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'Fro Paris to Inglond'? The danse macabre in text and image in late-medieval England

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CHAPTER 8

'For no man mai fro dethes stroke fle'

Death and *danse macabre* iconography in memorial art

SOPHIE OOSTERWIJK

The personified figure of Death occurs frequently on tomb monuments from the fifteenth century onwards: a famous late example is Louis-François Roubiliac's dramatic monument at Westminster Abbey, which shows Lady Elizabeth Nightingale (d. 1731) being assailed by Death. This aggressive personification of Death is very different from the recumbent cadaver figures found on transi *tombs from the late fourteenth century on, although both types may engage in a dialogue with the living. In some cases, the image of Death confronting and even attacking the living was directly inspired by the* danse macabre, *in which metaphors about dialogue, dance and violence are curiously mixed. Evidence from commemorative art thus helps us reassess the importance of this medieval theme even after the Reformation. This essay furthermore aims to show how prints may have influenced tomb design and how patrons chose not only tomb monuments to be remembered by, but also other forms of memorial.*

Introduction

To the casual viewer, the incised tomb slab of 'vice-pastor' Andreas Dix (d. 1711) in the Sint Martinuskerk at Wijk near Maastricht (Fig. 1) might at first sight appear to be an example of the type of cadaver monument that emerged in the later fourteenth century.[1] The chronogrammatic motto 'ECCE sUM QUoD ERIS' (Behold, I am what you will be) to which the skeleton points with his bony left hand appears to indicate that this is indeed Dix himself speaking to us from his tomb. Moreover, the biretta worn by the reclining skeleton suggests that he represents the deceased priest, just as the mitre that acts as a headrest for the recumbent cadaver effigy to Bishop Bush (d. 1558) in Bristol Cathedral denotes his status and identity.[2] An earlier memorial slab to Abbot Nicholas Mannis (d. 1501) at the Benedictine abbey church in Ringsted (Denmark) features a standing verminous cadaver who likewise has a staff and mitre as evidence of the identity and status of the deceased (Fig. 2).[3]

However, the arrow or dart in the bony right hand of the skeleton at Wijk is a traditional attribute of Death as the universal destroyer of man, which suggests it is Death himself who has adopted the priest's headgear in mockery. Such appropriation by Death of attributes belonging to the deceased is characteristic of the satirical aspects of many *danse macabre* (or Dance of Death) schemes. Examples of such satire abound in the famous woodcut series designed by Hans Holbein the Younger in the early 1520s when he was living in Basel, *e.g.* in the scene where Death leads away the fat abbot while sporting both the latter's mitre and staff (Fig. 3).[4] Death also wears a cardinal's hat while approaching the pope and a stole while rising up behind the preacher in his pulpit. In another woodcut, he wears a cuirass over a mail shirt (or haubergeon) as he gleefully transfixes the knight with a lance instead of with a spear or dart – his traditional weapons (Fig. 4). The armour on both figures is accurately depicted but Death's looks late-fifteenth-century in style and dilapidated, which may imply that he is wearing the spoils of another knight killed at an earlier date.[5]

1. Incised tomb slab of 'vice-pastor' Andreas Dix (d. 1711) in the Sint Martinuskerk at Wijk near Maastricht (Netherlands).

Photo from the Greenhill collection now held by the Society of Antiquaries of London

2. Verminous cadaver with mitre and staff on the memorial slab to Abbot Nicholas Mannis (d. 1501), Benedictine abbey church at Ringsted (Denmark).

Photo: Jerome Bertram

If the iconography on Dix's monument seems confused, the ambiguity is not unprecedented. It is often not clear whether the cadaver on double-decker monuments represents the deceased or an allegorical representation of Death, especially on joint monuments where there is but a single cadaver figure against the double effigies of the deceased *au vif*.[6] In many *danse macabre* depictions it is equally unclear whether the skeletal figures represent personified Death himself or rather the dead counterparts of the living;[7] for instance, one of Holbein's woodcuts shows two cadavers startling the duchess with a musical recital as she lies in bed. Contrary to what the term implies, however, the *danse* is not solely (if at all) about music and dancing with Death or the dead. The literary *danse* is a dialogue poem but, in a curious mix of metaphors, there are also frequent allusions to violent assault and to Death's 'stroke' that are part of the wider Death iconography. The arrow or dart is, therefore, a sure indication that the skeleton at Wijk represents Death personified, who also features on many earlier monuments across Europe. Nor is it just a token attribute: all too often, the dart is actually employed by Death to despatch his victim, thereby illustrating what the Middle English poet John Lydgate described in *The Dance of Death* as 'the sodeyne vyolence / Of cruel dethe [...] / Which sleeth allas by stroke of pestilence'.[8]

3–4. Hans Holbein the Younger, (left) *Death and the Abbot* and (right) *Death and the Knight*, woodcuts designed in the early 1520s, first published in 1538 as part of a series entitled *Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort.*

Examples of *danse macabre* influence on Continental monuments

The first recorded example of the *danse macabre* in art was a famous mural with an accompanying dialogue poem that was painted onto the walls of a charnel house in the parish cemetery of Les Saints Innocents in Paris between August 1424 and Lent 1425. This mural contained the figure of a king towards the start of the *danse* as well as a dead king at the very end, and there is reason to believe that the scheme may in some way have commemorated King Charles VI, who had died on 21 October 1422; the origins of the theme lie probably in the fourteenth century, however.[9] The *danse* then spread with remarkable speed across Europe and into different media, such as manuscript illumination, stained glass, and sculpture; not much later, German printmakers began to exploit the popularity of the *Totentanz* through woodcuts. The performative nature of the dialogue between the dead and the living as well as the dramatic impact of their painted encounter made the *danse* equally adaptable to actual performances, of which there are some records.[10] Because of this wide dissemination, one might also expect to find *danse macabre* influences in tomb iconography from the fifteenth century onward, but to date little attention has been given to discussions of this theme in tomb design.

The *danse macabre* originally consisted of a chain of alternating dead and living dancers, but its character changed dramatically when artists adapted it to book format, which dictated that the chain should be split up. Whereas Guy Marchant printed two pairs of dancers per page in his 1485 edition of the Parisian *Danse Macabre*, some earlier artists had already chosen to assign each pair a separate page or vignette, an example being the series of *danse macabre* roundels in the margins of a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430–35 in New York (Morgan Library, MS M.359, fols 123r–151r).[11] Holbein's woodcuts are another example of such division of the *danse* into separate scenes, complete with settings appropriate to each character. Also important to note is that the original dialogue between the dead (or Death) and the living

is omitted altogether in many illustrations of the *danse*. The images were evidently believed to function well on their own and to be recognisable as *danse macabre* scenes without accompanying texts, while conversely the majority of manuscript copies of *Danse Macabre* and *Dance of Death* poems contain no illustrations.

One local adaptation of the Paris mural for commemorative purposes is a lost mural that was formerly situated in the Orléans family chapel in the church of the Célestins in Paris, as recorded in a Gaignières drawing (Col. pl. 1).[12] The painting commemorated King Charles VI's younger brother Louis, duke of Orléans, who was assassinated in the streets of Paris in 1407 on the orders of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy. It was only later in the fifteenth century, however, that Louis' grandson King Louis XII commissioned this mural, which showed Death aiming his dart at the kneeling duke. The dramatic impact of the scene and the motto 'IVVENES AC SENES RAPIO' (I kill young and old alike) on the scroll that curls around the tree in the centre may reflect the horror still felt at the political murder of a royal prince in the prime of life. At the same time, the motto echoes the general message of the *danse macabre* that Death makes no distinction between young or old, and one vital source of inspiration is likely to have been the famous mural in the cemetery of Les Saints Innocents not too far from Les Célestins on the right bank of the Seine.

The dissemination of the *danse macabre* in print meant that woodcuts and engravings could conveniently serve as models or sources of inspiration to artists everywhere, including those responsible for designing tomb monuments. One likely example of such iconographic cross-over from print into sculpture is the memorial slab of Agnes von Dienheim (d. 1518) and her naked son in the churchyard at Oberwesel am Rhein (Germany): the pose of mother and child is very similar to that of Death and the naked infant in a woodcut from a *Totentanz* edition reprinted in nearby Mainz in 1492, except that in the woodcut Death has appropriated the child's whirligig.[13] No model is known for the incised tomb slab of Ghisiaenike van de Kerove (d. 1557) at Nieuwkapelle in West-Flanders (Belgium), which shows Death transfixing the swaddled infant with his dart (Fig. 5).[14] Even so, it is probable that the artist responsible for the dramatic design of this slab found inspiration in the *danse macabre*, in which the infant is a regular participant.[15] There is no dialogue, however, and Death's aggression towards the helpless child in the Nieuwkapelle slab is more in line with Holbein's woodcut of Death and the knight (Fig. 4), albeit that the knight more appropriately dies by his own weapon.

An ambiguous case is that of the commemorative slab to the architect Guillaume Le Telier (d. 1484) in the church of Notre-Dame at Caudebec-en-Caux in France (Fig. 6).[16] The slab itself is a nineteenth-century replacement of the original memorial stone that was broken around 1815, but it is believed to be a fairly faithful copy. To the left of the epitaph is an incised skeletal figure with the typical tools of an architect, *viz.* a pair of dividers and a set-square: the figure may once again represent Death personified with the attributes of the deceased, yet there is no cogent reason why the figure should not be interpreted as Le Telier himself in the guise of a *transi*. What makes the Caudebec slab even more intriguing is the possibility that a *danse macabre* may have been performed in the church in 1393. The idea of such a performance is crucial in discussions about the origins of the theme and its subsequent development, although written accounts of medieval drama at this time are rare.[17] Unfortunately, the brief description by Abbé Miette (an antiquarian conducting research in Normandy before the French Revolution) of a lost record about such a performance in the Caudebec church archive is too vague to be accepted as firm evidence.[18] Yet new ideas about the origins of the theme in the fourteenth century no longer rule out some kind of *danse macabre* enactment at this early a date. It is questionable whether such a performance in 1393 could have inspired the iconography on Le Telier's memorial some ninety years later, however, unless proof is found of a continuing tradition of dramatic enactment of the *danse* in this

left

5.
Incised tomb slab of Ghisiaenike van de Kerove (d. 1557) at Nieuwkapelle in West-Flanders (Belgium), showing Death transfixing the swaddled infant.

Photo from the Greenhill collection now held by the Society of Antiquaries of London

below

6.
Incised slab commemorating the church architect Guillaume Le Telier (d. 1484), church of Notre-Dame, Caudebec-en-Caux, Seine-Maritime (France): the slab is supposed to be a fairly faithful copy after the original memorial which was destroyed around 1815.

Photo: Paul Cockerham

region. In any case, Le Telier died only a year prior to the publication of Marchant's first *Danse Macabre* edition, by which time the theme was already sufficiently well known to have served as an inspiration to sculptors alongside the established tradition of cadaver monuments.

Another example of a tomb slab with *danse macabre* connections can be found in the Annakapelle at the convent of St Mang in Füssen, Bavaria (Germany).[19] Abbot Gregor Gerhoch ruled the convent from 1537 until his death in 1554, but his abbacy was marred by wars. In 1546, when the convent was at the mercy of anti-imperial troops, the abbot and his monks were threatened with hanging until they agreed to open their doors and allow the troops to plunder their monastery. This earlier brush with death may have inspired the design for the abbot's monument. On his memorial slab, Abbot Gregor is shown half-length on the left as he faces the figure of Death on the right; his rosary and crosier are matched by Death's scythe and hourglass (Fig. 7).[20] The Latin epitaph is ambiguous: is it the abbot who addresses the viewer with the words 'O homo' in a sermon about the inevitability of death, or is it Death who teaches the abbot that he cannot evade death? The text reads:

> O homo terram geris, terram teris,
> in terram reverteris quare cum tumu
> lum cernis mortalia non spernis per
> missam enim sortem poteris evadere
> mortem Anno domini Millessimo
> Quingentesimo 54^{0} 4to octobri Obijt
> Venerabilis Pater et domin(us) Gregori(us)
> Gerhoch, Abbas hui(us) Monasterii.
>
> *(O man! You are clothed with earth, you tread upon earth, you will return to earth. Why, when you see the tomb, do you not spurn mortal things? Does the lot you have been given permit you to evade death? AD 1554, on 4 October died the Venerable father and Lord Abbot Gerhoch, abbot of this monastery.)*[21]

7. Memorial slab to Abbot Gregor Gerhoch (d. 1554) in the Annakapelle at the convent of St Mang in Füssen, Bavaria (Germany).
Photo reproduced by courtesy of Theodor Riedmiller

The abbot had long been a regular character in the *danse*, not just in Holbein's woodcut series but also in the mural in Paris and in the famous *Totentanz* wall-painting of *c.*1440 in the cemetery of the Dominican convent in Basel. Thus, by this time, the *danse macabre* was well known throughout Europe, and it is likely to have been the source of inspiration for the sculptor responsible for the tomb slab at Füssen. Yet it may have been the example of Abbot Gregor's memorial that in turn inspired Abbot Matthias Schober (r. 1579–1604) to commission a series of *Totentanz* paintings on panel for the convent chapel in Füssen from the

local painter Jakob Hiebeler in 1602. As if in response to his predecessor's monument, Abbot Matthias even had himself included in one of the panels.[22]

Danse macabre influences on English monuments

The *danse macabre* is now so little known in Britain that it might seem never to have been as popular here as it was on the Continent. Nonetheless, Lydgate's Middle English version was among the earliest adaptations of the French poem that he encountered in the mural during his stay in Paris in 1426.[23] Within a short time, Lydgate's own poem – or a version of it – came to be incorporated in the painted scheme that was commissioned by the Town Clerk John Carpenter for the walls of Pardon Churchyard at Old St Paul's Cathedral, London.[24] One problem for scholars is that Lydgate's poem underwent substantial changes: several revised and new stanzas cannot safely be ascribed to him but may instead be due – at least in part – to scribal variance. It is questionable, therefore, whether the 'revised' B version with its larger proportion of civic (as opposed to courtly) characters was specifically written for Carpenter.[25] Lydgate may well have been directly involved in Carpenter's Dance of Death scheme at Old St Paul's, yet he himself used the terms 'Macabrees daunce' and 'daunce of machabré'.[26] In 'Tyed with a Lyne', another poem about the transitoriness of life, Lydgate reminded the readers that 'Both high and lough shal go on dethis daunce, / Renne vnto Powlis, beholde the Machabé [*sic*]'.[27] Likewise, in the poem 'The Prohemy of a Mariage betwix an Olde Man and a Yonge Wife, and the Counsail, &c.' that is sometimes attributed to Lydgate, a philosopher friend warns the old man of the title: 'Make thou no doute but thou may leed the daunce / Of Makabré [...]'.[28]

Pardon Churchyard and the paintings in it were destroyed in 1549 but, despite the paucity of surviving examples of the Dance of Death in English medieval art, evidence for its popularity can still be found in records and tomb monuments. It was from Carpenter's scheme that the *danse macabre* derived its new name of the 'Dance of [St] Paul's'. The speed with which the *danse* became known by this title even outside London is illustrated by two entries in the All Saints' Church Book at Bristol that describe one William Wytteney as one of the church's 'good doers':

> William Wytteney let ordain and let made at his own cost a memorial that every man should remember his own death, that is to say, the Dance of Pauls the which cost £18. God have mercy on his soul. Amen.
>
> William Wytney let make the Dance of Powles, which cost him – £18.[29]

Wytteney appears to have been a local shoemaker who died around 1448–49; 6s 8d is recorded as payment for his grave in the accounts for 1449–50.[30] Intriguingly, his very expensive memorial was not a tomb monument but a cloth hanging, probably consisting of several stained cloths – a once widespread form of medieval art as suggested by the frequent mention in wills, albeit that few examples survive.[31] Hereafter there is regular mention in the All Saints' church records of the hanging and rolling up of the cloth twice a year at the feasts of All Hallows (1 November) and of St James the Greater (25 July). The costs were recorded annually, *e.g.* payment of 20d in 1452 for six staves for the Dance of Paul's and 10d for hanging it twice a year between 1453 and 1457, after which the cost rose steadily; 14d is paid in 1478–79 'for making and setting up the battlement before the south door in the church that the Dance of Pauls hangs upon' and as late as 1529 there is an entry for 16d 'for mending the Dance of Pauls'.[32] The display of a painted Dance of Death at All Saints seems appropriate as the cloth would presumably remain on show for the feast of All Souls on the following day. Also worth noting is that St James the Greater shared his feastday with St Christopher, who was believed to protect his devotees from sudden death – the very fear embodied in the *danse*.[33] Another 'dawnce of Powlis' consisting of three long cloths hung before the roodloft is recorded in two

inventories of the church furnishings at Long Melford (Suffolk) in 1529 and 1541.[34]

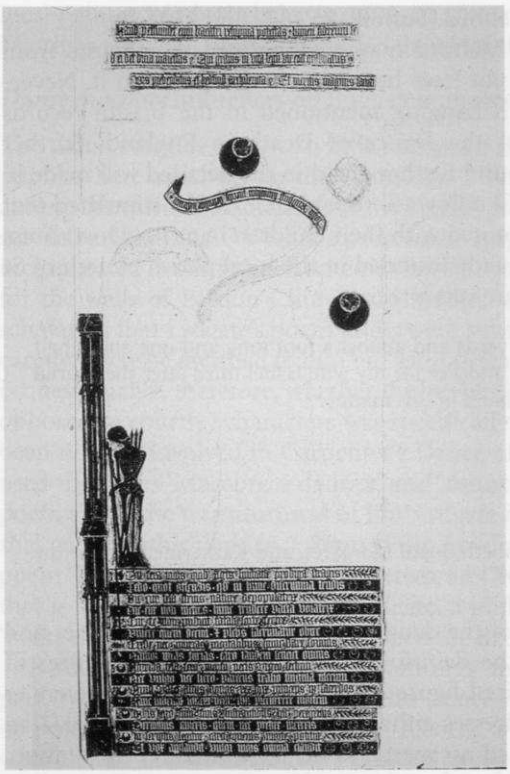
Wytteney's cloth and the example at Long Melford may have derived their name from Carpenter's scheme in London, but they need not have been closely modelled on it. Nevertheless, as an early (if lost) example, the cloth hanging mentioned in the Bristol records illustrates the rapid spread and popularity of the Dance of Death in England. Further testimony to the renown of the theme can be found further afield in the detailed will made in 1513 by the wealthy Thomas Cooke, Esquire, of Ludlow (Shropshire).[35] Cooke stipulated that he wanted himself and his wife to be commemorated with their children in a (now lost) brass situated near the chantry chapel that he had already founded in the local parish church of St Lawrence. The instructions regarding the brass are very precise:

> I will that my Executors lay a stone upon me of 2 yards and almost a foot long and one and a half yards broad with 3 images of laten one for me and another for my wife Isabel third after the mortal after the daunce of powles having a scripture in his hand in this manner
>
> 'Man behold so as I am now, so shalt thou be
> Gold and silver shall make no plea
> This daunce to defende, but follow me';
>
> and by my image my daughters all, Margaret, Elizabeth, Joan, Margaret, and Katherine, and on my wife's side my sons Oliver, Oliver [*sic*] and Richard.[36]

Leaving aside the curiously reversed positions of the daughters and sons by their father and mother, respectively, the interest here lies in the description of the three latten figures of Cooke, his wife, and a 'daunce of powles'-inspired figure of Death. The latter even refers to the Dance in the text scroll with which he addresses either the deceased or the reader – an apt if ambiguous dramatic touch: Cooke assigned no speech to his own brass representation. The first line echoes the *Sum quod eris* motto often found on cadaver monuments as well as in dialogues between the Three Living and the Three Dead, although it is much older still; it became widespread through the *Meditationes* of the Pseudo-St Bernard of Clairvaux.[37] As we shall see, the allusion to gold and silver on Cooke's brass has its counterpart on another monument.

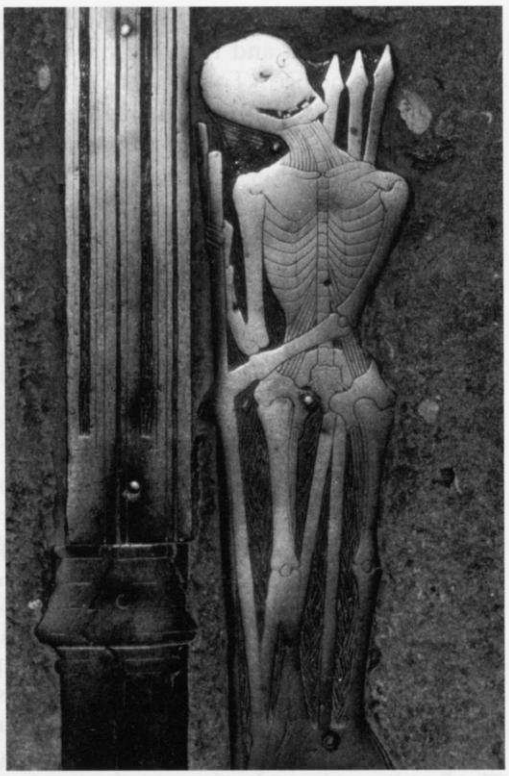
One example of a monument that fortunately survives, at least in large part, is the brass of John Rudyng, archdeacon of Lincoln (d. 1481), which is situated in the chancel of St Andrew's at Biggleswade (Bedfordshire) that he himself had refurbished during his lifetime. Elements of this large composition have been lost, including the kneeling figure of Rudyng himself, but what remains suggests affinity with the *danse macabre* (Fig. 8a).[38] First of all, there is the grinning figure of Death (Fig. 8b), armed with four long spears, who appears to have been looking towards the much larger figure of the deceased Rudyng. Secondly, there is the lengthy Latin verse epitaph at the foot end of the brass, written in sixteen alternating lines of raised and incised Gothic minuscule script, which contains a dialogue between the passer-by and 'Mors' or Death; Rudyng himself remains silent. In the first six lines the reader accuses Death of showing no mercy, but Rudyng is nowhere named. In response, Death defends himself with what is basically the message of the *danse macabre*: death is inevitable and all mankind must die eventually, regardless of rank or status.

> Tu fera mors quid agis . humane prodiga stragis
> Cedo . quot offendis . qd' in huic discrimina tendis
> Dic . cur tela strius . nature depopulatrix
> Dic . cur non metuis . huic trudere vasta voratrix
> Cur te non puduit . fatali sorte ferire
> Vivere quem decuit . & plebs lacrimatur obire



8a. Brass to John Rudyng, archdeacon of Lincoln (d. 1481), situated in the chancel of St Andrew's at Biggleswade (Bedfordshire).

Rubbing reproduced by courtesy of H. Martin Stuchfield



8b. Detail of Death on the brass to John Rudyng, Biggleswade (Bedfordshire).

Photo reproduced by courtesy of H. Martin Stuchfield

Mors Crede nec iniurias mortalibus huic dare somnis
Namq' meas furias . caro tandem senciet omnis
Horrida tela fero . morsu necis vrgeo seclum
Nec vulgo nec hero . parcens traho singula mecum
Quid valet altus honos . rex . dux . princeps . q' sacerdos
Hanc subeunt sortem . nequeunt precurrere mortem
Mors ego sum finis . lustrantibus hic peregrinis
Terminus itineris . quem nec pretire mereris
In scriptis legitur . caro queuis morte potitur
Et vox applaudit . vulgi mors omnia claudit

(You savage Death, brimful of human wreckage, what are you doing?
Out with it: how often do you offend! What do you bend your decisions against this man?
Speak! Why do you arrange your spears in ranks, you decimator of Nature?
Speak! Why do you feel no qualms about thrusting this man down, you crude desolate devourer?
Why have you not felt ashamed to strike with fatal lot
Him who ought to have lived, and whose decease the people weep tears over?
Death: Do not in your dreams believe that this man did mortals any injustice.
Indeed, in the end all flesh shall feel my furies.
I carry terrible spears, I come down upon humans with the bite of death.
Sparing neither the common folk nor the master, I drag behind me every single thing.
What does high honour avail? King, duke, prince, and priest,

This lot they shall all undergo, and they cannot outrun Death.
I am Death, the end for all those strangers wandering about here,
The journey's terminus, which you do not deserve to overstep.
In books one reads: all flesh is held in subjugation by Death
And the people's voice applauds: Death finishes off everything.)[39]

This dialogue with Death differs from the personalised epitaph texts in the marginal inscription and in the (incomplete) scroll above the lost figure of Rudyng, which suggests two separate authors. The Latin dialogue may not even have been written specifically for Rudyng, although there is little doubt that he chose this text and the overall design himself.

As Nigel Saul recently explained, Rudyng left very precise instructions for his burial in the will that he made shortly before his death.[40] In contrast to what the imposing size of his brass at Biggleswade would seem to suggest, Rudyng actually stipulated burial 'sub lapide marmoreo' (under a marble stone) that he had previously commissioned in his prebendal church of Buckingham. Yet the identification of the Biggleswade brass as an early example of 'style F', and thus no earlier than the late 1470s, may mean that Rudyng had opted for multiple commemoration with separate memorials in different places, just as Ralph Hamsterley (d. 1518) is known to have ordered five brasses in his own memory in and around Oxford in order to maximise the number of prayers said for his soul.[41] No trace of the memorial to Rudyng remains at Buckingham, and it is ironic that it is his effigy which has been lost on the Biggleswade brass whereas the figure of Death has survived, leaning on his spear as if briefly resting after a job done.

An indent and an etching by the antiquarian John Sell Cotman (1782–1842) are all that survive of a brass at Lowestoft (Suffolk), in which Death makes another appearance nearly a century after Rudyng's brass (Fig. 9).[42] The figure of Rector Thomas Annott (d. 1577) had already disappeared by that time, but Cotman was able to produce a detailed drawing of the much smaller figure of Death on Annott's left who moves his arrow or dart towards the long-lived clergyman for the fatal blow. The lethal weapons and cruelty of Death are once again mentioned in the Latin verse epitaph recorded by Cotman:

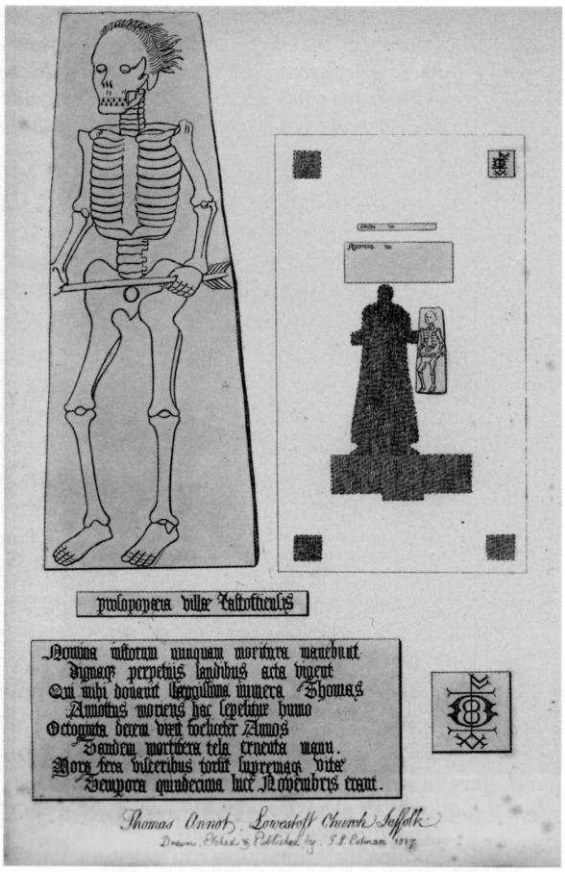
Nomina iustorum nunquam moritura manebunt
Dignaq' perpetuis laudibus acta vigent
Qui mihi donauit largissima numera Thomas
Annottus moriens hac sepelitur humo
Octoginta decem vixit foeliciter Annos
Tandem mortifera tela cruenta manu.
Mors fera visceribus torsit supremaq' vitae
Tempora quindecima luce Novembris erant.

(The names of the just will never die, they will remain
and worthy deeds live on in perpetual praise.
Dying, Thomas Annott, who gave me most generous gifts,
was buried in this earth.
He lived happily for eighty and ten years,
and at length fierce Death, with bloody hand,
hurled deadly darts into his bowels; and of his life the last
moments were on the fifteenth dawn of November.)[43]

It would go too far to propose a direct link between Annott's rather dramatic brass and the *danse macabre*, especially as his death at the age of ninety cannot have been wholly unexpected. Yet one cannot rule out the possibility that printed texts and illustrations served as a source of inspiration. In 1554 Lydgate's *Dance of Death* was published with two woodcut illustrations as an appendix to his epic poem *The Fall of Princes* by the London printer Richard Tottel.[44] Then, an extensive Dance of Death cycle of sixty-two lay male and female characters with short English monologue verses was included in the margins of John Day's *Christian Prayers*

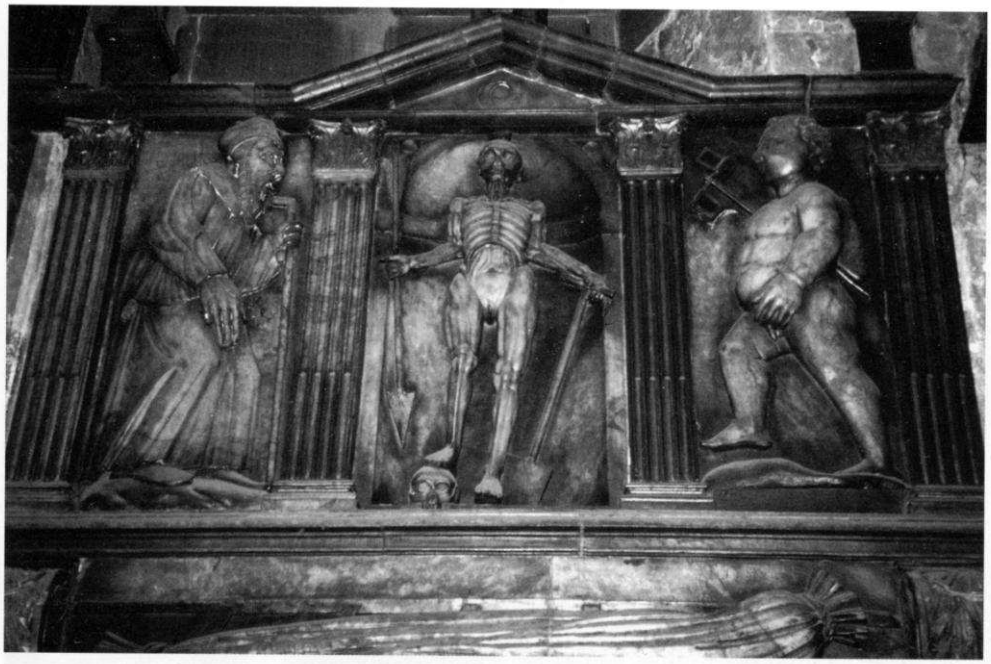
and Meditations, first published in 1569; in later editions from 1578 on, clerical representatives were added, *viz.* the archbishop, bishop, doctor and preacher.[45] In these small woodcut scenes the figure of Death appears alongside each victim, who is usually grabbed by the hand or arm and forced to dance along.

Closer affinity – if not necessarily a direct link – seems likely between another tomb monument and a broadsheet published in 1569 by John Audelay (Figs 10–11). The late-sixteenth-century alabaster monument to an unidentified member of the Foljambe family at the church of St Mary and All Saints in Chesterfield (Derbyshire) was probably carved by Gerrit Hollemans, a Dutchman who moved from Amsterdam to England in 1567 and settled in Southwark with his English wife.[46] Death stands triumphant in a niche above the shrouded figure of the deceased, resting his right foot on a skull and holding a spade in his left hand and a long dart in his right; he thus combines his usual weapon with the type of graveyard tool that is often observed in *danse macabre* depictions. Death is flanked by the allegorical figures of Old Age on the left and Infancy on the right, who are presented as an old man leaning on a stick and an over-large naked infant with a whirligig. In Audelay's broadsheet 'The Daunce and Song of Death' the same figures occur as an antithetic pair in a group of dancers that also include the beggar with the king and the wise man with the fool, each pair being led along by a skeletal figure (Fig. 11). Perhaps this broadsheet served Hollemans as a source of inspiration, but the artist could have modelled his tomb design on another as yet unidentified print.



9. Death on the lost brass to Rector Thomas Annott (d. 1577) at Lowestoft (Suffolk), etching by the antiquarian John Sell Cotman published in 1819.

There is likewise no known model for a roughly contemporary brass with *danse macabre* overtones at Hunsdon (Hertfordshire), which commemorates James Gray (Fig. 12). Even so, the satirical character of this brass is very reminiscent of, for example, Holbein's woodcuts (compare Figs 3–4), which remained popular throughout the sixteenth century and beyond.[47] In his will of 17 November 1591 Gray, who is described in his epitaph as a park- and housekeeper, asked to be buried in Hunsdon church 'under a convenyent stone or munument wherein my Fygure & some epitaph to be ingraven'.[48] The brass depicts Gray in the act of shooting at a fleeing stag with his crossbow, but it is Death in the centre who despatches both hunter and prey with two identical arrows of his own as he utters the words 'sic pergo' (thus I continue). The crossbow was evidently important to Gray: it was one of the specified items



10. Death, Infancy and Old Age on a late-sixteenth-century alabaster monument to an unknown member of the Foljambe family, church of St Mary and All Saints, Chesterfield (Derbyshire).

Photo: author

11. 'The Daunce and Song of Death', English broadsheet published by John Audeley in 1569 (London, British Library Huth 50(32)).

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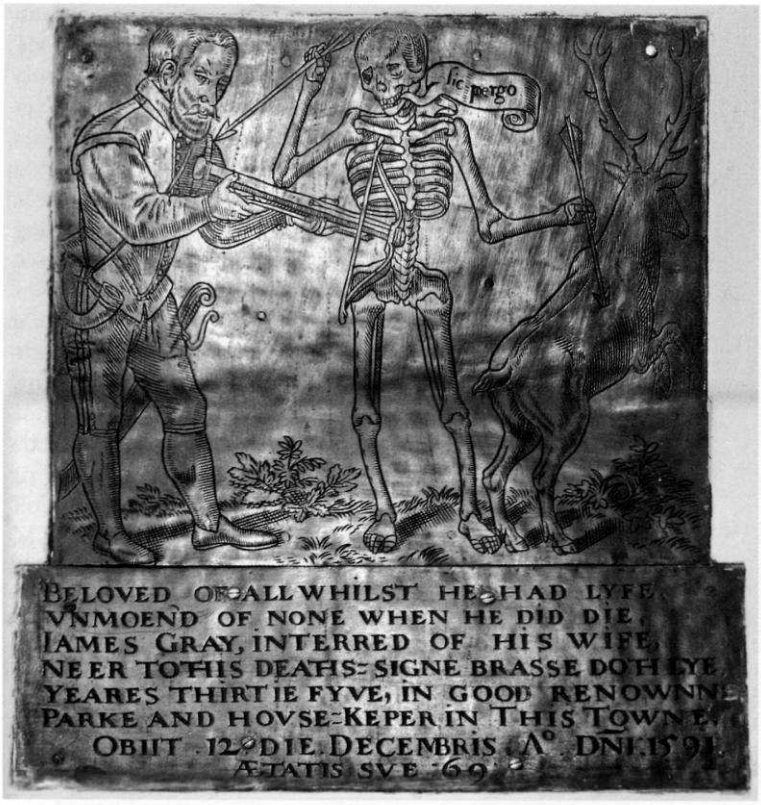


left **12.** Death on the brass of the park-keeper James Gray (d. 1591) at Hunsdon (Hertfordshire).
Photo: David Kelsall

right **13.** Carved *danse macabre* pair of Death and a queen(?) on the south-west pillar of the chantry chapel of Lord de La Warr (d. 1526), church of St Mary and St Blaise, Boxgrove (Sussex).
Photo: Dirk Visser

he bequeathed to his servant in his will, which contains no such specific stipulations about his monument. As Gray's wife was his sole executrix it may have been she who deemed it fitting to order a brass that commemorated her husband's professional pursuits as having been cut short by Death after thirty-five years in his job.

Not all *danse macabre* depictions on tomb monuments need have had quite such personal resonances, however. There is little doubt that an as yet unidentified print served as the model for a single *danse macabre* pair amidst the wealth of carvings decorating the chantry chapel of Lord de La Warr (d. 1526) in the church of St Mary and St Blaise at Boxgrove (Sussex).[49] On the south-west pillar that supports the canopy is a carving of Death reaching out across the stem of a Tudor rose towards a crowned lady, the only instance of a *danse macabre* pair on this monument (Fig. 13). Despite the presence of this Tudor emblem, any suggestion that the carving carries a political message seems far-fetched: several of the carvings on this chantry chapel have been identified as having been modelled on woodcuts taken from books of hours printed in Paris by Simon Vostre, Thielman Kerver and others, and the overall design appears to be predominantly decorative.[50] Printed *danse macabre* scenes with male as well as female victims occur in the margins of several such books of this period, but so far it has not been possible to find the exact model for this particular carving.

14. Death and Time threatening an infant in a cradle, seventeenth-century(?) relief panel situated high in the wall of the Mohun family aisle in Boconnoc church (Cornwall).
Photo: Paul Cockerham

There is also as yet no known model for a carved stone panel high up on the wall of the north aisle of the church at Boconnoc (Cornwall), which shows Death and Time jointly threatening an infant in a cradle (Fig. 14).[51] Time is armed with a scythe while on the far right an hourglass appears to hover above the child's head. Unfortunately the carving is not in very good condition and also seems to be covered in multiple layers of paint. The panel is situated in the family aisle of the Mohuns in what is very much an estate church. This makes it reasonable to assume that the memorial commemorates a child of that family who died some time in the seventeenth century. Infants in cradles appear on English tomb monuments from the sixteenth century on, but it was Maximilian Colt's cradle monument for James I's infant daughter Sophia (d. 1606) at Westminster Abbey that helped make this a more popular design. The combination of Death and Time, and the fact that the infant was a very regular character in the *danse macabre*, make it likely that the Cornwall carver modelled this panel on a contemporary print, but this need not have been a *danse macabre* illustration in the strictest sense.

Variations and later examples

By its very nature, the *danse macabre* lent itself well to funeral and burial contexts, which makes its incorporation into tomb iconography a logical development. Yet English artists may have been more willing than their Continental counterparts to experiment with the motif. An example of such experimentation is the lost set of fifteenth-century misericords from St Michael's, Coventry, which combined the Corporal Acts of Mercy with *danse macabre* pairs on either side.[52] The choir-stalls were probably located originally in the Drapers' guild chapel where funeral masses for guild members would have been celebrated. The combined emphasis on good deeds and death would thus have fitted the setting very well, even if such spiritual imagery is relatively rare on misericords.

Chantry chapels also formed a suitable setting for *danse macabre* depictions, albeit that the single carved scene on the chantry at Boxgrove seems to have been rather too haphazardly applied to carry much significance amidst the carvings of cherubs, dragons, apple-pickers in a tree, and other fanciful devices. In this respect, the Boxgrove carvings have a precedent in the wealth of sculptural detail in Rosslyn Chapel, where carved *danse macabre* pairs were randomly distributed across the vault ribs at the east end of the church, more for decoration than to convey any clear message to the beholder below.[53] More conventional, yet at the same time enigmatic, are the two well-known painted panels of Death and a young man in Tudor

costume on the exterior of the chantry chapel of Robert Markham in the choir of the church of St Mary Magdalene in Newark (Nottinghamshire), which dates from the early sixteenth century (Fig. 15).[54] This pair of paintings is often described as one of the rare extant examples of the *danse* in England, and even as a fragment of a once larger scheme, but there is no indication that there were ever more scenes to complement this pair; it is thus probably a single encounter and not a full-blown *danse*.[55] Nor can the young man be interpreted as a portrait or representation of Robert Markham himself: the theme of the two panels appears to be one of mortality and sin – most notably pride and avarice, for the young man dips his hand into his purse as if in an attempt to buy off Death. As such, it is more likely to be an allegorical scene than a personal reflection on the deceased although, as we saw earlier, Thomas Cooke's brass at Ludlow also stated that gold and silver provide no defence against Death.

15. Death and the Young Gallant, two painted panels on the exterior of the chantry chapel of Robert Markham, early sixteenth century, choir of St Mary Magdalene, Newark (Nottinghamshire).

Photo reproduced by permission of St Mary Magdalene Church, Newark-upon-Trent

The scarcity of surviving English examples of the *danse* in wall-painting – when compared to the many extant examples on the Continent – does not mean that the theme was of negligible importance in this country, however. As we have seen, the records of Cooke's lost brass at Ludlow and the stained cloths in Bristol and Long Melford illustrate how far the theme spread and how it came to be known by its now less familiar name of the 'Dance of Paul's' – a name that has occasionally confused scholars.[56] All three sets of records of lost *danse macabre* schemes also hint at the likelihood of further examples that remain to be discovered, even if a greater awareness of the *danse* is required for such evidence to be correctly identified and its importance recognised. Losses of medieval tomb monuments have been great, but the Reformation also saw the wholesale whitewashing of wall-paintings while other forms of church art (such as painted and stained cloths) have proved even more transitory.

Wytteney's *danse macabre* cloth hanging at Bristol furthermore illustrates how memorials could take very different forms from the brasses, incised slabs and effigies that one would normally associate with commemoration. Nor was Wytteney's choice ruled by cost: he could easily have had several brasses or possibly even a tomb chest for the £18 that he spent instead on a cloth hanging that was to be displayed only twice a year at specific feasts.[57] Another example of a *danse macabre*-related memorial in a different medium is the sole surviving stained-glass panel of Death shooting an arrow at the kneeling figure of Henry Williams, vicar

of Stanford on Avon (Northamptonshire) from 1486 until his death in 1501 (Col. pl. 2a–b).[58] In his will of 5 April 1500 Williams stipulated several such panels both in the chancel and in St John's aisle in the nave:

> I wyll that the glasse windowes in the chancell wth ymagery that was thereyn before allso wth my ymage knelying in ytt and the ymage of deth shotyng at me, another wyndowe before Saynt John with ymagery in ytt now wth my Image knelyng in ytt and deth shoting at me theys to be done in smalle quarells of as gude glasse as can be goten.[59]

An accompanying inscription with the customary prayer for the soul of the deceased (now lost) proves that the panels were meant to be representations of Williams himself, as well as probably a reflection on mortality for his parishioners to contemplate. William's decision to assign Death a bow and arrow (rather than the customary spear or dart) to shoot him with and the absence of any reference to the Dance of Death do not detract from the fact that the panels are akin to the *danse macabre* in spirit in visualising the very moment of death through the aggressive action of Death personified. The tomb is where life on earth ultimately ends, and thus a fitting place for Death to take his aim; moreover, in the *danse macabre* the dead themselves must have temporarily emerged from their graves to summon the living. A miniature by Jean Colombe in the Hours of Anne of France of *c.*1470 likewise depicts a figure of Death emerging from a tomb and confronting the viewer with his dart to hand.[60]

Henry Williams' panel of Death shooting at him has an almost contemporary parallel in the designs for two artistically far superior, stained-glass trefoil panels of 1502, which are attributed to the Benedict Master, an artist active in Nuremberg in the circle of Albrecht Dürer.[61] The extant panels, each measuring 40 × 37 cm, are by Veit Hirschvogel the Elder and now housed in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg (Col. pl. 3a–b). The left trefoil shows Death on an emaciated horse aiming his arrow at the figure of Provost Dr Sixtus Tucher (1459–1507), who is depicted standing at his open grave in the second panel. The first drawing includes the Latin inscription for Death and the year 1502; the second only the year. The complete inscriptions on the panels themselves read 'CAVE MISER . NE MEO TE CONFIXVM . TELO . IN HOC TETR[IC]O COLLOCEM FERETRI LECTO' (Take care, unfortunate one, that I do not lay you, pierced by my arrow, on this hard bed of the funeral bier) for Death and 'QVID . MI[NARIS QV]OD . HOC MONENTE . SEPVLCRO : ECIAM . SI . VELIS . CAVERE . NEQVEO:' (Why threaten me with this waiting grave, against which, even if you wished it, I cannot defend myself) for Tucher. Both panels may have originated from a window in the study in the provost's country house in the Grasersgasse where he spent most of his time immersed in books after resigning his office as provost in 1504.

While the Nuremberg panels may have served the pious and learned Tucher for his own private meditation, there is also a strong element of contemplation and preparation for death in the brass that John Rudyng must have commissioned in his lifetime. The same applies to the double-decker tomb that Archbishop Chichele erected in Canterbury Cathedral: this monument is known to have been completed by 1427, so Chichele had plenty of time until his death in 1443 to study the spectre of his own mortality and bodily corruption.[62] This last element touches upon a crucial difference between the cadaver monument and what has been perhaps somewhat loosely discussed here as *danse macabre* imagery. The former looks ahead at the state of the body well after death, when the image of its putrefying state should exhort the beholder to consider both the transitoriness of all earthly things, the immortality of the soul and ultimately the resurrection.[63] The *danse macabre*, on the other hand, focusses on the moment of death. Admittedly, the horrifying appearance of Death is in itself a forewarning of bodily corruption and the dying often look back longingly at what they must leave behind, but it is the prospect of dying and the very moment of dying – the sudden stroke of Death – that the *danse* addresses, far more than the hereafter which is usually implied at best. The

theatricality that characterises many depictions of Death's aggression or his discourse with the living offers a strong contrast to the stillness of the recumbent cadaver.

Of course, the *danse macabre* was not the only theme that could have had an impact on the more morbid types of tomb design in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Another example is the earlier theme of the Three Living and the Three Dead, which also occurs in poetry, painting and tomb sculpture: it features as a separate scene beneath the (broken) image of the donors kneeling in front of the enthroned Virgin on an incised French memorial slab from the first half of the fifteenth century at Senlis Cathedral.[64] Unexpected deaths in particular may have given rise to such imagery for commemoration purposes. Tradition has it that the stone sculpture of the Three Living and the Three Dead commissioned in 1408 by the duke of Berry for the south portal of the church of Les Saints Innocents in Paris was erected in memory of his nephew Louis of Orléans, who had been assassinated the previous year (Col. pl. 1).[65] Morality plays such as *Everyman* and *The Castle of Perseverance* dramatised the summons of Death for the benefit of medieval audiences, just as Herod is also carried off by Death personified in some mystery plays.[66] Numerous other death-related texts and depictions (especially prints) in the post-medieval period may likewise have served as sources of inspiration.

One gradual change was the increasing sense of violence exhibited by both Death and the dead in the course of the Middle Ages. Early depictions of the Three Living and the Three Dead, *e.g.* in the well-known miniature of *c.*1310 in the psalter of Robert de Lisle, show the latter in a polite debate with the former.[67] In many later depictions, however, the Dead aggressively pursue the Living while threatening them with spears and darts. The same is true of earlier depictions of the *danse macabre*, which show the corpse figures either debating,

left **16a.** Christ Resurrected and Death leaning on his scythe, two of the incised stone panels on the altar tomb to Edmund West (d. 1618), All Saints' church, Marsworth (Buckinghamshire).

below **16b.** Brass to Edmund West (d. 1618) on his altar tomb in All Saints' church, Marsworth (Buckinghamshire).

Rubbings reproduced by permission of H. Martin Stuchfield

17. Brass to Joan Strode (d. 1649) at Shepton Mallet (Somerset).

Rubbing reproduced by permission of H. Martin Stuchfield

playing music, or attempting to dance with their victims. Holbein's woodcuts illustrate the distinct changes in the character of the *danse*: many of the living are forcibly dragged away by Death (or the dead), or even brutally killed (Figs 3–4). This was to be a continuing trend: in Thomas Rowlandson's series of satirical engravings entitled *The English Dance of Death* (published 1814–16) Death invariably preys on the living with his spear or dart, ever ready to strike and evidently relishing his task.[68]

It is this new element of physical violence which came to epitomise later depictions of the *danse* and which can also be observed on many tombs and brasses from the sixteenth century onward that feature Death personified. Examples of monuments that present Death as the aggressor include the brass to Edmund West (d. 1618) on his altar tomb in All Saints' church, Marsworth (Buckinghamshire), and to Joan Strode (d. 1649) at Shepton Mallet (Somerset). West's monument features six incised panels, of which one contrasts the triumphant figure of the Risen Christ with Death leaning despondently on his scythe (Fig. 16a). On the brass itself we see Death looming up behind the curtains as he aims his dart at West, who is reclining in full armour, his wife and children positioned around him (Fig. 16b).[69] Death carries a quiver full of arrows on his back – a grim omen for the rest of the family although few seem to notice their impending doom. The scene initially suggests a deathbed, but West is actually lying on an altar tomb; the curtain that partly hides Death appears to have been pulled away in a rather dramatic fashion to reveal West to his family as well as to the beholder. Joan Strode is likewise depicted amidst her family in a brass that captures the very moment of her demise (Fig. 17).[70] Just as in Henry Williams' glass (Col. pl. 2a–b), Death emerges from the tomb situated between husband and wife, his dart poised towards Joan. Her husband William looks on in horror, his left hand extended in a futile attempt to stay Death's arrow. The words 'PARVM FVIT DIV VIXIT' form a dialogue between William ('It was too little') and Death ('She has lived long enough').[71] Once again, only the living and Death speak; being already dead, Joan herself remains dumb.

18a. Monument to Thomas Vincent (d. 1606), North Hill (Cornwall).
Photo: Norman Hammond

18b. Detail of Death aiming his dart at Thomas Vincent, monument at North Hill (Cornwall).
Photo: Norman Hammond

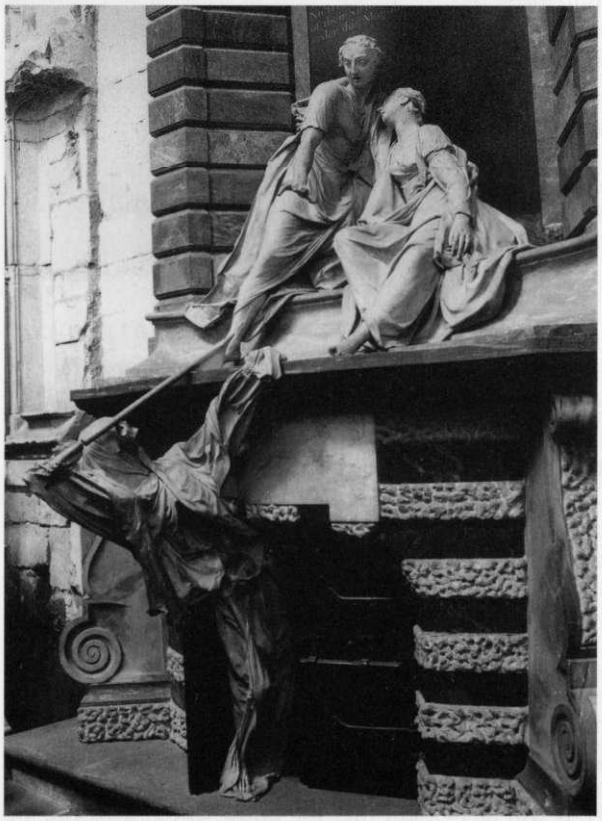
The Strode brass contains signs of hope, however, in the laurel wreath that Death extends to Joan as a token of victory and eternal life, and in the scroll with the motto 'VINCENTI DABITUR' (it shall be given to him who conquers) that extends from Joan's head to a crown held out to her from heaven, where other crowned souls are watching her imminent demise. The composition of both brasses reads like a stage set for a Renaissance drama.

It is not difficult to find other monuments across the country on which the personification of Death is presented in the act of despatching his victim with his dart, especially in the post-Reformation period. The slate monument to Thomas Vincent (d. 1606) at North Hill (Cornwall) shows the deceased and his family kneeling on either side of the central figure of Death, unusually with the men on the right and the women on the left (Fig. 18a–b). Death points his dart at the paterfamilias while holding a scythe in his left hand with a serpent entwined around it. The serpent might be a reference to the Fall of Man, but is more probably another example of 'verminous' imagery that we find in many *danse macabre* prints.[72] It is very likely that the sculptor modelled the convincing anatomy of Death on a contemporary print, especially as his execution of the kneeling figures is so poor by comparison. On the conjoined slabs to Nicholas and Ebote Wills (*c.*1607) at Landrake (Cornwall), Death addresses his victim with the words 'Prepare thy selfe thou must away: thy mortall body is but clay'.[73] Brian Kemp discussed the Acton monument at Baylham (Suffolk), on which Death aims his dart at the

still living John Acton on his right while the sand in the hourglass in his left hand has already run out for John's wife Elizabeth, who must have died around 1625.[74] More subtle is the small figure of Death armed with an arrow, an hourglass and the text scroll 'MEMENTO MORS' as he reclines in one of the spandrels on the monument to Sir Michael Dormer (d. 1616) at Great Milton (Oxfordshire); another statue of Death stands on top of the canopy.[75] On the monument to Henry Barker (d. 1651) at Hurst (Berkshire), Death is crouching at the feet of the recumbent effigy, armed with an hourglass and a (lost) dart.

Death is also prominently present in the painted tablet to William Littleboys (d. 1624) at St Lawrence's church in Over Peover (Cheshire), which is yet another form of memorial (Col. pl. 4).[76] Although by no means a great work of art, this painting has it all: the deceased in his winding sheet lying in a gable-ended churchyard monument and being trampled by Death, who manages to juggle an hourglass, a coat of arms and a colossal arrow, while flanked by a spade, a pickaxe and the motto 'REMEMBER THE END'. In addition, the epitaph directly addresses the beholder, although here the words are those of the deceased himself: 'Stand and heare a dead man speake [...]'. The painting above shows how, indeed, the grave will swallow everyone and Death 'make a meale for wormes', with Littleboys being 'an Instance of the change'.

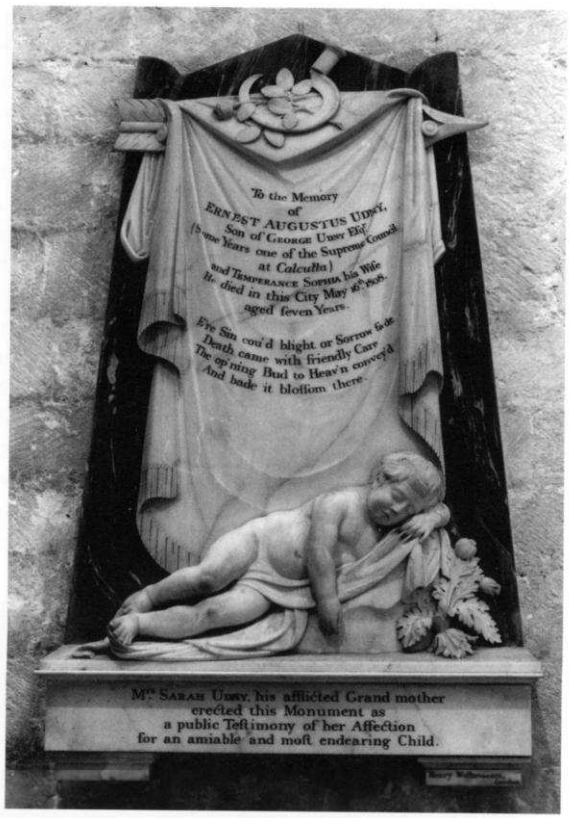
The fashion for personified figures of Death on monuments across Europe waxed and waned over the centuries but never quite disappeared, at least not until more recent times. We find images of Death's assault on monuments elsewhere in Europe, such as on some of the floor slabs in St John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta (Malta).[77] Probably the most spectacular late example in England is Louis-François Roubiliac's highly theatrical tomb monument to Lady Elizabeth Nightingale at Westminster Abbey, London (Fig. 19). Roubiliac (*c.* 1705–62) showed Lady Elizabeth's husband Joseph trying in vain to protect his wife from the threatening dart that Death is aiming at her from below, rather like William Strode on the brass at Shepton Mallet. Lady Elizabeth Nightingale had died in childbirth on 17 August 1731 at the age of 27, and the visual connection between her sudden demise and Death's lethal weapon is quite poignant, even if the monument was not erected until thirty years after her death.[78] It illustrates what the squire had been told by Death some three centuries earlier in Lydgate's *Dance of Death*: 'For no man mai fro dethes stroke fle' (line 224).



19. Monument to Lady Elizabeth Nightingale (d. 1731) by Louis-François Roubiliac, Westminster Abbey, London.
Photo: Simon Eager

Roubiliac's design constituted a return to this more melodramatic

presentation of Death as the aggressor that had by then been out of fashion in England for some time. He also included the figure of Death in the no less theatrical monument to General William Hargrave, which was erected in Westminster Abbey in 1757; Death's dart is snapped in two by the figure of Time, whose own scythe is shown falling from his hand as an indication that the reign of eternity has now begun.[79] Both these monuments illustrate how Roubiliac looked back at earlier monuments on the Continent, especially the tomb of Pope Alexander VII in St Peter's, Rome, by the Italian sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680).[80] Executed in the last decade of the sculptor's life, Bernini's famous monument features the skeletal figure of Death emerging from below while holding an hourglass aloft in his right hand as a sign that the time has come for the kneeling pope above. Similar iconography can also be found in the work of some of Bernini's contemporaries and successors, such as the Flemish sculptor Peeter Scheemakers of Antwerp (1652–1714) who was responsible for monuments of a similarly melodramatic nature at Antwerp, commemorating the Keurlinck-van Delft family and the Marques del Pico.[81]



20. Monument by Henry Westmacott to Ernest Augustus Udny (d. 1808), wall tablet in Chichester Cathedral.
Photo: Simon Eager

Even in the nineteenth century, when such grisly imagery gave way to more sentimental symbolism, some monuments still contain hints of Death's aggression. The epitaph on a wall tablet by Henry Westmacott in Chichester Cathedral describes how 'Death came with friendly Care' in order to allow a sinless child to blossom in heaven (Fig. 20).[82] Yet the cloth behind the semi-naked figure of Ernest Augustus Udny, who died aged seven in 1808, is suspended from a large arrow – an ominous allusion to one of Death's traditional weapons that is at odds with the suggestion that the child is merely sleeping. Death's violent sting evidently maintained its morbid fascination for artists, patrons and viewers alike.

Conclusion

The image of Death as the aggressor has a long history in western art: the allegorical representation of the actual moment of death evidently served as a salutory reminder to the beholder. Even if examples of such iconography on tomb monuments cannot always be safely traced back to the *danse macabre* proper, it will be evident that the *danse* was at least one of the themes that patrons and designers turned to for inspiration as it contained both dialogue and visual models for the encounter between Death and the living. The combined dramatic impact from text and image thus offered the perfect means to draw the viewer's attention to

such 'macabre' memorials. Conversely, the extant and known monuments that suggest the *danse* as a possible source also serve as evidence for the erstwhile popularity of a theme that has been ignored for too long at least in this country; on the Continent there remain many examples still of the *danse macabre* as well as monuments on which Death personified occurs with and without the allegorical figure of Time, especially in the post-Reformation era.

It is ironic that the figures of Death proved more resistant than the effigies of the deceased on the brasses at Biggleswade and Lowestoft. Sadly, iconoclasm, vandalism and other forms of damage have all too often deprived posterity of the original wealth and splendour of monuments in churches. An example is the damage suffered by the once impressive alabaster monument to Richard Sale (d. 1615) in the chancel of the small parish church of St Mary at Weston upon Trent (Derbyshire). Besides the figures of Sale and his family, it also once included various emblems of mortality, such as a skull and a shield featuring a small figure of Death. In the first edition of Nikolaus Pevsner's volume on Derbyshire, published in 1953, this figure was still largely complete.[83] However, a visit to the church in Spring 2003 revealed its now headless condition (Fig. 21): it would seem that even Death is not immune to the ravages of time. Yet is this Death himself, or is this figure just as ambiguous as the skeleton on the Dix monument at Wijk? The spade, the pickaxe and the hourglass would suggest it is Death personified, but the motto is that of the dead speaking to the living: 'ECCE NOSCE TE IPSVM VT SVM TV ERIS' (Behold, know yourself; as I am now, so will you be). Either way, the message remains the same: *memento mori.*

21. Damaged figure of Death, from the dismantled alabaster monument to Richard Sale (d. 1625) and his family, St Mary, Weston upon Trent (Derbyshire).
Photo: Dirk Visser

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

1 F.A. Greenhill, *Incised effigial slabs: a study of engraved stone memorials in Latin Christendom, c. 1100 to c. 1700* (London, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 94, 288, 361, and vol. 2, pl. 23c. For a discussion of cadaver monuments, see K. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a death symbol: the transi tomb in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, California Studies in the History of Art, 15 (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1973); S. Oosterwijk, 'Food for worms – food for thought: the appearance and interpretation of the "verminous" cadaver in Britain and Europe', *Church Monuments*, 20 (2005), pp. 40–80, 133–40; F. Baron, 'Le médecin, le prince, les prélats et la mort. L'apparition du transi dans la sculpture française du Moyen Age', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 51 (2006), pp. 125–58; and the 1987 DPhil thesis and numerous articles by Pamela King, including 'The cadaver tomb in England: novel manifestations of an old idea', *Church Monuments*, 5 (1990), pp. 26–38.

2 Oosterwijk, 'Food for worms', col.pls 1a–b. The fact that the cadaver was given Bush's episcopal attributes makes it less likely that the monument was intended to include a second effigy of the bishop *au vif.*

3 I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for this example, which is situated on the west wall of the south transept of the abbey church. The inscription on the slab reads: 'Hic iacet / frater nicolaus mannis quondam / abbas hui(us) / loci qui obiit anno d(omi)ni 1501, d(ecembris) xi' (Here lies Brother Nicholas Mannis, once abbot of this place, who died A.D. 1501, 11 December).

4 The woodcuts were carved by Hans Lützelburger, who died in 1526 before he could finish the complete set. This original series was first published at Lyon in 1538 under the title *Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort*. See S. Buck, 'The *Images of Death* and the Triumph of Life', in *Hans Holbein the Younger. The Basel years 1515–1532* (Munich, 2006), pp. 117–23, at p. 118, and cat. D.21, pp. 471–77.

5 I am grateful to Philip Lankester and Claude Blair for this information. As Claude Blair observed, Holbein's contemporaries would have recognised the outmoded and dilapidated state of Death's armour: the tassets are shown hanging loose from the bottom of the cuirass instead of being right up against the edge.

6 Compare the Brederode monument at Vianen in Oosterwijk, 'Food for worms', figs 2a–c and the discussion on p. 45.

7 The original French *Danse Macabre* poem has '*le* mort' instead of '*la* mort' (Death), while the Three Dead are also usually presented as mirror images of the Three Living. See the discussion in S. Oosterwijk, 'Of corpses, constables and kings: the *danse macabre* in late-medieval and Renaissance culture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 157 (2004), pp. 169–90.

8 F. Warren (ed.), *The Dance of Death*, EETS, o.s. 181 (London, 1931, repr. 2000), 'Verba translatoris' in the MS Ellesmere version, lines 5–7. Quotations from Lydgate's poem will be based on this edition. Compare also the cardinal's lament 'dethe is come me sodeynli to assaile' (line 99) or the knight's words 'But dethes stroke hath made me so lame' (line 183).

9 The creation of the mural is recorded in the *Journal* of the so-called *Bourgeois de Paris*, or Burgher of Paris. For an overview of the *danse macabre* in Europe, see J.M. Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow, 1950), and Oosterwijk, 'Of corpses'. The new hypothesis about the reasons behind the commission is discussed in S. 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 (2008), pp. 131–62.

10 These include a presumed performance in Caudebec as early as 1393 (see also below), and others at Bruges in 1449 and Besançon in 1453: see Clark, *Dance of Death*, p. 92. For the impact of the *danse macabre* on English medieval drama, see P.S. Spinrad, *The summons of death on the medieval and Renaissance English stage* (Columbus, 1987), and S. Oosterwijk, 'Lessons in "hopping": the Dance of Death and the Chester mystery cycle', *Comparative Drama*, 36:3/4 (Fall/Winter 2002/3), pp. 249–87.

11 For a discussion of Morgan Library MS M.359, see Oosterwijk, 'Of dead kings'. The format of the vault ribs at the east end of Rosslyn Chapel likewise required that the *danse macabre* be divided into separately carved pairs one above the other. See S. Oosterwijk, '*Danse macabre* imagery in late-medieval sculpture', in A. von Hülsen-Esch, H. Westermann-Angerhausen and S. Knöll (eds), *'Zum Sterben schön!' Alter, Totentanz und Sterbekunst von 1500 bis heute*, exhibition catalogue, 2 vols (Regensburg, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 167–77, at p. 171 and fig. 7.

12 M. Camille, *The master of death: the lifeless art of Pierre Remiet, illuminator* (New Haven/London, 1996), pp. 198, 200 and fig. 143. There is a second version of the drawing in Paris, BnF, Estampes, PE 1, rés., fol. 1r. Louis of Orléans had earlier been included with his father Charles V and brother Charles VI on the cadaver monument of Cardinal Jean de la Grange (d.1402) at Avignon. See A. McGee Morganstern, 'The La Grange monument and choir: a monument of the Great Schism of the West', *Speculum*, 48 (1973), pp. 52–69, with thanks to Pamela King for reminding me of this article.

13 For a discussion of this slab and its iconography, see S. Oosterwijk, 'Madonnas, mothers, mites, and the macabre: three examples of medieval mother-and-child tomb iconography', *Church Monuments*, 18 (2003), pp. 10–22, at pp. 15–17, and figs 9 and 11.

14 Greenhill, *Incised effigial slabs*, vol. 1, p. 289, and vol. 2, pl. 153a.

15 S. Oosterwijk, '"Muoz ich tanzen und kan nit gân?" Death and the infant in the medieval *danse macabre*', *Word & Image*, 22:2 (2006), pp. 146–64.

16 P. Cockerham, 'The incised slab to an architect at Caudebec-en-Caux, Seine-Maritime', *Monumental Brass Society Transactions*, 17:2 (2004), pp. 136–43. My interpretation of the cadaver figure differs from Paul Cockerham's, who chose to regard it as Death personified.

17 See the discussion in Oosterwijk, 'Of constables', esp. pp. 61–62, 64–66.

18 Clark, *Dance of Death*, p. 93. Cockerham, 'The incised slab', p. 140, 142 and n. 15, cites instead the more positive assertion of this having been an actual *danse macabre* performance in Emile Mâle, *Religious art in France – the late Middle Ages: a study of medieval iconography and its sources* (1908, transl. Princeton, 1986), p. 330.

19 T. Riedmiller, 'Füssener Totentanz – Gesichertes und Hypothesen zur Entstehung und Überlieferungsgeschichte', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre 5*, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Düsseldorf, 2004), pp. 155–68; R. Böhm, *Der Füssener Totentanz und das Fortwirken der Totentanzidee im Ostallgäuer und Außerferner Raum* (Füssen, 1990), esp. pp. 13–38.

20 Although the scythe was the traditional attribute of Father Time (and of Cronus or Saturn before him), it also became one of Death's weapons, perhaps inspired by the description in Jeremiah 9:21–22.

21 I am grateful for this translation to Jerome Bertram, who pointed out to me that whereas the first two lines of the epitaph refer to the well-known phrase 'Dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return', the line 'quare ... spernis' has parallels in the words 'Qui tumulum cernis, cur non mortalia spernis? Tali namque domo clauditur omnis homo' (Thou who seest the tomb, why dost thou not spurn mortal things? For in a house like this every man shall be enclosed) commonly found in French epitaphs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including several at St Bertrand de Comminges.

22 Riedmiller, 'Füssener Totentanz', p. 157.
23 '[...] the exawmple whiche that at Parise / I fownde depicte ones on a walle [...] Macabrees daunce [...] The whiche daunce at seint Innocentis / Portreied is', in Warren, *Dance of Death*, 'Verba translatoris', lines 19–20, 24, 35–36.
24 J. Stow, *A survay of London, contayning the originall, antiquity, increase, moderne estate, and description of that citie, written in the yeare 1598* (London, 1598), pp. 264–65.
25 See A. Appleford, 'The Dance of Death in London: John Carpenter, John Lydgate, and the *Daunce of Poulys*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38:2 (2008), pp. 285–314. Appleford's statement on p. 295, 'The B version, which I take to be Lydgate's revision for the *Daunce of Poulys* project (not least because it bears the title *Daunce of Poulys* in two manuscripts)', fails to recognise that in England 'Dance of Paul's' was a generic term for the Dance of Death: see the discussion below. Three other B version manuscripts instead use the title 'Macrobius': see Warren, *Dance of Death*, p. xxviii. Appleford is correct in pointing out the preponderance of civic characters in the B version but the vexed problem of scribal variance remains to be properly addressed: the uninspired verses for the 'iudex' or Lord Justice scan so very differently that they are unlikely to be by Lydgate, while the stanzas for the mayor also contain some dubious metre, to name but two examples from the B version. More work is needed for a proper assessment of the poem and its authorship.
26 Warren, *Dance of Death*, lines 24 and 46 (A version).
27 H.N. MacCracken and M. Sherwood (eds), *The minor poems of John Lydgate*, part 2, EETS, o.s. 192 (London, 1934), no. 74, p. 834, lines 66–67.
28 J.O. Halliwell (ed.), *A selection from the minor poems of Dan John Lydgate* (London, 1842), pp. 27–46, at p. 34, based on BL MS Harl. 372, fols 45–51. The poem is not included in MacCracken's edition of Lydgate's minor poems.
29 C. Burgess (ed.), *The pre-Reformation records of All Saints', Bristol*, part 1, Bristol Record Society's Publications, 46 (Bristol, 1995), pp. 14, 27. See also F. Kloppenborg, 'Totentänze in der religiösen Gebrauchskunst Englands', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre 1*, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Düsseldorf, 2000), pp. 53–67, at p. 62.
30 Burgess, *The pre-Reformation records*, p. 88.
31 See, for example, the request in the 1513 will of Nicholas Beaupre of Outwell for a vaulted altar tomb 'for the pepyll to syt upon wth scripturis and scochins accordyng as I have causid Thomas Gladwyn to peynt a clothe to ley upon my grave'; the testator even provided 'coshons coveryd w^{t} greys skynnys' for added comfort. See J.R. Greenwood, 'Wills and brasses: some conclusions from a Norfolk study', in J. Bertram (ed.), *Monumental brasses as art and history* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 82–102, at p. 97. I am grateful to Sally Badham for this and other references to stained cloths.
32 Burgess, *The pre-Reformation records*, pp. 93, 93, 95, 98, 100–3, etc.; C. Burgess (ed.), *The pre-Reformation records of All Saints' church, Bristol: the churchwardens' accounts*, Bristol Record Society's Publications, 53 (Bristol, 2000), esp. 93 and 352. Entries for the Dance can be found in the index of both volumes.
33 W. Schwab, 'Totentanz und Christophorusverehrung – ein theologisches Gesamtkonzept? Ikonographische Gedanken zu den Fresken der Pfarrkirche und des Karners in Metnitz / Kärnten', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 116 (2005), pp. 1–31.
34 D. Dymond and C. Paine, *The spoil of Melford church: the Reformation in a Suffolk parish* (Ipswich, 1989), p. 23 and n. 78; Kloppenborg, 'Totentänze', pp. 56–57, 61; E. Duffy, *The stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven/London, 1992), p. 304.
35 H.T. Weyman, 'Chantry chapels in Ludlow church', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 3rd series, 4 (1904), pp. 337–70, at pp. 357–61. Also Duffy, *The stripping*, p. 304.
36 As cited in Weyman, 'Chantry chapels', pp. 359–60.
37 As explained by David Harry in his paper '"Quod tu es, ego fui; quod ego sum, tu eris": cadaver brass inscriptions and the monastic heritage of popular piety in pre-Reformation England' at the MBS symposium 'Brasses revisited' on Saturday 27 September 2008, the phrase *Sum quod eris* and the image of the corpse as food for worms was used by many Christian writers but most notably in the popular twelfth-century *Meditationes* commonly attributed to St Bernard of Clairvaux. Originally a series of meditations, the *Meditationes* were loosely adapted as a verse sermon called the 'Sayings of St Bernard' at the end of the thirteenth century and inspired such poems as the 'Signs of Death' macaronic. See also Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, esp. pp. 22–32.
38 Other losses are the canopy with Sts John the Baptist, Anne, Elizabeth and Mary of Egypt, and two angels with St John's head: see W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The monumental brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), pp. 12–13, and R. Griffin, 'A brass once in Biggleswade church', *Antiquaries Journal*, 16 (1936), pp. 284–90.
39 I am grateful to Reinhard Lamp for his translation and detailed comments, and also to Jerome Bertram for additional information. The translation in A. Bouquet, *Church brasses* (London, 1956), p. 149, is not wholly accurate.
40 N. Saul, 'At the deathbed of Archdeacon Rudyng', *Monumental Brass Society Bulletin*, 108 (May 2008), pp. 155–57.
41 Saul, 'At the deathbed', p. 157; Oosterwijk, 'Food for worms', p. 56. For a detailed discussion of the Oddington brass, see V.J.B. Torr, 'The Oddington shroud brass and its lost fellows', *Monumental Brass Society Transactions*, vol. 7, part 5 (1938), pp. 225–35. As pointed out to me by Julian Litten, Robert Rampston (d. 1585) of Chingford (Essex) went even further by leaving cash bequests to sixteen institutions, each of which received an identical brass inscription to the same. See J.W.S. Litten and F.R. Clark, *St Mary's church, Woodford, Essex* (London, 1977), pp. 14–15 and appendix II.
42 J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of the most remarkable of the sepulchral brasses of Suffolk* (Yarmouth, 1819), pl. 12. Jane Houghton kindly confirmed the survival of the indent at Lowestoft.
43 I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for his translation of this epitaph.
44 H. Bergen (ed.), *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, vol. 3, EETS, e.s. 123 (London, 1924), pp. 1025–44; see also Oosterwijk, 'Food for worms', p. 68 and fig. 19.

45 H.S. Herbrüggen, 'Ein anglikanischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des englischen Totentanzes: John Days *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, 1569', in H.-J. Müllenbrock and A. Klein (eds), *Motive und Themen in englischsprachiger Literatur als Indikatoren literaturgeschichtlicher Prozesse: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Theodor Wolpers* (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 73–93. Compare S. Badham and J. Bayliss, 'The Smalpage monument at St Bartholomew the Great, London, re-examined', *Church Monuments*, 20 (2005), pp. 81–93, figs 3a–b. Both the (incomplete) 1569 and the 1578 edition are available online via Early English Books Online (EEBO): the four religious figures occur in the latter on fols 83v–84r and again on 102v–103r.

46 J. Bayliss, 'A Dutch carver: Garrett Hollemans I in England', *Church Monuments*, 8 (1993), pp. 45–56.

47 Numerous reprints and pirate editions were published in the sixteenth century alone, while the woodcuts also served other artists as models. For example, as early as 1543 the bishop of Chur in Switzerland commissioned a *Totentanz* wall-painting closely modelled on Holbein's woodcuts, which is currently preserved in the Rhätisches Museum in Chur. See R. Hammerstein, *Tanz und Musik des Todes: die mittelalterlichen Totentänze und ihr Nachleben* (Berne/Munich, 1980), p. 219. Francis Douce also cites a dedication letter by T. Nieuhoff Piccard written soon after the fire at Whitehall Palace in 1697, claiming that the fire also destroyed a *Dance of Death* painted by Holbein: see F. Douce, *Holbein's Dance of Death, exhibited in elegant engravings on wood, with a dissertation on the several representations of the subject* (1833, repr. London, 1858), pp. 124–27.

48 The brass is illustrated and parts of the will cited in a report by Janet Barrick of the 1999 MBS Annual Conference in *MBS Bulletin*, 83 (January 2000), pp. 466–68, at p. 468, based on her talk there.

49 For a discussion and illustration of the tomb, see P. Lindley, '"Disrespect for the dead"? The destruction of tomb monuments in sixteenth-century England', *Church Monuments*, 19 (2004), pp. 53–79, at p. 63 and fig. 6.

50 C.J.P. Cave, 'Note', *Archaeologia*, 85 (1936), pp. 127–28; M.D. Anderson, *History and imagery in British churches* (1971, repr. London, 1995), pp. 214–15.

51 I am grateful to Paul Cockerham for drawing my attention to this panel and for providing me with photos and information.

52 M.D. Harris, 'The misericords of Coventry', *Birmingham Archaeological Society Transactions and Proceedings*, 50 (1927), pp. 246–66; S. Oosterwijk, 'Money, morality, mortality: the migration of the *danse macabre* from murals to misericords', in P. Horden (ed.), *Freedom of movement in the Middle Ages* (2003 Harlaxton Symposium Proceedings), Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 15 (Donington, 2007), pp. 37–56.

53 H.S. Herbrüggen, 'Der Totentanz von Rosslyn (Schottland). Ein Beitrag zu einem neuen Forschungsvorhaben', *Jahrbuch der Universität Düsseldorf 1981–83* (Düsseldorf, 1986), pp. 165–75; Oosterwijk, '*Danse macabre* imagery', p. 171 and fig. 7.

54 M.C. Gill, 'Late medieval wall painting in England: content and context (*c.*1330–*c.*1530)', unpublished PhD thesis (Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2002), pp. 403, 405 and pl. 6.8; Oosterwijk, 'Money, morality', p. 55 and fig. 24; R. Rosewell, *Medieval wall paintings in English and Welsh churches* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 83–84, fig. 101.

55 C. Platt, *The parish churches of medieval England* (London, 1981), p. 123 and fig. 89; P. Morgan, 'Of worms and war: 1380–1558', in P.C. Jupp and C. Gittings (eds), *Death in England: an illustrated history* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 119–46, at p. 126 and fig. 54.

56 For example, Gail McMurray Gibson originally misinterpreted the reference to the 'three long cloths' of the 'daunce of Paule' in the Long Melford inventories as banners for a maypole dance, and she was not alone in making this mistake; see G. McMurray Gibson, 'East Anglian drama and the Dance of Death: some second thoughts on the "Dance of Paul's"', *Early Drama, Art, and Music Newsletter*, 5 (Autumn 1982), pp. 1–9, at p. 1 and n. 2.

57 Prices for brasses had begun to fall quite sharply by the mid fifteenth century: for comparison, Nigel Saul discusses the example of Richard Bamme of Gillingham who in 1442 set aside £4 13s 4d for a figure brass to his wife. See N. Saul, 'The contract for the brass of Richard Willoughby (d. 1471) at Wollaton (Notts.)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 50 (2006), pp. 166–93, at p. 178. In 1421 a price of £22 13s 4d was stipulated in a contract made by Richard Hertcombe with the London carver Robert Broun for an alabaster tomb chest with arches over a vault enabling bodies to be buried underneath: see G.H. Bark, 'A London alabasterer in 1421', *Antiquaries Journal*, 29 (1949), pp. 89–91. This contract did not include effigies, however, as these were ordered separately by Hertcombe from the workshop of Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton at Chellaston at the cost of a further forty-three marks: see J. Bayliss, 'An indenture for two alabaster effigies', *Church Monuments*, 16 (2001), pp. 22–29, esp. p. 25. I am grateful to Sally Badham for these references.

58 R. Marks, 'Henry Williams and his "ymage of deth" roundel at Stanford on Avon, Northamptonshire', *Antiquaries Journal*, 54 (1974), pp. 272–74; also Morgan, 'Of worms', p. 121 and fig. 50.

59 London, BL, Lansdowne MS 1028, fol. 246r, cited in Marks, 'Henry Williams', p. 273.

60 P. Binski, *Medieval death: ritual and representation* (London, 1996), p. 158 and col.pl. XI. Binski's description of the latter image as 'a grotesque parody of the Man of Sorrows' and thus 'a Christian anti-representation' seems extravagant. One may also compare the figure of Death standing in a coffin upon a bier while aiming an arrow at the beholder in the centre of a Last Judgement altarpiece of *c.*1550–55 by the Münster painter Hermann tom Ring (Utrecht, Catharijneconvent Museum).

61 For both the drawings and the trefoil stained-glass panels, see *Gothic and Renaissance art in Nuremberg 1300–1550*, exhibition catalogue (New York/Munich, 1986), pp. 286–89, cat. nos 116–17. Compare also Dürer's charcoal drawing *King Death on Horseback* of 1505 (London, British Museum) with the label 'Memento mei' in F. Anzelewsky, *Dürer. His Art and Life* (1980, transl. New York, 1981), pp. 118–19, fig. 111.

62 Oosterwijk, 'Food for worms', esp. p. 44 and col.pl. 11 Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, esp. pp. 15–16 and *passim*. Chichele's protégé Bishop Beckington (d. 1465) also ordered his cadaver monument at Wells Cathedral in his lifetime.

63 See also the discussion of resurrection imagery in J. Wilson, 'Go for Baroque: the Bruce mausoleum at Maulden, Bedfordshire', *Church Monuments*, 22 (2007), pp. 66–95, 175.
64 Groupe de Recherches sur les Peintures Murales (eds), *Vifs nous sommes ... morts nous serons. La rencontre des trois morts et des trois vifs dans la peinture murale en France* (Vendôme, 2001), pp. 11–12; 'Picture puzzle', *MBS Bulletin*, 93 (2003), p. 668.
65 The inscription that names Berry as the patron is quoted from Dom Jacques du Breul's *Théâtre des antiquités*, p. 835, in G.-M. Leproux, 'L'église des Saints-Innocents', in M. Fleury and G.-M. Leproux (eds), *Les Saints-Innocents* (Paris, 1990), pp. 74–83, at pp. 80–81. The inscription does not mention the assassination of Louis of Orléans, however.
66 See Spinrad, *The summons*; Oosterwijk, 'Lessons in "hopping"'. *The Castle of Perseverance* appears to contain a *danse macabre* allusion in lines 3424–25, which describe how Mankind 'wende that he schulde a levyd ay, / Tyl Deth trypte hym on hys daunce'. See M. Eccles (ed.), *The Macro plays: The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom, Mankind*, EETS, o.s. 262 (London/New York/Toronto, 1969).
67 S.G. Fein, 'Life and death, reader and page: mirrors of mortality in English manuscripts', *Mosaic*, 35:1 (2002), pp. 69–94.
68 *The English Dance of Death, from the designs of Thomas Rowlandson, with metrical illustrations by the author of 'Doctor Syntax'*, 2 vols (London, 1903); R.R. Wark, *Rowlandson's drawings for* The English Dance of Death (San Marino, 1966). Compare also D. Gaimster, S. McCarthy and B. Nurse (eds), *Making history. Antiquaries in Britain 1707–2007* (London, 2007), cat. 69.
69 J. Wilson, 'Icons of unity', *History Today*, 43 (June 1993), pp. 14–20, at pp. 16–17. Also W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The monumental brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), pp. 156, 158; M. Norris, *Monumental brasses: the memorials* (London, 1977), part 1, p. 226, and part 2, pl. 265. The tomb is signed 'Evesham Fecit' and said to be the work of Epiphamius or Epiphany Evesham. See also G. Lipscomb, *The history and antiquities of the county of Buckingham* (London, 1847), vol. 3, p. 414–15, and N. Llewellyn, *Funeral monuments in post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 51–52 and fig. 30, where the scene is interpreted as a deathbed with a bed-curtain.
70 P. Sherlock, *Monuments and memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 71–72; A.B. Connor, *Monumental brasses in Somerset* (Bath, 1970; originally published in *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 39 (1933), pp. 42–46 and pl. XVIII.
71 Sherlock, *Monuments*, p. 71, mistranslates 'DIV VIXIT' as 'she lived too short a time' and assigns the whole text to William. I am grateful to Jean Wilson for this reference and to Sally Badham for sending me photocopies of the relevant pages. Unfortunately, this new book appeared too late for me to incorporate its findings in this article.
72 Compare Oosterwijk, 'Food for worms', esp. fig. 11.
73 P. Cockerham, *Continuity and change. Memorialisation and the Cornish funeral monument industry 1497–1660*, BAR British Series 412 (Oxford, 2006), pl. 108.
74 B. Kemp, 'The Acton monument at Baylham, Suffolk', *CMS Newsletter*, 21:1 (Summer 2005), pp. 8–10. Death symbols and allegory are also discussed in B. Kemp, *English church monuments* (London, 1980), chap. 7, esp. pp. 160–81. Jean Wilson also kindly alerted me to R. Morris, 'Shrouded Death', *CMS Newsletter*, 10:1 (Summer 1994), pp. 19–20, which mentions further examples.
75 Llewellyn, *Funeral monuments*, pp. 339–40 and fig. 212a.
76 W. Walters-DiTraglia, 'Death, commemoration and the heraldic funeral in Tudor and Stuart Cheshire and Lancashire, part 1', *The Coat of Arms*, 3rd ser., 3, part 1, no. 213 (Spring 2007), pp. 35–54, at p. 39 and col. pl. 4. I am grateful to Philip Lankester and Sally Badham for alerting me to this memorial at Over Peover, and to Wendy Trevor for sending me a copy of her article and a photo of the painting.
77 See D. Munro, 'St John's conventual church in Valletta, Malta: the dynamism of a church floor', *Church Monuments*, 23 (2008), Col. pl. 9.
78 D. Bindman and M. Baker, *Roubiliac and the eighteenth-century monument: sculpture as theatre* (New Haven/London, 1995), cat. 13, pp. 325–30 and *passim*. The monument was not completed until 1761, after Joseph Nightingale (d. 1752) had left instructions for its commission in his will. Tradition has it that Lady Nightingale was sent into premature labour by a flash of lightning, which could have inspired the imagery of the monument: see J. Physick (introduction) and J.W. Blundell (photos), *Westminster Abbey: the monuments* (London, 1989), no. 30, p. 119. I am grateful to Jean Wilson for this reference.
79 Physick and Blundell, *Westminster Abbey*, no. 67, p. 125.
80 R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (1955, 3rd edn, Oxford, 1981), cat. 77 and pls 122–26; C. Avery, *Bernini: genius of the Baroque* (London, 1997), esp. chap. 7, 'The papal tombs: Bernini and the Dance of Death', pp. 118–39. Also E. Panofsky, *Tomb sculpture: four lectures on its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H.W. Janson (1964, repr. London, 1992), pp. 94–95 and pls 440–41.
81 I. Roscoe, 'Flemish sculptors and adjustments for the English market: the case of Peter Scheemakers', *Church Monuments*, 7 (1992), pp. 75–84, but esp. pp. 77–78 and pls 3–5.
82 Kemp, *English church monuments*, pp. 180–81, illustrated in B. Kemp, *Church monuments* (Princes Risborough, 1997), p. 26. Further symbolism on the monument includes a sickle with a rosebud at the top and a poppy beside the seemingly sleeping figure. Flowers were traditional symbols for the transitoriness of life, as is evident in Lydgate's description of Death who 'can abate the fresshnes of her flowres' in *The Dance of Death*, line 12.
83 N. Pevsner, *The buildings of England: Derbyshire* (London, 1953), pl. 30b. The monument was taken down at some point in time, and the figures of Sale, his wife and their children (surviving and deceased) were reassembled in a rather haphazard way against the east wall of the south aisle of the nave.

Col. pl. 1. Wall-painting commemorating Louis, duke of Orléans, in the family chapel at the monastery of Les Célestins, Paris, commissioned in the late fifteenth century by his grandson Louis XII and destroyed *c.*1779, as recorded in a Gaignières drawing (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough-Gaignières 1, fol. 1r).

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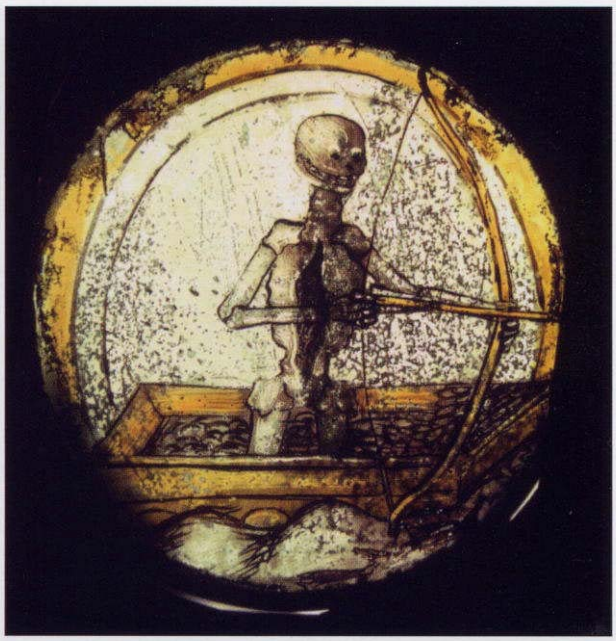
Col. pl. 2a. Stained-glass panel showing Death shooting an arrow at Vicar Henry Williams (d. 1501), Stanford on Avon (Northamptonshire).
Photo reproduced by permission of Keith Barley, Barley Studio, York



Col. pl. 2b. Detail of Death in the stained-glass panel commemorating Vicar Henry Williams (d. 1501), Stanford on Avon (Northamptonshire).
Photo reproduced by permission of Keith Barley, Barley Studio, York

Col. pl. 3a-b. Two stained-glass trefoil panels showing Death shooting an arrow at Provost Sixtus Tucher, 1502, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Germany).
Photo reproduced by permission of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Col. pl. 4. Death on a painted memorial tablet to William Littleboys (d. 1624), east wall of the Mainwaring north chapel, St Lawrence, Over Peover (Cheshire).

Photo: Francis DiTraglia