

# The fifteenth-century Catalan translation of the French *Danse macabre*: A critical edition and English translation, from manuscript Miscel·lània 26, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona

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## ABSTRACT

The present article focuses on ff. CXL-CLIVr of manuscript Miscel·lània 26, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona, which contain the only extant version of the fifteenth-century Catalan translation of the French *Danse macabre*. The article contains a philological study of this section of the manuscript, with particular attention to the relationship between the Catalan version of the *Danse macabre* and its French sources: this study serves as an introduction to a new critical edition of the Catalan translation proposed in the second part of the article. The critical text consists of a parallel edition of the Catalan version and manuscript lat. 14904, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (MS BnF lat. 14904), which proves to be the witness of the French poem closest to the lost exemplar used by the Catalan translator. Both editions aim at finding a balance between readability and a conservative approach which preserves the historical character of the manuscripts. The critical text is preceded by editorial criteria and accompanied by a literal translation into modern English and editorial notes.

## KEYWORDS

Dance of Death; *Danse macabre*; *Dansa de la Mort*; *Dança de la Mort*; critical edition; Catalan literature; textual transmission and reception; medieval translation; manuscript tradition; Pere Miquel Carbonell; manuscript Miscel·lània 26, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó; manuscript lat. 14904, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris; John Lydgate.



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**La traducció catalana quatrecentista de la “*Danse macabre*” francesa:**  
edició crítica del ms. Miscel·lània 26, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, i traducció a l’anglès

RESUM

El present article se centra en els ff. CXL-CLIV del manuscrit Miscel·lània 26, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Barcelona, que contenen l’única versió conservada de la traducció catalana de la *Danse macabre* francesa. L’article inclou un estudi filològic d’aquesta secció del manuscrit, amb atenció particular a la relació entre la versió catalana de la *Danse macabre* i les seues fonts franceses: aquest estudi serveix d’introducció a una nova edició crítica de la traducció catalana, proposada en la segona part de l’article. El text editat presenta edició en paral·lel de la versió catalana i del manuscrit lat. 14904, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (MS BnF lat. 14904), que resulta ser el testimoni del poema francès més proper a l’exemplar perdut emprat pel traductor català. En ambdues edicions se cerca un equilibri entre fàcil lectura i transcripció filològica per conservar el caràcter històric dels manuscrits. L’edició crítica és precedida pels criteris editorials, i seguida d’una traducció a l’anglès actual, i per notes d’edició.

PARAULES CLAU

Dansa de la Mort; danses macabres; *Danse macabre*; edició crítica; literatura catalana; transmissió i recepció textuals; traducció medieval; tradició manuscrita; Pere Miquel Carbonell; manuscrit Miscel·lània 26, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó; manuscrit lat. 14904, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; abadia de Sant Víctor a París; John Lydgate.

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## 1 Introduction

This article aims at providing a new critical edition of the only extant manuscript version of the *Dança de la Mort*, a fifteenth-century Catalan translation of the famous *Danse macabre* of the Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris. The manuscript in question is Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, MS Miscel·lània 26 (henceforth **B**), ff. CXLf-CLIVr.<sup>1</sup> The lack of a modern edition of the *Dança de la Mort* means that this text is often neglected by scholars studying the early Dance of Death tradition. The only existing editions of this text are in Bofarull 1864-65, 267-96 and Aguiló i Fuster 1900 (pages unnumbered): both are outdated and scarcely reliable; moreover, the latter is a popularising edition.

### 1.1 “*Danse macabre*” and its transmission

The artistic genre of the Dance of Death (or Dance of the Dead)<sup>2</sup> developed and spread in Europe in the late fourteenth–fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> This peculiar phenomenon of late medieval culture is normally expressed by series of dialogues between a personified Death – or a dead person – and representatives of different social classes placed in descending hierarchical order – from the pope and the emperor to the most marginal social figures, religious and lay people alternating.<sup>4</sup> This genre takes different forms, such as a mural painting with or without accompanying text, a dialogue poem, a manuscript miniature or a series of miniatures, a dramatic action, wood or stone sculptures, or an authentic ritual dance.<sup>5</sup> This formal plurality is balanced by a number of common characteristics at the level of content: most examples of the *Danse macabre* genre are distinguished

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1. A second manuscript (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, MS Memorial 49) once included the *Dança de la Mort*, but the relevant leaves have been lost: see Massip-Morrás 2014, 448 fn. 4.

2. As far as the name of the whole genre is concerned, the English expression *Dance of Death* and the French expression *Danse macabre* are normally used as almost full synonyms in scholarly works on the subject; this article follows the established tradition.

3. Among the studies published recently on the *Danse macabre*, it is worth citing Massip-Kovács 2004a; Oosterwijk 2004; Gertsman 2010; Oosterwijk-Knöll ed. 2011.

4. The difference between Death and the Dead is probably much less important than it might seem; see Warda 2011a. On the hierarchical order, see *ibid.*, 81-90.

5. The diversity of the forms that this genre takes in its earliest attestations is described in Oosterwijk-Knöll ed. 2011, 2-3 (editors’ introduction). The Dance of Death is expressed most frequently through literature and painting. Víctor Infantes proposes distinguishing the ‘complete’ Dances combining both text and images, the ‘graphic’ ones containing images without textual elements, and the ‘textual’ ones containing text without pictorial elements (see Infantes 1997, 21-22). The relationship between text and image – if both elements are present – is extremely important as it helps to better understand the nature of the genre and the particularities of its evolution; see, e.g. Taylor 1989a. Furthermore, it can happen that the textual and the visual elements become separated: for instance, this is the case of the *Danse macabre* of the Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris, the source of the text studied in this article. See Oosterwijk 2008, 140: “It is curious (...) that none of the extant early manuscript copies of the poem carry illustrations (...). Yet not long after the creation of the mural we find early books of hours containing *Danse macabre* scenes without any accompanying text as part of their decorative scheme. In other words, although text and image were combined to great effect in the mural at les Innocents, these two components were soon separated so that the poem was reproduced as a text without illustrations, while the images were apparently recognisable enough to function independently of the dialogue poem”.

For the role of dance rituals in the Dance of Death tradition, see Hammerstein 1980; Massip-Kovács 2004a (especially 139-43, 146-63).

by an ironic and often satirical tone and the idea of reminding humans that they will inevitably die and turn to ashes, regardless of their social position and privileges they used to enjoy in their earthly life. In this regard, the relationship between the Dance of Death genre and the homiletic tradition, particularly that of the mendicant orders, is important.<sup>6</sup>

The Dance of Death is situated in a precise historical moment and at the same time in eternity; its appeal is concrete and at the same time universal.<sup>7</sup> The choice of the linguistic code for these works – the vernacular languages in most cases – is meaningful.<sup>8</sup> The need to make their message understandable and accessible to everyone gave rise to many translations of these texts. Consequently, the translator's activity played an important role in the transmission, reception and evolution of the *Danse macabre*. For the Germanic world, the Latin-German *Totentanz* or the Copenhagen Dance could be mentioned: the former is the oldest extant Dance of Death in Germany and it is considered a translation from Latin into German, while the latter is a translation of the Lübeck Dance from German into Danish.<sup>9</sup> The Dance of Death that had definitely the widest circulation in Europe is the famous Parisian *Danse macabre*, painted in 1424-1425 at the Cemetery of the Innocents and destroyed in the seventeenth century (but surviving in numerous handwritten and printed copies); this work arrived in England through a translation by John Lydgate (probably

6. Alan Hindley insists on "la parenté entre les danses macabré et l'art théâtral, entre les méthodes du prédicateur et du dramaturge" (Hindley 2007, 188). On the relationships of the Dance of Death to the preaching tradition and to the medieval theatre, see also Taylor 1989b; Taylor 1990, and, for the Catalan-speaking context, Massip-Kovács 2004a, 55-61, 115-23; Massip-Kovács 2004b, 91-105; Massip 2007, 257-59.

7. "The strength of the *Danse* – and probably the reason for its endurance – is no doubt its adaptability: it was capable of incorporating or emphasising different metaphors from dance and music to violence, pious thought and social satire, stereotypes and individual portraits. (...) The *Danse* could be expanded or reduced, altered and updated" (Oosterwijk 2011, 41). Derek Pearsall defines the Dance of Death as "a kind of do-it-yourself kit which anyone could add to", pointing out that "there are many opportunities for enthusiastic copyists to introduce new stanzas in such a poem" (Pearsall 1987, 62-63).

Such addition of new characters by later copyists or editors occurs, for instance, in the 1486 edition by Guy Marchant (*v. infra* fn. 10) and in some manuscripts transmitting Lydgate's English translation of the French *Danse* (*v. ibidem*). Another interesting example of this tendency is the sequel of the Catalan text studied in this article. This sequel of the *Dança de la Mort*, written by Pere Miquel Carbonell and Gaspar Nadal, is transmitted in the same manuscript as the poem that served as a model for it: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Miscel·lània 26, ff. CLIV-CLXIII. Both texts were handwritten by the same person, the royal archivist Carbonell, but, whereas in the case of the *Dança de la Mort* we are faced with a copy (*v. infra* 2.1), in that of its sequel we have an original autograph version. Like Marchant or the copyists of Lydgate's poem, Carbonell does not limit himself to copying the Dance of Death, but adds a number of new stanzas to his source. An important particularity that distinguishes this sequel is that Carbonell clearly separates his source text, composed by someone else, from the reworking he himself makes of it – therefore, the poems become two; in contrast, in Marchant's 1486 edition and the reworkings of Lydgate's translation, the source text simply becomes enriched with new elements, therefore the poem remains one. Carbonell does not alter the structure of the text he copies, but adds a second Dance of Death after the first one, thus conceiving it as an autonomous poem and demarcating his own new text from its prototype. Another feature that makes Carbonell's sequel interesting in the context of the whole Dance of Death tradition lies in the fact that the group portrait painted by Carbonell is not universal (the entire society, as it is in the majority of the examples of the *Danse macabre* genre), but restricted and concrete (the royal court in Barcelona): the poem represents the hierarchy of different employees placed in the administration of the Crown of Aragon, and it contains allusions to people still alive, although the author gives no name. For an analysis of Carbonell's Dance of Death, see Massip-Morrás 2014. For the hypothesis of the representation of real historical figures in many textual and visual Dances of Death, see Oosterwijk 2008 and Oosterwijk 2010.

8. See Freytag 2011, xxi.

9. The Latin-German *Totentanz* is transmitted in a manuscript dated 1443-1447 (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Cpg 314, ff. lxxix- lxxxv); the Danish dance appeared for the first time in a printed edition published in 1550 by Hans Vingaard. On these two texts, see Warda 2011b, 204-210 and 132-140 respectively (with other bibliographical references).

made in 1426), which was used as an accompanying text for murals in the cloisters of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London.<sup>10</sup> Lydgate’s poem inspired many literary and pictorial representations of the Dance of Death in the English tradition.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, the Catalan-speaking world was influenced by the French model.<sup>12</sup> Although the Iberian Peninsula produced one of the most ancient Dances of Death, specifically the Castilian *Dança General de la Muerte*, dating from 1390–1400, our *Dança de la Mort* is independent of the Spanish text, being derived directly from the French source. This places the Catalan translation from manuscript **B** in the broad tradition of transmission and consumption of French texts in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century Crown of Aragon.<sup>13</sup>

## 2 The Catalan translation: philological study

### 2.1 *The extant manuscript of the Dança de la Mort: the original or a copy?*

Manuscript **B** was written in the late fifteenth century by the humanist Pere Miquel Carbonell, royal archivist of the Crown of Aragon. There are two opposite opinions on the authorship of the Catalan translation contained in this manuscript: many scholars attribute it to Carbonell himself, whereas others opine that the archivist merely copied the Catalan text of the *Danse macabre*.<sup>14</sup> This latter hypothesis is definitely more convincing: in fact, it is more likely that the Catalan translation is anonymous and chronologically not too distant from the original French poem.

Alfred Morel-Fatio and Florence Whyte stress the importance of the impersonal construction *és stada traduïda* ‘was translated’, used by Carbonell to describe the Catalan Dance of Death in a note placed after the text: in their opinion, this note indicates that Carbonell’s version is only a copy, whereas the original must be older (Morel-Fatio 1872, 254 and Whyte 1931, 27).

A more important proof of the priority of the *Dança de la Mort* to the version transmitted by **B** is the presence of some undoubted copying errors found in this manuscript: *l’alt]re* 20.8, *vostra<s>* *grimaça* 37.3, *monstrar* instead of *monstrau* 50.8, *gordattat* instead of *gordanat* 52.7, *mo y falll<t>*

10. The Parisian *Danse macabre* lacks a critical edition. Most studies examining or simply mentioning this text refer to a late fifteenth-century printed edition, namely the version with engravings printed in 1485 by Guy (or Guyot) Marchant and reissued with some modifications in 1486; a modern facsimile of the 1485 version can be found in Kaiser 1983, 74–107 and Fein 2013, 22–53. However, we should be aware that Marchant’s editions bring many innovations to the (hypothetical) original text.

For the critical edition of Lydgate’s poem, see Warren ed. 1931. For an analysis of this text, see Oosterwijk 2010.

11. See Oosterwijk 2009.

12. In this article, the Catalan text will be often compared to Lydgate’s version, as it results in a better understanding of the peculiarities of the Catalan translation.

13. For the influence French poetry exercised upon Catalan texts in the fourteenth and especially in the fifteenth century, see Marfany 2010; Marfany 2012 and other works by this author. For a more general framework for the late medieval transmission and reception of the European literary tradition in the Catalan-speaking world, see Alberni *et al.* ed. 2010.

14. The hypothesis stating that the translation was made by Carbonell himself was postulated for the first time by the first editor of the *Dança de la Mort* (Bofarull 1864–65, 260), and it is still considered valid in some modern studies, e.g. Infantes 1997, 82; Corvisier 1998, 82; Merlo 2000, 226. Nevertheless, the idea that Carbonell is not to be seen as a translator but as a simple copyist was expressed already in 1872: see Morel-Fatio 1872, 254. This opinion was adopted by a number of later researchers: see Whyte 1931, 27; Kurtz 1975 (1934), 149; Romeu i Figueras 1957–58, 203; Massot i Muntaner 1983, 347; Massip-Kovács 2004a, 69.

59.6, and probably also *pūs* 19.2 (see the respective editorial notes).<sup>15</sup> These errors should not necessarily be attributed to Carbonell – or, at least, not all of them, as it is plausible that there were other intermediate copies – but such errors lead us to reject the idea that the extant version is the original one. This means that, aside from the extant manuscript studied here, there were other copies of the Catalan translation, which made possible the circulation of the text in the lands of the Crown of Aragon.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.2 *In search of the lost source: the relationship between the Parisian “Danse macabre” and its Catalan translation*

The *Dança de la Mort e de aquelles persones qui mal llur grat ab aquella ballen e dançen*, copied by Carbonell, is a translation that aspires to faithfulness: for instance, the translator preserves the octosyllabic metre and the strophic structure, specifically the pattern ABABBCBC. The order of appearance of the characters in the Catalan text also shows a very close adherence to the French source, as evidenced by the following list (limited to the first ten victims in the two texts): *le Pape* = *el Papa* (the Pope); *l’Empereur* = *l’Emperador* (the Emperor); *le Cardinal* = *el Cardenal* (the Cardinal); *le Roi* = *el Rey* (the King); *le Patriarche* = *el Patriarcha* (the Patriarch); *le Connétable* = *el Capità o Conestable* (the Captain or Constable); *l’Archevêque* = *l’Archabisbe* (the Archbishop); *le Chevalier* = *el Cavaller* (the Knight); *l’Évêque* = *el Bisbe* (the Bishop); *l’Écurier* = *le Gentilhome* (the Squire); *l’Abbé* = *l’Abbat* (the Abbot); *le Bailli* = *el Governador* (the Bailiff). In both versions the duke is absent and the kings are two: the second is a dead body speaking from the grave.<sup>17</sup> As far as the French poem is concerned, this order of characters brings us to the versions older than the second printed edition by Guyot Marchant (1486), which adds some more victims: *le Légat* (the Papal Envoy), *le Duc* (the Duke), *le Maître d’École* (the School Teacher), etc.; the absence of all these new characters in the Catalan translation leads us to reject the idea of the derivation of the Catalan text from Marchant’s printed version of 1486.<sup>18</sup>

15. Here and below, the Catalan translation entitled the *Dança de la Mort* is quoted from the edition of B, ff. CXLV–CLIV, published in the second part of this article. All references to the critical edition contain a stanza number and a line number (or numbers, if a quotation includes more than one line), separated by a point.

16. It is worth noting that we have evidence of the circulation of the *Dança de la Mort* in the ecclesiastical circles of the Balearic Islands: our Catalan translation of the *Danse macabre* is one of the sources for the Mallorcan play *Representació de la Mort*. We cannot certainly affirm that this text arrived in Mallorca through other channels than Carbonell’s version, but it is not impossible.

The edition of the Mallorcan play is in Romeu i Figueras 1957–58, subsequently republished in Romeu i Figueras 1995, 17–95. On the relationships between the *Dança de la Mort* and the Mallorcan *Representació de la Mort*, see Zvonareva 2013, 297–302. On the authorship of the Mallorcan play, see Kovács 2011, 214–16.

17. The absence of the duke and the presence of two kings probably had a historical explanation in the original text, since it is possible that the French people could recognise some real-world royal figures, most probably king Charles VI: see Oosterwijk 2008. Naturally, for a Catalan reader it would have been more difficult to catch such political allusions, and in any case their importance would have been lost.

18. The extant manuscripts of the Parisian *Danse macabre* are MS lat. 14904, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (henceforth BnF); MS BnF fr. 25550; MS BnF fr. 25434; MS BnF fr. 14989; MS BnF fr. 1055; MS BnF fr. 1181; MS BnF fr. 1186; MS BnF fr. 995; MS BnF, nouvelles acquisitions françaises (henceforth NAF) 10032; MS Add 38858, British Library, London (henceforth Brit. Lib. Add 38858); MS 139 (364), Bibliothèque municipale, Lille (henceforth Lille 139); MS 907, Bibliothèque municipale, Tours (henceforth Tours 907); MS 127, Bibliothèque municipale, Saint-Omer (henceforth Saint-Omer 127); MS 502, Musée Condé (Bibliothèque et les archives du château), Chantilly (henceforth Chantilly 502). MS BnF fr. 995 is a *codex descriptus* deriving from Marchant’s 1485 edition; MS Chantilly 502 is a *codex descriptus* deriving from Marchant’s 1486 edition; the remaining manuscripts are independent of the printed versions.

Another textual element compatible with this hypothesis is the lection *honor, gaudia* ‘honour, joys’ found in **B**, f. 153v, and in all the French manuscripts that do not derive from Marchant’s editions and contain these Latin passages (it is very likely that the Parisian mural contained them as well), i.e. MSS BnF lat. 14904, BnF fr. 25434, BnF fr. 14989, BnF fr. 1055, BnF NAF 10032, Lille 139. This is meaningful because in Marchant’s editions of 1485 and 1486 we read *honor, gloria* ‘honour, glory’: this divergence between the manuscripts and the printed versions makes it unlikely that the Catalan translation derived from either of Marchant’s editions.

Some other remarks on the relationship between the Catalan translation and the transmission of the French *Danse macabre* can be made. Some structural and textual elements allow us to assume a relationship between the manuscript copied by Carbonell and one of the oldest manuscripts containing the Parisian *Dance*, specifically MS Paris, BnF lat. 14904 (henceforth **P**). A significant piece of evidence consists in a reference note found in **B** and attributing the French source text to a mysterious *Johannes Climacus sive Climages* (f. CLIIIV): as already pointed out by Whyte (1931, 33-5) and Leonard Kurtz (1975 [1934], 150), it is a cross between the names of Jean Gerson and Nicholas de Clamanges – two members of the Victorine circle whose works precede and follow the *Danse macabre* exactly in **P**, a copy with provenance from the school of Saint Victor.<sup>19</sup> It is therefore possible to establish a connection between the Catalan *Dança de la Mort* and the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris.

Another, more important element that makes the Catalan translation closer to the Victorine branch of the *Danse macabre* tradition than to other witnesses of the French text is the denomination *lo Mestre* (‘the Master, the Teacher’) in the rubrics preceding the introductory and concluding lines of the poem. This word choice is interesting, as it does not match the most common variant in the manuscript and printed tradition *l’acteur* ‘the Authority’ nor most other variants used in the French manuscripts and in the 1485 and 1486 Marchant’s editions, namely *le docteur* / *doctor* ‘the Teacher, the Mentor’, *Macabre* (used as a proper noun) or *Angelus* ‘an Angel’, used in the other French manuscripts and in the 1485 and 1486 Marchant’s editions.<sup>20</sup> Instead, the Catalan *Mestre* finds an equivalent in both extant Victorine manuscripts (**P** and BnF fr. 25550), where there is no mention of *acteur*, but of *ung maistre qui est au bout de la dance* ‘A Master speaking at the beginning of this dance’ (**P** 66 title;<sup>21</sup> BnF fr. 25550, f. CCXLIIIV).

Another element to be analysed in the light of the stemmatic aspect is the choice of the feminine article *la* before the word *mort* in the manuscript rubrics that regularly precede the stanzas.<sup>22</sup> Some manuscripts and printed versions of the *Danse macabre* use the masculine article *le*, thus interpreting the word as ‘Dead’, while others use the feminine article *la*, thus referring to ‘Death’. The constant use of the feminine article in the Catalan text cannot be considered as sufficient proof of its dependence upon one specific witness of the French poem. Nevertheless, this characteristic makes it more likely that the *Dança de la Mort* derives from a version containing the feminine

19. See Calvot-Ouy 1990, 88-94; Ouy 1999, 327-328.

20. *Acteur* is the reading of MSS BnF fr. 25434, BnF fr. 1186 and of both Marchant’s editions; *docteur* is found in MSS Brit. Lib. Add 38858 and BnF NAF 10032; *doctor* is in MSS BnF fr. 14989 and BnF fr. 1055; *Mac<r>abre* is in MS Saint-Omer 129; *Machabre le docteur* and *Angelus* are compresent in MSS BnF fr. 14989 and BnF NAF 10032.

21. Here and below, all quotations from **P** refer to the critical edition of this manuscript, ff. LXIV-LXXIII, provided in the second part of this article. All references to the edition contain a stanza number and a line number (or numbers, if a quotation includes more than one line), separated by a point. When quoting a rubric, the word *title* is used instead of line numbers.

22. Both in French and in Catalan the form *mort* corresponds to two morphological homonyms: it can stand for ‘death’ or for ‘dead’, feminine in the first case and masculine in the second. As for the form *la* of the feminine singular definite article, it is the same in French and Catalan.

article before *mort* rather than from one containing only the masculine article. Among the latter are Marchant’s editions and, interestingly, MS BnF fr. 25550, i.e. the second of the two extant manuscripts of the *Danse macabre* with provenance from the Abbey of Saint Victor.<sup>23</sup> As for **P**, it oscillates between the two grammatical genders without any logical reason: this evident oversight shows that the choice between the two forms had less importance for the fifteenth-century readers of the *Danse macabre* than for many contemporary scholars (also *v. supra* fn. 4).<sup>24</sup> However, the presence of both articles in **P** is compatible with the above hypothesis of the relationship between this manuscript and the Catalan text. It is plausible that the Catalan translator had access to one of the manuscripts – now almost certainly lost – belonging to the same branch of the Victorine manuscript family as **P** and other than BnF fr. 25550. This lost source might have been constant in the choice of *la mort* (and faithfully followed by the Catalan version), but it is also possible that it fluctuated between *la mort* and *le mort*, which would mean that the Catalan translator regularised the use of these two forms, opting for *la mort*. Also, the choice of the feminine article is reflected in the title of the Catalan poem, where the adjective *macabre*, common in the French tradition, is replaced by the syntagma *de la mort*. It is possible that this innovation is to be attributed to the Catalan translator himself rather than to some French copyist in the chain of transmission: there is no attestation of the term *macabre* / *macabra* in the Catalan text, which suggests that the translator deliberately avoided it, probably perceiving it as a markedly French word, unfamiliar and unnatural in the Catalan-speaking context.<sup>25</sup>

There is a remarkable discrepancy between the Catalan text and the extant versions of the Parisian *Danse macabre*: the Catalan *Dança* includes four female characters, namely the Maiden (*la Donzella*), The Nun (*la Monge*), the Widow (*la Viuda*) and the Married Woman (*la Maridada*), whereas the known witnesses of the French poem adhere to the all-male scheme.<sup>26</sup> This difference could be plausibly interpreted as an innovation brought in by the Catalan translator or by a scribe who executed some intermediate copy – in French – placed between the original text and the Catalan version. However, another explanation is possible. Besides four female characters mentioned above, the *Dança de la Mort* also adds the Notary (*el Notari*): this element closely matches the structure of Lydgate’s English translation of the *Danse macabre* – more precisely, the structure of the version found in one branch of the manuscript tradition of this poem – where we find the Abbess, the Noble Lady, the Woman in Love and the Juror.<sup>27</sup> The characters are not exactly identical, and the women in Lydgate’s poem are three whereas in the Catalan text they are four; nevertheless, the concomitance of these two groups of characters makes it possible to formulate at least a hypothesis of a common prototype containing three or four female characters and a notary

23. See Calvot-Ouy 1990, 182-184; Ouy 1999, 417-418.

24. Sophie Oosterwijk (2011, 11) rightly claims that such irregular alternation of forms found in the manuscript and printed tradition of the Parisian *Danse macabre* might be explained by linguistic reasons, namely by the fact that the form *le* is attested as the feminine article in some Middle French dialects. However, this explanation hardly works in the case of the Victorine manuscripts in question nor in the case of Marchant’s editions, since no other attestation of *le* before a feminine noun is found in any of them. What is more, the use of *le mort* in these manuscripts and incunabula is limited to the rubrics, whereas in the main text of the poem we always read *la mort*; the only exception, in all the versions, is the context clearly referring to a dead person and not to Death: *le mort le viffait avancer* ‘the dead person makes the living one go forward’ (**P** 2.4; MS BnF fr. 25550, f. CCLIIIr, etc.).

25. The origin and etymology of the term *macabre* are uncertain, if widely discussed. See the brief summary in Fein 2013, 2-3.

26. As it is known, the French *Danse macabre des femmes* is a separate poem, postdating the *Danse des hommes* and deeply influenced by it. The earliest witness of the *Des femmes* text is dated 1482. See Harrison 1994, 1-2.

27. The manuscript families of Lydgate’s poem are discussed in Warren ed. 1931, xxiv-xxxi; see also Oosterwijk 2010, 190-192 and 200-201.

or a juror. Further, whereas Lydgate’s work can be defined as a reworking of its source rather than a true translation, the *Dança de la Mort* is characterised by less individuality and less freedom in the treatment of the source text: this suggests that the stanzas of the five ‘additional’ characters probably derive from something already existing in some French version of the *Danse*.<sup>28</sup>

### 2.3 *Translation patterns*

In addition to the ‘macroscopic’ structural elements shared by the French and the Catalan texts, the *Dança de la Mort* shows great faithfulness to its model at the microtextual level. Whole stanzas translated almost literally are not infrequent. For example, this is the case of the words addressed by Death to the Pope:<sup>29</sup>

#### **Danse macabre 3.1-8**

Vous qui vives, certainement,  
quoyqu’il tarde, ainsi danceres.  
Mais *quant*? Dieu le scet seulement –  
advises *comment* vous feres.  
Dam, pappe, vous commenceres,  
*comme* le plus digne seigneur;  
en ce point honorés seres:  
aux grans maistres est dieü l’onneur.

‘You who live, certainly,  
sooner or later, you will dance this way.  
But when? Only God knows it –  
watch carefully how you will do that.  
Lord Pope, you will begin,  
as the highest lord.  
This way will you be honoured:  
honour is due to those of high office’.

#### **Dança de la Mort 3.1-8**

Vós qui viviu al món present,  
prest o tart aquí dançareu.  
Mas quant? Sab-ho Déu solament –  
preneu esment com ho fareu.  
Don Papa, vós començareu,  
axí com pus digne senyor;  
en tal forma honrat sereu:  
als grans Mestres pertany honor.

‘You who live in the present world,  
sooner or later, you will dance here.  
But when? Only God knows it –  
watch carefully how you will do that.  
Lord Pope, you will begin,  
as the highest lord;  
This way you will be honoured:  
honour is due to those of high office’.

However, the Catalan translator often sacrifices some shades of meaning and other details to metrical regularity. Thus, the monologue of a Dead King speaking from his grave is characterised by a number of lexical and syntactic manipulations, which reduce its closeness to the formal aspect of the French text, but exercise a minor influence on the content level:

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28. The assumption that the Catalan and English translations derive from a common archetype had been already outlined by Whyte (1931, 28). Regarding the origin of the female characters in these texts, it is remarkable that the miniatures of a book of hours influenced by the *Danse macabre* also contain one such character (see the comments in Oosterwijk 2008, 141). It might also be useful to examine the female characters in the German Dances of Death.

29. Here and below, the Parisian *Danse macabre* is quoted from my edition of P. V. *supra* fn. 21.

**Danse macabre 65.1-8**

Vous qui en ceste pourtraiture  
vees danser estas divers,  
penses qu'est humaine nature:  
ce n'est fors viande à vers.  
Je le monstre, qui gis envers:  
si ay-je esté roy couronnés –  
telz serez vous, bons *et* pervers:  
tous estas sont aux vers donnés.

‘You who, in this painting,  
see men of different conditions dancing,  
think about what human nature is:  
it is no more than food for worms.  
I, who lie here, demonstrate it,  
and I was once a crowned king –  
so will you be, the good and the sinners:  
men of all conditions are given to the worms’.

**Dança de la Mort 75.1-8**

Vosaltres qui la present dança  
mirau, ab tota aquesta gent,  
advertiu, vejau ma semblança:  
yo fuy gran rey e molt potent;  
ara só dins lo monument,  
hon tenc podrits tots mos costats –  
no seran sabens ni grossers  
que no sien als vèrmens lansats.

‘You who watch the present dance  
with all these people [who participate in it],  
pay attention, look at my appearance:  
I was once a great king and a very powerful one;  
now I am in the grave,  
where my body has all rotted –  
neither the wise nor the uncouth  
will avoid being thrown to the worms’.

It should be noted that in other cases the translator repeatedly shows much more freedom in the treatment of source material. He mitigates some of the sarcasm characteristic of the French poem, e.g. *alegrar les dones totes* 50.3 ‘to entertain all women’ instead of *faire esjoir sots et sottetz* 50.3 ‘to entertain foolish men and women’ (Death to the Minstrel). It can also happen that, on the contrary, the translator accentuates the irony of the Parisian *Danse macabre*, e.g. *cuytau lo pas, no sembleu bou* 33.6 ‘speed up your pace, do not look like an ox’<sup>30</sup> instead of *il convient que par cy passes* 33.6 ‘you have to pass through here’ (Death to the Merchant).

An interesting modification strategy consists in extending the metaphor of dance in the Catalan version: it can be found in several contexts where the French source does not make use of it. Thus, in the French *Danse* we read: *Ha, maistre, par là passeres* 39.1 ‘Ha, sir, you will pass through here’ (Death to the Monk), whereas the Catalan version of this line is the following: *En Monjo, ab mi dançareu* 39.1 ‘Sir Monk, you will dance with me’; or we find: *Veniu prop mi, ballem abdos* 46.3 ‘Come close to me, [and] let us dance together’, instead of *Vous estes prins, la mort vous pique* 46.3 ‘You are captured, [and] Death stabs you’ (Death to the Lover).<sup>31</sup>

The last remarkable feature that makes the Catalan translation differ from its French model concerns the so-called proverbs.<sup>32</sup> In the French *Danse macabre*, proverbial locutions are an independent structural element; their position is metrically fixed (they always occupy the final, eighth line of each stanza), and they have a very specific function: they provide a synthesis of

30. In the Catalan linguistic picture of the world oxen are characterised as very slow animals, as they pulled wagons with heavy goods.

31. It is interesting that the English translation by John Lydgate also features this innovation; see Taylor 1994, 185. On the culturally determined symbolic value of the choreographic element in the *Danse macabre* tradition, see Eustace-King 2011, 43-71.

32. The term *proverb* is used here for convenience; however, it can be applied to the *Danse macabre* only conventionally, as pointed out in Taylor 1989b, 216: “au sens strict, les locutions sentencieuses de la *Danse macabre* seraient plutôt des dictons, (...) distinguer *dicton*, *proverbe*, *sentence* et *maxime* est une opération délicate; nous choisissons donc, et sous toute réserve, d’employer le mot *proverbe*, désignation qui au Moyen Âge semble généralement recouvrir toute locution sentencieuse”.

the whole stanza, which contributes to effect “une transformation du ponctuel à l’universel, de l’anecdotique à l’axiomatique” (Taylor 1989b, 219). The *Dança de la Mort* is characterised by a rather free treatment of the proverbs present in its French source: it frequently happens that, in the Catalan version, these proverbs lose their logical and syntactic autonomy and sometimes even their proverbial character. In the following paragraphs I will describe the different types of proverb transformation that can be individuated.

First, the ‘proverb’ can come to occupy two lines instead of one, e.g. *per la mort, qu’és camí estret, / passar cové, cosa-s forçada* 16.7-8 ‘one must inevitably pass through Death, which is a narrow path’, instead of *quant faire le fault, c’est contrainte* 16.8 ‘when one must do that [i.e. die], he is bound’ (the Archbishop); *La carn e ossos deu podrir, / mas no sab hom hon, com ni quant* 22.7-8 ‘Flesh and bones have to rot, but no one knows where, how and when’, instead of *tous fault morir; on ne scet quant* 22.8 ‘everyone has to die, [and] no one knows when’ (the Squire); *per Adam, qui fonc lo primer, / moriu per manjar una poma* 27.7-8 ‘you die because of Adam, who was the first [human], as a result of his eating an apple’, instead of *tous fault morir pour une pomme* 27.8 ‘everyone has to die because of an apple’ (Death to the Astrologer).

Second, the ‘proverb’ can occupy only one, the final line, but be linked to the previous line by means of a conjunction: *car no sap hom per qui s’ajusta* 29.8 ‘since no one knows for whom he amasses [wealth]’, instead of *on ne scet pour qui on amasse* 29.8 ‘no one knows for whom he amasses [wealth]’ (Death to the Bourgeois); *car tot treball requer salari* 52.8 ‘as any effort requires a reward’, instead of *à toute peine est deu salaire* 52.8 ‘any effort requires a reward’ (Death to the Parish Priest); *que tal cobeja que ha prou* 33.8 ‘as he who has enough desires to have more’, instead of *tel convoite qui a asses* ‘he who has enough desires to have more’.

Third, in some cases the proverbial locution of the French source is replaced by a significantly different proverb: *qui mal no fa no sent torment* 41.8 ‘who does no ill feels no pain’, instead of *à tout perdre est cop perilleux* 41.8 ‘to lose everything is a dangerous blow’ (Death to the Usurer). It is also possible that the original ‘proverb’ is replaced by a related but more generic one: *a la mort no y val resistença* 45.8 ‘resistance is useless against Death’, instead of *contre la mort n’a medicine* 45.8 ‘there is no medicine against Death’ (the Physician).

Fourth, the ‘proverb’ can be transformed into a remark of a personal nature, thus losing its universality: *may pensí ballar en tal dança* 40.8 ‘I have never considered dancing such a dance’, instead of *chascuns n’est pas joyeux qui dance* 40.8 ‘not everyone who dances is happy’ (the Monk).

Lastly, one case of interchange of the ‘proverbs’ used in Death’s stanza and the respective victim’s stanza is attested: *poc resta d’açò que foll pensa* 60.8 ‘very little remains of what a fool thinks’, instead of *Dieu punit tout quant bon lui semble* ‘God punishes everyone who seems appropriate to him’ and, vice versa, *porta-se-n Déu ço que li plau* 61.8 ‘God brings away with him what he finds appropriate’, instead of *moult remaint de ce que fol pense* ‘much remains [unfulfilled] of what a fool thinks’.

Unlike the English translation of the Parisian *Danse macabre*, which contains *Verba translatoris* and a *Conclusio* added by the translator John Lydgate, the Catalan text – in the version that has come down to us – contains no explicit reflection on the process of translation. However, Lydgate’s statement specifying that the translator’s intention is to follow the matter and not the form could also be applied to the translation model adopted by the anonymous author of the Catalan *Dança de la Mort*, who analyses the original text and then restores it using elements of his native language: the result of this process is a text oscillating between literal translation and free imitation.<sup>33</sup>

33. Lydgate’s statement is the following: *owte of the frensshe I drowe hit of entent / Not worde be worde but folwyng the substaunce*, lines 665-66 (Warren ed. 1931, 76). These words have a formulaic nature (a *topos modestiae*),

### 3 The *Dança de la Mort* from MS Miscel·lània 26, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, and *Danse macabre* from MS BnF lat. 14904: parallel critical edition

#### 3.1 Editorial criteria

##### 3.1.1 Syntax: general criteria

###### 3.1.1.1 Catalan text

1) The use of capital and lower-case letters generally follows modern Catalan usage.

Manuscript **B** frequently uses capital letters when Death calls a character by name (i.e., names his social rank) for the first time. This interesting feature is kept unmodified in the critical text, as it shows that the copyist distinctly perceived a meaningful structural particularity common to the *Dança de la Mort* and to its French source: Death always marks a shift from one victim to another by explicitly referring to their position in society (also *v. infra* editorial note 15.2). This becomes particularly interesting if we compare the Catalan version to the extant French copies: none of them uses capital letters when naming the characters. Such usage of capital letters is not perfectly regular, and the critical edition reproduces the oscillation present in the manuscript.

Sporadic capital letters not covered by the pattern above are not preserved in the edition, but registered in the editorial notes. For example, the critical text contains *als grans mestres* 3.8, whereas the respective note reports **B** *Mestres* (capital M).

2) Word separation follows modern Catalan usage.

3) The most universal punctuation marks – such as full stop, comma, exclamation and question marks etc. – are introduced according to modern Catalan usage.

4) A raised point (*punt volat*) between a vowel and a consonant is used to separate agglutinated words in the manuscript whenever the modern apostrophe cannot be used, e.g. *qui-s vol* 2.4, *No-m puix* 4.5.

5) An apostrophe marks elision of articles, clitic pronouns before verbs and of the preposition *de*, e.g. *A l’Emperador* 5 title, *l’esbait* 7.1, *m’an enganat* 12.1, *s’esmena* 57.8, *d’una massa* 2.8, *d’or* 5.4. An apostrophe is also used between a personal pronoun and the elided pronoun *en*, e.g. *me-n vaig* 51.7, *ma-n clam* 71.7, *se-n curen* 77.1.

6) A hyphen is used between a verbal form and an enclitical personal pronoun, e.g. *leves-me* 4.4, *acostau-vos* 15.2, *sab-ho* 3.2.

###### 3.1.1.2 French text

1) The use of capital and lower-case letters follows modern French usage. No capital letters are used whenever Death mentions the character’s social rank (*v. supra* 3.1.1.1), as they do not compare in **P**.

2) Word separation follows modern French usage.

3) The most universal punctuation marks – such as full stop, comma, exclamation and question marks etc. – are introduced according to modern French usage.

4) A hyphen between verbal forms and pronouns is used according to modern French usage, e.g.

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see Timofeeva 2006; at the same time, Lydgate “postulates an unsystematic but particular model for translation: an interpretative strategy which allows the translator to distinguish what is essential in his source text from what is contingent” (Taylor 1994, 185).

*fault-il* 4.1, *est-ce* 6.7, *tires-vous* 15.2.

### 3.1.2 Diacritics

#### 3.1.2.1 Catalan text

1) The use of accents follows modern Catalan usage.

Accents are used to distinguish the following pairs of monosyllabic words: *a* ‘to, for’ (dative preposition) 1.7 and *passim* – *à* ‘has’ 55.4, 58.6; *deu* ‘must’ 22.7 and *passim* – *Déu* ‘God’ 3.3 and *passim*; *don* ‘lord’ 3.5 – *dón* ‘(I) give’ 66.7 / ‘(he) gives’ 63.7; *dos* ‘two’ 15.5 – *dòs* ‘back, shoulders’ 57.4; *fàs* ‘(you) do’ (second-person singular present indicative form) 30.3, 71.5, – *fàs* ‘(I) do’ (first-person singular present indicative form) 13.3; *feu* ‘(you) do’ (present tense or imperative) 7.1, 50.6 – *fèu* ‘(it) made’ (preterite tense) 70.2; *ma* ‘my’ 8.7 and *passim* / ‘me’ (clitic object personal or reflexive pronoun) 30.1, 62.3, 7.1 – *mà* ‘hand’ 43.5, 62.3, 74.6; *mes* ‘but’ 69.5 – *mès* ‘put, placed’ (past participle) 48.6, 54.7, 63.6 – *més* ‘more’ 20.4 and *passim*; *mon* ‘my’ 13.1 and *passim* – *món* ‘world’ 3.1 and *passim*; *pres* ‘took’ 24.1, 71.4 / ‘taken’ 38.6, 38.8 – *prés* ‘after’ 36.6; *sé* ‘I know’ 16.1 and *passim* – *se* (third-person reflexive pronoun) 2.3 and *passim*; *són* ‘(they) are’ 12.5, 57.3, 77.1 – *son* ‘his, her’ 22.1, 25.8; *vós* ‘you’ plural (tonic personal pronoun, subject or object) 3.1 and *passim* – *vos* ‘you’ plural (clitic object personal or reflexive pronoun) 15.2 and *passim*. The tonic object personal pronoun *nós* ‘we / us’ 15.4 carries an accent mark, even though there is no attestation of the respective clitic pronoun *nos*.

2) The use of dieresis follows modern Catalan usage, e.g. *esbaït* 7.1, *conduït* 58.7.

#### 3.1.2.2 French text

1) Accents are normally introduced only in final position, for greater readability of the text, e.g. *forgié* 2.8. The use of these accents follows modern French usage.

Accents are also used to distinguish the following pairs of monosyllabic words: *a* ‘has’ 9.8 and *passim* – *à* ‘to, for’ (dative preposition) 1.6 and *passim*; *ou* ‘or’ 53.1, 55.3, 63.1 / contraction of the preposition *à* with the masculine definite article *le* (variant of *au*) 40.5 – *où* ‘where’ 16.1 and *passim*.

2) Dieresis (*tréma*) is not normally used. The only exception is the couple *Dieu* ‘God’ 3.3 and *passim* – *dieü* ‘due’ (past participle of *devoir*) 3.8, where the dieresis has a distinctive function.

### 3.1.3 Spelling: general criteria

#### 3.1.3.1 Catalan text

1) The use of the letters *u* and *v* is regularised according to modern usage.

2) The use of the letters *i* and *j* for the voiced palatal fricative is regularised according to modern usage. The only attestations of *j* with this phonetic value are *jurar* 24.4, *Jove* 46.1, *desijada* 55.1, *jorns* 61.1. In addition, the manuscript contains *Infant* 58.1 (corrected in the critical text), which confirms that there is no regularity in the choice of one of the two variants.

3) The non-etymological use of the letters *a* and *e* in atonic positions and the consequent oscillation between them are kept unchanged, as they are linguistically significant (for instance, *v. infra* editorial note 19.5).

4) The modern graphic unit *l·l* is used in *rebel·lau* 37.2 and *rebel·lar* 56.5. However, the overall tendency of **B** is to use the double *ll* for the palatal /ʎ/ – e.g. *aquelles* title, *mirall* 2.1 – and not for the velarised geminate /ʎʎ/.

5) A prosthetic *e-* is never integrated, e.g. *no pusc scapar* 38.7, *mon studi* 45.2. However, the

cases when such *e-* is likely to be really pronounced are discussed in the editorial notes.

### 3.1.3.2 French text

- 1) The use of the letters *u* and *v* is regularised according to modern usage.
- 2) The use of the letters *i* and *j* for the voiced palatal fricative is regularised according to modern usage.
- 3) The use of the letters *z* and *s* is not regularised. The grapheme *z* is usually used in final position: *desoulz* 18.8, *desquelz* 63.7, *filz* 5.8, *povez* 44.7, *serez* 65.7, *sottez* 50.3, *souliez* 17.5, *telz* 65.7, *voz* 21.4, 25.6, 52.7. The use of *z* in *phizique* 45.1 is likely to be due to the fact this term is a Grecism, a learned word.
- 4) The groups *-ct-* and *-tt-* are mostly distributed according to the etymological criterion, e.g. *doctrine* 1.3 vs *faittes* 7.1 and *passim*. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish these two groups in non-etymological contexts, as they are written almost identically; however, it is possible to establish that the dominant spelling is *-tt-*. Thus, I opt for *-tt-* in doubtful cases, e.g. *amourettes* 47.2, *flourettes* 47.4.

### 3.1.4 Grammar: French text

The fluctuating usage of the desinence *-s* of the nominative case (*cas sujet*) is not regularised, as these fossil remains are present in almost every fifteenth-century French manuscript and represent linguistically valuable information (see, e.g. Marchello-Nizia 1979, 97-100).

### 3.1.5 Editorial interventions

- 1) Abbreviations are resolved in italics, e.g. **B** *aquella* (title), *pendre* 14.2; **P** *luxumque* 1.1, *pour* 1.4.
- 2) Integrated elements are in brackets, e.g. **B** *bell[s]* 14.4; **P** *seig[n]ourrier* 5.6.
- 3) Expunctions are indicated by angle brackets, e.g. **B** *vostra<s> grimaça* 37.3; **P** *Cil est <est> eureus* 2.3.
- 4) In the French text, round parentheses are used to mark the reconstructed parts of rubrics undoubtedly present in **P**, but not legible due to the way the book was bound, e.g. *La m(ort)* 5 title, *L'empe(reire)* 6 title. Reconstructing the word *mort* involves no difficulty; as for the characters' social rank, I use the form employed in Death's stanza immediately before the stanza of the character in question. As for the rubrics preceding stanzas 65 and 66, see the respective notes.

### 3.1.6 Apparatus

The critical apparatuses register editorial intervention taking place whenever the manuscripts contain evident errors counter to semantics or syntax and impossible to correct by a sole operation of integration or expunction. The apparatuses are positive: they contain both the emended forms present in the critical text and, separated by a single square bracket, the readings of the respective manuscript, e.g. **B** 50.8 *monstrar] monstrau*, **P** 6.4 *un] um*. All such corrections are discussed in the editorial notes.

### 3.1.7 Numeration

- 1) All the stanzas are numbered with Arabic numerals in **B**, and the same strategy is adopted in the edition. This also applies to the French text, although **P** uses no numbers. The numbers differ only for the last four stanzas, since stanzas 64-73 of **B** are absent in **P**.

2) Folio numbers, enclosed in vertical bars, are indicated in the left margin of each of the two columns containing the respective critical text.

3) Line numeration takes into account the gaps, i.e. the lines lacking in some stanzas. In both editions, such *lacunae* are indicated by sequences of points. Their position in the stanza is established on the basis of metrical evidence, namely the strophic pattern ABABBCBC; syntactic and semantic structures are taken into consideration as well. In the case of the French text, this kind of evidence is corroborated by the readings of other textual witnesses.

It should be mentioned that the *lacunae* in **B** and **P** never coincide and are of a different nature: in the Catalan version, the gaps do not damage the semantic and syntactic integrity of the stanza, whereas the lines lacking in the French manuscript make the text semantically and syntactically incomplete.

### 3.2 Critical text

<i>Dança de la Mort</i> from MS Miscel·lània 26, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Barcelona (= B)		<i>Danse macabre</i> from MS lat. 14904, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (= P)	
140r	Dança de la mort e de aquelles persones qui mal llur grat ab aquella ballen e dançen	64r	La dance macabre
I	{ see B lines I.1-I.7 after stanza 77, which correspond to P lines I.3-I.6 }		Hec pictura decus, pompam luxumque relegat, in que choris nostris ducere festa monet. 2 Discite vos choream, cunctis qui cernitis istam, quantum prosit honor, gaudia, divicie. 4 Tales estis enim matura morte futuri qualis in effigie mortua turba vocat. 6
1.	<b>Parle lo Mestre</b> O creatura rasonable qui desiges vida terrenal, tu has ací regla notable per ben finir vida mortal. 4 La present dança que veus tal és de la Mort poc delitosa. Morir a tots és natural; la mort és vil, molt odiosa. 8		O creature raisonnable qui desire vie eternelle, tu as cy doctrine notable pour bien finir vie mortelle. 4 La dance macabre s’appelle que chascun à dancier apprend; à homme et fame est naturelle, mort n’espargne petit ne grant. 8
2.	En tal mirall cascú legir pot, pus cové aquí dançar; aquell se pot bonanat dir qui-s vol aquí sovent mirar. 4 Tu veus los altres començar (qual és qui de morir se quart?) ne sol atràs un pas tornar: tots d’una massa prenem part. 8		En ce miroir chascuns peut lire qui le convient ainsi danser; cil est <est> eureus qui bien se mire: le mort le vif fait avancer. 4 Tu vois les plus grans commencer, car il n’est nul que mort ne fiere; c’est piteuse chose y penser: tout est forgié d’une matere. 8
3.	<b>Parla la mort al Papa</b> Vós qui viviu al món present, prest o tart aquí dançareu. Mas quant? Sab-ho Déu solament –		<b>Le mort</b> Vous qui vives, certainement, quoy qu’il tarde, ainsi danceres. Mais quant? Dieu le sctet seulement –

	preneu esment com ho fareu. Don papa, vós començareu, axí com pus digne senyor; en tal forma honrat sereu: als grans mestres pertany honor.	4    8		advises <i>comment</i> vous feres. Dam, pappe, vous commenceres, <i>comme</i> le plus digne seigneur; en ce point honnerés seres: aux grans maîtres est dieü l'onneur.	4    8
4.	<b>Respon lo Papa</b> Donchs hauré yo menar la dança, qui tinch loch de Déu en la terra? Dignitat haguí e poxança – e tu, mort, leves-me desferra. No-m puix lunyar de qui-m fa guerra; encara morir no cuydava – yo y pensí poc e fiu gran erra. .....	4    8		<b>Le pappe</b> Hee, fault-il que la dance maine, le <i>premier</i> qui sui Dieu en terre? [64v] J'ay eu dignité souveraine en l'église, comme saint Pierre. Encor point morir ne cuidasse – et <i>comme</i> aultres, mort me vient querre, mais la mort à tous maine guerre: peu vault honneur qui si tot passe.	4    8
5.	<b>A l'Emperador</b> Vós qui sou en lo món sens par, príncep e gran Emperador, ara us cové lo món lexar, armes, cavalls e lo pom d'or, [141r] sceptre, banderes, gran honor. Forçat sereu venir ab mi, doncs veniu prest, sens fer rumor: tots quants nexen fan tal camí.	4    8		<b>La m(ort)</b> Et vous, le nom pareil du monde, <i>prínce</i> et seigneur, grant emperiere, laisier fault la <i>pomme</i> d'or ronde, armes, ceptre, timbre, banier. Je ne vous lairay pas derriere, vous ne poves plus seig[n]ourrier. J'enmaine tout, c'est ma maniere: les filz Adam fault tous morir.	4    8
6.	<b>Respon lo Emperador</b> No trop senyor a qui m'appell de la mort qui axí-m meneja; la carn, los ossos e la pell sots un lançol cové que veja. Tant prest morir yo may no creya – què m'ha valgut gran senyoria, pus veig la mort qu-axí-m garreja? Honor val molt... Si no-s perdia!	4    8		<b>L'empe(reire)</b> Je ne scay devant qui j'appelle de la mort qu' <i>anzi</i> me demaine; armer me fault de pic, de pelle et d'un linseul – ce m'est <i>granz</i> peine. Sur <i>tous</i> ay eu grandeur mondaine, et mourir me fault pour tout gaige – et qu'est-ce de mortel demaine? Les <i>grans</i> ne l'ont pas d'avantage.	4    8
				6.4 un] um	
7.	<b>Al Cardenal</b> Bé-m semble que feu l'esbaït – sus, Cardenal, leugerament, seguiscam tots ab gran delit los altres graciosament! E no us hi valrà l'espantament: haveu viscut ab gran plaer, ab molts delits, honradament – lo gran honor pert lo saber.	4    8		<b>Le m(ort)</b> Vous faites l'esbahi, ce me semble – cardinal, sus, legerement Suivons les aultres tous ensemble: rien n'y vault esbahissement. Vous aves vescu haultement et en honneurs à grans devis – prens en gré l'esbatement: es grans honneurs se pert l'advis.	4    8
8.	[141v] <b>Respon lo Cardenal</b> No-m par sens causa l'espordir, com veig tant prop de mi la mort, e la dança-m cové seguir. En bells vestits no prenc deport: capell vermell, drap de gran sort hauré jaquir e la noblesa. Bé poré dir hon és ma cort: tot delit fina en tristesa.	4    8		<b>Le (cardinal)</b> J'ay bien cause de m'esbahir, <i>quant</i> je me vois de si pres pris: la mort m'est venu envair – [65r] plus ne vestiray vair ne gris; chappeau rouge <i>et</i> chappe de pris me fault laissier à grant destresse. Je ne l'avoye pas apris: toute joye fine en tristesse.	4    8
9.	<b>Al Rey</b> Veni, noble Rey coronat, famós de molts béns e proesa, de noble gent acompanyat			<b>Le mort</b> Venes, noble roy couronné, renommé de force <i>et</i> de proesse. Jadis fustes advironné	

	e servidors de gran destresa. Mas de present tota l'altesa haureu lexar. No sou vós sol, poch haureu de vostra riquesa: lo pus rich se-n porta un lançol.	4   8	de grans pompes, de grant noblesse, mais maintenant toute haultesse laisserre<re>s. <i>Vous</i> n'estes pas seul, peu aures de <i>vostre</i> richesse: le plus riche n'a q'un linseul.	4   8
10.	<b>Respon lo Rey</b> Jamés aprenguí de dançar en ball ni dança tan salvatge. [142r] Ara pusch veure e pensar què val honor, força, linatge. Guastar és de la mort usatge, axí del rich com del menor. Qui-s presa menys ha l'aventatge: en pols és cascú tornador.	4  4  8	<b>Le roy</b> Je n'ay point aprins à dancier à dance <i>et</i> note si sauvage. Helas, on peut vei<o>r <i>et</i> penser que vault orgueil, forse, langage. Mort destruit tout – c'est son usage – aussi tost le grant que le mendre. Qui moins se prise, plus est sage: à la fin fault devenir cendre.	4  4  8
11.	<b>Al Patriarcha</b> Patriarcha, per vós beixar la cara no sou delliurat. La creu doble renunciar haureu, qu-altre-n serà heretat. No penseu pus en dignitat, no portareu capa de grana. Per donar compte sou citat: folla sperança l'hom engana.	4  4  8	<b>Le mort</b> Patriarche, pour basse chiere vous ne poves estre quitté; <i>vostre</i> double crois qu'aves chiere ung aultre aura, c'est equitté. Ne penses plus à dignité, ja ne seres pappe de <i>Romme</i> , <i>pour</i> rendre <i>compte</i> estes cité: fole esperance decept l' <i>omme</i> .	4  4  8
12.	<b>Respon lo Patriarcha</b> Bé conec que moltes honors m'an enganat, per dir lo ver. Mos goigs se giren en tristor, e què val tant honor haver? Pocs són qui no-y prenguen pler, gran stat pert la gent e torbe; massa pujar no-m par sceber: qui munta carregat, s'encorbe.	4  4  8	<b>Le patriarche</b> Bien parcoy que mondains <i>hommeurs</i> m'ont deceu, <i>pour</i> dire le voir. Mes joyes tournen en douleurs, et que vault tant d'onneur avoir? Troit monter hault n'est pas savoir, [65v] haulx estas gastent gens sans nombre, mais peu le veullent percevoir: à hault monter le fais encombre.	4  4  8
13.	[142v] <b>Al Capità o Conestable</b> De mon dret és qu-ab mi vengau molt prestament, bell Conestable: lo pus fort fàs tornar suau, e no us hi qual esser dubtable. No y valrà cara d'espantable ni bravejar ni leig comport: ab tot que no us és agradable, armes no us defendran de mort.	4  4  8	<b>Le mort</b> C'est de mon droit que je <i>vous</i> maine à la dance, gent conestable: les plus fors, <i>comme</i> Charlemaine, mort prent, c'est chose veritable. Rien ne vault chiere espontable ne forte armeure en cest assault; d'un cop j'abas le plus estable: rien n'est d'armes, quant mort assault.	4  4  8
14.	<b>Respon lo Capità</b> Mon parer e intentió era <i>pendre</i> forces, castells, mettén a ma subjectió viles, ciutats, loes grans e bell[s]. No-m valen lances ni coltells: la mort no guarda dret ni leys ni pobres ni rics ni jovencells – contra la mort no y ha remeys.	4  4  8	<b>Le con(nestable)</b> Je avoie encore entention d'assalir chasteaux <i>et</i> forteresses et mener à subjection, en aquerant honneurs, richesses. Mais je voy que toutes proesses mort met au bas – c'est <i>grmt</i> despit. Tout lui est ung – douceurs, rudesses: contre la mort n'a nul respit.	4  4  8
15.	<b>Al Archabisbe</b> No us qual mostrar la cara fera, mon bell Senyor, acostau-vos. Haveu vós por que yo no us fera?		<b>Le mor(t)</b> Que vous tires la teste arriere, arcevesque? Tires-vous pres. Aves-vous paour qu'on ne <i>vous</i> fiere?	

	No y dubteu gens, seguïu a nós, e ballem tots de dos en dos. Anuig ha l'hom qu-a mi s'acoste, [143r] lo ball és un poch fastijós: un jorn cové comptar ab l'hoste.	4   8	Ne doubtés, vous venres empres. N'est-pas tousjours la mort empres tout homme et le suit coste à coste? Rendre convient debtes <i>et</i> prest: une fois fault compte à l'oste.	4   8
16.	<b>Respon l'archabis[b]e</b> Trist, no sé veure loch ni part (tant me veig per la mort destret) hon puxa fugir, e m'apart. Las, hon hauré yo mon retret? Ara perdré mon benifet, no tendré pus cambra pintada: per la mort, qu-és camí estret, passar cové, cosa-s forçada.	4   8	<b>L'arc(evesque)</b> Las, je ne scay où regarder, tant suis mort à <i>giznt</i> destroit. Où fuiray-je pour moy garder? Certes, qui bien la cong[n]oistroit hors de rason jamais n'istroit. Plus ne gerray en chambre peinte: [66r] mourir me convient, c'est le droit – quant faire le fault, c'est contrainte.	4   8
17.	<b>Al cavaller</b> Vós qu-entre los altres barons sou stat noble Cavaller, oblidau trompes e clarons, prest veniu, no us mettau derrer. Las dones solíau voler e fer dançar ab alegria – bé podeu veure e sceber: ço que fa hu, altre u desvia.	4   8	<b>Le mort</b> Vous qui entre les grans barons aves eu renon, chevalier, oubliés tromppettes, clarons et me sieuves, sans <i>sommelier</i> . Les dames souliez resvelier, en faisant danser longue piece – aultre dance fault-il vieillier: ce que l'un fait, l'aultre despiece.	4   8
18.	<b>Respon lo Cavaller</b> Yo dins lo món fuy nomenat [143v] e molt estimat en fets grans, e de nobles dones amat e de senyors richs e poxans, de mercaders e ciutadans, e <i>per</i> null temps fuy variable – los comptes meus tots foren vans: jus lo cel no ha res estable.	4   8	<b>Le chevalier</b> Or ay-je esté auctorisié en plusieurs fais <i>et</i> bien famé, des grans <i>et</i> des petis amé, avec ce des dames amé; ne oncques ne fu diffamé à la court de seigneur notable, mais à ce cop suis tout pasmé: desoulz le ciel n'a riens estable.	4   8
19.	<b>Al Bisbe</b> Prest finirà vostre delit dels béns e de natura, en Bisbe; lo temps és complit, no us valrà vostra prelatura. Vostra fet corra gran ventura: dels súbdits vos cové dar compte. A cascu Déu farà dretura – no-s diu segur qui pus alt monte.	4   8	<b>Le mort</b> Tantost n'aures vaillant ce pic des biens du monde <i>et</i> de nature. Evesque, de vous il est pic, non obstant <i>vostre</i> prelature. <i>Vostre</i> fait git en adventure: de vos subgiés fault rendre compte. À chascuns Dieu fera droiture – n'est pas aseur qui trop hault monte.	4   8
20.	<b>Respon lo Bisbe</b> Lo cor no-m pot gens alegrar per les nouvelles que m'apporta. Déu vol tot compte escoltar, e veus ço qui més desconforta. Lo món poc ni molt no-m confort ne-n lexa res, ans leva massa. Jamés algú res no s'en porta sinó-l ben fet; tot l'a[ll]re passa.	4   8	<b>L'evesque</b> Le cuer ne me peut resjoir des nouvelles que mort m'apporte. Dieu voudra de tout compte oir – c'est ce que plus me desconforte. Le monde ausi peu me conforte, qui tous à la fin desherite; il retient tout, nul rien n'emporte: tout se passe, fors le merite.	4   8

20.2 voudra] vouldra

21.	[144r]	<b>Al gentilhome</b> Passau avant, en gentilhom, car de dançar sabeu los torns. Moveu-vos prest, no sembleu plom: d'aquest ballar no-n fem tots jorns. Ara fenexen vostres borns; no us membràs may ací venir ne oblidàs delits, sojorns – a mort no pot qui viu fugir.	4 8	[66v]	<b>La mort</b> Avances-vous, gent escuier, qui saves de dancier les tours. Lance porties <i>et</i> escu hier, et hui vous finerés voz jorns. Il n'est rien qui ne prengne cours – dances <i>et</i> penses de suir. Vous ne poves avoir secours: il n'est qui puisse mort fuir.	4 8
22.		<b>Respon lo gentilhome</b> Pus la mort me té dins son laç, almenys açò-m lexarà dir: adéu deportes, adéu solaç, ací ja no puix romanir. Vullau vostr-arma favorir, lexau lo cors d'aquí avant. La carn e ossos deu podrir, mas no sab hom hon, com ni quant.	4 8		<b>L'escuier</b> Puis que mort me tient en ses las, aumoins <i>que</i> je puisse unq mot dire: adieu, devis, adieu, soulas, adieu, dames, plus ne puis rire. Penses de l'ame qui desire repos, ne chaille plus tant du corps qui tous les jours empire: tous fault morir, on ne sctet quant.	4 8
23.		<b>Al Abbat</b> Veniú, Abbat, no fugiau ni façau la cara smortida. Cové la dança seguiscáu, ja que l'ajau molt avorrida. Vostra renda ja l'an partida, qui gras e gros vos ha nodrit; prest vostra carn serà delida: lo pus gros és pus tost podrit.	4 8		<b>La mo(rt)</b> Abbé, venes tost! <i>Vous</i> fuies? N'ayés ja la chiere esbahie. Il convient que la mort suyes, combien que moult l'aves haye. <i>Commandes</i> a Dieu l'abbaye que gros <i>et</i> gras vous a nourri<r>; tost porrires à peu d'aye: le <i>premier est</i> premier pourry.	4 8
24.		<b>Respon lo Abbat</b> De morir no-m pres may desig, mas só forçat l'estret passar. Poc observí de Déu la lig ne los vots que volguí jurar. Guardau-vos de molt abraçar e pensau que Déu tot ho mira, morir no vullau oblidar: tart és pensar com l'hom expira.	4 8		<b>L'ab(bé)</b> De cecy n'cusse point envie, mais il <i>convient</i> le pas passer. Las, or n'ay-je pas en ma vie gardé mon ordre sans casser! Gardes-vous de trop embrasser, vous qui vives au demourant, se <i>vous</i> voules bien trespasser: on s'advise tart en mourant.	4 8
25.		<b>Al Governador</b> Governador, de molta gent jutge, gran administrador, veniú cuytat, molt prestament, vejam que sereu tornador. Lo poble regís ab furor – d'açò sereu en gran perpleix: en aquell loc sou venidor hon cascú portarà son feix.	4 8		<b>Le (mort)</b> Baillif qui saves qu'est justice et hault <i>et</i> bas, en mainte guise, [67r] pour gouverner<t> toute police, venes tantost à ceste assise. Je vous ajourne de main mise pour rendre compte de voz fais au grant juge qui tout unq <i>pr̄se</i> : unq chascuns portera son fais.	4 8
26.	[145r]	<b>Respon lo Governador</b> Ay Déu, bé-m par dura jornada, d'aquest colp yo no-m cuydava. La mia roda s'és girada: encara morir no cuydava, en semblants fets jamay pensava, regint ma jurisdicció. Seria foll qui y contrastava: res no y val n-epellatió.	4 8		<b>Le bailiff</b> He, Dieu, vecy dure journée, de ce cop pas ne me gardoye. Or est la chance bien muée: entre juges honneur avoye, et mort fait ravalier ma joye, qui m'a ajourné sans rappel. Je n'y vois plus ne tour ne voye: contre la mort n'a point d'appel.	4 8

27.	<b>A l'Astròlec</b> Mestre, per lo vostre mirar al cel ne per algun sceber no podeu a morir ascapar, ne us qual cercar novell carrer. Hajau açò per cert e ver e per gran argument e soma: per Adam, qui fonc lo primer, moriu per manjar una poma.	4 8	<b>Le mort</b> Maistre, pour <i>vostre</i> regarder en hault ne <i>pour vostre</i> clergie ne poves la mort retarder: cy ne vault rien astrologie. Toute la genealogie d'Adam, qui fut le <i>premier homme</i> , mort prent, ce dit theologie: tous fault morir pour une <i>pomme</i> .	4 8
28.	<b>Respon l'estròlec</b> Per grau algú ni per sciença no pusch haver provisíó. Ja no-m val res ma sapiença, ay com és gran confusió! E per final conclusió no scé què-m faça ne m'escriva, yo pert tota discretió: qui volrà ben morir, ben viva.	4 8	<b>Le maistre</b> Pour science ne <i>pour</i> degré ne puis avoir provision, car maintenant tous mes regres sont mourir à confusion. Pour finale conclusion je ne scay rien que plus describe, je pers cy toute advision: qui voudra bien mourir, bien vive.	4 8
29. [145v]	<b>Al Burgés</b> Burgés, cuytau, sens més tardar: no teniu tresor ni riquesa qui us puixa de mort escapar. Si dels béns hon hagués largesa usàs vós bé, fés saviesa. D'altre vé tot e altre-n gusta, molt ajustar no-m par certesa, car no sap hom per qui s'ajusta.	4 8	<b>Le mort</b> Bourgeois, hastes- <i>vous</i> sans tarder: vous n'aves avoir ne richesse qui vous puisse de mort garder. Se des biens dont e[u]stes largesse [67v] aves bien usé, c'est saigesse. D'aultrui vien tout, à aultruy passe, fol est qui d'amasser se blesse: on ne scet pour qui on amasse.	4 8
30.	<b>Respon lo Burgés</b> Gran mal ma fa tant prest lezar béns temporals e nodridura. Pobres e rics tu fas lezar, mort, pus aytal és ta ventura. No-s prou sabent la creatura d'amar los béns per què tants ploren e/acquisits ab prou rancura: los qui més n'an, pus trists moren.	4 8	<b>Le bourg(ois)</b> Grant mal me fait si tost lessier rentes, maisons, cens, nourriture, mais povres, riches abaissier tu fais, mort, telle est ta nature. Saige n'est pas la creature d'amer trop les biens qui demeurent au monde <i>et</i> sont siens de droiture: ceulx qui plus ont, plus enuis meurent.	4 8
31.	<b>Al Canonge</b> Mossé-l Canonge arrendat, no pendreu distributions ne sereu ja pus engrexat per renda ni oblations. Pensau en dir orations: morir haureu. Algú se-n plora? No y valran appellations: la mort vé que no guarda l'hora.	4 8	<b>L(e mort)</b> Sire chanoyne <i>prebendés</i> , plus n'aures distribution ne gros, ne vous y attendes; prenes cy consolation. Pour toute retribution mourir <i>vous</i> convient sans demeure, ja n'y aures dilation: la mort vient qu'on ne garde l'eure.	4 8
32. [146r]	<b>Respon lo Canonge</b> Aquest parlar me fa anuig, què-m val haver tants benifets? Mon saber ja del tot me fuig. La mort no guarda leys ne drets, ..... no-m qual donar, comprar ne pendre almuces ne gentils birrets: en bé morir val més entendre.	4 8	<b>Le c(hanoine)</b> Cecy gueres ne me conforte: prebendés fus en mainte eglise, or est la mort plus que moy forte, qui tout emmaine, c'est sa guise. Blanc surplus <i>et</i> aumuce grise me faul[t] lesser <i>et</i> à mort rendre – que vault gloire si tost bas misse? à bien mourir doit chascuns t<r>endre.	4 8

33.	<b>Al Mercader</b> Mercader, girau-vos d'açà: cercat haveu del món les vies per mar, per terra, gran temps ha – no us qual fer moltes avaries. Cesseu vostres mercaderies, cuytau lo pas, no sembleu bou ni desigueu trafegueries, que tal cobeja que ha prou.	4      8	<b>Le (mort)</b> Marchant, regardes par dessa: pluseur pays aves cerchié à pié, à cheval, depiessa – vous n'en seres plus empechié. Vecy <i>vostre</i> desrain marchié: [68r] il convient que par cy passes. De tout soing seres despeschiés: tel convoite qui a asses.	4      8
34.	<b>Respon lo Mercader</b> Yo só anat amunt, avall, per adquirir béns nit e dia, tot sol, a peu e a cavall, mas ara pert tot-alegria. Ab tot mon poder, com podia, en haver era tot mon seny. Voluntat folla l'om desvia: qui molt abraça, poc astreny.	4      8	<b>Le marchand</b> J'ay esté amont <i>et</i> aval pour marchander où je povoye, par long tamps, à pié, à cheval, mais maintenant pers toute joye. De tout mon povoyr acqueroye: or ay-je asses, mort me contraint. Bon fait aler moyenne voye: qui trop embrasse, peu estraint.	4      8
35. [146v]	<b>Al Cartuxà</b> Veni, Cartuxà, sens aturar, e ja no façau resistença: rendes ne camps no us qual may comprar. Pus home sou de penitença, perdonau, hajau paciença: d'aquest món què val la glòria? Veni ballar prest, sens temença: sobre los vius mort ha victòria.	4      8	<b>Le mort</b> Ales, marchant, sans plus rester, ne faites ja cy resistance: vous n'y poves rien conquerer. Vous aussi, <i>homme</i> d'astinence, cha[r]treux, prenes en paciense: de plus vivre n'ayes memore. Faittes-vous valoir à la dance: sur tout <i>homme</i> [mort] a victoire.	4      8
36.	<b>Respon lo Cartuxà</b> Yo só al món gran temps ha mort, e de viure no-m pren enveja, ab tot que-m sia desconort, quant veig la mort qu-axí-ns bandeja. Placi a Déu l'ànima, veja lo fill de Déu prés mon <i>tranz</i> spas. Açò m'és cert e yo ben creya: tal hic és vuy, demà no pas.	4      8	<b>Le chartreus</b> Je suis au monde piessa mort, par quoy de vivre ay moins envie, ja soit que tout <i>homme</i> craint mort. Puis que la char est assouvy, plaise à Dieu que l'ame ravie soit es cielx apres mon trespas. C'est tout neant <i>qu'est</i> de ceste vie: tel est hui que demain n'est pas.	4      8
37.	<b>Al porter</b> Gentil porter ab la gran maça, a mi semble que us rebel-lau. No us valrà vostra<s> grimàça; ab mi veniu, no fugiau. Aquesta Dança gens no us plau – lo viure va sent que us engana. Yo faç lo fort tornar suau: lo meu poder los vius aplanà.	4      8	<b>La mort</b> Sergant qui portes celle mace, il semble que <i>vous</i> rebelles. Pour neant faites la grimace; se on vous griesve, si appelle! Vous estes de mort appellés: qui lui rebelle, il se decoit. [68v] Le plus fors sont tost ravalés: il n'est fort qu'aussi fort ne soit.	4      8
38. [147r]	<b>Respon lo porter</b> Yo só del rey official, e tu, mort, vols me destruir! Bé-m semble joc descominal: yo feya mon offici hir, e veig que, sense més a dir, en dues parts sent que-m tens pres. No pusc scapar ne fugir – anujós mor qui no-u ha pres.	4      8	<b>Le ser(gant)</b> Moy qui sui royal officer, <i>comment</i> m'ose la mort frapper? Je faisoye mon office hier, et elle me vient huy happer. Je ne scey quel part eschapper: je suis prins deca <i>et</i> dela. Maugré moy me lesse attrapper – enuis meurt qui aprins ne l'a.	4      8

39.	<b>Al Monjo</b> En Monjo, ab mi dançareu, e sol no penseu en deffendre. Pus savi sou, no us aspanteu, mas ben morir vullau apendre. 4 E no us qual ja d'uy més contendre, car tost haureu la boca closa. Lexau lo donar e lo pendre: la vida d'hom és poca cosa. 8	<b>La m(ort)</b> Ha, maistre, par là passeres, n'ayez ja soing de vous deffendre: plus <i>homme</i> n'espoventeres. Après, moyne, sans plus attendre! 4 Où pensez-vous? Ci fault entendre: tantost aures la bouche close. <i>Homme</i> n'est fors que vent <i>et</i> cendre: vie d' <i>omme</i> est moult peu de chose. 8
40.	<b>Respon lo Monjo</b> Plaguere-m més ésser encara en claustre, fent a Déu servici, alegremment, ab bona cara, matines dir e l'altr-offici. 4 Ara-m conec per foll e nici, perquè volguí seguir l'usança dels mals vivents, cometent vici: may pensí ballar en tal dança. 8	<b>Le (moyne)</b> J'amasse mieulx encore estre en cloistre <i>et</i> faire mon service: c'est ungi lieu devot <i>et</i> bel estre. Or ay-je, <i>comme</i> fol et nice, 4 ou temps passé <i>commis</i> maint vice, de quoy n'ay pas fait penitance souffisant – Dieu me soit <i>propice</i> : chascuns n'est pas joyeux qui dance. 8
41. [147v]	<b>A l'Usurer</b> Usurer, home viciós, veniu ab mi (crec que no us plau)! D'usurar sou tan cobejós, per guanyar diners tot cremau. 4 Sereu punit, açò cregau; a Déu, qui és omnipotent, qu-ell vos perdó tots jorns pregau: qui mal no fa no sent torment. 8	<b>La (mort)</b> Usurier de sens desreuglé, venes tost <i>et</i> me regardes! D'usure estes tant aveuglé que d'argent gaignier tout ardes; 4 mais vous en seres bien lardés, car se Dieu, qui est merveilleux, n'a pitié de vous, tout perdes: [69r] à tout perdre est cop perilleux. 8
42.	<b>Respon lo Usurer</b> Doncs axí-m covendrà morir – açò m'és anuix e tristesa, e no-m poria subvenir mon or, mon argent e riquesa; mas yo veig la mort tan encesa envers mi que ja-m té dessota: ..... tal ha bells ulls que no y veu gotta. 8	<b>L'usurier</b> Me convient-il si tout mourir? Ce m' <i>est</i> grant painne <i>et</i> grant grevance, et ne me porroict secourir mon or, mon argent, ma chevance. 4 Je vois morir, la mort m'avance, mais il m'en desplait, <i>somme</i> toute. Qu'est-ce de mal acoustumance? Tel a bieulx yeulx qui ne voit goutte. 8
43.	<b>Parla la mort més avant contra lo Usurer</b> Usura és molt gran peccat, segons lo dret diu e recompte. Aquest hom és axí torbat que de morir ja no té compte. 4 Ell mateix l'argent ab mà compte e tots jorns a usura presta; comptant, comptant, ell se bescompte: no-s prou quiti qui deu de resta. 8	<b>Le povre</b> Usure est tant mauvais pechié, <i>comme</i> chascuns dit <i>et</i> raconte; et cest <i>homme</i> qui approchié se sent de la mort n'en tient compte. 4 ..... Encor à usure me preste. Il devra de retour au compte: n'est pas quitte qui doit de reste. 8
44.	<b>Al Metge</b> Mirau, metge, vostra orina, [148r] vejau si y fa res esmenar. Gran mestre sou en medicina e ben sabent per commendar. 4 Ara us vé la mort damanar, e no penseu que viure us leix, e no y vullau més contrastar: molt fa qui si mateix goreix. 8	<b>La mort</b> Medecin, à tout vostre urine vees vous ycy quamentrer? Jadis sceustes de medicine asses pour pover <i>commander</i> . 4 Or vous vient la mort demander: <i>comme</i> autres, vous <i>convient</i> morir. Vous n'y poverz contremander: bon mire est qui se sctet garir. 8

45.	<b>Respon lo Metge</b> Gran temps ha qu'en malalts gorir – sab Déu! – mon studi metí. Per art praticant fiu fugir la mort d'aquells e departí. Ara no scé com ne a qui m'acost per què-m faça valença: en morir jamés no pensí; a la mort no y val resisença.	4 8	<b>Le medecin</b> Longc temps a qu'en l'art de phizique j'ay mis toute mon estudie, j'avoye science <i>et</i> pratique pour garir maint maladie. Je ne scey que je contredie; plus n'y vault herbe ne racine n'autre remede, quoy qu'on die: contre la mort n'a medicine.	4 8
46.	<b>A l' enamorat</b> Jove gentil e graciós qui us estimau de gran valor! Veni prop mi, ballem abdos; lo món lexareu ab dolor. Argent, vestits ne lo thesor no us valran aquesta jornada. Vós no y pensàs e fés follor: jovent no ha molta durada.	4 8	[69v] <b>La m(ort)</b> Jentil amoureux, jeune <i>et</i> frique, qui vous cuidies de grant valeur! Vous estes prins, la mort vous pique; le monde laires à douleur. Trop l'aves amé – c'est foleur – et à mourir peu regardé; ja tost vous changeres couleur: beauté n'est qu' image fardé.	4 8
47.	<b>Respon lo enamorat</b> O llas, mesquí, socors no trobaré qui-m puixa de la mort lunyar! [148v] O trist de mi, per qual camí iré? Ja no-m calrà més festejar dones ni ab ellas dançar. O bé m'engana lo jovent (pensí devia molt durar): petita pluja bat gran vent.	4 8	<b>L'am(oureux)</b> Helas, or n'y a-il secours contre la mort – adieu amourettes! Moult tost va jonesse à decours – adieu chappeaus, bouques, flourettes! Adieu amans <i>et</i> pucelletes, souviengne- <i>vous</i> de moy souvent et vous mires, se sages estes: petite pluye abat <i>grant</i> vent.	4 8
48.	<b>A l'Advocat</b> Advocat, sens fer gran procès, veniu, no vullau fer contrast! Les gents per haver molts diners fés pledejar ab dans e guast, mas ara mudareu de past e sereu dins la terra mès. No manjareu perdius en ast – açò-s ben cert, vós bé-u sabés.	4 8	<b>La m(ort)</b> Avocat, sans longc proces faire venes <i>vostra</i> cause plaïdier! Bien aves sceu les gens attraire de piessa, non pas d'uy ne d'ier. <i>Conseil</i> ne vous peut cy aydier: au grant juge vous fault venir. Savoir se devez sans cuidier: bon fait fait justice prevenir.	4 8
49.	<b>Respon lo Advocat</b> Bé m'és forçat, mès no pusc fer ne sol pensar en fer defença. Jaquir la mort no tenc voler algú – o trista departença! Hon és mon saber e sciença? Bé-s foll qui ab temps no-s preveu. Déu en lo jorn de la venjança a bons e mals darà just preu.	4 8	<b>L'ad(vocat)</b> C'est bien droit que raison se face – je n'y scey mettre deffence: contre mort n'a respit ne grace, nul n'appelle de sa sentence. J'ay eu de l'autruy – quant je y pense – de quoy je doubtte estre repris. À craindre est le jour de vengeance: Dieu rendra tout à juste pris.	4 8
50.	<b>Al Ministrer</b> Ministrer qui dançes e notes, graciós, ab bell continent per alegrar les dones totes, [149r] veniu dançar molt prestament! E no us sia gens desplasent – dançau, feu bella continença; no us prenga de mi aspavent: mestre monstrar deu de sa sciença.	4 8	[70r] <b>La mort</b> Menestrel qui dances et nottes saves <i>et</i> aves beau maintien pour faire esjoir sots <i>et</i> sottiez, qu'en dittes vous? Alons-nous bien? Monstrer vous fault, puis que <i>vous</i> tien, aux aultres cy ung tour de dance. Le contredire n'y vault rien: maistre doit monstrer sa science.	4 8

50.8 monstrar] monstrau.

51.	<b>Respon lo Ministrer</b> De tal dançar yo no tenc cura, ans com forçat me n'entremet, car morir és cosa molt dura. Mon estrument vos do e us ret: cançó ne dança ne motet per algun temps no cantaré. Ab tu me'n vaig tot camí dret: tal dança qui al cor no u tè.	4 8	<b>Le menestrel</b> De dancer ainsi n'eusse cure – certes, tres enuis je m'en mesle, car de mort n'est peine plus dure. J'ay mis soulxs le banc ma vielle: plus ne corneray sauterelle n'autre dance, mort m'en retient. Il me fault obeir à elle: tel dance à qui au cuer n'en tient.	4 8
52.	<b>Al Curat</b> Passau, curat, sens més pensar! Yo sent que us sou als béns donat: morts e vius soliau manjar, mas vós sereu als vèrmens lançat. Vós fós pel Bisbe ordenat al poble per bon exemplari – del ben fer sereu gordanat, car tot treball requer salari.	4 8	<b>Le mort</b> Passes, curé, sans plus songier! Je sens qu'estes abandonné: le vif, le mort soulies mengier, mais vous seres aux vers donné. ..... mirouer d'aultrui <i>et</i> examplaire – de voz fais seres geurdonné: à toute peine est deu salaire.	4 8
	52.7 gordanat] gordattat.			
53.	<b>Respon lo Curat</b> Forçat só que-m covendrà retre, vençut só yo i pert la batalla. Haver offertes entremette no-m qual ne pendre funerala. O llas! En aquesta gran batalla hauré venir, pus só citat. L'hom qui no deu diner ne malla és quiti, beneventurat.	4 8	<b>Le curé</b> Veulie ou non, il fault que me rende: il n'est homme <i>que</i> mort n'assaille. Hee, de mes parroissiens offrende n'auray james ne funeraile; devant le juge fault que je aille rendre compte – las, douloureux! Or ay grant paor que ne faille: qui Dieu quitte bien est eureux.	4 8
54.	<b>Al Cavador</b> Pagès qu-ab gran treball e pena tot vostre temps haveu viscut! Forment, molt ordi, mil, avena abundantment haveu hagut. Lo vostre temps és ja vengut – morir haureu, no sou desliure, e sereu més dins un loc brut: foll és qui cuyda tots temps viure.	4 8	<b>Le mort</b> Laboureur qui en soing et peine aves vescu tout <i>vostre</i> temps! Mourir vous fault, c'est chose certaine; reculer n'y vault ne contens. ..... Car de grant soucy vous delivre – approchies-vous, je vous attens: fol est qui cuide tousjours vivre.	4 8
55.	<b>Respon lo Cavador</b> La mort gran temps he desijada, mas volenters li fugiria. Ma vida trista, trabellada m'à procurat molts mals ab ira. Mon seny e saber se regira, com pens que mon <i>procés</i> és clos en totes parts. Qui bé y remira: dejús lo cell no y ha repòs.	4 8	<b>Le la(boureur)</b> La mort ay souhaitié souvent, mais volentier je la fousse: j'aimasse mieulx – fist pluye ou vent – estre en vignes où je fousse. Encor plus grant plaisir y prissee, car je pers de peur tous propos. Or n'est-il qui de ce pas ysse: au monde n'a point de repos.	4 8
56.	<b>Al frare menor</b> Cuytau lo pas, sens més acort, frare menor, e no tardeu. Vós sovent preicàs la mort, dient: cascù membrar-se-n deu. Sens rebel·lar, descalç, a peu, veniu sens fer altra requesta, <i>et</i> en açò no contrasteu: en cascun temps la mort és presta.	4 8	<b>La (mort)</b> Faites voye, vous aves tort, laboureur. Apres, cordellier! Souvent aves <i>preschié</i> de mort – si vous devez moins <i>merveillier</i> . Ja ne s'en fault esmoy baillier: il n'est si fort que mort n'arreste. Si fait bon à mourir vieillier: à toute heure la mort est preste.	4 8

57.	<b>Respon lo frare menor</b> Què us par del viure d'aquest món ple de tots mals? No y trob repòs: tot quant hic veig, vanitats són. Quan no y pensam, la mort al dòs tenim, qui-ns dóna un tal mos que, sens dir, a la fossa-ns mena. Ay las! E com és enujós morir aquell qui no s'esmena!	4 8	<b>Le c(ordellier)</b> Qu'est-ce que de vivre en ce monde? Nul homme à secureté n'y demeure, toute vanité y abonde, puis vient la mort qu'à tous cour seure. Mendicité point ne m'asseur: des mesfais fault payer l'amende. En petite heure Dieu labeure – saige est le pecheur qui s'amende.	4 8
58.	<b>A l'Infant</b> Petit Infant qu-ara sou nat, al món haureu poc de delit: a la dança sereu manat, lo vostre viure és complit. No y prengau anuig ne despit: axí s'à fer, no y qual més dir. Per Déu és axí conduït: qui més viu, més ha sofferir.	4 8	<b>La (mort)</b> Petit enfant nagueres né, au monde auras peu de plaisance:  71r  à la dance seras mené, comme ault[r]es, car mort a puissance sur tous. Du jour de la naissance convient chascuns à mort offrir; fol est qui n'en a congnoissance: qui plus vit, plus a à souffrir.	4 8
59.	<b>Respon l'Infant</b> A, a, a, no sé parlar:  150v  infan só, tenc la lengua muda. Hir nasquí, vuy me-n vols menar – axí com és trista ma venguda. Per por suu, ma color se muda; no y fallí<t>, per què-m meravell. La voluntat de Déu no-s muda: e mor l'infant, e mor lo vell.	4 8	<b>L'enfant</b> A, a, a, je ne scey parlar: enfant suis, j'ay la langue mue. Hier nasquis, hui m'en fault aler – je ne fais qu'entree & issue. Rien n'ay mesfait, mais de peur sue; pre[n]dre en gré me fault, c'est le mieulx. L'ordonnance Dieu ne se mue: aussi tost meurt jeusne que vieulx.	4 8
			59.4 entrée] entrer	
60.	<b>Al Scholà</b> Cuydau de morir ésser luny, clerch aspantat, per recular? Mirau detràs, vejau qui us puny: ja no us qual molt ambarrassar. Molt prest (no cuydeu retardar) bé-n morir metteu vostra pensa, e no us hi qual més contrastar: poc resta d'açò que foll pensa.	4 8	<b>La mort</b> Cuides-vous de mort eschapper, cler[c] esperdu, pour reculer? Il ne s'en fault ja deffriper: tel cuide souvent hault aler q'on voit à cop tost ravalier. Prenes en gré, alons ensemble, car rien n'y vault le rebeller: Dieu punit tout quazt bon lui semble.	4 8
61.	<b>Respon lo Scholà</b> Yo, qui tots jorns je trabellat, en fer serveys prenguí plaer; per cuydar ésser avençat morir tant prest yo-m desesper. Ni gran estat, ni molt haver, ne de gentil sceber lo grau – no y val enginy, art ni poder: porta-se-n Déu ço que li plau.	4 8	<b>Le clerc</b> Fault-il que jeusne clerc servant, qui en service prent plesir, pour cuidier venir en avant meure si tost? C'est desplaisir. Je suis quitté de plus choisir aultre estat: il fault qu'ansi dance. La mort m'a pris à son plaisir: moult remaind de ce que fol pense.	4 8
62.	<b>A l'Hermità</b> Veni ballar vós, hermità!  151r  Lexau lo bosch, prest levau sus; sens triga donau-ma la mà: estar en l'erm no cuydeu pus. Entrar en la fossa dejús sereu forçat: aquest viatge clergue ni lech no se n'escús – vida no-s segur heretatge.	4 8	<b>La mort</b> Clerc, point ne fault faire refus de danser – faites-vous valoir!  71v  Vous n'estes pas seul – levez sus! – pourtant moins vous en doit chaloir. Venes apres, c'est mon vouloir, homme nourry en hermitage! Ja ne vous en convient douloir: vie n'est pas seur heritage.	4 8

63.	<p><b>Respon lo Ermità</b>  Algú per molt estar en l'erm  no-s excusat que mort no senta.  Ara crech que no y ha res ferm,  pus a Déu plau, a mi contenta:  supplic-lo qu-el foc qui tormenta  los mals vivents no y sia mès,  ne-l vil Satan no-m dón empenta;  qui no-s contenta no ha res.</p>	<p><b>L'erm(ite)</b>  Pour vie dure ou solitaire  mort ne <i>dozne</i> de vivre espace.  Chascuns le voit, si s'en faul[t] taire;  or requier Dieu q'un don me face:  c'est que <i>toz</i> mes pechiés efface.  Bien suis contens de tous ses biens  desquelz j'ay usé de sa grace:  qui n'a souffissance, il n'a riens.</p>	<p>4</p> <p>8</p>	<p>4</p> <p>8</p>
64.	<p><b>A la Donzella</b>  Venir ab mi, gentil donzella,  haveu; ballar no us sia greu.  Però trossau-vos la gonella  que no us embarc, moveu lo peu!  Del viure va tost davant Déu  haureu donar prestament compte:  d'aquest dançar – vós bé u sabeu –  no-s excusat rey, duc ne comte.</p>	<p>4</p> <p>8</p>		
65.	<p><b>Respon la Donzella</b>  Trista de mi, e què faré,  [151v] qui no só gens acostumada?  Ni lo compàs ni passos sé,  ne-m plau gens la vostra sonada.  Yo-m pensí que fos maturada  en aquest món pus largament,  e tu, mort, veig que m'has citada:  albarà tenc d'espaxament.</p>	<p>4</p> <p>8</p>		
66.	<p><b>A la Monge</b>  Lo viure va, molt curiós  haveu mudar e la ligaça:  Senyora Monge, veniu vós  de grat ballar en esta plaça!  A tota gent la mia maça  fa tremblar, no y ha remey;  a pocs e grans tots jorns dón caça –  aquesta-s la mia gran ley.</p>	<p>4</p> <p>8</p>		
67.	<p><b>Respon la Monge</b>  Jesús beneyt! Què-s ço que dius,  o mort cruel, desagradable?  Sens donar temps, tan curt m'escrivi –  ay quant és greu e detestable  lexar un loc tan delitable,  hon cuydava molt envellir!  [152r] Ara dic qu-és cosa loable  qui pensa sovint bé morir.</p>	<p>4</p> <p>8</p>		
68.	<p><b>A la viuda</b>  Madona, vós del front cubert,  que viuda sou nomenada!  Ballar ab mi crec bé us és cert.  Vós no sou en res ocupada,  e de dançar acostumada  crech no siau molt de temps ha –  veniu molt prest pendre posada:  tot hom qui viu ab mi venrà.</p>	<p>4</p> <p>8</p>		

69. **Respon la viuda**  
 No-m pens que-m sia gens honest  
 ballar a ma conditió,  
 si-n só forçada; jo y protest,  
 no-m plau, ne y tenc devotió. 4  
 Mes tal és ta intentió,  
 mort dura, vil, descominal;  
 no passes de res passió,  
 per tot loc talla ta destral. 8
70. **A la maridada**  
 Lo jaure calt ab lo marit  
 vos féu oblidar lo morir –  
 pensau-hi, no us sia despit.  
 Lexau los fills, cuytau venir 4  
 [152v] en aquest ball, sens contradir,  
 hon ballareu molt gentilmen,  
 e no us vullau enfellonir:  
 tal balle que no-s prou content. 8
71. **Respon la maridada**  
 Doncs lo marit, fills e parents  
 hauré lexar, los quals tant am.  
 Ay lassa, greus departiments  
 ab tu ballar! May no-m pres fam. 4  
 Bé-m fas de lana bon estam,  
 o mort cruel e fastijosa!  
 No sé trobar a qui ma'n clam:  
 a tot lo món est odiosa. 8
72. **Al notari**  
 Lexau, notari, prest l'escruiure  
 e no cureu més ordenar!  
 Pensau açí per tots temps viure?  
 Disposeu-vos ab mi dançar. 4  
 Posau apart lo cartajar  
 e legir libres e contractes;  
 de morir no us qual appellar:  
 yo só tal que no serve pactes. 8
73. **Respon lo notari**  
 Bé veig que molta senyoria,  
 mort, tens e gran auctoritat;  
 [153r] No-m par que-m faces cortesia,  
 car sens dar temps m'as damanat. 4  
 O trist de mi, desconsolat,  
 e què faré, pus axí-m vols?  
 Algun tant visc aconortat,  
 pus al dançar no vaig tot sols. 8
74. **Conclusió**  
 Açò-s ben dit, e molt, que-m plau;  
 pus conexeu, sens més scriuire,  
 que l'argulós e lo suau  
 per res no-s de mort desliure. 4  
 Doncs pens-açí molt bé viure,  
 que de bon fet no leu la mà,  
 e porà entre los sancts riure  
 l'hom qui vuy no sab demà. 8
64. **Le m(ort)**  
 C'est bien dit, ainsi doit-on dire:  
 il n'est qui soit de mort delivre.  
 Qui mal vit, il aura du pire –  
 si pense chascuns de bien vivre. 4  
 Dieu pesera tout à la livre –  
 bon y fait penser soir et main,  
 melieur science n'a en livre:  
 il n'est qui ait point de demain. 8

75.	<p><b>Aquestes paraules diu un Rey <i>que</i> jau dins una tomba o moniment</b></p> <p>Vosaltres qui la present dança mirau, ab tota aquesta gent, avertiu, vejau ma semblança: yo fuy gran Rey e molt potent; ara só dins lo moniment, hon ten podrits tots mos costats – no seran sabens ni grossers que no sien als vèrmens lansats.</p>	4 8	65. <b>Ung roy mort tout nu couchié en(vers)</b>	<p>Vous qui en ceste pourtraiture vees danser estas divers, penses qu'est <i>humaine</i> nature: ce n'est fors viande à vers. Je le monstre, qui gis envers: si ay-je esté roy couronnés – telz serez vous, bons <i>et</i> pervers: tous estas sont aux vers donnés.</p>	4 8
76.	<p>[153v] Què d'aquest món (qui y vol pensar)? Moment e cosa transitòria. Quescú bé u pot ací mirar, en lo present ball o història. Hajau-la sovent en memòria, car de ben viure us amonesta: si bé vivim, irem en glòria, beneyt és qui-n lo cel fa festa.</p>	4 8	66. <b>Ung maistre <i>qui</i> est au bout de la d(anse)</b>	<p>[72r] Rien n'est d'<i>omme</i>, qui bien y pense: c'est tout vent, chose transitoire. Chascuns le voit par ceste dance, pour ce vous qui vees l'istoire, retenes-la bien en memore, car <i>homme</i> et fame elle admoneste d'avoir de paradis la gloire: eueux est qui es cieulx fait feste.</p>	4 8
77.	<p>Mas són alguns <i>que</i> may se'n curen ne creen ésser paradís – estar en infern se <i>procuren</i>, loc d'orror ple de mal e divis. Vullau fer molt bé – d'açò us avis – prest esmenar tots vostres torts: conseguireu solaç e ris, lo fer bo val als vius e morts.</p>	4 8	67. <b>Mais aucuns sont à qui n'en chault, <i>comme</i> s'il ne fust paradis n'enfer. Helas, il auront chault!</b>	<p>Les livres que firent jadis les sains le monstrent en beaux dis. Acquittes-<i>vous</i> qui cy passes et faites du bien, plus n'en dis: bien fait vault moult aux trespassés.</p>	4 8
I	<p>Dicite vos coream <i>cuncti qui</i> cernitis istam quantum prosizt honor, gaudia, divitie, tales estis enim matura morte finiri, qualis in effigie matura turba vocat.</p>	2 4 6	<p>{P contains this text in lines I.3-I.6 at the very beginning of the poem. For the reader's convenience, these lines are repeated below. The original division into lines is maintained, whereas the slashes indicate the end of a line in B:</p> <p>Discite vos choream / <i>cunctis qui</i> cernitis istam, quantum prosit honor. / gaudia, divicie. Tales estis enim matura morte futuri qualis in effigie / mortua turba vocat}</p>		
<p>Aquesta Dança de la Mort ha <i>compost</i> un <i>sanct</i> home, doctor e canceller de Paris, en lengua francesa, appellat Joannes Climachus sive Climages, a pregàries de alguns devots religioses francesos. Aprés és stada traduïda en lengua catalana. En la fi de la qual ha posat lo dit doctor lo Epigramma qui-s segueix.</p>					
II	<p>[154r] <b>Epigramma de felicitate et infelicitate hominis</b></p> <p>Mortales Dominus <i>cunctos in</i> luce creavit, ut capiant meritis gaudia <i>summa</i> poli. Felix ille <i>quidem</i> qui mentem jugiter illuc dirigit atque vigil noxia <i>queque</i> cavet. Nec <i>tamen</i> infelix sceleris <i>quem</i> penitet acti quique suum facinus <i>plangere</i> sepe solet. Sed vivunt homines, <i>tanquam</i> mors nulla sequatur,</p>	4	Versus magistrales	<p>Mortales <i>Domínus</i> cunctos in luce creavit, ut capiant <i>meritis</i> gaudia <i>summa</i> poli. Felix ille <i>quidem</i> qui mentem jugiter illuc dirigit atque vigil noxia <i>queque</i> cavet. Nec <i>tamen</i> infelix sceleris <i>quem</i> <i>penitet</i> acti quique suum facinus <i>plangere</i> sepe solet. Sed vivunt homines, <i>tanquam</i> mors nulla sequatur,</p>	4

<p>et velut infernus fabula vana foret.          Cum doceat sensus viventes morte resolvi,          atque herebi penas pagina sacra probet,          quas qui non metuit, infelix prorsus et amens          vivit et extinctus sentiet ille rogum.          Sic igitur cuncti sapienter vivere certent,          ut nichil inferni sit metuenda palus.</p>	<p>8     12</p>	<p>et velut infernus fabula vana foret.          Cum doceat sensus viventes morte resolvi,          atque herebi penas pagina sacra probet,          quas qui non metuit, infelix prorsus et amens          vivit et extinctus sentiet ille rogum.          Sic igitur cuncti mortales vivere certent,          ut nichil inferni sit metuenda palus.</p>	<p>8     12</p>
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Explicit la Dance Macabre.

II.8 infernus] internus

### 3.3 Editorial notes

#### 3.3.1 Catalan text

[1.2] *Terrenal* ‘earthly’: all the extant witnesses of the French *Danse macabre* contain *eternelle*. The substitution of ‘eternal’ by ‘earthly’ is likely to be explained on a metrical basis: the Catalan form *eterna* is paroxytone, which makes it more difficult for a translator to maintain it in the given context without significantly modifying the syntactic structure of the whole stanza. Thus, the translator opts for a phonetically similar but oxytone form, even though this results in the opposite meaning.

[2.1-2.2] As follows from the proposed translation, these two lines can be interpreted in the following way: ‘Everyone can read in such a mirror, since we all have to dance here’. Nevertheless, the syntax of this sentence, along with paleographical evidence, suggests a high probability that the form *pus* (‘more’ or ‘because, since’, see *DCVB* s.v.) is an error for *que* ‘that’: the two forms are written very similarly, and a subordinate completive clause introduced by the conjunction *que* is more preferable than a causative subordinate, considering that an intransitive use of the verb *legir* ‘to read’ is rather odd in this context.

[2.5-2.7] This text fragment seems somewhat disconnected. However, if we suppose that line 2.6 is a parenthesis, lines 2.5. and 2.7 become semantically and syntactically connected.

[2.6] In the manuscript, *guart* is preceded by *part*, a word cancelled by Carbonell.

[3.8] **B** Mestres (capital M).

[4.1-4.7] This stanza contains only seven lines instead of eight, and metrical evidence shows that the lacking line is the final one. As the text of the stanza is semantically and syntactically acceptable and complete, it is impossible to establish if the responsibility for this reduction belongs to the Catalan translator, to the manuscript tradition that produced the French exemplar he used, or to the Catalan manuscript tradition (Carbonell or a copyist of some earlier version).

[6.1] **B** Senyor (capital S).

[6.6] **B** Senyoria (capital S).

[6.8] This line was probably produced by an unsuccessful attempt to create a hypothetical period. If so, it would have been: *Honor val[dria] molt, si no-s perdia* ‘Honour would be worth much, if it did not vanish’. However, our translator opts for a syntactically rougher but metrically perfect variant, which we can interpret as ‘Honour is worth much... I wish it did not vanish!’

[11.3] Carbonell writes *haureu* (the first word of the following line) in the end of this line, after *renunciar*). However, he notices the repetition and cancels the first *haureu*.

[11.6] *Capa de grana* ‘cape dyed with madder’, i.e. a bright red cape.

[12.6] *Gran stat*: metrical and prosodic evidence makes it likely that this should be read as *gran*

[e]stat.

[14.2] **B** Castells (capital C).

[14.4] **B** Ciutats (capital C).

[15.2] *Senyor* 'lord': the structural logic of the French *Danse macabre* presupposes a precise term denoting the character's social rank at this point. Indeed, a more faithful and precise translation would have been *Archabisbe* 'Archbishop', like in the rubric preceding the stanza: it is likely that the translator found some metrical difficulty in maintaining *Archabisbe* in the main text. It is interesting that the word *Senyor* is written with an initial capital letter, as it indicates that the manuscript tradition – and probably the author himself – is sensitive to the 'rule' of naming each character in Death's stanzas.

[16.1] At the height of the first line of the Archbishop's stanza, the right margin of the page is annotated with a small pointing hand drawn by Carbonell. The same sign will appear in some other pages containing the *Dança de la Mort*, namely in stanzas 23 (the Abbot), 29 (Death to the Bourgeois), 30 (the Bourgeois), 42 (the Usurer), 43 (Death against the Usurer), 46 (Death to the Lover), 53 (the Parish Priest), 54 (Death to the Ploughman), 57 (the Franciscan Fryar), 59 (the Child), 62 (the Hermit), 67 (the Nun).

[17.1] **B** Barons (capital B).

[17.2] *Sou stat*: most probably, this was supposed to be read as *sou [e]stat* (also *v. supra* n. 12.6).

[18.4] **B** Senyors (capital S).

[18.5] **B** Ciutadans (capital C).

[19.2] This line lacks two syllables expected by the metre. We cannot establish with certainty if such metrical irregularity is an error to be attributed to the translator, to Carbonell or to a copyist of some previous version of our poem. However, it is possible that the original Catalan text contained *dels bens [del món] e de natura* (**P** has *des biens du monde et de nature*).

[19.5] *Vostra fet*: grammatically, the feminine form *vostra* is not acceptable with a masculine noun *fet*. It seems plausible that *vostra* was used instead of *vostre* as a result of confusion between /a/ and /e/, due to the non-distinction between these two phonemes in atonic positions. This feature is typical of the eastern varieties of Catalan, and it is widely attested in our manuscript: the most demonstrative example is probably the couple *A l'Astrolec – l'estrolec* in the rubrics preceding stanzas 27 and 28, and other cases of this non-distinction can be found in the same stanza 19: *corra* for *corre* 19.5, *monte* for *monta* 19.8. Also *v. infra* n. 27.3.

In addition, in the present context, the confusion seems to have been reinforced by the presence of *vostra* in the previous line (*vostra prelatura* 19.4).

[19.6] **B** Subdits (capital S).

[20.8] The integration *l'alt/re* is semantically necessary, as the lection *lare* is not interpretable.

[21.1] The word *gentilhom* is a semantic generalisation of a more specific French *escuier* 'a young man who attends a knight before eventually becoming a knight himself'. It is curious that our translator used a more generic word instead of *escuder*.

[21.2] **B** Dançar (capital D).

[24.5] Carbonell marks this line with his usual sign of a hand in the margin (*v. supra* n. 16.1), this time accompanied by the letters *NO* surmounted by a tilde.

[27] *A l'Astrolec*: the rubrics refer to an astrologer, whereas in the main text we find *mestre*, which perfectly corresponds to the *maistre* of all the French versions containing this stanza. As for the rubrics, the French manuscript and printed tradition oscillates between *le maistre* (**P**, MS BnF fr. 25550), *l'astrologien* (MS BnF fr. 14989, MS BnF fr. 1186, MS BnF NAF 10032, MS Brit. Lib. Add 38858, MS Tours 907, MS Saint-Omer 127) or *Astrologus* (MS BnF fr. 1055) and a *lectio singularis le docteur* in MS BnF fr. 25434. It is curious that MS BnF fr. 1181 contains *le maistre astrologien*,

thus putting together the two main variants mentioned above, and Marchant replaces *le maistre* in his first edition (1485) with *l'astrologien* in the second (1486). I explain this fluctuating situation with the following conjecture: the *Danse macabre* mural did not contain any rubrics introducing characters, since they were depicted and, consequently, easily identifiable; as for the manuscripts, most of them contain no images, which caused the addition of the rubrics for greater clarity.<sup>34</sup> For most characters, the copyists had little doubts when determining which term should be used: they had available such elements as the content of the stanza and the words denoting the social rank in Death's stanzas (v. *supra* 3.1.1.1); besides, at least some of them could see or have seen the Parisian mural. In the case of the Astrologer's stanza, these different sources of information come into conflict: Death names the character *maistre*, but the content of the stanza clearly refers to astrology. If my hypothesis is right, the shift between the two lections is to be explained polygenetically and not in genealogical, or stemmatic, terms; and this is probably also the reason why the Catalan translation has *l'Astrolec* in the rubrics and *mestre* in the main text.

The oscillation, in the French manuscript and printed tradition, between the readings *acteur* ('master', 'teacher' or 'authority'), *maistre*, *docteur* / *Doctor* and *Macabre* (used as a proper name) which takes place in the introductory stanzas, seems to be due to the same reason, i.e. to the passage of the *Danse macabre* poem from the mural to books, from a hybrid verbal and pictorial form to a prevalently verbal one.<sup>35</sup>

[27.3] *Ascapar*: the first letter is actually an *e* corrected to an *a*, which illustrates the oscillation between *e* and *a* in atonic positions, typical of our manuscript (v. *supra* n. 19.5).

[29.7] The line is marked in the same manner as line 24.5.

[30.3] *Lexar* 'to leave, to abandon': probably a copying error for *bexar* 'to fall, to go down': **P** has *abaisser*; moreover, the intransitive use of *lexar* is very odd. This likely substitution is possibly due to the presence of *lexar* two lines above.

[30.5] The line is marked solely by a drawing of a hand, like line 16.1.

[30.8] *Trists* is likely to be read as *trist[os]*, which makes the line, otherwise lacking a syllable, metrically perfect.

[35.3] The line contains one syllable too many. As our manuscript is the only one extant, it is quite impossible to establish if this hypermetry was generated by the translator himself or by a copying error.

[35.6] The line lacks one syllable. Again, like in line 35.3, we cannot establish if such hypometry is due to a defect of the translation or to a copying error.

[38.1] **B** Rey Official (capitals R and O).

[38.4] **B** Offici (capital O).

[38.7] *No pusc scapar*: metrical and prosodic structure suggests that we should read this phrase as *no pusc [e]scapar* (also v. *supra* nn. 12.6, 17.2).

[41.7] *Qu-ell vos perdó*: this is a fixed expression where the subjunctive form of the verb *perdonar* looks like *perdó* (*Déu me perdó*, *Déu lo perdó*, etc.). See *DCVB* s.v. *perdonar*.

[42.8] The line is marked by a hand without letters, like line 16.1.

[43] The rubric assigns this stanza to Death, which is interesting, given that the great majority of French manuscripts and printed editions of the *Danse macabre* agree in attributing it to a poor man or to a borrower.<sup>36</sup> That indicates that the Parisian mural was also likely to represent a poor

34. This characteristic of the manuscript and printed tradition of the French *Danse macabre* is briefly discussed in Wijsman 2005, 141-142.

35. For the distribution of these variants between different versions, v. *supra* 2.2 and fn. 20.

36. A poor man: *le povre P*, BnF fr. 25550 and *le povre homme* in both Marchant's editions; a borrower: *le bon*

man discoursing about the usurer. The only witness that opts for *la mort* is MS BnF NAF 10032. This *lectio singularis* seems to have the following explanation: for some reason, the rubric preceding this stanza disappeared at some point in the chain of transmission, and the copyist who decided to restore the rubric did not have in mind the mural of the Cemetery of the Innocents – he might have never seen it or he might have forgotten it. The same thing must have happened in the manuscript family that produced the copy to which our Catalan translator had access. I find it unlikely that it was the translator himself who transformed a poor man into Death, as this would be the only case of such a remarkable change in the rubrics.

[43.8] As 16.1.

[45.2] *Mon studi*: most likely to be pronounced as *mon [e]studi* (also *v. supra* nn. 12.6, 17.2, 38.7).

[46] *Ne lo thesor*: **B** also contains a cancelled *e* before *ne*.

[46.8] As 16.1.

[47.1-47.3] Lines 47.1 and 47.3 each have two syllables too many. It is possible that the translator, influenced by common formulaic clichés of early Romance lyrical poetry, added *mesquí de* and *de mi*. It is also plausible that it was not the translator himself but some copyist in the chain of transmission who added these words – again, under influence of the formulaic style of love poetry.

[49.6] As 16.1.

[50.1-2] In the parallel edition of the French text, the respective lines are the following: *Menestrel qui dances et notes / saves et aves beau maintien* 'Minstrel, you who know dances and musical notes and have pleasant manners'. Thus, the forms *dances* and *notes* are nouns acting as objects of the verb *savoir*. As far as the Catalan version is concerned, the forms *dances* and *notes* cannot be nouns, since there is no verb of which they could be the objects. The only plausible interpretation is that the Catalan translator misunderstood the morphological form of *dances* and *notes* in the French poem, i.e. thought they were second person singular verb forms, thus introducing analogous forms in his translation. This is semantically and syntactically acceptable, although it produces some problems of textual cohesion: both in the French and the Catalan poems, Death always uses second person plural forms when addressing her victims. However, I opt for keeping the line unchanged, as any emendation would be unreasonably artificial.

[50.8] I emend *monstrau* to *monstrar* on syntactical grounds. The only possible interpretation of this line without any intervention would presuppose an appellative use of the noun *mestre*: 'Master, show to God his knowledge'. However, it is not acceptable either semantically or syntactically, as it should have been 'your knowledge' and the verb *monstrar* must take a recipient indirect object, i.e. *mostrau [a] Déu*. Consequently, the most economical solution is to follow the French text where we read: *Maistre doit monstrer sa science*. This means replacing the final *-u* of *monstrau* with *-r*: thus, *mestre* becomes the subject of the sentence, *deu* becomes the third person singular form of the verb *deure*, and the meaning of the whole line becomes: 'Master must demonstrate his skills'.

[51.4] *Estrument*: Carbonell first wrote *estrement* and subsequently added a letter *u* above the line.

[52.7] *Gordanat*: we can distinctly read *gordattat*. I emend it, as this lection makes no sense and is paleographically explicable by a confusion between *n* and *tt*.

[53.2] *Vençut só yo i pert*: Carbonell first wrote *Vençut yo pert* and then added *so* and *i* above the line.

[53.5] The line has one syllable too many: the initial *O* was probably added in the chain of transmission.

[53.8] As 16.1.

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*ho(m)me qui emprunte a usure* MS BnF fr. 1186, *l'emprunteur* MS Saint-Omer 127, *l'homme qui emprunte* MSS BnF fr. 14989 and Brit. Lib. Add 38858, *ille qui mutuat* BnF fr. 1055.

[54.8] As 16.1.

[57.3] Carbonell adds the usual drawing of a hand and a note of his own in the left margin: *vanitas va-nitatis et omnia vanitas Ec-cles.* (the hyphen marks the passages from one line to another).

[57.3-6] Carbonell marks all these four lines, delimiting them with a vertical line in the right margin and two horizontal lines – above line 57.3 and below line 57.6. He also adds two of the usual drawing of a hand, in the corners formed by the intersection of the three lines; in the upper corner, there are also the letters *No* surmounted by a tilde.

[57.8] As 16.1.

[59.6] *No y fallí<t>*: the lection of **B** is not syntactically acceptable. Another possible correction could be *no y [he] fallit*.

[59.7] As 16.1.

[62.8] As 16.1.

[63.5] *El foc*: *el* is a contraction of *en + lo*.

[64.5-8] Carbonell marks all these four lines, delimiting them with a vertical line in the left margin. There are also the usual drawing of a hand and a marginal gloss, substantially identical to the one found close to line 57.3: *vanitas vani-tatis et omnia vanitas Ecc-les.*

[64.5] *Del viure va*: above the word *va* Carbonell writes *vre* surmounted by a tilde, i.e. *vostre*. It is possible that the copy to which Carbonell had access contained *va* surmounted by a tilde, which stayed for *vostra* (for the desinence *-a* instead of *-e*, cfr. n. 19.5 above)

[67.7] As 16.1.

[74.2] *Més scriure*: most likely to be read as *més [e]scriure* (also *v. supra* nn. 12.6, 17.2, 38.7, 45.2).

[76.1] As 16.1.

[76; 77; I] Carbonell writes a note in the right margin, parallel to these three stanzas and occupying equal height in the page: *Per ço ara-m ve a la memòria aquella epístola que, stant lo S. Rey don Joan, fill del S. Rey don Ferrando primer, en la agonia un dia ans passàs d'esta vida, feu al S. Rey fil seu don Ferrando segon, huy beneventuradament regnavt, donant-li a la benedició paternal, la qual és inserta en la història yo he composta de Hespanya; diu axí, inter alia, in effectu: “Mon fill, pensau que en aquesta agonia haveu a venir; [no] nos facen goig regnes ne conquestes, yo volguera ésser stat lo pus ínfimo vassal de mos Regnes e Senyories, etc.” Molt piadosa e profitosa epístola a bé viure e foragitar pompas e vanitats de aquest mon és la dita epistola, la qual deuria voler e demanar-li fos tots dies una vegada legida per recordar-se pus sovint que ha morir, car per salut de la ànima no pot ésser millor que cogitar cascun dia que havem a morir. E per açò he scrit açí la dança o ball de la mort.* ‘So now there comes to my memory the epistle that the Lord King John, son of the Lord King Ferdinand I, wrote in his death throes to his son the Lord King Ferdinand II – who is now happily reigning – giving his son his father’s blessing. This letter is inserted in the history of Spain which I wrote; it says, *inter alia*, in effect: “My son, please think that you will one day be in agony as well; kingdoms or conquests do not make us happy, and now I would like to have been the humblest of the vassals of my kingdoms and estates”, etc. This is a very pious epistle, and it can help to live well and reject the pomp and vanity of this world, and we should want to have it read [to us] once a day, in order to remember more often that everyone will die; since, for the soul’s salvation, there can be nothing better than to reflect every day on the fact that we will die. And that is why I wrote here the Dance of Death’.

[I.1-1.6] This Latin passage, found in six French manuscripts (**P**, BnF fr. 25550, BnF fr. 14989, BnF fr. 1055, BnF NAF 10032, Lille 139) and both Marchant’s editions, features a remarkable concentration of *lectiones singulares* in the Catalan version – three in seven lines, which actually are not seven but only four, as proven by the metrical form (elegiac distich) and corroborated by the visual arrangement of the text in **P** and in the other French witnesses. However, the rather irregular

division into lines adopted in **B** is conserved in the critical text. The *lectiones singulares*, to be considered as copying errors, are commented on in the notes that follow.

[I.1] *Dicite* ‘tell, recount’: an innovation of **B**. All the extant French manuscripts and printed editions contain *discite* ‘learn’. This is likely to be an interpretation error.

[I.5] *Finiri* ‘be liquidated’: an innovation of **B**, paleographically explicable. The French witnesses of *Danse macabre* have *futuri* ‘going to be, coming, imminent’.

[I.7] *Matura* ‘hastening, having come quickly’: an innovation of **B**, substituting the reading *mortua* ‘as dead people’ in **P** and in all the other French versions containing this Latin passage. This copying error was most probably generated by attraction, i.e. caused by the presence of the form *matura* two lines above.

[II.1-14] This Latin stanza is found in five French manuscripts (**P**, BnF fr. 25550, BnF fr. 14989, BnF NAF 10032, Lille 139) and in both Marchant’s editions.

[II.8] *Infernus*: **B** *internus* is a paleographically explicable error, and it is not plausibly interpretable in the context.

[II.13] *Sapienter*: an innovation based on *sapientes*, the *lectio optima* found in BnF fr. 14989, BnF NAF 10032, Lille 139 and both Marchant’s editions. **P** and BnF fr. 25550, the two manuscripts with provenance from the school of Saint Victor, contain *mortales*, one of the conjunctive errors which make it possible to postulate a common source for these two copies; at the same time, it forms part of the group of disjunctive errors, which separate these two witnesses from the rest of the manuscript and printed tradition.

### 3.3.2 French text

[2.2] *Qui le convient ainsi danser*: the verb *convenir* is used transitively, ‘who summons them to dance this way’. See *DMF* s.v. *convenir* I.A.2.

[6.4] *Un] um*: this error has a paleographical explanation.

[7.6] *À grans devis*: modern French *à souhait*, i.e. ‘incredibly, extremely’ in similar contexts. See *DMF* s.v. *devis* A.3.

[10.3] *Veio>r*: the form *veior* is not attested in the *DMF* database. It is probably a copying error for *veoir*. See *DMF* s.v. *voir*.

[13.7] *Un] um*: v. *supra* n. 6.4.

[17.4] *Sieues*: this form is not attested in the *DMF* database. However, there are attestations of forms with the verb theme *siev-*, which is very close to *sieuv-*. It is also possible that *sieues* with an added *u* is a copying error, as it is paleographically explicable.

[19.1] *Naures vaillant*: Middle French *avoir vaillant* means ‘to possess’. See *DMF* s.v. *vaillant* II.A.

[20.2] *Vouldra] vauldra*: an emendation is required, since *valoir* transitive is not semantically acceptable in this context. *Vauldra* is a lection of **P** and MS Brit. Lib. Add 38858, opposed to the majority lection *vouldra*, found in all the other witnesses containing this stanza.

[35.6] *Memore*: ‘thought’ in this context. See *DMF* s.v. *memoire* I.5.b.

[40.5] *Ou temps passé*: *ou* = *en* + *le*. See *DMF* s.v. *ot*<sup>2</sup>.

[42.1] *Mourir] mouril*: an emendation is necessary, since the reading of **P** is an evident copying error.

[48.7] *Savoir se*: *se* stands for *ce* = *cela* ‘this’.

[59.4] *Entree] entrer*: the emendation is based on the syntax of the phrase, which requires two nouns and not an infinitive and a noun.

[65title] The last letters of the title are hidden because of the way the manuscript was bound. The integration *en(vers)* is based on the lection of MS BnF fr. 25550. The title is otherwise identical in

these two manuscripts.

[66title] *D(ance)*: the same as *en(vers)* 65 title.

#### 4 Conclusions and results

The results of the research into the Catalan translation of the French *Danse macabre*, presented in this article, have the potential to facilitate future studies on this text and on the *Danse macabre* tradition in general. The philological study and the critical edition of MS Miscel·lània 26, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Barcelona provide a basis for further historical, linguistic and hermeneutic research on *La dança de la Mort*. Moreover, the issues discussed in this paper can have relevance for comparative studies focusing on patterns of transmission and reception of different examples of the Dance of Death genre. Further, the strict dependence of the Catalan text on its French model and its remarkable textual closeness to one of the earliest versions of the *Danse macabre* (MS BnF lat. 14904) favour analysis of the Catalan translation as an indirect witness to the lost original text of the French poem. Thus, the results of the present study may be useful not only for an overall study on the transmission and reception of the French Dance, but also for an ecdotic study of this important text, still lacking a critical edition.

#### 5 English translation

This appendix contains a literal prose translation of the Catalan text into modern English. The *variae lectiones* of the French text in the version of **P** are listed in parallel, according to the structure of negative apparatus (only the divergent variants are included).

In the translation, the pronoun ‘she’ is used to refer to Death: this choice is based on the fact that Death is a personified character in the poems, and it is feminine in Catalan and in French.

*Dança de la Mort*  
from MS Miscel·lània 26,  
Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó,  
Barcelona (= B)

*Danse macabre*  
from MS lat. 14904,  
Bibliothèque Nationale de France,  
Paris (= P)

*Dance of Death and of those people  
who dance with her against their will*

*Dance Macabre*

I { see **B** lines 1.1-1.7 after stanza 77, which correspond to **P** lines 1.3-1.6 }

This painting banishes pride, vanity and luxury,  
[and] with this our dance it teaches to lead the  
celebration. 2  
All you who see it, learn how to dance and  
what is the real value of honour, joys, riches. 4  
Indeed, such will you be in front of hastening Death  
as the crowd having the appearance of dead people,  
which summon [you]. 6

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>1. The Authority speaks</b><br/>           O rational creature,<br/>           you who desire the earthly life,<br/>           you have a remarkable instruction here<br/>           on how to end your mortal life properly. 4<br/>           This throng of dancers that you see<br/>           has little taste for Death.<br/>           It is natural that everyone dies;<br/>           Death is vile [and] most abominable. 8</p>   | <p><b>1 title</b> .....<br/> <b>1.2</b> eternal life,<br/> <b>1.5-1.8</b> It is called the Dance Macabre,<br/>           which everyone learns to dance;<br/>           it is the natural condition of man and woman,<br/>           [as] Death spares neither the small nor the great.</p>  |
| <p><b>2.</b> Everyone can read in such a mirror,<br/>           since we all have to dance here;<br/>           we can call lucky the one<br/>           who is committed to look here often. 4<br/>           You can see the others begin [this dance]<br/>           (who can ever escape from dying?),<br/>           unable to move a single step back:<br/>           we participate [in this dance] all together. 8</p>   | <p><b>2.1</b> in this mirror<br/> <b>2.2-2.8</b> about who summons them to dance this way;<br/>           happy is the one who observes himself properly:<br/>           the dead person makes the living one go forward.<br/>           You can see those of highest rank begin,<br/>           as there is no one whom Death does not strike down;<br/>           it is sorrowful to think about it:<br/>           [we] all are forged of the same substance.</p>         |
| <p><b>3. Death speaks to the Pope</b><br/>           You who live in the present world,<br/>           sooner or later, you will dance here.<br/>           But when? Only God knows –<br/>           watch carefully how you will do that. 4<br/>           Lord Pope, you will begin,<br/>           as the highest lord;<br/>           this way you will be honoured:<br/>           honour is due to those of high office. 8</p>  | <p><b>3 title</b> The Dead<br/> <b>3.1</b> You who live: certainly,<br/> <b>3.2</b> dance this way.</p>  |
| <p><b>4. The Pope answers</b><br/>           So must it be me to lead the dance,<br/>           I who have God's place on Earth?<br/>           I had dignity and power –<br/>           and you, Death, bring me destruction. 4<br/>           I cannot go away from the one who wages war on me;<br/>           I did not want to die yet –<br/>           I have thought little about it and it was a great mistake.<br/>           ..... 8</p>   | <p><b>4 title</b> The Pope<br/> <b>4.1</b> Ah, must it<br/> <b>4.2</b> the first, I who am God<br/> <b>4.3-4.8</b> I had supreme honour<br/>           in the Church, like Saint Peter.<br/>           I did not want to die yet –<br/>           and still Death has come to seize me, like others,<br/>           but Death wages war on us all:<br/>           of little worth is honour that vanishes so soon.</p>   |
| <p><b>5. To the Emperor</b><br/>           You who have no equal in the world,<br/>           prince and great Emperor,<br/>           now you must leave the world,<br/>           weapons, horses and the golden orb,<br/>           sceptre, banners and great honour. 4<br/>           You will be forced to come with me,<br/>           so come quickly, without making noise:<br/>           whoever is born makes such a journey. 8</p>  | <p><b>5 title</b> Death<br/> <b>5.1-5.8</b> And you [who bear] a comparable title among laymen,<br/>           prince and lord, great Emperor,<br/>           you must leave the round golden orb,<br/>           weapons, sceptre, plume, banner.<br/>           I will not leave you behind,<br/>           [and] you cannot rule any more.<br/>           I carry away everyone, [and] this is my manner:<br/>           all Adam's sons must die.</p>                    |
| <p><b>6. The Emperor answers</b><br/>           I cannot find a lord I could appeal to<br/>           against Death who conducts me this way;<br/>           my flesh, my bones and my skin<br/>           have I to see under a shroud. 4<br/>           I have never thought I would die so early –<br/>           of what use has been my great majesty,<br/>           since I can see Death who wages war on me?<br/>           Honour is worth much... I wish it did not vanish! 8</p> | <p><b>6 title</b> The Emperor<br/> <b>6.1</b> I do not know who I could<br/> <b>6.3-6.8</b> I have to arm myself with a pick, with a shovel<br/>           and with a shroud – this is a great grief for me.<br/>           I have had worldly greatness over all [the others],<br/>           and I have to die, [and] that is my only payment –<br/>           what does any mortal dominion matter?<br/>           The great people are not in a favourable position.</p> |

7. **To the Cardinal**  
 It seems to me that you are perturbed –  
 come, Cardinal, let us cheerfully  
 and with great joy graciously  
 follow all the others! 4  
 Being afraid is of no use:  
 you have had much fun in your life and  
 many joys, honourably – 8  
 great honour loses wisdom.
8. **The Cardinal answers**  
 It does not seem to me I am scared without reason,  
 as I see Death so close to me,  
 and I have to follow the dance.  
 I cannot delight myself with beautiful clothes: 4  
 my red hat, my cape of high quality  
 will I have to abandon and the nobility.  
 I can tell where my court is:  
 all joy finishes in sorrow. 8
9. **To the King**  
 Come, noble crowned King,  
 famous for your many great deeds and for your  
 prowess,  
 accompanied by nobles  
 and very adroit servitors. 4  
 But now you must abandon  
 all majesty. You are not alone,  
 you will get little of your wealth:  
 the richest man carries away only a shroud. 8
10. **The King answers**  
 I have never learned to dance  
 such a savage dance.  
 Now I can see and reflect on  
 what honour, power, lineage are worth. 4  
 To destroy is Death's custom,  
 it applies both to the rich and to the most humble.  
 He who values himself least has an advantage:  
 each [of us] turns to ashes. 8
11. **To the Patriarch**  
 Patriarch, by lowering your head  
 you are not saved.  
 You will have to give up your double cross,  
 so that another will inherit it. 4  
 Do not linger over dignity any more,  
 [as] you will not wear a cape dyed with madder.  
 You are called to account for yourself:  
 foolish hope deceives a human being. 8
12. **The Patriarch answers**  
 I know that much honour  
 has deceived me, to tell the truth.  
 My joy turns to sorrow,  
 and what use is it to have so much honour? 4  
 Those who do not take pleasure in it are very few,  
 [as] high rank ruins and misleads people;  
 climbing too high does not seem to me wise:  
 he who climbs with a load, bends [under the weight]. 8
- 7 **title** The Dead  
 7.3-7.8 Let us follow the others all together:  
 being afraid is of no use.  
 You have lived sumptuously  
 and with incredibly great honour –  
 enjoy this entertainment:  
 in great honour wisdom is lost.
- 8 **title** The Cardinal  
 8.1-8.4 I have good reasons to be perturbed,  
 when I see myself held so closely:  
 Death has come to invade me –  
 I will not wear vair or grey fur any more;  
 8.6-8.7 have I to abandon with much distress.  
 I have never learned this:
- 9 **title** The Dead  
 9.2 famous for your power  
 9.3-9.6 You were once surrounded  
 by great pomp and by great nobles,  
 but now you will abandon all majesty.  
 9.8 possesses only a shroud
- 10 **title** The King  
 10.2 savage dance and music  
 10.3 Alas, one can see  
 10.4 pride, power  
 10.5 Death destroys all – it is her custom –  
 10.6 both to the great  
 10.7 least is a wiser man:  
 10.8 in the end, [all] must become ashes.
- 11 **title** The Dead  
 11.2 you cannot be  
 11.3-11.4 your double cross that you cherish  
 will go to another one, this is fair.  
 11.6 [as] you will not become Pope of Rome any more,
- 12 **title** The Patriarch  
 12.1 I am fully aware that worldly honour  
 12.5-12.8 Climbing too high is not wise,  
 [as] high ranks ruin people without number.  
 But few are willing to be aware of it:  
 [their own] actions encumber those who climb high.

- 13. To the Captain or Constable**  
 It is my right that you come with me  
 immediately, fair Captain:  
 I turn meek the most powerful,  
 and there is no need for you to doubt it. 4  
 A terrifying appearance will be of no use to you,  
 nor showing off your bravery nor bad demeanour:  
 although this is not pleasant for you,  
 weapons will not defend you from Death. 8
- 14. The Captain answers**  
 My idea and intention  
 was to take fortresses and castles by assault,  
 bringing under my control  
 towns and cities, great and beautiful places. 4  
 Lances and daggers are of no use to me:  
 Death does not look at rights or laws  
 or the poor or the rich or the young –  
 there is no remedy against Death. 8
- 15. To the Archbishop**  
 You should not make a ferocious face,  
 my fair Lord, come nearer.  
 Are you afraid that I will hit you?  
 Do not doubt it at all; follow us, 4  
 and let us dance in couples.  
 Whoever approaches me is in trouble,  
 [as] the dance is a little annoying:  
 one day [everyone] must account to the host. 8
- 16. The Archbishop answers**  
 Miserable, I cannot see any place  
 (so closely I see myself pressed by Death)  
 where I could escape, and I stand apart.  
 Alas, where will I have my retreat? 4  
 Now I will lose my benefice,  
 I will have no painted chamber any more:  
 one must inevitably pass through Death,  
 which is a narrow path. 8
- 17. To the Knight**  
 You who among the other barons  
 have been a noble Knight,  
 forget trumpets and clarions,  
 come quickly, do not hide in the rear. 4  
 You used to desire women  
 and make them dance gaily –  
 yet you can see and realise [this]:  
 what one makes, another corrupts. 8
- 18. The Knight answers**  
 I was appointed [to a high-ranking position] in the  
 world  
 and much appreciated in important affairs,  
 and beloved by noble women  
 and by rich and powerful lords, 4  
 by merchants and townsmen,  
 and I was not flighty at all –  
 all my expectations were vain:  
 there is nothing steady under heaven. 8
- 13 title** The Dead  
**13.1-13.4** It is my right to bring you  
 to the dance, noble Captain:  
 the most powerful, like Charlemagne,  
 are taken by Death, it is true.  
**13.5** is of no use  
**13.6-13.8** nor strong armour in this assault;  
 with one blow I smash down the firmest person:  
 weapons are nothing when Death attacks.
- 14 title** The Captain  
**14.1-14.8** I still had an intention  
 of attacking castles and fortresses  
 and of bringing [them] under my control,  
 acquiring honour and wealth.  
 But I can see that Death pulls down  
 all exploits, [and] this is a big disappointment.  
 Everything is the same for her – gentleness or sharpness:  
 there is no respite against Death.
- 15 title** The Dead  
**15.1-15.2** Why do you pull your head back, Archbishop? Come  
 nearer.  
**15.4-15.7** Do not doubt it: you will come close.  
 Is not Death always near  
 every man, does not she follow him side by side?  
 It is necessary to return your debts and loans:
- 16 title** The Archbishop  
**16.1-16.8** Alas, I do not know where to look,  
 as I am killed by the supreme jurisdiction.  
 Where could I escape to save myself?  
 Surely, anyone who knew Death well  
 would never get out of reason.  
 I will not lie in a painted chamber any more:  
 I must die, this is the law –  
 when one must do that, he is bound.
- 17 title** The Dead  
**17.1** the great barons  
**17.2** have been renowned, Knight,  
**17.4** and follow me, without your pack horse driver.  
**17.5** to entertain women  
**17.6-17.7** making them dance for a long time –  
 it is time to give attention to another dance:  
**17.8** another takes apart.
- 18 title** The Knight  
**18.1-18.7** I was authorised [to participate]  
 in many deeds and I was of good fame,  
 I was beloved by great and small people,  
 and by women, as well;  
 I have never been dishonoured  
 in the court of an important nobleman,  
 but with this blow I swoon completely:

- 19. To the Bishop**  
 Soon you will cease to enjoy  
 wealth and gifts of nature,  
 Bishop; your time is up,  
 [and] your prelacy will be of no use for you. 4  
 Your destiny is in great danger:  
 you must account for those you are responsible for.  
 God will judge everyone fairly –  
 he who climbs higher [than others] cannot be 8  
 considered safe.
- 20. The Bishop answers**  
 My heart cannot rejoice at all  
 from the news that [Death] brings me.  
 God wants to hear all accounting,  
 and this is what most makes me uneasy. 4  
 I do not take even a little of comfort from this world,  
 and it leaves us nothing; on the contrary, it takes away  
 too much.  
 Nobody ever carries away anything  
 other than their good deeds; everything else vanishes. 8
- 21. To the Squire**  
 Come forward, Squire,  
 since you know many dance steps.  
 Move quickly, do not be so leaden:  
 we do not perform this dance every day. 4  
 Now your jousts come to an end;  
 you have never thought of coming here,  
 nor have you abandoned enjoyments and pleasant  
 rest –  
 he who lives cannot escape from Death. 8
- 22. The Squire answers**  
 Since Death holds me in her net,  
 at least she will let me say this:  
 farewell fun, farewell enjoyment,  
 I cannot stay here any more. 4  
 Please favour your soul,  
 never mind the body henceforth.  
 Flesh and bones have to rot,  
 but no one knows where, how and when. 8
- 23. To the Abbot**  
 Come, Abbot, do not flee  
 or look so mortified.  
 It is appropriate that you follow the dance,  
 although you have hated it much. 4  
 Others have already divided between themselves your  
 revenue  
 that fed you and made you bulky and fat;  
 your flesh will soon vanish:  
 the fattest is the first to rot. 8
- 19 title** The Dead  
**19.1-19.4** Soon you will no longer have this peak  
 of worldly and natural wealth.  
 Bishop, take a pick,  
 notwithstanding your prelacy.  
**19.5** is in danger:  
**19.8** who climbs too high
- 20 title** The Bishop  
**20.1** cannot rejoice/  
**20.2** Death brings  
**20.3** God will want  
**20.4** this is what  
**20.5** I take so little comfort  
**20.6-20.8** that disinherits everyone in the end;  
 it keeps everything, nobody carries anything along;  
 everything vanishes, except one's merits.
- 21 title** Death  
**21.1** noble Squire,  
**21.2** you who know  
**21.3-21.8** You carried a lance and a shield yesterday,  
 and today you will finish your days.  
 There is nothing that does not float away –  
 dance and be careful to follow.  
 You cannot have help:  
 there is no one who can escape from Death.
- 22 title** The Squire  
**22.2-22.8** at least let me say a word:  
 farewell plans, farewell enjoyment,  
 farewell ladies, I cannot laugh any more.  
 Think of the soul that desires  
 rest, [and] let the body not matter any more,  
 [the body] that worsens with every day:  
 everyone has to die, [but] no one knows when.
- 23 title** Death  
**23.1-23.2** Abbot, come quickly! Do you flee?  
 Do not look so perturbed.  
**23.3** follow Death  
**23.4** hated her  
**23.5** Commend to God your abbey  
**23.7-23.8** soon you will rot, without need of much help:  
 the first [ranked] is the first to rot.

- 24. The Abbot answers**  
 I have never been taken by the desire to die,  
 but I have to pass the strait.  
 I observed very little God's law  
 or the vows I took of my own will. 4  
 Be careful not to embrace too much  
 and mind that God looks at everything,  
 [and] do not forget that you will die:  
 it is too late to think about it when you expire. 8
- 25. To the Bailiff**  
 Bailiff, judge of many people,  
 great governor,  
 come hastily, very quickly,  
 let us see you as a debtor. 4  
 You governed people with fury –  
 this puts you in dire straits:  
 you are about to come to that place  
 where all will carry their own burden. 8
- 26. The Bailiff answers**  
 Oh God, this seems a really hard day to me,  
 [as] I did not expect this blow.  
 My wheel [of fortune] has turned:  
 I did not want to die yet, 4  
 [and] I have never thought about similar things,  
 carrying out my judgement.  
 It would be foolish to contest it:  
 even an appeal is useless. 8
- 27. To the Astrologer**  
 Master, neither with your gaze  
 at the heavens nor with any knowledge  
 can you escape from Death,  
 nor should you look for a new way. 4  
 Be certain of this and consider it true;  
 consider it a great argument or summation:  
 you die because of Adam, who was the first [human],  
 as a result of his eating an apple. 8
- 28. The Astrologer answers**  
 No degree or knowledge  
 can become a source of help for me.  
 By now my knowledge is of no use to me,  
 oh, how strong is my confusion! 4  
 As a final conclusion  
 I do not know what to do or what to write,  
 here I lose any good reason:  
 if you want to die well, live well. 8
- 29. To the Bourgeois**  
 Bourgeois, hasten without lingering:  
 you have neither wealth nor riches  
 that could save you from Death.  
 If you made a good use of your ample wealth, 4  
 you did so wisely.  
 Everything comes from others and then others enjoy it;  
 amassing much does not seem safe to me,  
 since no one knows for whom he amasses [wealth]. 8
- 24 title** The Abbot  
**24.1-24.4** I had no desire for this at all,  
 but I have to do the step.  
 Alas, I did not in my life  
 keep [fidelity] to my order, without breaking it!  
**24.6-24.8** during the rest of your lives,  
 if you want to die well:  
 it is too late to become wiser when you die.
- 25 title** The Dead  
**25.1-25.7** Bailiff, you who know what justice is  
 and high and low, in many forms,  
 in order to govern all public administration,  
 come immediately to this court.  
 I summon you by force  
 to account for your actions  
 to the great judge who equally evaluates everyone:  
**25.8** all will carry
- 26 title** The Bailiff  
**26.1** this is a hard day,  
**26.3-26.8** Now my fortune has changed much:  
 I had honour among judges,  
 and Death brings down my joy,  
 [Death] who has summoned me without the option.  
 I see no solution nor way out any more:  
 there is no appeal at all against Death.
- 27 title** The Dead  
**27.2-27.8** upwards nor with your knowledge  
 can you delay Death's coming:  
 astrology is of no use here.  
 All the descendants of Adam,  
 who was the first human,  
 are taken by Death, this is what theology says:  
 everyone has to die because of an apple.
- 28 title** The Master  
**28.1** Neither my knowledge nor my degrees  
**28.3-28.4** since now I completely regret  
 dying when taken unaware.  
**28.6** I do not know what to describe,
- 29 title** The Dead  
**29.5** [...], this is a wise thing.  
**29.6** and goes to others.  
**29.7** Foolish is he who makes sacrifices in order to amass  
 [wealth]:  
**29.8** no one knows for whom

- 30. The Bourgeois answers**  
 It hurts me much to have to abandon so soon  
 worldly wealth and food.  
 The poor and the rich you make to leave,  
 Death, since such is your happiness. 4  
 The creature is not wise enough  
 who cherishes too much wealth for which many people  
 cry,  
 [wealth] acquired with much trouble:  
 those who have the most, die the unhappiest. 8
- 31. To the Canon**  
 Lord Canon with a revenue,  
 you will no longer take your contributions,  
 nor will you get fatter  
 thanks to either your revenue or your oblations. 4  
 Focus on saying prayers:  
 you will have to die. Does anyone cry for this?  
 No appeal will be useful:  
 Death comes without looking what time it is. 8
- 32. The Canon answers**  
 This discourse troubles me.  
 What use to me are so many benefices?  
 My reason now completely abandons me.  
 Death does not look at laws nor rights, 4  
 .....  
 nor should I give, buy or take [as a gift]  
 amices or elegant birettas:  
 it is more useful to endeavour to die well. 8
- 33. To the Merchant**  
 Merchant, turn here:  
 you went through the roads of the world  
 at sea, on land, for a long time –  
 [now] you do not have to spend much. 4  
 Cease your transactions,  
 speed up your pace, do not look like an ox  
 or plan any shady deals,  
 as he who has enough desires [to have more]. 8
- 34. The Merchant answers**  
 I have been upstream and downstream  
 to earn wealth, day and night,  
 alone, on foot and on horseback,  
 but now I lose all my joy. 4  
 With all my efforts, insofar as I could,  
 my reason was entirely occupied by my possessions.  
 A foolish desire misleads a human being:  
 he who embraces much grasps little. 8
- 35. To the Carthusian Friar**  
 Come, Carthusian Friar, do not stop,  
 and do not oppose any more:  
 you will never more need to gain revenues and fields.  
 As you are a man of penitence, 4  
 forgive [and] be patient:  
 of what use is the glory of this world?  
 Come dance quickly, without any fear:  
 Death has victory over the living. 8
- 30 title The Bourgeois**  
**30.2-4** my income, houses, capital, food,  
 but the poor and the rich you bring down,  
 Death, such is your nature.  
**30.5** not the creature  
**30.6** wealth that remains  
**30.7** in the world, properly belonging to it:
- 31 title The Dead**  
**31.1** with a prebend  
**31.2** have your contributions  
**31.3-31.8** nor wildfowl, nor expect it;  
 take consolation here.  
 As your only reward,  
 you must die without lingering,  
 you will have no delay:  
 Death comes when you do not look what time it is.
- 32 title The Canon**  
**32.1-32.8** I do not take much comfort from this:  
 I had a prebend in many churches,  
 [and] now Death is stronger than me,  
 Death who carries everyone away, this is her manner.  
 The white surplice and the grey amice  
 have I to abandon and yield to Death –  
 of what use is glory so quickly brought down?  
 We must all endeavour to die well.
- 33 title The Dead**  
**33.1** look over here:  
**33.2** through many countries  
**33.3-33.7** on foot, on horseback, for a long time –  
 you will not have this trouble any more.  
 This is your last transaction:  
 you have to pass through here.  
 You will be freed from any concern:  
**33.8** he who
- 33 title The Merchant**  
**33.2-33.3** to trade where I could,  
 for a long time, on foot, on horseback,  
**33.5-33.7** all my efforts were directed to earning:  
 now I have enough, Death binds me.  
 It is good to walk the middle way:  
**33.8** embraces too much
- 35 title The Dead**  
**35.1** Go, Merchant, do not remain here any more,  
**35.3-35.8** you can have no profit doing that.  
 You also, man of abstinence,  
 Carthusian Friar, take with patience the following:  
 do not think you will live more.  
 Show your ability to dance:  
 [Death] has victory over every human.

- 36. The Carthusian Friar answers**  
 I have been dead in the world for a long time,  
 and I am not taken by a desire to live,  
 although I am distressed,  
 when I see Death who ousts us this way. 4  
 May my soul be pleasing to God, may it see  
 God's son after my passing away.  
 This is certain for me and I firmly believed in it:  
 he who is here today is gone tomorrow. 8
- 37. To the Soldier Sergeant**  
 Noble Soldier Sergeant with this big mace,  
 it seems to me that you are resisting.  
 Your grimace is of no use for you;  
 come with me [and] do not escape. 4  
 You do not like this dance at all –  
 I feel that a vain life deceives you.  
 I turn meek the most powerful:  
 my power flattens the living. 8
- 38. The Soldier Sergeant answers**  
 I am an officer of the king,  
 and you, Death, want to destroy me!  
 This seems to me an excessive game:  
 I was doing my duty yesterday, 4  
 and [today] I see that, without being able to say  
 anything more,  
 I am gripped by you on both sides.  
 I cannot escape nor flee –  
 he who has not learned this, dies troubled. 8
- 39. To the Monk**  
 Lord Monk, you will dance with me,  
 [and] do not even consider defending yourself.  
 As you are wise, do not fear,  
 but please learn to die well. 4  
 And you no longer need to contend for anything,  
 as soon you will have your mouth sealed.  
 Leave the idea of giving and taking:  
 a human life is not much. 8
- 40. The Monk answers**  
 I would prefer to still be  
 in the cloister, celebrating mass for God;  
 gaily, with a serene face,  
 [I would prefer] to celebrate matins and other services. 4  
 Now I realise that I am a foolish and stupid man  
 because I chose to follow the custom  
 of those who live badly, committing sins:  
 I have never considered dancing such a dance. 8
- 41. To the Usurer**  
 Usurer, sinful man,  
 come with me (I do not think you like it!)  
 You are so greedy in your usury  
 [that] you are all burning [with a desire] to earn money. 4  
 You will be punished, believe it;  
 pray Lord, who is almighty,  
 to forgive you, every day:  
 he who does no ill feels no pain. 8
- 36 title** The Carthusian Friar  
**36.1-36.7** I have been dead in the world for a long time,  
 whereby I have less desire to live,  
 although all men have fear of Death.  
 Since the flesh has come to its end,  
 may it please God that my soul be transported  
 to Heaven after my passing away.  
 This life is absolutely nothing:
- 37 title** Death  
**37.1** Soldier Sergeant, you who carry this mace,  
**37.2** it seems that  
**37.3-37.8** You grimace in vain;  
 if someone harms you, appeal!  
 You are called by Death:  
 he who resists her deceives himself.  
 The strongest ones are quickly brought down:  
 there is no strong man whose strength cannot be overcome.
- 38 title** The Soldier Sergeant  
**38.1-38.7** I who am a royal officer,  
 how dare Death hit me?  
 I was doing my duty yesterday,  
 and today she comes to snap me up.  
 I do not know where to escape:  
 I am trapped on both sides.  
 Despite my [resistance], I let her seize me –
- 39 title** Death  
**39.1-5** Ha, master, you will pass through here,  
 [and] do not disturb yourself by defending yourself:  
 you will not frighten men any more.  
 You are next, Monk, we should not wait any longer!  
 What are you thinking of? This is to be understood in the  
 following way:  
**39.6** soon you will  
**39.7** a man is nothing other than wind and ashes:
- 40 title** The Monk  
**40.2** celebrating mass:  
**40.3-40.8** it is a devout place and a good life.  
 Like a foolish and stupid man,  
 in the past I committed many sins  
 for which I have not done enough penitence –  
 may God be gracious to me:  
 not everyone who dances is happy.
- 41 title** Death  
**41.1-41.8** Usurer, having lost any good reason,  
 come quickly and look at me!  
 You are so blinded by your usury  
 that you are all burning with a greed to earn money;  
 but soon you will be pierced by your avarice,  
 since if God, who is wondrous,  
 has no pity on you, you will lose everything:  
 to lose everything is a dangerous blow.

- 42. The Usurer answers**  
 So I must die this way –  
 this troubles and grieves me,  
 and my gold, my silver, my riches / 42.4/  
 could not assist me; / 42.3/ 4  
 but I see Death so inflamed  
 toward me that she has already put me below her:  
 .....  
 he who does not see anything at all has good eyes. 8
- 43. Death continues to speak against the Usurer**  
 Usury is an enormous sin,  
 according to what the law says and tells.  
 This man is so unsettled  
 that he does not realise that he has to die. 4  
 He himself counts silver with his hand  
 and lends it to be repaid with interest every day;  
 counting and counting, he miscounts:  
 he who has to give rest is not sufficiently free of debt. 8
- 44. To the Physician**  
 Physician, look at your urine,  
 [and] see if it can arrange something here.  
 You are a great master of medicine  
 and competent enough to give orders. 4  
 Now Death comes to call you,  
 and do not think she will let you live more,  
 and please do not object any more:  
 he who cures himself does much. 8
- 45. The Physician answers**  
 For so much time I dedicated all my studies –  
 God knows it! – to healing the sick.  
 Practising this art, I chased away and eliminated  
 Death from those people. 4  
 Now I do not know how nor to whom  
 I could go to find encouragement:  
 I have never thought of dying;  
 resistance is useless against Death. 8
- 46. To the Lover**  
 Noble and gracious Young Man,  
 you who consider yourself of great merit!  
 Come close to me, [and] let us dance together;  
 you will abandon this world in sorrow. 4  
 Silver, clothes and wealth  
 will be of no use to you this day.  
 You did not think about it, and you did a foolish thing:  
 youth does not last long. 8
- 47. The Lover answers**  
 Alas, miserable, I will find no help  
 that could turn me away from Death!  
 Poor me, what route shall I take?  
 I can no longer woo women 4  
 nor dance with them.  
 Youth definitely deceives me  
 (I thought it was to last long):  
 a small rain brings down a strong wind. 8
- 42 title The Usurer**  
 42.1-42.2 Must I die so completely?  
 This pains and grieves me greatly,  
 42.4 my silver, my wealth  
 42.5-42.7 I see myself dying, Death pushes me forward,  
 but I feel sorry for that, all in all.  
 What is this bad custom?
- 43 title The Poor Man**  
 43.1-43.7 Usury is so evil a sin,  
 as anyone says and tells;  
 and this man who feels  
 Death approaching him does not realise that.  
 .....  
 lends me to be repaid with interest.  
 He will have to return something, in order to settle his own  
 account:  
 43.8 is not free
- 44 title Death**  
 44.1-44.4 Physician, with all your urine  
 do you see any remedy here?  
 You once knew enough about medicine  
 to be able to give orders.  
 44.6-44.8 Like any other, you must die.  
 You can countermand this in no way:  
 he is a good doctor who is able to cure himself.
- 45 title The Physician**  
 45.1-8 I dedicated all my studies  
 to the art of medicine, for so much time;  
 I had knowledge and practical skills  
 to cure many diseases.  
 I do not know what to oppose here;  
 no herb or root is useful any more,  
 nor any other remedy, whatever could be said:  
 there is no medicine against Death.
- 46 title Death**  
 46.1 Noble Lover, young and handsome,  
 46.3 You are captured, [and] Death breaks you through;  
 46.5-46.8 You loved it too much – this is folly –  
 and you had scant regard for dying;  
 soon you will change your colour:  
 beauty is nothing but a coloured picture.
- 47 title The Lover**  
 47.1-47.7 Alas, now there is no help  
 against Death – farewell love affairs!  
 Youth wanes very quickly –  
 farewell hats, bouquets, little flowers!  
 Farewell lovers and maidens,  
 remember me often  
 and look at yourselves, if you are wise:

- 48. To the Lawyer**  
 Lawyer, without making a long case,  
 come [and] please do not oppose!  
 In order to get much money,  
 you made people litigate with damage and losses; 4  
 but now you will have different food,  
 and you will be put into the ground.  
 You will no longer eat partridges on a spit –  
 this is a certain thing, you know it well. 8
- 49. The Lawyer answers**  
 I am so forced [that] I can do nothing more  
 nor just think of defending myself.  
 I have no desire to yield to Death –  
 what a sad departure! 4  
 Where are my skills and my knowledge?  
 He who does not get ready beforehand is a fool.  
 God, on the day of vengeance,  
 will give fair payment to the good and to the bad. 8
- 50. To the Minstrel**  
 Minstrel, you who dance and write musical notes,  
 gracious [and] able to move elegantly,  
 which is useful to entertain all women,  
 come dance very quickly! 4  
 And let it not be unpleasant for you at all –  
 dance [and] make elegant movements;  
 do not be taken by fear of me:  
 the master must demonstrate his skills. 8
- 51. The Minstrel answers**  
 I have no interest in dancing this way;  
 on the contrary, I get involved as I am forced,  
 since Death is a very harsh thing.  
 I give and cede you my instrument: 4  
 a song, a dance or a motet  
 will I sing never more.  
 I am going straight way with you:  
 it is possible to dance even though your heart is not 8  
 in it.
- 52. To the Parish Priest**  
 Go, Parish Priest, without thinking any more!  
 I feel that you devoted yourself to your wealth:  
 you used to get your food from the living and the dead,  
 but now you will be thrown to the worms. 4  
 You were appointed by the bishop  
 as a good example for all people –  
 you will be rewarded for your good deeds,  
 as any effort requires a reward. 8
- 53. The Parish Priest answers**  
 I am forced, so I must surrender;  
 I am defeated, and I lose the battle.  
 I cannot make people give donations,  
 nor can I have a funeral offering. 4  
 Alas! To this great battle  
 I will have to come, as I am claimed.  
 The one who does not owe money or coins  
 is acquitted [and] blessed. 8
- 48 title Death**  
**48.2-48.8** come plead your cause!  
 You have been able to lure people  
 for a long time, not just today or yesterday.  
 No counsel can help you here:  
 you must go to the great judge.  
 You must know that without thinking:  
 A good deed prevents punishment.
- 49 title The Lawyer**  
**49.1-49.8** It is really right that justice be done –  
 I cannot defend much here:  
 there is no reprieve against Death nor pardon from her,  
 nor does anyone appeal against her sentence.  
 I obtained much from others – now that I think about it –  
 for which I fear to be blamed.  
 The day of vengeance is to be feared:  
 God will give everyone a fair payment.
- 50 title Death**  
**50.1-50.7** Minstrel, you who know dances and musical notes  
 and have pleasant manners,  
 useful to entertain foolish men and women,  
 what do you say? Are we doing well?  
 Since I am gripping you, you have to show  
 to the others a dance movement.  
 It is useless for you to oppose:
- 51 title The Minstrel**  
**51.1** I would have  
**51.2-51.7** surely, I get involved very unwillingly,  
 since there is no harsher punishment than Death.  
 I have put my fiddle under the bench:  
 I will never more play a sauterelle,  
 nor any other dance, [as] Death keeps me from that.  
 I must obey her:
- 52 title The Dead**  
**52.1** without indulging in daydreams!  
**52.2** I see that you feel abandoned:  
**52.4** given to the worms.  
**52.5** .....  
**52.6** mirror and example for others –  
**52.7** for your deeds:  
**52.8** any effort
- 53 title The Parish Priest**  
**53.1-53.8** Whether I want it or not, I must surrender:  
 there is no human whom Death does not attack.  
 Ah, I will never more receive a donation from my parishioners,  
 nor a funeral offering;  
 I must go before the judge  
 to account for myself – alas, sorrowful!  
 Now I fear greatly that I will fail:  
 he whom God acquits is happy.

54. **To the Ploughman**  
Peasant, you who in heavy drudgery and hardship  
have lived all your life!  
Grain, much barley, millet, oat  
have you had in abundance. 4  
Your time has already come –  
you will have to die, [as] you are not free from that,  
and you will be put in an awful place:  
he who thinks he will live forever is a fool. 8
55. **The Ploughman answers**  
I have long wished for Death,  
but [now] I would be glad to escape from her.  
My sorrowful, hard life  
brought me many troubles and much rage. 4  
My mind and reason is deeply upset,  
when I think that my case is closed  
in every way. If you think it well:  
there is no rest under heaven. 8
56. **To the Mendicant Friar**  
Speed your pace, without thinking it over any more,  
Mendicant Friar, and do not linger.  
You have often preached about Death,  
saying: everyone must remember her. 4  
Without opposing, barefoot, on foot,  
come without making any other request,  
and do not argue against it:  
Death is ready at every moment. 8
57. **The Mendicant Friar answers**  
What does life in this world appear to you,  
[as it is] full of evil of every kind? I do not find peace  
here:  
all I can see here is vanity.  
When we do not think about it, we have Death upon 4  
our back,  
[Death] who bites us so that,  
without saying much, she brings us to the grave.  
Alas! How painful feels  
the man who dies without getting better! 8
58. **To the Child**  
Little Child, you who are just born,  
you will have little pleasure in this world:  
you will be led to the dance,  
[as] your life is up. 4  
Do not take it as an annoyance or an offence:  
it has to be done like that, [and] there is nothing more  
to say.  
God instituted it this way:  
he who lives more has to suffer more. 8
- 54 title The Dead  
54.1 in drudgery and hardship  
54.3-54.7 You must die, [and] this is certain;  
there is no use in backing away or in arguing.  
.....  
for she frees you from a great trouble –  
come closer, [as] I'm waiting for you:
- 55 title The Ploughman  
55.1 often wished  
55.3-55.7 I would prefer – whether in rain or wind –  
to be in the vineyard where I toiled.  
I would take even greater pleasure there,  
for my fear makes me helpless.  
There is no one who could exit this place:  
55.8 no rest in this world
- 56 title Death  
56.1-56.2 Move forward, you are wrong,  
Ploughman. Next, Mendicant Friar!  
56.4-56.7 so you should be less surprised [than others].  
You should not be startled at all:  
there is no man so strong that he is not stopped by Death.  
It is good to be aware of the necessity of dying:
- 57 title The Mendicant Friar  
57.1-57.8 What does it mean to live in this world?  
Nobody stays here safely,  
[and] it abounds in vanity of different kinds,  
and after Death comes and cuts everyone down.  
A life of poverty is not a guarantee for me:  
a fine for misdeeds must be paid.  
God works in short time –  
wise is the sinner who amends.
- 58 title Death  
58.1 Child, just born,  
58.4-58.7 like others, as Death has power  
over all. From the day of their birth  
all must offer themselves to Death;  
who is not aware of that is a fool:

- 59. The Child answers**  
 Ah, ah, ah, I am not able to speak:  
 I am a child, [and] my tongue is mute.  
 I was born yesterday, [but] today you want to take me  
 away –  
 so my arrival is an unhappy thing. 4  
 I sweat with fear, [and] I change colour;  
 I did not sin, [and] that is why I am surprised.  
 God's behest does not change:  
 a child dies, and an old man dies as well. 8
- 60. To the Cleric**  
 Do you think you can be far away from Death,  
 frightened Cleric, by backing away?  
 Look behind, [and] see who is stinging you:  
 you should not obstruct anything any longer. 4  
 Immediately (do not think you can delay it)  
 dedicate your thought to dying,  
 and you should not oppose it:  
 very little remains of what a fool thinks. 8
- 61. The Cleric answers**  
 I, who worked every day,  
 took pleasure in serving;  
 for thinking I can be promoted  
 I die so soon, and I despair. 4  
 Neither a high position nor much wealth  
 nor a degree of noble science –  
 intelligence, art and power are of any use here:  
 God brings away with him what he finds appropriate. 8
- 62. To the Hermit**  
 Come dance, you, Hermit!  
 Leave your forest [and] rise up quickly;  
 without lingering, give me your hand:  
 do not think you will live more in the hermitage. 4  
 You will be forced to enter the grave below:  
 this trip does not excuse  
 either the cleric or the layman –  
 life is not a secured inheritance. 8
- 63. The Hermit answers**  
 He who has lived in a hermitage for a long time  
 is not excused from feeling Death.  
 Now I think that there is nothing steady,  
 so may it please God he accomplishes my wish: 4  
 I beg him not to cast me into the fire  
 that torments those who lived badly,  
 nor that evil Satan push me;  
 he who is not content has nothing. 8
- 64. To the Maiden**  
 Gentle Maiden, you will have to come with me;  
 let this dance not be hard for you.  
 But gather up your skirt  
 so that it does not disturb you, [and] move your feet. 4  
 You will soon have to account  
 for [your] vain life before God:  
 this dance – you know it well –  
 does not excuse a king, a duke or a count. 8
- 59 title The Child**  
**59.3** today I must go away –  
**59.4-59.6** all I do is enter and exit.  
 I have done nothing bad, but I sweat with fear;  
 I must resign myself, [and] this is the best thing.  
**59.8** the young die as quickly as the old.
- 60 title Death**  
**60.1** you can escape Death,  
**60.2** desperate Cleric  
**60.3-60.8** It is useless to twitch about it:  
 he who often thinks he can go high  
 is often seen to be suddenly brought down.  
 Accept it, [and] let us go together,  
 for it is useless to oppose it:  
 God punishes everyone who seems appropriate to him.
- 61 title The Cleric**  
**61.1** Must it be that a young cleric in service,  
**61.2** who takes pleasure  
**61.3** he can be  
**61.4-61.8** should die so soon? It is an unpleasant thing.  
 I am banned from choosing  
 any other position: I must dance this way.  
 Death has taken me at her pleasure:  
 much remains [unfulfilled] of what a fool thinks.
- 62 title Death**  
**62.1-62.7** Cleric, you must not refuse  
 to dance – show your ability!  
 You are not alone – rise up! –  
 therefore, this must affect you less.  
 Come along next, [as] this is my will,  
 man who has spent his life in a hermitage!  
 You should not be upset about it:
- 63 title The Hermit**  
**63.1-63.7** For [having had] a hard or solitary life,  
 Death does not give [to whomever] more time to live.  
 Everyone can see that, and [now] we must keep silent about it;  
 now I ask God to make me one gift:  
 that is, to efface all my sins.  
 I am happy with all his good things  
 I made use of, supported by his grace:

- 65. The Maiden answers**  
 Poor me, what will I do,  
 I who am not used to this at all?  
 I know neither the rhythm nor the steps,  
 nor do I like the music you perform. 4  
 I thought I would grow up  
 in this world for more time,  
 and I see that you, Death, have claimed me:  
 I have an order to go away. 8
- 66. To the Nun**  
 You have to change [your] vain life full of cares  
 and your headwear:  
 lady Nun, come willingly  
 dance in this square! 4  
 My mace makes all people tremble,  
 [and] there is no remedy;  
 I chase the great and the small every day –  
 this is my great law. 8
- 67. The Nun answers**  
 Blessed Jesus! What is that you are saying,  
 cruel unpleasant Death?  
 Without giving me any time, you write to me so  
 briefly–  
 ah, how hard and detestable it is 4  
 to abandon so pleasant a place  
 where I really intended to grow old!  
 Now I say that he who often thinks  
 of dying well deserves praise. 8
- 68. To the Widow**  
 Milady, you who wear your head covering,  
 you who are called Widow!  
 I think it is certain that you will dance with me.  
 You are not busy with anything, 4  
 and I do not think you have been accustomed to dance  
 for a long time now –  
 come very quickly to settle in your new accomodation:  
 everyone who lives will come with me. 8
- 69. The Widow answers**  
 I do not think it is respectable at all  
 to dance in my situation,  
 but I am forced; I protest,  
 [as] I do not like it, nor do I feel devotion toward it. 4  
 But such is your intention,  
 Death, harsh, evil, excessive;  
 you do not feel compassion for anything,  
 [and] your hatchet cuts everywhere. 8
- 70. To the Married Woman**  
 Hot carnal relations with your husband  
 made you forget that you would die –  
 think about it, do not feel offended.  
 Leave your children, [and] come quickly 4  
 join this dance, without objecting,  
 [this dance] where you will dance very graciously,  
 and please do not be angry:  
 it is possible to dance even though one is not happy 8  
 enough.

71. **The Married Woman answers**  
 So I will have to leave my husband, my children and  
 other relatives – those I love so much.  
 Alas, dancing with you means a hard separation!  
 I have never suffered hunger, 4  
 [but now] you will certainly make a thread of wool for  
 me,  
 you cruel and oppressive Death!  
 I cannot find anyone I could call upon:  
 [Death] is hateful for everyone. 8
72. **To the Notary**  
 Notary, leave quickly what you are writing  
 and do not think you will give orders any more!  
 Do you think you will live here forever?  
 Get ready to dance with me. 4  
 Put aside leafing through documents  
 and reading books and contracts;  
 you should not appeal against Death:  
 I am such as does not make pacts. 8
73. **The Notary answers**  
 I really can see that you, Death, have much power  
 and that you are a great authority;  
 it does not seem to me that you are kind to me,  
 for you have called me without giving me any time. 4  
 Poor wretched me,  
 what will I do, if you want me this way?  
 I feel just a little comforted,  
 as I am not the only one to go dancing. 8
74. **Conclusion** 4  
 This is well said indeed, so I like it;  
 therefore, be aware, with no more writing,  
 that the haughty and the meek  
 are not free from Death at all. 4  
 So now be careful to lead a very good life,  
 so that you do not cease doing good deeds,  
 and he who today does not know his tomorrow  
 will be able to smile among the saints. 8
75. **These words are pronounced by a Dead King who  
 lies in a grave or tomb** 4  
 You who watch the present dance  
 with all these people [who participate in it],  
 pay attention, look at my appearance:  
 I was once a great king and a very powerful one; 4  
 now I am in the grave,  
 where my body has all rotted –  
 neither the wise nor the uncouth  
 will avoid being thrown to the worms. 8
76. **What is this world really, if we reflect on it?**  
 It is just a moment and a transitory thing.  
 Everyone can well see that here,  
 in the present dance or painting. 4  
 Remember it often,  
 for it admonishes us about how to live well:  
 if we live well, we will receive [celestial] glory;  
 those are happy who celebrate in Heaven. 8
64. **64 title The Dead**  
**64.1-64.8** This is well said, thus should one speak:  
 there is no one free from Death.  
 He who lives badly will have even worse,  
 so let everyone think to live well.  
 God will weigh everything in the scale –  
 it is good to think about it, in the evening and in the morning,  
 [and] there is no better knowledge in books:  
 there is no one who has no tomorrow.
65. **65 title A Dead King completely naked lying upside down**  
**65.1-65.8** You who, in this painting,  
 see men of different conditions dancing,  
 think about what human nature is:  
 it is no more than food for worms.  
 I, who lie here, demonstrate it,  
 and I was once a crowned king –  
 so will you be, the good and the sinners:  
 men of all conditions are given to the worms.
66. **66 title A Master speaking at the beginning of this dance**  
**66.1-66.7** A human being is nothing, if we reflect well on it:  
 he is just wind, a transitory thing.  
 Everyone can see that in this dance;  
 therefore, you who see this painting,  
 save it well in your memory,  
 for it admonishes all men and women  
 to obtain the glory of Heaven:

77. But there are some people who do not care about it,  
as if there were no Heaven –  
as a result, they go to Hell,  
a place of horror, full of evil and dissension. 4  
Please do very well – I warn you of that –  
[and] please correct all your errors:  
you will gain enjoyment and happy laughter,  
[as] a good deed is of great use for the living and for 8  
the dead.
- I All you who see it, /I.2/  
tell of this dance and of /I.1/  
what is the real value of honour,  
joys, riches; 4  
indeed, such will you be, when liquidated by Death,  
which summons the crowd,  
having come quickly. 7

This Dance of Death was written by a holy man, doctor and chancellor of Paris, in French; his name was Joannes Climacus or Climages, [and he wrote this poem] at the request of some pious religious French people. Subsequently, it was translated into Catalan. In the end of this [poem], the doctor mentioned above put the following Epigram.

- II **Epigram on human happiness and unhappiness**  
The Lord created all the mortals in the light,  
so that they might obtain the supreme joy of Heaven  
by their merits.  
Happy is the one who constantly directs his mind  
there  
and is a watcher aware of everything that is harmful. 4  
Nor is he unhappy who repents of the evil deeds he  
has done  
and often regrets his crimes.  
But humans live as if Death were never to come to  
them,  
and as if Hell were only a vain fable. 8  
As sense teaches that the living are dissolved by  
death,  
and the holy page proves the punishments of hell,  
he who has no fear of them lives as an absolutely  
foolish man,  
and when extinct will feel the funeral pyre. 12  
So, then, let all strive to live wisely,  
in order they do not fear the stake of Hell.
- II title Magisterial verses  
II.13 all mortals must fight

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