</sup> The tomb slab of Antonio Amati has received only a brief attention by certain scholars. See Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed., H. W. Janson, New York: Harry N Abrams, 1964, 66, and Butterfield, 'Funerary Monuments', 55.

<sup>32</sup> 'I consider the *transi* to be a representation of the deceased as a corpse, shown either nude or wrapped in a shroud.' (Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 9).

<sup>33</sup> 'None were located in Spain, nor any in Italy that met the specific criteria used for the *transis*.' (Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 189).

<sup>34</sup> Those elite groups were: 'knights and aristocrats; doctors of law and medicine; higher ecclesiastics and other important religious figures, such as distinguished abbots; and persons who were buried at public expense as a reward for their service to the city' (Butterfield, 'Funerary Monuments', 55).

<sup>35</sup> See Liliane Guerry, *Le theme du 'Triomphe de la mort' dans la peinture italienne*, Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1950; and Pierroberto Scaramella, 'L'Italia dei Trionfi e dei Contrastì', in *Humana fragilitas: i temi della morte in Europa tra Duecento e Settecento*, ed., Alberto Tenenti, Clusone: Ferrari editrice, 2000, 25–58.

have been designed.<sup>36</sup> Yet, even there the corpse is represented naked, unlike the one on Antonio Amati's slab.

As opposed to *vanitas* portraits, where portrayed people proclaimed their virtuous nature almost as exemplary models,<sup>37</sup> cadaver effigies stressed the humility of the dead, never striving to turn them into models for imitation. The cadaver's nudity was always intended as an expression of humility and humbleness. It was an 'exposure of the private to the public'.<sup>38</sup> But, because the person was present in the body after death, the image of a corpse was also, as Katharine Park noticed, 'an immediate image of the self' and, thus, 'still a portrait'. Therefore, the naked putrefied flesh of a *transi* effigy was an instrument of fashioning identity as well. The lack of physiognomic likeness was not of any big importance, for, even when it was used in sepulchral art, it represented only an additional, accompanying tool. Coats of arms, inscriptions, regalia, garments, gestures, and even material,<sup>39</sup> were all much safer agents to be entrusted with the task of communicating an identity, because they were not counting on recognition based upon someone's memory, but the established system of signs.<sup>40</sup> However, in early Renaissance Italy it seems that physiognomic likeness held a stronger standing thanks to the tradition of employing death masks into the execution of funeral effigies. Dating back to the late thirteenth century, the time that set the urge among powerful members of learned circles to express their inner virtues through the images of their bodies,<sup>41</sup> certain *gisants* on Italian soil were modelled after the casts taken from the faces of the

<sup>36</sup> For the image, see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 66, fig. 268.

<sup>37</sup> *Vanitas* portraits emerged in the sixteenth century, and they were showing their sitters in special settings decorated with objects connected to the ideas of time and mortality. The person depicted was usually supposed to express his own awareness of transience by contemplating or pointing toward the skull, thus showing his inner virtue. *Vanitas* portraits are briefly discussed in Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Dance, Dialogue and Duality: Fatal Encounters in the Medieval *Danse Macabre*', in *Mixed Metaphors: The Danse Macabre in Medieval and Early Modern Period*, eds, Sophie Oosterwijk and Stefanie Knöll, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, 40, with additional bibliography.

<sup>38</sup> Binski, *Medieval Death*, 150.

<sup>39</sup> 'Poetics of materials' had a great role in fashioning many objects during medieval time. Reliquaries in particular expressed the nature of the treasured relics through gold and precious stones – the incorruptible substances similar to the bodies of saints. Similarly, material of a tomb effigy, with its own properties, was able to express inner nature of the royal deceased. See Binski, *Medieval Death*, 150.

<sup>40</sup> Parkinson, 'Likeness', 21. See also Georgia Sommers Wright, 'The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth Century', *Gesta*, 39: 2, 2000, 117–134. For the general implications that employment of physiognomic likeness bore in the French court, see Parkinson, *The Likeness of the King*; and idem, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture', *Gesta*, 46: 2, 2007, 135–157.

<sup>41</sup> See Dominic Olariu, 'Thomas Aquinas' definition of the imago Dei and the development of lifelike portraiture', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, 17: 2, December 2013.

deceased.<sup>42</sup> According to high scholastic teachings, especially those of Thomas Aquinas, the body became 'the external manifestation of the spiritual fulfilment', and, thus, the lifelike sepulchral images expressed inner spiritual achievements, i.e. holiness of the dead.<sup>43</sup> It seems that during the next two centuries this practice of 'recording likenesses' became accessible to others than just 'God-given dignitaries'.<sup>44</sup> There are certain sources that might suggest the employment of death mask in Europe north of the Alps from the fourteenth century on as well, yet it seems that this practice was limited to the circles of royal members only.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, utilization of lifelike *ex-voto* busts in Italy is also important since votive offerings were always the bearers of the suppliant's self. While people in the North usually submitted themselves to God by giving wax offerings equal to their weight and height,<sup>46</sup> in Italy waxen votive images based on facial casts were also popular.<sup>47</sup> It might be that this practice gave higher authority in the Apennine Peninsula to the likeness as an agent of defining identity than this concept enjoyed in the sepulchral art beyond the Alps.<sup>48</sup> Anyway, the decision to omit the individual facial features on Antonio Amati's slab, and utilize collective future likeness destined to all humankind in the city where 'documenting' facial features was very popular, was certainly an expression of humility and humbleness, even though the deceased was represented as dressed. Still, this does not explain why he had to be in his academic gown.

Another important aspect of cadaver tombs was the corpse's vitality, for the dead bodies were either shown as experiencing convulsion or represented as true revenants – the undead. Katharine Park has argued that this belief in corpse's

<sup>42</sup> Olariu, 'Réflexions sur l'avènement du portrait', 83–101; idem, 'Körper, die sie hatten-Leiber, die sie waren. Totenmaske und mittelalterliche Grabskulptur', in *Quel corps?: eine Frage der Repräsentation*, eds, Hans Belting, Dietmar Kamper, Martin Schulz, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002, 85–104.

<sup>43</sup> Olariu, 'Aquinas' definition of the imago Dei'.

<sup>44</sup> For the popularity of 'life' and death masks in Florence of the fifteenth century, see Jeanette Kohl, 'Casting Renaissance Florence: The Bust of Giovanni de' Medici and Indexical Portraiture', in *Carvings, Casts and Collectors: The Art of Renaissance Sculpture*. eds, Peta Motture, Emma Jones, Dimitrios Zikos, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2013, 58–71.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Olariu, 'Körper', 85–89.

<sup>46</sup> See n. 31.

<sup>47</sup> For the very interesting example of this practice, dealing with Lorenzo de' Medici's *ex-votos* after the failed attempt of assassination, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989, 225–226.

<sup>48</sup> In Europe north of the Alps, even when votive offerings in wax were rendered as the figures of the supplicants who ordered them, they were idealized images with only possible 'hints' of physiognomic likeness. Cf. Sarah Blick, 'Votives, Images, Interaction and Pilgrimage to the Tomb and Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral', in *Push Me, Pull You (vol. 2): Physical and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, eds, eadem and Laura D. Gelfand, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011, 41–44.

vitality was unknown on the Apennine Peninsula as a result of a different attitude toward the process of dying. While in the North people believed that the moment of death marked the beginning of the liminal period during which a personhood slowly faded away, in Italy it was perceived as a radical separation of body and soul.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, it is not strange that Antonio Amati is represented as completely immobile and lifeless – as a matter of fact, just like the other Florentine *gisants*. He is portrayed as lying on a pillow under a canopy, wearing his academic gown and hood – *i.e.* in the same manner as he must have looked like during his funeral (except for the death's-head instead of his face).<sup>50</sup> Katharine Park has also stated that Italians 'at every level of society' identified self with the soul, which made body become only an object of memory and commemoration in the hour of death.<sup>51</sup> While the same idea is undeniably present in theology of Thomas Aquinas,<sup>52</sup> her argument can be challenged to some extent. This is because, beside the wonder-working incorruptible relics of saints, certain practices such as the already mentioned miracle of accelerate decomposition in Pisa, performative tomb effigies positioned near the altars, and will of Pietro de Vico testify to the contrary. They all imply that corpses were manipulated in order for the deceased to gain salvation, which consequently means that bonds between body and soul could be re-established even in Italy, though through some necessary ritual practices. Testator Pietro de Vico ordered that his corpse be divided into seven parts as a penitent renouncement of seven deadly sins before his remains were buried.<sup>53</sup> The Camposanto in Pisa was the celebrated cemetery-reliquary cherishing the earth brought from Jerusalem that was said to have the property of decomposing cadavers in just three days.<sup>54</sup> This miracle was highly desirable, as attested by the sources,<sup>55</sup> and obviously had salvific potential of accelerating, not only bodily decomposition, but also the painful time the soul had to spend in Purgatory.<sup>56</sup> And finally, Geraldine Johnson has

<sup>49</sup> Park, 'The Life of the Corpse', 119.

<sup>50</sup> 'Effigies on tombs, both in relief and in the round, refer specifically to the privilege of having one's corpse exposed for view during the funeral, and served the same function of establishing the deceased's membership in a prestigious elite. It is for this reason that these effigies record in exact detail the distinctive ceremonial clothing of the deceased.' (Butterfield, 'Funerary Monuments', 60).

<sup>51</sup> Park, 'The Life of the Corpse', 119.

<sup>52</sup> See Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, 259.

<sup>53</sup> Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 'The Corpse in the Middle Ages: The Problem of the Division of the Body', in *The Medieval World*, eds, Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson, London: Routledge, 2001, 331. See also idem, 'Démembrement et intégrité du corps au XIIIe siècle', *Terrain*, 18, 1992, 26–32.

<sup>54</sup> On the Camposanto in Pisa and its relic, see Diane Cole Ahl, 'Camposanto, Terra santa: Picturing the Holy Land in Pisa', *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 24, No. 48, 2003, 95; and Đorđević, *Makabrističke predstave*, 53–67.

<sup>55</sup> See n. 13.

<sup>56</sup> Đorđević, *Makabrističke predstave*, 63–67.

convincingly shown how certain Italian tomb effigies were used, not simply as the objects which celebrated cult of memory, but as the active participants of the Mass performed at the altar, thus re-enacting some of the absolution rites.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, in order to become 'an immediate image of the self', representation on Antonio Amati's slab had to replicate the supposed look of the deceased from the funeral, i.e. the moment when bonds between body and soul (*self*) were restored. If he had been represented as a naked corpse, he might not have been perceived as the image of an individual in need that was crying for help, which *transi* effigies successfully managed to do in the North. Even the upper part of Amati's slab stressed the existence of a connection between body and soul further through the emblem made out of putto (soul) that is holding coat of arms (identity) and skull (dead body), keeping them all assembled as a true psychosomatic unity.<sup>58</sup>

In northern Europe the corpse on a cadaver monument was not supposed to bear any trace of clothing because it was associated with sin unlike to that that vermin represented; only certain insignias could pass as acceptable, and even they were employed very rarely. There are a few *transi* memorials, belonging to abbots and bishops, which bear the carved images of crosiers and mitres beside the representations of cadavers.<sup>59</sup> They were not intended as instruments of defining individual identity so much as they were supposed to refer to the ultimate transience of earthly glory, thus inducing compassion in viewer's gaze. They were heightening the humility of the deceased who, though once great, fell so low in their death. One Book of Hours, today in the British Library (Harley MS 2917), contains a miniature (fol. 119 r.) that illustrates this same idea by utilizing insignias, only, in this case, through the story of the Three Living and the Three Dead (figure 4). Another example of this concept can be traced back to the *transi* monument of Jean de la Grange where death's-heads with royal and prelatric headgears, placed above the cadaver, were supposed to play an identical role, adding their inaudible voices to the lament of the dead cardinal.<sup>60</sup> Only in the case of one exceptional slab of an unmarried girl named Ingeborch the story is somewhat different. The crown placed upon the female corpse's head indicates the deceased's maidenly status, an inner virtue, and thus figuring as not just the attribute of identity, but as a symbol that

<sup>57</sup> Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy'.

<sup>58</sup> The Putto with a death's-head is an old symbol, dating back to Antiquity. While it can stand for the carnal principles, in combination with the skull it is more probable that it was adapted to the Christian body-soul dualism. Very suggestive is the putto's head which replicates the skull's position, standing immediately next to it. On this 'emblem', see further Horst W. Janson, 'The Putto with the Death's Head', *The Art Bulletin*, 19:3, September 1937, 423–449.

<sup>59</sup> For the images see Sophie Oosterwijk, "'For no man mai fro dethes stroke fle": Death and danse macabre iconography in memorial art', *Church Monuments*, 23, 2008, fig. 2; and Oosterwijk, 'Food for Worms', fig. 5; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, fig. 271.

<sup>60</sup> See Morganstern, 'La Grange Tomb', 61–62.



Figure 4 Three Living and the Three Dead. Book of Hours, produced in northern France, c. 1480 – c. 1490, Harley MS 2917, f. 119r. Photo: the British Library.

promises future resurrection of the body.<sup>61</sup> However, here the headgear cannot be perceived as belonging to regalia of any sort because it does not signify Ingeborch's earthly station. Nevertheless, there is one other illuminating miniature that actually might explain the reasons behind the northern hostility toward representing the dead clad in other than the white shrouds. In the Flemish manuscript of the *Golden Legend*, which is preserved today in Mâcon library, in the chapter devoted to the Day of the Dead one illumination shows two scenes – the legend of the grateful dead and the story of a ghost who paid a visit to his friend (MS 3, fol. 25 v.).<sup>62</sup> The later tale is represented as a conversation between the corpse dressed in lavish garment and the living man who is lying in bed with his wife. According to the

<sup>61</sup> Symbols of resurrection were not unusual on *transi* tombs. The word 'Emmanuel' on tomb of Henry Chichele, which has been already mentioned, is a good example, just like the small scallop shells, traditional symbol of eternal life, on the tomb of François de la Sarra. See Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 83. On Ingeborch's tomb slab, see Oosterwijk, 'Dance, Dialogue and Duality', 14, 33, fig. 3.

<sup>62</sup> For the image see Schmitt, *Ghosts*, fig. 29.

story, the dead on that occasion informed his friend that he had to wear the mantle he had stolen while alive, and its weight in Purgatory is unbearable.<sup>63</sup> This, I presume, is the kind of message that would have been grasped by a beholder from the North had he had the opportunity to see Antonio Amati's tomb slab. To him the incorruptible clothing, untouched by decay, on a half-decayed corpse would have implied a sin that cannot be redeemed. Even snakes and toads would have seemed less evil, for they, just as the dissolution of the very skin, represented liberation of the soul from past transgressions; they were leaving the body unlike the untouched garment of Antonio Amati. On the other hand, a Florentine viewer was able to comprehend the same meaning that was offered to the Northerners by their own cadaver monuments thanks to the academic gown. It helped in creating the notion in the beholder's mind that the body and soul were still connected, just as in funeral ritual, thus testifying that the humble state of the former in earth resembled the penitent state of the later in Purgatory. Therefore, this is the reason why Amati's tomb should be considered to be a 'true *transi*', for those very differences from its northern counterparts made it become *transi* in Florentine context.

### *Sum quod eris vs. memento mori*

The cadaverous *gisants* were meant to provoke live interaction, a discussion even, between the viewer and the image. This encounter is usually summarized by a famous Latin motto *memento mori* (remember that you must die). However, to do so is to reveal only a partial dialog of a much more complex story. Because the dead on a *transi* tomb was an individual speaking from beyond, I am going to argue that *sum quod eris* (I am what you will be), an excerpt from the tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead, would be more convenient reference in order to describe the experience surrounding cadaver monuments than the *memento mori* motto, since the latter distracts attention from the fact that putrefied corpses represented on tombs should be perceived as truly defined portraits.

Medieval society was made out of bonds between its members, and the dead were actively participating in it, demanding their share.<sup>64</sup> From the early days these bonds were established as a form of gift exchange where every gift required a suitable counter-gift. Without the counter-gift the imbalance would become intolerable, threatening the receiver.<sup>65</sup> This idea, though not that obviously exposed as in medieval popular stories, was enduring as a cornerstone of social relations through the whole Middle Ages. The living were obliged to take care of their dead, and the dead had to repay them. In rural communities caring for the deceased members secured fertility.<sup>66</sup> In higher social classes the inheritor of a title had to rely

<sup>63</sup> Schmitt, *Ghosts*, 214–215.

<sup>64</sup> Geary, *Living with the Dead*, 36, 87.

<sup>65</sup> Geary, *Living with the Dead*, 78.

<sup>66</sup> Caciola, *Discerning spirits*, 184–190; Caciola, 'Wraiths', 42.



on the relations he had with the deceased nobleman in order to preserve the authority of his claim to the position he was holding. In return for the authority, which was bestowed upon him by the dead, he had to pray for that departed noble individual, alleviating the purgatorial pains.<sup>67</sup> These ties did not need to be established only while both parties were among the living. A man already dead could make a new bond with the person still alive. Many stories about apparitions from Purgatory confirm that,<sup>68</sup> and *transi* tombs should be seen as belonging to this peculiar context. The idea of gift-exchange embedded in sepulchral art is the most evident through the examples of tomb inscriptions which promised indulgencies to all those who prayed for the deceased.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, ties could be forged by much subtler ways. The living corpse on a cadaver monument was supposed to be perceived, through the performative interaction with the beholder, as a ghost from Purgatory or a good revenant who was passing through the purgatorial pains by bodily decomposition. The bond between them was established in the moment of the viewer's identification with the deceased, when he learned about his own mortality and future fate.<sup>70</sup> However, though he was seeing himself in the image of the cadaver, he was also aware that the representation before him belonged to the particular departed individual. The same was true for the tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead. While the three noblemen saw themselves in the corpses, the dead were apparitions from Purgatory, and they were explicitly asking of the living in some written versions of the tale to pray for them, after they had taught them the moral lesson.<sup>71</sup> Their famous words were often embedded into the *transi* tombs

<sup>67</sup> See Ashby Kinch, 'Image, Ideology, and Form: The Middle English "Three Dead Kings" in Its Iconographic Context' *The Chaucer Review*, 43: 1, 2008, 69–71.

<sup>68</sup> Cf., for example, the story of a ghost who attacked a simple traveler in order to make the man help him: Andrew Joynes, ed., *Medieval Ghost Stories: An Anthology of Miracles, Marvels and Prodigies*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001, 168–170. Here the traveler had to supply the dead with the appropriate aid in exchange for his life. It is particularly interesting that it is explicitly mentioned in the story that the dead took shape of a cadaverous king similar to the contemporary depictions of the Three Living and the Three Dead; see Joynes, ed., *Medieval Ghost Stories*, 169.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Binski, *Medieval Death*, 113. There were also *transi* tombs which promised indulgences, see Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 68.

<sup>70</sup> The corruption of the corpse in the Middle Ages was also perceived as the 'seventh and final gift of the Holy Spirit' – an image that should inspire knowledge of transience and mortality, and help people to stay on the road of righteousness that would lead them back to the Garden of Eden. It was said that Adam became aware of the gravity of his doing only after he had seen Abel's decaying corpse. Therefore, it was necessary for someone else to die so that he could become aware of his own mortality. See Joseph Leo Koerner, 'The Mortification of the Image: Death as a Hermeneutic in Hans Baldung Grien', *Representations*, 10, 1985, 52–53.

<sup>71</sup> For a full transcription of one poem which explicitly mentions intercessory prayers, see Stefan Glixelli, *Les Cinq Poemes des trois morts et des trois vifs*, Paris: Champion, 1914, 53–63.

giving voice to the cadaverous effigy who was, consequently, saying: *sum quod eris*.<sup>72</sup> This lesson of mortality was the debt that had to be repaid, because, as Jean-Claude Schmitt stated, 'in Christian society a dead person could provide no greater service than to invite a living person to prepare for death'.<sup>73</sup> The warning was the gift.

The tomb slab of Antonio Amati is not the only image in Florence that could be said to belong to the *transi* tradition. Though famous Masaccio's skeleton in Santa Maria Novella defied all rules of portraying an individual, refusing to employ any of the instruments of defining identity, it would be very unusual not to consider it a depiction of a particular deceased, taking into account the inscription above the image: 'I was once what you are and what I am you also shall be'. It seems that earlier scholarship concerning the *Trinity* fresco was right to propose that this work of the famous artist was just one part of a tripartite special composition, which also included a now-lost tomb slab and an altar.<sup>74</sup> Representing the dead under the crucifix beside Adam's skull was known in fifteenth-century Florence, as attested by the memorial panel of Jacopo del Sellaio.<sup>75</sup> Here two plague victims lie beneath the cross with their faces uncovered, receiving the grace of redemption along with the forefather. More importantly, Christ's sacrifice is not shown as a standard Crucifixion scene, but as an emblem of eternity, especially popular in miniatures representing the final of six triumphs of Petrarch's *Trionfi* – the *Triumphus Aeternitatis*.<sup>76</sup> God the Father, supporting the cross, and the dove of the Holy Spirit, flying above Christ's head, brought into the depiction not only the assurance in deliverance from original sin, destined to all humanity, but also the promise of resurrection of the body, triumphing over Time. This was true for the Masaccio's fresco as well. However, here the skull and the dead body were blended into one. The connection between the lifeless bones and the soul (self) must have been understood as 'activated' due to the salvific drops fallen from Christ's wounds. The skeleton was undressed because it had to be identified as truly being Adam, but, at the same time, through the viewer's involvement in the special arrangement of this funeral setting (consisting of Masaccio's fresco, altar and the now lost funeral slab) it was supposed to be simultaneously perceived as the image of the deceased patron

<sup>72</sup> There are many examples of *transi* tombs which bear the characteristic verse of the Legend, see Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 16, 31, 33–38, 69, 71–77.

<sup>73</sup> Schmitt, *Ghosts*, 75.

<sup>74</sup> See John Coolidge, 'Further Observations on Masaccio's *Trinity*', *The Art Bulletin*, 48: 3/4, September - December 1966, 382–384; and for the additional bibliography see Rita Maria Comanducci, "'L'altare Nostro de la Trinità': Masaccio's *Trinity* and the Berti Family', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 145, No. 1198, January 2003), 15 n.12.

<sup>75</sup> On the panel, see Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 108.

<sup>76</sup> On the representations of Petrarch's 'Triumph of Eternity', see Lasse Hodne, 'Masaccio's Skeleton and the Petrarchan Concept of Time', *IKON*, 4, 2011, 133–142; and, by the same author, 'Faces of Time: Allegories of Change and Fortune in Petrarch's "Trionfi" and their Illustrations' in *Rhetoric Theatre and the Arts of Design: Essays Presented to Roy Eriksen*, ed., Clare Lapraik Guest, Oslo: Novus Press, 2008, 80–83.

buried there as well. While the inscription of a name on the tomb slab and the performance of commemorative masses were powerful instruments of engaging the beholder, guiding him toward the dead, this fresco's share in that process was the inscription 'I was once what you are...' – the warning discussed in the paragraph above.

During the late decades of the fifteenth century true *memento mori* objects started to develop,<sup>77</sup> anticipating notions and attitudes toward death characteristic for theologians of the Reformation. They were often designed in such manner that their message would not be apparent at the first glance. Through the game of revealing concealed layers, as in the case of interactive engravings, or discovering hidden images seen only from particular angles, as was usual with jewellery decorations, a person was introduced to the hard truth of earthly transience, but in an amusing way.<sup>78</sup> These objects distracted attention from the dead in need and concentrated only upon the fate of the beholder. Motto *memento mori* broke the bonds between the living and the dead, subtly implying that every person was responsible for his or her own death. There were no 'you' and 'I' and the salvific help between the worlds – a notion distant and strange to the medieval *transi* tombs. Cadaver effigies were meant to make the living become aware of their own mortality, but at the same time they were emphasizing that the represented deceased were the particular departed individuals in need of help. Therefore, remembering one's death was always followed by remembering the dead.

## Epilogue

Rules set in the later Middle Ages concerning execution of *transi* tombs endured in some parts of Europe well into the early modern period. Usually, this was the case with places that dealt with currents of Reformation and Counter-Reformation in their own manner, negotiating new tendencies with old ways. Thus, one can find in Ireland a true 'medieval' cadaver slab made in 1627, which was even accompanied with the characteristic inscription: 'I was as thou art and thou yet shall be'.<sup>79</sup> However, important changes emerged during the sixteenth century in big centres where new intellectual, theological, and artistic ideas proliferated and flourished, and the new demand were set before the image of the corpse. A dead body, even though affected by death, had to resemble the individual physical appearance of the

<sup>77</sup> Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 44.

<sup>78</sup> For the examples of *memento mori* objects, see Suzanne Karr Schmidt, 'Memento Mori: The Deadly Art of Interaction', in *Push Me, Pull You (vol. 2): Physical and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, eds, Sarah Blick and Laura D. Gelfand, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011, 261–294.

<sup>79</sup> For this tomb slab, see Helen M. Roe, 'Cadaver Effigial Monuments in Ireland', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 99: 1, 1969, 6.

deceased.<sup>80</sup> Because the physiognomic likeness was becoming more and more accepted to a wider audience as necessary means by which portraits signified their subjects,<sup>81</sup> representations of particular dead people had to possess facial features corresponding to their likeness while they were still alive. The faceless putrefied corpses, on the other hand, lived on as the images reserved for the personification of death alone.

**Jakov Đorđević** is a PhD candidate in Art History at Belgrade University. In 2014 his MA paper on late medieval macabre art was awarded The National Museum in Belgrade Prize. He is a member of research project “Serbian Medieval Art and Its European Context”, sponsored by the Ministry of the Republic of Serbia. He is currently researching iconography of body and death in Byzantium and Mediterranean world in the late Middle Ages.

[jakovdj@gmail.com](mailto:jakovdj@gmail.com)



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/)

<sup>80</sup> For the images see in Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, figs. 66, 67, 77, 81, 82, 90, 91, 111.

<sup>81</sup> See Stephen Perkinson, ‘From an “Art De Memoire” to the Art of Portraiture: Printed Effigy Books of the Sixteenth Century’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33:3, 2002, 718–723.