

## MST1327S Death, dying, and society in medieval northern Europe

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Office hours: Monday 2–4

*Those who practice philosophy in the right way are training for dying and they fear death least of all men.*

(Plato, *Phaedo* 67c–e, trans. G. M. A. Grube.)

*The dead make civilization on a grand and an intimate scale, everywhere and always: their historical, philosophical, and anthropological weight is enormous and almost without limit and compare.*

(T. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead*, p. 11.)



The one absolute certainty in life is that you will one day die. Dealing with the fact of death is at the core of much religious thought and ritual, and has often had a great influence on how people live; this was especially the case in the middle ages, when lives were shorter and more precarious and death was more vividly present in everyday life, than is the case today. Particularly in the later middle ages, in the aftermath of the Black Death that, in many regions, killed between a third and half the population within a very short span of time, the spectre of death, according to a significant strand of the scholarship, loomed large in people's consciousness. This catastrophe brought forth responses from poets and preachers, painters and philosophers; and in the view of influential cultural historians like Johan Huizinga, the even closer presence of death also changed the ways in which people lived.

After an overview of some of the more important theoretical approaches to the topic, and a survey of the processes of creating a Christian response to death in the early middle ages, this course will examine the place of death in the culture and society of the later middle ages by means of a series of primary source-based case studies. The focus will be on the period following the Black Death, and we will examine how that demographic collapse shaped later medieval attitudes to death as evidenced in a variety of genres from different spheres of life. This course will require a multi-disciplinary approach to the subject, and students will gain experience working with a range of sources, from sermons and vision literature to wills, paintings, and the multimedial *Dance of Death*. In doing so they will also gain some insight into the ways in which historical, literary, and art historical scholarship has approached the subject, primarily with reference to England, France, and Germany. The last session will examine the culture of death in the immediate wake of the Reformation and seek to understand how much the Reformation really changed.

Students will have the opportunity to write either a historiographic essay or a study of a primary source; some primary sources will be compulsory readings for seminar discussion, but students may also choose other materials for their coursework depending on their interests.

## Assessment

### 40% Final essay (due on May 1).

The final essay may be either a historiographic review, or a research paper based on primary sources, in the region of 25–30 pages (including footnotes). Students must submit a one or two page outline with bibliography no later than the class in week 11 (March 27) and will receive feedback by the last class (April 3); students are encouraged to discuss essay topics as early as possible.

**Please note that May 1 is an absolute deadline, and NO extensions will be granted beyond this date unless you have completed the requisite forms and provided the documentation required for extensions for coursework. Details about these are available from Grace Desa.**

### 25% Primary source presentation.

The classes in weeks 4 to 11 will be structured around close reading of primary sources (depending on students' interests, week 12 may also be similarly structured). For this component of the assessment, students will be expected to prepare an oral presentation on the assigned sources for the week (*c.*25 minutes), accompanied by a handout; they will also be expected to take the lead in shaping the following discussion. The presentation must do the following (and may also accomplish other goals): introduce the source(s), discuss the potentials and problems presented by this type of source, and provide a brief analysis of what we can learn about the week's theme, and more generally about the social and cultural history of death, from the source(s) or source type(s) discussed in that week. Handouts should include the following information: geographical and temporal scope; authorship; language of original; problems and potentials of the source(s) for the questions addressed in that week of the seminar. For weeks 9 and 11, students presenting must prepare a slide-show with images of the primary sources to be discussed, since the classes in these weeks are based on visual material.

NB: The primary source presentation may—but need not—be used as a basis for the final research paper.

### 20% Book/article reports

Three or four critical summaries (the exact number will depend on enrolment) of a selection of articles or a book chosen from a particular week's readings, to be circulated by email in advance; students will be expected to be prepared to answer questions regarding the readings.

### 15% Participation

Discussion based on a close reading of required texts, some familiarity with additional readings, and engagement with handouts and presentations.



## Class schedule

1: *Introduction and course overview (January 9)*

2: *Life and death: a survey (January 16)*

### Required reading

P. Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (1974); or *idem*, *The Hour of Our Death* (1991);

OR

P. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (1994);

OR

K. S. Guthke, *The Gender of Death: A Cultural History in Art and Literature* (1999);

OR

T. W. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (2015).

### Additional readings

M. Aston, 'Death', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes* (1994), pp. 202–28.

D. Alexandre-Bidon, *La mort au Moyen Age: XIIIe–XVIe siècles* (1998).

C. W. Bynum and P. Freedman (eds), *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (2000).

J. Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen age (vers 1320–vers 1480)* (1980).

B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds), *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (2000).

J. Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1996 [orig. 1919]).

M. Lauwers, *La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts: morts, rites et société au Moyen Age* (1997).

R. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215–c.1515* (1995), pp. 191–234.

J. Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (1981).

3: *Christianising death (January 23)*

### Required readings

P. Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity* (2015);

OR

F. S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (1990).

### Additional readings

D. A. Bullough, 'Burial, Community and Belief in the Early Medieval West', in P. Wormald, D. A. Bullough, and R. Collins (eds), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (1983), pp. 177–201.

B. Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (2002).

B. Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures* (2005), pp. 318–38.

G. Constable, 'The Commemoration of the Dead in the Early Middle Ages', in J. H. M. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West* (2000), pp. 169–95.

P. J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (1994).

M. Lauwers, *La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts: morts, rites et société au Moyen Age* (1997), pp. 69–100.

É. Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (2009).

D. Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne* (1978).

V. Thompson, *Death and Dying in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (2004).

#### 4: Monastic deaths (January 30)

##### Primary text

F. S. Paxton, *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages* (2013).

##### Scholarship

- A.-J. A. Bijsterveld, 'Looking for Common Ground: From Monastic *Fraternitas* to Lay Confraternity in the Southern Low Countries', in E. Jamrozik and J. Burton (eds), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400* (2006), pp. 287–314.
- S. Boynton, 'A Monastic Death Ritual from the Imperial Abbey of Farfa', *Traditio*, 64 (2009), 57–84.
- G. Constable, 'Commemoration and Confraternity at Cluny during the Abbacy of Peter the Venerable', in G. Constable, G. Melville, and J. Oberste (eds), *Die Cluniacenser in ihrem politisch-sozialem Umfeld* (1998), pp. 253–78.
- R. Gilchrist and B. Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (2005).
- V. Greene, 'Un cimetière livresque: la liste nécrologique médiévale', *Le Moyen Age*, 105 (1999), 307–30.
- D. Iogna-Prat, 'The Dead in the Celestial Bookkeeping of the Cluniac Monks around the Year 1000', in L. K. Little and B. H. Rosenwein (eds), *Debating the Middle Ages* (1998), pp. 340–62.
- M. Lauwers, *La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts: morts, rites et société au Moyen Age* (1997), pp. 103–47.
- J. Leclercq, 'The Joy of Dying According to St. Bernard', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 25 (1990), 163–74.
- 'Mourir et sourire dans la tradition monastique', *Studia Monastica*, 35 (1993), 55–67.
- M. McLaughlin, 'On Communion with the Dead', *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), 23–34.
- 'The Twelfth-Century Ritual of Death and Burial at Saint-Jean-en-Vallée in the Diocese of Chartres', *Revue Bénédictine*, 105 (1995), 155–66.
- J. Raaijmakers, 'Memory and Identity: The *Annales Necrologici* of Fulda', in R. Corradini et al (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (2006), pp. 303–21.

#### 5: The Black Death and its aftermath (February 6)

##### Primary texts

R. Horrox (ed. and trans.), *The Black Death* (1994), pp. 1–41, 126–43, 150–7.

##### Scholarship

- J.-N. Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens* (1975/6).
- D. Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West* (1997).
- J. Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (1994), pp. 297–353.
- R. E. Lerner, 'The Black Death and Western European Eschatological Mentalities', *American Historical Review*, 86 (1981), 533–52.
- D. C. Mendel, 'A Plague on Bohemia? Mapping the Black Death', *Past and Present*, 211 (2011), 3–34.
- M. E. Mate, *Daughters, Wives, and Widows after the Black Death: Women in Sussex, 1350–1535* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998).
- C. Platt, *King Death: The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England* (1996).
- S. K. Wray, *Communities and Crisis: Bologna during the Black Death* (2009).

#### 6: Preparing for death: the perspective of the pulpit and the art of dying (February 13)

##### Primary texts

R. Horrox (ed. and trans.), *The Black Death* (1994), pp. 339–51.

J. R. Shinnars, *Medieval Popular Religion: A Reader* (2006), pp. 534–49.

##### Scholarship

- A. Appleford, *Learning to Die in London, 1380–1540* (2014), pp. 18–54, 98–180.
- F. Bayard, *L'art du bien mourir au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Etude sur les Arts du bien mourir au bas moyen âge à la lumière d'un ars moriendi allemande du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1999).
- N. L. Beaty, *The Craft of Dying: A Study in the Literary Tradition of the Ars Moriendi in England* (1970), pp. 1–107.
- P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (1996), pp. 29–50.
- R. Chartier, 'Les Arts de mourir, 1450–1600', *Annales*, 31 (1976), 51–75.

- P. K. Klein, 'Entre paradis present et jugement dernier: les programmes apocalyptiques et eschatologiques dans les porches du haut moyen âge', in C. Sapin (ed.), *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (2002), pp. 464–83.
- W. J. Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership* (1995).
- M. C. O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well* (1942).
- E. J. G. Lips, 'Sur la popularité de l'Ars moriendi aux Pays-Bas (1450–1530)', *Revue du Nord*, 70 (1988), 489–500.
- J. Ruys, 'Dying 101: Emotion, Experience, and Learning how to Die in the Late Medieval *Artes Moriendi*', *Parergon*, 31 (2014), 55–79.

#### READING WEEK

##### 7: *After death: patronage, purgatory, and other possibilities* (February 27)

###### Primary texts

J. R. Shinnars, *Medieval Popular Religion: A Reader* (2006), pp. 517–30.

###### Scholarship

- C. W. Bynum and P. Freedman (eds), *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (2000).
- P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (1996), pp. 164–214.
- E. A. R. Brown, 'Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Corpse', *Viator*, 12 (1981), 221–70.
- 'Authority, Family, and the Dead in Late Medieval France', *French Historical Studies*, 16 (1990), 803–332.
- C. Burgess, "'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented": An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Late Medieval England', in S. J. Wright (ed.), *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion* (1988), 56–84.
- "'An Afterlife in Memory": Commemoration and its Effects in a Late Medieval Parish', *Studies in Church History*, 45 (2009), 196–217.
- C. W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (2017 [orig. 1995]).
- N. M. Caciola, *Afterlives: The Return of the Dead in the Middle Ages* (2016), pp. 109–345.
- J. Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Arignon à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320–vers 1480)* (1980), pp. 389–425.
- J. le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (1984).
- M. Lauwers, *La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts: morts, rites et société au Moyen Âge* (1997), pp. 172–204, 375–473.
- T. Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory in Middle English Didactic Poetry* (1997).
- O. Richard, *Mémoires bourgeoises: "memoria" et identité urbaine à Ratisbonne à la fin du Moyen Âge* (2009).
- J.-C. Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society* (1998).

##### 8: *The pragmatic perspective: wills and pious bequests* (March 6)

###### Primary sources

M. Kowaleski, *Medieval Towns: A Reader* (2006), pp. 265–8.

J. R. Shinnars, *Medieval Popular Religion: A Reader* (2006), pp. 531–4.

AND selections from

C. W. Foster (ed.), *Lincoln Wills*, vol. 1: 1271–1526 (1914), available online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lincoln-wills/vol1>,

OR

R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London* (1889/90), available online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/court-husting-wills/vol1> and <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/court-husting-wills/vol2>.

###### Scholarship

*Actes à cause de mort*, 2: *Europe médiévale et modern* (= *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 60) (1993).

C. Burgess, "'By Quick and by Dead": Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol', *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), 837–58.

- ‘Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered’, in M. Hicks (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England* (1990), pp. 14–33.
  - ‘The Benefactions of Mortality: The Lay Response in the Late Medieval Urban Parish’, in D. M. Smith (ed.), *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England* (1991), pp. 65–86.
- J. Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320–vers 1480)* (1980), pp. 33–89, 209–389.
- S. K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (1992).
- P. Heath, ‘Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills’, in R. B. Dobson (ed.), *The Church, Politics, and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (1984), pp. 209–34.
- J. Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (1994), pp. 155–239.
- M. Howell, ‘Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai’, *Past and Present*, 150 (1996), 3–45.
- M. Lauwers, *La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts: morts, rites et société au Moyen Âge* (1997), pp. 172–204, 355–74, 478–91.
- F. Michaud, ‘Wills and Testaments’, in J. Rollo-Koster (ed.), *Death in Medieval Europe* (2017), pp. 114–29.
- J. Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370–1547* (2001).
- M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England: From the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (1963).
- O. Richard, *Memoires bourgeoises: “memoria” et identité urbaine à Ratisbonne à la fin du Moyen Âge* (2009).
- M.-H. Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantry at St. Paul’s Cathedral, c.1200–1548* (2011).
- C. A. Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg* (2011).
- N. P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich* (1984), pp. 113–39.
- A. M. Vallaro, ‘“Considerans fragilitatem humane naturae...” Testaments et pratique testamentaire à San Gimignano de 1299 à 1530 (2005).
- S. K. Wray, *Communities and Crisis: Bologna during the Black Death* (2009).
- S. K. Wray and R. Cossar, ‘Wills as Primary Sources’, in J. T. Rosenthal (ed.), *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources* (2012), pp. 59–71.

### 9: *Depicting death (March 13)*

The primary source images to be discussed will be taken from the scholarship listed below

- J. M. Bennett, ‘Death and the Maiden’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 42 (2012), 269–305.
- P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (1996).
- T. S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages* (1972).
- K. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1973).
- N. Z. Davis, ‘Holbein’s Pictures of Death and the Reformation in Lyon’, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 3 (1956), 97–130.
- G. Fiero, ‘Death Ritual in Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 271–94.
- C. Kiening, ‘Le double décomposé: rencontres des vivants et des morts à la fin du Moyen Âge’, *Annales*, 50 (1995), 1157–90.
- A. Kinch, *Imago Mortis: Mediating Images of Death in Late Medieval Culture* (2013).
- J. L. Koerner, ‘The Mortification of the Image: Death as a Hermeneutic in Hans Baldung Grien’, *Representations*, 10 (1985), 52–101.
- A. Tenenti (ed.), *Humana Fragilitas: The Themes of Death in Europe from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (2002)
- J. Wirth, *La jeune fille et la mort: Recherches sur les thèmes macabres dans l’art germanique de la renaissance* (1979).

### 10: *A dialogue with death (March 20)*

Primary text

K. W. Maurer (ed. and trans.), *Death and the Ploughman* (1947);

OR

F. Bayard (ed. and trans.), *Le laboureur de Bohême: dialogue avec la mort* (2013).

### Scholarship

- F. H. Bäuml, *Rhetorical Devices and Structure in the Ackermann aus Böhmen* (1960).
- M. Chinca, 'Horizons of Loss: Consolation and the Person in the *Ackermann* by Johannes von Tepl', in *The Erotics of Consolation: Desire and Distance in the Late Middle Ages* (2008), pp. 165–84.
- E. DuBruck, *The Theme of Death in French Poetry of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1964).
- 'Death and the Peasant: A Testimony on Fifteenth-Century Life and Thought by Johannes von Saaz', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 3 (1980), 55–70.
- J. O. Fichte, 'Der *Ackermann aus Böhmen*: "Experience" Becomes Art—A Poetic Response to Death', in *Intellectuals and Writers in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (1986), pp. 178–90.
- C. Martineau-Géniéys, *La Thème de la mort dans la poésie française de 1450 à 1550* (1978).
- M. Morton, 'Life against Death in Bohemia: The Structure of the Debate in *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 9 (1984), 125–46.
- C. Schneider, 'Divine Wisdom: The Christological Interpretation of *Sapientia* in Johannes von Tepl's *Der Ackermann*', *German Quarterly*, 87 (2014), 277–96.
- P. S. Spinrad, *The Summons of Death on the Medieval and Renaissance English Stage* (1987).
- P. Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature* (1976).
- A. Winston-Allen, 'Using the *Tractatus de Crudelitate Mortis* to Interpret the *Ackermann*', *Daphnis*, 18 (1989), 369–90.

### *11: Dancing with death (March 27)*

#### Primary source

Texts and images in:

E. Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages: Image, Text, Performance* (2010);

OR

A. Tukey Harrison (ed. and trans.), *The Danse Macabre of Women* (1994);

OR

F. Warren, *The Dance of Death* (1931).

#### Scholarship

- A. Appleford, *Learning to Die in London, 1380–1540* (2014), pp. 55–97.
- P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (1996), pp. 123–63.
- S. Chaganti, 'Danse Macabre and the Visual Churchyard', *Postmedieval*, 3 (2012), 7–26.
- J. C. Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1950).
- E. Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages: Image, Text, Performance* (2010).
- D. A. Kaiser and S. F. Wemple, 'Death's Dance of Women', *Journal of Medieval History*, 12 (1986), pp. 333–43.
- A. Kinch, *Imago Mortis: Mediating Images of Death in Late Medieval Culture* (2013), pp. 185–260.
- S. Oosterwijk, 'Of Corpses, Constables, and Kings: The Danse Macabre in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Culture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 157 (2004), 169–90.
- 'Of Dead Kings, Dukes, and Constables: The Historical Context of the *Danse Macabre* in Late-Medieval Paris', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 161 (2004), 131–62.
- 'Death, Memory, and Commemoration: John Lydgate and "Macabrees Daunce" at Old St Paul's Cathedral, London', in C. M. Barron and C. Burgess (eds), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (2010), pp. 185–201.
- "'This Worlde is but a Pilgrimage": Mental Attitudes in/to the Medieval *Danse Macabre*', in S. Katajala-Peltomaa and S. Niiranen (eds), *Mental (Dis)Order in the Later Middle Ages* (2014), pp. 197–218.
- S. Oosterwijk and S. Knöll (eds), *Mixed Metaphors: The Danse Macabre in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (2011).
- D. Pearsall, 'Signs of Life in Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*', in J. Hogg (ed.), *Zeit, Tod, und Ewigkeit in der Renaissance Literatur* (1987), vol. 3, pp. 58–71.
- J. H. M. Taylor, 'The Dialogues of the Dance of Death and the Limits of Late-Medieval Theatre', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 16 (1990), 215–32.

12: Reforming death (April 3)

Required reading

C. Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany* (2000).

Additional reading

A. Appleford, *Learning to Die in London, 1380–1540* (2014), pp. 181–216.

N. L. Beaty, *The Craft of Dying: A Study in the Literary Tradition of the Ars Moriendi in England* (1970), pp. 108–96.

J. Bepler, 'Women in German Funeral Sermons: Models of Virtue or Slice of Life?' *German Life and Letters*, 44 (1991), 392–403.

E. T. Dugan, 'The Funeral Sermon as a Key to Family Values in Early Modern Nördlingen', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 20 (1989), 631–44.

V. Harding, *The Dead and the Living in London and Paris, 1500–1700* (2002).

R. Po-Chia Hsia, 'Civic Wills as a Source for the Study of Piety in Muenster, 1530–1618', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 14 (1984), 321–48.

S. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (1997), pp. 138–89.

– *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (2010), pp. 189–214.

J. L. Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (1993), pp. 249–447.

– *The Reformation of the Image* (2004).

C. Koslofsky, 'Separating the Living from the Dead: Wessel Gansfort and the Death of Purgatory', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 10 (1994), 129–43.

N. R. Leroux, *Martin Luther as Comforter: Writings on Death* (2007).

D. M. Luebke, 'Confessions of the Dead: Interpreting Burial Practice in the Late Reformation', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101 (2010), 53–77.

H. Puff, 'Memento mori, memento mei: Albrecht Dürer and the Art of Dying', in L. Tatlock (ed.), *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany* (2010), pp. 103–32.

T. Rasmussen and J. Ø. Flåten (eds), *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead* (2015).

R. K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (2012).

B. Vogler, 'Attitudes devant la mort et cérémonies funèbres dans les Églises protestantes rhénanes vers 1600', *Archives des Sciences Sociales des Religions*, 20 (1975), 139–46.

– 'La législation sur les sépultures dans l'Allemagne protestante au XVIe siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 22 (1975), 191–232.

J. Wicks, 'Applied Theology at the Deathbed: Luther and the Late-Medieval Tradition of the *Ars Moriendi*', *Gregorianum*, 79 (1998), 345–68.

J. Wirth, *La jeune fille et la mort: Recherches sur les themes macabres dans l'art germanique de la renaissance* (1979).