



## CHAPTER V.

*List of editions of the Macaber Dance.—Printed Horæ that contain it.—Manuscript Horæ.—Other Manuscripts in which it occurs.—Various articles with letter-press, not being single prints, but connected with it.*



It remains only, so far as regards the Macaber Dance, to present the reader with a list of the several printed editions of that celebrated work, and which, with many corrections and additions, has been chiefly extracted from M. Peignot's "Recherches historiques et littéraires sur les Danses des Morts,"

Paris et Dijon, 1826, 8vo.

The article that should stand at the head of this list, if any reliance could be had on a supposed date, is the German edition, entitled, "Der Dotendantz mit figuren. Clage und Antwort Schon von allen staten der welt," small folio. This is mentioned in Braun Notitia de libris in Bibliotheca Monasterii ad SS. Udalicum et Afram Augustæ, vol. ii. 62. The learned librarian expresses his doubts as to the date, which he supposes may be between 1480 and 1500. He rejects a marginal note by the illuminator of the letters, indicating the date of 1459. Every page of this volume is divided into two columns, and accompanied with German verses, which may be either the original text, or a translation from the French

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verses in some early edition of the Macaber Dance in that language. It consists of twenty-two leaves, with wood-cuts of the Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, Abbot, &c. &c. accompanied by figures of Death.

1. "La Danse Macabre imprimée par ung nommé Guy Marchand, &c. Paris, 1485," small folio. Mons. Champollion Figeac has given a very minute description of this extremely rare, and perhaps unique, volume, the only known copy of which is in the public library of Grenoble. This account is to be found in Millin's *Magazin Encyclopédique*, 1811, vol. vi. p. 355, and thence by M. Peignot, in his *Recherches*, &c.

2. "Ce present livre est appelle Miroer salutaire pour toutes gens, et de tous estatz, et est de grant utilité et recreation pour pleuseurs ensegnemens tant en Latin comme en Francoys lesquels il contient ainsi compose pour ceulx qui desirent acquerir leur salut: et qui le voudront avoir. La Danse Macabre nouvelle." At the end, "Cy finit la Danse Macabre hystoriee augmentee de pleuseurs nouveaux pârsonnages (six) et beaux dis. et les trois mors et trois vif ensemble. Nouvellement ainsi composee et imprimee par Guyot Marchant demorant a Paris au grant hostel du college de Navarre en champ Gaillard lan de grace, 1486, le septieme jour de juing." A small folio of fifteen leaves, or thirty pages, twenty-four of which belong to the Danse Macabre, and six to the *Trois morts et les trois vifs*.

On the authority of the above expression, "composée," and also on that of *La Croix du Maine*, Marchant has been made the author as well as the printer of the work; but M. de la Monnoye is not of that opinion; nor indeed is there any other metrical composition by this printer known to exist.

3. "La Danse Macabre des femmes, &c. Paris, par Guyot Marchant, 1486, le septieme jour de Juillet," small folio, of fifteen leaves only. This is the first edition of the Macaber Dance of females; and though thirty-two of them are described, the Queen and Duchess only are engraved. See No. 6 for the rest. This and the preceding edition are also particularly described by Messrs. Champollion Figeac and Peignot,

4. "Chorea ab eximio Macabro versibus Alemanicis edita, et a Petro Desrey emendata. Parisiis per magistrum Guidonem Mercatorem pro Godefrido de Marnef. 1490," folio. Papillon thought the cuts were in the manner of the French artist Jollat, but without foundation, for they are much superior to any work by that artist, and of considerable merit.

5. "La nouvelle Danse Macabre des hommes dicte miroer salutaire de toutes gens et de tous etats, &c. Paris, Guyot Marchant, 1490," folio.

6. "La Danse Macabre des femmes, toute hystoriée et augmentée de nouveaux personnages, &c. Paris, Guyot Marchant, le 2 Mai, 1491," folio. This edition, the second of the Dance of females, has all the cuts with other additions. The list of the figures is in Peignot, but with some doubts on the accuracy of his description.

7. An edition in the Low German dialect was printed at Lubeck, 1496, according to Vonder Hagen in his *Deutschen Poesie*, p. 459, who likewise mentions a Low German edition in prose, at the beginning of the 15th (he must mean 16th) century. He adds, that he has copied one page with cuts from *Kindeling's Remains*, but he does not say in what work.

8. "La grant Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes hystorice et augmentée de beaulx dits en Latin, &c. &c. Le tout composé en ryme Françoise et accompagné de figures. Lyon, le xviii jour de Fevrier, l'an 1499," folio. This is supposed to be the first edition that contains both the men and the women.

9. There is a very singular work, entitled "Icy est le compost et kalendrier des *Bergeres*, &c. Imprimé à Paris en lostel de beauregart en la rue Cloppin à lenseigne du roy Prestre Jhan. ou quel lieu sont à vendre, ou au lyon dargent en la rue Sainct Jaques." At the end, "Imprimé à Paris par Guy Marchant maistre es ars ou lieu susdit. Le xvii iour daoust mil ccciiiiixxix." This extremely rare volume is in the British Museum, and is mentioned by Dr. Dibdin, in vol. ii. p. 530 of his edition of Ames's *typographical antiquities*, and probably nowhere else. It is embellished with the same fine cuts that relate to the females in the edition of the Macaber Dance, Nos. 4 and 11. The work begins with the words "Deux jeunes

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Bergeres seulettes," and appears to have been composed for females only, differing very materially from the well-known "Kalendrier des Bergers," though including matter common to both.

10. "Chorea ab eximio Macabro versibus Alemanicis edita et à Petro Desrey Trecacio quodam oratore nuper emendata. Parisiis per Magistrum Guidonem Mercatorem pro Godefrido Marnef. 15 Octob. 1499," folio, with cuts.

11. "La Danse Macabre, &c. Ant. Verard." No date, but about 1500, small folio. A vellum copy of this rare edition is described by M. Van Praet in his catalogue of vellum books in the royal library at Paris. A copy is in the Archb. Cant. library at Lambeth.

12. "La Danse Macabre, &c. Ant. Verard." No date, but about 1500, folio. Some variations from No. 9 are pointed out by M. Van Praet. This magnificent volume on vellum, and bound in velvet, came from the library at Blois. It is a very large and thin folio, consisting of three or four leaves only, printed on pasteboard, with four pages or compartments on each leaf. The cuts are illuminated in the usual manner of Verard's books. In the beginning it is marked "Marolles, No. 1601." It is probably imperfect, the fool not being among the figures, and all the females are wanting, though, perhaps, not originally in this edition. It is in the royal library at Paris, where there is another copy of the work printed by Verard, with coloured prints, but differing materially from the other in the press-work. It is a common-sized folio, and was purchased at the sale of the Count Macarthy's books.<sup>1</sup>

13. "La grant Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes, &c. Imprimée à Troyes par Nicolas Le Rouge demourant en la grant rue à l'enseigne de Venise auprès la belle croix." No date, folio. With very clever wood-cuts, probably the same as in the edition of 1490; and if so, they differ much from the manner of Jollat, and have not his well-known mark.

14. "La grant Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes, &c. Rouen, Guillaume de la Mare." No date, 4to. with cuts, and in the Roman letter.

15. "La grande Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes,

<sup>1</sup> From the Author's own inspection.

ou est démontré tous humains de tous estats estre du bransle de la Mort. Lyon, Olivier Arnoulet." No date, 4to.

16. "La grant Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes, &c. Lyon, Nourry, 1501," 4to. cuts.

17. "La grant Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes, &c. Imprimé à Genesve, 1503," 4to. cuts.

18. "La Danse Macabre. Paris, Nicole de la Barre, 1523," 4to, with very different cuts, and some characters omitted in former editions.

19. "La grant Danse Macabre, &c. Paris, Nicole de la Barre, 1523," 4to. with very indifferent cuts, and the omission of some of the characters in preceding editions. This has been privately reprinted, 1820, by Mr. Dobree, from a copy in the British Museum.

20. "La grant Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes. Troyes, Le Rouge, 1531," folio, cuts.

21. "La grand Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes. Paris, Denys Janot, 1533," 8vo. cuts.

22. "La grand Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes, tant en Latin qu'en Francoys. Paris, par Estienne Groulleau libraire juré en la rue neuve Nostre Dame à l'enseigne S. Jean Baptiste." No date, 16mo. cuts. The first edition of this size, and differing in some respects from the preceding.

23. "La Grand Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes, &c. Paris, Estienne Groulleau, 1550," 16mo. cuts.

24. "La grande Danse des Morts, &c. Rouen, Morron." No date, 8vo. cuts.

25. "Les lxviii huictains ci-devant appellés la Danse Machabrey, par lesquels les Chrestiens de tous estats tout stimulés et invités de penser à la mort. Paris, Jacques Varangue, 1589," 8vo. In Roman letter, without cuts.

26. "La grande Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes, &c. Troyes, Oudot," 1641, 4to. cuts. One of the bibliothèque bleue books.

27. "La grande Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes, renouvelée de vieux Gaulois en langage le plus poli de notre temps, &c. Troyes, Pierre Garnier rue du Temple." No date, but the privilege is in 1728, 4to. cuts. The *polished* language is, of course, for the worse, and Macaber is called "des Machabées;" no doubt, the editor's improvement.

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28. "La grande Danse *Macabre* des hommes et des femmes, renouvelée, &c. Troyes, chez la veuve Oudot, et Jean Oudot fils, rue du Temple, 1729," 4to. cuts. Nearly the same as No. 26.

These inferior editions continued, till very lately, to be occasionally reprinted for the use of the common people, and at the trifling expense of a very few sous. They are, nevertheless, of some value to those who feel interested in the subject, as containing tolerable copies of all the fine cuts in the preceding edition, No. 11.

Dr. Dibdin saw in the public library at Munich a very old series of a Macaber Dance, that had been inserted, by way of illustration, into a German manuscript of the Dance of Death. Of these he has given two subjects in his "Bibliographical Tour," vol. iii. p. 278.

But it was not only in the above volumes that the very popular subject of the Macaber Dance was particularly exhibited. It found its way into many of the beautiful service books, usually denominated *Horæ*, or hours of the Virgin. These principally belong to France, and their margins are frequently decorated with the above Dance, with occasional variety of design. In most of them Death is accompanied with a single figure only, characters from both sexes being introduced. It would be impossible to furnish a complete list of them; but it is presumed that the mention of several, and of the printers who introduced them, will not be unacceptable.

No. I. "Las Horas de nuestra Senora con muchos otros officios y oraciones." Printed in Paris by Nicolas Higman for Simon Vostre, 1495, 8vo. It has two Dances of Death, the first of which is the usual Macaber Dance, with the following figures: Le Pape, l'Empereur, le Cardinal, l'Archevesque, le Chevalier, l'Evesque, l'Escuyer, l'Abé, le Prevost, le Roy, le Patriarche, le Connestable, l'Astrologien, le Bourgoys, le Chanoine, le Moyne, l'Usurier, le Medesin, l'Amoureux, l'Advocat, le Menestrier, le Marchant, le Chartroux, le Sergent, le Cure, le Laboureur, le Cordelier." Then the women: "La Royne, la Duchesse, la Regente, la Chevaliere, l'Abbesse, la Femme descine, la Prieure, la Damoiselle, la Bourgoise, la Cordeliere, la Femme daceul, la Nourice, la Theologienne, la nouvelle mariee, la Femme

gross, la Veufve, la Marchande, la Ballive, la Chamberiere, la Recommanderese, la vielle Damoise, l'Espousee, la Mignote, la Fille pucelle, la Garde d'accouchée, la jeune fille, la Religieuse, la Vielle, la Revenderesse, l'Amoureuse, la Sorciere, la Bigote, la Sote, la Bergere, la Femme aux Potences, la Femme de Village; to which are added, l'Enfant, le Clerc, l'Ermite."

The second Dance of Death is very different from the preceding, and consists of groups of figures. The subjects, which have never yet been described, are the following:

1. Death sitting on a coffin in a church-yard. "Discite vos choream cuncti qui cernitis istam."
2. Death with Adam and Eve in Paradise. He draws Adam towards him. "Quid tum prosit honor glorie divitie."
3. Death helping Cain to slay Abel. "Esto meorum qui pulvis eris et vermibus esca."
4. Death holding by the garment a cardinal, followed by several persons. "In gelida putrens quando jacebis humo."
5. Death mounted on a bull strikes three persons with his dart. "Vado mori dives auro vel copia rerum."
6. Death seizing a man sitting at a table with a purse in his hand, and accompanied by two other persons. "Nullum respectum dat michi, vado mori."
7. An armed knight killing an unarmed man, Death assisting. "Fortium virorum est magis mortem contemnere vitam odisse."
8. Death with a rod in his hand, standing upon a group of dead persons. "Stultum est timere quod vitari non potest."
9. Death with a scythe, having mowed down several persons lying on the ground. "Est commune mori mors nulli parcit honori."
10. A soldier introducing a woman to another man, who holds a scythe in his hand. Death stands behind. "Mors fera mors nequam mors nulli parcit et equam."
11. Death strikes with his dart a prostrate female, who is attended by two others. "Hec tua vita brevis: que te delectat ubique."
12. A man falling from a tower into the water. Death strikes him at the same time with his dart. "Est velut aëra levis te mors expectat ubique."

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13. A man strangling another, Death assisting. "Vita quid est hominis nisi res vallata ruinis."

14. A man at the gallows, Death standing by. "Est caro nostra cinis modo principium modo finis."

15. A man about to be beheaded, Death assisting. "Quid sublime genus quid opes quid gloria prestant."

16. A king attended by several persons is struck by Death with his dart. "Quid mihi nunc aderant hec mihi nunc abeunt."

17. Two soldiers armed with battle-axes. Death pierces one of them with his dart. "Ortus cuncta suos : repetunt matremque requirunt."

18. Death strikes with his dart a woman lying in bed. "Et redit in nihilum quod fuit ante nihil."

19. Death aims his dart at a sleeping child in a cradle, two other figures attending. "A, a, a, vado mori, nil valet ipsa juventus."

20. A man on the ground in a fit. Death seizes him. Others attending. "Mors scita sed dubia nec fugienda venit."

21. Death leads a man, followed by others. "Non sum securus hodie vel cras moriturus."

22. Death interrupts a man and woman at their meal. "Intus sive foris est plurima causa timoris."

23. Death demolishes a group of minstrels, from one of whom he has taken a lute. "Viximus gaudentes, nunc morimur tristes et flentes."

24. Death leads a hermit, followed by other persons. "Forte dies hec est ultima, vado mori."

This Dance is also found in the *Horæ* printed by Godar, Vostre, and Gilles Hardouyn, but with occasional variations, as to size and other matters, in the different blocks which they respectively used. The same designs have also been adopted, and in a very singular style of engraving, in a work printed by Antony Verard, that will be noticed elsewhere.

Some of the cuts, for they are not all by the same artist, in this very rare and beautiful volume, and not found in others printed by or for Simon Vostre, may be very justly compared, in point of the delicacy of design and engraving, though on wood, with the celebrated pax of



Maso Finiguerra at Florence, accurately copied in Mr Ottley's history of engraving. They are accompanied with this unappropriated mark **G**

No. II. "Ordinarium beate Marie Virginis ad usum Cisterciensem impressum est caracteribus optimis una cum expensis honesti viri Symonis Vostre commorantis Parisiis in vico novo Dive Marie in intersignio Sancti Joannis Evangeliste, 1497," 12mo. This beautiful book is on vellum, with the same Danse Macabre as in the preceding, but the other cuts are different.

No. III. "Hore presentes ad usum Sarum impressae fuerunt Parisiis per Philippum Pigouchet Anno Salutis MCCCXCVIII die vero xvi Maii pro Symone Vostre librario commorante, &c." 8vo. as above.

Another beautiful volume on vellum, with the same Danse Macabre. He printed a similar volume of the same date, for the use of Rome, also on vellum.

A volume of prayers, in 8vo. mentioned by M. Peignot, p. 145, after M. Raymond, but the title is not given. It is supposed to be anterior to 1500, and seems to contain the same personages in its Danse Macabre, as in the preceding volumes printed by Simon Vostre.

No. IV. "Heures à l'usage de Soissons." Printed by Simon Vostre, on vellum, 1502, 8vo. With the same Danse Macabre.

No. V. "Heures à l'usage de Rheims, nouvellement imprimées avec belles histoires, pour Simon Vostre," 1502, 8vo. This is mentioned by M. Peignot, on the authority of Papillon. It was reprinted 1513, 8vo. and has the same cuts as above.

No. VI. "Heures à l'usage de Rome. Printed for Simon Vostre by Phil. Pigouchet," 1502, large 8vo. on vellum. With the same Danse Macabre. This truly magnificent volume, superior to all the preceding by the same printer in beauty of type and marginal decoration, differs from them in having stanzas at the bottom of each page of the Dance, but which apply to the figure at the top only. They are here given.

POPE.

Vous qui vivez certainement  
Quoy qu'il tarde ainsi danserez  
Mais quand Dieu le scet seulement  
Aviser comme vous ferez  
Dam Pape vous commencerez  
Comme le plus digne Seigneur  
En ce point honorer serez  
Au grant maistre est deu l'honneur.

KING.

Mais maintenant toute haultesse  
Laissez vous nestes pas seul  
Peu aurez de votre richesse  
Le plus riche n'a qung linseul  
Venez noble Roy couronne  
Renomme de force et prouesse  
Jadis fustez environne  
De grans pompes de grant noblesse.

ARCHBISHOP.

Que vous tirez la teste arriere  
Archevesque tirez vous pres,  
Avez vous peur qu'on ne vous fiere  
Ne doubtiez vous viendres apres  
N'est pas tousjours la mort empres  
Tout homme suyvant coste a coste  
Rendre comment debtez et pres  
Une foy fault coustera loste.

SQUIRE.

Il n'est rien que ne preigne cours  
Dansez et pensez de suyr  
Vous ne povez avoir secours  
Il n'est qui mort puisse fuyr  
Avencez vous gent escuyer  
Qui scavez de danser les tours  
Lance porties et escuz hyer  
Aujourdhuy finerez voz jours.

ASTROLOGER.

Maistre pour vostre regarder  
En hault ne pour vostre clergie  
Ne pouvez la mort retarder  
Ci ne vault rien astrologie  
Toute la genealogie  
D'Adam qui fust le premier homme  
Mort prent se dit theologie  
Tous fault mourir pour une pomme.

*The Dance of Death.*

MERCHANT.

Vecy vostre dernier marche  
 Il convient que par cy passez  
 De tout soing serez despechie  
 Tel convoiste qui a assez  
 Marchant regardes par deca  
 Plusieurs pays avez cerchie  
 A pied a cheval de pieca  
 Vous n'en serez plus empeschie.

MONK.

Ha maistre par la passeres  
 N'est ja besoing de vous defendre  
 Plus homme nespouvanteres  
 Apres Moyne sans plus attendre  
 Ou pensez vous cy fault entendre  
 Tantost aurez la bouche close  
 Homme n'est fors que vent et cendre  
 Vie donc est moult peu de chose.

LOVER.

Trop lavez ayme cest foleur  
 Et a mourir peu regarde  
 Tantost vous changerez couleur  
 Beaulte n'est que ymage farde  
 Gentil amoureux gent et frique  
 Qui vous cuidez de grant valeur  
 Vous estes pris la mort vous pique  
 Ce monde lairez a douleur.

CURATE.

Passez cure sans long songier  
 Je sans questes habandonne  
 Le vif le mort soulier menger  
 Mais vous serez aux vers donne  
 Vous fustes jadis ordonne  
 Miroir dauntry et exemplaire  
 De voz faitz serez guerdonne  
 A toute peine est deu salaire.

CHILD.

Sur tout du jour de la naissance  
 Convient chacun a mort offrir  
 Fol est qui n'en a congnoissance  
 Qui plus vit plus a assouffrir  
 Petit enfant naguerez ne  
 Au monde aures peu de plaisance  
 A la danse sera mene  
 Comme autre car mort a puissance.

QUEEN.

Noble Royné de beau corsage  
Gente et joyeuse a ladvenant  
Jay de par le grant maistre charge  
De vous enmener maintenant  
Et comme bien chose advenant  
Ceste danse commenseres  
Faictes devoir au remenant  
Vous qui vivez ainsi feres.

LADY.

C'est bien chasse quand on pourchasse  
Chose a son ame meritoire  
Car au derrain mort tout enchasse  
Ceste vie est moult transitoire  
Gentille femme de chevalier  
Que tant aymes deduit et chasse  
Les engins vous fault habiller  
Et suyvre le train de ma trasse.

PRIORESS.

Se vous avez sans fiction  
Tout vostre temps servi à Dieu  
Du cueur en sa religion  
La quelle vous avez vestue  
Celuy qui tous biens retribue  
Vous recompenser loyalment  
A son vouloir en temps et lieu  
Bien fait requiert bon payment.

FRANCISCAN NUN.

Se vos prieres sont bien dignes  
Elles vous vouldront devant Dieu  
Rien ne vallent soupirs ne signes  
Bone operacion tient lieu  
Femme de grande devocion  
Cloeuz voz heures et matines  
Et cessez contemplacion  
Car jamais nyres a matines.

CHAMBER-MAID.

Dictiez jeune femme a la cruche  
Renommée bonne chambriere  
Respondez au moins quant on huche  
Sans tenir si rude maniere  
Vous nirez plus a la riviere  
Baver au four na la fenestre  
Cest cy vostre journee derniere  
Ausy tost meurt servant que maistre.

*The Dance of Death.*

## WIDOW.

Cest belle chose de tenir  
Lestat ou on est appellee  
Et soy tousjours bien maintenir  
Vertus est tout par tout louee.

Femme vesve venez avant  
Et vous avancez de venir  
Vous veez les aultres davant  
Il convient une fois finir.

## LYING-IN NURSE.

Venez ca garde dacouchees  
Dresse aves maintz bainz perdus  
Et ses cortines attachees  
Ou estoient beaux boucques pendus  
Biens y ont estez despendus  
Tant de motz ditz que cest ung songe  
Qui seront cher vendus  
En la fin tout mal vient en ronge.

## SHEPHERDESS.

Aux camps ni rez plus soir ne matin  
Veiller brebis ne garder bestes  
Rien ne sera de vous demain  
Après les veilles sont les festes  
Pas ne vous oublieray derriere  
Venez après moy sa la main  
Entendez plaisante bergiere  
Ou marcande cy main a main.

## OLD WOMAN.

Et vous madame la gourree  
Vendu avez maintz surplus  
Donc de l'argent est fourree  
Et en sont voz coffres remplis  
Après tous souhaitz accomplis  
Convient tout laisser et ballier  
Selon la robe on fait le plis  
A tel potaige tel cuiller.

## WITCH.

Est condannee comme meurtriero  
A mourir ne vivra plus gaire  
Je la maine en son cimiterie  
Cest belle chose de bien faire  
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A fait mourir et decepvoir  
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In the cut of the adoration of the shepherds their names are introduced as follows : Gobin le gay : le beau Roger ; Aloris ; Ysauber ; Alison, and Mahault. The same cut is in two or three other Horæ mentioned in this list.

No. VII. "Heures à l'usage de Rouan. Simon Vostre, 1508, 8vo." With the same Danse Macabre.

No. VIII. "Horæ ad usum Romanum. Thielman Kerver," 1508, 8vo. Vellum. With the same Danse Macabre.

No. IX. "Hore christofere virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum ad longum absque aliquo recurso, &c." Parisiis. Simon Vostre, 1508, 8vo. M. Peignot has given a very minute description of this volume, with a list of the different persons in the Danse Macabre.

No. X. "Heures à l'usage de . . . . Ant. Verard," 1509, 8vo. with the same Danse Macabre.

No. XI. "Heures à l'usage d'Angers. Simon Vostre," 1510, 8vo. With the same Danse Macabre. Particularly described by M. Peignot.

No. XII. "Heures à l'usage de Rome. Guil. Godar," 1510, large 8vo. vellum illuminated. A magnificent book. It contains the Danse Macabre as in No. I. But it is remarkable for a third Dance of Death on the margins at bottom, consisting of small compartments with a single figure, but unaccompanied in the usual manner by Death, who, in various shapes and attitudes, is occasionally introduced. The characters are the following, without the arrangement commonly observed, and here given in the order in which they occur. 1. La Prieuse. 2. La Garde dacouche. 3. L'Abesse. 4. Le Promoteur. 5. Le Constable. 6. Le Moine, without a label. 7. La Vielle Demoiselle. 8. La Baillive. 9. La Duchesse. 10. Le Sergent. 11. La Nourrice. 12. La femme du Chevallier. 13. La Damoiselle. 14. Le Maistre descole. 15. La Femme du village. 16. La Rescomanderese. 17. La Revenderese. 18. Le Laboureur. 19. La Bourgoise. 20. L'Usurier. 21. Le Pelerin. 22. Le Berger. 23. La Religieuse. 24. L'Home d'armes. 25. La Sorciere. 26. Le Petit enfant. 27. Le Clerc. 28. Le Patriarche. 29. Le Cardinal. 30. L'Empereur. 31. Le Roy. 32. La Marchande. 33. Le Curé. 34. La Theologienne. 35. La

Jeune fille. 36. Le Sot. 37. Le Hallebardier. 38. La Pucelle vierge. 39. L'Hermite. 40. L'Escuier. 41. La Chamberiere. 42. La Femme de lescuier. 43. La Corde-liere. 44. La Femme veuve. 45. Le Chartreux. 46. La Royme. 47. La Regente. 48. La Bergere. 49. L'Advocat. 50. L'Espousée. 51. La Femme amoureuse. 52. La Nouvelle Mariee. 53. Le Medecin. Wherever the figure of Death is introduced, he is accompanied with the motto "Amort, amort."

No. XIII. "Hore ad usum Romanum. Thielman Kerver," 1511, 8vo. Vellum, with the Danse Macabre.

No. XIV. "Heures à l'usage de Langres. Simon Vostre," 1512, 8vo. In the possession of Mons. G. M. Raymond, who has described it in Millin's "Magazin Encyclopédique," 1814, tom. iii. p. 13. Mentioned also by M. Peignot.

No. XV. "Heures à l'usage de Paris. Simon Vostre," 1515, 8vo. With the Danse Macabre, and the other mentioned in No. I.

No. XVI. "Heures de Nostre Dame à l'usage de Troyes. Th. Englard, pour G. Goderet, vers 1520." Vellum. Described by M. Peignot.

No. XVII. "Hore ad usum Romanum. Thielman Kerver," 1526, 8vo. Vellum. A beautiful volume. Prefixed to the Danse Macabre are two prints of the *Trois morts et trois vifs*.

In all the above *Horæ* the Macaber Dance is represented nearly alike in design, the variations being chiefly in the attitudes of the figures, which are cut on different blocks, except in a few instances where the printers have borrowed the latter from each other. Thus Vostre uses Verard's, and Pigouchet Godar's. The number of the subjects also varies, Vostre and Kerver having more than Verard, Godar, and Pigouchet.

Exceptions to the above manner of representing the Macaber Dance, occur in two *Horæ* of singular rarity, and which are therefore worthy of particular notice.

No. XVIII. "Officium beatæ Mariæ Virginis ad usum Romane ecclesie. Impressum Lugduni expensis Bonini de Boninis Dalmatini, die xx martij, 1499." 12mo. On vellum. Here the designs are very different, and three of the subjects are placed at the bottom of the page. They consist of the

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following personages, there being no females among them. It was reprinted by the same printer in 1521.

Papa	Artrologus
Imperator	Cives
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Archiepiscopus	Scutifer
Eques	Abbas
Episcopus.	Pretor.
Rex	Monachus
Patriarche	Usurarius
Capitanus.	Medicus.
Plebanus	Mercator
Laborator	Certosinus
Frater Minor.	Nuncius.
Amans	Puer
Advocatus	Sacristanus
Joculator.	Heremita.

No. XIX. "Hore beate Marie Virginis ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum cum figuris passionis mysterium representatibus recenter additis. Impresse Parisiis per Johannem Bignon pro honesto viro Richardo Fakes, London, librario, et ibidem commorante cymeterie Sancti Pauli sub signo A. B. C." 1521. A ledger-like 12mo. This Macaber Dance is unfortunately imperfect in the only copy of the book that has occurred. The figures that remain are those of the Pope, King, Cardinal, Patriarch, Judge, Archbishop, Knight, Mayor, and Earl.

Under each subject are Lydgate's verses, with some slight variation; and it is therefore very probable that we have here a copy, as to many of the figures, of the Dance that was painted at St. Paul's in compartments like the other Macaber Dance, and not as the group in Dugdale, which has been copied from a wood-cut at the end of Lydgate's "Fall of Prynces." As all the before-mentioned Horæ were printed at Paris, with one exception only, and many of them at a very early period, it is equally probable that they may be copies of the Dance at the Innocents, unless a preference in that respect should be given to the figures in the French editions of the Danse Macabre.

Manuscript Horæ, or books of prayers, which contain the Macaber Dance, are in the next place deserving of our



attention. These are extremely rare, and two only have occurred on the present occasion.

1. A manuscript Prayer-book of the fifteenth century is very briefly described by M. Peignot,<sup>2</sup> which he states to be the only one that has come to his knowledge.

2. An exquisitely beautiful volume, in large 8vo. bound in brass and velvet. It is a Latin Horæ, elegantly written in Roman type at the beginning of the 16th century. It has a profusion of paintings, every page being decorated with a variety of subjects. These consist of stories from scripture, sports, games, trades, grotesques, &c. &c. the several employments of the months, which have also the signs of the zodiac, are worth describing, there being two sets for each month.

*January.*—1. A man sitting at table, a servant bringing in a dish of viands. The white table-cloth is beautifully diapered. 2. Boys playing at the game called Hockey.

*February.*—1. A man warming himself by a fire, a domestic bringing in faggots. 2. Men and women at table, two women cooking additional food in the same apartment.

*March.*—1. A man pruning trees. 2. A priest confirming a group of people.

*April.*—1. A man hawking. 2. A procession of pilgrims.

*May.*—1. A gentleman and lady on the same horse. 2. Two pairs of lovers: one of the men plays on a flute, the other holds a hawk on his fist.

*June.*—1. A woman shearing sheep. 2. A bridal procession.

*July.*—1. A man with a scythe about to reap. He drinks from his leathern bottle. 2. Boys and girls at the sport called Threading the needle.

*August.*—1. A man reaping with a sickle. 2. Blind man's buff.

*September.*—1. A man sowing. 2. The games of hot cockles and . . . .

*October.*—1. Making wine. 2. Several men repairing casks, the master of the vineyard directing.

<sup>2</sup> Recherches, p. 144, and see Catal. La Valliere, No. 295.

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*November.*—1. A man threshing acorns to feed his hogs.  
2. Tennis.

*December.*—1. Singeing a hog. 2. Boys pelting each other with snow-balls.

The side margins have the following Danse Macabre, consisting as usual of two figures only :—Papa, Imperator, Cardinalis, Rex, Archiepiscopus, Comestabilis, Patriarcha, Eques auratus, Episcopus, Scutarius, Abbas, Prepositus, Astrologus, Mercator, Cordiger, Satelles, Usurarius, Advocatus, Mimus, Infans, Heremita.

The margins at bottom contain a great variety of emblems of mortality. Among these are the following :—

1. A man presents a mirror to a lady, in which her face is reflected as a death's head.
2. Death shoots an arrow at a man and woman.
3. A man endeavouring to escape from Death is caught by him.
4. Death transfixes a prostrate warrior with a spear.
5. Two very grotesque Deaths, the one with a scythe, the other with a spade.
6. A group of five Deaths, four dancing a round, the other drumming.
7. Death on a bull, holding a dart in his hand.
8. Death in a cemetery running away with a coffin and pick-axe.
9. Death digging a grave for two shrouded bodies on the ground.
10. Death seizing a fool.
11. Death seizing the master of a family.
12. Death seizing Caillette, a celebrated fool mentioned by Rabelais, Des Periers, &c. He is represented in the French translation of the Ship of Fools.
13. Death seizing a beggar.
14. Death seizing a man playing at tennis.
15. Death striking the miller going to his mill.
16. Death seizing Ragot, a famous beggar in the reign of Louis XII. He is mentioned by Rabelais.

This precious volume is in the present writer's possession. Other manuscripts connected with the Macaber Dance are the following :

1. No. 1849, a Colbert MS. in the King of France's library, appears to have been written towards the end of the fifteenth century, and is splendidly illuminated on vellum, with figures of men and women led by Death, the designs not much differing from those in Verard's printed copy.

2. Another manuscript in the same library, formerly No. 543 in that of Saint Victor, is at the end of a small volume of miscellanies written on paper about the year 1520; the text resembles that of the immediately preceding article, and occasionally varies from the printed editions. It has no illuminations. These are the only manuscript Macaber Dances in the royal library at Paris.

3. A manuscript of the Dance of Death, in German, is in the library of Munich. See Dr. Dibdin's *Bibliographical Tour*, vol. iii. 278; and Vonder Hagen's *History of German Poetry*. Berlin, 1812, 8vo. p. 459. The date of 1450 is given to this manuscript on the authority of Docen, in his *Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 148, and new *Literary Advertiser* for 1806, No. 22, p. 348. Vonder Hager also states that Docen has printed it in his *Miscellanies*, pp. 349—352, and 412—416.

4. A manuscript in the Vatican, No. 314. See Vonder Hagen, *ubi supra*, who refers to Adelung, vol. ii. pp. 317, 318, where the beginning and other extracts are given.

5. In the Duke de la Vallière's catal. No. 2801, is "La Danse Macabre par personnages, in 4to. Sur papier du xv siecle, contenant 12 feuillets."

In the course of this inquiry no manuscript, decorated with a regular series of a Dance of Death, has been discovered.

The Abbé Rive left, in manuscript, a bibliography of all the editions of the Macaber Dance, which is at present, with other manuscripts by the Abbé, in the hands of M. Achard, a bookseller at Marseilles. See Peignot, *Diction. de Bibliologie*, iii. 284.

The following articles, accompanied by letter-press, and distinguishable from single prints, appear to relate to the Macaber Dance.

1. The Dance and song of Death is among books licensed to John Awdeley.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Herbert's *typogr. antiq.* p. 886.

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2. "The roll of the Daunce of Death, with pictures and verses upon the same," was entered on the Stationers' books, 5th Jan. 1597, by Thomas Purfort, sen. and jun. The price was 6*d.* This, as well as that licensed to Awdeley, was in all probability the Dance at St. Paul's.

3. "Der Todten Tantz au Hertzog Georgens zu Sachsen schloss zu Dresden befindlich." *i. e.* "Here is found the Dance of Death on the Saxon palace of Duke George at Dresden." It consists of twenty-seven characters, as follow: 1. Death leading the way; in his right hand he holds a drinking glass or cup, and in his left a trumpet which he is blowing. 2. Pope. 3. Cardinal. 4. Abbot. 5. Bishop. 6. Canon. 7. Priest. 8. Monk. 9. Death beating a drum with bones. 10. Emperor. 11. King. 12. Duke. 13. Nobleman. 14. Knight. 15. Gentleman. 16. Judge. 17. Notary. 18. Soldier. 19. Peasant. 20. Beggar. 21. Abbess. 22. Duchess. 23. Old woman. 24. Old man. 25. Child. 26. Old beggar. 27. Death with a scythe. This is a single print in the Chronicle of Dresden, by Antony Wecken, Dresden, 1680, folio, already mentioned in p. 38.

4. In the catalogue of the library of R. Smith, which was sold by auction in 1682, is this article, "Dance of Death, in the cloyster of Paul's, with figures, very old." It was sold for six shillings to Mr. Mearne.

5. A sort of Macaber Dance, in a Swiss almanac, consisting of eight subjects, and entitled "Ein Stuck aus dem Todten tantz," or, "a piece of a Dance of Death:" engraved on wood by Zimmerman with great spirit, after some very excellent designs. They are accompanied with dialogues between Death and the respective characters. 1. The Postilion on horseback. Death, in a huge pair of jack-boots, seizes him by the arm with a view to unhorse him. 2. The Tinker. Death, with a skillet on his head, plunders the tinker's basket. 3. The Hussar on horseback, accompanied by Death, also mounted, and, like his comrade, wearing an enormous hat with a feather. 4. The Physician. Death habited as a modern beau, with chapeau-bras, brings his urinal to the Doctor for inspection. 5. The fraudulent Innkeeper, in the act of adulterating a cask of liquor, is seized and throttled by a very grotesque Death in the habit

of an alewife, with a vessel at her back. 6. The Ploughman, holding his implements of husbandry, is seized by Death, who sits on a plough and carries a scythe in his left hand. 7. The Grave-digger, is pulled by Death into the grave which he has just completed. 8. The lame Messenger, led by Death. The size of the print 11 by 6½ inches.

6. Papillon states that Le Blond, an artist, then living at Orleans, engraved the Macaber Dance on wood for the Dominotiers, or vendors of coloured prints for the common people, and that the sheets, when put together, form a square of three feet, and have verses underneath each figure.<sup>4</sup>

There is a German work entitled "The process or lawsuit of Death," printed, and perhaps written, by Conrad Fyner in 1477; but as it is not noticed in Panzer's list of German books, no further account of it can be given than that it is briefly mentioned by Joseph Heller, in a German work on the subject of engraving on wood, in which one cut from it is introduced, that exhibits Death conversing with a husbandman who holds a flail in one of his hands. It is probable that the book would be found to contain other figures relating to a Macaber Dance.

<sup>4</sup> *Traité hist. de la gravure en bois*, i. 182, 336.



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