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

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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.

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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.

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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.*

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