Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Oosterwijk, S.

Citation
Oosterwijk, S. (2009, June 25). '*Fro Paris to Inglond*'*? The danse macabre in text and image in late-medieval England*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13873

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13873

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

APPENDIX 2:
Order of characters in copies of Lydgate's *Dance of Death** with a list of manuscripts divided into groups.

* MS Ellesmere (EL 26.A.13) and MS Lansdowne 699, based on Warren's edition, the latter version matching the order in Lincoln Cathedral Library MS C.5.4 (129) and Leiden University Library, MS Vossius C.G.Q. 9. Warren corrected the order in the Ellesmere manuscript to match that of other A group manuscripts.

Spelling follows that of the original labels, with 'clerical' characters underlined, female characters in bold, and Roman numerals matching the order of stanzas in the Ellesmere and Lansdowne manuscripts according to Warren's edition. Characters occurring in only one group are indicated with an asterisk.

MS Ellesmere (Warren group A)	**MS Lansdowne 699 (Warren group B)**
Verba translatoris (I-V)	--
Verba auctoris (VI-VII)	[*Verba auctoris*] (I) + *'Angel'* (II)
1. Pope (VIII-IX)	1. Papa (III-IV)
2. Emperowre (X-XI)	2. Imperator (V-VI)
3. Cardynall (XII-XIII)	3. Cardinalis (VII-VIII)
4. Kynge (XIV-XV) [= *L*6]	*4. **Imperatrix** (IX-X)
5. Patriarke (XVI-XVII)	5. Patriarcha (XI-XII)
6. Constable (XVIII-XIX) [= *L*8]	6. Rex (XIII-XIV)
7. Archebisshop (XX-XI)	7. Archiepiscopus (XV-XVI)
8. Baroun or kny3t (XXII-XXIII) [= *L*10]	8. Princeps (XVII-XVIII)
*9. **Lady of gret astate** (XXIV-XXV)	9. Episcopus (XIX-XX)
10. Bysshoppe (XXVI-XXVII) [= *L*9]	10. Comes & Baro (XXI-XXII)
11. Squyere (XXVIII-XXIX) [= *L*15]	11. Abbas & Prior (XXIII-XXIV)
12. Abbott (XXX-XXXI) [= *L*11]	12. **Abbatissa** (XXV-XXVI)
13. **Abbesse** (XXXII-XXXIII) [= *L*12]	*13. Iudex (XXVII-XXVIII)
*14. Baylly (XXXIV-XXXV)	*14. Doctor vtriusque Juris (XXIX-XXX)
15. Astronomere (XXXVI-XXXVII) [= *L*23]	15. Miles & Armiger (XXXI-XXXII)
*16. Burgeys (XXXVIII-XXXIX)	*16. Maior (XXXIII-XXXIV)
17. Chanoun (XL-XLI) [= *L*18]	*17. Canonicus Regularis (XXXV-XXXVI)
18. Marchaunte (XLII-XLIII) [= *L*30]	18. Decanus (XXXVII-XXXVIII)
19. Chartereux (XLIV-XLV) [= *L*20]	*19. **Monialis** (XXXIX-XL)
20. Sergeaunt (XLVI-XLVII) [= *L*25]	20. Chartreux (XLI-XLII)
*21. Monk (XLVIII-XLIX)	21. Sergeant' in lawe (XLIII-XLIV)
*22. Vsurere (L-LI) +Pore man (LII)	22. **Generosa** (XLV-XLVI)
23. Phisician (LIII-LIV) [= *L*29]	23. Magister in Astronomia (XLVII-XLVIII)
*24. Amerous squyere (LV-LVI)	24. Frater (XLIX-L)
25. **Gentilwoman amerous** (LVII-LVIII) [= *L*22]	25. Sergant' (LI-LII)
26. Man of lawe (LIX-LX) [= *L*21]	26. Iurour' (LIII-LIV)
27. Jouroure (LXI-LXII) [= *L*26]	27. Mimus (LV-LVI)
28. Mynstralle (LXIII-LXIV) [= *L*27]	*28. Famulus (LVII-LVIII)
*29. Tregetoure (LXV-LXVI)	29. Phisicus (LIX-LX)
*30. Persoun (LXVII-LXVII)	30. Mercator (LXI-LXII)
31. Laborere (LXIX-LXX) [= *L*32]	*31. Artifex (LXIII-LXIV)
32. Frere menour (LXXI-LXXII) [= *L*24]	32. Laborarius (LXV-LXVI)
33. Chylde (LXXIII-LXXIV) [= *L*33]	33. Infans (LXVII-LXVIII)

*34. Clerke (LXXV-LXXVI)	34. Heremita (LXIX-LXX)
35. Ermyte (LXXVII-LXXVIII) [= *L*34]	---
**Dethe a-3en to the Ermyte* (LXXIX)	---
Kynge liggyng dede & eten with wormes (LXXX)	*'Conclusio'* (LXXI)
Machabre the Doctoure (LXXXI-LXXXII)	*[Author]* (LXXII)
**Lenvoye de translatoure* (LXXXIII-LXXXIV)	---

F. Warren, group A:
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden Supra 53
Huntingdon Library, MS Ellesmere (EL 26.A.13)
London, BL MS Harley 116
Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.21
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud 735
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 221

Additional manuscripts in this group:
New Haven, Yale Univ. Library Beinecke MS 493
Coventry, P.R.O. MS 325/1
Rome, Venerable English College MS 1306

F. Warren, group B:
Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 686
London, BL MS Lansdowne 699
Leiden Univ. Library, MS Vossius C.G.Q. 9
Lincoln Cathedral, MS C.5.4
London, BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. xxv

APPENDIX 3:
Comparison of characters in the *Danse Macabre* texts in Marchant's 1485 edition, Lille ms. 139* and BL Add. MS 38858**, and in Lydgate's *Dance of Death.*

* Lille, Bibl. publ., ms. 139, as edited in E.P. Hammond, *English Verse* (1965), pp. 427-35.
** As edited in F. Warren, *Dance of Death* (1931), pp. 79-96.
(The order in MS Ellesmere (EL 26.A.13) and MS Lansdowne 699 has been adapted to allow comparison of characters; spelling follows that of the original labels, with 'clerical' characters indicated underlined, female characters in bold.)

Marchant (1485 edition) and Lille manuscript	**Lydgate MS Ellesmere (Warren group A)**	**Lydgate MS Lansdowne (Warren group B)**
---	*Verba translatoris*	--
Lacteur	*Verba auctoris*	[*Verba auctoris*] + *'Angel'*
1. Le pape	1. Pope	1. Papa
2. Lempereur	2. Emperowre	2. Imperator
3. Le cardinal	3. Cardynall	3. Cardinalis
---	---	4. **Imperatrix**
4. Le roy	4. Kynge	6. Rex
5. Le patriarche	5. Patriarke	5. Patriarcha
6. Le connestable	6. Constable	8. ≈ Princeps
7. Larcheueque	7. Archebisshop	7. Archiepiscopus
8. Le cheualier	8. Baroun or kny3t	10. Comes & Baro
---	9. **Lady of gret astate**	**---**
9. Leuesque	10. Bysshoppe	9. Episcopus
10. Lescuier	11. Squyere	15. Miles & Armiger
11. Labbe	12. Abbott	11. Abbas & Prior
---	13. **Abbesse**	12. **Abbatissa**
---	---	13. Iudex
---	---	14. Doctor vtriusque Juris
12. Le bailly	14. Baylly	---
---	---	16. Maior
---	---	17. Canonicus Regularis
13. Le maistre	15. Astronomere	23. Magister in Astronomia
14. Le bourgois	16. Burgeys	---
15. Le chanoine	17. Chanoun	18. Decanus
---	---	19. **Monialis**
16. Le marchant	18. Marchaunte	30. Mercator
---	---	31. Artifex
17. Le chartreux	19. Chartereux	20. Chartreux
18. Le sergent	20. Sergeaunt	25. Sergant'
19. Le moinne	21. Monk	---
20. Lusurier + le poure homme	22. Vsurere + Pore man	---
21. Le medecin	23. Phisician	29. Phisicus
22. Lamoreux	24. Amerous squyere	---
---	25. **Gentilwoman amerous**	22. **Generosa**
23. Cure [= 25 Lille/BL]	30. Persoun	---
24. Le laboureur [= 26 Lille/BL]	31. Laborere	32. Laborarius
25. Ladvocat [= 23 Lille/BL]	26. Man of lawe	21. Sergeant' in lawe

---	27. Jouroure	26. Iurour’
26. Le menestrel [= 24 Lille/BL]	28. Mynstralle	27. Mimus
---	---	28. Famulus
---	29. Tregetoure	---
27. Le cordelier	32. Frere menour	24. Frater
28. Lenfant	33. Chylde	33. Infans
29. Le clerc	34. Clerke	---
30. Le hermite	35. Ermyte	34. Heremita
Le mort [to the hermit]	*Dethe a-3en to the Ermyte*	---
Ung roy mort	*Kynge liggyng dede & eten with wormes*	*Conclusio*
Lacteur	*Machabre the Doctoure*	*[Author]*
---	*Lenvoye de translatoure*	--

APPENDIX 4:
Comparison of characters in the Latin *Totentanz*,* Lydgate's *Dance of Death* and Marchant's 1485 *Danse Macabre* edition.

* Heidelberg University Library, Cpg 314.
(The order of characters in Lydgate's *Dance of Death* in MS Ellesmere (EL 26.A.13) and MS Lansdowne 699 and in Marchant's 1485 *Danse Macabre* edition has been adapted to allow comparison of characters; spelling follows that of the original labels, with 'clerical' characters underlined and female characters in bold.)

Latin-German Totentanz	**Lydgate MS Ellesmere (Warren group A)** (*E*)	**Lydgate MS Lansdowne (Warren group B)** (*L*)	**Marchant (1st edition, 1485)**
---	*Verba translatoris*	---	---
Doctor	*Verba auctoris*	[*Verba auctoris*] + *'Angel'*	*Lacteur*
'Theutunice' (= German prologue)	---	---	---
1. Papa	1. Pope	1. Papa	1. Le pape
2. Caesar	2. Emperowre	2. Imperator	2. Lempereur
3. **Caesarissa**	---	4. **Imperatrix**	---
4. Rex	4. Kynge	6. Rex	4. Le roy
5. Cardinalis	3. Cardynall	3. Cardinalis	3. Le cardinal
6. Patriarcha	5. Patriarke	5. Patriarch	5. Le patriarche
---	6. Constable	8. ≈ Princeps	6. Le connestable
7. Archiepiscopus	7. Archebisshop	7. Archiepiscopus	7. Larcheuesque
8. Dux	---	---	---
---	9. **Lady of gret astate**	---	---
9. Episcopus	10. Bysshoppe	9. Episcopus	9. Leuesque
10. Comes	8. Baroun or kny3t	10. Comes & Baro	8. Le cheualier
11. Abbas	12. Abbott	11. Abbas & Prior	11. Labbe
---	13. **Abbesse**	12. **Abbatissa**	---
---	---	13. Iudex?	---
---	---	14. Doctor vtriusque Juris	---
12. Miles	11. ≈ Squyere?	15. ≈ Miles & armiger?	10. ≈ Lescuier?
13. Jurista	26. Man of lawe	27. Sergeant in law	25. Laduocat
---	---	16. Maior	---
---	---	17. Canonicus regularis	---
---	14. Baylly	---	12. Le bailly
---	15. Astronomere	23. Magister in Astronomia	13. Le maistre
---	16. Burgher	--	14. Le bourgois
14. Canonicus	17. Chanoun	19. Decanus	15. Le chanoine
15. Medicus	23. Phisician	29. Phisicus	21. Le medecin
16. Nobilis	[*cf.* Sergeant?]	---	---
17. **Nobilissa**	[*cf.* E9?]	---	---
18. Mercator seu cives	18. Marchaunte	30. Mercator	16. Le marchant
---	19. Chartereux	20. Chartreux	17. Le chartreux
19. **Monialis**	---	19. **Monialis**	---
---	21. Monk	---	19. Le moinne
---	20. Sergeaunt	25. Sergeant'	18. Le sergent

---	26. Man of lawe	21. Sergeant' in lawe	---
---	---	31. Artificex	---
---	22. Vsurere	---	20. Lusurier
20. Mendicus	+Pore man	---	+Le poure homme
21. Cocus	---	---	---
22. Rusticus	31. Laborere	31. Laborarius	24. Le laboureur
---	24. Amorous squire	---	22. Lamoreux
---	25. **Gentilwoman amerous**	26. **Generosa**	---
---	27. Jouroure	28. Iurour'	---
---	28. Mynstralle	29. Mimus	26. Le menestrel
---	---	30. Famulus	---
---	39. Tregetoure	---	---
---	30. Persoun	---	23. Le cure
---	32. Frere menour	32. Frater	27. Le cordelier
23. Puer in cunabulo	33. Child	33. Infans	28. Lenfant
24. **Mater**	---	---	---
	34. Clerke	---	29. Le clerc
	35. Ermyte	34. Heremita	30. Le hermite
---	*Dethe a-3en to the Ermyte*	---	*Le mort*
	Kynge liggyng dede & eten with wormes	*Conclusio*	*Ung roy mort*
Alius doctor	*Machabre the Doctoure*	*[Author]*	*Lacteur*
'Theutunice' (= German epilogue)	*L'envoy de translatoure*	--	*[Marchant]*

APPENDIX 5:
Comparison of characters in the *Danse Macabre* texts in two French manuscripts (Lille ms. 139* and BL Add. MS 38858**), and in the Spanish *Dança General de la Muerte****.

* Lille, Bibl. publ., ms. 139, as edited in E.P. Hammond, *English Verse* (1965), pp. 427-35.
** As edited in F. Warren, *Dance of Death* (1931), pp. 79-96.
(The order in MS Ellesmere (EL 26.A.13) and MS Lansdowne 699 has been adapted to allow comparison of characters; spelling follows that of the original labels, with 'clerical' characters indicated underlined, female characters in bold.)
*** As edited in J. Saugnieux, *Les danses macabres de France et d'Espagne* (1972), pp. 165-82.

French *danse macabre*	***Dança General de la Muerte***
Lacteur	*La muerte* (Death)
---	*El predicador* (The preacher)
---	*Bueno e sano consejo* (Good and healthy counsel)
---	*Primeramenta llama a su dança a dos donsellas* (First he [Death] calls to his dance two maidens)
1. Le pape	1. El padre santo (*pope*)
2. Lempereur	2. El enperador (*emperor*)
3. Le cardinal	3. El cardenal (*cardinal*)
4. Le roy	4. El rrey (*king*)
5. Le patriarche	5. El patriarca (*patriarch*)
---	6. El duque (*duke*)
---	7. El arçobispo (*archbishop*)
6. Le connestable	8. El condestable (*constable*)
7. Larcheueque	9. El obispo (*bishop*)
8. Le cheualier	10. El cauallero (*knight*)
9. Leuesque	11. El abad (*abbot*)
10. Lescuier	12. El escudero (*squire*)
11. Labbe	13. El dean (*deacon*)
12. Le bailly	14. El mercadero (*merchant*)
13. Le maistre	15. El arcediano (*archdeacon*)
14. Le bourgois	16. El abagado (*lawyer*)
15. Le chanoine	17. El canonigo (*canon*)
16. Le marchant	18. El fisico (*physician*)
17. Le chartreux	19. El cura (*curate*)
18. Le sergent	20. El labrador (*labourer*)
19. Le moinne	21. El monge (*monk*)
20. Lusurier + le poure homme	22. El vsurero (*usurer*)
21. Le medecin	23. El frayre (*friar*)
22. Lamoreux	24. El porter (*doorkeeper*)
23. Ladvocat	26. La hermitanno (*hermit*)
24. Le menestrel	28. El contador (*comptroller*)
25. Cure	30. El diacono (*deacon*)
26. Le laboureur	32. El recabdador (*tax collector*)
27. Le cordelier	32. El subdiacono (*subdeacon*)

28. Lenfant
29. Le clerc
30. Le hermite

33. El sacristan (*sacristan*)
34. El rrabi (*rabbi*)
35. El alfaqui (*alfaquí, Islamic theologian*)
36. El santero (*hermitage keeper*)

Le mort [to the hermit]

La muerte (Death)

Ung roy mort

La muerte a los que non nombro
(Death to those who are not already named)

Lacteur

Los que han de pasar por la muerte
(Those who have to suffer death)

APPENDIX 6:
Latin *Totentanz* verses in Heidelberg University Library Cpg 314.*

* As published in H. Rosenfeld, *Der mittelalterliche Totentanz*, pp. 320-23; translations by Fr. Jerome Bertram OSB.

———————————————————————————————————————

Doctor *(Doctor of Divinity)*
O vos viventes, huius mundi sapientes,
cordibus apponite duo verba Christi: 'Venite!'
nec non et: 'Ite!' Per primum ianua vitae
iustis erit nota, sed per aliud quoque porta
inferi monstratur: sic res diversificatur.
Gaudia vel pene sine fine sunt ibi plene.
Hinc voce sana vos hortor spernere vana.
Tempus namque breve vivendi, postea 'vae, vae!'
mors geminata parit, sua nulli vis quoque parcit.
Fistula tartarea vos iungit in una chorea,
qua licet inviti saliunt ut stulti periti.
Haec ut pictura docet exemplique figura.

O, you wise men of this world, still living,
fix in your hearts these two words of Christ, 'Come!',
not to mention 'Go!'. By the first word the gate of life
will be known to the just; but by the other the gate
of Hell is indicated: thus the matter is divided.
Complete joys – or pains – are there without end.
Therefore in a sane voice I exhort you, avoid what is vain.
For the time of living is short, afterwards 'Woe, woe!'
The second death brings forth, and his own strength delivers nobody.
The flute of Hell unites you into one dance,
where the learned leap like fools, although unwillingly.
As this picture shows you, and the painted example[s].

Papa *(Pope)*
Sanctus dicebar, nullum vivendo verebar.
Frivole nunc ducor ad mortem, vane reluctor.

I used to be called holy; while living I respected no one.
Now I am led in an undignified manner to my death; in vain do I resist.

Caesar *(Emperor)*
Culmen imperii vincendo magnificavi.
Morte sum victus, non Caesar, non homo dictus.

By my conquests I increased the might of the Empire.
Now I am conquered by Death, named not Caesar, nor man even.

Caesarissa *(Empress)*
Deliciis usa vivens ut Caesaris uxor.
Morte confusa nullis modo gaudiis utor.

Alive, as the wife of the emperor, I enjoyed delicacies.
Now I am confounded by Death, and enjoy no delights.

Rex *(King)*
Ut ego rex urbem, sic rexi non minus orbem.
Nunc miser in poenis mortis constringor habenis.
As I, the king, ruled the city, no less ruled I the world.
Now I am wretched and in pain, bound by the reins of Death.

Cardinalis *(Cardinal)*
Ecclesiae gratus fui per papam piliatus.
Mortis protervam nunc stringor adire catervam.
I was pleasing to the Church, and given a hat by the Pope.
Yet now I am compelled to attend the impudent throng of Death.

Patriarcha *(Patriarch)*
Duplici signatus cruce sum patriarcha vocatus
et mortis dirae cogor consortes adire.
I am called a patriarch, distinguished by a double cross,
but I am compelled to join the companions of dire Death.

Archiepiscopus *(Archbishop)*
Doctrina fultis hoc signum praetuli multis
metropolitanus, nunc cum vanis ego vanus.
I carried this emblem before many who were sustained by my doctrine
as Metropolitan; now I am void among the void.

Dux *(Duke)*
Nobiles eduxi, quorum dux ipse reluxi,
sed nunc, ut adeam, cogor cum morte choream.
I led out the nobles, and reflected light as their leader,
but now I am compelled to join the dance with Death.

Episcopus *(Bishop)*
Praesul egregius venerabar hic quasi dijus [*sic*].
Heu! nunc distorti praesumunt, me dare morti.
As a distinguished prelate I was honoured here as if I were divine [divus?].
Alas! Now the twisting dancers take control of me to give me to Death.

Comes *(Count)*
Nobilis imperii comes, in mundo reputatus,
morte nunc perii chorisantibus associatus.
A noble count of the Empire I was reputed in the world;
now I have perished by Death, joined to the dancing throng.

Abbas *(Abbot)*
Ut pater arctavi monachos et optime pavi.
Nunc egomet stringor et mortis regula cingor.
As a father I restrained my monks, and nourished them excellently.
Now I am constrained myself, and bound by the Rule of Death.

Miles *(Knight)*
Strenuus in armis deduxi gaudia carnis.
Contra iura mea ducor in ista chorea.
Vigorous in arms, I drew to me the joys of the flesh.
Now I am led in this dance, against my rights [or: *vows*].

Jurista *(Lawyer)*
Non iuvat appello de mortis ultimo bello.
Succumbunt iura legesque sub ista figura.
'It does not please me', I appeal, against the last conflict with Death.
Yet Canon and Civil Law yield to this configuration.

Canonicus *(Canon)*
In choro cantavi melodias, quas adamavi.
Discrepat iste sonus et mortis fistulae tonus.
In choir I sang the melodies in which I delighted.
The noise and the sound of the pipe of Death are dissonant.

Medicus *(Physician)*
Curavi multos iuvenes, mediocres, adultos.
Quis modo me curat? Mihi mors contraria iurat.
I cured many, both young men, the middle-aged, and the old.
Who shall cure me now? Death swears the opposite for me.

Nobilis *(Nobleman)*
Armis consortes in vita terrui fortes.
Nunc mortis terror me terret, ultimus error.
When alive I terrified strong men who were skilled in arms.
Now the terror of Death, the last error, terrifies me.

Nobilissa *(Noblewoman)*
Plaudere deberem, si ludicra vitae viderem.
Fistula me fallit mortis, quae dissona psallit.
I ought to applaud, were I to see the follies of life.
The pipe of Death deceives me, which sounds discords.

Mercator seu cives *(Merchant or burgher)*
Vivere speravi, thesauros elaboravi.
Munera mors spernit, ab amicis meque secernit.
I hoped to live, I piled up treasures.
Death spurns my tribute, and takes me away from my friends.

Monialis *(Nun)*
In claustro grata servivi Christo velata.
Quid valet orare? Me mors iubet hic chorisare.
In the cloister I served Christ, gracious and veiled.
What use is it to pray? Death bids me dance here.

Mendicus *(Beggar)*
Pauper mendicus, viventi turpis amicus,
morti carus erit, illum cum divite quaerit.
A poor mendicant, vile friend to the living,
shall be dear to Death, who seeks him in company with the rich man.

Cocus *(Cook)*
Fercula condita quamvis in mundo paravi.
Raptus a vita mortem minime superavi.
Although in this world I prepared compound dishes
snatched away from life, I failed to overcome death.

Rusticus *(Peasant)*
Hic in sudore vixi magnoque labore.
Non minus a morte fugio contraria sorte.
Here I lived in sweat and great toil.
No less do I escape from Death, by a contrary fate.

Puer in cunabulo *(Child in the cradle)*
O cara mater, me vir a te trahit ater.
Debeo saltare, qui nunquam scivi meare.
O dear mother, a black man drags me away from you.
I must dance, I who never learnt to walk.

Mater *(Mother)*
O fili care, quae te volui liberare,
morte praeventa saliendo sumque retenta.
O my dear son, I who wished to set you free
am forestalled by Death, and kept here fore dancing.

Alius doctor *(Another Doctor)*
(depictus praedicando in opposita parte de contemptu mundi)
O vos mortales, perversi mundi sodales,
finem pensate que futura considerate,
qualibus ad primum tempusque requiritur imum.
Pro loco duplatur, ubi fines perpetuatur.
Mors horrenda nimis est cunctorum quoque finis.
Qualiter aut quando venerit, manet in dubitando.
Sic etiam dura noscuntur inde futura
propter ignotum remanendi locum quoque totum.
Pendet a factis in isto mundo peractis.
Ergo peccare desistite, si properare
ad finem cupitis optatum, nam bene scitis,
quod coelum dignis locus est, sed fit malis ignis.
(Another doctor,
depicted preaching on the example of the world, at the other end)
O you mortals, comrades of the perverse world,
think of your end and consider things to come,
by which the investigation will be made in the first moment and at the last.
There are two results as to the location where the end will be perpetuated.
Death is greatly to be feared and is the end of everyone.
Yet how and when he will come remains in doubt.
However, hard things are certain to result from it
because the place to remain is totally unknown;
it depends on deeds performed in this world.
So desist from sin, if you really desire
to make your way towards the end you desire, for you know well
that Heaven is the place for the worthy, but fire is made for the wicked.

APPENDIX 7:
List of 57 *danse macabre* characters in New York, Morgan MS M359 (illuminated book of hours, Paris, *c.*1430-35)*

* revised and amended version of Morgan Library's own list available on CORSAIR website: all figures are in a round medallion and flanked by two corpses, unless indicated otherwise.

———————————————————————————————————————

f. 119v: Opening Office of the Dead: large miniature of funeral service with marginal scenes; further marginal sequences relating to burial + mass on fols 120r-122v.

f. 123r: Start of *danse macabre* sequence: doctor at lectern.
f. 123v: Pope.
f. 124r: Emperor.
f. 124v: Cardinal.
f. 125r: King.
f. 125v: Patriarch.
f. 126r: Duke.
f. 126v: Archbishop, with 1 corpse (half-medallion).
f. 127r: Constable.
f. 127v: Abbot.
f. 128r: Magistrate? black hat + red gown lined with white.
f. 128v: Knight Templar(?) or Knight of St John(?).
f. 129r: Canon.
f. 129v: Knight (or count?).
f. 130r: Benedictine(?) abbot; staff held by L corpse.
f. 130v: Scribe or scholar(?) with rolled-up inscribed parchment in L hand.
f. 131r: Dominican(?) abbot with staff, dressed in white.
f. 131v: Knight in armour.
f. 132r: Monk(?) in dark habit with two devils, one holding his habit.
f. 132v: Tonsured(?) fat figure, dressed in pink-red robe with ermine 'bib' + green sleeves.
f. 133r: Abbot with staff, dressed in pink-red gown, black belt + outer cloak with blue Tau cross of the Hospitallers(?) near L shoulder.
f. 133v: Lawyer in pink-red gown with white collar + red-orange skull-cap; 1 corpse on L (half-medallion).
f. 134r: Priest in white amice, pink stole with crosses + gold fringe, pink/gold collar, grey cap, brown fur(?) with 'tails' draped across R arm.
f. 134v: Dominican(?) in white/black, hood + gold belt; 1 corpse on L (half-medallion).
f. 135r: Bourgeois in red half-long gown lined with fur; gold purse; rolled-up scroll in R hand.
f. 135v: Franciscan in dark-grey habit.
f. 136r: Lay figure in red hat + hose, pink fur-lined short wide gown, black shoes; gold mace(?) in L hand.
f. 136v: Monk/friar in black habit, hood down.
f. 137r: Squire(?) in broad black hat (fur?); pink fur-lined short gown; dark grey hose; black belt; smooth brown staff in L hand.
f. 137v: Monk/friar in black habit + white outer gown; red book in L hand; 1 corpse on L.
f. 138r: Notary(?) with pink turban, short blue gown with fur trim, black belt, pink hose; scroll in L hand + ink containers.
f. 138v: Benedictine monk all in black; no belt.
f. 139r: Layman in green turban hat with flaps; green collar + green sleeves of undershirt; belted pink short sleeveless outer gown with fur trim; orange-red hose; no attributes.

f. 139v: Trinitarian in white hat, white hood as part of white outer habit; red+blue cross on white 'collar'.
f. 140r: Layman in grey hat; fur-trimmed short pink gown; dark-grey hose; black belt.
f. 140v: Alexian or Cellite(?); no sign of tonsure; black short belted garment with hood; fur hem + trim on cuffs; black hose; orange dirk.
f. 141r: Merchant(?) seated at low table on which a large black book; red turban hat with flaps; pink belted gown + blue cloak.
f. 141v: Tonsured monk/friar (Servite?); black habit + hooded cloak; 1 corpse on L (half-medallion).
f. 142r: Apothecary seated at desk in shop: tiled floor, 2 shelves with red/yellow-striped pots + 2 jugs; on desk open book, coins(?), white square box with unidentified object.
f. 142v: Cistercian(?) in in black/white; 1 **dark** corpse on L (half-medallion).
f. 143r: Layman in long pink robe with green collar (fur trim?); pink hat; lidded jar in L arm; 1 corpse on L.
f. 143v: Physician with phial in L hand; black skull-cap, white-lined hood, long red-pink robe, blue sleeves; 1 corpse on L.
f. 144r: Money-changer in pink hat with flap + blue fur-trimmed short gown; rising from green-covered table/desk with scales, gold coins, dark weights; 1 corpse on R.
f. 144v: Monk/friar (unidentified; probably not the short-lived Spanish order of Montjoie) in white robe, black hood with red/white cross in front, grey stole; 1 grey corpse on L.
f. 145r: Goldsmith, bearded; in pink robe with fur collar+cuffs; seated at table with plier, coins(?), gold goblet; fireplace on L + large pliers/tongs in foregr.; 1 corpse on R.
f. 145v: Cleric in salmon-pink gown, stole, black skull-cap + belt; book in L hand; 1 corpse on L (half-medallion).
f. 146r: Tonsured monk/friar in light blue habit; hood edged with white + white collar; no belt.
f. 146v: Ploughman, green shirt + pink crumpled hose; in field, hind quarters of horse or ox on R; starry sky; 1 corpse on L.
f. 147r: Carthusian monk in white, hands in prayer; flanked by 1 light + 1 dark corpse.
f. 147v: Labourer in short white tunic, pink hat + hood, blue hose + grey shoes/boots; black bag with tools on L side; spade on L shoulder; 1 corpse on L.
f. 148r: Hermit, bearded, in landscape; pink habit + grey-purple hood; staff in R + white rosary in L hand; 1 grey corpse on L.
f. 148v: Man following pack-horse or ass laden with white sacks on R (hind-quarters only); bright-green hat, blue tunic, pink hose, black boot; 1 corpse on L (half-medallion).
f. 149r: Cleric in white with pink hood + pink border on almice; clasped book in L hand; 1 dark corpse on L.
f. 149v: Blacksmith; bright-green hat, pink tunic + white apron; hammer raised in R hand; grey anvil on brown round 'dais'; 3 horseshoes on L on floor with tongs + hammer(?) on R; 1 corpse on L (half-medallion).
f. 150r: Two acolytes in white, one with tonsure, being led in landscape by 1 corpse on L.
f. 150v: Jeweller(?) in corner of furnished room at white-covered table; wearing red turban, fur collar + cuffs, blue jacked with belt; gold goblet + gold/silver coins on table; 1 corpse on L (half-medallion).
f. 151r: Infant in cradle, semi-swaddled in pink bands, L arm being pulled on R by 1 corpse.

--oo0oo--

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

Barber, R. (ed.), *Bestiary, Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764* (Woodbridge, 1993).

Beadle, R. (ed.), *The York Plays*, York Medieval Texts, s.s. (London, 1982).

Beaune, C. (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* (Paris, 1990).

Benson, L.D. (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer* (1957, repr. Oxford, 1988).

Bergen, H. (ed.), *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, 4 vols, EETS, e.s. 121-24 (London, 1924).

Bradshaw, H., *Lyfe of the gloryous Virgyn saynt Werburge*, ed. C. Horstmann, EETS, o.s. 88 (Oxford, 1887).

Brown, C. (ed.), *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1924).

——— *Religious Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1932)

——— *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1939).

Burgess, C. (ed.), *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol*, part 1, Bristol Record Society's Publications, 46 (Bristol, 1995).

——— *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints' Church, Bristol: The Churchwarden's Accounts*, Bristol Record Society's Publications, 53 (Bristol, 2000).

Champion, P., *La Danse Macabre. Reproduction en fac-similé de l'édition de Guy Marchant Paris 1486* (Paris, 1925).

Chaney, E.F. (ed.), *La Danse Macabré des Charniers des Saints Innocents à Paris*, Publications of the University of Manchester, 293 (Manchester, 1945).

Cigman, G. (ed.), *Lollard Sermons*, EETS, o.s. 294 (Oxford, 1989).

Clark, J.M., *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein* (London, 1947).

Clopper, L.M. (ed.), *Chester*, Records of Early English Drama (Manchester, 1979).

Cotman, J.S., *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses of Suffolk* (Yarmouth, 1819).

Davidson, C., and P. Happé (eds), *The Worlde and the Chylde*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series, 45, Medieval Institute Publications (Kalamazoo, 1999).

Davis, N. (ed.), *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, EETS, s.s. 1 (London/New York/ Toronto, 1970).

Durbin, P.T. (ed.), with an introduction and notes by L. Muir, *The Passion de Semur*, Leeds Medieval Studies, 3 (Leeds, 1981).

Easting, R. (ed.), *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two Versions of* Owayne Miles *and* The Vision of William of Stranton *together with a Long Text of the* Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii, EETS, o.s. 298 (Oxford, 1991).

——— *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, EETS, o.s. 318 (Oxford, 2002).

Eccles, M. (ed.), *The Macro Plays: The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom, Mankind*, EETS, o.s. 262 (London/New York/Toronto, 1969).

The English Dance of Death, from the Designs of Thomas Rowlandson, with Metrical Illustrations by the Author of 'Doctor Syntax', 2 vols (London, 1903).

Erbe, T. (ed.), *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk)*, EETS, e.s. 96 (London, 1905).

Fein, S. (ed.), *John the Blind Audelay: Poems and Carols (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 302)*, Medieval Institute Publications (Kalamazoo, 2008).

Fordun, John of, *Scotichronicon cum Supplementis ac Continuatione Walteri Boweri, Insulae Sancti Columbae Abbatis*, ed. W. Goodall (Edinburgh, 1769).

Fox, D. (ed.), *Robert Henryson: The Poems* (Oxford, 1987).

French, W.H., and C.B. Hale (eds), *Middle English Metrical Romances* (New York, 1930, repr. 1964).

Freytag, H. (ed.), *Der Totentanz der Marienkirche in Lübeck und der Nikolaikirche in Reval (Tallinn). Edition, Kommentar, Interpretation, Rezeption*, Niederdeutsche Studien, 39 (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 1993).

Furnivall, F.J. (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works, I. The Minor Poems, in the Phillipps MS. 8151 (Cheltenham) and the Durham MS. III.9.*, EETS, e.s. 61 (London, 1892, repr. 1937).

——— *Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne'*, 2 vols, EETS, o.s. 119, 123 (London, 1901, 1903).

——— and K. Locock (eds), *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, EETS, e.s., 77, 83, 92 (London, 1899, 190, 1904).

García-Tejedor, C.M., *The Book of Hours of Joanna of Castile* (Barcelona, 2005).

Girvan, R. (ed.), *Ratis Raving and Other Early Scots Poems on Morals. Edited, with an Appendix of the other Pieces from Cambridge University Library MS. Kk.1. 5, no. 6*, STS, 3rd series 9 (Edinburgh, 1939).

Gollancz, I. (ed.), *Death and Liffe. A Medieval Alliterative Debate Poem in a Seventeenth Century Version* (London, 1930).

Götz, L., 'Martial d'Auvergne: La Dance des Femmes', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 58 (1934), pp. 318-34.

[Guillebert de Metz], 'Description de la ville de Paris sous Charles VI par Guillebert de Metz 1407-1434', in [A.J.V.] Le Roux de Lincy and L.M. Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1855, 2nd edn 1867), pp. 117-236.

Gundersheimer, W.L., *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein the Younger: A Complete Facsimile of the Original 1538 edition of* Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort (New York, 1971).

Halliwell, J.O. (ed.), *A Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* (London, 1842).

English Verse.

Hammond, E.P., (ed.), *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (1927, repr. New York, 1965).

Hasenohr-Esnos, G. (ed.), *Le Respit de la Mort par Jean le Fevre*, Société des Anciens Textes Français, (Paris 1969).

Henderson, P. (ed.), *The Complete Poems of John Skelton, Laureate* (London/ Toronto, 1931).

Herzman, R.B., D. Graham and E. Salisbury (eds), *Four Romances of England: King Horn, Havelok the Dane, Bevis of Hampton, Athelston*, Medieval Institute Publications for TEAMS (Kalamazoo, 1999).

Hogg, J. (ed.), *An Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Religious Miscellany (Brit. Library London Additional Ms. 37049)*, Analecta Cartusiana, 3, Illustrations (Salzburg, 1981).

Jaspers, G. (ed.), *Een* Amsterdams Marialeven *in 25 legenden uit handschrift 846 van Museum Amstelkring* (Hilversum, 2003)

Ingram, R.W. (ed.), *Coventry: Records of Early English Drama*, (Manchester, 1981).

Kaiser, G. (ed.), *Der tanzende Tod. Mittelalterliche Totentänze* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983).

King, P.M., and C. Davidson (eds), *The Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series, 27 (Kalamazoo, 2000).

Kinsley, J. (ed.), *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Oxford, 1979).

Kurtz, L.P. (ed.), *Le Mors de la Pomme*, Publications of the Institute of French Studies Inc. (New York, 1937).

Lancashire, I. (ed.),*Two Tudor Interludes* (Manchester, 1980).

Landouzy, L., and R. Pépin (eds), *Le régime du corps de Maitre Aldebrandin de Sienne: texte français du XIIIe siècle publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris, 1911).

Langland, W., *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt (1978, reprint London/Melbourne/Toronto, 1982).

Lemmer, M. (ed.), *Der Heidelberger Totentanz von 1485* (Frankfurt am Main/Leipzig, 1991).

Lester, G.A. (ed.), *Three Late Medieval Morality Plays* (London, 1981).

Lumianski, R.M., and D. Mills (eds), *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, EETS, s.s. 3 (London, 1974), and s.s. 9 (London, 1986).

MacCracken, H.N. (ed.), *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, part I, EETS, e.s. 107 (London, 1911, repr. 1962).

——— and M. Sherwood (eds), *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, part II, EETS, o.s. 192 (London, 1934).

[Marchant, G.], *La Danse Macabre de 1485, reproduite d'après l'exemplaire unique de la Bibliothèque de Grenoble et publiée sous l'égide de la Société des Bibliophiles Dauphinois* (Grenoble, 1969).

More, Sir Thomas, unfinished treatise on 'The Last Things', in A.S.G. Edwards, K.G. Rodgers and C.H. Miller (eds), *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 1 (New Haven/London, 1997), pp. 128-82.

Morris, R. (ed.), *Cursor Mundi (The cursor o the world): A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century in Four Versions, Two of them Midland*, 4 vols, EETS, o.s. 57 (London, 1877), o.s. 59 (London, 1875).

Murray, H.M.R. (ed.), *The Middle English Poem, Erthe upon Erthe, Printed from Twenty-Four Manuscripts*, EETS, o.s. 141 (1911, repr. London, New York/ Toronto, 1964).
Norton-Smith, J., *John Lydgate: Poems* (Oxford, 1966).
Pliny, *Natural History, with an English Translation in Ten Volumes*, ed. H. Rackham (London/Cambridge, Mass., 1940).
Plummer, J., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York, 1966).
Amman, J., *Das Ständebuch. Herrscher, Handwerker und Künstler des ausgehenden Mittelalters*, ed. U. Schulze (Cologne, 2006).
Schröer, A., 'The Grave', *Anglia*, 5 (1882) pp. 289-90.
Seymour, M.C. (gen. ed.) *et al.*, *On the Properties of Things. John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus,* De Proprietatibus Rerum, 3 vols (Oxford, 1975, 1988).
Shirley, J. (transl.), *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449* (Oxford, 1968).
Sinclair, A. (ed.), *The Beauchamp Pageant* (Donington, 2003).
Sodmann, T. (ed.), *Dodendantz Lübeck 1520: Faksimileausgabe mit Textabdruck, Glossar und einem Nachwort* (Vreden/Bredevoort, 2001).
Sommer, H.O. (ed.), *Kalender of shepherdes*, 3 vols (London, 1892).
Spector, S. (ed.), *The N-Town Play: Cotton MS Vespasian D.8*, 2 vols, EETS, s.s. 11 and 12 (Oxford, 1991).
Stevens, M., and A.C. Cawley (eds), *The Towneley Plays*, 2 vols, EETS, s.s. 13 and 14 (Oxford, 1994).
Tripps, J., *'Den Würmer wirst Du Wildbret sein.' Der Berner Totentanz des Niklaus Manuel Deutsch in den Aquarellkopien von Albrecht Kauw (1649)*, Schriften des Bernischen Historischen Museums, 6 (Berne, 2005).
Tuetey, A. (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 1405-1449, publié d'après les manuscrits de Rome et de Paris* (Paris, 1881).
Warren, F. (ed.), with introduction and notes by B. White, *The Dance of Death, edited from MSS. Ellesmere 26/A.13 and B.M. Lansdowne 699, collated with the other extant MSS.*, EETS, o.s. 181 (London, 1931, repr. Woodbridge, 2000).
Wenzel, S. (ed. and trans.), *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park, Penn.,/London, 1989).
Whiting, E.K. (ed.), *The Poems of John Audelay*, EETS, o.s. 184 (London, 1931).
Zimmern, Wilhelm Werner von, *Totentanz*, ed. C. Kiening, Bibliotheca suevica, 9 (Eggingen, 2004).

Secondary sources

Alexander, J., and P. Binski (eds), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London, 1987).
Allmand, C.T., *Lancastrian Normandy 1415-1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford, 1983).
――― *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988).
――― (ed.), *Power, Culture, and Religion in France c.1350-c.1550* (Woodbridge, 1989).
――― (ed.), *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France* (Liverpool, 2000).
Anderson, M.D., *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches* (Cambridge, 1963).
――― *History and Imagery in British Churches* (1971, repr. London, 1995).
Andia, B. de, 'Triomphe de la vie sur la mort', in M. Fleury and G.-M. Leproux (eds), *Les Saints-Innocents* (Paris, 1990), pp. 12-24.
Anrooij, W. van, *Helden van weleer. De Negen Besten in de Nederlanden (1300-1700)* (Amsterdam, 1997).
――― (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten. Hollandse geschiedenis in woord en beeld*, Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen, 49 (Hilversum, 1997).
Anzelewsky, F., *Dürer. His Art and Life* (1980, transl. New York, 1981).
Apperson, G.L., 'Monumental Skeletons', *The Antiquary*, 43 (1907), pp. 216-19.
Appleford, A., '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.
Ariès, P., *Centuries of Childhood* (1960, transl. 1962, repr. Harmondsworth, 1986).
――― *The Hour of Our Death* (1977, transl. London, 1981, repr. 1983).
――― *Images of Man and Death* (1983, transl. Cambridge/London, 1985).
Aston, M., *England's Iconoclasts*, 1, *Laws Against Images* (Oxford, 1988).

——— 'Death', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 202-28.
Avery, C., *Bernini: Genius of the Baroque* (London, 1997).
Avril, F., and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peinture en France 1440-1520* (Paris, 1993).
Badham, S., 'Status and Salvation: The Design of Medieval English Brasses and Incised Slabs', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 15, part 5 (1996), pp. 413-65.
——— 'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death – A Reappraisal', *Antiquaries Journal*, 80 (2000), pp. 207-47.
——— '"A new feire peynted stone": Medieval English Incised Slabs?', *Church Monuments*, 19 (2004), pp. 20-52.
——— and J. Bayliss, 'The Smalpage Monument at St Bartholomew the Great, London, Re-examined', *Church Monuments*, 20 (2005), pp. 81-93.
——— and N. Saul, 'The Catesbys' Taste in Brasses', in J. Bertram (ed.), *The Catesbys of Ashby St Ledgers and their Brasses by Members of the Monumental Brass Society and Others* (London, 2006), pp. 36-75.
Bark, G.H., 'A London Alabasterer in 1421', *Antiquaries Journal*, 29 (1949), pp. 89-91.
Bätschmann, O., and P. Griener, *Hans Holbein* (London, 1997).
J.M. Bak, 'Sigismund and the Ottoman advance', in M. Pauly and F. Reinert (eds), *Sigismund von Luxembourg. Ein Kaiser in Europa* (Mainz, 2006), pp. 89-94.
Baker, A., 'The Interpretation and Iconography of the Longthorpe Paintings', *Archaeologia*, 96 (1955), pp. 350-57.
Bárány, A., 'Anglo-Luxembourg Relations during the Reign of Emperor Sigismund', in M. Pauly and F. Reinert (eds), *Sigismund von Luxembourg. Ein Kaiser in Europa* (Mainz, 2006), pp. 43-59.
Baron, F., '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.
Barron, C.M., and M.-H. Rousseau, 'Cathedral, City and State, 1300-1540', in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds), *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (New Haven/London, 2004), pp. 33-44.
Bartz, G., and E. König, 'Die Illustration des Totenoffiziums in Stundenbüchern', in H. Beckeret *et al.*, *Im Angesicht des Todes. Ein interdisciplinäres Kompendium*, 2 vols (St. Ottilien, 1987), 1, pp. 487-528.
Bassett, S., 'Anglo-Saxon Coventry and its Churches', *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers*, 41 (2001).
Batany. J., 'Une image en négatif du fonctionnalisme social: les Danses Macabré', in J.H.M. Taylor (ed.), *Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages*, Proceedings of the 1983 Manchester Colloquium, Vinaver Studies in French, 1 (Liverpool, 1984), pp. 15-27.
Bauch, K., *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild: figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin/New York, 1976).
Baudouin-Matuszek, M.-N., 'Le cimetière à l'époque moderne', in M. Fleury and G.-M. Leproux (eds), *Les Saints-Innocents* (Paris, 1990), pp. 54-73.
Bayliss, J., 'A Dutch Carver: Garrett Hollemans I in England', *Church Monuments*, 8 (1993), pp. 45-56.
——— 'An Indenture for Two Alabaster Effigies', *Church Monuments*, 16 (2001), pp. 22-29.
Beadle, R. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre* (Cambridge, 1994).
Beaulieu, M., and V. Beyer, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs français du Moyen Age*, Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'Archéologie (Paris, 1992).
Becksmann, R., *Deutsche Glasmalerei des Mittelalters*, 1, *Voraussetzungen, Entwicklungen, Zusammenhänge* (Berlin, 1995).
Belkin, K.L., and C. Depauw (eds), *Images of Death: Rubens Copies Holbein* (Antwerp, 2000).
Berlioz, J., 'Le crapaud, animal diabolique: une exemplaire construction médiévale', in J. Berlioz and M.A. Polo de Beaulieu (eds), *L'animal exemplaire au Moyen Age (Ve-XVe siècles)* (Rennes, 1999), pp. 267-88.
Bertram, J., 'Meeting Report: First Read the Label', *Monumental Brass Society Bulletin*, 99 (May 2005), pp. 789-92.
Besnier, G., 'Quelques notes sur Arras et Jeanne d'Arc', *Revue du Nord*, 40 (1958), pp. 51-62.
Bethmont-Gallerand, S., and C. Leduc, 'Le diable, des bavardes et les clercs. Un motif iconographique et ses variations dans la peinture murale, la sculpture et la gravure médiévales et leurs sources textuelles', *Le décor mural des églises*, *Ars Sacré*, 18 (Châteauroux, 2001), pp. 215-34.

Bethmont-Gallerand, S., 'De l'illustration à la leçon, le motif de "la Mort à cheval sur un bœuf"', *Reinardus*, 16 (2003), pp. 47-61.

Bianchi, E., *Ara Pacis Augustae* (transl., Rome, 1994).

Bindman, D., and M. Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre* (New Haven/London, 1995).

Binski, P., *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London 1996).

――― 'John the Smith's Grave', in S. l'Engle and G.B. Guest (eds), *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander : The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts, Art & Architecture* (London, 2007), pp. 386-93.

――― and S. Panayatova (eds), *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (London/Turnhout, 2005).

Block, E.C., 'Les maladies et la mort sur les misericordes médiévales', *Actes du 10e Congrès International d'études sur les Danses macabres et l'art macabre en général* (Meslay-le-Grenet, 2000), pp. 425-41.

――― *Corpus of Medieval Misericords in France: XIII-XVI century* (Turnhout, 2003).

Bloem, H.M., 'Doodsvoorstellingen in de late middeleeuwen', in L. van Beeck *et al.* (eds), 'Met het oog op de dood', studium generale-bundel Katholieke Universiteit Brabant, (Tilburg, 1988), pp. 74-92.

――― 'The Processions and Decorations at the Royal Funeral of Anne of Brittany', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 54:1 (1992), pp. 131-60.

Boase, T.S.R., *Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgment and Remembrance* (London, 1972).

Boissé, C., and P. Boissé, *La danse macabre de la Chaise-Dieu* (Brioude, [1977]).

Böhm, R., *Der Füssener Totentanz und das Fortwirken der Totentanzidee im Ostallgäuer und Außerferner Raum: Oberstdorf, Füssen (St. Sebastian), Breitenwang, Elbigenalp, Elmen, Schattwald, Pfronten (Lithographien)* (Füssen, 1990).

Bot, J.C. le, 'L'art macabre médiéval à Paris', in *Actes du 11e congrès international d'études sur les Danses macabres et l'art macabre en général* (Meslay-le-Grenet, 2003), pp. 277-92.

Bouquet, A.C., *Church Brasses, British and Continental, with some Notes on Incised Stone Slabs and Indents* (London, 1956).

Bowers, R.H., 'Iconography in Lydgate's "Dance of Death"', *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 12 (1948), pp. 111-28.

Boyd, D.L., 'Reading through the *Regiment of Princes*: Hoccleve's *Series* and Lydgate's *Dance of Death* in Yale Beinecke MS 493', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 20 (1983), pp. 15-34.

Brand, R., 'Die mitteldeutsche Totentanztradition. Ein Werkstattbericht', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre*, 3, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Düsseldorf, 2002), pp. 21-36.

Breeze, A., 'The Dance of Death', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 13 (Summer 1987), pp. 87-96.

Broekhuijsen, K.H., 'The Legend of the Grateful Dead: A Misinterpreted Miniature in the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean de Berry', in B. Cardon, J. Van der Stock and D. Vanwijnsberghe (eds), *'Als ich can'. Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers* (Paris/Louvain/Dudley, 2002), pp. 213-30.

Brown, C., 'Text, Image, and Authorial Self-Consciousness in Late Medieval Paris', in S.L. Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520* (Ithaca/London, 1991), pp. 103-42.

Brown, S., *Sumptuous and richly adorn'd: The Decoration of Salisbury Cathedral* (London, 1999).

Buck, S., 'The *Images of Death* and the Triumph of Life', in *Hans Holbein the Younger. The Basel Years 1515-1532* (Munich, 2006), pp. 117-23.

Burrow, J.A., *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (1986, repr. Oxford, 1988).

Caiger-Smith, A., *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (Oxford, 1963).

Camille, M., *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator* (New Haven/London, 1996).

Cather, S., D. Park and R. Pender, 'Henry III's Wall Paintings at Chester Castle', in A. Thacker (ed.), *Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture at Chester*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 22 (Leeds, 2000), pp. 170-89.

Cave, C.J.P., 'Note', *Archaeologia*, 85 (1936), pp. 127-28.

Caviness, M.H., *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, ca. 1175-1220* (Princeton, 1977).

Cawley, A.C., *et al.* (eds), *The* Revels *History of Drama in English*, 1, *Medieval Drama* (London/New York, 1983).

Cerquiglini, B., *In Praise of the Variant. A Critical History of Philology* (1989, transl., Baltimore/London, 1999).

Chambers, E.K., *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols (London, 1903).

Clark, G.T., *The Spitz Master. A Parisian Book of Hours* (Los Angeles, 2005).

Clark, J.M., *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow, 1950).

Claussnitzer, M., H. Freytag and S. Warda, 'Das Redentiner - Ein Lübecker Osterspiel. Über das Redentiner Osterspiel von 1464 und den Totentanz der Marienkirche in Lübeck von 1463, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 132:2 (2003), pp. 189-238.

Clopper, L.M., 'The History and Development of the Chester Cycle', *Modern Philology*, 75 (1978), pp. 219-46.

Cockerham, P., *Continuity and Change. Memorialisation and the Cornish Funeral Monument Industry 1497-1660* , BAR British Series, 412 (Oxford, 2006).

――― 'The Incised Slab to an Architect at Caudebec-en-Caux, Seine-Maritime', *Monumental Brass Society Transactions*, 17:2 (2004), pp. 136-43.

Cohen, J., 'Death and the Danse Macabre', *History Today*, 32 (August 1982), pp. 35-40.

Cohen, K., *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).

Collier, C.V., *Lowthorpe and its Collegiate Church of St. Martin* (Driffield, 1987, reprinted from *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, 24, pp. 28-42).

Colling-Kerg, V., 'L'iconographie de l'empereur Sigismond de Luxembourg en Italie (1368-1437)', in *Le rève italien de la maison de Luxembourg aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Luxemburg, 1995), pp. 189-227.

Connolly, M., *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 1998).

Connor, A.B., *Monumental Brasses in Somerset* (Bath, 1970).

Cooper, L.H., and A. Denny-Brown (eds), *Lydgate Matters. Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (New York/Basingstoke, 2008).

Cornell, C., '"Purtreture" and "Holsom Stories": John Lydgate's Accommodation of Image and Text in Three Religious Lyrics', *Florilegium*, 10 (1988-91), pp. 167-78.

Corvisier, A., 'La représentation de la société dans les danses des morts du XVe au XVIIIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 16 (1969), pp. 489-539.

――― *Les danses macabres* (Paris, 1998).

Cosacchi, S., *Makabertanz. Der Totentanz in Kunst, Poesie und Brauchtum des Mittelalters* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1965).

Coulton, G.G., *Infant Perdition in the Middle Ages*, Medieval Studies 16 (Taunton, 1922).

――― *Life in the Middle Ages*, 1, *Religion, Folk-lore and Superstition* (1910, 2nd edn, Cambridge, 1928).

Couzy, H., 'L'Église des Saints-Innocents à Paris', *Bulletin Monumental*, 130:4 (1972), pp. 279-302.

Dael, P. van, 'Voer voor wormen en padden. Eten en gegeten worden in laatmiddeleeuwse grafkunst en hellevoorstellingen', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, 29:4 (2003), pp. 497-520.

Dal, E., with collaboration from P. Skårup, *The Ages of Man and the Months of the Year: Poetry, Prose and Pictures Outlining the Douze Mois Figurés Motif Mainly Found in Shepherds' Calendars and in Livres d'Heures (14th to 17th Century)*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-filosofische Skrifter 9:3 (Copenhagen, 1980).

Danbury, E., 'The Intellectual Life of the Abbey of St Werburgh, Chester, in the Middle Ages', in A. Thacker (ed.), *Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture at Chester*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 22 (Leeds, 2000).

The Dance of Death in a series of Engravings on wood from designs attributed to Hans Holbein with a treatise on the subject by Francis Douce; also Holbein's Bible cuts consisting of ninety engravings on wood with an introduction by Thomas Frognall Dibdin (London, 1902).

Daniell, C., *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London, 1997).

Davidson, C., *The Guild Chapel Wall Paintings at Stratford-upon-Avon*, AMS Studies in the Renaissance, 22 (New York, 1988).

――― and J. Alexander, *The Early Art of Coventry, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwick and Lesser Sites in Warwickshire*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Reference Series, 4 (Kalamazoo, 1985).

――― and A.E. Nichols (eds), *Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama*, Early Drama, Art, and Music, Monograph Series, 11 (Kalamazoo, 1989).

Davis, N.Z., 'Holbein's *Pictures of Death* and the Reformation at Lyons', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 3 (1956), pp. 97-130.

Deacon, R., and P. Lindley, *Image and Idol: Medieval Sculpture* (London, 2001).

Delumeau, J., *Le péché et la peur. La culpabilisation en Occident (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1983).

Demidowicz, G. (ed.), *Coventry's First Cathedral* (Stamford, 1994).

Didier, R., *Jacques Dubroeucq, sculpteur et maître-artiste de l'empereur (1500/10-1584)* (Brussels/Mons, 2000).

Ditcham, B.G.H., '"Mutton Guzzlers and Wine Bags": Foreign Soldiers and Native Reactions in Fifteenth-Century France', in C.T. Allmand (ed.), *Power, Culture, and Religion in France c.1350-c.1550* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 1-13.

Dhanens, E., *Hubert and Jan van Eyck* (London, 1980).

Donzet, A.-J., 'Les danses macabres', *Monuments Historiques*, 124 (Dec. 1982-Jan. 1983), theme issue on 'L'architecture et la mort', pp. 49-52.

Dorsten, J.A. van, 'The Leyden "Lydgate Manuscript"', *Scriptorium*, 14 (1960), pp. 315-25.

Douce, F., *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).

The Douce Legacy: An Exhibition to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the Bequest of Francis Douce (1757-1834), exhibition catalogue (Oxford, 1984).

Drexler, R.D., 'Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris" and the Dance of Death Tradition', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 13 (1978), pp. 144-58.

DuBruck, E.E., and B.I. Gusick (eds), *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, Studies in the Humanities, 45 (New York/Canterbury, 1999).

Duchâteau, V., *La danse macabre de la Chaise-Dieu* (St Ouen, 2006).

Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven/London, 1992).

Dujakovic, M., 'The Dance of Death, the Dance of Life: Cemetery of the Innocents and the *Danse Macabre*', in L.U. Afonso and V. Serrão (eds), *Out of the Stream: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Mural Painting* (Newcastle 2007), pp. 206-32.

Dunbabin, K.M.D., 'Sic erimus cuncti ... The Skeleton in Graeco-Roman Art', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 101 (1986), pp. 185-255.

Dunlap, A.P., 'Paintings on the Walls of Bardwell Church', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, Statistics and Natural History*, 2 (1859), pp. 41-50.

Dymond, D., and C. Paine, *The Spoil of Melford Church: The Reformation in a Suffolk Parish* (Ipswich, 1989).

Ebin, L.A., *John Lydgate* (Boston, 1985).

Eckhardt, H., '"et dixi a a a ...": Vom Tod der Kinder und von der Umgestaltung eines biblischen Topos in Totentänzen', *Wirkendes Wort*, 4 (1994), pp. 33-40.

Edwards, A.S.G., 'Lydgate Manuscripts: Some Directions for Future Research', in D. Pearsall (ed.), *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study*, Essays from the 1981 Conference at the University of York (Cambridge/Totowa, 1983), pp. 15-26.

Egger, F., *Basler Totentanz* (Basel, 1990).

Eisler, R., 'Danse Macabre', *Traditio*, 6 (1948), pp. 187-225.

Enklaar, D.Th., *De dodendans: een cultuurhistorische studie* (Amsterdam, 1950).

Faxon, A., 'Some Perspectives on the Transformations of the Dance of Death in Art', in L. DeGirolami-Cheney (ed.), *The Symbolism of Vanitas in the Arts, Literature, and Music: Comparative and Historical Studies* (New York, 1992).

Fein, D.A., 'Guyot Marchant's *Danse Macabre*. The Relationship between Image and Text', *Mirator* (August 2000), pp. 1-11.

Fein, S.G., 'Life and Death, Reader and Page: Mirrors of Mortality in English Manuscripts', *Mosaic*, 35:1 (2002), pp. 69-94.

Fiero, G.K., 'Death Ritual in Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination', *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), pp. 271-94.

Finucane, R.C., 'Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the later Middle Ages', in J. Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality. Studies in the Social History of Death* (London, 1981), pp. 40-60.

Fleury, M. and G.-M. Leproux (eds), *Les Saints-Innocents* (Paris, 1990).

Floyd, J., 'St. George and the "Steyned Halle": Lydgate's Verse for the London Armourers', in L.H. Cooper and A. Denny-Brown (eds), *Lydgate Matters. Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (New York/Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 139-64

Fössel, A., 'Barbara von Cilli. Ihre frühen Jahre als Gemahlin Sigismunds und ungarische Königin', in M. Pauly and F. Reinert (eds), *Sigismund von Luxembourg. Ein Kaiser in Europa* (Mainz, 2006), pp. 95-112.

Freytag, H., B. Schulte and Hildegard Vogeler, 'Der Totentanz der Marienkirche in Lübeck von 1463 und seine Weiterwirkung bis in die Gegenwart', in *"Ihr müßt alle nach meiner Pfeife tanzen." Totentänze vom 15. bis 20. Jahrhundert aus den Beständen der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel und der Bibliothek Otto Schäfer Schweinfurt*, exhibition catalogue Herzog August Bibliothek, 77 (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 83-135.

Frosch, P., 'Mind thee to die: The Beresford Monument at Fenny Bentley', *Church Monuments*, 15 (2000), pp. 31-43.

Gaimster, D., S. McCarthy and B. Nurse (eds), *Making History. Antiquaries in Britain 1707-2007* (London, 2007).

Gertsman, E., 'The Dance of Death in Reval (Tallinn): The Preacher and his Audience', *Gesta*, 42:2 (2003), pp. 143-59.

――― '*Debeo Saltare.* Theology, Reception and Performativity of the Medieval Dance of Death', unpublished DPhil. dissertation, Boston University (2004).

――― 'Visual Space and the Practice of Viewing: The Dance of Death at Meslay-le-Grenet', *Religion and the Arts*, 9:1/2 (2005), pp. 1-37.

――― 'Pleyinge and Peyntynge: Performing the Dance of Death', *Studies in Iconography*, 27 (2006), pp. 1-43.

――― 'Visualizing Death. Medieval Plagues and the Macabre', in F. Mormando and T. Worcester (eds), *Piety and Plague. From Byzantium to the Baroque* (Kirksville, Missouri, 2007), pp. 64-89.

Gibson, G.M., '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.

――― *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (1989, repr. Chicago/London, 1994).

Gill, M.C., 'Holy Trinity Church, Coventry: An Art Historical Study of the Doom and Other Wall Paintings', unpublished report (1997).

――― 'Late Medieval Wall Painting in England: Content and Context (*c.* 1330-*c.*1530)', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, Courtauld Institute (2002).

――― and R.K. Morris, 'A Wall Painting of the Apocalypse in Coventry Rediscovered', *The Burlington Magazine*, 143 (2001), pp. 467-73.

Gillespie, A., *Print Culture and the Medieval Author. Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books 1473-1557* (Oxford, 2006).

Gittos, B., and M. Gittos, 'A Survey of East Riding Sepulchral Monuments before 1500', in C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 9 (1989), pp. 91-108.

Gómez, I.M., *Temas Profanos en la Escultura Gótica Española: Las Sillerías de Coro* (Madrid, 1979).

Goodall, J.A., 'Death and the Impenitent Avaricious King. A Unique Brass Discovered at Frenze, Norfolk', *Apollo*, 126 (October 1987), pp. 264-66.

Goodall, J.A.A., *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001).

Goodich, M.E., *From Birth to Old Age: The Human Life Cycle in Medieval Thought, 1250-1350* (London, 1989).

Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550, exhibition catalogue (New York/Munich, 1986).

Gräser, H., 'Der sogenannte Totentanz der Johanneskirche', in *Unbekanntes und Vergessenes aus der Geschichte der Crailsheimer Johanneskirche. Ein Ergänzungsband zu 600 Jahre Johanneskirche Crailsheim* (Kirchberg, 2003), pp. 33-39.

Gray, D., *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric* (London/Boston, 1972).

Green, R.F., 'Lydgate and Deguileville Once More', *Notes and Queries*, 223 (1978), pp. 105-6.

Greene, J.P., 'The Impact of the Dissolution on Monasteries in Cheshire: The Case of Norton', in A. Thacker (ed.), *Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture at Chester*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 22 (Leeds, 2000), pp. 152-66.

Greenhill, F.A., *Incised Effigial Slabs: A Study of Engraved Stone Memorials in Latin Christendom,* c.*1100 to* c.*1700*, 2 vols (London, 1976).

Greenwood, J.R., 'Wills and Brasses: Some Conclusions from a Norfolk Study', in J. Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 82-102.

Griffin, R., 'A Brass Once in Biggleswade Church', *Antiquaries Journal*, 16 (1936), pp. 284-90.

Grijp, L.P., A. Tamboer and E. Hoek (eds), *De dodendans in de kunsten* (Utrecht, 1989).

——— 'De dood en het meisje. Eros en Thanatos in het lied', in L.P. Grijp, A. Tamboer and E. Hoek (eds), *De dodendans in de kunsten* (Utrecht, 1989), pp. 64-73.

——— and A. Tamboer, 'Dodendansen in levenden lijve', in L. Kerssemakers, P. van Pagée and P. Visser (eds), *Memento Mori – Dansen met de Dood: De dodendans in boek en prent* (Amsterdam, 2000), pp. 48-67.

Grössinger, C., *The World Upside-Down: English Misericords* (London, 1997).

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).

Guthke, K.S., *The Gender of Death: A Cultural History in Art and Literature* (1997, transl. Cambridge, 1997).

Hall, S.C., and L. Jewitt, *Haddon Hall: An Illustrated Guide* (Buxton, 1871).

Hamel, C. de, *The Rothschilds and their Collections of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 2005).

Hammerstein, R., *Tanz und Musik des Todes: die mittelalterlichen Totentänze und ihr Nachleben* (Berne/Munich, 1980).

Hammond, E.P., 'Latin Texts of the Dance of Death', *Modern Philology*, 8 (1910-11), pp. 399-410.

Hans-Collas, I., 'Les écoinçons sculptés du XVe siècle de l'église Saint-Martin de Hal et de Notre-Dame du Sablon à Bruxelles: les Trois morts et les trois vifs et la Danse macabre', in *Actes du 11e Congrès International d'études sur les Danses macabres et l'art macabre en général* (Meslay-le-Grenet, 2003), pp. 325-37.

Harding, V., *The Dead and Living in Paris and London, 1500-1600* (Cambridge, 2002).

Hardman, P., 'Lydgate's Uneasy Syntax', in L. Scanlon and J. Simpson (eds), *John Lydgate. Poetry, Culture, and Lancastrian England* (Notre Dame, 2006), pp. 12-35.

Harris, M.D., 'The Misericords of Coventry', *Birmingham Archaeological Society Transactions and Proceedings*, 50 (1927), pp. 246-66.

Harrison, A.T. (ed.), with a chapter by S.L. Hindman, *The Danse Macabre of Women: Ms.fr. 995 of the Bibliothèque Nationale* (Kent/London, 1994).

Hausner, R., and W. Schwab (eds), *Den Tod tanzen?*, Tagungsband des Totentanzkongresses Stift Admont 2001, Im Kontext: Beiträge zu Religion, Philosophie und Kultur, 19, (Salzburg, 2002).

Herbrüggen, H.S., 'Der Totentanz von Rosslyn (Schottland). Ein Beitrag zu einem neuen Forschungsvorhaben', *Jahrbuch der Universität Düsseldorf 1981-83* (Düsseldorf, 1986), pp. 165-75.

——— 'Der Schäfer-Kalender. Zur unbeachteten Rolle des *Kalendrier des bergiers* als Übermittler des *Danse macabre* in die englische Literatur', in M. von Arnim (ed.), *Festschrift Otto Schäfer zum 75. Geburtstag am 29. Juni 1987* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 237-88.

——— 'Ein frühes liturgisches Beispiel für den englischen Totentanz: 'Hore beate marie virginis ad vsum ... Sarū', Paris (1521?)', in S. Füssel and J. Knape (eds), *Poesis et Pictura. Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Handschriften und alten Drucken. Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Baden-Baden, 1989), pp. 235-53.

——— '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.

——— 'La Danse Macabre, the English Dance of Death, and William Drury's Mors Comoedia', in A. Dalzell and C. Fantazzi (eds), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis* (New York, 1991), pp. 645-53.

Hernad, B., *Die gotischen Handschriften deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, 1: *Vom späten 13. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 2000).

Hildburgh, W.L., 'English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama', *Archaeologia*, 93 (1949), pp. 51-101.

Hindman, S.L., 'The Career of Guy Marchant (1483-1504): High Culture and Low Culture in Paris', in S.L. Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520* (Ithaca/London, 1991), pp. 68-100.

Hodnett, E., *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535* (1935, repr. Oxford, 1973).
Huizinga, J., *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (1919, transl. 1924, repr. Harmondsworth, 1982).
Hulsman, R., *Funeraire cultuur: Alblasserwaard & Vijfheerenlanden* (Soesterberg, 2001).
Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600: A Study of Irish Tombs with Notes on Costume and Armour*, 2 vols (Dublin/London, 1974).
"Ihr müßt alle nach meiner Pfeife tanzen." Totentänze vom 15. bis 20. Jahrhundert aus den Beständen der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel und der Bibliothek Otto Schäfer Schweinfurt, exhibition catalogue Herzog August Bibliothek, 77 (Wiesbaden, 2000).
Jackson, W.A., F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1660* (London, 1986).
s'Jacob, H., *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism* (Leiden, 1954).
James, M.R., *St. George's Chapel, Windsor: The Woodwork of the Choir* (Windsor, 1933, repr. 1985).
Jankofsky, K., 'A View into the Grave: "A Disputacion Betwyx þe Body and Wormes" in British Museum MS Add. 37049', *Taius*, 1 (1974), pp. 137-59.
Jaser, S., 'Das Totentanz-Fresko', in *Unbekanntes und Vergessenes aus der Geschichte der Crailsheimer Johanneskirche. Ein Ergänzungsband zu 600 Jahre Johanneskirche Crailsheim* (Kirchberg, 2003), pp. 30-32.
Jenni, U., 'Das Porträt Kaiser Sigismunds in Wien und seine Unterzeichnung. Bildnisse Kaiser Sigismunds als Aufträge der Reichsstädte', in M. Pauly and F. Reinert (eds), *Sigismund von Luxembourg. Ein Kaiser in Europa* (Mainz, 2006), pp. 285-300.
Jones, J.W., 'Observations on the Origin of the Division of Man's Life into Stages', *Archaeologia*, 35 (1853): 167-89.
Kahsnitz, R., *Die Gründer von Laach und Sayn. Fürstenbildnisse des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Nuremberg, 1992).
Kantorowicz, E.K., *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).
Keller, P., *Die Wiege des Christuskindes. Ein Haushaltsgerät in Kunst und Kult*, Manuskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft, 54 (Worms, 1998).
Kemp, B.R., *English Church Monuments* (London, 1980).
――― *Church Monuments* (Princes Risborough, 1997).
――― 'The Acton Monument at Baylham, Suffolk', *CMS Newsletter*, 21:1 (Summer 2005), pp. 8-10.
Kerssemakers, L., P. van Pagée and P. Visser (eds), *Memento Mori – Dansen met de Dood: De dodendans in boek en prent* (Amsterdam, 2000).
Kibler, W.W., and G.A. Zinn (eds), *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia* (New York/London, 1995).
Kiening, C., *Das andere Selbst: Figuren des Todes an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit* (Munich, 2003).
Kiesewetter, A., 'Der Dresdner Totentanz – Überlegungen zu seiner Herkunft und Idee', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre*, 7 (Düsseldorf, 2006), pp. 81-94.
Kinch, A., 'The *Danse Macabre* and the Medieval Community of Death', *Mediaevalia*, 23.1 (2002), pp. 159-202.
King, P.M., 'Eight English *Memento Mori* Verses from Cadaver Tombs', *Notes and Queries*, 226 (December 1981), pp. 494-96.
――― 'The Wakeman Cenotaph and other British Vermin Tombs', *International Society for the Study of Church Monuments Bulletin*, 8 (1983), pp. 172-73.
――― 'The English Cadaver Tomb in the Late Fifteenth Century: Some Indications of a Lancastrian Connection', in J.H.M. Taylor (ed.), *Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages*, Proceedings of the 1983 Manchester Colloquium, Vinaver Studies in French, 1 (Liverpool, 1984), pp. 45-57.
――― 'The Iconography of the "Wakeman Cenotaph" in Tewkesbury Abbey', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 103 (1985), pp. 141-48.
――― 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb in Fifteenth-Century England', unpublished DPhil thesis, University of York (1987).
――― 'The Cadaver Tomb in England: Novel Manifestations of an Old Idea', *Church Monuments*, 5 (1990), pp. 26-38.
――― 'Morality Plays', in R. Beadle (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 240-64.
――― 'The Treasurer's Cadaver in York Minster Reconsidered', in C.M. Barron and J. Stratford (eds), *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R.B. Dobson*,

Proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 11 (Donington, 2002), pp. 196-209.

——— '"My Image to be made all naked': Cadaver Tombs and the Commemoration of Women in Fifteenth-Century England', *The Ricardian*, 13 (2003), pp. 294-314.

Kingzinger, M., 'Hausmachtpolitik oder internationale Politik? Die Diplomatie Sigismunds in Europa', in M. Pauly and F. Reinert (eds), *Sigismund von Luxembourg. Ein Kaiser in Europa* (Mainz, 2006), pp. 35-42.

Kirschbaum, E. (ed.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (1970, repr. Freiburg, 1994).

Kleijn, J. de, 'Leerde Liesje lopen in de lange lindelaan?', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkskunde 'Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum',* 30:2 (1967), pp. 48-55.

Kloppenborg, F., 'Totentänze in der religiösen Gebrauchskunst Englands', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre 1*, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Düsseldorf, 2000), pp. 53-67.

——— 'Danse macabre de Londres: le commanditaire et son cercle d'amis / The London Dance of Death: The Patron and his Circle of Friends', in *Actes du 11e Congrès International d'études sur les Danses macabres et l'art macabre en général* (Meslay-le-Grenet, 2003), pp. 9-24.

Kockerols, H., *Monuments funéraires en pays mosan*, 4: *Arrondissement de Liège: tombes et épitaphes 1000-1800* (Malonne, 2004).

Koomen, A. de, 'Lijkschouwingen', *Kunstschrift*, 4 (1997), pp. 28-33.

Körner, H., *Grabmonumente des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt, 1997).

Kokott, H., 'Todeserleben und Totentänze im Mittelalter', *Der Deutschunterricht*, 1 (2002), pp. 9-15.

Kralik, C., 'Änderungen in der Andachtspraxis und die Legende der drei Lebenden und der drei Toten in spätmittelalterlichen Handschriften', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre*, 6, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Düsseldorf, 2005), pp. 134-47.

Kraus, D., and H. Kraus, *Gothic Choirstalls of Spain* (London, 1986).

——— *The Hidden World of Misericords* (London, 1996).

Kurtz, L.P., *The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature*, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc. (New York, 1934).

Lack, W., H.. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992).

——— *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994).

Lambdin, L.C., and R.T. Lambdin (eds), *Chaucer's Pilgrims: An Historical Guide to the Pilgrims in* The Canterbury Tales (Westport, CT, 1996).

Lawson, S., 'Cadaver Effigies: The Portrait as Prediction', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 25 (1974), pp. 519-23.

Layet, P., 'Die bimediale Münchner Totentanzhandschrift Xyl. 39', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre*, 1, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Düsseldorf, 2000), pp. 80-96.

——— 'La Danse macabre des Femmes', in *"Ihr müßt alle nach meiner Pfeife tanzen." Totentänze vom 15. bis 20. Jahrhundert aus den Beständen der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel und der Bibliothek Otto Schäfer Schweinfurt*, exhibition catalogue Herzog August Bibliothek, 77 (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 35-41.

Lehr, A., 'Het Oordeelspel in de Sint-Jan', in A.M. Koldewey (ed.), *In Buscoducis. Kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch. De cultuur van late middeleeuwen en renaissance. Wetenschappelijke Bijdragen* (Maarssen, 1990), pp. 403-10.

Lemé-Hébuterne, K., 'Images de la mort à travers les stalles de la fin du Moyen Age', *Actes du 11e Congrès International d'études sur les Danses macabres et l'art macabre en général* (Meslay-le-Grenet, 2003).

Leppin, V., 'Der lateinische Totentanz aus Cpg 314 als Ursprungstext der europäischen Totentanztradition. Eine alte These neu bedacht', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 77:2 (1995), pp. 323-43.

Leproux, G.-M., 'Le cimetière médiéval', in M. Fleury and G.-M. Leproux (eds), *Les Saints-Innocents* (Paris, 1990), pp. 37-53.

——— 'L'église des Saints-Innocents', in M. Fleury and G.-M. Leproux (eds), *Les Saints-Innocents* (Paris, 1990), pp. 74-83.

Levasseur, P., 'Observations sur l'iconographie de l'Aître Saint-Maclou: une synthèse de l'art macabre et des apports de la renaissance', in *Actes du 11e Congrès International d'études sur les Danses macabres et l'art macabre en général* (Meslay-le-Grenet, 2003), pp. 39-56.

Lewis, R.E. (gen. ed.), *The Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, 1952).

Linden, H. vander, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419-1467) et de Charles, comte de Charolais (1433-1467)* (Brussels, 1940).

Lindley, P., 'The Later Medieval Monuments and Chantry Chapels', in R.K. Morris and R. Shoesmith (eds), *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art & Architecture* (Logaston, 2003), pp. 161-82.

——— '"Disrespect for the Dead?" The Destruction of Tomb Monuments in Sixteenth-Century England', *Church Monuments*, 19 (2004), pp. 53-79.

——— 'The Funeral and Tomb Effigies of Queen Katharine of Valois and King Henry V', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 160 (2007), pp. 165-77.

Lipscomb, G., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* (London, 1847).

Litten, J.W.S., and F.R. Clark, *St Mary's Church, Woodford, Essex* (London, 1977).

Llewellyn, N., *The Art of Death. Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual* c.*1500*-c.*1800* (London, 1991, repr. 1997).

——— *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2000).

Lobel, M.D. (ed.), *Victoria County History: County of Oxford*, 6 (Oxford, 1959).

Löhmer, C., *Die Welt der Kinder im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Weinheim, 1989).

Lorenz, A. (ed.), *Die Maler tom Ring*, exhibition catalogue, 2 vols (Münster, 1996).

Mâle, É., *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age: étude sur l'iconographie du Moyen Age et sur ses sources d'inspiration* (1908, repr. Paris, 1949).

——— *Religious Art in France. The Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, Bollingen Series, 90:3 (1908, 5th edn 1949, transl. Princeton, 1986).

Mann, J., *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire: The Literature of Social Classes and the* General Prologue *to the* Canterbury Tales (Cambridge, 1973).

Marijnissen, R.H., and P. Ruyffelaere, *Hieronymus Bosch: The Complete Works* (trans., Antwerp, 1987).

Marks, R., 'Henry Williams and his "Ymage of Deth" Roundel at Stanford on Avon, Northamptonshire', *Antiquaries Journal*, 54 (1974), pp. 272-74.

——— *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1993).

——— and P. Williamson (eds), *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547*, exhibition catalogue (London, 2003).

Masne de Chermont, I. le, 'La danse macabre du cimetière des Innocents', in M. Fleury and G.-M. Leproux (eds), *Les Saints-Innocents* (Paris, 1990), pp. 84-109.

Massip, F., and L. Kovács, 'Les Franciscains et le genre macabre: les Danses de la Mort et la prédication', *European Medieval Drama*, 8 (2004), pp. 91-105.

Matthew, H.C.G., and B. Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

MacLean, S.-B., *Chester Art: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama*, Early Drama, Art, and Music, Reference Series, 3 (Kalamazoo, 1982).

McCullough, E., 'The Dance of Death', *Journal of the Old Drogheda Society*, 13 (2001), pp. 23-26.

McFarlane, K.B., *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (London, 1972).

Meiss, M., 'La Mort et l'Office des Morts à l'époque du Maître de Boucicaut et des Limbourg', *Revue de l'Art*, 1-2 (1968), pp. 17-25.

Merlo, E.Z., 'Death and Disillusion. An Iconographic and Literary Itinerary in Christian Spain', in A. Tenenti (ed.), *Humana Fragilitas: The Themes of Death in Europe from the 13th to the 18th Century* (Clusone, 2002), pp. 219-50.

Meuwese, M., *Beeldend Vertellen. De verluchte handschriften van Jacob van Maerlants* Rijmbijbel *en* Spiegel Historiael, doctoral thesis (Leiden, 2001).

Meyer-Baer, K., *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death: Studies in Musical Iconology* (1970, repr. New York, 1984).

Mills, D., 'The Chester Mystery Plays and the Limits of Realism', in T. Scott and P. Starkey (eds), *The Middle Ages in the North-West*, papers presented at an International Conference sponsored jointly by the Centres of Medieval Studies of the Universities of Liverpool and Toronto (Oxford, 1995), pp. 221-55.

——— 'The Chester Cycle', in R. Beadle (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre* (Cambridge, 1994, repr. 1996), pp. 109-33.

Mörgeli, C., and U. Wunderlich, 'Tanzende Tote in einer Aargauer Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre 3*, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Düsseldorf, 2002), pp. 144-62.

Moore, A., and C. Crawley, *Family & Friends. A Regional Survey of British Portraiture* (London, 1992).

Moorrees, F.D.J., 'De graftombe van Brederode te Vianen aan de Lek, *Eigen Haard* (1885), pp. 480-84.
Morand, K., *Claus Sluter: Artist at the Court of Burgundy* (London, 1991).
Morgan, P., '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.
Morganstern, A.M., 'The La Grange Tomb and Choir: A Monument of the Great Schism of the West', *Speculum*, 48 (1973), pp. 52-69.
——— *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (Pennsylvania, 2000).
Morris, H., 'The Dance-of-Death Motif in Shakespeare', *Papers on Language and Literature*, 20 (1984), pp. 15-28.
Muchembled, R., *Culture populaire et culture des élites dans la France moderne (XVe-XVIIIe siècles). Essai* (Paris, 1978).
Munro, D., 'St John's Conventual Church in Valletta: The Dynamism of a Church Floor', *Church Monuments*, 23 (2008), pp. 100-21, 170-75.
Mustanoja, T.F., review of H. Rosenfeld, *Der mittelalterliche Totentanz*, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 57 (1956), pp. 162-63.
Nash, S., *'No equal in any land'*. André Beauneveu: Artist to the Courts of France and Flanders (London, 2007).
——— 'Claus Sluter's 'Well of Moses' for the Chartreuse de Champmol Reconsidered: Part III', *Burlington Magazine*, 150 (2008), pp. 724-41.
Neumann, W. (ed.), *Tanz der Toten – Todestanz. Der monumentale Totentanz im deutschsprachigen Raum*, exhibition catalogue Museum für Sepulkralkultur Kassel (Dettelbach, 1998).
Newhauser, R., *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (Cambridge, 2000).
Norris, M., *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols (London, 1977).
——— 'Later Medieval Monumental Brasses: An Urban Funerary Industry and its Representation in Death', in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 170-83, 248-51.
O'Connor, M.C., *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York, 1942, repr. 1966).
Ohler, N., *Sterben und Tod im Mittelalter* (1990, repr. Düsseldorf, 2004).
Oliver, J.H., *Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liège (c. 1250 - c. 1330)* (Louvain, 1988).
Oosterwijk, S., 'Of Mops and Puppets: The Ambiguous Use of the Word "Mop" in the Towneley Shepherds' Plays', *Notes and Queries*, 242 (June 1997), pp. 169-71.
——— '"Litel enfaunt that were but late borne": The Image of the *Infans* in Medieval Culture in North-Western Europe', unpublished PhD thesis, Department of History of Art, University of Leicester (1999).
——— '"Muss ich tanzen und kan nit gan?" Das Kind im mittelalterlichen Totentanz', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre 3*, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Dusseldorf, 2002), pp. 162-80.
——— Koning, keizer, kardinaal ... De dodendans in de middeleeuwse cultuur', *Madoc (Tijdschrift over de Middeleeuwen)*, 16:3 (Autumn 2002), pp. 165-77.
——— 'Lessons in "Hopping": The Dance of Death and the Chester Mystery Cycle', *Comparative Drama*, 36:3/4 (Fall/Winter 2002/03), pp. 249-87.
——— '"The sodeyne vyolence of cruel dethe": Death and *Danse Macabre* Iconography on Tomb Monuments', *Actes* du 11e Congrès de l'association 'Danses macabres d'Europe' (Meslay-le-Grenet, 2003), pp. 209-22.
——— 'Madonnas, Mothers, Mites, and the Macabre: Three Examples of Medieval Mother-and-Child Tomb Iconography', *Church Monuments*, 18 (2003), pp. 10-22.
——— '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.
——— '"Long lullynge haue I lorn!": The Massacre of the Innocents in Word and Image', *Medieval English Theatre*, 25 (2003), pp. 3-53.
——— '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.
——— 'Totentanzikonographie auf Chorgestühlen und Miserikordien des Mittelalters', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre 6*, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Dusseldorf, 2005), pp. 199-214.

——— '"Muoz ich tanzen und kan nit gân?" Death and the Infant in the Medieval *Danse Macabre*', *Word & Image*, 22:2 (2006), pp. 146-64.
——— '*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), 1, pp. 167-77.
——— '"I cam but now, and now I go my wai": The Presentation of the Infant in the Medieval *Danse Macabre*', in J.T. Rosenthal (ed.), *Essays on Medieval Childhood: Responses to Recent Debates* (Donington, 2007), pp. 124-50.
——— 'Kadavers, wormen, padden en dubbeldekkers. Transi-monumenten in noord-Europa', *Madoc (Tijdschrift over de Middeleeuwen)*, 16:3 (2006), pp. 146-57.
——— '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.
——— 'Kaiser, König, Kriegesmann – Der Totentanz im Pariser Friedhof Saints Innocents im Schlaglicht der politischen Wirren der Zeit', in U. Wunderlich (ed.), *L'art macabre 9*, Jahrbuch der Europäischen Totentanz-Vereinigung (Bamberg, 2008), pp. 108-34.
——— '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.
——— '"For no man mai fro dethes stroke fle". Death and *Danse Macabre* Iconography in Memorial Art', *Church Monuments*, 23 (2008), pp. 62-87, 166-68.
——— '"Alas, poor Yorick": Death, the Fool, the Mirror and the Danse Macabre', in S. Knöll (ed.), *Narren – Masken – Karneval. Meisterwerke von Dürer bis Kubin aus der Düsseldorfer Graphiksammlung 'Mensch und Tod'*, exhibition catalogue (Regensburg, 2009), pp. 20-32 and 134-36 (catalogue entries).
Orme, N. 'Whose Body?', *Friends of Exeter Cathedral Annual Report*, 68 (1998), pp. 12-17.
Os, H. van, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500*, exhibition catalogue Rijksmuseum (transl., Amsterdam/London, 1994).
Owst, G.R. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters & of the English People* (Cambridge, 1933).
Pálosfalvi, T., 'Barbara und die Grafen von Cilli', in I. Takács (ed.), *Sigismundus, Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxembourg 1387-1437*, exhibition catalogue (Mainz, 2006), pp. 295-97.
Panofsky, E., *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H.W. Janson (1964, repr. London, 1992).
Paravicini, W., and B. Schnerb (eds), *Paris, capitale des ducs de Bourgogne*, Beihefte der Francia, 64 (Ostfildern, 2007).
Parker, K.T. (comp.), *The Guild Chapel and other Guild Buildings of Stratford-Upon-Avon, Based on the Research of Wilfrid Puddephat* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1987).
Pauly, M., and F. Reinert (eds), *Sigismund von Luxembourg. Ein Kaiser in Europa* (Mainz, 2006).
Pearsall, D., *John Lydgate* (London, 1970).
——— 'Signs of Life in Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*', in J. Hogg (ed.), *Zeit, Tod und Ewigkeit in der Renaissance Literatur*, 3, Analecta Cartusiana, 117 (Salzburg, 1987), pp. 58-71.
——— *John Lydgate (1371-1449): A Bio-bibliography*, English Literary Studies Monograph Series, 71 (Victoria, 1997).
Peereboom, M., 'Dansen met de dood', in L. Kerssemakers, P. van Pagée and P. Visser (eds), *Memento Mori – Dansen met de Dood: De dodendans in boek en prent* (Amsterdam, 2000), pp. 13-33.
Peeters, C., *De Sint Janskathedraal te 's-Hertogenbosch* (The Hague, 1985).
Perkinson, S., 'From "Curious" to Canonical: *Jehan Roy de France* and the Origins of the French School', *Art Bulletin*, 87 (2005), pp. 507-32.
Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Derbyshire* (London, 1953).
Phillips, J., *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1973).
Physick, J., and J.W. Blundell, *Westminster Abbey: The Monuments* (London, 1989).
Phythian-Adams, C., *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979).
Platt, C., *The Parish Churches of Medieval England* (London, 1981).
——— *King Death. The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England* (London, 1996).
Pley, H., *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511. Stadscultuur in de late middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam 1988).

Pochat, G., 'Zur Genese des Porträts', in I. Takács (ed.), *Sigismundus, Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxembourg 1387-1437*, exhibition catalogue (Mainz, 2006), pp. 124-42.

Pons, N., 'Intellectual Patterns and Affective Reactions in Defence of the Dauphin Charles, 1419-1422', in C.T. Allmand (ed.), *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France* (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 54-69.

Potter, R., *The English Morality Play: Origins, History and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition* (London/Boston, 1975).

Pradel, P., 'Le visage inconnu de Louis d'Orléans, frère de Charles VI', *Revue des Arts*, 2 (1952), pp. 93-98.

Puddephat, W., 'The Mural Paintings of the Dance of Death in the Guild Chapel of Stratford-upon-Avon', *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, 76 (1958), pp. 29-35.

Rae, E.C., 'The Rice Monument in Waterford Cathedral', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 69C (1970), pp. 1-14.

Remnant, G.L., *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain, with an Essay on their Iconography by M.D. Anderson* (Oxford, 1969).

Renoir, A., *The Poetry of John Lydgate* (London, 1967).

Reynolds, C., 'The Salisbury Breviary, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 17294, and some related manuscripts', unpublished PhD thesis (London, Courtauld Institute, 1986).

——— '"Les Angloys, de leur droicte nature, veullent touzjours guerreer": Evidence for Painting in Paris and Normandy, c.1420-1450', in C.T. Allmand (ed.), *Power, Culture, and Religion in France c.1350-c.1550* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 37-55.

——— '"In ryche colours delytethe the peyntour": Painting and the Visual Arts in the Poems of John Lydgate', in R. Marks (ed.), *Late Gothic England: Art and Display* (Donington/London, 2007), pp. 1-15.

Riché, P., and D. Alexandre-Bidon, *L'enfance au Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1994).

Riedmiller, T, '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. 155-69.

Robbins, M.E., 'The Truculent Toad in the Middle Ages', in N.C. Flores (ed.), *Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1996), pp. 25-47.

Roe, H.M., 'Cadaver Effigial Monuments in Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 99 (1969), pp. 1-19.

Roelofs, P., 'Johan Maelwael, Court Painter in Guelders and Burgundy', in R. Dückers and P. Roelofs (eds), *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400-1416* (Nijmegen, 2005), pp. 34-53.

Rogers, N., 'The Bury Artists of Harley 2278 and the Origins of Topographical Awareness in English Art', in A. Gransden (ed.), *Bury St Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20 (Leeds, 1998), pp. 219-227

Roper, I.M., *The Monumental Effigies of Gloucestershire and Bristol* (Gloucester, 1931).

Roscoe, I., 'Flemish Scujlptors and Adjustments for the English Market: The Case of Peter Scheemakers', *Church Monuments*, 7 (1992), pp. 75-84.

Rosenfeld, H., *Der mittelalterliche Totentanz: Entstehung - Enwicklung - Bedeutung* (1954, revised edn Cologne/Graz, 1968).

——— 'Vadomori', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 124 (1995), pp. 257-64.

Rosewell, R., *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge, 2008).

Rouse, E.C., 'Wall Paintings in the Church of St. Pega, Peakirk, Northamptonshire', *Archaeological Journal*, 110 (1953), pp. 135-49

——— *Longthorpe Tower, Cambridgeshire* (1987, reprint London, 1998).

Roux de Lincy, [A.J.V.] Le, and L.M. Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1855, 2nd edn 1867).

Rubin, M., *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

Rushforth, G.McN., 'Tewkesbury Abbey: The Wakeman Cenotaph and the Starved Monk', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 47 (1925), pp. 150-52.

Sandler, L.F., *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library* (London/Oxford, 1983).

——— *Omne Bonum. A Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge. British Library MSS Royal 6 E VI – 6 E VII*, 2 vols (London, 1996).

Saugnieux, J., *Les danses macabres de France et d'Espagne et leurs prolongements littéraires* (Lyons, 1972).

Saul, N., 'The Contract for the Brass of Richard Willoughby (d. 1471) at Wollaton (Notts.)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 50 (2006), pp. 166-93.

――― 'At the Deathbed of Archdeacon Rudyng', *Monumental Brass Society Bulletin*, 108 (May 2008), pp. 155-57.

Sauvageot, C. (photos), and S. Santos (text), *Saint-Denis, dernière demeure des rois de France* (La Pierre qui Vire, 1999).

Saxtorph, N.M., *Danmarks kalkmalerier* (n.pl., 1997).

Scanlan, L., and J. Simpson (eds), *John Lydgate. Poetry, Culture, and Lancastrian England* (Notre Dame, 2007).

Scaramella, P., 'The Italy of Triumphs and of Contrasts', in A. Tenenti (ed.), *Humana Fragilitas: The Themes of Death in Europe from the 13th to the 18th Century* (Clusone, 2002), pp. 25-98.

Schapiro, M., '"Muscipula diaboli": The Symbolism of the Merode Altarpiece', *Art Bulletin*, 27 (1945), pp. 182-87.

Schirmer, W.F., *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century* (1952, transl. London, 1961).

Schneider, H., '*Der Schweizerdolch: Waffen- und kulturgeschichtliche Entwicklung mit vollständiger Dokumentation der bekannten Originale und Kopien* (Zurich, 1977).

Schulte, B., *Die deutschsprachigen spätmittelalterlichen Totentänze. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inkunabel 'Des dodes dantz'. Lübeck 1489*, Niederdeutsche Studien, 36 (Cologne, 1990).

Schwab, W., 'Totentanz und Christophorusverehrung – ein theologisches Gesamtkonzept? Ikonographische Gedanken zu den Fresken der Pfarrkirche und des Karners in Metnitz / Kärnten', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichtge des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 116 (2005), pp. 1-31.

Scott, K.L., *The Mirroure of the Worlde. MS Bodley 283 (England* c.*1470-1480): The Physical Composition, Decoration and Illustration* (Oxford, 1980).

――― *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, 2 vols, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 6 (London, 1996).

Sears, E., *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, 1986).

Seymour, M.C., 'Some Lydgate Manuscripts: *Lives of SS. Edmund and Fremund* and *Dance Macabre*', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 5:4 (1985), pp. 10-24.

Sharp, T., *Illustrative Papers on the History and Antiquities of the City of Coventry*, ed. W.G. Fretton (Birmingham, 1871), pp. 24-34.

Shaw, W.A., 'The Early English School of Portraiture', *Burlington Magazine*, 65 (October 1934), pp. 171-84.

Sherlock, P., *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2008).

Sherman, C.R., *The Portraits of Charles V of France: 1338-1380* (New York, 1969).

Shinners, J. (ed.), *Medieval Popular Religion 1000-1500: A Reader*, Readings in Medieval Civilisations and Cultures, 2 (Peterborough, Ontario, 1997).

Siciliano, I., *François Villon et les thèmes poétiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1967).

Simpson, J., 'Bulldozing the Middle Ages: The Case of "John Lydgate"', *New Medieval Literatures*, 4 (2001), pp. 213-42.

――― *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, The Oxford English Literary History, 2, 1350-1547 (Oxford, 2002).

Smith, J.C., *The Northern Renaissance*, Art & Ideas (London/New York, 2004).

Sörries, R., 'Der monumentale Totentanz', in W. Neumann (ed.), *Tanz der Toten – Todestanz. Der monumentale Totentanz im deutschsprachigen Raum*, exhibition catalogue Museum für Sepulkralkultur Kassel (Dettelbach, 1998), pp. 9-51.

Spencer, E.P., 'The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours', *Burlington Magazine*, 107 (1965), pp. 495-502.

Spinrad, P.S., *The Summons of Death on the Medieval and Renaissance English Stage* (Columbus, 1987).

Sponsler, C., 'Lydgate and London's Public Culture', in L.H. Cooper and A. Denny-Brown (eds), *Lydgate Matters. Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (New York/Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 13-33.

Stammler, W., *Der Totentanz. Entstehung und Deutung* (Munich, 1948).

Starkey, D. (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: Society of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1419*, 1 (London, 1998).

Steffeck, J., and C. Davidson, 'A Late Pictorial Analogue to a Scene in *The Castle of Perseverance*', *Early Drama, Art and Music, Newsletter*, 12 (Spring 1990), pp. 31-33.

Stoett, F.A., *Nederlandse spreekwoorden, spreekwijzen, uitdrukkingen en gezegden, naar hun oorsprong en beteekenis verklaard* (Zutphen, 1915).

Stone, L., *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1955, repr. 1972).

Storck, W.F., 'Das "Vado mori"', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 42 (1910), pp. 422-28.

――― 'Aspects of Death in English Art and Poetry', *Burlington Magazine*, 21 (1912), pp. 249-56, 314-19.

Stow, J., *A Survay of London, Contayning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne estate, and description of that Citie, written in the yeare 1598* (London, 1598).

――― *A Survey of London, reprinted from the text of 1603*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (1908, repr. Oxford, 1971), 2 vols.

Stratford, J. (ed.), *The Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389-1435)* (London, 1993).

Taburet-Delahaye, E. (ed.), *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris, 2004).

Takács, I. (ed.), *Sigismundus, Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxembourg 1387-1437*, exhibition catalogue (Mainz, 2006).

Tamboer, A., 'Dodendansmaskers en adamskostuum. Een dodendansopvoering in 1638', in L.P. Grijp, A. Tamboer and E. Hoek (eds), *De dodendans in de kunsten* (Utrecht, 1989), pp. 33-37.

Tanzend ins Jenseits. Vorstellungen – Darstellungen – Erfahrungen zu Sterben und Tod in Mittelalter und Gegenwart, publication accompanying an exhibition in Zurich, St Jakob am Stauffacher (Zurich, n.d.).

Tátrai, V., 'Die Darstellung Sigismunds von Luxemburg in der italienischen Kunst seiner Zeit', in I. Takács (ed.), *Sigismundus, Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxembourg 1387-1437*, exhibition catalogue (Mainz, 2006), pp. 143-67.

Taylor, J.H.M. (ed.), *Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages*, Proceedings of the 1983 Manchester Colloquium, Vinaver Studies in French, 1 (Liverpool, 1984).

――― 'Un miroer salutaire', in J.H.M. Taylor (ed.), *Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages*, Proceedings of the 1983 Manchester Colloquium, Vinaver Studies in French, 1 (Liverpool, 1984), pp. 29-43.

――― 'Danse Macabré and Bande Dessinée: A Question of Reading', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 25 (1989), pp. 356-69.

――― 'Poésie et prédication. La fonction du discours proverbial dans la *Danse macabre*', *Medioevo Romanzo*, 14 (1989), pp. 215-26.

――― 'The Dialogues of the Dance of Death and the Limits of Late-Medieval Theatre', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 16 (1990), pp. 215-32.

――― 'Que signifiait *danse* au quinzième siècle? Danser la Danse macabré', *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 18 (1991), pp. 259-77.

――― 'Translation as Reception: *La Danse Macabré*', in K. Pratt (ed.), *Shifts and Transpositions in Medieval Narrative: A Festschrift for Dr. Elspeth Kennedy* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 181-92.

Tedeschi, M., 'Publish and Perish: The Career of Lienhart Holle in Ulm', in S.L. Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520* (Ithaca/London, 1991), pp. 41-67.

Tenenti, A., *La vie et la mort à travers l'art du XVe siècle* (Paris, 1952).

――― (ed.), *Humana Fragilitas: The Themes of Death in Europe from the 13th to the 18th Century* (Clusone, 2002).

Terrier, B., 'Le *Dict des trois morts et des trois vifs* et sa représentation murale dans le centre de France', *Art Sacré*, 14: Du gothique flamboyant à l'art de la Renaissance, Cahiers de Rencontre avec le Patrimoine religieux (2001), pp. 128-43.

Thompson, G.Ll., *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime 1420-1436* (Oxford, 1991).

Timofeeva, O., '*Word be worde – andgit of andgite*: A Study of the Medieval Rhetorical Formula', in R.W. McConchie, O. Timofeeva, H. Tissari and T. Säily (eds), *Selected Proceedings of the 2005 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX)* (Somerville, MA, 2006), pp. 135-42.

Tittler, R., 'Civic Portraiture and Political Culture in English Provincial Towns, ca. 1560-1640', *Journal of British Studies*, 37 (July 1998), pp. 306-329.

Tomaschek, J., 'Der Tod, die Welt(zeit)alter und die letzen Dinge. Bemerkungen zum "Tanz der Skelette" in Hartmann Schedels *Weltchronik* von 1493', in R. Hausner and W. Schwab (eds), *Den Tod tanzen?*, Tagungsband des Totentanzkongresses Stift Admont 2001, Im Kontext: Beiträge zu Religion, Philosophie und Kultur, 19, (Salzburg, 2002), pp. 229-49.

Torr, V.J.B., 'The Oddington shroud brass and its lost fellows', *Monumental Brass Society Transactions*, 7:5 (1938), pp. 225-35.

Tracy, C., 'Choir-Stalls from the 14th-Century Whitefriars Church in Coventry', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 150 (1997), pp. 76-95.

Tristram, E.W., *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955).

Tristram, P., *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature* (London, 1976).

Tuchman, B.W., *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (London, 1979).

Tudor-Craig, P., 'Iconography of the Painting', in M. Biddle (ed.), *King Arthur's Round Table: An Archaeological Investigation* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 285-334.

Turner, D., 'Roodloft in Sparham Church, Norfolk', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 26 (1846) pp. 135-36.

Utzinger, B., and H. Utzinger, *Itinéraires des danses macabres* (n.pl., 1996).

Vanclooster, D. (ed.), *Dansen met de dood* (Brugge, 2008).

Varty, K., 'Villon's Three *Ballades du Temps Jadis* and the Danse Macabre', in D.A. Trotter (ed.), *Littera et Sensus: Essays on Form and Meaning in Medieval French Literature Presented to John Fox* (Exeter, 1989), pp. 73-93.

Venot, B., and J.P. Mouilleseaux, *L'Aître Saint-Maclou de Rouen: petit guide à l'usage des habitués du lieu et de ceux qui le découvrent* (Rouen, 1980).

Verhey, K., 'Doet altijt wijselic, de doot is afgrijselic: een studie naar het transigraf in Nederland', unpublished MA dissertation, University of Nijmegen (1989).

Vervoort, R., 'The Pestilent Toad: The Significance of the Toad in the Works of Bosch', in J. Koldeweij *et al.* (eds), *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into his Life and Work* (Rotterdam, 2001), pp. 145-51.

Vaughan, R., *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (1966, repr. Woodbridge, 2002).

——— *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (1970, repr. Woodbridge, 2002).

Verret, D., and D. Steyaert (eds), *La couleur et la pierre: polychromie des portails gothiques*, Actes du colloque Amiens 12-14 octobre 2000 (Amiens/Paris, 2003).

Voelkle, W., 'Morgan M.359 and the Origin of the "New Iconography" of the Virtues in the Fifteenth Century', in S.A. Stein and G.D. McKee (eds), *Album Amicorum Kenneth C. Lindsay: Essays on Art and Literature* (Binghamton, NY, 1990), pp. 57-90.

——— and S. L'Engle, *Illuminated Manuscripts: Treasures of the Pierpont Morgan Library New York* (New York/London, 1998).

Waller, J.G., 'On the Wall Paintings Discovered in the Churches of Raunds and Slapton, Northamptonshire', *Archaeological Journal*, 34 (1877), pp. 219-41.

Walls, K., 'Did Lydgate Translate the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine"?', *Notes and Queries*, 222 (1977), pp. 103-5.

Walters-DiTraglia, W., 'Death, Commemoration and the Heraldic Funeral in Tudor and Stuart Cheshire and Lancashire, part 1', *The Coat of Arms*, 3rd ser., part 1, no. 213 (Spring 2007), pp. 35-54.

Walther, P., *Der Berliner Totentanz zu St. Marien* (Berlin, 1997).

Ward, S., 'The Friaries in Chester, Their Impact and Legacy', in A. Thacker (ed.), *Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture at Chester*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 22 (Leeds, 2000), pp. 121-31.

Wark, R.R., *Rowlandson's Drawings for* The English Dance of Death (San Marino, 1966).

Warner, M. *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (1981, repr. London, 1987).

Wemple, S.F., and D.A. Kaiser, 'Death's Dance of Women', *Journal of Medieval History*, 12 (1986), pp. 333-43.

Wentzel, H., 'Ad Infantiam Christi: Zu der Kindheit unseres Herren', in H. Fegers (ed.), *Das Werk des Künstlers: Studien zur Ikonographie und Formgeschichte, Hubert Schrade zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen und Schülern* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 134-60.

——— 'Das Jesuskind an der Hand Mariae auf dem Siegel des Burkard von Winon 1277', in E.J. Beer, P. Hofer and L. Mojon (eds), *Festschrift Hans R Hahnloser zum 60. Geburtstag 1959* (Basel/Stuttgart, 1961), pp. 251-270.

Weyman, H.T., 'Chantry Chapels in Ludlow Church', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 3rd series, 4 (1904), pp. 337-70.

Whyte, F., *The Dance of Death in Spain and Catalonia* (Baltimore, 1931).

Wieck, R.S., *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1997).
――― 'The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral', in E.E. DuBruck and B.I. Gusick (eds), *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, Studies in the Humanities, 45 (New York/Canterbury, 1999), pp. 431-76.
Wijsman, H., 'La Danse macabre du cimetière des Saints-Innocents et un manuscrit de Philippe le Bon', in *Actes du 12e congrès international d'études sur les Danses macabres et l'art macabre en général* (Meslay-le-Grenet, 2005), 1, pp. 135-44.
Willemsen, A., *Kinder delijt: Middeleeuws speelgoed in de Nederlanden*, Nijmeegse Kunsthistorische Studies, 6 (Nijmegen, 1998).
Williams, E.C., 'The Dance of Death in Painting and Sculpture in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, 1 (1937), pp. 229-57.
――― 'Mural Paintings of the Three Living and the Three Dead in England', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, 7 (1942), pp. 31-40.
――― *My Lord of Bedford 1389-1435, Being a Life of John of Lancaster, first duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V and Regent of France* (London, 1963).
Wilson, A., assisted by J.L. Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (1976, repr. Amsterdam, 1978).
Wilson, C., 'The Medieval Monuments', in P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks (eds), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 451-510.
Wilson, J., 'Icons of Unity', *History Today*, 43 (June 1993), pp. 14-20.
――― 'Dead Fruit: The Commemoration of Still-Born and Unbaptized Children in Early Modern England', *Church Monuments*, 17 (2002), pp. 89-106.
――― 'Go for Baroque: The Bruce Mausoleum at Maulden, Bedfordshire', *Church Monuments*, 22 (2007), pp. 66-95, 175.
Win, P. de, '"Danse Macabre" around the Tomb and Bones of Margaret of York', *The Ricardian*, 15 (2005), pp. 53-69.
Winzeler, M. (ed.), *Dresdner Totentanz. Das Relief in der Dreikönigskirche Dresden* (Halle an der Saale, 2001).
Wirth, J., *La jeune fille et la mort. Recherches sur les thèmes macabres dans l'art germanique de la renaissance* (Geneva, 1979).
Wisman, J.A., 'La symbolique du miroir dans les *dances macabres* de Guyot Marchant', *Romanische Forschungen*, 103 (1991), pp. 157-71.
――― 'Un miroir déformant: hommes et femmes des *Danses macabres* de Guyot Marchant', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 23 (1993), pp. 275-99.
Wittkower, R., *Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (1955, 3rd edn, Oxford, 1981).
Woolf, R., *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968).
――― *The English Mystery Plays* (1972, repr. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980).
Wright, G.S., 'The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth Century', *Gesta*, 39 (2000), pp. 117-34.
Wunderlich, U., *Der Tanz in den Tod. Totentänze vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 2001).
Youngs, D., *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe,* c.*1300*-c.*1600* (Manchester, 2006).
Zarnecki, G., *Romanesque Lincoln: The Sculpture of the Cathedral* (Lincoln, 1988).
Zens, H., *Der neue Lübecker Totentanz* (Vienna, 2003).

--oo0oo--

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

1. 'Imago mortis', woodcut from the Liber Chronicarum or Nuremberg Chronicle published by Anton Koberger in 1493.
2. The apothecary flanked by two dead dancers, *danse macabre* medallion accompanying the Office of the Dead in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1435 (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.359, fol. 142r).
3. Mary of Burgundy as one of the Three Living being attacked by the Three Dead, miniature in the Book of Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian, late fifteenth century (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, ms. 78 B 12, fol. 220v).
4. Four dead musicians, additional woodcut introduced by Guy Marchant in his 1486 Danse Macabre edition.
5. Procession of the damned towards hell, detail of the carved tympanum of the Judgement portal, north-transept, Rheims Cathedral, *c.*1225-30.
6. Woodcut illustrating the sin of Pride, from a Netherlandish *Ars Moriendi* edition of 1465.
7. The Three Dead pursuing the Three Living (not shown), miniature in a French book of hours, *c.*1500 (Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS 38, fol. 96r).
8. Hieronymus Bosch, *Death of a Miser*, panel from a dismantled altarpiece, *c.*1480-90, Washington, National Gallery.
8. Death of an avaricious king (King Sweyn?), incomplete palimpsest brass of *c.*1480, found at Frenze, Norfolk.
10. Death and the bishop, sole surviving panel of a larger stained-glass *danse macabre* scheme of *c.*1500, now situated in a window in the south wall of the nave of St Andrew's church, Norwich.
11. Death rising from a tomb to shoot an arrow at vicar Henry Williams (d. 1500), stained-glass panel in the choir of St Nicholas church, Stanford-on-Avon, Northamptonshire.
12. Woodcut illustration at the start of *The daunce of Machabree*, published by Richard Tottel in 1554 as an appendix to his edition of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.
13. Death with the infant, detail from the marginal *danse macabre* cycle which initially appeared in the 1569 edition of John Day's *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, here reproduced from his 1578 *Booke of Christian Prayers*.
14. Brass of the park-keeper James Gray (d. 1591) at Hunsdon, Hertfordshire.
15. Hans Holbein the Younger (after), *Portrait of Sir Brian Tuke with Death*, [1532], panel, 49x38cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung.
16. Posthumous portrait of Norwich mayor Robert Jannys (*c.*1480-1530) with Death, by an anonymous British artist, probably seventeenth century (copy?), Norwich Guildhall, City of Norwich.

CHAPTER 1

1. The Three Dead, mural painted in the 1420s or '30s, Haddon Hall chapel, Derbyshire. *Photo: author.*
2. The Three Living and the Three Dead, *c.* 1310, from the Psalter of Robert de Lisle (London, British Library, MS Arundel 83, pt. II, f. 127^{r}). *Photo reproduced with kind permission from The British Library.*

3. Cadaver monument of Richard Fleming (d. 1431) against the north wall of the choir of Lincoln Cathedral. *Photo: author.*
4. Death, the Patriarch and the Constable, woodcut from Guyot Marchant's printed *Danse macabre*, first published in Paris, 1485.
5. A *danse macabre* wall-painting in a cloister in the background of one of the panels from the altarpiece of St. Bertin by Simon Marmion, painted between 1455 and 1459 for the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, now in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. *Photo reproduced with kind permission from Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.*
6. *Danse macabre* wall-painting in the Guild Chapel at Stratford-upon-Avon: reconstruction water-colour by William Puddephat. *Photo reproduced with kind permission from The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.*
7. *Danse macabre* carvings, mid to late fifteenth century, Rosslyn Chapel. *Photo: Mr Stuart Beattie, Project Director, Rosslyn Chapel:*
   a. View of the vault of the Lady Chapel.
   b. Detail of the *danse macabre* carvings on the rib springing from the north-west corner of the vault.
8. Death and the King, panel from the medieval paneled screen of *c.* 1500 in the priory church at Hexham, Northumberland. *Photo by Ian Roper, reproduced by kind permission of Professor Jane H.M. Taylor.*
9. Death and the Cardinal, mid to late fifteenth century, fragment of a *danse macabre* mural in the south transept of the church at Kernascléden (Brittany). *Photo: author.*
10. Death and the Usurer with a Pauper, and Death capturing an Innkeeper, marginal scenes in a French book of hours, *c.* 1525-50 (University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 135, f. 84^{v}-85^{r}).
11. Death and the Empress, woodcut from the series *Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort* by Hans Holbein the Younger, first published in Lyon, 1538.
12. Death and the Nun, woodcut from the series *Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort* by Hans Holbein the Younger, first published in Lyon, 1538.
13. Death and the Bishop, *c.* 1487/88, from the woodcut edition *Der doten dantz mit figuren clage und antwort schon von allen staten der werlt* attributed to Heinrich Knoblochtzer.
14. Death, the Bigot and the Fool, woodcut from Guyot Marchant's 1491 edition of the *Grant danse macabre des femmes*.
15. Death and the Skaters, engraving from Salomon van Rusting's book *Het schoutoneel des Doots, of Dooden Dans*, first published in 1707.
16. Death and the Antiquaries, print designed by Thomas Rowlandson and published by Rudolph Ackermann in 1814 in the series *The English Dance of Death.*

CHAPTER 2

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. Antiquarian Gaignières drawing (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough-Gaignières 1, fol. 1r).
2. Map of France in 1429: the dark shade represents areas under English control. (From: C.T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), map 3.)
3. Map of medieval Paris: the red arrow indicates the location of the church and cemetery of Les Saints Innocents. (From C. Beaune (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* (Paris, 1990), map 5.)
4. Map of the cemetery of Les Saints Innocents, with the location of the danse macabre mural in the charnier des Lingères indicated in dark grey.

5. Burial scene in a churchyard with a charnel-house in the background, miniature in the Cremaux Hours, French, *c.*1440 (London, BL, Add. MS 18751, fol. 163r).
6. Church and cemetery of Les Saints Innocents, with the danse macabre mural visible through the arcades on the right, Paris, *c.*1570, painting by an unknown Flemish master, Paris, Musée Carnavalet.
7. *Danse macabre* as marginal decoration in a Parisian book of hours, *c.*1430 (Paris, BnF, ms. Rothschild 2535, fols 108v-109r: blank borders cropped in this illustration).
8. *Danse macabre* medallion in the outer margins of a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430-35: the constable of France with his ceremonial sword (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.359, fol. 127r).
9. *Danse macabre* medallion in the outer margins of a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430-35: the infant in his cradle (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.359, fol. 151r).
10. The emperor (detail) in a danse macabre border decoration in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430 (Paris, BnF, ms. Rothschild 2535, fol. 108v).
11. The emperor in a *danse macabre* medallion in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430-35 (New York, Morgan Library MS M.359, fol. 108v).
12. Anon., Portrait of Emperor Sigismund, 1420s, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
13. Wall-painting of the Nine Worthies (detail), 1430s, sala baronale, Castello della Manta (Piedmont, Italy).
14. The king (detail) in a *danse macabre* border decoration in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430 (Paris, BnF, ms. Rothschild 2535, fol. 108v).
15. The king in a *danse macabre* medallion in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430-35 (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.359, fol. 125r).
16. Tomb effigy of Charles VI by Pierre de Thoiry, commissioned *c.*1423-24 for the king's monument at the royal abbey of Saint-Denis.
17. Death and the king (crypto-portrait of Francis I?), from Holbein's *danse macabre* woodcut series published in 1538.
18. Updated figure of the king (cryptoportrait of Francis I?) in the sixteenth-century *danse macabre* mural at La Ferté-Loupière (Yonne).
19. The duke in a *danse macabre* medallion in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430-35 (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.359, fol. 126r).
20. The papal legate (left) and the duke (right), additional woodcut in Guy Marchant's new expanded *Danse Macabre* edition published in Paris on 7 July 1486.
21. The bishop, detail of a *danse macabre* border decoration in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430 (Paris, BnF, ms. Rothschild 2535, fol. 109r).
22. The knight in a heraldic tabard, detail of a danse macabre border decoration in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430 (Paris, BnF, ms. Rothschild 2535, fol. 109r).

CHAPTER 3

1. Map of medieval Paris: the red arrow indicates the location of the church and cemetery of Les Saints Innocents. (From G.Ll. Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime 1420-1436* (Oxford, 1991), map 5.)
2. The pope, the emperor, the archbishop (actually the patriarch) and the mayor (probably the constable), woodcuts accompanying stanzas from Lydgate's *Dance of Death* in a printed edition of the Horae Beate Marie Virginis produced *c.*1521 in Paris by Johan Bignon for the London bookseller Richard Fakes.
3. The pope, detail from a danse macabre border decoration in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430 (Paris, BNF ms. Rothschild 2535, fol. 108v).

4. Precinct of Old St Paul's Cathedral, London, *c.*1500, with Pardon Churchyard to the north of the nave (red arrow) and the charnel-house with the chapel of the Virgin Mary above it (blue arrow), situated along Paternoster Row, and Paul's Cross to the north of the choir (circled in green). (From C.M. Barron, and M.-H. Rousseau, 'Cathedral, City and State, 1300-1540', in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds), *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (New Haven/London, 2004), fig. 1.)
5. Detail of the Totentanz scheme formerly in the Beichtkapelle of the Marienkirche in Lübeck (photograph predating the destruction in 1942): although the scheme was renovated in 1701 the townscape setting is believed to be based on Bernt Notke's original design of *c.*1466.
6. The author at his desk, start of a sequence of *danse macabre* medallions in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430-35 (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.359, fol. 123r).
7. The preacher in his pulpit at the end of the Totentanz mural, towards 1500, originally on the outside of the charnelhouse in Metnitz (Carinthia).
8. Wheel of Fortune with clockwise the figures of the fallen king (bottom), the author(?), a scholar(?), the pope, the constable(?) and the emperor(?). Manuscript of Laurent de Premierfait's *Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes*, produced in Paris *c.*1415 for the Luccan financier Augustin Isbarre (Sbarra), who was also an adviser to John the Fearless (Paris, BnF ms.fr. 16994, fol. 1r).
9. Author writing at his desk, woodcut included as the frontispiece in Richard Pynson's edition of Lydgate's *Testament* printed in 1520(?).
10. Lacteur at his desk, woodcut at the start of Guy Marchant's expanded edition of the *Danse Macabre des Femmes* of 1491.
11. The patriarch and the king in the Dance of Death mural of the early sixteenth century in the Guild Chapel at Stratford-upon-Avon, watercolour reconstruction painted by William Puddephat when the mural was uncovered in 1955.
12. The *amoureux* (with a flower – inset) in the unfinished fifteenth-century *Dance Macabre* fresco in the choir of the abbey church of St Robert, La Chaise-Dieu (Auvergne).
13. The Age of *Adolescentia* represented by a young noble couple in the fourteenth-century encyclopaedia *Omne Bonum* (BL MS Royal 6 E. vi, fol. 58v).
14. *Adolescentia* represented by a romantic couple, *c.*1330-40, from a diagram on a single Bavarian manuscript leaf illustrating the five Ages of Man according to Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 19414, fol. 180r).
15. The Three Living and the Three Dead, miniature in a Flemish book of hours of *c.*1480 (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 14, fol. 227v): the knight on the white horse has a female companion.
16. The *amoureux* and his female companion(?), detail from a danse macabre border decoration in a Parisian book of hours of *c.*1430 (Paris, BNF ms. Rothschild 2535, fol. 108v).

CHAPTER 4

1. Massacre of the Innocents: detail of an early fourteenth-century mural on the south wall of the chancel at St Mary's church in Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. *Tracing: author.*
2. Death and the infant, from an illustrated German *Totentanz* edition entitled *Der doten dantz mit figuren clage und antwort schon von allen staten der werlt*, first printed by Heinrich Knoblochtzer in Heidelberg, *c.*1488. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*

3. Two panels from the medieval paneled rood screen of *c.*1500 in the priory church at Hexham, Northumberland, showing Death and the emperor and Death and the pope. *Photo: R.J.L. Smith of Much Wenlock.*
4. Brass commemorating John Rudyng (d. 1481) at St Andrew's church in Biggleswade, Bedfordshire. *Rubbing reproduced by kind permission of Martin H. Stuchfield.*
5. Death armed with spears: detail of John Rudyng's brass. *Photo: Martin H. Stuchfield.*
6. Death wielding a spear in the deathbed scene in the early fifteenth-century Pricke of Conscience window in the church of All Saints North Street, York. *Photo: Allan B. Barton.*
7. 'Dethe' armed with a bell and a spear, illumination in an English manuscript of the mid fifteenth century containing a collection of religious verse and prose (University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, fol. 19^{v}).
8. Death striking a dying man with his spear, deathbed scene in the Carthusian Miscellany, produced in northern England in the first half of the fifteenth century (London, British Library MS Add. 37049, fol. 38^{v})
9. Death transfixing the knight with his lance, in Hans Holbein the Younger, *Les simulachres et historiees faces de la mort*, first published in Lyon in 1538. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*
10. Death in the Massacre of the Innocents: engraving no. 6 in *Het schouw-toneel des doods* by the Dutch physician Salomon van Rusting, first published in 1707. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*
11. A pope, an emperor, and a king facing their dead counterparts, illumination in a mid to late fifteenth-century book of hours produced in northern France (London, BL MS Harl. 2917, fol. 119^{r}).

CHAPTER 5

1. Death and the swaddled infant, wall-painting of the late-fifteenth century at La Chaise-Dieu (Haute-Loire), France. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*
2. Death and the infant in the cradle, late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century wall-painting in the nave of the parish church of Meslay-le-Grenet (Eure-et-Loire), near Chartres. *Photo: author.*
3. Seven Ages of Man, woodcut from the French translation *Le propriétaire des choses* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, printed 1482 (London, British Library IB.41688). *By permission of the British Library.*
4a. The Seven Ages in an early fourteenth-century wall-painting on the north wall of Longthorpe Tower, near Peterborough, with a Nativity scene below. *Photo: author.*
4b. The infant in a cradle, detail of the Seven Ages at Longthorpe Tower. *Photo: author.*
5. Wheel of Life, or *Rota vitae alias fortunae*, with seven Ages, woodcut of *c.*1480, Middle-Rhine area (London, British Library IC.35). *By permission of the British Library.*
6. Massacre scene, with Maria and the Christ child in an *Infantia Christi* pose, from a Flemish psalter produced in Liège, *c.*1290-1305 (London, British Library MS Additional 28784B, fol. 4v). *By permission of the British Library.*
7. Death and the infant (on the right), from Guyot Marchant's *Danse macabre*, first edition printed in 1485. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*
8a. *Danse macabre* scenes in the borders of a French book of hours, second quarter of the sixteenth century (University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 135, fol. 87v-88r).
8b. Idem, fol. 88r: detail of the decorated border, showing the infant in his rocking cradle.

9. Death and the infant, detail from a marginal decoration in a French book of hours printed by Simon Vostre around 1512. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*
10. Incised tomb slab in Nieuwkapelle (Belgium) commemorating 'Ghisiaenike vande Keroue', a baby girl who died in 1557. *Photo: F.A. Greenhill.*
11. Death and the infant, from a German blockbook *Totentanz* edition printed at Heidelberg in 1465 (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg. 438, fol. 41r).
12. Death and the infant, detail of the *Totentanz* mural originally situated on the walls of the charnel-house in Metnitz, Carinthia, *c.*1500-10. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*
13. Death and the infant, from the edition of *Der doten dantz mit figuren clage und antwort schon von allen staten der werlt*, first printed probably by Heinrich Knoblochtzer in Heidelberg in *c.*1486-88. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*
14. Tomb slab probably commemorating Agnes von Dienheim (d. 1518) and her infant son, situated in the churchyard of the Kirche Unserer Lieben Frau at Oberwesel am Rhein (Germany). (Photo: LAD, Hein Straeter, 1996)
15. Mary and Joseph taking the young Christ child to school, woodcut from *Die neue Ehe*, printed by Anton Sorg in Augsburg, 7 October 1476 (Freiburg/Breisgau Universitätsbibliothek, Ink 4° K 3352).
16. Silver dagger sheath with six *Totentanz* pairs on either side designed by Hans Holbein the Younger in the 1520s, copy from the third quarter of the sixteenth century after the lost original, Basel, Kunstmuseum. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*
17. Death and the infant, woodcut by Hans Holbein the Younger, *c.*1526, first published as *Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort* in 1538. *Photo: Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*
18. Tomb monument to a member of the Foljambe family, late sixteenth century, church of St Mary and All Saints at Chesterfield, probably carved by the Dutch-born artist Garrett Hollemans the Elder, showing Death flanked by the figures of Old Age and Infancy. *Photo: author.*
19. 'The Daunce and Song of Death', English broadsheet printed by John Audeley in 1569, showing the naked toddler together with the old man being led along by Death (London, British Library Huth 50(32)). *By permission of the British Library.*

CHAPTER 6

12. Death with (left) the monk and (right) the usurer and the poor man, woodcut from Guyot Marchant's *Danse Macabre* first published in Paris in 1485.
13. Man and woman seated or kneeling, with a skull in the foliate left supporter, 1339-41, misericord on the upper north side, choir, Ely Cathedral. *Photo: Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Manchester.*
14. Skull playing the flute on a bench-end in the choir-stalls in the Spitalkirche, originally carved in 1512 by Hans Kern for the Stiftskirche in Baden-Baden. *Photo: Jan Verspaandonk.*
15. Misericord with the Corporal Act of Mercy of clothing the naked in the centre, flanked by two *danse macabre* supporters showing Death with a pilgrim(?) and a bishop, originally at St Michael's Church, Coventry, until destroyed in 1940. *Photo reproduced by kind permission of Coventry City Council.*
16. Misericord with the Corporal Act of Mercy of visiting the sick in the centre, flanked by two *danse macabre* supporters showing Death with two unidentified secular figures, originally at St Michael's Church, Coventry, until destroyed in 1940. *Photo reproduced by permission of English Heritage.NMR.*

17. Misericord with the Corporal Act of Mercy of burying the dead in the centre, flanked by two *danse macabre* supporters showing Death with the emperor(?) and the pope, originally at St Michael's Church, Coventry, until destroyed in 1940. *Photo reproduced by permission of English Heritage.NMR.*
18. Misericord showing the Last Judgement in the centre, flanked by the dead rising from their tombs, originally at St Michael's Church, Coventry, until destroyed in 1940. *Photo reproduced by permission of English Heritage.NMR.*
19. Death threatening a labourer, left-hand supporter on the single *danse macabre* misericord in the west block, lower row, on the south side in St George's Chapel, Windsor, dated 1477-84. *Photo: Bert Ronhaar, reproduced by permission of the Dean and Canons of Windsor.*
20. A thresher surprised by Death, right-hand supporter on the single *danse macabre* misericord in the west block, lower row, on the south side in St George's Chapel, Windsor, dated 1477-84. *Photo: Bert Ronhaar, reproduced by permission of the Dean and Canons of Windsor.*
21. Death summoning the rich sinner, central scene on the single *danse macabre* misericord in the west block, lower row, on the south side in St George's Chapel, Windsor, dated 1477-84. *Photo: Bert Ronhaar, reproduced by permission of the Dean and Canons of Windsor.*
22. Death and the usurer, engraving by Matthäus Merian after the since destroyed mural of *c.* 1440 at the Dominican convent in Basel, first published in 1621.
23. Death and the rich miser, woodcut from the famous *danse macabre* series designed by Hans Holbein the Younger in the 1520s, and first published as *Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort* in Lyon in 1538.
24. Death and a young gallant, two painted panels on the south wall of the chantry Chapel of Robert Markham in the choir of St Mary Magdalene's church in Newark-upon-Trent (Notts), early sixteenth century. *Photo reproduced by kind permission of St Mary Magdalene Church, Newark-upon-Trent.*

CHAPTER 7

1. Fourteenth-century double tomb monument probably commemorating Sir John de Heslerton and his wife, collegiate church of St Martin, Lowthorpe, Yorkshire. *Photo: Dick Visser.*

2a. Renaissance double-decker monument to Reynout of Brederode (1492-1556) and his wife Philippote van der Marck (d. 1537), erected *c.*1542 in the Grote Kerk in Vianen, the Netherlands, with a painted wooden classicist canopy of *c.*1655 attributed to Jacob van Campen. *Photo: author.*

2b. Detail of the head of the limestone cadaver effigy on the Brederode tomb at Vianen. *Photo: author.*

2c. Detail of the organs inside the chest cavity of the cadaver effigy at Vianen. *Photo: author.*

3. Tomb monument to François de la Sarra (d. *c.*1363) in the village church of La Sarraz, Vaud, Switzerland. *Photo: Otto Kolbl.*
4. Incised slab with a verminous cadaver representation, commemorating an unmarried girl named Ingeborch, 1429, now in the Nyköpingshus Museum, Nyköping, Sweden. *Photo from the F.A. Greenhill Collection, reproduced by courtesy of the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation.*
5. Incised tomb slab commemorating Abbot Jehan de Blaisy (d. 1439), Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye, Côte d'Or, France. *Photo from the F.A. Greenhill Collection, reproduced by courtesy of the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation.*

6. Cadaver tombstone of the painter Hubert van Eyck (d.1426), formerly situated in the Cathedral but now in the lapidarium at St Bavo Abbey, Ghent. *Photo: Didier Jugan.*
7. The physician and the 'amoureux' in the *danse macabre*, with verminous skeletons, woodcut illustration based on the wall-painting at the cemetery of Aux SS Innocents in Paris, published by Guyot Marchant in 1485.
8a-b. Front and back view of the allegorical figure of *Frau Welt* or Lady World, *c.*1300, on the south portal of Worms Cathedral, Germany. *Photo: Stadtarchiv Worms.*
9. 'King of Terror', the last of an ensemble of the Three Dead still distinct when recorded and traced in the mid-nineteenth century at Bardwell church, Suffolk. *Reproduced by courtesy of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History.*
10a. Verminous cadaver brass of Ralph Hamsterley (d. 1518) at Oddington, Oxfordshire. *Rubbing reproduced by courtesy of Martin Stuchfield.*
10b. Detail of the creature at the end of the text scroll issuing from the skeleton's mouth on Ralph Hamsterley's brass. *Photo: Sally Badham.*
11. Musical and dancing corpses, woodcut illustration from the printed *Totentanz* edition attributed to Heinrich Knoblochtzer, *c.*1486-88.
12a. Tomb with brass epitaph and fragment of a miniature *transi* traditionally identified as commemorating Sir Marmaduke Constable (d. 1520), on the north side of the chancel of St Oswald's church, Flamborough, Yorkshire. *Photo: author.*
12b. Detail of the miniature *transi* fragment at Flamborough. *Photo: author.*
13a. Cadaver monument traditionally identified as commemorating Abbot Wakeman, Tewkesbury Abbey. *Photo: Phillip Lindley.*
13b. Detail of the face of the 'Wakeman' effigy, showing the toad in the folds of the shroud beside the head. *Photo: Sally Badham.*
13c. Detail of mouse on the stomach of the 'Wakeman' effigy. *Photo: Sally Badham.*
14. Worm-infested cadaver figure on the floor slab to Michaël Jansz. (d. 1523) and his wife Lisbet, 'Binnenlandsvaarder' chapel, Oude Kerk, Amsterdam. *Photo: author.*
15. Verminous cadaver tomb slab commemorating Joos van Troyes (d. 1521), now in the lapidarium at St Bavo Abbey, Ghent. *Photo: Didier Jugan.*
16. Cadaver effigy commemorating Wolfgang von Schleinitz (d. 1523), situated in the nave of the Afrakirche, Meissen, Germany. *Photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen.*
17. Verminous skeletal dancer at the head of the sculpted *Totentanz* by Christoph Walther the Elder, 1534-37, originally on the north side of the destroyed Georgenschloss and now situated in the Dreikönigskirche, Dresden. *Photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen.*
18a. 'Verminous' semi-skeletal cadaver effigy of James Rice (d. *c.*1483-85) at Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, Ireland. *Photo: David Smith, by permission of the Dean and Select Vestry of Christchurch Cathedral, Waterford, Ireland.*
18b. Detail of vermin on the torso of James Rice's cadaver effigy at Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, Ireland. *Photo: David Smith, by permission of the Dean and Select Vestry of Christchurch Cathedral, Waterford, Ireland.*
19. Three men in Tudor costume looking at a crowned and worm-infested cadaver on a tomb, woodcut illustration in the English printed edition of Lydgate's *Dance of Death* published by Richard Tottel in 1554 as an appendix to *The Fall of Princes*.
Col. 1a. Single cadaver monument to Bishop Bush (d. 1558), with the effigy's head resting on a mitre, Bristol Cathedral. *Photo: Ellie Pridgeon.*
Col. 1b. Detail of Bishop Bush's cadaver effigy and mitre. *Photo: Ellie Pridgeon.*
Col. 2. Verminous crowned skeleton with a toad on its chest, detail of a fifteenth-century wall-painting of the Three Living and the Three Dead in the Johanneskirche, Crailsheim, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. *Photo: Bischoff-Wehmeier/Crailsheim.*

Col. 3. Verminous crowned figures of the Three Dead entwined by serpents or worms and surrounded by beetles, second half of the fifteenth century, detail of a wall-painting at Tuse, Denmark. *Photo reproduced by kind permission of Professor Axel Bolvig.*

Col. 4. The contrast between monument and corpse in an illustration of the *Disputacioun Betwyx the Body and Wormes* in the so-called Carthusian Miscellany, *c.*1435-40, probably produced in Mountgrace Priory in Yorkshire (British Library, Add. MS 37049, fol. 32v). *Reproduced by permission of The British Library.*

Col. 5. The wicked young emperor being shown his dead father's corpse by his steward, Carthusian Miscellany, *c.*1435-40, probably produced in Mount Grace Priory in Yorkshire (British Library, Add. MS 37049, fol. 87r). *Reproduced by permission of The British Library.*

Col. 6a. Sculpted two-tier memorial tablet commemorating Abbot Pierre Dupont (d. 1461), Saint-Martin church, Laon, France. *Photo: Kristiane Lemé-Héburterne.*

Col. 6b. Detail of the worm-riddled cadaver on Abbot Dupont's memorial tablet at Laon. *Photo: Kristiane Lemé-Héburterne.*

Col. 7a. Painted epitaph commemorating the royal kitchen master Michael Raffael (d. 1489) in the Frauenkirche at Nuremberg, Germany, attributed to Michael Wolgemut. *Photo Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*

Col. 7b. Detail of painted cadaver epitaph in Nuremberg. *Photo Europäische Totentanz-Vereinigung.*

Col. 8. *Danse macabre* wall-painting with verminous skeletal dancers on the west wall of the church at Nørre Alslev, Denmark, *c.*1480. *Photo reproduced by kind permission of Axel Bolvig.*

Col. 9. Unidentified cadaver effigy,*c.*1450(?), at Beaulieu, Ireland. *Photo: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Ireland.*

Col. 10. Detail of Bishop Beckington's cadaver effigy at Wells Cathedral, showing the differences in finish on the actual corpse and on the shroud. *Photo: Ellie Pridgeon.*

Col. 11. Detail of the cadaver effigy on the double-decker monument to Archbishop Chichele (d. 1443) at Canterbury Catheral, with late-nineteenth-century polychromy. *Photo: author.*

Col. 12. A pope, an emperor, and a king facing their dead counterparts in a variation on the theme of the Three Living and the Three Dead, miniature in a mid to late fifteenth-century book of hours produced in northern France (London, BL MS Harl. 2917, fol. 119r). *Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.*

CHAPTER 8

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.*
3. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Death and the Abbot*, woodcut designed in the early 1520s, first published in 1538 as part of a series entitled *Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort*.
4. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Death and the Knight*, woodcut designed in the early 1520s, first published in 1538 as part of a series entitled *Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort*.
5. Incised tomb slab of Ghisiaenike van de Kerove (d. 1557) at Nieuwkapelle in West-Flanders (Belgium). *Photo from the Greenhill collection now held by the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

6. Incised slab commemorating the church architect Guillaume Le Telier (d. 1484), church of Notre-Dame, Caudebec-en-Caux, Seine-Maritime (France):. *Photo: Paul Cockerham*
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.*
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.*
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.
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)). *British Library Board. All rights reserved.*
12. Death on the brass of the park-keeper James Gray (d. 1591) at Hunsdon (Hertfordshire). *Photo: David Kelsall.*
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.*
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.*
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.*
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, Marsworth (Buckinghamshire). *Rubbing reproduced by permission of H. Martin Stuchfield.*
16b. Brass to Edmund West (d. 1618) on his altar tomb in All Saints, Marsworth (Buckinghamshire). *Rubbing 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.*
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.*
19. Monument to Lady Elizabeth Nightingale (d. 1731) by Louis-François Roubiliac, Westminster Abbey, London. *Photo: Simon Eager.*
20. Monument by Henry Westmacott to Ernest Augustus Udny (d. 1808), wall tablet in Chichester Cathedral. *Photo: Simon Eager.*
21. Damaged figure of Death, from the dismantled alabaster monument to Richard Sale (d. 1625) and his family, St Mary's, Weston upon Trent (Derbyshire). *Photo: Dirk Visser.*
Col. 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). *Photo reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

Col. 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. 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. 3. 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. 4. Death on a painted memorial tablet to William Littleboys (d. 1624), east wall of the Mainwaring north chapel, St Lawrence's, Over Peover (Cheshire). *Photo: Francis DiTraglia.*

-oo0oo-