

Plants and aromatics for embalming in Late Middle Ages and modern period: a synthesis of written sources and archaeobotanical data (France, Italy)

Rémi Corbineau, Marie-Pierre Ruas, Delphine Barbier-Pain, Gino Fornaciari,

Hélène Dupont, Rozenn Colleter

▶ To cite this version:

Rémi Corbineau, Marie-Pierre Ruas, Delphine Barbier-Pain, Gino Fornaciari, Hélène Dupont, et al.. Plants and aromatics for embalming in Late Middle Ages and modern period: a synthesis of written sources and archaeobotanical data (France, Italy). Vegetation History and Archaeobotany, 2018, 27 (1), pp.151-164. 10.1007/s00334-017-0620-4. halshs-01566177

HAL Id: halshs-01566177 https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01566177

Submitted on 26 Sep 2018

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers. L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés. Plants and aromatics for embalming in Late Middle Ages and modern period: A synthesis of written sources and archaeobotanical data (France, Italy)

Rémi Corbineau^{a,b*}, Marie-Pierre Ruas^c, Delphine Barbier-Pain^{d,b,e}, Gino Fornaciari^f, Hélène Dupont^g, Rozenn Colleter^{d,h}

^a Aix Marseille Univ, CNRS, LA3M, Aix-en-Provence, France

^b Centre de Recherche en Archéologie, Archéosciences, Histoire (CReAAH, UMR 6566), Campus de Beaulieu, 263 avenue du général Leclerc, CS 74042, 35042 Rennes cedex, France

^c Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Archéozoologie, archéobotanique, sociétés, pratiques, environnements (AASPE, UMR 7209 CNRS-MNHN-Comue Sorbonne Universités), Muséum national d'histoire Naturelle, 55 rue Buffon, CP 56, 75005 Paris, France

^d Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives (INRAP), 37 rue du Bignon, CS 67737, 35577 Cesson-Sévigné cedex, France

^e Laboratoire Géosciences Océan, Université de Bretagne Sud, Campus Tohannic, Centre Yves Coppens, BP 573, 56017 Vannes cedex, France

^f Division of Paleopathology, Department of Translational research on new technologies in medicine and surgery, University of Pisa, Via Roma 57, 56126 Pisa, Italy

^g Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives (INRAP), Centre archéologique Normandie-Ouest, 4 boulevard de l'Europe, 14540 Bourguebus, France

^h Anthropologie Moléculaire et Imagerie de Synthèse (AMIS, UMR 5288), Faculté de médecine, 37 allée Jules Guesde, 31073 Toulouse cedex 3, France

*Corresponding author. Tel: +33 6 65 16 88 47. E-mail address: corbineau.remi@gmail.com

Abstract: Occasionally mentioned in written sources since the Early Middle Ages, embalming with evisceration considerably spreads and becomes quite usual practice for aristocratic elites from the late 13th century to the early 19th century. Apothecaries prepare

aromatic powders including many plant organs and exudates supposed to preserve the body. Numerous encyclopaedias and treatises of medicine list these ingredients and show that the recipes are very diverse. Moreover, several studies of embalmed bodies have demonstrated the potential of archaeobotanical analyses coupling pollen and macro-remains to identify this material. This paper aims to compile a synthesis of written and archaeological sources, in France and in Italy, and assess the relevance of an interdisciplinary approach for a better understanding of this aristocratic burial practice. It demonstrates that both types of sources and approaches are strongly complementary and highlights their inherent advantages and methodological limitations. In order to understand which criteria were determinant in the composition of the embalming powders, their medicinal, odoriferous and symbolic properties are discussed. Finally, this work proposes some methodological perspectives and triggers new research avenues on the history of pharmacy in Late Medieval and modern Europe.

Keywords: embalming; archaeobotany; written sources; Late Middle Ages; modern period; France; Italy

1. Introduction

In Western Europe, funerary cosmetic treatments are attested from the Roman period. As part of prestigious funerals, corpses were washed then anointed with fragrant aromatic substances (Chioffi 1998; Ciuffarella 1998; Poux 2009). However, as far as we are aware, the practice of embalming with evisceration was not in use in the Western Roman Empire. During the Early Middle Ages, the bodies of the Merovingian aristocrats were still treated with aromatics (*"aromatibus conditum"*, for example in Grégoire de Tours, *Libri septem miraculorum* 7:35, 6th c.) but it is unclear if they were opened or not (Giesey 1960). Since the 9th century, embalming with evisceration is clearly mentioned for emperors, kings, ecclesiastics and some members of the nobility, but the available documentation do not allow to determine which techniques and substances were involved (Georges 2007; Corbineau 2014), apart from a few exceptions (Charlier et al. 2013). Technical aspects of embalming are more accurately documented by written and archaeological sources from the late 13th century and throughout the modern period. At the same time, embalming considerably spreads and becomes quite usual practice for aristocratic elites (Giesey 1960; Ariès 1977; Gaude-Ferragu 2005; Perez 2006; Bande 2009; Chrościcki et al. 2012; Carol 2015).

During this period, embalming does not exist as a profession. Surgical procedures are performed by surgeons and aromatics are prepared by apothecaries. According to written sources and anthropological studies, the operations appear to be quite standardized (Fornaciari and Capasso 1996; Fornaciari 1998; Georges 1999, 2006; Marinozzi and Fornaciari 2005; Corbineau 2014; Colleter et al. 2016). The body is eviscerated by thoracotomy and/or laparotomy, the brain is removed by craniotomy, and veins and arteries are incised to let blood escape. An aromatic powder (sometimes called "balm") is used to fill the internal cavities and anoint the skin. Finally, the body is wrapped in a shroud and dressed before being placed in a lead coffin. Internal organs are embalmed separately (Mokrane et al. 2016). This procedure lasts until the early 19th century and the development of contemporary techniques using arterial injection of conservative fluids (Gannal 1838).

Today surgical aspects of embalming become quite well-known, but the composition of the aromatic powders has still to be reconstructed in order to understand which properties were expected to slow down or stop the decay process and honor the deceased (Georges 2009; Corbineau and Georges-Zimmermann 2015). During the Late Middle Ages and the modern period, numerous medical encyclopaedias and treatises provide recipes and lists of ingredients for apothecaries in charge of embalming. Moreover, several studies of embalmed bodies have demonstrated the potential of archaeobotanical analyses (pollen and/or macro-remains) for this purpose, in particular in France and in Italy (see below). This paper aims to propose a first synthesis of plants recorded by written and archaeological sources in these two countries, and assess the relevance of this interdisciplinary approach for a better understanding of aristocratic burial practices in the Late Middle Ages and the modern period.

2. Material

2.1. Written sources

We have compiled a corpus of French and Italian written sources collected in encyclopaedias and treatises of medicine, surgery, pharmacy and anatomy dated from the late 13th to the early 19th centuries. It includes 17 embalming recipes written in French, Italian and Latin (Table 1). Some of their authors are famous in the history of medicine. For example, Henri de Mondeville (1260-1320) served as personal surgeon to French kings Philip the Fair and Louis X, and Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), one of the most notable surgeons of the European Renaissance, also served four French monarchs: Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX and Henry III.

On the basis of this corpus we have recorded 533 occurrences of 134 identified ingredients used to prepare aromatic powders. These ingredients include 74 plant organs (flowers, leaves, fruits, seeds, wood/bark and roots), 39 plant extracts (natural exudates such as oils, resins and gums, and manufactured products such as turpentine), 8 mineral products (e.g. potassium alum, plaster and salt), 5 animal products (e.g. castoreum, wax, honey and eggs) and 8 unclassified products (e.g. *eau de vie*, bitumen of Judea and mercury). The number of ingredients per recipe varies from 13 to 55.

Here we have specifically paid attention to plant organs in order to confront literary data with archaeobotanical results. French, Italian and Latin ante-Linnaean names of plants have been linked with possible Linnaean taxa (family and genus) by way of hypothesis (Table 2). According to this transposition, 28 families occur in the corpus. Only 10 are mentioned in more than half of the recipes¹ and 3 of them are largely represented: Apiaceae, Asteraceae and Lamiaceae families are frequently used (respectively in 15, 9 and 16 cases) and include numerous plants (at least 9, 8 and 19 species). Other plants are also particularly recommended, such as iris (Iridaceae), gentians (Gentianaceae) and roses (Rosaceae). Most of them spontaneously grow in Western Europe but several exotic imported plants are also listed, e.g. cinnamon (Lauraceae), clove (Myrtaceae) and nutmeg (Myristicaceae). The recipes do not provide detailed instructions for dosing and preparing the ingredients other than they have to be crushed and mixed together. However, in certain cases they precise which organ of the plants should be used. It appears, for example, that most Asteraceae and Lamiaceae are chosen for their leaves or flowers, whereas Apiaceae are almost chosen for their seeds/fruits. Some other plants are selected for their roots (e.g. angelica, gentian and iris), fruits (e.g. lime, orange, juniper and cypress) and wood or bark (e.g. cinnamon).

Plant extracts have also been recorded (Table 3) and hypotheses have been proposed to identify their botanical origins on the basis of ethnobotanical knowledge (e.g. Jacob de Cordemoy 1911; Langenheim 2003; Norri 2016) and modern encyclopaedias such as *Commentarii* (Mattioli 1579), *Dictionnaire universel de commerce* (Savary 1726) and *Histoire naturelle des drogues simples* (Guibourt 1876). Some of these products could have been produced locally (e.g. essential oils of Lamiaceae plants, turpentine) but the most commonly used are imported from the Orient: myrrh, frankincense, benzoin, styrax and aloes could have been extracted from several trees, shrubs and plants respectively belonging to

¹ Apiaceae, Asteraceae, Gentianaceae, Iridaceae, Lamiaceae, Lauraceae, Myristicaceae, Myrtaceae, Rosaceae and Santalaceae.

Burseraceae (*Commiphora* and *Boswellia*), Styracaceae (*Styrax*) and Xanthorrhoeaceae (*Aloe*) families. Nevertheless, these hypotheses cannot be confirmed since these words are sometimes used as generic terms for other odoriferous exudates.

2.2. Archaeobotanical data

Thirteen studies have analysed embalmed bodies dated from the 15th to the 18th centuries for pollen and/or plant macro-remains (Table 4 and Fig. 1). In Italy, the bodies discovered in Spoleto, Siena, Naples and Florence have been examined by the Division of Paleopathology of the University of Pisa under the supervision of Professor G. Fornaciari. In France, the bodies of Anne d'Alègre in Laval, Thomas Craven in Saint-Maurice, and the tombs excavated in Rennes and in Flers² (Fig. 2) have been analysed by one or more members of our team. Finally, the analysis of the embalmed heart of Anne de Lens in Douai is available in the literature.

These data have been compiled in two tables (Table 5 and Table 6). Table 5 lists all the taxa identified by archaeobotanical macro- and micro-remains (pollen, seeds, fruits, flowers, leaves, pedicels, wood, fibres). Many of them probably do not reflect the composition of the aromatic powders and correspond more likely to a "pollution" occurred in raw materials (during harvesting, handling and storing), during the embalming process and/or during funerals, in particular some anemophilous and/or anemochore taxa whose pollen and/or achenes are wind-dispersed (such as Pinus, Alnus, Betula, Crepis, Hypochaeris, and many species of Poaceae). Moreover, some materials could be used for washing the body and cleaning the embalming room (e.g. straw), or placed in the coffin as litters (e.g. twigs, leaves and straw) or as floral offerings (e.g. bunches and wreaths). In Table 6 we propose a synthesis of taxa suspected to have been intentionally introduced by apothecaries (plant organs, and exudates that may trap pollen), according to the authors of the publications on the basis of written sources and the concentrations of macro- and micro-remains measured in the samples. This synthesis records 74 taxa from 19 plant families determined at different levels of taxonomic precision (family, genus, species, subspecies, and seed or pollen types). In certain cases, different taxa may thus identify the same plant, nevertheless these archaeobotanical assemblages are very diverse from one site to another. Different recipes have been used even in the same site, e.g. in Rennes and in Flers where 3 cardiotaphs and 2 lead coffins were

² The excavations in Rennes and in Flers have been operated by INRAP. The two embalmed bodies discovered in Flers have been autopsied in partnership with CRAHAM at the University of Caen. These studies are still in progress.

analysed, respectively (Barbier-Pain and Ruas in Le Cloirec 2016; Barbier-Pain et al. 2016; Corbineau and Ruas in Dupont and Lefebvre 2016). Despite these differences, Lamiaceae, Asteraceae, Apiaceae and Myrtaceae families are predominant in terms of number of taxa and/or frequency of use, whereas other families do not occur in more than 3 case studies. These studies highlight the necessity to use a multiproxy approach coupling pollen and plant macro-remains. In many cases, these markers identify different taxa depending on which organs of plants were used.

3. Results and discussion

Written sources provide a comprehensive insight into the composition of aromatic powders used for embalming. They clearly show the diversity of the recipes and of the origin of the ingredients, even if plant organs are always predominant in association with plant extracts. At this stage, however, there is not enough data to evidence significant differences between French and Italian recipes, and chronological evolutions from Late Middle Ages to the early 19th century, except the occurrence of American products (e.g. copaiba, balsam of Peru and quina) since the 16th-17th centuries. Written sources also present some inherent limits. On the one hand, they refer to ante-Linnaean names of plants which are difficult to connect to the modern taxonomy. On the other hand, they are encyclopaedic prescriptions and they may not exactly reflect the reality. In other ways, they show what was supposed to be done and maybe not what was actually done. It appears therefore necessary to consider also archaeological sources and archaeobotanical data in particular to go one step further.

Regarding plant organs, written and archaeobotanical sources are strongly complementary. The most common plant families are recorded by both types of sources, such as Asteraceae, Lamiaceae, Apiaceae, Lauraceae and Myrtaceae. Nevertheless, many plants mentioned in written sources do not occur in significant amounts in archaeobotanical assemblages, which can be explained by several reasons. First of all we can assume that apothecaries did not follow the recipes exactly as prescribed since some ingredients were sometimes too expensive or not available. Otherwise, taphonomic biases must be considered: in many cases, several elements are not preserved or too degraded to be identified. Finally, our methods are not able to determine some micro- and macro-remains, pieces of roots and stems or grinded leaves for example. Despite these limits, archaeobotany is very helpful to link old vernacular names of plants cited by written sources with Linnaean taxonomy. Pollen and macro-remains provide precious information on the techniques for preparing plant material (which can be cut, grinded or crushed, according to the state and the type of the seed and fruit fragmentation, and the size

of the fragments) and indicate the stage of development of the plants used (e.g. plants in bloom, withered flowers, ripe fruits more or less rich in aromatic oil/resin) (Ruas in Hadjouis et al. 2011; Barbier-Pain *et al.* 2016) (Fig. 3). Analyses also reveal some taxa which are not mentioned by the recipes (such as undifferentiated Amaranthaceae and Scrophulariaceae, or *Daucus carota*), strengthening the hypothesis that the recipes can be adjusted. In certain cases, however, we are not able to clearly distinguish plants which have been deliberately selected by apothecaries from possible intrusive material accidentally introduced to the aromatic powder. Impurities in raw materials can be suspected, such as in the Thomas Craven's embalming powder in which isolated anemophilous achene of *Crepis* sp. and leaf fragment of *Quercus coccifera* have been determined (Ruas in Hadjouis et al. 2011). We can also assume that some pollen taxa may have been indirectly introduced by surgeons using beeswax, as mentioned by several recipes. Finally, evaluating the quantities and the proportions of raw materials remains a challenge due do the fragmentation of the components and the numerous taphonomic processes involved.

This review clearly shows that macro- and microscopic analyses are not suitable to determine plant extracts. Indeed, none of the main exudates listed by written sources (e.g. myrrh, frankincense, benzoin and styrax) have been identified, and we can easily assume that such products do not contain significant quantities of pollen and/or macro-remains. Bioanalytical chemistry appears as a promising methodological perspective to detect some of their molecular markers (Buckley and Evershed 2001; Mathe et al. 2004; Hamm et al. 2005; Modugno et al. 2006). For examples, in Flers, some markers identified by GC-MS analysis may reveal the presence of a resinous material close to benzoin (Garnier, work in progress, in Dupont and Lefebvre 2016).

At this stage we can wonder which criteria were determinant in the composition of the embalming powders. Apothecaries pick their ingredients from a large "polypharmacy" and the recipes are very diverse. Nevertheless, all the preparations share similar properties. On the one hand, according to the humoralist system of medicine based on the *Hippocratic Corpus* and commonly admitted until the 19th century, "warm and dry" plants and resins were supposed to fight against putrefaction which was considered as "cold and moist". Actually, most of them have antiseptic properties such as wormwood and camomile (Asteraceae), lavender, thyme, marjoram, sage, rosemary and mint (Lamiaceae), myrrh (Burseraceae) and benzoin (Styracaceae) (Lieutaghi 1996; Langenheim 2006). It would be now interesting to establish if they were really efficient to slow down the decay process. On the other hand,

embalming powders are very similar to the mixtures recommended for cosmetic purposes during the modern period. According to several treatises of perfumery such as *Remedes* souverains et secrets esperimentez (Digby 1689), Le parfumeur François (Barbe 1693), and Traité des odeurs (Dejean 1764), many fragrances and soaps include the same ingredients: e.g. numerous Lamiaceae (lavender, thyme, marjoram, sage, rosemary, hyssop and savory), exotic plants (cinnamon and nutmeg) and resins (benzoin and styrax). It seems obvious that these aromatics were expected to confer a pleasant scent to the deceased. Note also that certain strongly scented plants such as wormwood and costus are used as insect repellant in different cultures (Mattioli 1579; Lieutaghi 1996; Duke et al. 2008); they could be thus introduced to keep necrophagous insects away. Finally, some of these substances have a biblical meaning: Frankincense and myrrh are offered to Jesus by the Three Wise Men (Matthew 2:11); later, myrrh and aloes are among the spices used by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea to anoint Jesus' body (John 19:38-40). One may thus wonder whether some plants or combination of ingredients might give a symbolic power to the embalming powders, depending on age, sex and confession. In any case, the bunch of wormwood placed over the Thomas Craven's body (Hadjouis et al. 2011) and the laurel branches found inside a tomb at the Couvent des Jacobins (Thomas in Le Cloirec et al. 2016) show that embalming takes part of a ritual process in which plants play an important role.

5. Conclusions and further perspectives

This review has demonstrated the relevance of an interdisciplinary approach coupling written and archaeological sources to collect information about the use of plants and aromatics for embalming. Now further multi-proxy studies integrating archaeobotany (pollen and macroremains) and bioanalytical chemistry are necessary for a comprehensive understanding of *material medica* used by apothecaries to prepare the body for eternity. At this stage, neither chronological evolution nor regional particularism have been highlighted, for example, between France and Italy. There is no doubt that a more robust dataset could allow to investigate these parameters. The survey should also be extended to other countries where previous works have already provided similar results, as in the Netherlands (Vermeeren and Van Haaster 2002) or in the Czech Republic (Beneš et al. 2012), in order to shed light on the mobility of naturalist and medical knowledge in Europe.

This study will provide a new insight into the circulation and the trade of plants and aromatics from the Orient and the New World to Western Europe. An attentive examination of the archaeobotanical assemblages, focused in particular on underrepresented taxa as regional markers, may also reveal that certain European species were not gathered or produced next to the place of use (e.g. Western and Northern France) but rather in Mediterranean area. Furthermore, we will have to consider the botanical composition of apothecary gardens where some exotic species could have been domesticated and multiplied. In addition, beside the necrophagous insects that infest embalmed bodies (Huchet 2010), investigations on the entomofauna accompanying the plant material could define the geographical and ecological origin of these products, and clarify their storage (Kislev 1991). Such study is thus closely related to the history of pharmacy and triggers new research avenues on *materia medica* in use during the Late Middle Ages and the modern period.

Acknowledgments

This work is a part of a doctoral thesis carried out under the supervision of Aline Durand (University of Le Mans, France) and Stefano Campana (Università degli Studi di Siena, Italy). It has been funded by the Vinci programme (French-Italian University), the Fondation des Treilles, the ANR (Agence Nationale de la Recherche, programme EXSUDARCH), and the CNRS through the GDR 3644 BioArcheodat. We thank Bui-Thi-Mai and Michel Girard (CEPAM, UMR 7264), Romain Thomas (CRPP, UMR 7207), Djillali Hadjouis (Service départemental d'archéologie du Val-de-Marne), Patrice Georges-Zimmermann (INRAP), Prof. Paolo Emilio Tomei (Università di Pisa), and the archaeological teams in charge of the excavations in Rennes/Couvent des Jacobins (especially Gaëtan Le Cloirec, Sylvie Duchesne, Fabrice Dedouit, Éric Crubezy and Norbert Telmon) and in Flers/Place Saint-Germain (especially Raphaëlle Lefebvre, Cécile Chapelain de Seréville-Niel and Éric Broine) for their precious help during this research. We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their helpful and constructive comments. Finally we are grateful to the organization committee of the IWGP meeting 2016 for giving us the opportunity to present and publish this work.

Figure captions

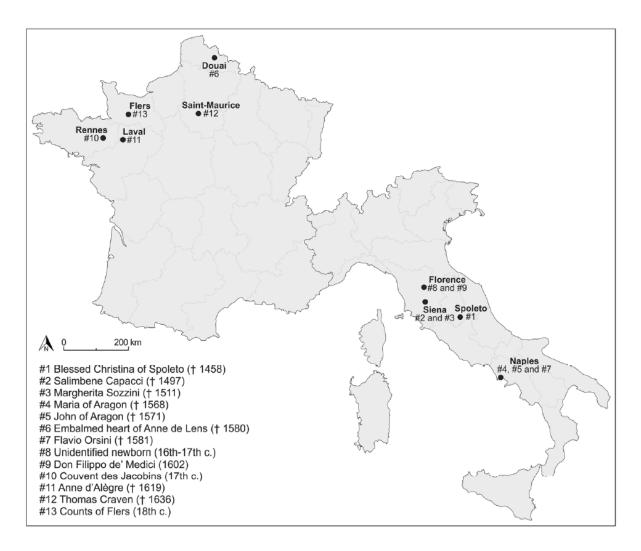


Fig. 1 Map showing the distribution of the archaeobotanical studies (pollen and/or plant macro-remains) of French and Italian embalmed bodies presented in the literature (see Table 4). For the moment, studies are concentrated in North-Western France, in Central Italy and in Naples. This repartition depends on scientific strategies and opportunities and does not reflect historical reality

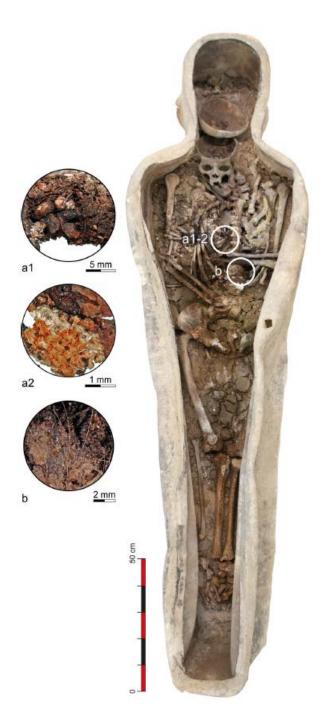


Fig. 2 Lead coffin (SP 4019) excavated at Flers/Saint-Germain in 2014 by INRAP (dir. H. Dupont and R. Lefebvre). This picture was taken during the autopsy achieved in partnership with CRAHAM at the University of Caen. This embalmed body has been identified as Philippe René de la Motte Ango, count of Flers buried in the church of Saint Germain on 15th April 1737, according to church records and the anthropological analysis (Dupont and Lefebvre 2016). This case study presents the characteristic features of most of the Late Medieval and modern embalmed bodies discovered in archaeological context: lead coffin, osteological evidences of craniotomy and thoracotomy, abundant organic materials (human

tissues and hair, textiles, plant and insect remains). Macroscopic images show (a1) crushed female cone and seeds of *Juniperus* embedded in the balm, (a2) piece of textile with a fragment of a female cone pericarp of *Juniperus*, and (b) hair remains (general view: E. Broine; macroscopic images: M.-P. Ruas)



Fig. 3 Some desiccated plant macro-remains from Flers/Saint-Germain (a-c) and Rennes/Les Jacobins (d-l) at different stages of fragmentation: (a) crushed female berry-like cone of *Juniperus communis/oxycedrus*; (b) two seeds of *J. communis/oxycedrus* inside a whole female berry-like cone, some fragments of epicarp (coating) are preserved; (c) two whole seeds of *J. communis/oxycedrus*, a resinous gland is visible; (d) fragments of pericarp of a female berry-like cone of *Juniperus*; (e) triangular scales of a female berry-like cone of *Juniperus*; (f) fragmented seeds of *J. communis/oxycedrus* (left: archaeological specimen; right: modern specimen of *J. communis*); (g) fragments of leaves of *Rosmarinus officinalis*; (h) calyx of *Origanum vulgare* containing two achenes; (i) half mericarps of *Foeniculum vulgare*; (j-m) fragments of cloves (*Syzygium aromaticum*): (j) sagittal fragment of a flower bud (external and internal faces), (k) triangular sepal of the calyx, (l) base of the hypanthium; (m) modern specimen of a clove (macroscopic images: M.-P. Ruas, CNRS-MNHN-SU)

Edited written sources

Barbe S (1693) Le parfumeur françois qui enseigne toutes les manières de tirer les odeurs des fleurs et à faire toutes sortes de compositions de parfums. Avec le secret de purger le tabac en poudre et le parfumer de toutes sortes d'odeurs. Michel Brunet, Lyon

Dejean (1764) Traité des odeurs, suite du traité de la distillation. Chez Nyon, Guillyn & Saugrain, Paris

Digby K (1689) Remedes souverains et secrets experimentez, de M. le Chevalier Digby, Chancelier de la Reine d'Angleterre. Avec plusieurs autres Secrets et parfums curieux pour la conservation de la beauté des dames. New edition, Guillaume Cavelier, Paris

Gannal J-N (1838) Histoire des embaumements et de la préparation des pièces d'anatomie normale, d'anatomie pathologique et d'histoire naturelle, suivie de procédés nouveaux. Ferra, Paris

Grégoire de Tours (edited in 1862) Libri Septem Miraculorum (bilingual edition Latin-French by H L Bordier), tome III. Renouard, Paris

Guibourt N J-B G (1876) Histoire naturelle des drogues simples ou Cours d'histoire naturelle professé à l'École de pharmacie de Paris. 7th edition corrected and enriched by G Planchon, volume 3, Librairie Baillère & Fils, Paris

Mattioli P (1579) Commentaires de M. Pierre André Matthiole, médecin senois, sur les six livres de Pedacius Dioscoride. Translation from Latin into French by J des Moulins, Guili Roville, Lyon

Nouvelle Bible Segond (édition d'étude 2007), Alliance Biblique Universelle, Netherlands

Savary J (1726) Dictionnaire universel de commerce. Posthumous edition, volume 2, Jansons, Amsterdam

General references

Ariès P (1977) L'homme devant la mort. Seuil, Paris

Bande A (2009) Le cœur du roi. Tallandier, Paris

Barbier-Pain D, Ruas M-P, Corbineau R, Duchesne S, Telmon N, Colleter R (2016) Plants of embalming in modern times. Archaeobotanical results from the Jacobins' Convent at Rennes (Brittany, France). Poster of the 17th conference of the International Work Group for Palaeoethnobotany, 4th-9th July 2016, Paris. online:

https://iwgp2016paris.sciencesconf.org/data/pages/Barbier_Pain_etal_posterIWGP_.pdf

Beneš J, Čulíková V, Kosňovskáa J, Frolíkb J, Matiášek J (2012) New plants at Prague Castle and Hradčany in the Early Modern Period: a History of Selected Species. IANSA 3(1):103-114

Buckley SA, Evershed RP (2001) Organic chemistry of embalming agents in Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman mummies. Nature 413:837-841

Carol A (2015) L'embaumement, une passion romantique, France XIXe siècle. Seyssel, Champ Vallon

Charlier P, Poupon J, Jeannel G-F, Favier D, Popescu S-M, Weil R, Moulherat C, Huynh-Charlier I, Dorion-Peyronnet C, Lazar A-M, Hervé C, Lorin de la Grandmaison G (2013) The embalmed heart of Richard the Lionheart (1199 A.D.): a biological and anthropological analysis. Scientific Reports 3:1296. doi:10.1038/srep01296

Chioffi L (1998) Mummificazione e imbalsamazione a Roma ed in altri luoghi del Mondo Romano. Università degli Studi di Roma, Dipartimento di Scienze Archeologiche Antropologiche dell'Antichità, Opuscola Epigraphica 8, Edition Quasar, Roma Chrościcki J A, Hengerer M, Sabatier G (dir.) (2012) Les funérailles princières en Europe, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle. Le grand théâtre de la mort volume 1, Centre de recherche du château de Versailles, Maison des sciences de l'Homme, Collection Aulica, Paris

Ciuffarella L (1998) Palynological analyses of resinous materials from the roman mummy of Grottarossa, second century A.D.: a new hypothesis about the site of mummification. Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology 103:201-208

Colleter R, Dedouit F., Duchesne S, Mokrane F-Z, Gendrot V, Gérard P, Dabernat H, Crubézy E, Telmon N (2016) Procedures and frequencies of embalming and heart extractions in modern period in Brittany. Contribution to the evolution of ritual funerary in Europe. PLoS ONE. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0167988

Corbineau R (2014) Pour une archéobotanique funéraire: enquêtes interdisciplinaires et analyses polliniques autour de la tombe et du corps mort (ère chrétienne, France-Italie), Université du Maine (France).online : <u>http://www.theses.fr/2014LEMA3012</u>

Corbineau R, Georges-Zimmermann P (2015) Plantes et aromates de la préparation des corps au Moyen Âge, In : Paravicini Bagliani A (dir) Parfums et odeurs au Moyen Âge. Science, usages, symboles, Proceedings of the colloque of Louvain-la-Neuve and Leuven, Belgium, 15th-17th march 2012, Firenze, Edizioni del Galluzzo, Micrologus' library 67, pp 161-180

Devriendt W, Venet S, Defgnée A, Garnier N, Gillet B, Hänni C, Rossetti L (2012) Découverte d'un cœur-reliquaire à Douai (Ancienne église Saint-Jacques, place Carnot) : Approche pluridisciplinaire de l'embaumement à l'époque moderne. Archéologie Médiévale, 42 :23-42

Duke J A, Duke P-A, duCellier J L (2008) Duke's handbook of medicinal plants of the Bible. CRC Press, Boca Raton

Dupont H, Lefebvre R (dir) (2016) L'église et le cimetière Saint-Germain à Flers (Orne) (XIIe-XVIIIe s.). Rapport Final d'Opération archéologique, SRA Normandie, INRAP Grand-Ouest, November 2016, Caen

Fornaciari G (1998) Italian mummies. In: Cockburn A, Cockburn E, Reyman T A (ed) Mummies, Disease & Ancient Cultures. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp 266-281 Fornaciari G, Capasso L (1996) Natural and artificial mummies in Italy (13th-19th centuries). In: Spindler K, Wilfing H, Rastbichler-Zissernig E, zur Nedden D, Nothdurfter H (ed) The Man in the Ice, Human Mummies. Springer-Verlag, Wien-New York, pp 195-203.

Fornaciari A, Giuffra V, Marvelli S, Fornaciari G (2008) The blessed Christina from Spoleto: a case of 15th century artificial mummy from Umbria (central Italy). In: Peña P A, Martin C R, Rodriguez A R (eds) Mummies and Science. World Mummies Research, Proceedings of the VIth World Congress on Mummy Studies, Lanzarote 19th-24th February 2007, Academia Canaria de la Historia, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, pp 521-527

Gaude-Ferragu M (2005) D'or et de cendres. La mort et les funérailles des princes dans le royaume de France au bas Moyen Âge. Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, Villeneuve d'Ascq

Georges P (1999) Mourir c'est pourrir un peu... Intentions et techniques contre la corruption des cadavres à la fin du Moyen Age. Micrologus 7:359-382.

Georges P (2006) L'embaumement et le prélèvement du cœur au Moyen Âge : le sciage du sternum. In : Charlier P (ed) Actes du 1^{er} colloque international de Pathographie, Loches 22d-24th april 2005, éditions de Boccard, Paris, pp 99-112

Georges P (2007) L'embaumement en France : le verbe et les actes. In: La poétique. Théorie et pratique, Actes du XVe Congrès international et quinquennal de l'association Guillaume Budé. Les Belles Lettres, Paris, pp 1112-1123

Georges P (2009) Les aromates de l'embaumement médiéval : entre efficacité et symbolisme. In : Paravicini Bagliani A. (ed) Le monde végétal : médecine, botanique, symbolique. Micrologus 30:257-268.

Giesey R E (1960) The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 37, Librairie Droz, Genève

Giuffra V, Naccarato A G, Caramella D, Fornaciari A, Marvelli S, Fornaciari G (2008) The rector of the hospital and his wife: two artificial mummies of the late 15th century from Siena (Central Italy). In: Peña P A, Martin C R, Rodriguez A R (ed) Mummies and Science. World Mummies Research. Proceedings of the VIth World Congress on Mummy Studies, Lanzarote 19th-24th February 2007, Academia Canaria de la Historia, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, pp 529-536

Giuffra V, Fornaciari A, Marvelli S, Marchesini M, Caramella D, Fornaciari G (2011a) Embalming methods and plants in Renaissance Italy: two artificial mummies from Siena (central Italy). Journal of Archaeological Science 38:1949-1956

Giuffra V, Fornaciari A, Marvelli S, Marchesini M, Fornaciari G, Vitiello A (2011b) The children of the Medici, Grand Dukes of Florence: embalming in Renaissance Italy (XVI-XVII century). Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali, Memorie, Serie B 118 :81-88.

Hadjouis D, Corbineau R (2009) Analyses d'une momie d'un protestant anglais mort en 1636 (Saint-Maurice, Val-de-Marne). In : Bizot B, Signoli M (eds) Rencontres autour des sépultures habillées. Actes des journées d'études organisées par le Groupement d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Funéraire et le Service Régional de l'Archéologie de Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur. Carry-le-Rouet (Bouches-du-Rhône). 13-14 décembre 2008, Hautes-Alpes Editions, Gap, pp 127-135

Hadjouis D, Corbineau R, Ruas M.-P, Verdin P (2011) Techniques d'embaumement sur le corps d'un noble anglais mort de la peste (Saint-Maurice, Val-de-Marne). Étude anthropologique et archéobotanique. In : Charlier P (ed) Actes du 3^{ème} Colloque International de Pathographie, Bourges, 3-4-5 avril 2009, De Boccard Editions, Paris, pp 31-62

Hamm S, Bleton J, Connan J, Tchapla A (2005) A chemical investigation by headspace SPME and GC–MS of volatile and semi-volatile terpenes in various olibanum samples. Phytochemistry 66(12):1499-1514

Huchet J-B (2010) Archaeoentomological study of the insect remains found within the mummy of *Namenkhet Amon*, San Lazzaro Armenian Monastery, Venice Italy. Advances in Egyptology, 1:58-80

Jacob De Cordemoy H (1911) Les plantes à gommes et à résines. Doin & Fils, Paris

Kislev M. (1991). Archaeobotany and storage archaeoentomology. In: J. Renfrew (ed) New Light on Ancient Farming. University Press, Edinburgh, pp 121-136

Langenheim JH (2003) Plant resins. Chemistry, evolution, ecology, ethnobotany. Timber Press, Portland/Cambridge

Le Cloirec G (2016) L'étude archéologique du couvent des Jacobins de Rennes (35), du quartier antique à l'établissement religieux. Rapport Final d'Opération archéologique INRAP Grand-Ouest, SRA Bretagne, Cesson-Sévigné

Lieutaghi P (1996) Le livre des bonnes herbes, Actes Sud, First edition 1966, Arles

Marguerie D (1992) L'embaumement du corps découvert dans un cercueil en plomb au Vieux-Château de Laval : analyse des pollens. In : À la rencontre d'Anne d'Alègre, dame de Laval (v. 1565-1619) – Anne d'Alègre et son temps. Exploitation scientifique d'une découverte. Société d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de La Mayenne, La Mayenne : Archéologie, Histoire, supplément 2:93-98

Marinozzi S, Fornaciari G (2005) Le mummie e l'arte medica nell'evo moderno. Medicina nei Secoli, Supplemento 1, Università la Sapienza, Roma

Mathe C, Culioli G, Archier P, Vieillescazes C (2004) Characterization of archaeological frankincense by gas chromatography–mass spectrometry. Journal of Chromatography A 1023(2):277-285

Modugno F, Ribechini E, Colombini MP (2006) Aromatic resin characterization by gas chromatography-mass spectrometry. Raw and archaeological materials. Journal of Chromatography A 1134:298-304.

Mokrane F Z, Colleter R, Duchesne S, Gerard P, Savall F, Crubézy E, Guilbaud-Frugier C, et al (2016) Old Hearts for Modern Investigations: CT and MR for Archaeological Human Hearts Remains. Forensic Science International 268:14-24. doi:10.1016/j.forsciint.2016.08.035

Norri J (2016) Dictionary of medical vocabulary in English, 1375-1550: body parts, sicknesses, instruments, and medicinal preparations. Routledge, London

Perez S (2006) La mort des rois, précédé de Les rois meurent un jour. Jérôme Million Editions, Grenoble

Poux M (2009) De la veillée au tombeau. In : Goudineau C (ed) Rites funéraires à Lugdunum. Errance Editions, Paris, pp 25-46

Ruas M-P (1992) La matière d'embaumement dans la sépulture du château de Laval : analyse des graines. In : À la rencontre d'Anne d'Alègre, dame de Laval (v. 1565-1619) – Anne d'Alègre et son temps. Exploitation scientifique d'une découverte. Société d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de La Mayenne, La Mayenne : Archéologie, Histoire, supplément 2 : 87-92

Vermeeren C, Van Haaster H (2002) The embalming of the ancestors of the Dutch royal family. Vegetation History and Archaeobotany 11:121-126

Chauliac Guy (de) (1890) La grande chirurgie de Guy de Chauliar, chirurgieu, maistre en médecine de l'université de Mondeville Henri (de) (1893) Chirurgie de maître Henri de Mondeville, chirurgien de Philippe le Bel, rei de France. Vigier Jean (1657) La grande chirargie des tuments, en laquelle, selon les anciens Grecs, Latins, Arabes & modernes différents noms, leur origine, leur choix, les principes qu'elles renferment, leurs qualitez, leur étimologie, & tout ce Guybert Philibert (1667) Le medecin chartitable, euseignant la manière de faire & preparer en la maison avec facilité Collective book (1835) Dicrioumaire de médécine ou réportoire général des sciences médicales constidérées sous les approvivez, est contenne la Theorie de Practique très parfeite de tontes les maladies externes, qui surviennen au Vénicher Louis (1699) Traité des embanmements selon les anciens et les modernes avec la description de quelques singularium affectionum corporis humani causa, signa, prognoses & curationes graphice depinguntur, tome V, Guillemeau Jacques (1612) Les auvres de chirurgie de Jacques Guillemeau, chirurgien ordinative du roy et tivre à Malgatigne J-F (1841) Œuvres complétes d'Ambroise Paré, revues et collationnées sur toutes les éditions, tome 3. "oreest Pleter (van) (1653) Observationum et curatum medicinaliam, libri dnodecim altimi, în quibus ournine et cemety Nicolas (1714) Tratité intiversel des drogues simples mises en ordre alphiabélique où l'on retrouve leurs lamnal Jean-Nicolas (1841) Histoire des embauwements et de la préparation des pièces d'anatomie normale, Gannal Jean-Nicolas (1841) Histoire des embauwements et de la préparation des pièces d'anatomie normale, & peu de frais, les remedes propres à toutes maladies, selon l'avis du Medecin ordinaire, Beaujollin, Lyon Montpellier, composée en l'an 1363 (translated from Latin to French by E. Nicaise), Alcan, Paris qu'il y a de particulier dans les Animaux, dans les Vegetaux & dans les Minemaux, Houry, Paris d'amatonie pathologique et d'histoire naturelle, suivie de procédés nouveaux, Desloges, Paris d'amatomie pathologique et d'histoire maturelle, suivie de procédés nouveant, Desloges, Paris composée de 1306 à 1320 (translated from Latin to French by E. Nicaise), Félix Alcan Paris Charas Moïse (1676) Pharmacopée royale galenique et chymique, chez l'Auteur, Paris compositions balsamiques & edorantes, Girin, Paris Document edited by Marinozzi and Formaciari (2005) Socument edited by Marinozzi and Fornaciari (2005) corps humain, Champion et Fourmy, Lyon Berthelin, Rothomagi Parts, Buon, Paris Baillière, Paris Source Latin/French Language French French French French French French French French Italian Trench French Italian Latin Latin Country France taly Ē italy Italy daly. 16th-17th c. 3th-14th c. 17th-18th c. 5th-16th c. 6th-17th c. 14th c. l6th c. 17th c. 7th c. 7th c. Pth c. £ 1503 1690 1715 Date Anna Victoria of Bavaria (Dauphine of France) Henri de Mondeville Jacques Guillemeau Recipe prescribed by Recipe prescribed by Recipe prescribed by Recipe prescribed by Embalming of Maria Recipe prescribed by Ulisse Aldrovandi Embalming of Pope Giovanni da Vigo Embalming of Pope Philibert Guybert Guy de Chauliac Cintio d'Amato Nicolas Lemeny Ambroise Paré Alexander VI Moïse Charas Alexander V Embalming of Jean Vigier

Table 1 Corpus of written sources

Text

Collective book (1835) Dictionnaire de médécine ou répertoire général des sciences médicales considérées sous les

rapports théorique et pratique, tome XI, Librairie de la Faculté de médecine, Paris

sue Jean-Joseph (1765) Anthropotomie ou l'art d'hijecter, de dissigner, d'embanner et de conserver les parties du

corps humain, Cavelier, Paris

French

France

l8th c.

Recipe prescribed by Recipe prescribed by

Jean-Joseph Sue

Gaspard Murat

King Louis XIV

French

France

19th c.

rapports théorique et pratique, tome XI, Librairie de la Faculté de médecine, Paris

Table 2 List of plants used as "plant organs" for embalming according to written sources

Taxonomic hypot	heses		Primary terms transcribed from written sources						
Family	Genus / Species	Organ Used"	French	Latin					
Acoraceae	Acorus (cf. colanus)	Le / Ro	Jone odoraut	Calamo aromatico	Acorus verus / Calanus aromaticus	8			
Apiaceae Aristolochineeae Asteraceae	Anethum graneolons		Ameth		Anethory	4			
		Ro	Angélique / angélique de Bohême		Angelica	- 5			
	Caram	Se	Carvi			1			
	Coriandrum	Se	Coriandre	Coriandolo					
	y Genus / Species Organ Used French ecae Acorra (cf. calamas) Angelica Ro Angelipse / angelips Caraan Se Carris Cariandram Se Carris Cariandram Se Carris Cariandram Se Carris Cariandram Se Carris Cariandram Se Carris Contenson Se Carris Fornicalan Ro Impératoire Phophrella Se Ants Artentiska Le / Fl Abrinthe Artentiska Le / Fl Abrinthe Cariana Ro Carline Cariana Ro Carline Cariana Ro Carline Cariana Ro Carline Cariana Ro Carline Cariana Ro Carline Cariana Ro Carline Carlina Ro Carline Carline Carlina Ro Carline Carline Carlina Ro Carline Carline Carlina Ro Carline C	Cumin	Cimino	Cuminum	6				
	Ferula		Asa fatida / assa fatida			2			
	Forniculum	Se	Fenonii			1			
	Imperatoria	Ro	Impératoire		Radix imperatoriae	- 5			
	Pimpinella	Se	Ants			- 3			
Aristolochineeae	Aristolochia	Ro	Aristoloche / aristoloche ronde		Arístolochía rotunda	6			
Asteraceae					Radix imperatoriae Aristolochia rotunda Absimhtum Cartina Camomilla Costus hortensis Colocynthis	1			
		Le/Fl		Assenzio	Absinihium	1			
						1			
					Carlina	- 1			
			Centourée grande / centourée majeure			2			
	Chawaewellow	FI			Camowilla	- 6			
						- 1			
			Balsamite / menthe-coq		Costus hortensis	2			
Caprifoliaceae		Ro				- 3			
Costaceae						1			
Cucurbitaceae			Coloquinte / pomme de coloquinte			5			
Cupressaceae				Ciprezzo (noce)	Nux cupressi	- 6			
						- 3			
Cyperaceae	Cypenes		Souchet		Cypenus	6			
Euphorbiaceae						1			
Fabaceae	Melilotus		Mélihot		Melilotor	- 6			
Fagacese	Quercus	Wo				- 4			
Gentianacene			Centaurée petite / centaurée mineure		Centaurium minor	- 4			
	Gentianaceae (undef.)	Ro	Genthane		Gentiona / Radix gentianae	- 9			
Iridaceae	Inis	Ro	Iris / iris de Florence		Ireos Florentiae	10			
	Crocus		Safran	Zaffrana		1			
Laminceae	Clinopodium	Le	Calavient		Calamentus	3			
	Mentha	Le	Batone / herbe à baume		Balsannan / Menta hortensis	8			
	Ocimum	Le	Basilic			2			
	Origanum	Le / Fl	Marjolaine		Majorana	- 10			
	Origanum	Le	Origan		·	3			
		Le	Hisope			- 5			
		F1 / F1		Lavendola	Lavandula	10			
	Marrabian	Le	Marrube blanc			2			
	Melissa	Le	Méllisze			4			
						1			
		Le			Mentha	7			
	Mentha		Monthe d'eau			1			
	Mentha (cf. pulephan)	FI	Pouliot / pouliot de montagne		Pulegium	- 5			
				Rosmarino	Rosmarinus	- 9			
				Salvia	Salvia	8			
						3			
					Scordium	6			
				Serpillo		3			
					Thomas	- 9			
auraceae			Camelle / cinnanome	Cinannono	Christian	- 1			
and an environment				21000100000	Cassa lignea	2			
			course officers		Cassia inghea Cassia caryophyllata	1			
		Le	Laurbar		Laurus	3			
(settern come					Lowing	1			
Lythraceae Muricticoceae				Mace		2			
Myristicnceae					Max messihota	- 9			
1	Myristica	Se L = / Es	Noix de muscade	Noce moscata	Nux moschata				
Myrtaceae	Myrtus	Le/Fr	Myrte / myrtille Clau da alaafa / alaafa	Mirtillo rosso	Converballan (Converballan	2			
Nearrosse	Syzyghan	FI	Clou de girofle / girofle Bolena (noime Mano (noime noim	Garofalo	Caryophyllon / Garyophyllon	13			
Piperaceae	Piper		Poèvre / poèvre blanc / poèvre noir Fories		Piper nigrum	6			
Poacese	undefined	11	Farine	P	Recorder	1			
Rosaceae	Rosa	FL	Rose / rose rosege	Rosa / rosa rossa	Rosa rubra	10			
Rubiaceae	Cinchona		Quinquina		(T.)	1			
Rutaceae	Cinus	Fr	Citron (écorce)		Citrus	4			
	Citrus	Fr	Orange séchée			6			
	Citrus	Fr	Ecorce d'onange		Cortex arantionun	1			
	Ruta	Le	Rue		Rata	- 4			
Santalaceae	Santolum	Wo	Bois de santal / sandaux / santal citrin	Sandalo	Santahow	- 9			
Violacese	Vlola		Violette			1			
Vitaceae	Vitis		Cendre de sarment			1			
V Halceate		Se	Cardamone / petit cardamon		Cardammum welgaris	4			
	Elettaria	50	Carabinone / pere carabinon						
Zingiberaceae	Elettaria Zingiber	Ro	Gingembre		Zinziberis	6			

Table 3	List of "plant extracts"	used for embalming	according to written sources

Taxonomic hypotheses		Primary terms transcribed from written sources						
Family	Genus/Species	French	Italian	Latin				
Anacardiaceae	Pistacia	mastic (cf. also térébenhine, Pinaceae)	mastice					
Asteraceae	Chamaemelum	huile de camomille		camomilla	2			
Burseraceae	Boswellia	encens/oliban	incenso		8			
	Canarium	gomme élémi			1			
	Commiphora	myrrhe	mirra	myrrha				
Cistaceae	Cistus	labdanum		labdaman	2			
Cupressaceae	Tetraclinis articulata	sandaraque			2			
Fabaceae	Acacia	acacia	acacia	acacia	3			
	Acacia	gomme arabique			1			
	Astragalus	adragant /dragacanth			-1			
	Copaifera	baume de Copahu			3			
	Myroxylon	baume du Pérou			5			
Hypericaceae	Hypericum	huile d'hypericum			1			
Lamiaceae	Lavandula	huile d'aspic/huile de spica	spica germana	olei de spica	4			
	Lavandula	huile lavande	lavendola	oleum lavendulae	3			
	Thymus	huile de thym			1			
Lauraceae	Aniba	bois de rose		lignum rhodii	4			
	Cinnamomum	camphre			3			
	Laurus	huile de laurier		laurus	1			
Myristicaceae	Myristica	huile de muscade		oleum nucis moschatae	2			
Oleaceae	Olea	huile d'olive			1			
Papaveraceae	Papaver	laudanum			1			
Pinaceae	Abtes/Larix/Pinus (cf. also Anacardiaceae, Pistacia)	térébenthine/térébenthine de Venise		terebenthina Veneta	8			
	Cedrus	bois de cèdre			1			
	Pinus	résine de pin	resina di pino		1			
	Pinus and other Coniferae	colophane/résine colophanie			1			
Rosaceae	Rosa	eau de rose			2			
	Rosa	huile de rose			2			
Rutaceae	Citrus	fleur d'oranger		florum arantiorum	3			
Styracaceae	Styrax	benjoin		assa odorata/benioin	10			
	Styrax	styrax/styrax calamite/styrax liquide	storace liquida	storax calamitos	12			
Xanthorrhoeaceae	Aloe	aloès	aloe	aloe	13			
	Aloe	aloès caballin		aloes cabillinae	2			
	Aloe	aloès hépatique			1			
	Aloe	aloès succotrin		aloes succotrinae	3			
Indeterminate		bois d'aloès/calembour		lignum aloes	-4			
		gomme tacamahaca/tomataca		tacamahaca odorata	3			
		polx/polx noire/alkitran	pece/pece negra		3			
		sang-dragon		sanguis draconis	- 3			

Code	Individual	Date	Location	Reference				
#1	Blessed Christina of Spoleto 1458 Basilica of San Gregorio Maggiore (Spoleto, Umbria, Italy)		Fornaciari et al. (2008)					
#2	Salimbene Capacci (Rector of the Hos- pital of Santa Maria della Scala)			Giuffra et al. (2008, 2011a)				
#3	Margherita Sozzini (Salimbene Capacci's wife)	1511	Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala (Siena, Tuscany, Italy)	Giuffra et al. (2008, 2011a)				
#4	Maria of Aragon	1568	Basilica of San Domenico Maggiore (Naples, Campania, Italy)	Marinozzi and Fornaciari (2005)				
#5	John of Aragon	1571	Basilica of San Domenico Maggiore (Naples, Campania, Italy)	Marinozzi and Fornaciari (2005)				
#6	Embalmed heart of Anne de Lens	1580	Church of Saint Jacques (Douai, Nord, France)	Devriendt et al. (2012)				
#7	Flavio Orsini (cardinal)	1581	Basilica of San Domenico Maggiore (Naples, Campania, Italy)	Marinozzi and Fornaciari (2005)				
#8	Unidentified newborn	16–17th c	Basilica of San Lorenzo (Florence, Tuscany, Italy)	Giuffra et al. (2011b)				
#9	Don Filippo (son of Ferdinando I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany)	1602	Basilica of San Lorenzo (Florence, Tuscany, Italy)	Giuffra et al. (2011b)				
#10	Cardiotaphs from the Couvent des Jacobins			Barbier-Pain, Ruas and Thomas in Le Cloirec (2016), Barbier-Pain et al. (2016)				
#11	Anne d'Alègre (countess of Laval)	1619	Old Castle of Laval (Laval, Pays de la Loire, France)	Marguerie (1992), Ruas (1992)				
#12	Thomas Craven	1636	Old Protestant cemetery (Saint-Mau- rice, Île-de-France, France)	Hadjouis and Corbineau (2009), Hadjouis et al. (2011)				
#13	Lead coffins of the counts of Flers	18th c	Excavation in Place Saint-Germain (Flers, Normandy, France)	Corbineau and Ruas in Dupont and Lefe- bvre (2016)				

Table 5 Exhaustive list of taxa identified by archaeobotanical macro- and micro-remains (pollen, seeds, fruits, flowers, leaves, pedicels, wood, fibres) at the 13 sites of the corpus (see Table 4)

Taxa Amaranthaceae Amaranthaceae indif. Beta-type Chenopodium ambrosioïdes Chenopodium cf. Anacardiaceae Pistacia-type Apiaceae Anethum graveolens Angelica sylvestris/ archangelica Apiaceae indif. Coriandrum sativum Daucus carota Foeniculum vulgare Myrrhis odorata Pimpinella anisum P. anisum-type P. anisum/soxifraga Araliaceae Hedera helix Asteraceae Anthemis-type Artemisia absinthium cf. Artemisia sp. Artemisia vulgaris Artemisia vulgaris cf. Artemisia vulgaris-type Artemisia/Matricaria-type Aster-type Asteraceae indif. Asteroïdeae Carduaceae Carduus-type Centaurea cyanus Centaurea jacea-type Centaurea sp. Chamaemehum nobile Cichorioïdeae Cirsium-type Crepis capillaris Crepis-type Hypochaeris glabra Leontodon autumnalis/nudicaulis Leucanthemum vulgare Matricaria ef. Matricaria chamomilla Tanaxacum-type Betulaceae Alnus sp. . Betula sp. Corylus avellana Corylus sp. Boraginaceae Boraginaceae indif. Borago officinalis

Brassicaceae Brassicaceae indif. Hesperis matronalis Sinapis sp. Sinapis-type Campanulaceae Campanulaceae indif. Cannabaceae Cannabis/Humulus-type Cannabis sativa Humulus humahus Capparaceae Capparis rupestris cf. Capparis sp. Caprifoliaceae Scabiosa columbaria-type Succisa ef. Caryophyllaceae Arenaria serpyllifolia Caryophyllaceae indif. Silene dioica-type Silene sp. Stellaria media Cistaceae Cistus albidus-type Cistus salvifolius-type Cistus sp. Cupressaceae Cupressaceae indif. Juniperus cf. Juninerus communis/oxycedrus Cyperaceae Cyperaceae indif. Scirpus sp. Ericaceae Erica sp. Rhododendron-type Euphorbiaceae Mercurialis annua Fabaceae Astragalus-type Fabaceae indif. Cytisus/Genista-type Melilotus albus Melilotus sp. Onobrychis-type Trifolium-type Fagaceae Castanea sativa Fagus sp. Quercus coccifera/ilex-type Quercus deciduous-type Quercus robur-type Gentianaceae Centaurium erythraea cf. Centaurium-type

Juglandaceae Juglans regia Juglans sp. Juncaceae Juncus-type Lamiaceae Ajuga sp. Clinopodium nepeta Lamiaceae indif. Lamium sp. Lavandula cf. Marrubium/Mentha-type Melittis sp. Mentha longifolia Mentha sp. Mentha-type Origanum cf. O. majorana/vulgare-type Origanum vulgare Phlomis sp. Rosmarinus cf. Rosmarinus officinalis Salvia pratensis-type Salvia sp. Teucrium scordium Teucrium scorodonia cf. Teucrium sp. Thymus cf. Thymus serpythum Thymus vulgaris Thymus vulgaris cf. Lauraceae Laurus nobilis Liliaceae Liliaceae indif. Linaceae Linum usitatissimum ef. Malvaceae Malvaceae indif. Tilia sp. Magnoliaceae Magnolia grandiflora cf. Myrtacene Myrtus communis M. communis ssp. tarentina Myrtus-type Syzygium aromaticum Nymphaeaceae Nymphaea sp. Oleaceae Fraxinus sp. Olea europaea Papaveraceae Papaver-type Pinaceae Abies sp. Cedrus sp.

Pinus sp. Plantaginaceae Plantago lanceolata-type P. major/media-type Poaceae Alopecurus sp. Anthoxanthum odoratum Avena/Triticum-type Cerealia-type Festuca-type Hordeum-type Panicum miliaceum Poaceae indif. Secale-type Triticum sp. Polygonaceae Fagopyrym tataricum-type Polygonaceae indif. Polygomum aviculare-type Polygonum sp. Rumex acetosa-type Rumex aquaticus-type Rumex sp. Ranunculaceae Helleborus foetidus-type Ranunculaceae indif. Ranunculus acris-type Rosaceae Prumis-type Rosa sp. Rosaceae indif. Sanguisorba minor-type Rubiaceae Galium palustre Galium-type Rubiaceae indif. Rutaceae Ruta sp. Salicaceae Salix sp. Scrophulariaceae Scrophulariaceae indif. Typhaceae Sparganium sp. Verbenaceae Verbena officinalis Vitaceae Vitis vinifera Ulmaceae Ulmus sp. Urticaceae Urtica dioica-type U. pilulifera-type Violaceae Viola tricolor-type Xanthorrhoeaceae Aloe vera cf.

Code (see Table 4) Country		#1 lt	#2 lt	#3 It	#4 It	#5 It	#6 Fr	#7 It	#8 It	#9 It	410 Fr	#11 Fr	#12 Fr	#U Fr
Ameranthaceae	Amaranthaceae indif.		Р	Р										
	Chenopodium cf.		P								-			
Apincene	Apiaceae indif.		P								P			
	Anethun graveolens Angelica archangelica/sylvestris		P				р							
	Coriandrum sativum						ŀ.							м
	Dancus carota													M
	Foeniculum vulgare		P								MR			
	Myrrhis odorata		-				р				12115			
	Pimpinella anisum						P							
	Pimpinella anisum/saxifraga											MR.		
Asteraceae	Asteraceae indif.										MR.	P		M
	Anthemis type										P			
	Artemisia sp.				MR		P				P	Р	P	P
	Artemisia absinthium cf.						Р						MR	М
	Artemisia absinthium		P								MR			
	Artemisia vulgaris type		P								MR			
	Artemisia vulgaris Chamaemelum nobile						Р				DOD.			
	Leucanthemun vulgare						r				MR			
	Matricavia cf.		Р	Р							19314			
	Matricaria chamomilla		-	-					Р		MR.			
Cannabaceae	Cannabis sativa	MR/P							_					
	Humalus lupulus										MR			
Caryophyllaceae	Caryophyllaceae indif.											P		
_	Arenaria cf. serpyllifolla											MR		
	Silene sp.											MR		
	Stellaria media											MR.	MR	
Cistaceae	Cistus sp.									Р				
Cupressaceae	Juniperus communis/oxycedrus						n				MR P	MR		M
Fabaceae	Cytisus/Genista type Melilotus sp.						Р				MR			
	Melilotus albus						р				DUR			
Fagaceae	Quercus coccifera												MR	
	Quercus deciduous type									P				
Gentianaceae	Centaurian crythraea cf.									-				р
Lamiaceae	Lamiaceae indif.						Р				MR/P	MR/P	P	M
	Ajugu replans											MR		
	Clinopodium nepeta										MR			М
	Lomium sp.						Р			P				
	Lavandula cf.										MR			
	Lavandula sp.	MR												
	Marrubium/Mentha type										MR			
	Mellitis sp.		Р	Р						P		MR		р
	Mentha type Mentha longifolia		P	r						P	MR	316		r
	Origanun majorana/nılgare type										DOB.		MR	
	Origanan valgare										MR.	MR	AIN	
	Phiomis sp.									Р				
	Rosmarinus cf.		MR/P	Р						_				
	Rosmarinus officinalis	MR			MR	MR		MR			MR			
	Salvia sp.		MR/P	MR						P				
	Salvia pratensis type													Р
	Tencrinw sp.								Р	Ρ				
	Tencrium chamaedrys								Р					
	Tencrinw scorodonia cf.										MR			
	Thymus ef.			Р								MP		
	Thymus scrpyflun Thymus ynhysik										3.40	MR.		
Lauraceae	Thymus vulgaris Laurus nobilis				MR	MR		MR			MR	MR		
Linaceae	Linun usitatissimun cf.		MR/P	MP	NIK	MIK		MR			MR			
Myrtaceae	Myrtus type		2010 C	305							P			
and a second	Myrtus communis	Р					р							
	Myrtus communis ssp. tarentina	-			MR	MR	-							
	Syrygium aromaticum										MR			
Oleaceae	Olea europaea		P	P					P	P				
Poaceae	Poaceae indif.		MR	MR								MR/P		
	Poaceae type										MR			
	Alopecurus sp.		MR											
	Festuca sp.											MR		
	Panicum miliaceum											MR		
Rosaceae	Rosa sp.						р							~
Scrophulariaceae	Scrophulariaceae indif.		-											р
Xanthorrhoeaceae	Aloe vera cf.		P											

Table 6 Synthesis of archaeobotanical data [macro-remains (seeds, fruits, floral fragments, pedicets, leaves, fibres): MR; pollen: P] from French and Italian embalmed bodies (see Table 4)