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ASPECTS OF DEATH IN ART AND EPIGRAM

F. PARKES WEBER

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H. S. Wellcome Esq
With the author's compl
1914

ASPECTS OF DEATH IN ART AND EPIGRAM.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Art and Epigram regarding Science and Medicine in Relation to Death, *together with an Addition on* Epigram and Art in Relation to the Excessive Fear of Death.

1914.

Medals and Medallions of the Nineteenth Century, relating to England, by Foreign Artists.

With Two Autotype Plates.

1894.

Conclusion, to the End of the Year 1900.

With Four Plates.

1907.

Medals of Centenarians.

1903.

LONDON: BERNARD QUARITCH,
11, GRAFTON STREET, W.

A philosopher lecturing on life and death. From a Roman lamp in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (see page 398). Before him is a skeleton at which he points. Below is a baby in swaddling clothes. Many Romans of the period would probably have interpreted the meaning of the scene somewhat as follows: "There sits a learned man trying to expound the riddle of life and death, but however learned he may be, and however wise his discourse, what does all his teaching amount to? There is only one practical conclusion to be derived from it all, namely, the one which the skeleton tells us: *Edite! bibite! post mortem nulla voluptas!*" By early Christianity, which was then commencing, this precept was (incorrectly) held up as the essence of Pagan philosophy; by mediaeval Christianity it was pointed to as a devil's maxim.

ASPECTS OF DEATH IN ART AND EPIGRAM

ILLUSTRATED ESPECIALLY BY MEDALS, ENGRAVED GEMS, JEWELS, IVORIES, ANTIQUE POTTERY, &c.

BY

F. PARKES WEBER, M.A., M.D.,

FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES AND OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND MUCH ENLARGED.

WITH 126 ILLUSTRATIONS.

"As soone as wee to bee begunne,
We did beginne to be undone."
G. WITHER'S *Emblems*, 1635, p. 45.

T. FISHER UNWIN
LONDON: ADELPHI TERRACE
LEIPSIC: INSELSTRASSE 20

AND

BERNARD QUARITCH
LONDON: 11, GRAFTON STREET, W.

1914.

JEG(2)

THE MYSTERY OF PAIN AND DEATH.

O Pain, I know thee and I fear to know
Thee better. Yet I know that to mankind
Thou art a friend, warner, corrector, guide,
A guardian angel watching o'er the soul.
Mysterious power divine, wise Nature's goad
For mortals towards light and progress fair.
Only when all is known—no secrets hid—
Wilt thou be understood. And thou, O death,
What is thy meaning? Some there are of men
Deny thee quite. "There is no death," they say;
But ever with veil'd aspects com'st thou still.

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PREFACE.

THE first edition of this little volume consisted of a series of articles reprinted, with many alterations and additions, from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909-10, Nos. 36–38. The present edition (in part re-written and very greatly enlarged) is certainly not an exhaustive treatise on the "iconography" of death, and still less does it aim at being anything like a complete "anthology" of the vast existing stores of poetry and epigrams relating to the subject of death [1]; but it is intended to be an essay on the mental attitudes towards the idea of death, and the various ways in which the idea of death (from ancient Greek and Roman to modern times) has, or may be supposed to have, affected the living individual—his mental and physical state, and especially the direction and force of his action—as illustrated by epigram and minor works of art, especially medals, engraved gems, jewels,

[1] For some of the French poetry from the fifteenth century to modern times, relating to death, including part of Victor Hugo's *Epopée du Ver* and Théophile Gautier's *Comédie de la Mort*, see Léon Larmand, *Les Poètes de la Mort* (L. Michaud, Paris). Amongst very early French poetry on death there are thirteenth-century versions of *Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs*, and the curious late twelfth-century *Vers de la Mort*, attributed to the monk Hélinant de Froidmont or to Thibaud de Marly. In the edition printed at Paris in 1835, as the work of T. de Montmorency, Seigneur de Marly, called Thibaud de Marly, the following lines (p. 26) may be taken as an example of the spelling:—

"Mors, tu abas à un seul jour
Aussi le roi dedans sa tour
Con le pouvre dessous son toit."

These lines appear as follows in the Paris edition of 1905 (p. 20) by F. Wulff and E. Walberg, who attribute the poem to Hélinant, Moine de Froidmont:—

"Morz, tu abaz a un seul jor
Aussi le roi dedenz sa tor
Com le povre dedenz son toit."

&c. The book is divided into four parts. The first is meant to serve as an introduction to the whole subject. The second is an arrangement and analysis of the various possible aspects of death and the mental attitudes towards the idea of death, designed mainly to show the headings under which illustrative works of art may be grouped. The third deals with the medals and coins; and in the fourth engraved gems, finger-rings, jewels, representations on ancient pottery, &c., bearing on the subject, are described. The repetitions which occur in various parts of the book will, it is hoped, be excused on the ground of convenience for purposes of reference.

I wish to thank and express my great obligation to all those who have assisted me, especially Mr. H. A. Grueber, the late Mr. Warwick Wroth, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. J. Allan, Sir C. H. Read, Mr. H. B. Walters, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Mr. R. L. Binyon, and other officials, or late officials, of the British Museum; Mr. W. W. Watts, Mr. E. R. D. Maclagan, and other officials of the Victoria and Albert Museum; the late Sir John Evans, President of the Royal Numismatic Society, Lady Evans, Dr. H. R. Storer, Dr. Oliver Codrington, Dr. C. F. L. Leipoldt, Dr. Ernest Schuster, Mr. Alfred Schuster, Mr. Martin Reinicke, Dr. J. P. zum Busch, Dr. G. Dorner, Mr. A. H. Donaldson, Mr. W. Wale, Mr. W. T. Ready, and Mr. L. Forrer; and, needless to say, the authors of the numerous books and papers to which I have referred, and from some of which I have extensively quoted. To the Contessa Caetani Lovatelli's *Thanatos* I am particularly obliged for references to ancient inscriptions and epigrams. Dr. J. D. Rolleston has furnished me with several references to the *Greek Anthology*. In regard to suggestions for the second edition, I have to thank especially Dr. Leipoldt and Dr. Storer. Mr. C. J. S. Thompson has kindly drawn my attention to various objects of interest in the newly founded Wellcome

Historical Medical Museum, to which I am indebted for some of my illustrations.

If Rabbi Hillel was right in saying that death presents various aspects only to the unwise, then indeed very few human beings are really wise, for to most persons the aspect varies from time to time, according to moods and circumstances. Age certainly often modifies the aspect, as Mr. Edmond G. A. Holmes recently stated that it had done in his own case.[2]

The study of human aspects of death derives most of its interest from human aspects of life. The aspects of the one are naturally more or less dependent on and modified by the aspects of the other. Death is as necessary as birth for the continuance and progress of the human race, and corporeal life in the higher organisms cannot even be imagined without death (except, indeed, in regard to the doctrine of the immortality of germ-plasm). A man's ideas on death depend largely on the particular conditions of his own life and his surroundings, whilst his ideas and ideals of life may be considerably modified by his views and hopes regarding the nature of death and the nature of the human soul.

A longer, but more correct, title for this little book would have been, "The mental attitudes towards the ideas of death and immortality, and the various ways in which they have, or may be supposed to have, affected the living individual (his mental and physical state, and especially the direction and force of his actions), as illustrated by epigram and minor works of art, especially medals, engraved gems, jewels, &c." Naturally, I have not endeavoured to point out all the possible effects on the living of the various aspects of death as presented by medals, &c. It would, for instance, be quite unnecessary to explain that contemporary medals representing a

[2] It obliged him to alter many of the stanzas in his poem "To Death," included in *The Creed of My Heart and Other Poems*, London, 1912.

decapitation for high treason might, at the time when they were issued, have exercised a deterrent influence on those who saw them. *Vide* the medals commemorating the execution of Monmouth and Argyle in 1685, with the inscription "Ambitio malesuada ruit." The "toy-shop" medals (also described in this book), issued in London on the loss of Minorca in 1756, may actually have played a part in bringing the unfortunate Admiral Byng to his death. It is pleasanter to think that the satirical "pattern" for a bank-note ("*not* to be imitated"), designed by George Cruikshank in 1818, and published by William Hone in Ludgate Hill, really helped to put an end to the death-penalty for forgery of bank-notes.

La Rochefoucauld said that man could no more look steadily at death than at the sun. But certainly man may, without harm to himself, see death or ideas on death reflected in works of art. Just so, in the ancient legend, Perseus was able, without being turned into stone, to behold the head of the Gorgon Medusa, reflected in the mirror given to him by Athene; and thus he succeeded in slaying the dreadful monster.

At all events, a study of this kind to some extent increases one's knowledge, and brings with it a certain amount of satisfaction, though neither this nor any other study can quite place one in the position described by Virgil:—

> "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas;
> Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari!"

Many other subjects might be studied in a similar way to these aspects of death. I wish some lawyer with sufficient leisure and interest in the matter would write on *Aspects of Law and Justice in Art and Epigram.* What an undertaking this would be, even if only medals and minor works of art were taken into consideration! Think of the numberless portraits of lawyers, judges, and law-givers; medals, &c., commemorating celebrated trials, famous convictions and acquittals, the execution of the penalties of law, the miscarriage of "justice," "justice" supposed to be sold for bags of gold, the triumphs of justice and

triumphant escapes from justice; the birth of new laws, their short life or their long life, the death of old effete and unjust laws; strong laws, weak laws, useful and useless laws; the good laws of constitutional countries and the cruel laws of despotic tyrants; historical periods of law and order, and times of lawlessness when law seemed altogether dead, though it came to life again, *ut gramina sicca virescunt.*

Think of a book on the *Aspects of Finance in Art and Caricature*. The medals and caricatures relating to John Law and his financial schemes fill a volume by themselves, and the illustrations relating to the South Sea Bubble would, I suppose, easily fill another. In this connexion the medals (1753 and 1755) on the Irish Surplus Revenue Dispute have some interest (see *Medallic Illustrations of English History*, London, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 673, 674, and 676, 677). In regard to State Finance a specially interesting series would be the medals, coins, and tokens bearing devices or inscriptions referring to Government taxes of various countries. Such a series would, of course, include the medals of William Pitt with the words, "No Stamps," below his bust, relating to his opposition to the Stamp Act, one of the causes of the American War of Independence. I suppose that the inscription, "Mind your business," on some early United States coins and paper money, must to some extent have been originally intended to refer to England's interference (in regard to tea-duty, &c.) with her American Colonies. Some satirical medals relating to Sir Robert Walpole's Excise Bill represent the devil leading the statesman by a rope round his neck towards the open jaws of a monster (hell); inscription: "Make room for Sir Robert ——— No excise!" There are, of course, medals more or less relating to the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and to Richard Cobden and other statesmen connected with the repeal movement. The extraordinary "beard tax," first imposed in Russia by Peter the Great, is commemorated by tokens struck in 1705 in silver and copper (bearing the device of a beard, moustaches, and nose), to serve as a receipt for having paid the tax; there is also a larger, lozenge-shaped piece with the date 1725 (the year of the succession of the Empress Catharine I). I do not know of any medals connected with the window-tax or with the hearth-tax (chimney-tax) formerly levied in England; but the hearth-tax in the Netherlands, levied in 1666 to provide money for the war against England, is commemorated by two medals, dated 1666 and 1668 respectively (G. van Loon, *Histoire Métallique des Pays Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. ii. pp. 516, 517). Curiously enough, there are no medals as yet, so far as I know, relating to the laws of State insurance of the working classes in Germany, England, and elsewhere.

[Numismatic collections have, of course, been formed, and have been or are going to be described, to illustrate as far as possible various special subjects; for instance, the History of Medicine and the Sciences allied to Medicine (*Medicina in Nummis*), Treaties of Peace in the World's History (*Pax in Nummis*), the different kinds of boats and ships,

especially war-ships, of ancient and modern times. A similar collection might be formed of coins and medals representing cars, carts, and chariots—real and imaginary—the biga and quadriga of Greek and Roman times, the funeral carpentum drawn by mules or elephants on Roman Imperial coins of the mortuary or *consecratio* kind, triumphal cars of classical and Renaissance designs, the chariot of Neptune and other imaginary marine chariots, the chariot of the Sun and other imaginary aërial chariots. The medals relating to railway engines, railways and motor vehicles, might be included. The early history of balloons (the brothers Montgolfier, V. Lunardi, &c.) is illustrated by medals, and doubtless there are already, or there will soon be, medals depicting the *real* aërial chariots of modern times, the aëroplanes and the Zeppelin and other air-ships. Foreshadowings of modern biplane flying-machines were represented on some minor works of art of the first half of the nineteenth century, for instance, ornamental engravings at the head of note-paper. The remarkable point is that some of these appear almost exactly like real flying-machines now in use; but Leonardo da Vinci and others had long previously considered the problem.

In regard to medical medals I do not think that the numismatic field has yet been searched for specimens illustrating mental abnormalities and mental peculiarities of various kinds. So many persons (some would say, all) are mentally peculiar in one way or another, that numerous numismatic illustrations ought to be forthcoming, but in regard to judging the psychical condition of persons by their coins and medals it must be remembered that though "the image and superscription" on a coin or medal may be, say, Caesar's, it does not follow that Caesar had much hand in selecting the design and inscription for either the obverse or the reverse. Indeed, medals are often designed after the death of those (whether "Caesars" or private individuals) whose image and superscription they are made to bear. The only instance I know of an alienist having chosen an illustration from numismatics seems to me an unfortunate one. Dr. W. W. Ireland (*The Blot upon the Brain*, second edition, Edinburgh, 1893, p. 116) refers to the forced currency of Muhammad ibn Taghlak, Sultan of Delhi, 1324-1351 A.D. The Sultan "had heard of the paper notes used for money in China, and thought that he could enrich the imperial treasury by fixing an arbitrary value on copper tokens. The result was that they were only accepted through fear, and could not be passed in the remote provinces," &c. Stanley Lane-Poole, however (*The Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum*, London, 1884, Introduction, p. xxi), explains that Muhammad ibn Taghlak's forced currency was in reality a kind of promissory currency in brass, and could easily have been redeemed at nominal prices. "Indeed, when, after about three years, the trial proved unsuccessful, in consequence of innumerable imitations, against which the Sultan had organized no regal protective marks, Muhammad ibn Taghlak took up the whole brass currency, genuine and forged alike, at the values for which they were intended to

pass. In such circumstances there can be no question of dishonesty on the part of the ruler."

A rather curious subject on which every numismatist knows something, but which has not yet been adequately dealt with, is that of medals relating to events which were expected to occur, but which either never occurred or came off much later than the making of the medal designed to commemorate them. For English collectors the most interesting example of the kind is undoubtedly the medal (by R. V. Jeuffroy) of Napoleon I, made (under Denon's direction) in 1804, to commemorate the projected French "Descente en Angleterre," with the inscription in the exergue of the reverse: "Frappée à Londres en 1804." The British Museum now possesses an example in lead struck from the original dies, but the reverse dies were afterwards altered to be used for the reverse of the Napoleonic medal of 1806 commemorating the blockade of the British Isles. For the inscription, "Descente en Angleterre," on the original medal, was substituted, "Toto divisos orbe Britannos" (Virgil, *Bucolica*, i. 66); and the signatures of Denon and Jeuffroy, with the date 1806, took the place of the exergue-reading, "Frappée à Londres en 1804." In the specimen in my former collection, however, and probably in all others, remains of the two last E's of DESCENTE could still be distinctly made out (see F. P. Weber, *Medals and Medallions of the Nineteenth Century relating to England, by Foreign Artists*, London, 1894, pp. 41 and 42, Medals 114 and 115). In a somewhat similar way one or two instances could be adduced of a statue originally made to commemorate some event or personage having been afterwards, for political or personal reasons, altered so as to represent quite a different event or a different personage. In 1871, during the very severe illness of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII), Sir John Tenniel is said to have drawn a cartoon for *Punch*, representing Britannia mourning. Fortunately this was not required then, but was published thirteen years later (in 1884), on the death of the Duke of Albany. One of Sir John Tenniel's cartoons, showing the relief of General Gordon (with the words "At last!"), was actually published prematurely in *Punch*, in February, 1885, just before the unfortunate news arrived of the fall of Khartoum. A week later (in *Punch* for February 14, 1885) appeared his cartoon entitled "Too late!" The medals (*Medallic Illustrations of English History*, London, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 505, 506) commemorating the projected marriage of William, Prince of Orange, and Princess Anne, the eldest daughter of King George II of England, in November, 1733, has a certain kind of medical interest, for on the evening preceding the day fixed for the wedding the Prince was attacked with pleurisy, and the marriage did not actually take place till March, 1734.]

Largest of all would be a work endeavouring to deal with the *Aspects of Love in Art and Epigram*. From the dawn of literature and art poets and artists have watched the wanderings of Love like American reporters and snap-shotters. Love has been followed in all his ups and

downs, in the palaces of luxury and splendour, through enchanted scenes in mountains, valleys, forests, and meadows, and at the homely fireside, drunken, sober, in brothels and ribald taverns, playing in the gutter, sleeping on dunghills, in justly deserved durance vile and undeservedly in dungeons whose "stone walls do not a prison make." Everywhere his doings have been closely spied upon, and his resplendent aspects have formed an endless subject for classical poets, painters, and sculptors, whilst "love in the gutter" has formed a favourite theme for the satirist in literature and the caricaturist in art. But we have "moving pictures" too; for what is not almost every romance ever written but a "love story," a kind of kinematographic show in words, of one of the innumerable up-and-down episodes in Love's long career? All this makes it practically certain that no one with any conscientious idea of completeness will ever attempt to treat the theme of love as I (however imperfectly) have treated the theme of Thanatos. But the last word has not been said on either subject. Both subjects remain incomplete. Love has still a long career before him in the world's history, with many ups and downs. His aspects may yet change greatly, as indeed they must have already done since his birth amongst the savage ancestors of mankind. But there would be still greater difficulties in treating the theme of love in the way suggested. No scheme would be complete unless Psyche were likewise taken into consideration. Psyche has always been following Love in all his up-and-down career (may I be pardoned for altering the classical allegory!), often overtaking him, and always willing to share his hardships as well as his comforts and triumphs. More sensitive and more liable to suffer than Love, but sustained by some vague indefinable hope that more lasting happiness must come of it all in the end, she has attracted the attention of poets and artists almost as much as Love himself, and could not be omitted from any scheme for a work on *Aspects of Love in Art and Epigram*. Many indeed would say that love altogether, like the peace of God, "passeth all understanding;" but be that as it may, he would be a bold man who would attempt in a volume of this kind to reflect all the beauty and mystic Murillo-like glamour of Eros and his mother, together with the varying Iris-tinted aspects of Psyche. Clearly, such an immense material would have to be subdivided into small divisions, amongst which some would have a good deal to do with engraved gems, medals, and minor works of art. Thus, we might expect such headings as: "The Trials of Love on Antique Gems," "The Triumph of Love as illustrated by Renaissance Artists," "The Crown of Love, as illustrated by nineteenth-century English Art (of the 'Sweet' kind);" and "Love in the Gutter, a study of certain Roman tesserae (so-called *Spintriae*) &c., and of the caricaturists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries;" but the last group could hardly be illustrated, as far as I can judge from two Roman *spintriae* that I have given to the British Museum. An interesting volume would be one on "Historical Marriage Medals," and many of what one might call "stock" marriage medals (for general use

as gifts at private weddings) are also beautiful. There is a curious tendency for both dealers and collectors to attribute marriage medals of the latter class, by such medallists as Peter van Abeele, Sebastian Dadler, Johann Buchheim, &c., to particular (historical) marriages.

A very interesting subject for a small work would be the *Aspects of Evolution in Epigram and Art.* This would include poems and various minor works of art relating to Progress—bodily or mental—by struggle, and the *rôle* played by Resistance in physical and psychical development. The motto, *Marcet sine adversario virtus*, which appears on the reverse of a medal (which I have referred to in Part II., under Heading XV.) by Jean de Candida, with the portrait of his friend and patron, Robert Briçonnet (a French statesman and Archbishop of Rheims, who died in 1497), may to some extent be taken as suggesting the evolutionary doctrine of the necessity for resistance of some kind for the maintenance of bodily and mental health. By the laws of evolution the only alternative to idleness with regression is activity with progression. Practically no middle course is possible. Resistance of some kind and of some degree is necessary for "vital reaction," whether physical or psychical. Without resistance (*i.e.* resistance in the form of blood-pressure) the heart, for instance, would degenerate or cease beating altogether, though Alexis Carrel has (by cultivation in chicken plasma) succeeded in keeping a fragment of the heart of an embryonic chicken pulsating for 104 days (see *Berliner Klinische Wochenschrift*, 1914, li. p. 509). Resistance, competition, the "struggle for life," and the "survival of the fittest" are necessary for "progress by evolution," and this consideration affords the most rational ground for taking an optimistic view of the "pitiable side" of life, namely, that it is necessary, if not for the individual, yet at least for the mass. Even pain has its use; it is, as A. R. Wallace (*The World of Life*, London, 1910) points out, an essential factor in evolution, probably more useful in the higher than in the lower organisms. By the laws of evolution it would hardly continue to exist if it were not needed. In Goethe's *Faust*, God is represented as saying—

> "Des Menschen Thätigkeit kann allzuleicht erschlaffen,
> Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh;
> Drum geb' ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu,
> Der reizt und wirkt, und muss, als Teufel, schaffen."

Cf. Gustav Falke's modern prayer—

> "Herr! lass mich hungern dann und wann,
> Satt sein macht stumpf und träge,
> Und gib mir Feinde, Mann für Mann,
> Kampf hält die Kräfte rege."

Of the necessity for the existence of pain and "evil," and their actual utility, at least in many cases, for the healthy existence and progress of body and mind, there can be no doubt. See also, on the necessity of "evil," the book by Paul Carus, entitled, *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil*, London, 1900. Amongst expressions relating to the dualistic idea of good and evil, such as "No roses without thorns," is "Nulla sine merore [maerore] voluptas" ("No pleasure without sadness"), which appears as the motto of Georg Gisze (a Basel merchant "of the Steelyard" in London) on his magnificent portrait, dated 1532, by Holbein, now in the Picture Gallery of the Old Museum

at Berlin. Leonardo da Vinci (*Note-books*, rendered into English by E. McCurdy) wrote, "Pleasure and Pain are represented as twins, as though they were joined together, for there is never the one without the other. . . . They are made with their backs turned to each other, because they are contrary the one to the other. They are made growing out of the same trunk, because they have one and the same foundation." The pain of efforts is, however, often absorbed in the pleasure of success in efforts, and so indeed we have the motto, "Labor ipse voluptas."

An interesting subdivision in regard to evolution would be a short *Analytical Morphology of Ornament*—a section devoted to ancient British, Gallic, and other barbarous coins, and the various ornamental designs and patterns employed on brooches, jewels, panelling and architecture in early Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Teutonic Art, and on Pacific Island (Polynesian) paddles and the various other objects preserved in museums of Anthropology, Ethnology, and Comparative Archaeology, as far as they relate to the *Evolution of Ornament and Ornamental Designs in Art*, especially amongst primitive peoples. On this subject a good deal has been written—see, for instance, Sir John Evans on *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864), &c.; Hjalmar Stolpe, "Utvecklingsföreteelser i Naturfolkens Ornamentik," in *Ymer*, Stockholm, 1890, x. pp. 193–250; Sir C. H. Read, "Origin of Certain Ornaments of the South-East Pacific," *Journal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1892, xxi. p. 139; H. C. March, "Polynesian Ornament, a Symbolism of Origin and Descent," *ibid.* 1893, xxii. p. 307. The various mental and other factors on which the evolutionary direction of ornamental work depends, would have as far as possible to be investigated.

A kindred subject to Evolution, namely, Eugenics, has not, as far as I know, been yet referred to on medals, but comparatively modern epigrams and caricatures exist relating to Eugenics and Heredity in human beings, and the social and racial aspects of the teaching have not been altogether ignored in poetry. In ancient literature (Plato, &c.) there is, of course, plenty about it.

But to return now to my present subject: I must admit that in searching for quotations from poems and classical literature to illustrate my theme, I have occasionally felt as if I were catching beautiful, and sometimes rare and exotic, butterflies and moths (a few of them are in truth *winged*, "winged words" in Büchmann's sense of the term—ἔπεα πτερόεντα of Homer's *Iliad*), heartlessly squeezing them between my hard fingers (in doing so, involuntarily damaging their

colouring and the richness of their glossy bloom), and transfixing them with pins to arrange them for my collector's pleasure as ornamental specimens in the selected show-trays of my entomological-like cabinet. If, however, any readers take the trouble to examine the beauty of some and the quaint horror of others and the light they all throw on the subject under consideration, I can be satisfied.

For one thing I am sorry, namely, that I could not illustrate more of the works of art (great and small) which I have mentioned or referred to. I wish, for instance, that from Greek pottery and Etruscan bronze I had been able to reproduce every known *Psychostasia* scene, every known representation of Thanatos and Hypnos lifting the dead body of Sarpedon, or of Memnon, &c. Had I been able to figure nearly all such works of art, I have no doubt that my book would have excited as much and as general interest as could be expected in regard to the subject in question; but at all events I have in a great many instances given references enabling any one to look up the object mentioned, or an illustration of it in some other work.

A short portion of Part II. (Headings IX. and X.) has appeared separately in the Proceedings for 1914 of the Section for the History of Medicine, Royal Society of Medicine, London.

F. P. W.

April, 1914.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE vii

PART I.

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL ACCOUNT . . . 1

A. PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS AMONGST THE ANCIENTS—CONSOLATION—"EPICUREANISM" 3

B. ORTHODOX RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF MEDIAEVAL EUROPE. THE MORALITY TALES AND MORALITY PLAYS. THE LEGEND OF THE THREE LIVING AND THE THREE DEAD. THE *VADO MORI* POEMS. THE DANCE OF DEATH (*DANSE MACABRE*). THE *ARS MORIENDI* DESIGNS 28

C. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS AND SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS OF ADMONITORY CHARACTER. THE *GISANT* TYPE OF MONUMENTS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES. THE HORROR-INSPIRING ASPECT OF *MEMENTO MORI* RELIGIOUS ART 56

D. ITALIAN RENAISSANCE IDEAS, AND LATER. INFLUENCE OF PETRARCH'S *TRIONFI*. THE "TRIUMPH OF DEATH" DESIGNS 69

E. MODERN ART RELATING TO DEATH. COMPARISON OF MODERN AND MEDIAEVAL IDEAS 84

PART II.

ANALYSIS AND ARRANGEMENT 100

I. THE SIMPLE *MEMENTO MORI* IDEA 101

II. DEATH AS THE THRESHOLD OF A FUTURE EXISTENCE. DEATH FROM THE STANDPOINT OF RELIGIOUS FAITH. METEMPSYCHOSIS 105

III. SURVIVAL AFTER DEATH IN THE MINDS OF OTHERS. POSTHUMOUS FAME. NECROLOGY 115

PAGE

IV. Death as a Friend and the End of Pain and Misery. Death compared to a Peaceful Sleep after the Fatigue and Turmoil of the Day, and Death as the Awakening after the Fitful, Feverish Dream of Life 122

V. Death as a Means of Punishment, Vengeance, or Atonement. The Threat of Death as a Means of exciting Terror. Political Murders and Political Executions 131

VI. Death as an Emblem of Stubborn Purpose in War. Death and Ambition 140

VII. Death as an Emblem of Destruction and Ruin . 143

VIII. Death as Conqueror and Leveller of all Mankind 145

IX. Scientific Attitudes towards Death. The Investigation of its Causes, &c. Life-saving Scientific Discoveries 151

X. Medical, Sanitary, and Social Attitudes towards Death. The Prevention of Unnecessary Death 153

XI. Death for the Good of Others, or for the Sake of Ordinary Duty or Honour. Martyrdom for Religious, Patriotic, Political, or Social Opinions, or in the Interests of Scientific Discovery and Adventure 167

XII. The "Epicurean" Attitude towards Death . . 175

XIII. Mindfulness of Death, and a Cloistered Life of Contemplation as a Preparation for Death . 177

XIV. Mindfulness of Death as an Incentive to Right Living, Charity, helping Others, and making the Best Active Use of Life 179

XV. Death and Love, and the "Crown of Life." The Praise of Death 185

XVI. Predestination and Free Will in regard to Aspects of Death 191

XVII. Aspect of Death from the Standpoint of Pessimism in regard to Life 192

XVIII. Grief for the Death of Others 203

XIX., XX. The Attributes and Pomp of Death. Funerals. The Fear of Death 207

XXI. Skulls, Animated Skeletons, &c., in Grotesque Art 219

PART III.

PAGE

COINS, MEDALS, AND MEDAL-LIKE TOKENS RELATING TO DEATH AND THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH 220

PART IV.

ENGRAVED GEMS, FINGER-RINGS, JEWELS, ANCIENT POTTERY, AND SMALL OBJECTS OF ART, RELATING TO DEATH AND THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OR ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH 334

I. ANTIQUE ENGRAVED GEMS, DESIGNS ON ANTIQUE VASES, &c. 334

II. FINGER-RINGS, JEWELS, IVORIES, &c. 409

APPENDIX 445

INDEX 449

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

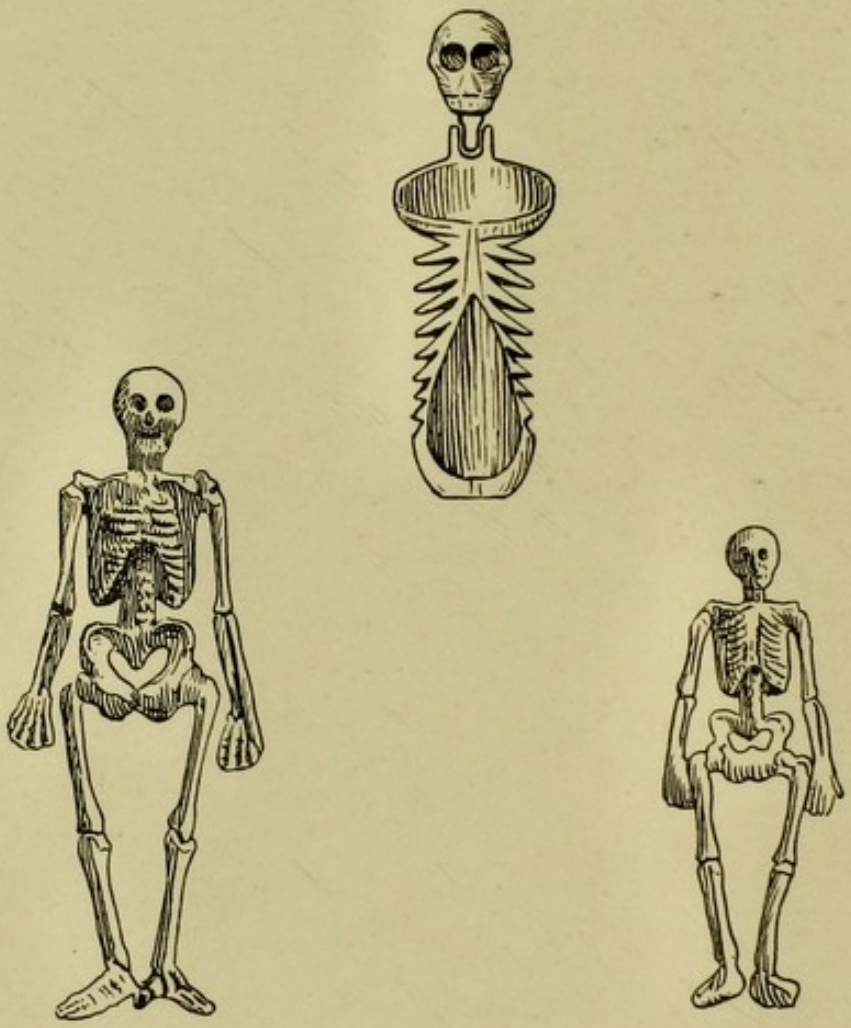
FIG.		PAGE
	A philosopher lecturing on life and death. From a Roman lamp in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum *Frontispiece*	iv
	Larvae and skeleton-manikins of Roman times . .	xxviii
1.	Silver cup forming part of the so-called Boscoreale treasure in the Louvre Museum at Paris, supposed to date from the first century of the Christian era	18
2.	The "Arms of Death," from Holbein's "Dance of Death" series	29
3.	Ivory statuette, apparently from a "Dance of Death" group	30
4.	Dürer's so-called "Wappen des Todes." (Engraving in the British Museum)	32
5.	The March of Death. Possibly an allegorical representation of the fatal spreading of an epidemic. (Engraving by the "Meister H.W." 1482)	33
6.	The Three Living and the Three Dead Kings, from an engraving in the British Museum, by the "Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinets" ("Meister von 1480"). . . .	34
7.	The Three Dead and the Three Living Kings, from a manuscript in the British Museum	41
8.	The Three Dead meeting the Pope and Ecclesiastics. Original drawing in the British Museum . . .	44
9.	The "Three Living" and the Three Fates, on a fourteenth-century picture at Pisa	45
10.	A "Dance of the Dead," from a woodcut of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (copy in the British Museum), published in 1493 by Anthoni Koberger of Nuremberg	47
11.	The "Ars Moriendi."—The temptation by vain-glory, from the British Museum block-book (about 1460) . . .	51
12.	The "Ars Moriendi."—The triumph over vain-glory, from the British Museum block-book (about 1460) . .	52
13.	The "Ars Moriendi."—The temptation by impatience, by the Master E.S.	53

FIG.		PAGE
14.	The "Ars Moriendi."—The final scene, by the Master E.S. .	54
15.	The Tomb of Archbishop Chichele (died 1443) in Canterbury Cathedral	58
16.	Ivory panel from a casket (Italian, about 1480), with the "Triumph of Death," after Petrarch	72
17.	French print of the sixteenth century, with the Triumph of Death (or the Three Fates) over Chastity, after Petrarch	75
18.	Baby, with the four skulls. Engraving by Barthel Beham, in the British Museum	76
19.	Mother and child, with skull and hour-glass. Engraving by Barthel Beham, in the British Museum . . .	76
20.	Death and the physician, from Holbein's "Dance of Death" series	78
21.	Holbein's painting of Sir Brian Tuke, in the Munich Pinakothek	82
22.	Wooden statuette of Death, represented as a decaying corpse with bow and arrows	92
23.	Italian bronze statuette (fifteenth century?), representing an allegory of life	98
24.	Fame overcoming Death, after Petrarch. French sixteenth-century miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris .	118
25.	The Triumph of Fame, after Petrarch. French sixteenth-century miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris .	119
26.	"Death as a Friend," by A. Rethel	126
27.	G. Cruikshank's satirical pattern for a Bank of England note (1818)	134
28.	Satirical anti-republican pattern for a Bank-note (1819) .	135
29	Bronze death's-head badge (actual size), worn on the shakos of the Prussian Black Hussars in 1815	141
30.	"Death or Glory" brass badge (actual size), worn on the head-dress of the English 17th Lancers . . .	141
30 *bis*.	"A Medical Allegory"	166*d*
31.	"Sorrow," by W. Dadd, 1854	205
32.	"Death in the Jaws of Hell." From a fifteenth-century German woodcut in the British Museum . . .	209
33.	A *Memento mori* panel-picture, representing decay and putrefaction	211
34.	Tetradrachm of Selinus	223
35.	Didrachm of Selinus	224
36.	Bronze coin of Eleusis	225
37.	Roman denarius, commemorating the murder of Julius Caesar	226
38.	Roman denarius struck during the interregnum following the overthrow of Nero	227

FIG.		PAGE
39.	Reverse of a medal by Giovanni Boldu, of Venice, 1458	229
40.	Reverse of a medal by Giovanni Boldu, of Venice, 1466	230
41.	*Memento mori* medal, with portrait of Virgil: obverse	235
42.	*Memento mori* medal, with portrait of Virgil: reverse	235
43.	Medal of Erasmus (1519). From a specimen formerly in the author's collection	241
44.	Engraving of Erasmus by Dürer. Reduced from an example in the British Museum	243
45.	Medal on the death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer, of Karlsbad, in 1526. (After Bergmann)	245
46.	Medal on the death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer, of Karlsbad, in 1526. (After Bergmann)	246
47.	Medal of "Lorenzino" de' Medici	250
48.	Plaque by Lorenz Rosenbaum. From an original in the British Museum	251
49.	Reverse of medal of Johann Friess, 1540	253
50.	Memorial medal of Queen Dorothea of Denmark, 1560	254
51.	Reverse design by Tobias Wolff, German, sixteenth century	261
52.	German sixteenth-century religious medal, representing Christ's triumph over Death	262
53.	Untimely Death. Medal in the British Museum	265
54.	Death and Virtue, on a sixteenth-century plaque	266
55.	Danish *memento mori* medal, 1634	272
56.	Danish *memento mori* medal, 1634	274
57.	German *memento mori* medal by Christian Maler	275
58.	Reverse of German *memento mori* medal by Christian Maler	276
59.	German seventeenth-century *memento mori* medal	280
60.	Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century	282
61.	Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century	282
62.	Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century	283
63.	Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century	283
64.	English *memento mori* medalet	284
65.	English *memento mori* medalet	285
66.	*Memento mori* design from Wither's *Emblems*, 1635	286
67.	Halfpenny token of John Brearcliffe, of Halifax	290
68.	Swiss medal, 1725	305
69.	Reverse of the Cheselden medal	307
70.	Medal of the Company of Surgeons, London, 1767	308
71.	Reverse of the Bristowe medal	312
72.	A genius of death. (After King)	335
73.	Charon in his boat, receiving the dead from Mercury. (After King)	337

FIG.		PAGE
74.	The skeleton and wine-jar type. (After King	338
75.	Two skeletons carrying a large amphora between them. From an antique intaglio. (After Furtwängler)	339
76.	Antique intaglio representing human skeleton with thyrsus, garland, &c. (After Furtwängler)	340
77.	Antique intaglio representing human skeleton, amphora, festive garland, and sun-dial. (After Furtwängler)	340
78.	Antique intaglio representing a death's head, a wine-jar, a wine-cup, a festive garland, and four astragali. (After Furtwängler)	341
79.	Antique intaglio representing human skeleton carrying on his left shoulder a pole to which vessels are attached. (After Furtwängler)	342
80.	Allegory of posthumous fame. (After King)	348
81.	Cupid and a skeleton. (After King)	349
82.	Cupid, skeleton, and butterfly	350
83.	So-called head of Plato. (After King)	351
84.	Philosopher reading from a scroll, with a skull and butterfly on a scrinium before him. (After Furtwängler)	352
85.	Skull with butterfly above it. (After Furtwängler)	355
86.	Intaglio engraved with skeleton and various emblems. (After Caetani Lovatelli)	355
87.	Bezel of an antique silver finger-ring, representing a skeleton, with wine-amphora, butterfly, &c. (After Le Blant and J. A. Hild)	357
88.	Stone sarcophagus in the British Museum, with apparently early Christian representation of Cupid and Psyche	359
89.	From a Graeco-Scythian gold finger-ring	361
90.	Hermes Psychopompos. (After Furtwängler)	362
91.	Hermes with butterfly on right shoulder. (After Furtwängler)	362
92.	An Etruscan "parting scene," with the Etruscan "Charun" holding hammer, and a winged demon holding snakes. (After Dennis)	371
93.	Winged figure holding urn. (After Furtwängler)	372
94.	Two winged figures carrying dead body. From an Etruscan scarabaeus. (After Furtwängler)	379
95.	Two winged figures carrying dead body. From an Etruscan scarabaeus. (After Furtwängler)	380
96.	Two winged figures carrying dead body. (After an Etruscan scarabaeus in the British Museum)	380
97.	Alcestis between Hermes and Thanatos. Relief on a drum (now in the British Museum) from the later temple of Artemis at Ephesus	382

FIG.		PAGE
98.	Hermes summoning a soul from the lower world. (After Furtwängler)	388
99.	Hermes calling up a soul. (After Furtwängler)	389
100.	Hermes raising a soul. (After Furtwängler)	389
101.	Hermes placing a human head on the body of a bird. (After Furtwängler)	390
102.	Hermes placing a human head on the body of a bird. (After Furtwängler)	390
103.	Skeleton in dancing attitude before a man seated piping. (Enlarged from an antique gem, after Gori)	392
104.	Skeleton in dancing attitude before a man seated piping. (Enlarged from an antique gem, after Kastner)	393
105.	Roman intaglio, representing a philosopher seated, with a skeleton in front of him	394
106.	Dance of the Dead, the so-called "Cumaean Skeletons." (From a tomb at Cumae, after Olfers and J. A. Hild)	396
107.	Promotheus modelling his man. (From an antique sard intaglio, after King)	397
108.	The upper surface of a Roman terra-cotta lamp, representing a philosopher lecturing on the mystery of life and death	399
109.	The upper surface of a Roman terra-cotta lamp, representing a skeleton, apparently holding a skull in each hand	400
110.	Intaglio representing a draped man and a skeleton; by the man is a scrinium containing rolled-up manuscripts	402
111.	Mosaic pavement from a tomb on the Via Appia	403
112.	*Memento mori* finger-ring of the sixteenth century, in the British Museum	410
113.	Seal of Erasmus with his "terminus" device. (After Jortin)	420
114.	Finger-ring with an antique intaglio, from which apparently Erasmus derived the idea of his "terminus" device. (After Jortin)	420
115.	"Dance of Death" designed by Holbein for the sheath of a dagger	424
116.	*Memento mori* ivory in the British Museum	428
117.	*Memento mori* ivory in the British Museum	429
118.	Large rosary-bead (or "boss") of *memento mori* design	430
119.	German shell-cameo of the sixteenth century	434
120.	Reverse of a medal by Giovanni Boldu of Venice. (After Heiss)	435
121.	A death's-head watch. (After Guiart)	438
122.	Medal of the physician, Adolph Occo III, of Augsburg. (After Picqué)	443
123.	Anatomical woodcut by Jan von Calcar	444



LARVAE AND SKELETON-MANIKINS OF ROMAN TIMES.

The upper figure is from an original little jointed skeleton made of bronze (British Museum), the arms and legs of which are wanting. It was probably used in Roman times as a *memento mori* or *carpe diem* token on festive occasions, like the silver jointed skeleton-manikin (*larva argentea*) at "Trimalchio's banquet" (see p. 15). The two other skeletons (Museum of Imola, after Caetani Lovatelli), if antique, are unusually accurately modelled; they appear not to be jointed.

PART I.

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEATH is no unworthy subject for human consideration. Since men began to think, this subject is one that has exercised their brains. Although ignorance may sometimes, perhaps, be bliss, it can hardly be doubted that man's knowledge that every one must surely die has helped to set the race a-thinking, and thinking on this subject has helped to make their lives throughout historic times different to those of all other animals. One might, indeed, define civilised man as the animal who knows that animals must die; for man (*i.e.* civilised man) is probably (almost certainly) the only animal who does know it.[1]

Few persons, nowadays, would contradict the proposition of Spinoza (*Ethic*, iv. 67), that the proper study for a wise man is not death, but how to live, since a wise man is not guided by the fear of death,[2] but by his direct desire

[1] This is beautifully referred to by the French novelist, Pierre Loti, in his *Vies des deux Chattes:* "Et tandis qu'elle se laissait leurrer, la Moumoutte, par tous ces airs de joie, de jeunesse, de commencement, moi, au contraire, qui savais que cela passe, je sentais pour la première fois monter dans ma vie l'impression du soir, du grand soir inexorable et sans lendemain, du suprême automne qu'aucun printemps ne suivra plus."

[2] I see, however, that Dr. E. L. Keyes, in a short interesting article on the "Fear of Death" (*Harper's Monthly Magazine*, July, 1909, p. 212), says that the following motto (used by Hermann Graf von Neuenaar, who died in 1530, and quoted by the Prussian General J. M. von Radowitz, who died in 1853) was chosen by John Fiske, the American writer (1842–1901), to adorn his library:—

"Disce ut semper victurus;
Vive ut cras moriturus."

Cf. "You have seen me rise, but may not see me set" (on a sun-dial), and Horace's well-known line: "Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse

of the good. Yet, however little a man's everyday active life [3] may ordinarily be affected by knowledge of death and thoughts of what lies beyond the grave, I believe that to banish such thoughts altogether, if it were possible, would be to kick down one of the chief ladders by which the race has climbed to its present position. How much, indeed, do we owe to the knowledge of death! How many a good and usefully altruistic action would never have been performed but for this knowledge and the thoughts arising from it! The Death's heads and every lugubrious *memento mori* of the Middle Ages have, indeed, had their use.

The subject of the mere aspects of death may perhaps be likened to a time-worn skeleton, but when associated with their possible effects on living beings, and with the attitudes of living beings towards death, the skeleton becomes clothed in flesh and blood, possesses heart and mind and passions, and above everything else, a little (though only a very little) of the priceless treasure of free will. In this work I shall not, of course, attempt to discuss the aspects of death such as actually present themselves to dying persons, though I intend, further on, to give a few references to show that the near approach of natural death is generally by no means so terrible to the dying individual himself as it is still popularly supposed to be (see p. 217).

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supremum." St. Jerome wrote: "Sic quotidie vivamus quasi die illo judicandi simus." From the epigrams of John Owen (died 1622), E. Bensly quotes the following epitaph on an atheist:—

"Mortuus est quasi victurus post funera non sit;
Sic vixit tamquam non moriturus erat."

[3] Even nowadays one may occasionally meet with a *memento mori* device or inscription scrawled up by a visitor or passer-by in some forum or public place, for instance, the saying, "Live as you would die."

A.

Philosophical Ideas amongst the Ancients—Consolation—"Epicureanism."

THE main ideas underlying the *memento mori* principle are well expressed by ancient authors. Seneca, who tries to explain that death when it comes is not to be regarded as a calamity, though it may appear to be one ("Mors inter illa est, quae mala quidem non sunt, tamen habent mali speciem"), writes (*Epist. Mor.*, lib. xi. Ep. 3 (82), 16): "Itaque etiamsi indifferens mors est, non tamen ea est, quae facile neglegi possit: magna exercitatione durandus est animus, ut conspectum ejus accessumque patiatur." He thus counsels one to become familiar with thoughts of death, so that one may not be frightened by its aspect or approach; in fact, he tells one, as Horace (*Epist.*, lib. i. 4, line 13) puts it: "Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum."[4] Any one following such advice literally might almost say: "Quocunque aspicio, nihil est nisi mortis imago" (Ovid, *Trist.*, i. 11, 23).[5] Again he writes (*Epist. Mor.*, lib. viii.

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[4] Cf. William Congreve, in his Letter (1729) to Sir Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham:—

"Defer not till to-morrow to be wise;
To-morrow's sun to thee may never rise."

Advice of this kind has not escaped the attention of Roman satirists (*vide* one of the fragments of Petronius); the seriousness, indeed, of Horace's words is much modified by the lines which end his epistle in question.

[5] W. E. H. Lecky (*History of European Morals*, 1905 edition, vol. i. p. 202), in regard to the Stoic philosophers, wrote as follows: "But while it is certain that no philosophers expatiated upon death with a

Ep. i. (70), 18): "On nothing is meditation so necessary (as on death)."[6] According to Socrates, as quoted by Cicero (*Tusc. Disputat.*, i. 30, 74), the whole life of philosophers is a studying of death; and according to Plato (*Phaedo*, 64, A), "They practise nothing else but to be ready to die." "Let all live as they would die" (George Herbert's *Outlandish Proverbs*, 1639). "Lebe, wie du, wenn du stirbst, Wünschen wirst gelebt zu haben" (Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, 1715–1769).[7] The main idea in Ecclesiasticus (ch. xxviii. 6) is of course the same: "Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; remember corruption and death, and abide in the commandments." So also in the 90th Psalm (ver. 12, after Luther's translation): "Teach us to remember that we must die, so that we may become wise."

The ancient writers console one for the "Charybdis" which awaits all alike by a variety of arguments. Cf.

grander eloquence, or met it with a more placid courage, it can hardly be denied that their constant disquisitions forced it into an unhealthy prominence, and somewhat discoloured their whole view of life." He also quoted from Francis Bacon's *Essays:* "Of Death" (the second essay of the 1625 edition of the Essays): "The Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful." The being ready for death was made the subject of a punning seventeenth-century epitaph on a gentleman named Ready (after the manner of the one at Peterborough on Sir Richard Worme, who died in 1589):—

"Bless'd is the man that Ready is for Death
Whilst here he lives on ground.
Then bless'd was he who here lies underneath,
For Death him Ready found."

[6] A Danish memorial medal of George Hojer (1670) has the inscription "Mors omnibus aequa" on the obverse, and "Vita est meditatio" on the reverse.

[7] Compare an inscription on a sixteenth-century sepulchral monument, attributed to the great French sculptor, Jean Goujon, in the Church of St. Gervais and St. Protais at Gisors:—

"Fay maintenant ce que voudras
Avoir fait quand tu te mourras."

Simonides (*Anthol. Graec. Palat.*, x. 105): Θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.

The ancients point out that death is a natural law, and as necessary as birth is: "Lex non poena mors;"[8] "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" "Principium moriendi natale est." Cicero and Seneca offer much philosophic consolation.[9] Cicero, in the first book of the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, refers to the Pythagorean, Socratic, and Platonic doctrines of the survival of the soul after the death of the body. He asks whether, supposing death to be of the nature of a change or migration, rather than extinction, of life, anything better could be wished for, whereas if, on the other hand, death is complete annihilation, what could be better than thus, in the midst of life's labours, growing weary, to sink softly into eternal sleep. "Nam si supremus ille dies non exstinctionem, sed commutationem adfert loci, quid optabilius? Sin autem perimit ac delet omnino, quid melius quam in mediis vitae laboribus obdormiscere et ita conniventum somno consopiri sempiterno?" (Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.*, lib. I. xlix. 117). This is almost the same as what, according to Plato's *Apology*, Socrates, after his condemnation to death, said to those of his judges who had voted for his acquittal. He did not regard death as

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[8] Better, "Lex est, non poena, mori." (Cf. part of epitaph (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vi. No. 11252): "Mors etenim hominum natura non poena est." Lucan (*Pharsalia*, vii. 470), however, speaks of death (mors), "quae cunctis poena paratur."

[9] For much on the whole subject of philosophic consolation, see R. Burton's references to ancient authors in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621 (Part 2, Sect. 3, M. 5), and W. E. H. Lecky's *History of European Morals* (first edition, 1869; new edition, 1877). For similar philosophic consolation in modern times we may refer to Maurice Maeterlinck's little book on *Death*, English translation by A. Teixeira de Mattos, London, 1911.

an evil. Death must be one of two things: either it was complete annihilation, in which case it was like a dreamless sleep; or else it was a change and migration of the soul, in which case he would have the delight in the other world of meeting and conversing with the just judges and heroes of former times, who would not condemn him to death for questioning them. To a good man nothing could come as an evil, and even death might be a blessing. The opinion expressed by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius was very similar to those just mentioned.

Epicurus, in a letter to Menoeceus (Diog. Laert.), wrote to the following effect: "Accustom yourself to the thought that death is indifferent; for all good and all evil consist in feeling, and what is death but the privation of feeling?" Similarly, Lucretius, who designated Epicurus as a god (cf. Manilius, *Astronomicon*, i. 104: "Eripuitque Jovi fulmen, viresque tonandi"), and who in the *De Rerum Naturâ* profoundly studied death from the point of view of natural philosophy, repeatedly alluded to the uselessness of fearing and hoping to escape one's end—

> "Certa quidem finis vitae mortalibus adstat,
> Nec devitari letum pote quin obeamus;" [10]

but wrote such words of philosophic comfort as the following:—

> "Scire licet nobis nil esse in morte timendum,
> Nec miserum fieri qui non est posse, neque hilum
> Differre anne ullo fuerit jam tempore natus,
> Mortalem vitam mors cum immortalis ademit." [11]

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[10] Lucretius, *De Rerum Naturâ*, lib. iii. 1091–1092.

[11] Munro's translation of this passage (Lucretius, *De Rerum Naturâ*, lib. iii. 866–869) is: "You may be sure that we have nothing to fear after death, and that he who exists not, cannot become miserable, and that it matters not a whit whether (a man) has been born into life at any time, when immortal death has taken away his mortal life."

John Addington Symonds, in his essay on Lucretius,[12] says that the *De Rerum Naturâ* has been called by a great critic the "Poem of Death," and that, as a motto on the title-page, there might be written: "And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."[13]

C. W. King, in his essay on "Death, as depicted in Ancient Art,"[14] writes: "To understand how so charming a type (he refers to the Cupid-like figure of the Roman Genius of Death on sarcophagi, gems, &c.) came to be appropriated to such a signification, it is necessary to cast off modern associations, and to recollect that to the ancient mind, arguing merely from the analogy of Nature, death presented itself as merely the necessary converse of birth, and consequently carried no terror in the thought—'nullique ea tristis imago,' as Statius happily words it. For it implied nothing worse than the return to the state of unconsciousness, such as was before Being commenced; or, as Pliny clearly puts the case: 'Unto all the state of being after the *last* day is the same as it was before the *first* day of life; neither is there any more sensation in either body or soul after death than there was before life.' On this account the mere return, as Byron hath it—

> "'To be the nothing that I was,
> Ere born to life and living woe,'

inspired no fears beyond those springing from the natural instinct of self-preservation. Many carried this indifference to the opposite extreme—exemplified in the trite story of the Thracians lamenting on the occasion of a birth and rejoicing on that of a death in the family. . . . But after the ancient

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[12] J. A. Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece*, Third Series (edition of 1898), p. 166.

[13] Shakespeare's *Sonnet*, No. 146, which begins—

> "Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,"

ends—

> "So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
> And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

[14] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 179.

order of ideas had been totally revolutionized—when the death of the body came to be looked upon as the punishment of Original Sin, and as the *infraction*, not the *fulfilment* of a natural law—the notion necessarily assumed a more horrific aspect; which again was exaggerated to the utmost of their power by the new teachers, for it supplied them with the most potent of all engines for the subjugation of the human soul—'Aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendum.'"

From ideas like those mentioned in the preceding paragraph and furnished in the verses of Lucretius, are derived the numerous Latin and Greek epitaphs, both non-Christian and Christian, more or less after the pattern—"non fueram, non sum." The first one, from a tomb on the Via Latina, is attributed to Ausonius (*Opuscula*, Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1886, p. 419):—

"Non nomen, non quo genitus, non unde, quid egi:
Mutus in aeternum sum: cinis, ossa, nihil.
Nec sum nec fueram genitus, tamen e nihilo sum;
Mitte nec exprobres singula: talis eris."

"Olim non fuimus, nati sumus; unde quieti
Nunc sumus, ut fuimus: cura relicta: vale."

"Non fui, fui, memini, non sum, non curo."

"Non fui, fui, non sum, non curo."

"Non fueram, non sum, nescio, non ad me pertinet."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. v. No. 1939.)

"Nec scio quit nunc sim, nec scio quit fuerim."

"Non fueras, nunc es, iterum nunc desines esse."

"Quod fuimus estis, quod sumus vos eritis."

"Quod tu es ego fui, quod ego sum tu eris."

"Fui, non sum, estis, non eritis; nemo immortalis."

"Quod sumus hoc eritis, fuimus quandoque quod estis."[15]

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[15] Most of the above and several other Latin and Greek epitaph-inscriptions of the same kind are referred to by Contessa E. Caetani

Several of the above epitaphs (those with "talis eris" and "desines esse") furnish a kind of *memento mori* to the passing reader—the reader being left to interpret the practical significance as an "Epicurean" suggestion, or otherwise, according to his personal views on life and death. Some of them are evidently meant to have a consolatory tinge (of a kind) about them, *e.g.* those with "non curo" and "nescio, non ad me pertinet." Another one (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 9258), commencing with "Non fui," has the consolatory words, "non mihi dolet." But I shall further on again refer to the "consolatory elements" to be found in antique epitaphs.

This style of epitaph has to some extent been imitated in modern times; for instance, the epitaph of a gentleman named Micah Hall (Castleton, Derbyshire), who died in 1804, contains the following: "Quid eram, nescitis; quid sum, nescitis; Ubi abii, nescitis; Valete." This reminds one of the epitaph on Abraham Newland (owing to whose signature, as chief cashier, Bank of England notes were long known as "Abraham Newlands") said to have been written by himself shortly before his death in 1807:—

> "Beneath this stone old Abraham lies,
> Nobody laughs and nobody cries;
> Where he is gone, and how he fares,
> No one knows, and no one cares."

It does not seem that beliefs in a future existence amongst the Greeks and Romans were ordinarily of a

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Lovatelli from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (published at Berlin) and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* (Boeckhii), in her monograph on "Thanatos" (Rome, 1888). I take this opportunity of again acknowledging my great indebtedness to that work, especially for references to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, from which I shall further on give many quotations.

sufficiently definite or agreeable nature [16] to afford much consolation for the idea of death. Witness the descriptions of Hades in the Greek and Latin epic poems,[17] and the following verses, which, according to Spartianus (*Hadr.*, 35), were composed by the Emperor Hadrian shortly before his own death :—

> " Animula, vagula, blandula,
> Hospes comesque corporis,
> Quae nunc abibis in loca,
> Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
> Nec ut soles, dabis jocos ? " [18]

In Part IV. I shall describe several Greek, Etruscan, and Roman engraved gems, vase paintings, &c., on which ideas relating to a future existence are depicted. On a few Roman objects a reference is apparently intended to the voyage after death to the Fortunate Isles (the " islands of the blessed " with the " Elysian Fields "). On the Latin epitaph of a lady who died before her husband we read of her hope to be

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[16] In this connexion, however, one may remember Lucan (*Phars.*, lib. iv. l. 519)—

> " Victurosque dei celant ut vivere durent,
> Felix esse mori . . . "

" And the gods conceal from those who are to live how happy a thing it is to die, so that they may continue to live."

[17] In regard to ancient Greek ideas on the immortality of the soul, see Erwin Rohde, *Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, Tübingen, 1903, third edition.

[18] See also Ferdinand Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian*, English translation by Mary E. Robinson, London, 1898, p. 184. A whole book (privately printed at Bath, 1876), by David Johnston, was devoted to a collection of the various translations of these verses. Charles Merivale's translation (*History of the Romans under the Empire*, London, 1865, vol. viii. p. 255) is as follows :—

> " Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
> Guest and partner of my clay,
> Whither wilt thou hie away,—
> Pallid one, rigid one, naked one—
> Never to play again, never to play ? "

Spartianus wrote somewhat slightingly that Hadrian also composed many such verses in the Greek language, " and not much better." Hadrian was the author of a puzzling epigram of medical interest in the *Greek Anthology* (Tauchnitz edition, 1829, ix. 137).

reunited with him in the future life: "Virum expecto meum"—an inscription presumably placed on her tomb by her surviving husband (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. xii. No. 5193). At the end of another epitaph on a lady (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 11252) the deceased addresses her husband thus: "Igitur, domine Oppi, marite, ne doleas mei; quod praecessi, sustineo in aeterno toro adventum tuum." Another departed one waits for all to join him: "Plures me antecesserunt, omnes expecto" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 142).

The shadowy idea of the "Manes" possibly afforded some consolation—

"Sunt aliquid Manes; letum non omnia finit.
Luridaque extinctos effugit umbra rogos."
(Propert., iv. 7.)

Tacitus (*Julii Agricolae Vita*, 46) writes: "Si quis piorum manibus locus; si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae . . .;" but Persius (*Sat.*, v. 152) appears to ridicule the idea of the transformation into "Manes:" "Cinis et manes et fabula fies." Some epitaphs refer to the idea of the separation of the *anima* from the perishable body after death and its solution into the air or aether—

"Invida Parcarum series livorque malignus
Bis septena meae (?) ruperunt stamina lucis.
Parcite jam lachrimis, miseri solique parentes;
Sat fletus vestros prima Favilla bibit.
Corpus habet cineres; animam sacer abstulit aër."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. iii. No. 6384.)

"Terra tenet corpus, nomen lapis, atque animam aër."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. iii. No. 3247.)

The epitaph (British Museum) in elegiac verse on the Athenians who fell in battle before Potidaea (431–429 B.C.) contains a similar idea: Αἰθὲρ μὲμ φσυχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο, σόματα δὲ χθὸν ("Air received their souls, and earth their bodies"). Such lines make one think of Sir Oliver Lodge's Presidential Address before the British Association on September 10th, 1913. Many analogous Greek passages are quoted by Caetani Lovatelli (*Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, pp. 20–22).

Considerable variety in the expression of philosophic consolation is shown by other epitaphs. Many remind the survivors of the necessity of death, the common lot of all, and the uselessness of weeping and the impossibility of bringing back the departed by prayers :—

ЄΥΨΥΧΙ · ΤЄΚΝΟΝ · ΟΥΔΙϹ · ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟϹ,

that is to say, "Take courage (or, farewell), my child, nobody is immortal" (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Boeckhii, first edition, Berlin, 1877, vol. iv. No. 9803. Caetani Lovatelli, in the monograph on *Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, p. 20, refers to several similar Greek epitaph-inscriptions from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* : Nos. 9589, 9666, 9789, 9820, 9917, &c., together with many Latin epitaphs of the same class).

"Plures me antecesserunt, omnes expecto" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 142—an epitaph which I have already referred to—see back).

"Dolere noli matrem ; faciundum fuit."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 19989.)

"(A)mici nolite tristari (?), quia (o)mnes morituri sumus."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. x. No. 7149.)

"Desine jam, mater, lacrimis renovare querellas,
Namque dolor talis non tibi contigit uni" (*sic*).
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 10105.)

With this last epitaph compare Propertius (book 4, 11, first two lines)—

"Desine, Paula, meum lacrymis urgere sepulcrum ;
Panditur ad nullas janua nigra preces."

"Nunc pater et mater nato fecere sepulchrum,
Ossaque funestis fletibus adluerant.
Sed quoniam multi talem sensere dolorem,
Nec quisquam leti vincere vim potuit,
Desinite extinctum dulces me flere parentes,
Desinite et fati tristia jura queri.

Mors etenim hominum natura non poena est. Cui contigit nasci instat et mori." (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 11252. The latter portion of this epitaph has already been quoted.)

"Quomodo mala in arbore pendunt, sic corpora nostra
Aut matura cadunt, aut cito acerva (acerba) ruunt."
Corp. Inscr. Lat., vol. vi. No. 7574.)

Other epitaphs allude to the deceased's escape from the illnesses, pains, misfortunes, and toils of life—

"Quod superest homini, requiescunt dulciter ossa,
Nec sum sollicitus ne subito escuriam,
Et podagram (*sic*) careo, nec sum pensionibus arra,
Et gravis aeterno perfruor hospitio."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 7193*a*.)

Compare Agathios (*Anthol. Graec. Palat.*, x. 69) and the following lines to Death (*Anthol. Graec. Appendix*, Tauchnitz edition, Leipzig, 1829, No. 196):—

Ἦλθες ἐμῆς ζωῆς γλυκερώτερος, ὅς μ' ἀπέλυσας
Νούσων, καὶ καμάτων, καὶ μογερὰς ποδάγρας.

"Morborum vitia et vitae mala maxima fugi.
Nunc careo poenis; pace fruor placidâ."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. v. No. 5278.)

Ἐλπὶς καὶ σὺ Τύχη, μέγα χαίρετε, τὸν λιμέν' εὗρον,
Οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ χ' ὑμῖν, παίζετε τοὺς μετ' ἐμέ.
(*Anthol. Graec. Palat.*, ix. 49. See also *ibid.*, ix. 134 and ix. 172.)

"Inveni portum; Spes et Fortuna, valete!
Sat me lusistis, ludite nunc alios."

("I have found the haven; Hope and Fortune, farewell! You have made sport enough of me, now make sport of others.")

It is in this Latin form that these epitaph lines were referred to by Gil Blas, in Le Sage's famous novel of that name, whence the first Lord Brougham doubtless derived the idea of placing them on his villa which he built at Cannes. (In this connection, Dr. M. G. Foster refers me to an epitaph at St. Leonard's Church, Shoreditch, commencing, "The last and best bedroom of . . .") With "Nil mihi vobiscum" (cf. Martial, *Epigrams*, xi. 2. 8) instead of "Sat me lusistis," they were given by William Lily (died 1522) and by Janus Pannonius, Bishop of Fünfkirchen, in Hungary (died 1472). Of this second Latin version Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, gave the following English translation:—

"Mine haven's found, fortune and hope, adue!
Mock others now, for I have done with you."

(Cf. following paraphrase of a couplet by Thomas Moore:

"Joy, joy for ever! the haven's won;
The struggle's over; my task is done.")

A slightly different version of the first line occurs on a mortuary medal of Dr. Wenzel Beyer (1526), described in Part III.[19] It commences, "Jam portum inveni," like the version attributed to Sir Thomas More. There are several other variations. On the whole subject see especially *Notes and Queries*, November 20, 1880, p. 409, and July 16, 1898, p. 41. The following is from the *Anthol. Latin.* (H. Meyer's edition, Leipzig, 1835, No. 1373; cf. also *ibid.*, Meyer's Nos. 1598 and 838):—

"Actum est, excessi; Spes et Fortuna, valete.
Nil jam plus in me vobis per secla licebit.
Quod fuerat vestrum, amisi; quod erat meum, hic est."

"Spes et Fortuna, valete!—Nil amplius in me vobis per secla licebit" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. ix. No. 4756). Compare Ausonius (*Idyll.*, ii. 57): "Spem, vota, timorem—Sopitus placido fine relinquo aliis."

The following occurs on a sarcophagus:—

"Evasi, effugi. Spes et Fortuna, valete!
Nil mihi vobiscum est, ludificate alios."
(O. Benndorf and R. Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateran. Mus.*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 346.)

Compare also the last lines of the following curious epitaph given by J. C. Orelli (*Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Amplissima Collectio*, Zürich, 1828, vol. i. p. 256, No. 1174) and by A. Olivieri (*Marm. Pisaur.*, Pesaro, 1737, p. 33, No. 74; also in *Anthol. Latin.* (H. Meyer's edition, Leipzig, 1835, No. 189):—

"Tu pede qui stricto vadis per senta, viator,
Siste, rogo, titulumque meum ne spreveris, oro.
Bis quinos annos mensesque duos duo soles
In superos feci tenere nutritus, amatus.
Dogmata Pythagorae sensi studiumque sophorum,
Et libros legi. Legi pia carmina Homeri,
Sive quot Euclides abaco praescripta tulisset.
Delicias habui pariter lususque procaces.
Haec Hilarus mihi contulerat pater ipse patronus,
Si non infelix contraria fata habuissem.
Nunc vero infernas sedes Acherontis ad undas
Tetraque Tartarei persidere tendo profundi.
Effugi tumidam vitam; spes, forma, valete!
Nil mihi vobiscum est; alios deludite, quaeso.
Haec domus aeterna est; hic sum situs; hic ero semper."

[19] The different portions of this epitaph lend themselves also readily for purposes of satire and caricature. I have seen the caricature of a newly created knight or nobleman with his newly manufactured coat-of-arms and, below it, as a motto, "Inveni portum."

In regard to the actual use of *memento mori* devices among the ancients, we have the well-known passage in Herodotus (*Hist.*, lib. ii. 78), which informs us that at banquets given by wealthy persons in Egypt, it was the custom for some one to carry round the wooden image of a corpse, and tell each guest to drink and enjoy himself, since after death he would be like that image. A similar custom existed in Roman Imperial times, according to the account of the feast of Trimalchio (Petronius, *Satyric.*, c. 34), and certain miniature jointed skeletons made in bronze or silver, preserved in various European museums (see the bronze skeletons illustrated facing page 1) are supposed to have been employed in this way at Roman banquets. The one introduced at Trimalchio's feast (at the end of the first course) was a jointed one of silver ("larva argentea").[20] Trimalchio (a caricature of the *nouveau riche* Roman host of the period) had just been giving his guests Opimian (that is, very old) Falernian wine (Falernian of 121 B.C., when L. Opimius was consul, and when, owing to the great heat of the autumn, the vintage was of extraordinarily good quality) to drink (telling them that on the day before he had given less good

[20] The one used at Trimalchio's feast was described as so skilfully made that its joints and backbone could be made to assume any attitude desired. From the anatomical point of view, however, the specimens in bronze in the British Museum (London), in the Louvre Museum (Paris), in the Museo Kircheriano (Rome), and in other collections, are all, or nearly all, very incorrectly modelled, as pointed out by A. de Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiques . . . du Louvre*, Paris, 1868, vol. i. p. 165, No. 691. In regard to various "skeleton-manikins" of bronze or silver in the museums of Naples, Imola, &c., see Contessa E. Caetani Lovatelli's article, "Di una piccola Larva Convivale in Bronzo," *Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Milano, 1895, vol. 5, columns 5 to 15 (with illustrations). See also S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, Paris, 1897, tome ii. p. 691. The two little bronze skeletons in the museum of Imola, if antique, are unusually accurately made. According to Pierre Gusman (*Pompei*, Paris, 1906, p. 339), in many of the dining rooms at Pompei there were mosaics, the centres of which represented skeletons or death's-heads.

wine to more distinguished company), and had remarked how sad it was to think that wine should have a longer life than human beings. When the silver "larva" was brought in and handed to him by an attendant, he toyed with it, and made it assume various (ridiculous) postures, exclaiming—

"Eheu! Nos miseros! Quam totus homuncio nil est!
Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferat Orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene."

Trimalchio in these words and in his manner is about as serious as Justice Shallow (Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, Second Part, act iii. scene 2), when the latter says: "Certain, 'tis certain; very sure, very sure; death, as the Psalmist saith, is certain to all; all shall die;" and then proceeds at once to ask about a yoke of bullocks at Stamford Fair. But Trimalchio was not, of course, meant to appear serious; he wanted to amuse, not to sadden, his guests.

What the original significance of such a custom may have been we need here scarcely pause to discuss. On the one hand, it may have been the so-called "Epicurean" ideal of life, namely, a life accompanied by beauty, wine, and garlands of roses (for those who can get them), till the gloomy unknown takes everything away. The ancient Egyptians seem, indeed, to have taken what one would now term a rather "Epicurean" view of life.[21]

On the other hand, there are Plutarch (*Sept. Sap. Conviv.*[22]) and Sir J. G. Wilkinson (Rawlinson's *History*

[21] *Vide* A. E. P. Weigall, "The Temperament of the Ancient Egyptians," *Blackwood's Magazine*, July, 1908, p. 58.

[22] Plutarch, in his *Septem Sapientium Convivium* (c. 2), says that the Egyptian custom of introducing a skeleton at their banquets and reminding their guests that they also would soon die, tended to incite them, not to drunkenness and sensual pleasure, but to mutual friendship, deterring them from wasting their short span of life in wickedness. In *De Iside et Osiride* (c. 17), Plutarch again refers to the same Egyptian custom.

of Herodotus, third edition, London, 1875, vol. 2, p. 130), who suggest that the original purpose was to teach men "to love one another, and to avoid those evils which tend to make them consider life too long when in reality it is too short." Analogously, in the 90th Psalm (ver. 12) and in Ecclesiasticus (ch. xxviii. 6) we have passages (already quoted) advising mindfulness of death, so that men shall be wise and cease from enmity.

That a degraded Epicureanism existed in Roman times is well shown by certain gems (which I shall describe in Part IV.) engraved with "skeleton and wine-jar" devices, and likewise by the design on two magnificent Graeco-Roman silver wine-cups,[23] forming part of the "Boscoreale treasure" in the Louvre Museum at Paris, and supposed to date from the first century of the Christian era (see Fig. 1). These cups belong to a period when the philosophy of Epicurus was popularly supposed to advocate devotion to sensual pleasures.

They are adorned with figures of skeletons ("shades")[24] and garlands of roses, and bear various inscriptions, some of which urge the enjoyment of pleasure whilst yet life lasts, and whilst enjoyment of anything is possible; their advice is: Eat, drink, and enjoy life whilst you can, for to-morrow you may die, and become merely a "shade" or "spirit."

Some of the skeletons on these cups represent the

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[23] For beautiful illustrations of these cups, see A. Héron de Villefosse, "Le Trésor de Boscoreale," *Monuments et Mémoirs* (*Fondation Eugène Piot*), Paris, vol. v., 1899, Pl. vii. and Pl. viii.

[24] The skeleton in this sense would doubtless have been termed a "larva" by the Romans. The Greek word σκελετόν originally meant a shrivelled body or mummy, *i.e.* σκελετόν σῶμα. It appears to represent what we might speak of as the "spirit" of the dead philosopher or poet. I shall return to the subject of the representation of "larvae" in Roman and Graeco-Roman art (especially of a late period), when I come to the description of engraved gems in Part IV.

shades of Greek poets and philosophers, whose names are inscribed on the silver at their sides, and one of them,

FIG. 1.—Silver cup forming part of the so-called Boscoreale treasure in the Louvre Museum at Paris, supposed to date from the first century of the Christian era. Photograph from the facsimile in the Victoria and Albert Museum, showing the skeletons, or "shades," of the philosophers Epicurus and Zeno.

accompanied by a pig,[25] is labelled as that of Epicurus

[25] What the popular conception of so-called followers of Epicurus was in Horace's time, and how in the mind of the people Epicurus came to be associated with a pig, is plain from the lines—

> "Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
> Cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum."
>
> (Hor., *Epist.*, lib. i. 4, lines 15, 16.)

It seems that in reality Epicurus and the personal friends and disciples who shared the life in his "garden" (the Κῆποι Ἐπικούρου) at Athens, were temperate and contented with the simplest and plainest diet

himself. Epicurus (that is to say, his skeleton) has a philosopher's wallet ("scrip" of the New Testament) slung from the left shoulder, and holds a long philosopher's staff in the left hand, whilst he lays his right hand on what seems to be a large cake on a tripod table. The pig at his feet is likewise endeavouring to get at the cake. Above the cake is the inscription, ΗΔΟΝΗ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟC ("Pleasure is the final object"). On the other side of the tripod stands the skeleton of Zeno (founder of the Stoic philosophy), with wallet and staff, in an attitude of disdain (see Fig. 1). The inscription, ΚΛΩΘΩ, on the cup in question shows that a small figure mounted on a column was intended by the artist to represent Clotho, one of the three Fates (Moirae or Parcae). In this connexion, as a personification of Fate, Destiny, or Doom, she is almost equivalent to a goddess of Death.

The devices on these two cups were doubtless intended to signify the temporary nature of all kinds of philosophic learning and sensual pleasure alike. The meaning would then be as follows: No matter whose philosophy you follow, you will have to die like the philosophers themselves, though whilst you live you can choose between seriousness and merely sensual pleasure. But a more decidedly "Epicurean" hint was also probably intended, such as: "You may be learned and wise

(compare A. E. Taylor's *Epicurus*, London, 1911, p. 13). It has even been suggested, I believe, that Epicurus was something of a dyspeptic. Cicero (*Tusc. Disput.*, lib. III. xx. 49) wrote: "Negat Epicurus, jucunde posse vivi, nisi cum virtute vivatur." Lecky refers to the *Life of Epicurus*, by Diogenes Laërtius, in proof of his fine character and of the purity of the philosophy which he taught and of its misrepresentation by Roman so-called followers. Lecky admits, however, that Epicureanism, though logically compatible with a very high degree of virtue, tended practically towards vice. Dante (*Inferno*, canto x.), from his religious point of view, naturally assigned Epicurus and all his followers ("who with the body make the spirit die") to hell.

like these philosophers, and able to discourse on every subject under the sun; but what does it all amount to? what practical lesson do you teach? Only the lesson that these skeletons tell us, namely, *Edite! bibite! post mortem nulla voluptas!*" At any rate, no more seriousness was suggested than the English poet, John Gay (died 1732), conveyed by the lines forming his own epitaph at Westminster Abbey—

> "Life is a jest, and all things show it;
> I thought so once, and now I know it."

On the cup on which Epicurus is represented is an inscription confirming this interpretation. The inscription in question is [Σ]KHNH O BIOC ("Life is a stage"), probably a proverbial saying of the time, which likewise forms part of the following (later) epigram (by Palladas) in the Greek Anthology: Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος καὶ παίγνιον· ἢ μάθε παίζειν τὴν σπουδὴν μεταθείς ἢ φέρε τὰς ὀδύνας ("All life is a stage[26] and a game: either learn to play like a child, laying earnestness aside, or bear its griefs").

In Part IV. I shall refer again to this subject and to the Boscoreale wine-cups, when considering the "Epicurean" significance of the representation of skeletons on engraved gems, cups, vases, &c., of Roman times. The Boscoreale cups and the various objects referred to in Part IV. show conclusively that though during the best period of Greek art the realistic representation of skeletons and corpses was avoided, the ancients in Roman and Graeco-Roman periods sometimes represented their dead as "larvae" under the form of skeletons

[26] Cf. the well-known passage in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (act ii. scene 7)—"All the world's a stage," &c.—and somewhat similar passages, quoted by Steevens, Malone, and other Shakespeare critics, from various English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Totus mundus agit histrionem* (from one of the fragments of Petronius) is said to have been the motto over Shakespeare's theatre, "the Globe."

or shrivelled figures of skin and bone (the German *Hautskelett*). But it remained for Mediaeval art to personify death itself under this form. Amongst the ancients the personification of Death, or "Thanatos," was certainly not pictured in that way (see Part IV.), and so far G. E. Lessing was right in his famous essay (1769), "Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet."

I believe that the representations on the Boscoreale cups and all similar late Roman and Graeco-Roman representations (see Part IV.) are practically equivalent to caricatures, from the grossly sensual point of view, of the delights to be expected after death by the blessed in Elysium. Some of them may, however, have been suggested by the custom of offering gifts at the tombs of the departed—food, wine, garlands, fillets, &c.

Many passages of the Greek Anthology [27] give advice of the *carpe diem* kind, for instance, the verses commencing: Πῖνε καὶ εὐφραίνου, τί γὰρ αὔριον, ἢ τί τὸ μέλλον, οὐδεὶς γινώνσκει.[28] The lines of Euripides (*Alcestis*, 788) tell one much the same—

> Εὔφραινε σαυτόν, πῖνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν
> βίον λογίζου σόν, τάδ' ἄλλα τῆς τύχης

("Enjoy yourself, drink, reckon your daily life your own, everything else is fortune's.")

Amongst Latin authors Horace may be especially quoted in this respect. See for instance, his *Ode*, ii. 3, lines 13 to 16—

> "Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
> Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae,
> Dum res et aetas et sororum
> Fila trium patiuntur atra."

St. Paul refers to this view of life in the First Epistle

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[27] Compare J. W. Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, London, 1906: Verses on the subject of life, pp. 285, 286. The epigram commencing Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος is given on page 301, No. xliv.

[28] *Epigram. Anthol. Palat.*, Didot edition, Paris, vol. ii., 1872, p. 294.

to the Corinthians (xv. 32, Revised Version of 1881): "If the dead are not raised, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Isaiah (xxii. 13) also alluded to it.

Amongst other Latin passages having a *memento mori* significance of the "Epicurean" type—the Roman idea of "Dum vivimus, vivamus"[29]—the following are noteworthy:—

"Frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tinguere nardo:
Ipse jubet mortis te meminisse deus."
(Martial, *Epigram*, lib. ii. No. 59.)

"Deus" refers to the deified Roman Emperor. In another place (lib. v. No. 64) Martial draws an argument in favour of enjoying wine from the existence of the mausoleum of Augustus, showing, as it does, that all, even deified Emperors, must die.

"Pone merum et talos, pereat qui crastina curat!
Mors auram vellens; Vivite, ait, venio."
(Virgil, *Copa Syrisca*.)

"Indulge genio: carpamus dulcia; nostrum est
Quod vivis: cinis et manes et fabula fies."
(Persius, *Sat.*, v. 151.)

"Dum fata sinunt, vivite laeti!"
(Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 177.)

"Dum licet, in rebus jucundis vive beatus:
Vive memor quam sis aevi brevis."
(Horace, *Serm.* II. Sat. vi. 96.)

"Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur fugerit invida
Aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero."
(Horace, *Od.*, i. 11. 6.)

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[29] See the collection of quotations on this subject given by Caetani Lovatelli, *Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, pp. 11 *et seq.*

"... Ille potens sui
"Laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse: Vixi!"[30] (Horace, *Od.*, iii. 29. 41.)

"... Sine amore jocisque
"Nil est jucundum; vivas in amore, jocisque."[31]
(Horace, *Epist.*, i. 6. 65.)

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[30] The expression, *Vixit*, as a kind of euphemism, came to signify that a person had died, and to collections of epitaphs belong really all sayings of the *Vixi* class, for instance: "Vixi et amavi," "Vixi, peccavi, . . .," "Vixi dum vixi bene . . . Vivite ut vixi bene."

"Vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi:
Et nunc magna mei sub terras currit imago."
(Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv. 653.)

William Camden recorded the following epitaph without a name: "Vixi, peccavi, penitui, naturae cessi." It was in the cloister on the north side of old St. Paul's Cathedral in London (Thomas Hearne's *Discourses*, vol. i. p. 338; quoted by T. J. Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, p. 69). The epitaph in Westminster Abbey on John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham (died 1721): "Dubius sed non improbus vixi," &c.—may be contrasted with older ones: "Vixi dubius, anxius morior, nescio quo vado"; "Foedus intravi, anxius vixi, perturbatus egredior"; "Invitus ingredior, perturbatus egredior," &c. It is said to have suggested the following verses written by Lawrence Shirley, fourth Earl of Ferrers (the so-called "wicked Lord Ferrers"), before his execution in 1760 (*vide* John Timbs, *Ancestral Stories*, London, 1869, p. 128):—

"In doubt I lived, in doubt I die,
Yet stand prepared the vast abyss to try,
And, undismayed, expect eternity."

On the saying, *Vixi et amavi*, are founded the lines of Schiller (in his *Piccolomini*):—

"Ich habe genossen das irdische Glück;
Ich habe gelebt und geliebet."

A remarkable little poem (by "L. S.," in the *Sydney Bulletin*), founded on the same saying, ends thus—

"And all these things—but two things—
Were emptiness and pain;
And Love—it was the best of them;
And Sleep—worth all the rest of them."

An ephemeral May-fly kind of life suggests itself when one reads—

"I have lived and loved, but that was to-day;
Make ready my grave-clothes to-morrow."

[31] This passage gives "Epicurean" advice for life, but is of course not really of the *memento mori* kind. Neither is the following:—

"Nunc vino pellite curas;
Cras ingens iterabimus aequor."
(Horace, *Od.*, i. 7. 31.)

"Amici, dum vivimus, vivamus."
(From an epitaph, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. xii. No. 4548.)

"Vita dum vives, vive, et cura post obitum necessaria."
(From an epitaph, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 15233.)

"Tu qui legis bona vita vive sodalis, quare post obitum nec risus nec lusus nec ulla voluptas erit." (Epitaph in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. ix. No. 3473.)

This last resembles a Latin "devil-precept," quoted in Eustachius Schildo's *Spilteufel* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1557): "Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas" (see Max Osborn, *Die Teufellitteratur des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1893, p. 81, and Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1902, vol. 2, p. 325). With this may be compared the Latin portion of the following German students' song:—

"Ça ça geschmauset,
Lasst uns nicht rappelköpfig sein!
Wer nicht mit brauset,
Der bleib daheim!
Edite, bibite, collegiales,
Post multa saecula pocula nulla."

This version occurs, I gather, in Christian Wilhelm Kindleben's collection of students' songs (1781), but Max Friedlaender (*loc. cit.*) gives the following earlier eighteenth-century words, which make better sense:—

"Bibite, bibite, collegiales,
Per secula plurima pocula nulla."

According to the chorus of the popular German drinking song by Carl Müchler, first published in 1797 (see Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte*), Martin Luther is credited with the following saying:—

"Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang,
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang."

The same attribution is given likewise in Herder's *Volkslieder* of 1778, and in *Wandsbecker Bothen* published in 1775.

Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte* (22nd edition, Berlin, 1905, pp. 128–130) discusses the authorship at length, and quotes a passage from *Epist. Obscurorum Vitorum*, in which Ulrich von Hutten writes, "Quamvis Salomon dicat: Musica, mulier et vinum laetificant cor hominis . . ." (This is apparently the result of the jumbling together of the following passages: Ecclesiasticus xl. 20; Proverbs xii. 4; and Psalm civ. 15.)

To Walter Map or Mapes (fl. 1200), a native of Herefordshire in England, has been attributed (probably wrongly—see article on his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Smith, Elder & Co., London) the famous Latin so-called "drinking song"—

"Meum est propositum in tabernâ mori,
Vinum sit appositum morientis ori,
Ut dicant cum venerint angelorum chori,
Deus sit propitius huic potatori," &c.

Possibly the most popular of all students' songs is that beginning—

"Gaudeamus igitur, juvenes dum sumus,
Post jucundam juventutem,
Post molestam senectutem,
Nos habebit humus."

Amongst older versions of the Latin portion of the words an eighteenth-century one (see Ludwig Erk and F. M. Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, Leipzig, 1894, vol. 3, p. 489) runs—

"Gaudeamus igitur,
Juvenes dum sumus;
Post molestam senectutem
Nos habebit tumulus.
Ubi sunt, qui ante nos
In mundo vixere?
Abeas ad tumulos,
Si vis hos videre.
Vita nostra brevis est,
Brevi finietur:
Venit mors velocitur,
Neminem veretur."

This portion of the song has been supposed to date back to the time of the travelling students of the thirteenth century. At any rate, it had an ecclesiastical origin in verses intended to point out the vanity and instability of all earthly possessions and delights. Édélestand du Méril (*Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, Paris, 1847, p. 125) has published a manuscript poem, dated 1267, containing the following verses :—

"Scribere proposui de contemptu mundano,
Tam est hora surgere de somno mortis vano."

"Vita brevis, brevitas in brevi finietur ;
Mors venit velociter et neminem veretur."

"Ubi sunt, qui ante nos in hoe mundo fuere ?
Venies ad tumulos, si eos vis videre."

The *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam (*c.* 1060–1120) is full of "Epicurean" sentiments, showing also a tinge of "learned melancholy" and pessimism.[32] Justifiable advice of the kind occurs in the "Shih King" of the Chinese.

The sentence in the Apocrypha, "Let us crown ourselves with rose-buds before they be withered" (Wisdom of Solomon, ch. ii. 8), perhaps suggested the beautiful lines of R. Herrick (1591–1674)—

"Gather ye rose-buds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying,

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[32] Dr. Oliver Codrington kindly tells me that Fitzgerald's English translation imparts to the verses of the *Rubaiyat* a deeper "Epicurean" tinge than they in reality possess. Omar was certainly familiar with Greek literature. In a contribution to the *Royal Asiatic Society Journal* (London, 1898, p. 349), to which Dr. Codrington has referred me, Dr. E. D. Ross quotes (p. 354) the following passage from Ibn-al-Kifty, who wrote in the seventh century of the Hejira: Omar was "the most learned man of his day, and was versed in the science of the Greeks. He encouraged the search after the One Judge by means of the purification of the inclinations of the flesh for the sake of the elevation of the human soul." It seems to me that a learned man with a Faust-like imagination is certain to have "Epicurean moods" at some period or other of his life, and such moods (frequently revealing a shade also of pessimism) may be the only ones well expressed by him in poetry.

And this same flower that smiles to-day,
To-morrow will be dying."

Very similar are the words of the German popular song (Johann Martin Usteri, 1793)—

"Freut euch des Lebens,
Weil noch das Lämpchen glüht;
Pflücket die Rose,
Eh sie verblüht."

One writer in *Notes and Queries* quotes the analogous English:—

"Enjoy your life, my brother,
Is grey old Reason's song;
One has so little time to live,
And one is dead so long."

Another has heard of a similar inscription over a cottage in Scotland:—

"Be happy whilst ye're leevin,
For ye're a lang time deid."

The following (after Kastner) is from an old French vaudeville:—

"Buvons, chers amis, buvons;
Le temps qui fuit nous y convie.
Profitons de la vie
Autant que nous pourrons."

A decastich by the French poet, Clément Marot (died 1544), in which a famishing man tells of a man who died in a state of drunkenness, ends:

"Las! dit-il, j'ai, moi langoureux,
Faim sans fin, l'autre eut fin sans faim."

Some of the so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" of the town of Basel, which I shall further on describe, represent roses and Death's heads, with the inscription, "Heut rodt, Morgen dodt" ("To-day red, to-morrow dead"), or "Heut send (sind) wier rot und Morgen todt" ("To-day we are red and to-morrow dead").

B.

Orthodox Religious Teaching of Mediaeval Europe.
The Morality Tales and Morality Plays.
The Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead.
The "Vado Mori" Poems.
The Dance of Death (Danse Macabre).
The "Ars Moriendi" Designs.

It was in Mediaeval Europe, under the auspices of the Catholic Church, that descriptions and representations of the terrors of death and hell began to take on their most horrible aspects.[33] Thoughtful artists of late Mediaeval and later periods have delighted in contrasting death and the emblems of death with the strenuous ambitions, careless indulgences, vices and follies of every-day life. They have delighted in representing the universal power of death, how it carries off rich and poor alike, kings and peasants, wise men and fools, good and bad, old and young, beautiful and ugly. As examples we may refer to the various series of the "Dance of Death" ("Danse Macabre") made by various artists during

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[33] In this connexion it may be remarked that whilst some of the so-called "parting scenes" on Greek sepulchral marble reliefs are sorrowful in a simple and beautiful way of their own, the mural paintings in Etruscan tombs invest the idea of death (and the parting scenes represented) with horrors equal to those conjured up by Mediaeval superstition and Mediaeval art. The brutal-looking Etruscan "Charun" with his hammer, and occasionally other malignant-looking demons, like Gorgons or Furies (though usually represented as males), sometimes holding snakes in their hands, play an important part in Etruscan death scenes. The Etruscan representations of infernal deities remind one of some of the figures and emblems of the Hindoo deity Siva or Shiva and his terrible wife Kali, with their serpents, skulls, &c.

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The best-known designs, *i.e.* the series attributed to Holbein (the Lyons woodcuts of 1538), end with the "Arms of Death" (see Fig. 2), representing a man and woman (*i.e.* life) supporting a shield with a Death's head as armorial bearing (death is fed by life and love). In the Victoria and Albert Museum is a German sixteenth-century ivory

FIG. 2.—The "Arms of Death," from Holbein's "Dance of Death" series.

statuette, 9¼ inches in height (Fig. 3), apparently from a "Dance of Death" group. It represents a skeleton-like figure, in a spirited attitude, with the hands, holding drumsticks, raised excitedly above the head, on which is a broad hat with three large feathers. In this statuette the grotesque contrast of the "skin and bone figure" (German *Hautskelett*), representing death, with the animated action of the drummer and the broad gallant's

hat of the period, could not be brought out more strongly.[34]

FIG. 3.—Ivory statuette, apparently from a "Dance of Death" group.

Albrecht Dürer's well-known engraving (1513), repre-

[34] See account in *A Description of the Ivories, Ancient and Modern, in the South Kensington Museum*, by W. Maskell, London, 1872, p. 10.

senting a knight on horseback with Death (likewise on horseback) by his side and the devil behind him, is typical of this great artist's work. (This inspired the story, *Sintram und seine Gefährten*, by the German writer De la Motte-Fouqué, 1777–1843.) By Dürer also are the following: A woodcut (1510) of Death and a soldier; a rough drawing (in the British Museum) of Death holding a scythe, riding on a lean horse (perhaps emblematic of a spreading pestilence), with the inscription ME(M)ENTO MEI, and the date 1505; an early drawing of Death swooping down upon a rider, who is being thrown from his horse (emblematic of sudden and unexpected death). In Dürer's "Wappen des Todes" (Fig. 4), a copperplate engraving dated 1503, a shield bearing the device of a skull as the emblem of death is surmounted by a helmet and the wings of the "angel of death." Death himself, who supports these arms, is represented as a hairy satyr-like "man of the woods" (like a "savage man" in heraldry) in the act of kissing a lady, who appears to be pregnant. Thus the lady may be taken as representing Life, helping through Love to feed Death by giving birth to children. She does indeed support death, for without life there could be no death, and her unborn child is already, by the pledge of that kiss, predestined, like every living being, to yield to the universal conqueror. A biological paradox is thus expressed by Anatole France: "All union of the sexes is a sign of [coming] death; and we could not know love were we to live indefinitely."

In an engraving[35] by the "Meister H.W.," dated 1482, Death, in the form of a shrivelled figure of skin and bones (the German *Hautskelett*), is seen striding through

[35] Illustrated by Hermann Peters, in his work, *Der Arzt und die Heilkunst in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 130.

the country, and as he goes he hurls his poisoned darts at all he meets. In the background is one of those

FIG. 4.—Dürer's so-called "Wappen des Todes." (Engraving in the British Museum.)

picturesque Mediaeval fortified towns with many spires and turrets, cramped up within its narrow walls, and

likely to be visited by one of those fatal epidemics, spreading through the land from one town to another, like that of which, perhaps, the engraving in question is an allegorical representation. A copperplate engraving of the end of the fifteenth century shows death (a skeleton just covered with skin, the usual *Hautskelett* type)

FIG. 5.—The March of Death. Possibly an allegorical representation of the fatal spreading of an epidemic. (Engraving by the "Meister H.W.," 1482.) Note the youth climbing a tree to escape.

playing chess with a king or prince. A pope, a bishop, and other ecclesiastics and noblemen are grouped around the table, at the head of which stands an angel, holding a hour-glass.[36]

An engraving by the "Meister des Amsterdamer

[36] Illustrated by F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, 1897, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 449, fig. 270.

Kabinets" ("Meister von 1480") represents Death (in the form of the emaciated *Hautskelett*, with toad

Fig. 6.—The Three Living and the Three Dead Kings, from an engraving in the British Museum, by the "Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinets" ("Meister von 1480").

and snake) warning a fashionably dressed youth. The subject of another engraving by the same master is

the story of the three living kings coming upon three dead ones. Of this thirteenth-century tale or legend ("morality" story) of three living men meeting three dead men ("les trois morts et les trois vifs"), various versions exist.[37] One in Latin rhyming verse narrates—

"Cum apertam sepulturam
Viri tres aspicerent
Ac orribilem figuram
Intus ibi cernerent," etc.

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[37] "Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs," and the doleful talk of the dead to the living, may well be contrasted with a story of the Chinese mystic, Chuang Tzu (*Musings of a Chinese Mystic*, London, 1906, p. 84), to which my attention was kindly drawn by Mr. John Allan: One day the Chinese philosopher came upon a bleached human skull and (Hamlet-wise) mused as to what kind of a man it had once formed part of. In the night he dreamt that the skull appeared to him and told him that after death there were no troubles, that existence was bounded only by eternity, and that the happiness of a king among men did not exceed that enjoyed by the dead. One of Gabr. Symeoni's emblematic devices is a human skull crowned with a wreath and the inscription, "Victoria limes." Symeoni adds (*The Heroicall Devices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 319): "Epictetus the Philosopher being asked upon a time of Adrianus the Emperor wherefore the deade were crowned with garlands, answered, that they might declare, how that by death they had overcome the labors, sorrows and imminent heape of the cares of this life. Plinie also speaketh of the same crowning of the dead." But the following story, narrated by Pausanias in regard to Delphi (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, bk. x.—on Phocis—ch. ii. 4; J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898, vol. i. p. 501), quite rivals the horrible superstition of Mediaeval times: "Scarcely, it is said, had he (Phaylus) entered on the command when he saw a vision in a dream, and it was this: Amongst Apollo's votive offerings (at Delphi) was a bronze effigy of a mouldering corpse, the flesh all wasted away, nothing left but the bones. It was said by the Delphians to be an offering of Hippocrates, the physician. Now in his dream Phaylus thought that he resembled this effigy; and immediately he was attacked by a wasting sickness that fulfilled the augury of the dream." Mediaeval "morality plays," as well as modern ones of the revival movement, still attract attention. If the Doppelgänger tales of German folk-lore are in any way connected with the Mediaeval legend of "Les trois morts et les trois vifs," then it is possible (as suggested to me by Dr. C. F. L. Leipoldt) that the design of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's sketch entitled "How They met Themselves," was to some

It formed a favourite subject for artists, and at one time it was supposed to have inspired the preliminary versions of the "Dance of Death" ("Danse Macabre," or, in Latin, "Chorea Machabaeorum"), a subject which became so popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Dr. W. F. Storck, whose writings on the subject I shall refer to farther on in this book, has collected strong literary and other evidence to show that the "Dance of Death" subject originated independently of "the Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living." The two series of ideas seem to have separately grown out of the common soil of Mediaeval orthodox religious teaching, the evolution of the one growth overlapping and to some extent running parallel to the evolution of the other growth. The essence of the "Dance of Death" and the feature in which it chiefly differs from the idea of "the Three Dead and the Three Living" (who are generally pictured as kings, princes, noblemen, or gallants, with the attributes of wealth and worldly power—the "great" of this world), seems to consist in the variation in the aspect of Death according to the age, sex, habits, occupation, and social position of the individual who is to die. Obviously, therefore, the "Dance of Death" had a special significance, which the "Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living" had not, during periods of fatal epidemics, when poor and rich and all classes were being carried off by the deadly visitant. On the literary side, moreover, the "Dance of Death" designs are more or less represented by the series of "Vado mori" poems which had their origin in the thirteenth century. In such poems or

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extent inspired by the Mediaeval legend in question (cf. *Dante Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement*, by Esther Wood, London, 1894, pp. 224, 225).

"carmina de morte" a distich is put into the mouth of each type of individual, young and old, poor and rich, learned and unlearned, layman and cleric, of low or high social grade. Each distich begins and ends with the words "Vado mori." As specimens, I will quote two distichs given in a paper by Dr. Storck (*Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, Stuttgart, vol. 42, p. 427). The physician and the logician say respectively—

"Vado mori medicus, medicamine non redimendus,
Quidquid agat medici pocio. Vado mori."
"Vado mori logicus ; aliis concludere novi.
Conclusit breviter mors michi : vado mori."

In a curious variety of the sixteenth century, mentioned by Dr. Storck (*ibid.*, p. 424), each "Vado mori" distich is followed by a couple of similarly constructed lines, commencing with the words "Vive deo."[38] A "Vado mori" poem has been attributed to the Englishman Walter Map or Mapes (fl. 1200), and a Spanish poem, "Danza de la Muerte," to Rabbi Santo, a Jew, who lived about 1360 ; but these attributions are doubtful.

In regard to the dancing attitude given to the horrid harlequin-like figure in the "Dance of Death" designs, it must not be forgotten that formerly (in Mediaeval and later times) festive dancing in the open air was more frequent among the common people (and more a feature of everyday life, to "strike the eye" of the traveller)

[38] Echoes and developmental extensions of the feeling of such verses occur in many later admonitory epitaphs, &c., such as the inscription on a sepulchral monument (1628) in Cuckfield Church, Sussex—

"Vive diu, sed vive Deo ; nam vivere mundo
Mortis opus, viva est vivere vita Deo."

A mortuary medal (1670) of William VII, Landgraf of Hesse, has the inscription, "Vixit diu, quia bene vixit."

than it now is. This may likewise help to explain, I believe, why hysterical seizures in past times, more frequently than at present, took the form of dancing, as evidenced by the old "epidemics" of "Dancing Mania," of which such curious descriptions and illustrations have been preserved. In all probability the "Dance of Death" originated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as a kind of "morality" representation or "play," consisting of dialogues between Death and living characters typical of various stations in life, various occupations, etc. By such means the religious authorities in Germany, France, and (later) England, &c., hoped to impress the sense of the power of death on the minds of the poor and uneducated peasantry, as well as the richer, educated, and scholarly classes, for whom other warnings (including "the Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living") would have suited equally well. Such "morality" representations were probably at first acted in or near churches by the religious orders and persons instructed by them, sometimes accompanied by music. Afterwards the subject became a favourite one—or, at least, a not infrequent one—for frescoes on the walls of religious buildings, paintings, tapestries,[39] prints, &c.

The best-known series of designs, the Holbein series, sometimes termed "Imagines mortis" or "Icones mortis," is that of the Lyons woodcuts of 1538, and of the numerous later copies and variations, including those by Wenceslaus Hollar (middle of the seventeenth

[39] There was some tapestry with a "Macaber Dance" in the Tower of London. See F. Douce, *Holbein's Dance of Death, &c.*, London (Bohn's Illustrated Library), 1858, pp. 46, 47. Douce refers on this subject to the *History of English Poetry*, by Thomas Wharton the Younger.

century), Christian von Mechel (1780), and the Bewicks (1789). Amongst earlier series are that (probably of the fifteenth century) which formerly existed in the Dominican cemetery of Gross-Basel, in Switzerland (which was at one time absurdly supposed to be the work of Holbein), and that (dating from the fourteenth century) on the cloister wall of the Klingenthal Convent in Klein-Basel, on the other side of the Rhine. The originals of the latter series were destroyed about 1806. A famous French "Danse Macabre," accompanied by verses in French, was painted about 1425 on the wall of the churchyard of the Monastery of the Innocents at Paris, where the Dance of Death drama was probably acted. About 1430, similar pictures, with a translation (which has been preserved[40]) by John Lydgate (who at that time was residing at Bury Monastery) of the French poem, were introduced into the great cloister on the north side of Old St. Paul's Cathedral at London. Afterwards "Dances of Death" existed at other places in England—certainly in Salisbury Cathedral, at Wortley Hall (Gloucestershire), at Hexham (Northumberland), and in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Croydon.

For detailed information in regard to the origin and various series of the "Dance of Death," and in regard to the iconography[41] of death in Mediaeval and later art, I would refer the reader to the various monographs on the subject, especially the following: E. H. Langlois, *Essai historique, philosophique, et pittoresque sur les Danses des Morts*, Rouen, 1851; J. Georges Kastner, *Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852; F. Douce, *Holbein's Dance of Death, &c.*, London (Bohn's

[40] Lydgate's verses were printed at the end of Tottell's edition (folio, 1554) of his translation of the *Fall of Princes* from Boccaccio, and they were again, about a century later, printed in Sir William Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral.*

[41] In regard to the iconography of death, the various works on Sepulchral Monuments should also be consulted.

Illustrated Library), 1858; the facsimile reproductions published by the Holbein Society, Manchester; Dr. Theodor Frimmel's series of articles in *Mittheilungen d. k. k. Central-Commission . . . der Denkmale*, Neue Folge, Vienna, 1884 to 1890, vols. x.–xvi.; G. E. Sears, *A Collection of Works illustrative of the Dance of Death*, privately printed, New York, 1889; W. Seelmann, *Die Totentänze des Mittelalters*, published by the Verein f. Niederdeut. Sprachforschung of Hamburg (Bremen, 1892); Alexander Goette, *Holbeins Totentanz und seine Vorbilder*, Strassburg, 1897; Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*, Paris, 1908, pp. 375 *et seq.*; Carl Kuenstle, *Die Legende der drei Lebenden und der drei Toten, und der Totentanz*, Freiburg i. Br., 1908; and, above all, the recent writings by W. F. Storck, "Aspects of Death in English Art and Poetry," *Burlington Magazine*, London, 1912, vol. xxi. pp. 249, 314; his "Inaugural-Dissertation," Tübingen, 1910; and his complete work, which he tells me will soon be published, entitled, *Die Legende von den drei Lebenden und den drei Toten und das Problem des Totentanzes.* Various woodcuts of Death, of the Three Dead, and of the Dance of Death, were included in early printed Books of Hours and in Almanacks, such as *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers* (printed by Guiot Marchant, at Paris, in 1493).

In the pictures of "Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs," three men (rarely women and rarely ecclesiastics), generally wearing crowns or the rich apparel of princes, noblemen, and "gallants," generally on horseback, and generally engaged in the pastime of hunting or hawking, are represented as being suddenly reminded of death by coming upon three decaying corpses (being "eaten by worms"[42]), or dried up "skin and bone" figures (the German *Hautskelett* type), or skeletons.

An early fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript of

[42] Concerning the idea of representing the decaying body as being occupied by long worms, snakes, toads, &c. (*i.e.* as being "eaten by worms," according to a phrase still in use in some countries), see later Part II. Section XIX.

the Arundel Collection in the British Museum (No. 83, fol. 127) has a miniature of three kings, one of whom carries a falcon, and three skeleton-like corpses (see

FIG. 7.—The Three Dead and the Three Living Kings, from a manuscript in the British Museum.

Fig. 7, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. W. F. Storck). Over the kings are the following inscriptions: "Ich am afert;" "Lo whet ich se;" "Me thinketh hit beth develes thre." Over the three corpses

are: "Ich wes wel fair;" "Such scheltou be;" "For Godes love, be wer by me." The manuscript belonged in the fifteenth century to the famous Priory of St. Bartholomew (Smithfield, London), and Dr. Storck has pointed out that the miniature in question resembles in almost every detail the representation of the same subject in a French manuscript of the thirteenth century (Paris, Arsénal MS. 3142, f. 311). The same story evidently suggested an early fourteenth-century mural painting (with the inscription, "Mors sceptra ligonibus aequat") which formerly existed at Battle Church, in Sussex,[43] and also a mural painting in the church of Ditchingham, Norfolk.[44]

The same story forms part of the "Triumph of Death" (fourteenth century), in the Campo Santo of Pisa, a fresco doubtfully attributed to Orcagna or Lorenzetti; it is the subject of a sketch by Jacopo Bellini (about 1450),[45] preserved in the Louvre at Paris; and occurs in A. Vérard's "Dance of Death" series published in 1492.[46] In the Pisan fresco, a party of men engaged in hunting, three of whom wear crowns, are represented as coming suddenly upon three open coffins, in each of which is a corpse or skeleton, one with a crown on its head. The "Macaber Dance" ("Danse Macabre"), *i.e.* the "Dance of Death," has been supposed (but on incorrect grounds —see back) to derive its name from St. Macarius, an

[43] See *Journ. Archaeol. Assoc.*, London, 1847, vol. 2, p. 151.

[44] See *Archaeological Journal*, London, 1848, vol. 5, p. 69. On the representations of "Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs" in England, see especially W. F. Storck, *Burlington Magazine*, London, 1912, vol. xxi. pp. 249, 314.

[45] It has been also attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–1497). See W. F. Storck, *Die Legende von den drei Lebenden und von den drei Toten*, Inaugural-Dissertation, Tübingen, 1910, p. 40, No. 88.

[46] See Paul Richer's *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, pp. 525–531.

Egyptian anchorite, who is represented on the Pisan fresco pointing out the open coffins to the hunting party.

On the lower portion of one of the miniatures in *Les trés riches heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry*, three live men on horseback are represented fleeing from three dead men on foot; and another miniature pictures a large company of armed soldiers in a cemetery put to flight by the apparition of a band of dead men armed with scythes, &c.[47]

In the *Contemplacyon of Synners*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, at Westminster, in 1499, a woodcut (the third contemplation) shows three shrivelled corpses frightening three gallants and their horses. A hermit, quietly seated on the ground, points to a crucifix between the group of the living and the group of the dead.

"Les trois morts" are again met with in an original drawing (British Museum) of the school of Augsburg (early sixteenth century), which pictures the Pope and a group of ecclesiastical dignitaries being interrupted in some procession or ceremony by three skeleton-like figures (with decomposing viscera and remains of skin and flesh), one of whom wears a crown (Fig. 8).

I have already stated that in the representations of "Les trois morts et les trois vifs" both the live men and the dead men generally bear the attributes of worldly power and wealth; the moral which it was intended by the ecclesiastics to bring home to all, but especially to the rich, by introducing such pictures into churches all over the country, in small villages and large towns and

[47] See the reproduction of *Les trés riches heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry*, published at Paris by Plon-Nourrit & Cie., 1904, folio, Plates xlv., xlvi.

cities alike, may be summed up in the following jingling Mediaeval Latin ("Leonine") hexameters:—

"O dominus dives, non omni tempore vives;
Fac bona dum vivis, post mortem vivere si vis."

In the Mediaeval "morality play," entitled *The Summoning of Everyman*, recently revived in London,

FIG. 8.—The Three Dead meeting the Pope and Ecclesiastics. Original drawing in the British Museum.

Fellowship and Kindred, Worldly Possessions (Goods), Strength, Beauty, Knowledge, Discretion, can none of them accompany Everyman on his last journey. "Good Deeds" alone stands by him and promises to speak for him. According to the sentiment of the play in question, knowledge and discretion should furnish every man with good deeds in this life, and these, rather than mere faith, are to obtain happiness for him in the life to come. "Hie weislich, dort glücklich" ("Here—on earth—prudently, there—after death—happily") was a Mediaeval motto of the Bernstorff family.

A variety in the representation of the legend of the

three dead and three living is furnished by a most interesting Italian picture of the fourteenth-century (Fig. 9), preserved in the Museo Civico at Pisa. On this picture the three living men in the course of their ride come upon three seated females instead of the usual "skin and skeleton" dead men. Dr. W. F. Storck,[48] to whom I am indebted for permission to reproduce his

FIG. 9.—The "Three Living" and the Three Fates, on a fourteenth-century picture at Pisa.

illustration, points out that the allegorical figures of the three women who replace the "three dead," are derived by the early Italian Renaissance artist from the old heathen idea of the three Fates (Parcae or Moirae): Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. Dr. Storck also refers to analogous symbolical representations of the three Fates. The Renaissance artists of the "Triumph of Death" and the "Triumph of Fame over Death," after Petrarch's *Trionfi*, frequently introduced the three Fates into their

[48] *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. xxxiii. p. 493.

designs to replace the Mediaeval figure of death; but to this subject I shall return further on.[49]

We now come to the question: What was the origin of the Mediaeval and later representation of death as a skeleton or a "skin-and-bone figure," the German *Hautskelett*? It is, of course, in the first place, quite obvious that this Christian demon-like or gruesome harlequin-like personification of death, or "King Death," is merely taken from the animated skeleton-like or shrivelled corpse-like figures representing the dead themselves (or their ghosts), as in the pictures of the Mediaeval tale of "the Three Dead and the Three Living." In either case, both when the skeleton, or *Hautskelett*, was used in such pictures to represent a personification of death, and when it represented merely a dead person (or his ghost), the Mediaeval significance of the representation was intended to be a *memento mori* one. The "Dance of the Dead" (see Fig. 10), in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, published by A. Koberger in 1493, seems to me to be an enlightened outcome, perhaps suggested by the physician Hartmann Schedel, of the ordinary Mediaeval teaching of the "Dance of Death," but is not to be confused with a true "Dance of Death."

Now, it is quite certain that the ancients, in later Roman and Graeco-Roman art (witness the Boscoreale wine-cups already described, and the cups, gems, and other objects which will be described in Part IV.), represented their ghosts or "larvae" in the form of

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[49] In regard to female figures of the "skin and skeleton type" representing a kind of mixture of the Mediaeval representation of Death and the Renaissance idea of Atropos, see Dr. Theodor Frimmel, *Mittheilungen d. k. k. Central-Commission der Denkmale*, Vienna, New Series, 1885, vol. xi. p. lxxxviii.

skeletons or shrivelled mummy-like "animated corpses" (the German *Hautskelett*), though they never personified

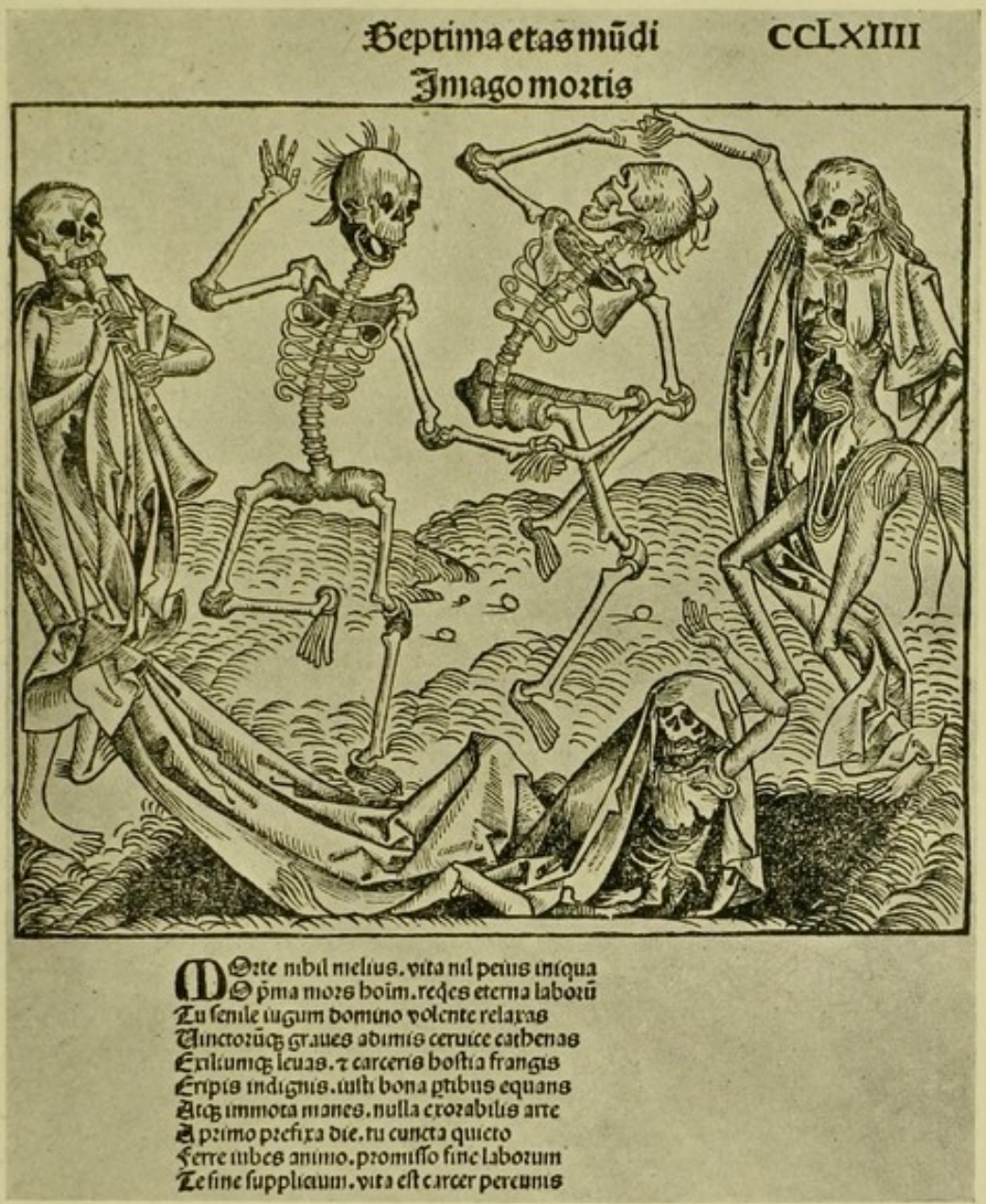

FIG. 10.—A "Dance of the Dead," from a woodcut of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (copy in the British Museum), published in 1493 by Anthoni Koberger of Nuremberg, with the help of a physician, Hartmann Schedel, and two artists, Michael Wolgemut (the master of A. Dürer) and Wilhelm Pleydenwurf. The design is very spirited, though the anatomy is not quite correct. The Latin verses below the woodcut seem to show that the design was an enlightened outcome, perhaps suggested by the physician Hartmann Schedel, of the ordinary Mediaeval teaching of the "Dance of Death."

death itself in this way (nor fate — doom — either unless the minute figure of Clotho on one of the Boscoreale cups is taken to be a *Hautskelett* of this kind). Moreover, the ancient significance of such larva-figures, as is sufficiently manifest (see back, and further on, in Part IV.), was generally likewise a *memento mori* one, though the Roman *memento mori* meant something very different from the Mediaeval Christian *memento mori*; it usually meant a so-called "Epicurean" suggestion to "enjoy life," and to make the play in life's theatre pleasant before death closes the scene and puts an end to all corporeal enjoyment. In late Roman and Graeco-Roman art we have the skeleton-like "larvae" figuring from this *memento mori* point of view. They occur, singly, as on various gems described in Part IV. (in one case at least the skeleton holds a knife or dagger, and is assuming a threatening attitude), or two or three of them together, or many together—a regular "danse des morts" scene—as on the Boscoreale wine-cups (already described), &c. It seems to me almost certain that *Mediaeval Christian art,* as C. W. King suggests, *derived its idea of representing death in the above-mentioned way from the late Roman and Graeco-Roman method of representing "larvae"* (especially malevolent larvae) *as skeletons or skin-and-bone figures.*

The "Ars Moriendi" Designs.

Like the "Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living," and the "Dance of Death" poems, and the "morality" plays of these types, the Mediaeval treatise termed the *Ars Moriendi* formed an important subject for woodcuts and engravings of the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries. Lionel Cust writes[50]: "The *Ars Moriendi*, or *Speculum Artis bene Moriendi*, the 'Art of Good or Evil Dying,' was a religious treatise, used with conspicuous force and authority by the Church during its long ascendancy in the Middle Ages. At this date the keys of knowledge, as of salvation, were entirely in the hands of the Church, and the lay public, both high and low, were, generally speaking, ignorant and illiterate. One of the secrets of the great power exercised by the Church lay in its ability to represent the life of man as environed from the outset by legions of horrible and insidious demons, who beset his path throughout life at every stage up to his very last breath, and are eminently active and often triumphant when man's fortitude is undermined by sickness, suffering, and the prospect of dissolution. From such attacks and pitfalls only the continuous presence and protection of the Church could protect the hapless pilgrim through life. In aid of such a mission certain doctrines were adopted by the leaders of the Church, and inculcated in treatises drawn up by the most eminent divines of the day, such as the famous Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris. In this teaching the *Ars Moriendi*, linked as it was with the doctrine of eternal punishment, played a most important part. It was on his death-bed that a man was most amenable to advice, and in need of consolation to give him hope at the moment when his soul was about to depart into the unknown. When pictorial

[50] Lionel Cust, *The Master E.S. and the Ars Moriendi: A Chapter in the History of Engraving during the XVth Century*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1898, p. 9. I am indebted to Mr. Cust for his kind permission to quote this passage and to the Oxford University Press for kind permission to copy the four illustrations which I have figured here.

art began to lend its aid to the minister of religion, it was of great service, for often, when the mind was too illiterate to understand or the ear too feeble to comprehend the good doctrine which was being expounded at the bedside, the eye could follow in the print or illuminated page the subject to which the patient's thoughts were to be directed."

The illustrations of the *Ars Moriendi* amply justify these views. To convince ourselves we need only examine those of the famous block-book of the middle of the fifteenth century (printed in the Netherlands about 1460) now in the British Museum, a reproduction of which was published in 1881 by the Holbein Society in London, edited by W. H. Rylands, with an introduction by George Bullen.[51] The illustrations of this block-book served as prototypes for the woodcuts illustrating many printed editions of the *Ars Moriendi* issued in various countries of Europe, but Lionel Cust thinks that the designs in the block-book were themselves only modified versions of a series of copper-plate prints by the "Master E.S.," also known as the "Master of 1466," a German engraver of the middle of the fifteenth century. A complete series of these engravings by the "Master E.S.," illustrating the *Ars Moriendi*, forms part of the Francis Douce Collection in the University Galleries at Oxford. The illustrations in the British Museum block-book of the temptation by pride or vainglory, the fourth temptation to which the dying man is

[51] *The Ars Moriendi* (*Editio Princeps, circa* 1450)—*A Reproduction of the Copy in the British Museum*, edited by W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., with an introduction by George Bullen, F.S.A. Printed for the Holbein Society by Wyman & Sons, London, 1881. In his introduction Mr. Bullen gives also a good deal of information concerning the probable origin of the text of the *Ars Moriendi*.

exposed (see Fig. 11), gives a fair idea of the significance and scope of the *Ars Moriendi* treatise and of how greatly

FIG. 11.—The "Ars Moriendi."—The temptation by vain-glory, from the British Museum block-book (about 1460).

its teaching was strengthened by the addition of such forcible illustrations. The dying man, lying in his bed, is assailed by five hideous demons, three of whom offer

him crowns. One of them, as we learn from the attached scroll, tells him that he has deserved a crown: "Coronam

FIG. 12.—The "Ars Moriendi."—The triumph over vain-glory, from the British Museum block-book (about 1460).

meruisti." Another exhorts him to boast: "Gloriare;" and another to exalt himself: "Exaltate ipsum." The remaining two also flatter him with the words: "In

paciencia perseverasti" ("You have persevered in patience"), and "Tu es firmus in fida" ("You are firm in faith"). On the far side of the bed are figures of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary; also three little children, emblematic of simplicity. In the

FIG. 13.—The "Ars Moriendi."—The temptation by impatience, by the Master E.S.

next illustration (see Fig. 12), representing the triumph over vain-glory, three angels stand around the bed with advice and comfort for the dying man. One tells him to humble himself: "Sis humilis;" another is in an attitude of prayer; whilst the third points to three human figures (one with the tonsure of a monk) engulfed

in the wide-open flaming mouth of a monster (emblematic of the "jaws of hell"), above which is a scroll with the inscription: "Superbos punio" ("I punish the proud"). In the front of the picture a demon is represented prostrate on the ground, with the inscription: "Victus sum" ("I am conquered"); another demon takes refuge

FIG. 14.—The "Ars Moriendi."—The final scene, by the Master E.S.

by hiding himself under the bedstead. In the background of the picture are figures of God the Father, Jesus Christ, a dove (representing the Holy Ghost), and St. Anthony the Hermit (as a type of humility). The block-book illustration of the third temptation, the temptation by impatience, represents the dying man

discontented with his attendants and his doctor. He has already upset the table with the food and medicine on it, and is unceremoniously pushing the doctor away with his foot, whilst a lady (his wife?) expostulates or (according to the words of the label) excuses him on account of his suffering. A demon with bat's wings, by the bed, is (as the attached label tells us) rejoicing at having successfully deceived the sufferer (see Fig. 13, from the similar Master E.S. series). The last scene of the series represents the final triumph over all temptations at the hour of death. The dying man, lying in bed, holds a taper, which is placed in his hand by a monk. His soul, issuing from his mouth in the form of a naked child, is being received by a company of angels above his head. On one side of the bed are the discomfited demons with scrolls attached to them, bearing such inscriptions as: "Spes nobis nulla." On the other side are the crucified Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, and other saints (see Fig. 14, from the similar Master E.S. series).

This last scene may be compared to that of the "Sinner's death," from the *Hortus Deliciarum*, by the Abbess Herrade von Landsberg, a twelfth-century manuscript destroyed during the siege of Strassburg in 1870 (fol. 123, Pl. xxxiii. of the reproductions by the Society for the Preservation of the Historical Monuments of Alsace). By the death-bed stand two hideous devils, one of whom grasps the soul as it escapes, in the form of a little naked human figure, from the mouth of the dying man. Another representation of death from the Christian religious point of view, from a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum (see L. Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art*, London, new edition, 1885, Pl. 68, Fig. 3), shows a bony figure of Death spearing a man on his death-bed. An angel stands at the head of the bed ready to receive the dying man's soul, which is escaping from his mouth in the form of a minute nude human figure (in the attitude of an *orans*). At the foot of the bed a devil likewise waits to seize the soul.

C.

Sepulchral Monuments and Sepulchral Inscriptions of Admonitory Character. The "Gisant" Type of Monument of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. The Horror-inspiring Aspect of "Memento Mori" Religious Art.

It is quite natural that advantage should have been taken of the opportunities afforded (more frequented formerly than now), by tombs and monuments and other works of art in cloisters, burial-places, churches, and cathedrals, for purposes of religious teaching, especially of the admonitory and *memento mori* kind.

In the so-called *gisant* type of sepulchral monument of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the deceased is usually sculptured with all the attributes of worldly wealth and power and high social standing, and on a lower slab or compartment a skeleton or corpse or emaciated or decaying body (the so-called *gisant*) is represented—often being "eaten by worms"—to warn the rich and great, and comfort the poor and unfortunate, of this world, by reminding them of the vanity of wealth and earthly titles in the presence of Death, the leveller of all distinctions of social rank, personal beauty, and bodily strength. J. Guiart quotes a poet of the epoch—

"Et dans ces grands tombeaux, où leurs âmes hautaines
Font encore les vaines
Ils sont mangés des vers."

The *gisant* monuments, like many other tomb-devices and innumerable sepulchral inscriptions, were intended to have an admonitory effect on the living, similar to that exerted at an earlier period by *Le Dit des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs*, &c.

In Part III. I shall describe certain analogous admonitory medals, such as those having the portrait of a beautiful woman on the obverse and a skeleton on the reverse; and in Part IV. I shall refer to various carved ivory beads, wooden or wax statuettes, &c., intended in the same way and with the same object to contrast life, vigour, and beauty with death, powerlessness, and putrefaction.

Of sepulchral monuments of the *gisant* type—designed to serve as a *memento mori* to the living as well as a memorial of the dead—we may instance, as a good and early example in England, the fine one in Canterbury Cathedral of Henry Chichele (died 1443), Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of All Souls' College, Oxford. On a table, under an elaborate canopy, is a recumbent figure, representing the Archbishop during life in full canonicals. On a slab below the table an emaciated dead body (wrongly described as a skeleton) [52] is represented (see Fig. 15). Round the verge at the bottom of the monument is the jingling *memento mori* inscription—

"Quisquis eris qui transieris rogo memoreris,
Tu quod eris mihi consimilis qui post morieris,
Omnibus horribilis, pulvis, vermis, caro vilis."

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[52] See R. Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. ii. (1796), p. 129.

The *gisant* tomb of Cardinal Lagrange (who died in 1402), in the museum at Avignon, is probably one of the earliest sepulchre-monuments on which the deceased is represented as an emaciated corpse (see Émil Mâle, *L'Art Religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France*, Paris, 1908, p. 377, Fig. 181). Of the fifteenth century is also the design (mentioned elsewhere) for a tomb by

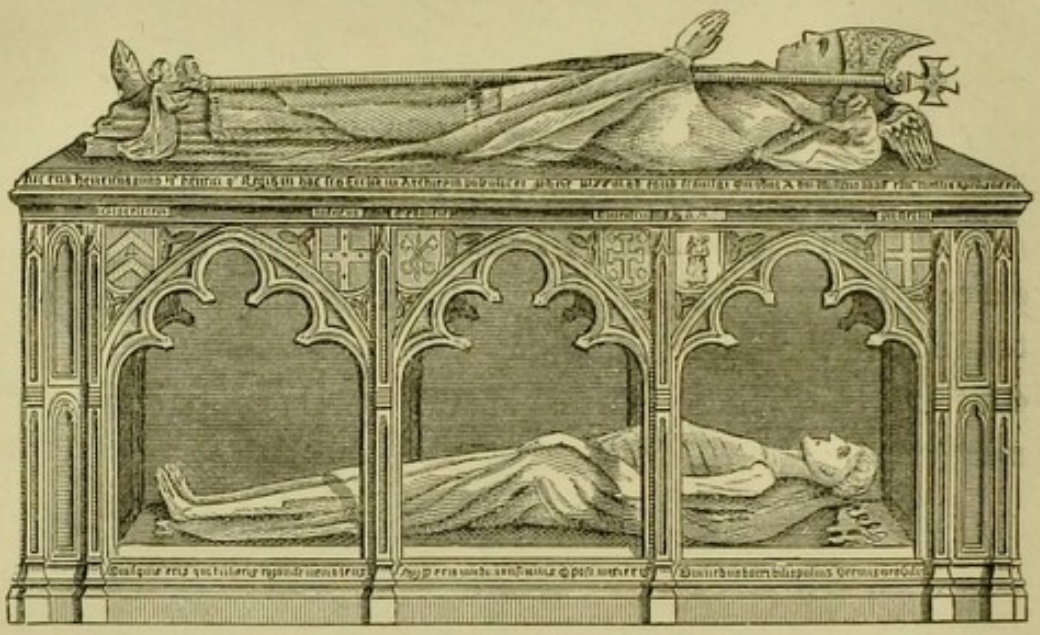

FIG. 15.—The Tomb of Archbishop Chichele (died 1443) in Canterbury Cathedral. A good and early example of the so-called *gisant* type of sepulchral monument in England.

Jacopo Bellini in the Louvre Museum at Paris, representing a sarcophagus on which is stretched a decaying corpse. Above the corpse are the following Latin lines, with the date 1557 :—

"Olim formoso fueram qui corpore putri
Nunc sum. Tu simili corpore lector eris."

In regard to inscriptions one may compare that formerly legible on the *cadaver* monument (possibly only a *memento mori* imitation of a tomb) near the tombs of Bishop Stapeldon and his brother in Exeter Cathedral—

"Ista figura docet nos omnes meditari
Qualiter ipsa nocet mors quando venit dominari ;"

also the traditional "Leonine" and grimly punning epitaph on "Fair Rosamund," the mistress of King Henry II of England (said to have originally referred to another Rosamund, a Lombard queen of the sixth century) :—

"Hic jacet in tumbâ Rosa mundi, non Rosa munda ;
Non redolet, sed olet, quae redolere solet." [52 bis]

On a sepulchral monument in the Church of the Celestines at Herverlé, near Louvain, is the inscription, "Nunc putredo terrae et cibus verminorum." On the sepulchral monument of the *gisant* type, in Rouen Cathedral, of Louis Brézé (died 1530), Grand Seneschal of Normandy, the husband of Diane de Poitiers, above is a statue of De Brézé on horseback and in full armour ; below is a sarcophagus of black marble, on which lies a representation of his shrivelled corpse. The same idea is evidenced in Germain Pilon's *gisant* monument of Valentina Balbiani, wife of the Chancellor De Birague, in the Louvre Museum at Paris. Many sepulchral monuments of the kind [53] are referred to in Richard Gough's

[52 bis] These lines have a mediaeval jingle, like the "Leonine" hexameter on the tomb of Bede (died 735 A.D.) in Durham Cathedral—

"Hâc sunt in fossâ Baedae venerabilis ossa ;"

that on the tombstone of Bishop Peter de Quivil (died 1291) in Exeter Cathedral—

"Petra tegit Petrum, nihil officiat sibi tetrum ;"

that on the beautiful Chapter-house of York Minster—

"Ut rosa flos florum, sic est domus ista domorum ;"

and the proverb ("Leonine" with "false quantities")—

"Audi, vide, tace, si tu vis vivere pace."

[53] With sepulchral monuments of this kind, those of Greek times, with their simple (and in the best examples, very beautiful) so-called "parting scenes" may be contrasted. But on the mural paintings of Etruscan tombs, the representation of the brutal-looking Etruscan "Charun" (as the messenger of death), and sometimes other horrible Gorgon-like "demons," holding snakes, &c., invest death and the parting scenes depicted with horrors equal to those suggested by Mediaeval art and legends.

Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain, London, 1786–1796, vol. i. pp. cx.–cxii., and vol. ii. pp. cxviii.–cxx. For illustrations of French sepulchral monuments by French and Italian sculptors, more or less bearing on this subject, see Paul Richer's *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, pp. 511–519; and Jules Guiart's series of articles on "Le Macabre dans l'Art," in *Aesculape*, Paris, 1912–1913. Compare also T. J. Pettigrew's *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, pp. 40–43, for French "admonitory" epitaphs on Edward, the "Black Prince," who died in 1376, and John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, who died in 1304. That on Edward, the Black Prince, is obviously on the model of what the dead kings say in the various versions of the *Dit des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs*; it commences as follows :—

"Tu qi passez oue bouche close :
Par la ou ce corps repose :
Entent ce qe te dirai :
Sicome le dire le say :
Tiel come tu es je au tiel fu :
Tu serras tiel come je su :
De la mort ne pensai je mye :
Tant come jauoi la vie."

That on John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, is somewhat similar—

"Vous que passez ou bouche close
Pries pur cely ke cy repose :
En vie come vous estis jadis fu,
Et vous tiel serietz come je su :
Sire Johan count de Gareyn gyst icy :
Dieu da sa alme est mercy.
Ky pur sa alme priera
Troiz mill jours de pardon avera."

(See also Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, p. 45 and pp. 62–68.) The

English admonitory epitaph of William Chichele (brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned), and Beatrice his wife, on a brass dated 1425 (Higham Ferrers Church, Northamptonshire), commences—

> "Such as ye be, such wer we;
> Such as we be, such shal ye be."

Amongst the numerous admonitory sepulchral inscriptions of this class (not really Christian in origin—see further on) are the following (some of which have been already mentioned) :—

"Quod es fui, quod sum eris."
"Quod tu es, ego fui, quod ego sum, tu eris."
"Quod sumus hoc eritis, fuimus quandoque quod estis."

(This last hexameter line occurs as the legend on the reverse of the *memento mori* medal with the portrait of Virgil, described in Part III.)

"Quod fuimus, estis, quod sumus, vos eritis."
"Mox eris quod ego nunc."
"Sum quod eris, modicum cineris."
"Olim formoso fueram qui corpore, putri
Nunc sum. Tu similis corpore, lector, eris."

This last inscription occurs on a tomb dated 1557 in the Cathedral of Moulins, bearing the representation of a decaying corpse being "eaten by worms" (see Émil Mâle, *op. cit.*). In the Church of the Cappuccini at Rome, founded by Cardinal Fr. Barberini (brother of Pope Urban VIII), in 1624, is the inscription on the tomb of the founder: "Hic jacet pulvis, cinis et nihil."

In the Church of Gisors, in Normandy, there is a sepulchral monument, formerly wrongly supposed to be the work of Jean Goujon. On this monument a peculiar

representation of a corpse in a coffin is accompanied by the following inscriptions :—

"Quisquis ades, tu morte cades, sta, respice, plora.
Sum quod eris, modicum cineris, pro me, precor, ora."

"Fay maintenant ce que tu voudras
Avoir fait quand tu mourras."

"Je fus mis en ce lieu l'an 1526."

The following variation is given by G. B. de Rossi, *Inscript. Christ. Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1888, vol. ii. p. 223) :—

"Quisquis ades, qui morte cades, sta, perlege, plora.
Sum quod eris, quod es ante fui, pro me, precor, ora."

With this may be compared the last two lines of the following epitaph on Eadulph, Bishop of Devon, who died 932 A.D. It is given by T. J. Pettigrew (*Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, p. 65) :—

"Sis testis Christe, quod non jacet hic lapis iste,
Corpus ut ornetur, sed spiritus ut memoretur.
Quisquis eris qui transiris, sta, perlege, plora ;
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es ; pro me, precor, ora."

Words almost the same as those of the last line occur on Prior Sylke's tomb (about 1500) in Exeter Cathedral. The next epitaph is quoted by G. B. Rossi (*loc. cit.*, p. 223)—

"Vos qui transitis, nostri memores, rogo, sitis.
Quod sum hic eritis ; fuimus quandoque quod estis."

With this may be compared the modern epitaph at Houff on M. W. and W. F. and H. D. Ferguson, quoted by T. J. Pettigrew (*Chronicles of the Tombs*, Bohn's Antiquarian Library, London, 1857, p. 66)—

"Vos qui transitis, memores nostri, rogo, sitis ;
Estis, quod fuimus ; quod sumus, hoc eritis ;
Omnia transibunt ; nos ivimus, ibitis, ibunt
Ignari, gnari, conditione pari.

Hoc scio, quod vivit, qui me moriendo redemit,
Spes manet hoc membris indubitata meis."

In the *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, by A. H. Smith (London, 1904, vol. 3, p. 363, No. 2391), the relief from a Greek cippus, probably of the third century A.D., representing a skeleton lying at full length, is described and figured. Above the skeleton the following distich is inscribed, asking the passer-by if he can tell from the bare skeleton whether the living person had been a Hylas or a Thersites (the proverbial types of beauty and ugliness) :—

"Εἰπεῖν τίς δύναται σκῆνος λιπόσαρκον ἀθρήσας
εἴπερ Ὕλας ἦ Θερσείτης ἦν, ὦ παροδεῖτα."

The monument in question is interesting in regard to the present subject, though its significance is different from the Christian *memento mori* devices and admonitory epitaphs of Mediaeval and later times.

The following epitaphs are printed in *D. M. Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula*, the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1886, p. 419. The first (from a tomb on the *Via Latina*) is attributed to Ausonius :—

"Non nomen, non quo genitus, non unde, quid egi :
Mutus in aeternum sum : cinis, ossa, nihil.
Nec sum nec fueram genitus, tamen e nihilo sum ;
Mitte nec exprobres singula : talis eris."

"Olim non fuimus, nati sumus ; unde quieti
Nunc sumus, ut fuimus : cura relicta : vale."

Numerous epitaphs of the *non fueram—non sum* style, after the ideas of Pliny, Lucretius, &c., on the meaning of death, are to be found in collections of Latin and Greek inscriptions (see Part I.). It is obvious that

many of the Mediaeval and later Christian *memento mori* epitaphs have been modelled on old Roman non-Christian epitaphs of this *non fueram—non sum* class.

The stone sepulchral slab of Robert Tousé (1422), formerly in the old cloister of the Cathedral of Rouen, represented the deceased as a decaying corpse, being eaten by worms. The words (on a scroll), proceeding from his mouth, tell the passer-by that he (Tousé) awaits the resurrection of the dead: "Expecto resurrectionem mortuorum." Compare Job xix. 25 and 26: "For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God." This monument is figured by E. H. Langlois, in his famous *Essai sur les Danses des Morts* (Rouen, 1852, p. 137, Pl. xxxvii.) and by Jules Guiart, in his article on "Le Macabre dans l'Art" (*Aesculape*, Paris, 1912–1913), from the latter of which works I have obtained much information about the following tombs and inscriptions.

A *gisant* sepulchral monument of a certain Canon Étienne Yver, of Paris and Rouen, who died in 1467 (figured by Guiart, *op. cit.*, after Witkowski), had on the upper part a representation of the last judgment; on the lower part the soul of the Canon is represented, in human form, rising from his tomb, whilst his dead body, "eaten by worms," is lying prostrate on the ground. Two sepulchral figures of the *gisant* type for the tomb of Queen Catherine de Médicis exist, both executed before her death, one by Girolamo della Robbia, unfinished owing to the artist's death, and the other, by Germain Pilon, still to be seen at the side of that of her husband, Henri II (likewise by Germain Pilon), at Saint-Denis,

the burial church of the sovereigns of France. The same church likewise contains nude sepulchral figures of Louis XII and Anne of Britanny by Jean Juste, and of Francis I and his wife Claude de France, by Pierre Bontemps (see Paul Richer, *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, figs. 320–323).

Guiart (*op. cit.*) refers to an interesting painting, destroyed during the great French Revolution, but formerly in the Celestine Convent at Avignon, of which Réné of Anjou (titular King of Naples), who died in 1480, was the founder. Charles Debrosses described it in the eighteenth century as representing an upright skeleton-like shrouded figure, eaten with worms. The coffin from which the figure had risen was represented open, resting against the cross of the cemetery, and full of spiders' webs. According to De Quatrefages, the artist of the picture was an Italian named François, who painted it by order of King Réné. On the middle of the picture were some verses attributed to King Réné himself—

> "Une fois (fut) sur toute femme belle,
> Mais par la mort suis devenue telle;
> Ma chaire estoit très belle, fraische et tendre,
> Or, est-elle toute tournée encendre," &c.

With these verses may be compared the following epitaph from the tomb of a lady in Picardy (quoted by Guiart, *op. cit.*):—

> "Ce qu'or es je la fue
> Et vous serez ce qu'or je sui;
> Priez pour nous.
> Celle qui dit ces vers
> Est mangié des vers,
> Et serez vous."

Compare also the following from the *Grande Danse Macabre des Hommes et des Femmes* (first published in the

latter part of the fifteenth century by Guyot Marchand at Paris):—

"Quoi sont vos corps, je vous demande,
Femmes jolies, tant bien parées,
Ils sont, pour certains la viande
Qu' un jour sera aux vers donnée.
Des vers sera donc dévorée
Vostre char, qui est fresche et tendre;
Ja, il n'en demourra goullée,
Vos vers après deviendront cendre."

It is not surprising that in the land of chivalry and the troubadours the poetry which adored and idealized lovely woman, should have frequently referred to the painful idea of feminine beauty being transformed by death into a loathsome mass of corruption. Pierre de Ronsard is one of the many French poets of various periods (cf. Baudelaire amongst moderns) who have pictured this idea in their verses—

"Ton test n'aura plus de peau
Et ton visage si beau
N'aura veines ni artères;
Tu n'auras plus que des dents
Telle qu'on lesvoit dedans
Les têtes des cimetières."

In the crowded graveyards of the time a visitor or passer-by had, like Hamlet and the poet François Villon, frequent opportunities of seeing human skulls and human bones, as the grave-digger often turned out the contents of old graves into pits or charnel-houses to make room for the fresh arrivals. Villon, in his *Grand Testament*, referred to seeing skulls heaped up in charnel-houses. Cf. L. Larmand, *Les Poëtes de la Mort*, preface and p. 20. On p. 1 Larmand prints the anonymous fifteenth-century *Complainte de la Demoiselle*, commencing—

"Une fois fut sur toute autres belle,
Mais par mort suis ores devenue telle.
Ma chair était très douce, fraiche et tendre,
Ores elle est toute tournée en cendre.
Mon corps était très plaisant et très gent,
Or est hideux à voir à toutes gens."

Another picture, described and figured by Guiart (*op. cit.*), is one painted in 1461 by Nicolas Froment, of Avignon, and now preserved at Florence. It represents the resurrection of Lazarus. The decomposition of the body is shown very realistically, and some of the spectators in the scene are pictured as holding linen to their noses on account of the smell. Lucien Nass (*Curiosités Médico-Artistiques*, Paris, first series, pp. 284–291) refers to a representation of the same resurrection by a miniature-painter in *Les très riches heures de Jean de*

France, duc de Berry, and also to another one (a painting at Padua), by Giotto, the "Dante of Painting."

This reminds me of the "Finis Gloriae Mundi" picture by the Spanish artist, Juan de Valdes Leal (1630–1691), which I have seen at the Caridad Hospital at Seville, and which represents the decaying corpses of a bishop and a Calatrava knight with horrible realism. Murillo is said to have remarked of it that it was so forcibly painted that one had to hold one's nose when looking at it. In the Bargello Museum at Florence are two reliefs in coloured wax by Gaetano Giulio Zumbo (1656–1701), which are figured by Paul Richer, in his *L'Art et la Médecine* (Paris, 1902, pp. 534, 535, Figs. 337, 338). They represent decomposing bodies amidst ruined buildings and tombs. In one of them a figure of Time points to the hideous spectacle of putrefaction. In the other a figure of Grief or Melancholy is seated on a high tomb, dominating the scene. A similar relief by the same artist refers to a plague-epidemic, and, indeed, the rats on those just mentioned remind one of descriptions of such epidemics. Richer also mentions a picture of the same kind by Houasse, a pupil of Le Brun. Disagreeable realism of a somewhat similar style was likewise carried to an extreme by the seventeenth-century sculptor Agrate, in his statue of the flayed St. Bartholomew at Milan, which he proudly signed with the following hexameter: "Non me Praxiteles sed Marcus finxit Agrates." I have alluded elsewhere to such figures (like anatomical "muscle-men") and to certain wooden statuettes of skeleton-like corpses covered with ragged skin (see footnote [79] and Fig. 22, further on).

Somewhat similar in character to the above-mentioned picture by Valdes Leal is a sixteenth-century stained-glass window in the Church of St. Vincent at Rouen, apparently representing the putrefying body of the donor, being "eaten by worms" (figured by Guiart, *op.*

cit.). Many of the best artists of the sixteenth century have left behind them representations of corpses or skeleton-like figures. Even of Michael Angelo there exists in the St. Petersburg Museum a very realistic study in wax of mummified skeleton-like figures. Guiart (*op. cit.*) likewise figures the extraordinary sepulchral statue (in the Louvre Museum at Paris) of Jeanne de Bourbon, Countess of Burgundy and Auvergne, who died in 1511 (the decaying corpse of a woman, partially draped, being "eaten by worms"), and the sixteenth-century statue of Death (of the German *Hautskelett* type) by Germain Pilon (likewise now in the Louvre Museum), which formerly stood in the Cimetière des Saints-Innocents at Paris.

But the sixteenth-century masterpiece of this nature was apparently the sepulchral statue of René de Chalon, Prince of Orange, who was killed in 1544 at the siege of Saint-Dizier. Before his death he is said to have expressed a wish that a likeness should be made of him, not as he appeared when alive, but as his body should appear a considerable time after his death. His widow, Anne de Lorraine, employed the Lorraine sculptor, Ligier Richier, who made a remarkable statue of a decaying corpse, erect, in a noble attitude, with the left arm stretched up to heaven, as if confident of the resurrection of the dead (cf. Job xix. 25–27). The statue is still to be seen in the Church of Saint-Pierre, at Bar-le-Duc (see Paul Denis, *Ligier Richier*, Paris, 1911, Pl. 29 and Pl. 30, and Jules Guiart, *op. cit.*). In the sepulchral monument (which formerly existed at Joinville, Haute Marne), erected in 1552, in memory of Claude de Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, his corpse and that of his wife, Antoinette de Bourbon, were represented by Ligier Richier, on a sarcophagus, as they would have appeared after embalming.

D.

Italian Renaissance Ideas, and Later. Influence of Petrarch's "Trionfi." The "Triumph of Death" Designs.

We now come to the very different subject of the Renaissance designs of the "Triumph of Death" and of "Fame triumphing over Death," after Petrarch's *Trionfi*. The poems of Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), who helped greatly in the revival of classical learning (the Italian Renaissance), had a great influence on art, notably his *Trionfi*[54] (first printed in 1470). According to Petrarch's arrangement in his *Trionfi*—

> "Amor vincit mundum
> Pudicitia vincit amorem
> Mors vincit pudicitiam
> Fama vincit mortem
> Tempus vincit famam
> Divinitas seu Eternitas omnia vincit."

One cannot be astonished at Italian and other artists

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[54] See *Pétrarque, ses Études d'Art, son influence sur les Artistes, l'Illustration de ses Écrits*, by Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz, Paris, 1902. See also *The Triumphs of Francesco Petrarch*, translated by H. Boyd, with notes upon the illustrations (which are from original Renaissance designs) by Sir Sidney Colvin, London, 1906; also the *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings in the British Museum*, by A. M. Hind and Sir Sidney Colvin, London, 1910, pp. 10–16 and pp. 115–121.

and craftsmen of the Renaissance period eagerly seizing on this theme to obtain subjects for their designs in preference to always keeping to the narrow limits of orthodox Mediaeval Church subjects, such as, "The Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living," and the *Ars Moriendi.* The authors of the *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings in the British Museum*[55] write—

"No theme outside the Stories of Scripture gave more frequent employment to artists and craftsmen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than Petrarch's famous series of poems, the *Trionfi.* It is found treated alike in illumination, in tapestry, in the painted decoration of marriage-chests and birth-trays, in pottery and enamel, in relief-sculptures of bronze, marble, or ivory, in engravings whether on metal or on wood. About the second quarter of the fifteenth century the scheme and character of such designs became curiously fixed and uniform, within certain narrow limits of variation. In telling of the successive Triumphs of Love, of Chastity, of Death, of Fame, of Time, and of Eternity, Petrarch himself only in one instance, that of Love, brings before us one of the powers personified and riding on a chariot accompanied by attendant figures. But artists almost unanimously, without regard to the text, personify all six powers, mount each on a chariot, and escort its march with various figures or groups of figures, some of which may, in particular instances, be suggested by passages in the poem itself, but others are quite freely invented."

The triumphal car of Death was generally represented as a heavy oxen-drawn vehicle, beneath the wheels of which human beings of both sexes, of all ages, and of all ranks are being crushed to death—in fact, a kind of "Juggernaut car," according to the popular use of that term. Far too many paintings, tapestries, miniatures

[55] *Op. cit.*, 1910, p. 10.

from manuscripts, drawings, prints, &c., of the "Triumph of Death," after Petrarch's *Trionfi*, exist to be described in this connexion.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum is the facsimile[56] of an ivory plaque (Fig. 13), probably the panel of a casket, of North Italian work, about 1480, representing a "Triumphal Car of Death," after Petrarch's idea. A car, in the shape of a large oblong box on wheels, with four skeletons hand-in-hand carved on its side, is drawn along by two bullocks with rings in their noses. On the ground a number of bodies are lying, over which the wheels are rolling, including a king, a pope, a priest, and many others, male and female, young and old. A Florentine fifteenth-century marriage-coffer in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) has representations in relief of the Triumphs of Love, Chastity, and Death, after Petrarch.

At the Royal Palace of Madrid, in Hampton Court, and in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), are splendid early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries with designs inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi*, notably the Triumph of Death. Amongst many other designs inspired by Petrarch are a "Triumph of Death"[57] by Lorenzo Costa (died 1583), in the Church of St. James Major at Bologna, and a painting[58] of the same subject by Bonifazio Veneziano (died 1553). On a design of the "Triumph of Death," by Marten van

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[56] See *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum*, by J. O. Westwood, London, 1876, p. 324. See also Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 179. An original of this kind is in the Cathedral of Gratz in Styria.

[57] Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

Heemskerk (1498–1574), Death holding his scythe is mounted on an oxen-drawn chariot.[59]

FIG. 16.—Ivory panel from a casket (Italian, about 1480), with the "Triumph of Death," after Petrarch.

In the designs after Petrarch's *Trionfi* the three

[59] An engraving figured by Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 257

Fates (Parcae or Moirae), namely, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, the three dreaded sisters[60] of the ancient classical world, frequently appear, generally all together, replacing the Mediaeval "skin and skeleton" figure of Death with the scythe, hour-glass, etc. On the sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry representing the "Triumph of Death," in the Royal Palace of Madrid,[61] the three Fates ride on the back of a winged monster, which is harnessed to the aërial chariot of Death. On another tapestry of the same symbolical subject (early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum) the three Fates are seated in the triumphal car of Death with Chastity at their feet.[62] On the first portion (the left) of the same tapestry, representing the "Triumphal Death of Chastity," the three Fates are of course likewise represented, and Atropos is spearing Chastity.[63] A similar early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry exists at Hampton Court. On another tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum the three Fates are seen standing on a prostrate female figure, which is evidently meant to represent Chastity, for there exists a similar French sixteenth-century design[64] on which

[60] On these Renaissance designs the "Three Sisters" symbolize death, just as in classical Roman times they did, when Horace sang—

> "Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
> Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae,
> Dum res et aetas et *sororum*
> Fila *trium* patiuntur atra;"

and when later Roman or Graeco-Roman art represented one of the "sisters," namely Clotho, on a silver wine-cup of the Boscoreale treasure, already alluded to.

[61] Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 214.

[62] *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 208.

[63] *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 206.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

the prostrate figure is clearly labelled as representing Chastity. A companion French sixteenth-century design[65] pictures "Good Fame" standing victorious over the prostrate figures of the three Fates. On one of the early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries at Hampton Court Fame is shown triumphing over Death.[66] The Fates are falling on their triumphal car at the trumpet-blast of Fame, whilst, all around, the heroes of ancient history and legend—Priam, Menelaus, Jason, Lucretia, King Arthur, Tristan, Charlemagne, Roland, &c.—are seen rising from their tombs. On an engraving printed at Paris by Charles le Vigoureux, in the last part of the sixteenth century (see Fig. 17), the triumphal car of Death again contains, not a figure of the Mediaeval skeleton type, but the three Fates with their respective labels, "Clotho," "Lachesis," and "Atropos."[67] On the companion design of the Triumph of Fame over Death, the three Fates are being crushed beneath the wheels of the car on which Fame stands victorious, blowing her long trumpet.[68]

Hans Burgkmair (about 1510) pictures Death strangling (or rather, in a peculiar kind of way, suffocating) a lover, whose lady flees in terror. Hans Sebald Beham (1522) shows Death approaching a woman on a couch, whose husband or lover lies dead on the floor of the room. By the same artist is the engraving (1541) of Death accosting a lady with an hour-glass in her hands, who is walking in a garden, with the inscription, "Omnem in homine venustatem mors abolet." His brother,

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[65] Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
[66] *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 210.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 249.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

Barthel Beham (1502–1540), engraved a *memento mori* design of a baby, hour-glass, and human skulls; there are two varieties (with three and four skulls respectively),

Fig. 17.—French print of the sixteenth century, with the Triumph of Death (or the Three Fates) over Chastity, after Petrarch. (Photograph.)

one (that with four skulls) bearing the inscription, "Mors omnia aequat"[69] (*vide* Fig. 18). Another engraving

[69] The design better illustrates the oft-quoted line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet" (cf. Bishop J. Hall's

(Fig. 19) by the same master represents a mother giving her baby the breast (perhaps the Madonna and

FIG. 18.—Baby, with the four skulls. Engraving by Barthel Beham, in the British Museum.

Infant Christ); on the table and window-sill are a Death's head and an hour-glass.

FIG. 19.—Mother and child, with skull and hour-glass. Engraving by Barthel Beham, in the British Museum.

Epistles (Dec. 3, Ep. 2): "Death borders upon our birth, and our cradle stands in the grave"). The actual words, "Omnia mors aequat," occur in Claudian's *Raptus Proserpinae*, book 2, line 302.

A fifteenth-century *memento mori* design (Louvre Museum at Paris) by Jacopo Bellini, probably suggested to him by the death of some professor at the University of Padua, represents a sarcophagus on which is stretched out a decaying corpse, the head resting on a closed book. On the side of the sarcophagus is pictured the interior of a large room in which a professor is lecturing to many pupils.[70]

Death is pictured on an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (early sixteenth century) as a skeleton with wings and a scythe. On an engraving representing the "Hour of Death," by Raimondi's pupil, Agostino Veneziano, an aged woman with bent back, leaning on a staff and carrying a basket of sticks, approaches an open grave, from which a hand of a skeleton holds out a winged hour-glass.[71] A stone relief of the Renaissance period, figured by Julius von Schlosser,[72] represents Death as a skeleton (with his attributes of bow, arrows, and hour-glass), meditating over the apple of the garden of paradise. This design was suggested by a woodcut in Vesalius's famous work on *Anatomy* (Basel, 1543, p. 164), representing a skeleton meditating over a skull and leaning on an altar or *cippus*, inscribed, "Vivitur ingenio, caetera mortis erunt." (See Fig. 123, on p. 444.)

In an anonymous Dutch engraving of the seventeenth century, Death is seen conducting a sick man to have his urine examined by a physician, as in one (see Fig. 20) of Holbein's "Dance of Death" series, but Death

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[70] See Victor Goloubew, *Les Dessins de Jacopo Bellini*, Deuxième partie, Bruxelles, 1908, No. vii.

[71] There are other German, Flemish, or Italian engravings and paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, representing fairly simple *memento mori* devices (such as a Death's head in an architectural setting with inscriptions, or a skeleton in various attitudes) to which I cannot allude in this place.

[72] *Werke der Kleinplastik*, Vienna, 1910, vol. i. Plate li.

has probably also come to fetch the doctor himself. In a "Dance of Death" engraved by Zimmermann in a Swiss almanac, Death brings his urine to the doctor for inspection, whilst in the "Totentanz" (where the doctor is pictured wearing eye-glasses), printed by Jacob Meydenbach at Mainz in 1491, and in the "Danse Macabre" by Cousteau published by Antoine Vérard in 1492, and in

FIG. 20.—Death and the Physician, from Holbein's "Dance of Death" series.

some other series, Death calls for the doctor just as the latter is engaged in inspecting a flask of urine; in a French eighteenth-century series (1788) the doctor lets the flask of urine fall to the ground, when Death catches hold of his coat.

An engraving by Andreas Stock after a painting by J. de Gheyn, shows Pieter Paaw or Pauw (Pavius), demonstrating in the Leiden anatomical theatre; a skeleton is mounted upright in a conspicuous part of the room,

holding a banner with the inscription, "Mors ultima linea rerum" (Horace). In another engraving of the theatre, by W. Swanenburg after J. C. Woudanus, in 1610, skeletons are represented holding up *memento mori* and kindred quotations, such as "Mors ultima linea rerum," "Nascentes morimur" (Manilius); "Principium moriendi natale est;" "Mors sceptra ligonibus aequat;" "Nosce te ipsum;" "Pulvis et umbra sumus" (Horace). These sayings were introduced less probably for the benefit and instruction of the medical students than for the edification of the learned men, lawyers, travelling noblemen, fashionable ladies and sight-seers, who in former times used to visit the anatomical theatres out of curiosity or in search of emotional distractions. Note the miscellaneous crowd watching Vesalius dissecting, on the title-page (by Jan von Calcar, but formerly attributed to Calcar's master, Titian) of his great anatomical work, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, printed by J. Oporinus at Basel, 1543. Philosophical considerations on life and death were likewise introduced into anatomical lectures and demonstrations (cf. the woodcut, *ibid.*, p. 164).

On the famous picture, the "Triumph of Death" by Peter Brueghel the Elder (1525–1569), in the National Museum (Museo del Prado) at Madrid, Death is seen with his scythe, riding on a lean phantom-like horse, at the head of a ghastly, horrible company of armed skeletons, bringing destruction to the living. In the foreground on the left the vanity of worldly possessions is represented by a purple-robed king falling down whilst his hoarded treasures are being seized by a skeleton in armour. On the right a group of men and women, in the midst of their feasting and merrymaking,

are being scared by the approach of the skeleton-soldiers of Death. In a conspicuous part of the foreground is the death-cart rolling along collecting the victims. In the landscape of the background are representations of shipwreck, accidental deaths by sea and land, executions by hanging, decapitation, &c.

What may be termed "the *memento mori* age" included the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and the popularity of *memento mori* devices certainly culminated in the "Dance of Death" designs of the sixteenth century. One must not forget that, owing to the prevalence of, and greater mortality from, epidemic diseases, the saying, "To-day red, to-morrow dead," was still more applicable to human life then than it is in quite modern times. *Memento mori* devices occurred everywhere, on paintings and prints, on sepulchral monuments, as architectural ornaments, in books of emblems, on all kinds of jewelry (especially on memorial finger-rings), on devotional objects (such as rosary beads in the form of Death's heads), and on medals. A monkish life of contemplation with "Innocentia et memoria mortis," or "Mors omnibus communis," or "Vita est meditatio," as a motto, was regarded by many as the ideal life to lead, even by those who themselves took a large and active share in the practical work of the world. To illustrate this feeling we need only quote Sir Thomas More, the patron of Holbein, who was very familiar with the use of *memento mori* devices, and the friend of Erasmus the great scholar, whose own *memento mori* device, as represented on his medals and favourite seal, we shall have later on to refer to. When imprisoned in the Tower of London, seeing from the window some monks going to execution, Sir Thomas More said to his

daughter, Margaret Roper, who was there beside him: "Dost thou not see, Meg, that these blessed fathers be now as cheerfully going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriages? Wherefore, thereby mayst thou see, mine own dear daughter, what a great difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days in a straight and penitential and painful life, religiously, and such as have in the world like worldly wretches (as thy poor father hath done) consumed all their time in pleasure and ease licentiously." [73]

A similar train of thought is suggested by Holbein's portrait (in the Munich Pinakothek) of Sir Brian Tuke, with a figure of Death, holding a scythe, behind him, waiting for the hour-glass to run out. Sir Brian Tuke, a contemporary of Sir Thomas More, was Secretary to Cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards Treasurer of the Household to King Henry VIII. He was a patron of learning, and was celebrated by John Leland, the "father" of English antiquaries. On the picture in question he is pointing to a passage from the latin Vulgate version of the Bible, signifying, "Will not the small number of my days be soon ended?" (Job x. 20). (See Fig. 21.) In this connexion it is interesting that

[73] W. Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*. This contrast between the life of the religious recluse and an ordinary life of worldly pursuits is exactly the same as that pictorially expressed in the famous "Triumph of Death," a fresco of the fourteenth century (already referred to) in the Campo Santo of Pisa. Compare also John Knox's discourse to the gay ladies of the Court of Mary Queen of Scots: "'Oh fair ladies!' quoth he, 'how pleasing is this life of yours if it would ever abide, and then in the end that ye pass into heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon the knave Death, that will come whether we will or not; and when he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targatting, pearl nor precious stones.'"

in a modern German poem (by Conrad Ferdinand Meyer) Ulrich von Hutten, during his final illness, asks

FIG. 21.—Holbein's painting of Sir Brian Tuke, in the Munich Pinakothek.

Holbein to paint him slumbering in his chair, whilst Death is to be represented, not with his dreadful scythe,

but with a simple vine-knife, symbolically cutting down a ripe bunch of grapes from near the window.[74]

There are numerous references to *memento mori* objects (finger-rings, &c.) in old English literature. One of the commonest *memento mori* devices was a skull and crossed bones, generally with the inscription, "Respice finem" or "Memento mori." Shakespeare alludes several times to such devices. In the *Merchant of Venice* (act i. scene 2), Portia says: "I had rather be married to a Death's head with a bone in his mouth than to either of these." In the First Part of *Henry IV* (act iii. scene 3), Falstaff says to Bardolph: "I make as good use of it (Bardolph's face) as many a man doth of a deaths' head or a *memento mori*." In the Second Part of *Henry IV* (act ii. scene 4), Falstaff says to Doll Tearsheet: "Peace, good Doll! do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end." In *Love's Labour's Lost* (act v. scene 2), Biron compares the countenance of Holofernes to "a death's face in a ring;" and in one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays (see later on) the following passage occurs: "I'll keep it as they keep death's heads in rings, to cry *Memento* to me." It is to be noted that Shakespeare ridicules commonplace and hackneyed observations or quotations on the uncertainty of human life and the certainty of death. Thus, in the Second Part of *Henry IV.* (act iii. scene 2) he makes Justice Shallow say, "Certain, 'tis certain; very sure, very sure: death, as the Psalmist saith, is certain to all; all shall die.—How a good yoke of bullocks at Stamford Fair?"

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[74] In regard to this metaphor, cf. the Homeric simile of human lives to the leaves of trees, and the following Latin epitaph inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vi. No. 7574):—

"Quomodo mala in arbore pendunt, sic corpora nostra
Aut matura cadunt aut cito acerva (acerba) ruunt."

E.

Modern Art relating to Death.
Comparison of Modern and Mediaeval Ideas.

Amongst many modern pictures bearing on the subject we may recall the "Pursuit of Fortune," by R. Henneberg (1826–1876), in which a knight riding his fatal race after Fortune is attended by Death in the guise of his squire. This picture has some of the weird and ghastly fancy of G. A. Bürger's ballad *Lenore* (1774).[75] Arnold Boecklin (1827–1901), whose *Isle of the Dead* and *Vita Somnium Breve* are famous, has in a portrait (now in the National Gallery of Berlin) of himself in 1872, represented Death as a fiddler behind him, much in the same way as in the sixteenth century Sir Brian Tuke (as already stated) had himself painted by Holbein, with Death holding a scythe behind him waiting for the hour-glass to run out. Both Holbein and Boecklin are claimed by Switzerland as Swiss artists. By Boecklin also is "Die Pest," a picture of Death mounted on a winged monster being carried through the streets of a town, in which persons are lying dead or dying; others are fleeing in terror.

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[75] This poem is true enough to nature, if Lenore's ghastly ride be regarded as a nightmare dream or as a delusion during the delirium period of fever in the case of a person familiar with legends of vampires and such-like.

Some of the numerous works by G. F. Watts may likewise be remembered in this connexion; for instance, his "Sic transit gloria mundi," his "Love and Death," his "Death crowning Innocence," his painting of "The Messenger," his "Mammon" (all five in the National Gallery of British Art—"Tate Gallery"). His design of "The Messenger" (symbolical of the end of life), and his design of "The Destiny" (symbolical of the beginning of life), are represented in the Watts memorial cloister at Compton Cemetery in Surrey. D. G. Rossetti's "Beata Beatrix" and "Dante's Dream" can perhaps likewise be mentioned in this connexion, and so also A. von Keller's "Raising from the Dead" (1885), in the Munich Pinakothek, and his "The Happy Sister" (1893). Several designs by William Blake (1757–1827) may be regarded as having a *memento mori* character, especially his illustrations to Robert Blair's poem, *The Grave*, and to Edward Young's very popular *Night Thoughts*. One of Ludwig Richter's woodcuts represents a rich merchant dying at the dinner-table; below that scene is a little figure of Death as a "Spielmann," dancing and playing the fiddle, with the motto, "Heute roth, morgen todt." In Moritz Retzsch's drawing (1831) of a young man playing chess with the devil for his soul, death and the torture of the soul are symbolically suggested by accessory details of the design.

A modernized German "Dance of Death" series is that entitled "Bilder des Todes oder Todtentanz für alle Stände," designed by Carl Gottlieb Merkel (woodcuts by J. G. Flegel), published at Leipzig in 1850. But amongst modern artists Alfred Rethel is quite unsurpassed in his weird and powerful representations

of Death, in respect of which he may be ranked with Dürer and Holbein. His "Dance of Death in 1848," showing how Death was the only real gainer from the civil war and barricade-fighting of that unsettled year, is perhaps his masterpiece. The richness of his wonderful imagination is also well shown by his Death coming as a friend (at the peaceful end of an old man's life), by his Death as a cook in a rich gourmand's kitchen, and by his representation of Death breaking up a masked ball (the idea being derived from a story of the outbreak of cholera at Paris in 1832). Amongst W. von Kaulbach's "Dance of Death" sketches is a design representing Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, and his mistress, the beautiful dancer Lola Montez, whom in 1847 he had made Gräfin von Lansfeld. The captivating lady's beautiful face is represented as a mask behind which a death's head grins—suggesting the luring on of the king to his ruin (loss of his crown in 1848). Another "contemporary" "Dance of Death" series,[76] produced in the nineteenth century, is the interesting "English Dance of Death," by Thomas Rowlandson,[77] the famous caricaturist, with letterpress (1815–1816) by William Combe, the author of the *Tours of Dr. Syntax*. Of almost equal interest is "The Dance of Death Modernized," a series of coloured designs (on one large sheet) by George Moutard Woodward, etched by Isaac Cruikshank (father of the celebrated

[76] John and Thomas Bewick's *Emblems of Mortality* (Clerkenwell, 1789) is only a copy of the Holbein series ("Icones" or "Imagines Mortis") from the Latin edition issued at Lyons in 1547 by Jean Frellon.

[77] "The English Dance of Death, from the Designs of Thomas Rowlandson, with matrical illustrations by the author of Doctor Syntax," 2 volumes, London, 1815, 1816.

caricaturist, George Cruikshank), and published by W. Holland, in London, 1808. The physician is represented as a rather corpulent man holding a (gold-headed?) cane, and saying, "Here's fine encouragement for the Faculty." A gouty old man whom Death dances off with, says, "Buzaglo's exercise was nothing to this." A lean poet thus addresses Death: "I am but a poor Poet, and always praised the Ode to your Honor, written by the late King of Prussia." The reference is to the "Ode sur la Mort," a little French poem attributed (but probably wrongly) to Frederick the Great of Prussia (a copy was printed in London, without a date, about 1760). A. Buzaglo, mentioned by the gouty man, wrote a little pamphlet entitled, *A Treatise on the Gout: wherein the . . . cure . . . by . . . muscular exercise is established* (third edition, London, 1778). Somewhat inferior to these two series in interest, but conceived in the same spirit, is a series of prints (Death's doings, with satirical verses) designed and drawn by Edward Hull, printed by C. Hullmandel, and published at 27, Regent Street, London, in December, 1827.

Many of Hogarth's designs relate more or less to the subject of death. Some of them, like the final scene of his "Idle Apprentice," his series of "The Harlot's Progress" and "The Rake's Progress," his "Gin Lane," and his "Reward of Cruelty," were intended to have, and possibly really did have, a deterrent effect on the young in regard to vice and crime. His "Bathos" (1764) symbolizes the "End of All Things." Time, in the form of the usual winged old man, is lying near the broken sign of the "World's End" tavern, amidst the emblems of universal destruction and decay. His scythe and his

pipe are broken, and Phoebus Apollo in the chariot of the sun is falling from the heavens: *'Εμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.* This design was intended to show how a sublime or serious subject could be spoiled by the introduction of low or ridiculous details.

Two curious drawings by Hogarth represent Life wrestling with Death; in one Life has the upper hand, in the other Death has the best of the struggle. Engravings after this pair of designs were made in 1782. Like William Blake's designs already alluded to, so also some of the illustrations, by various artists and of various dates, to Dante's *Divina Commedia*, have naturally a *memento mori* significance. One aspect of the mystery of the significance of death is expressed in E. Blair Leighton's picture, "The Unknown Land" (1911). A baby tenderly held by the Angel of Death, who is seated at the stern of a boat, is being rowed by a veiled figure at the prow, to the "unknown land," whilst the sorrowing mother, kneeling on the bank, holds her hands before her eyes. The idea of representing a figure of Death in association with the glories and horrors of warfare, is a very old one. In a modern design by Edgar Bundy, "Death the Conqueror" is shown as a military commander riding with his troops. The weirdly fanciful brilliant colour-sketches by Richard Cooper, picturing in a symbolical manner the deadly effects of cholera morbus, plague, diphtheria, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, syphilis, cancer, &c., should certainly be mentioned here.[78] The excessive infantile mortality amongst the labouring classes in large towns might be fitly symbolized as a "Massacre of the Innocents by Ignorance, Negligence, Poverty, and Vice."

Amongst statues, pictures, prints, and drawings of the seventeenth century to the present time, I wish still to refer shortly to the following works of art connected with the idea of Death, illustrations of most of which are included in Jules

[78] This contemporary artist is not to be confused with previous artists of the same name. See the designs by him in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 1913, kindly pointed out to me by Mr. C. J. S. Thompson.

Guiart's admirable articles on "Le Macabre dans l'Art" (*op. cit.*). Stefano della Bella, a Florentine engraver, executed a kind of "Dance of Death" series in 1648, and one of his designs (Death carrying off a young woman) is figured by Guiart. The "Voyage pour l'Éternité," a series of eight engravings, by Grandville (1803–1847), constitutes a modern "Dance of Death," and has been reproduced by Lucien Nass, in his *Curiosités Médico-Artistiques*, Paris, second series, pp. 247–258. One of the series represents a rich and plethoric baron, resting after a big meal, and telling his servant to say that he is "not at home" to a visitor, a roughly dressed porter, who demands admission. The porter is really Death, come to fetch away the baron himself, and is entering the room behind the servant without waiting for permission. A curious design (about 1749) by Tiepolo represents a bony figure of Death, partially concealed by a kind of camail, answering the questions addressed by human beings, impelled by their curiosity to come, yet shrinking away in terror. The "Orchestra of Skeletons," executed by J. Lavalée in 1778, after a design by J. Gamelin (1738–1803), is a fanciful production, perhaps suggested by one of the Holbein "Dance of Death" woodcuts (and similar designs) where skeletons in front of a charnel-house are playing on noisy musical instruments to attract the attention of the living. In E. Trigoulet's "Chemin de la Mort" (see L. Nass, *op. cit.*, series i. p. 271) persons of all kinds are wending their way towards the widely open mouth of an immense death's head. A modern picture by Joseph Winkel represents Death, as a skeleton, playing a violin and dancing at the head of a procession of human beings. Behind him comes a young child with his little hand in that of an old woman; lovers follow, and the last figure is, I suppose, meant to be the artist himself, holding a palette and brush in his hand.

Some of the very extraordinary designs of the two Belgian artists, Antoine J. Wiertz (1806–1865) (see Félix Regnault's article on "The Wiertz Museum at Brussels," *Aesculape*, Paris, August, 1913, pp. 193–196) and Félicien Rops (1833–1898), have a bearing on the present subject, for instance, "La Mort au Bal Masqué," and "La Vice Suprême" (illustrating the work of Joseph Péladan), by Rops, which are

both figured by Guiart. The latter is a hideous production in every sense of the words, but it and some of Wiertz's paintings might possibly exert a preventive effect in regard to certain vices, &c. Quite different is an engraving by that prolific earlier artist, Romain de Hooghe, depicting Death striking with the handle of his scythe against a closed door (*Le Miroir de la Bonne Mort*).

The "Nightingale Monument" (completed in 1761) by L. F. Roubiliac (Roubillac) in Westminster Abbey represents a horrible skeleton-like figure of Death emerging from a tomb and launching his dart at the dying lady (died 1731), whose husband (J. Gascoigne Nightingale) vainly endeavours to ward off the attack. The mausoleum of Marshal Saxe (died 1750) in the Protestant Church of St. Thomas at Strassburg, is perhaps the best-known work of the French sculptor, J. B. Pigalle, who completed it in 1776. The great commander is there represented as descending unflinchingly to the tomb, which is being opened for him by Death, whilst sorrowful France endeavours to detain him, and Hercules, by the side, leans mournfully on his club. The bronze statue of the Valente Celle Monument in the Campo Santo of Genoa, by the modern Italian sculptor, Jules Monteverde, represents Death, in the form of an upright shrouded corpse, seizing hold of Life, symbolized by a beautiful young woman, who endeavours to escape. A modern marble statue by the German sculptor, Elna Borch, represents a nude female figure surrendering herself with a mystic air of relief and satisfaction to a stern-looking upright shrouded figure of Death, against whom she leans. The bronze group (Faculty of Medicine at Lyons) of "La Mort et le Bucheron," after La Fontaine's fable, by the French sculptor, Desbois, is very realistic, and Guiart remarks that one can quite easily understand that the woodcutter, though he had invoked Death, should have nevertheless been unwilling to follow such an unpleasant-looking figure as the artist has represented. L. A. Willette painted this subject of La Fontaine's fable in 1882, and many other artistic illustrations of it (prints, &c.) exist. Guiart figures a water-colour sketch by Villon, a young artist of Lyons, representing a grisly figure of Death laying hold of a miser, a

powerful rendering of a subject which has likewise been dealt with by others (including Holbein). A spirited caricature of "La Revanche" by the French comic artist, Jean Veber (likewise figured by Guiart), represents the dead soldiers of 1870 rising from their graves to follow the skeleton drummer and once more try the issue of the fight.

To the dreadful realism with which death and decay have sometimes been represented, as for instance by the Spanish artist, Juan de Valdes Leal (1630–1691), in his "Finis Gloriae Mundi" picture[79] at the Caridad Hospital at Seville, we may contrast the hidden allusion to Death (a distorted skull) in Holbein's picture (painted in 1533), known as "The Ambassadors," in the London National Gallery. In the latter picture the presence (on the floor in the foreground) of a curious *memento mori*, namely, a human skull elongated almost beyond recognition, as it would appear if reflected from a cylindrical concave mirror,[80] is accounted for by what is known about Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy,

[79] Murillo is said to have remarked of this picture that it was so forcibly painted that it was necessary to hold one's nose when looking at it. See Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, new edition, 1891, vol. 4, p. 1291. In regard to disagreeable realism in art, one may recall the statue of the flayed St. Bartholomew at Milan (seventeenth century) bearing the sculptor's proud inscription: "Non me Praxiteles sed Marcus finxit Agrates." Marco d'Agrate's figure, with the stripped-off skin carried like a shawl, is practically a "muscle-man," similar to those used for anatomical teaching. An anatomical-like figure holding the stripped-off skin exists somewhere else in Italy. Another *écorché* figure (bronze), in the Stuttgart Museum, has the base inscribed: "Homo bulla . Memento mori . Vigilate et orate." In the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) there is a horrible statuette (see Fig. 22) of Death with bow and arrows, representing him as a skeleton (osteologically incorrect), his decaying flesh and skin, "eaten with worms," hanging about his bones like ragged clothes. It is carved in boxwood, and is supposed to be of German or Dutch eighteenth-century workmanship. A somewhat similar (but earlier?) wooden statuette is figured in Paul Richer's *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, p. 522, fig. 327; and also as a supplement to *Aesculape*, Paris, January, 1913.

[80] A mirror of the kind which has been sometimes amusingly employed at eating-houses, to make intending diners see themselves looking long and thin, as if they required a dinner.

one of the two men represented. He wears in his black bonnet a jewel formed of a silver (or white enamel)

FIG. 22.—Wooden statuette of Death, represented as a decaying corpse with bow and arrows. Incorrect anatomy.

skull set in gold, and there are reasons for supposing that at that time of his life (he was twenty-nine years of

age when the picture was painted) he thought much of death, and he had doubtless seen the so-called Holbein's "Dance of Death" designs, or similar designs in other series.[81] This picture by Holbein, and Holbein's portrait of Sir Brian Tuke, to which I have already alluded, throw much light on the use of *memento mori* devices in the sixteenth century. I shall later on refer to the favourite device of Erasmus, a terminal head with the legend "Cedo nulli," or "Concedo nulli," a device chosen for his medals and for the seal with which, in the house of Jerome Frobenius at Basel, he signed his last will, dated 12th February, 1536.

With the hidden allusion to Death on Holbein's "Ambassadors" may be compared the hidden allusion to Death on a portrait in the Villa Borghese, at Rome, by the famous sixteenth-century Venetian painter, Lorenzo Lotto. Lotto's picture represents a bearded man in the prime of life, standing in a room by the side of a window; his right hand rests on some flowers on a table, and amongst the flowers is a minute death's head, doubtless carved in ivory; his left hand is pressed to his side, as if he might be in pain.[82]

It is almost needless to point out that the aspect of, or mental attitude towards, death must vary much with the age, sex, temporary or permanent occupation (or want of occupation), past experiences, future prospects, education, moral and religious surroundings, personal principles and religious beliefs, aspirations, ambition,

[81] See *Holbein's Ambassadors, the Picture and the Men*, by Mary S. Hervey, London, 1900.

[82] See B. Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto*, London, 1901, p. 190. This picture is illustrated facing p. 190. A similar but more obvious allusion of the *memento mori* kind is that in a picture by Frans van Mieris at the Amsterdam Museum, representing a beautiful lady with some roses which she has just gathered, pointing to a human skull on an open book. As an example of a *memento mori* skull accompanying a female portrait, one may instance the picture (in the Guildhall at Exeter) of Mrs. Elizabeth Flay, aet. 86 (1673), the widow of Thomas Flay, a former Mayor of Exeter and founder of "Flay's almshouses."

personal, hereditary or racial temperament, and the temporary state of health and enjoyment in life. It must, to some extent, vary from time to time according to the condition of the mind and body and the changing moods of the individual. Moreover, supposed proximity is likely often to modify as well as to intensify the aspect in which the idea of death presents itself.

Undoubtedly the representation of Death is generally much less repulsive in modern art than it was in typical fifteenth and sixteenth century designs—a dry skeleton has mostly superseded the worm-eaten, decaying corpse —and a comic element is frequently more or less obvious. The old *memento mori* motive in *Macabre* designs has in modern art partially given place to one of merely amusing grotesqueness. (Cf. Part II. Heading XXI.)

The gradually increasing unpopularity of the old "death's head and skeleton class" of *memento mori* devices and inscriptions is nowhere better illustrated than in regard to sun-dial mottoes. Formerly it was: "I tell the hour, think of your last hour;" "This is the last hour for many, and may be your last hour;" "Death draws nigh, perhaps only a moment separates you from eternity;" and so on. An ivory portable compass-dial by Hans Ducher (or Tucher) of Nürnberg, dated 1560 (see *The Book of Sun-Dials*, by Mrs. Alfred Gatty, &c., edition of 1900), is inscribed—

> "Mors venit, hora fugit, metuas mortem venientem.
> Quaelibet est index funeris hora tui."

Another sun-dial inscription (dated 1697) reads—

> "My change is sure, it may be soon,
> Each hastening minute leads me on;
> The awful summons draweth nigh,
> And every day I live to die."

Nowadays the most popular sun-dial inscriptions are of the style of: "Horas non numero nisi serenas;" "Horas nullas nisi aureas;" "Ich zeige nur die heitern Stunden;"

> "Let others tell of storms and showers,
> I'll only count your sunny hours;"

or

> "Serene I stand among the flowers,
> And only count life's sunny hours." [83]

Or, when a didactic text, of the "copy-book style," is preferred, as it has been on some buildings for municipal offices, etc., no gloomy reference is usually made nowadays to death, but only a cheerful enough one to doing one's daily work: "Do to-day's work to-day," and so forth.

The significance of *memento mori* designs, which reminded people of every man's liability to sudden death, was increased by the terrible and devastating pestilences of former times, and the meaning of representations of death and decay was doubtless intensified by the frequency of public executions and violent deaths of all kinds. T. A. Cook, in *The Story of Rouen* (London, 1899, p. 303), writes: "Amid all this life and colour, death and the taint of death are ever present, for every church is little better than a charnel-house, and in the crowded city nearly eighty cemeteries are packed with dead. . . . Even on ordinary days there is horror enough only too visible. You need not go so far as the gibbets just above the town, where corpses are

[83] These last mottoes would suit best of all for a modern sunshine-recorder, such as is used at modern meteorological stations. For interesting English sun-dial verses by the Rev. G. F. Chester, with somewhat similar commencement, see *The Book of Sun-Dials*, by Mrs. Alfred Gatty, &c., edition of 1900.

clattering in chains beneath the wind; on the Place du Vieux Marché a sacrilegious priest is being slowly strangled; in the Parvis Notre Dame a blasphemer's throat is cut; close by the churchyard, a murderer's hand is chopped off, and he is hurried away to execution on the scaffold by the Halles." With this word-picture may be compared the views of Tudor London showing the heads of executed persons stuck up on stacks of spikes at London Bridge, &c.

A horrible idea it is that in the olden days a sovereign used to derive profit by the execution of his wealthy subjects. Riches undoubtedly excited the cupidity of those in power, and many of the attacks on the Jews in the Middle Ages were due to an underlying motive of this kind. The wealth of the famous Military Order of Knights Templars in France had probably a share in their undoing. The Knights were accused of heresy and immorality by King Philip IV of France, in 1307; many of them were burned alive or hanged, and the Order was finally suppressed by the Council of Vienne (under Pope Clement V), in 1312. The Grand Master Molay was burned alive at Paris in 1314. In England, under King Edward II, the Order was likewise suppressed, and the head of the Order in this country died in the Tower of London. Might not the extraordinary number of executions of great noblemen in Europe during the time of the English Tudor sovereigns (notably Henry VIII) have had something to do with an amusing conversation, as narrated by Lord Suffield (*My Memories*, London, 1913), between the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) and Nassr-ed-Deen, Shah of Persia, in 1873? When entertained at Stafford House by the Duke of Sutherland, and hearing from the Prince of Wales what a great land-owner the duke was, the Shah replied that he must be very rich. "Of course, when you come to the throne you will——" and the Shah made an expressive gesture with his finger across his neck. This story was usually taken as illustrating barbarous despotism in Persia. But may not the Shah, during his visit, have been hearing about Shakespeare's English historical plays and about European history in the time of Henry VIII?

Probably the old-time *memento mori* objects owed much also of their significance and powerful influence to what may be termed the "gambling spirit" in much of the Christianity of the time, that is to say, an unquestioning belief in the religion itself, combined with

the natural tendency to put off the difficult and almost impracticable obedience to its literal teaching as long as possible (at all events until the most active period of life has been passed)—even at the risk of eternal punishment. Amongst the ordinary people there was a childish faith in the literal tenets of religion, tenets which were more or less opposed to actual and practical every-day life and to ordinary worldly ambitions and competitions. Thus, according to the Mediaeval faith in, and interpretation of, Christianity, the only logical course for the salvation of the soul was to live the life of a religious recluse, or to hope for time for repentance (even a death-bed one) at the end. The religious dogmata of the time were incompatible with ordinary active life in the world—which was a constant gambling with the devil for the soul, with hope of time for repentance at the end (a period of peaceful reparation and preparation for the next world), at all events a death-bed repentance, a repentance just in time to cheat the devil. It is not to be wondered at that there existed in the Middle Ages a kind of "hand-book" on "the art to die well," the "Ars Moriendi," of the interesting (serious yet humorous) pictorial illustrations to which I have already given some examples. This feeling furnished a favourable soil for the *memento mori* to flourish on, and always gave a dread fascination to its message: "Think of death, are you prepared for it? Your last hour will certainly come, perhaps it is this very hour that separates you from eternity"—"Ab unâ (horâ) pendet aeternitas."

In illustration of the "gambling spirit of Mediaeval Christianity," to which I have alluded, I may further, perhaps, refer to the uncertain inscription from the base

of a little Italian bronze statuette (fifteenth century?) representing an allegory of life. This bronze statuette (Fig. 23), for permission to illustrate which I am indebted to Mr. Henry Oppenheimer, in whose collection it is, is 5·5 × 5 × 2·15 inches in size. It represents a

FIG. 23.—Italian bronze statuette (fifteenth century?), representing an allegory of life.

naked boy seated on the ground in a meditative attitude, leaning with his left elbow on an hour-glass, and with his right hand supporting a skull on his right knee; a snake issuing from the skull is coiled round the boy's arm. The base of the statuette is inscribed—

IL · TEMPO · PASSA · E · LA · MORTO(*sic*) · V(I)EN ·
PERITO (?) LVI (?) · CHI (for CHE) · NON · FA · BEN ·
FAC(C)IAMO · MAL · E · SPER(I)AMO · I(L) · BE(N) ·
IL · TEMPO · P(A)SSA · E · LA · MO(RTE) · V(I)EN.

I at first read "guarito" instead of "perito." But if "perito" is the true reading, the meaning of the four lines is simply as follows:—

"Time passes and death comes;
Lost is he who does not do good;
We do wrong (in this world) and we hope for good (in the life after death);
Time passes and death comes."

Mr. A. M. Hind has kindly directed my attention to a somewhat similar design in a Florentine woodcut by an unknown master of the fifteenth century, reproduced by G. Hirth and R. Muther in their work on *Meister-Holzschnitte* (München, 1893, Plate 31). The woodcut represents a naked boy leaning on a skull with an hour-glass on the trunk of a tree at his head and the inscription: LHORA PASSA. Cf. also the ivory statuette of a boy holding a staff which rests on a skull, and the bronze handle of a bell formed by a boy seated on a skull, described in the *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition Catalogue* (of Renaissance Italian Art), London, 1912, p. 58, No. 8, and p. 66, No. 32. A similar allegory of human life is represented by an alabaster statuette of a naked boy with a skull and a scroll (? German, sixteenth century) in the Wallace Collection, London (Gallery X, No. 8).

My own interest in *memento mori* medals dates from about 1892, when I contributed a short note to the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Third Series, vol. xii. p. 253) on a curious seventeenth-century medalet in my collection, bearing the inscription, "As soone as wee to bee begunne, We did beginne to be undone," an old English version of Manilius' line, "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet." About that time I likewise acquired fine specimens of an Italian *memento mori* medal by Giovanni Boldu, dated 1466, and of the large medal of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1519), with his favourite "terminus" design on the reverse.

PART II.

ANALYSIS AND ARRANGEMENT.

In order to avoid repetition, I shall now attempt to arrange the various possible aspects of death and mental attitudes towards the idea of death into groups numbered by Roman numerals, and then, when describing the medals, &c., in Part III., I shall refer, by Roman numerals in brackets, to the group or groups which I think each one illustrates. In regard to the engraved gems, finger-rings, jewellery, &c., considered in Part IV., I have not thought it necessary to give a reference to one of these groups with each article described.

I. The Simple *Memento Mori* Idea.

In this group death is viewed merely as the necessary end of life, the final goal (*ultima linea*[84]): "Mors ultima linea rerum est" (Horace, *Epist.*, i. 16, line 79)[85]; Θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα (Simonides, *Anthol. Graec. Palat.*, x. 105).

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[84] In the common *memento mori* inscription, "Respice finem," the Latin word "finis," like the Greek τέλος and the English "end," may perhaps be taken to mean the final object as well as the final event of life. If this were so, "Respice finem" would be almost equivalent to "Live to die." So also when death is described as the "ultima linea rerum," the word "linea" (doubtless used by Horace as the goal-line in a race) may signify either the limit (end) or the object (goal). "Respice finem" need not, of course, always refer to the end of life; it may refer to the end or final result of any undertaking. Compare such sayings as: "The end crowns the work" ("Finis coronat opus"); the German, "Ende gut, alles gut;" and the Jesuitical, "The end justifies the means," or "Cui licitus est finis, etiam licent media." The saying, "Exitus acta probat," occurs on a rare Thaler (1533) of Gabriel, Count of Ortenburg (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 4323). Several German coins bear the inscription, "Anfang, bedenck das Ende." Many pieces of Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1634–1666), bear his motto, "Alles mit Bedacht," and on one of his interesting Thaler-types the associated words, "Jacta est alea," express the final decision. On a Florentine sandstone chimney-piece, of the early sixteenth-century period, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) is the hexameter: QVID · QVID . AGIS · PRVDENTER . AGAS · (ET) · RESPICE . FINEM. This was also a motto of a Hessian Landgraf in 1583. Compare No. 45 of Aesop's fables, and Ecclesiasticus vii. 36, "Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end." (Cf. p. 236.)

[85] Hans Sachs, the sixteenth-century "Meistersänger" of Nürnberg, wrote a poem entitled, *Der Tod ein End aller irdischen Ding*. In regard to the so-called "death" of all *things*, compare also—

"Data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris,"

and the English equivalent—

"So far is ought from lasting aye
That tombes shal have ther dying day."

Both of these, together with several other *memento mori* sayings, are

Slightly more complicated expressions of the same simple idea are: "Principium moriendi natale est;" "Lex non poena mors;" "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" &c. The simple *memento mori* devices corresponding to these simple *memento mori* legends include such common emblems as the following: a human skull; a human skull and crossed bones; a human skull and hour-glass; a human skeleton holding an hour-glass;

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inscribed on a painted wooden memorial tablet of the year 1586 in Adderbury Church, Oxfordshire. *Vide Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, London, 1905, 2nd Series, vol. 20, p. 221. Cf. also, "Mox ruet et bustum," &c. (Petrarch's *Africa*). The line—

"Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris"

is from Juvenal (*Satire*, x. 146), and has been rendered by C. Badham, in his translation of Juvenal (1831)—

"For fate hath fore-ordained its day of doom
Not to the tenant only, but the tomb."

Cf. "Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit" (Ausonius); and "Habent sua fata libelli." Compare also Propertius, *Opera Omnia*, lib. iii. 2, lines 19 *et seq.* Death, like Time, Truth, Labour, Perseverance, Patience (waiting!), and Love, is said to conquer all things. The motto, *Patientia vincit omnia*, occurs on coins (1619–20) of Friedrich Christian, Count of Mansfeld (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1792). The last of the seven types of "Glockenthaler" (Thaler with the representation of a bell on the reverse), issued in 1643 by Augustus, Duke of Brunswick (New Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel line) has the inscription: TANDEM PATIENTIA VICTRIX ANO 1643. The last "Glockenthaler" were struck when patience was rewarded by the departure of an objectionable garrison.

Here it may be mentioned that the motto, *Veritas vincit omnia*, gives its name to the Brunswick "Wahrheits-Thaler," struck by Duke Henry Julius (in 1597 and 1598—probably for the same reason that he issued the so-called "Lügen-Thaler" in 1596 and 1597), which have this motto on one side and on the other side bear the interesting inscription: "Recte faciendo neminem timeas"—reminding one of Bismarck's famous saying (6th February, 1888) in the German Reichstag: "Wir Deutschen fürchten Gott, aber sonst nichts auf der Welt." This saying appears on a medal of Bismarck, by Oertel of Berlin, 1888. The motto, "Recte faciendo neminem timeas," occurs also on coins (1715) of Frederick William I of Prussia, and on coins (1760) of John Frederick, Count of Hohenlohe-Neuenstein. A variety of the same motto, "Bene faciendo neminem timemus," occurs on certain coins of John III, King of Sweden (1569–1592). Cf. personal or family mottoes in various languages, equivalent to: "Do right, come what may" (which should perhaps be contrasted with: "Tell the truth, come what may").

a winged boy holding an inverted torch;[86] a tomb or sepulchral urn; a baby or child resting on a human skull. The last device specially illustrates the line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" that is to say, as Bishop J. Hall (1574–1656) expressed the same idea, "Death borders upon our birth, and our cradle stands in the grave." Inscriptions such as "Memento mori," "Vive memor lethi," occur on certain coins, tokens, "Sterbemünzen," and medals, and a great variety of similar inscriptions occur on memorial finger-rings and memorial jewellery, and on rosary-beads, sun-dials, etc.

Sudden death from injury (especially accidental injury) or disease is expressed by such devices as a rose-bush and death's head, or a dead stag transfixed with an arrow, and by such words as "Heut rodt, Morn todt" (To-day red, to-morrow dead"), as on certain so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" struck at Basel in the seventeenth century: "Heri vidi fragile frangi; hodie mortale mori." The passage in the Church of England Burial Service, "In the midst of life we are in death," is the translation of "Mediâ vitâ in morte sumus," the commencement of a famous Latin antiphon (by the monk, Notker Balbulus, of St. Gall, 830–912 A.D.), on which one of Luther's well-known German antiphons was grounded. A "Triumph of Death" picture by the Spanish artist, Juan de Valdes Leal (1630–1691), in the Caridad Hospital at Seville, has the inscription, "In ictu oculi," meaning, "In the twinkling of an eye" (St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians xv. 52). As I have already said, one must not forget that the terrible and devastating

[86] A "genius of death" like this occurs often as a device on Roman sarcophagi, &c.

pestilences of former times increased the significance of all *memento mori* tokens, which reminded people of every man's liability to sudden death. Significant in this sense must have seemed the words "Cavete, nescitis horam," which may be seen inscribed on the tomb in Eyam parish church (Derbyshire) of Catherine Mompesson, the young wife of the rector of the time; she died in 1666, a noble victim of the epidemic of plague which is said to have carried off five-sixths of the inhabitants of that village.

According to individual temperaments and circumstances, as already stated, such simple aspects of death may give rise to various mental attitudes, and may exert very different effects. They may favour vital depression or excitation. They may, for instance, modify ambition, induce remorse, diminish future effort or stimulate to make the best use of life while life lasts. According also to individual temperaments and circumstances, the simple aspect of death may be as the "king of terrors" or as the "prince of peace." Some of the expressions above referred to (*e.g.* "Lex non poena mors;" "Principium moriendi natale est") may be regarded as carrying a certain amount of consolation (cf. under Headings VIII. and XVIII.) with them,—a kind of consolation independent of all creeds and religious opinions.[87]

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[87] In regard to non-Christian sepulchral inscriptions on Christian sepulchres, Harry Quilter writes: "One of the best epigrams in the English language is that of the Rev. William Clarke, on seeing *Domus Ultima* inscribed on the family vault of the Dukes of Richmond—

"'Did he who thus inscribed the wall
Not read, or not believe St. Paul,
Who says there is, where'er it stands,
Another house not made with hands;
Or may we gather from these words
That house is not a House of Lords?'"

II. Death as the Threshold of a Future Existence. Death from the Standpoint of Religious Faith. Metempsychosis.

"Mors janua vitae."[88] "A deathlike sleep, a gentle wafting to immortal life" (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, book xii. line 434). Death may be regarded as the entrance into a higher state of existence by all those who believe in personal immortality, including those who incline to the doctrine of a gradual evolution of souls (by metempsychosis) through the ages, analogous to Darwinic evolution in the form and functions of the body.[89] Cicero (as also the Emperor Marcus Aurelius), after Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, refers to death as being perhaps a change and migration rather than an annihilation of life (cf. *Tusc. Disput.*, lib. I. xlix. 117), and from such points of view it is easy to say (like the child in the cemetery scene in Maeterlinck's *L'Oiseau Bleu*), "Il n'y a pas de morts;" or (like Longfellow, in *Resignation*—on the death of a friend's daughter)—

> "There is no death! What seems so is transition;
> This life of mortal breath
> Is but a suburb of the life elysian,
> Whose portal we call Death."

A medal of Galeotto Marzi (fifteenth century) is inscribed with the well-known line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" followed by the words, "Superata tellus sidera donat." Various mortuary

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[88] Cf. the Collect of the Church of England for Easter Even: "That through the grave and gate of death we may pass to our joyful resurrection."

[89] The idea of a "diffused immortality" of souls is not altogether opposed to the same aspect of death. An amusing skit on human queries regarding a life after death, &c., is that of L. P. Jacks, who (*All Men are Ghosts*, 1913) makes one school of spirits deny the probability of a life *before* death. Cf. Euripides (fragment of *Polyidus*)

> Τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν,
> Τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται.

medals have inscriptions equivalent to: "Death is entry into life." A memorial medal on the death of Sir John Hotham (1645) bears the inscription, "Mors mihi vita;" and the same inscription occurs on a memorial medal of the famous natural philosopher, Aloisio Galvani. A German "Sterbethaler" (1591) bears the motto, "Haud timet mortem qui vitam sperat." Quite similar is the inscription, "Moriar ut vivam" (with the device of a phoenix rising from flames, as an emblem of the resurrection, or of the survival of the soul after the death of the body) on one of the so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" (seventeenth century) of the town of Basel. A phoenix, likewise as an emblem of the resurrection and of the immortality of the soul, occurs on some Italian medals and German medals and "Sterbemünzen," with inscriptions such as, "Moriens revivisco," "Hinc vita perennis," "Ex flammis orior," "Ex cineribus orior."

Another emblematic device (occurring on medals, &c.), representing corn springing up around a skull or bones (with such mottoes as, "Ut semina sicca virescent," or "Spes alterae vitae"), is thus explained in a sixteenth-century book of emblems (referred to further on, in Part. III.): "Corne, graine, and seeds of sundrie sorts, being dead and cast into the ground, do revive, and springe againe: So mans bodie falling into the ground shall rise againe in glory, in the last and general day of the resurrection of the flesh."

A memorial medal of Adolph Occo III (1524–1606), a physician of Augsburg, bears the pentameter line, "Vita mihi Christus, mors erit ipsa lucrum" ("To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain," St. Paul's Epist. to the Philippians i. 21); and on a medal commemorating the death of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, at the Battle of Lützen (1632), a variation of this verse

occurs: "Vita mihi Christus, mors mea dulce lucrum;" the German text is inscribed on a "Sterbethaler" of 1664. On another memorial medal of Occo's death (1606) we read, "Absorpta est mors in victoriam" ("Death is swallowed up in victory," St. Paul's First Epist. to the Corinthians, xv. 54). Luther is said to have worn a gold Death's head ring (see later) on which was the inscription, "O mors, ero mors tua" ("O death, I will be thy death").[90] The significance of this is the same as that of the passage in St. Paul's First Epist. to the Corinthians xv. 55, which might have been used in the same way: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" (In the Revised Version: "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?") Compare also verse 26 of the same chapter: "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." Verse 57 of the same chapter occurs on a sixteenth-century religious medal (see Part III.), representing Christ's resurrection and triumph over death (Christ stands over a skeleton with one foot on a monster of some kind). In the "Todten Dantz," by Rudolph and Conrad Meyer of Zürich (Zürich, 1650), one of the designs represents in a somewhat similar way the final triumph of Christ over Death, that is to say, it symbolizes the "Death of Death." Compare the epitaph (1610) on George Heriot, at Edinburgh—

[90] This inscription forms part of an antiphon used in the Roman Catholic Church for Holy Saturday at Lauds: "O mors, ero mors tua: morsus tuus ero, inferne." Apart from the religious interpretation (cf. the motto, "Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi"), it may be compared to Shakespeare's line (already quoted)—

"And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

In regard to the "death of Death," compare A. C. Swinburne—

"Here now in his triumph, where all things falter,
Stretched out in the spoils that his own hand spread,
As a god self-slain on his own strange altar,
Death lies dead."

"Vita mihi mortis, mors vitae, janua facta est,
Solaque mors mortis vivere posse dedit.
Ergo quisquis adhuc mortali vesceris aurâ,
Dum licet, ut possis vivere, disce mori."

For this, T. J. Pettigrew, who quotes it (*Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, pp. 65, 66), gives the following English rendering:—

"Life, gate of death; death, gate of life, to me;
Sole death of death gives life eternally.
Therefore, whoever breath draws from the air,
While live thou may'st, thyself for death prepare."

On a German seventeenth-century religious medal the mystic Christian and heraldic device of the "pelican in her piety" is accompanied by the inscription, "Nam Christi mors mea vita est." The origin of this emblem of Christ and the resurrection was the fabulous idea that the female pelican wounded her breast and revived her apparently dead young ones with her own blood.

The memorial medal of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham (1618), the founders of Wadham College, Oxford, bears the inscription, "When Christ who is our life shal appeare, we shal appeare with him in glory" (cf. St. John xi. 25, 26). A German mortuary medal (1672) has the inscription, "Hoc ergastulo confracto, sublimis vivo" ("Now that this prison is broken up, I live on high"). On certain mortuary medals and on a sixteenth-century *memento mori* finger-ring Latin inscriptions occur, meaning: "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's" (St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans xiv. 8). All memorial medals (and, of course, all sepulchral monuments) with legends of the usual Christian epitaph kind, relating to existence after death, may be regarded as illustrating the same aspect of death.[91] Thus a

[91] In regard to the kindred subject of Christian coin mottoes in general, see *The Christian Teaching of Coin Mottoes*, by W. Allan and J. Zimmerman, London, 1911; this could be doubtless much enlarged.

"Sterbethaler" (1660) of Elisabeth Charlotte, mother of the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg, bears the inscription, "Non fuit mortale quod optabat defuncta." The inscription, "Mors bonis grata," on an English sixteenth-century gold mourning finger-ring of the *memento mori* class in the British Museum, has, of course, a similar religious significance, and so has the motto, "Melior mors vitâ," used by the Dutch prelate, J. van Neercassel, who died in 1686.

A memorial mourning ring is inscribed, "Heaven is my happyness;" and W. Lenthall (1591–1662), Speaker in the House of Commons, directed by will that the rings given away at his funeral should be inscribed, "Oritur non moritur." A sixteenth-century memorial ring in the Victoria and Albert Museum has the inscription, "Dye to lyve."[92] A somewhat later memorial locket bears a representation of the resurrection; whilst an eighteenth-century mourning brooch has a picture of relatives mourning at a tomb, and comforts them with the inscription, "Heaven has in store what thou hast lost." Lady Evans possesses a small engraved metal plate of the seventeenth century in memory of a boy who, before he died, dreamt "that he had wings and flew to heaven." Needless to say, under the present heading can be included all representations of the Christian ideas of the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, angels, devils, heaven, hell, and purgatory.

A medal on the death of Marshal Schomberg at the Battle of the Boyne (1690) bears on its edge the inscription, "Pro religione et libertate mori, vivere est." Some memorial medals and memorial finger-rings (which will be described afterwards), on the death of King Charles I of England, allude to a celestial crown as a reward for a martyr's death. But such inscriptions and devices bring

[92] Compare the mottoes, "Disce mori et vivere" (motto of Friedrich Wilhelm I, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who died in 1662) and "Vive ut (postea) vivas," and the epitaphs similar to the sixteenth-century one (on Joane Brodnax, 1592)—

"Lyve well and Dye never,
Dye well and Live ever."

us to the subject of medals, &c., commemorating death or martyrdom for religious, patriotic, political, or social opinions, and such medals (and other memorials) are best classed under Heading XI.

I shall subsequently allude to the supposed gem-portraits of Plato with butterfly wings attached to his temple (on the side seen in the profile portraits), in allusion to his argument for the immortality of the soul. These are all bearded heads on quadrangular bases after the manner of a so-called "Hermes" or (in Rome) "Terminus." Furtwängler regards them as representing, not Plato, but Hypnos. However, the gem-type of a philosopher, seated, reading from a scroll, with a human skull and a butterfly before him, evidently refers to thoughts on death and the soul, *i.e.* on the mortality of the body (the skull) and the immortality of the soul (the butterfly). The butterfly as an emblem of the human soul occurs in several antique designs (engraved gems, &c.), which will be referred to further on, in Part IV. In regard to the subject of existence after death one may further mention certain Roman Imperial coins and "medallions" with a representation of "Aeternitas" on the reverse; engraved gems and Roman Imperial coins with peacocks or other symbols of immortality; certain antique coins (Eleusis in Attica) and engraved gems, with devices relating to the Eleusinian Mysteries; the scarabs and other amulets placed by the ancient Egyptians (down to Ptolemaïc times) with mummies to be of service to the deceased in his future life[93]; antique engraved gems representing (or with types referring to) Hermes in his character of ψυχοπομπός, the conductor of the souls or shades of deceased persons to the nether world; certain antique engraved gems with devices

[93] In Part IV. I shall again refer to such Egyptian amulets, and to the Egyptian belief in another world and a judgment after death, with reward for righteousness.

possibly referring to the Pythagorean and Orphic doctrines, supposed originally to have been derived from India, of a transmigration of souls (metempsychosis)[94]; the coins ("Charon's obolus" or "danacé") placed in the mouth of deceased persons in ancient Greece, and the little circular embossed thin plates of gold ("gold bracteates" of modern numismatists) which sometimes probably served a similar purpose. In spite of Lucian's ridicule, the custom of placing coins in the mouth, or between the teeth, of corpses survived from ancient Greece, through Roman and Byzantine ages, to modern times in Roumelia and Anatolia. In regard to primitive ideas on metempsychosis and the journey of the soul after death, cf. Leo Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, English edition, 1909, pp. 252–262, with illustrations of native "dance-rattles," &c.

Under the present heading one might mention certain superstitions and customs connected with the belief in an existence after death, namely, the weird superstitions connected with the primitive "vampire" tales of Eastern Europe; the Oriental and ancient customs of the sacrificial death or suicide of wives to accompany their husbands (the "Sutteeism" of widows in Hindustan), or of slaves to accompany their masters, into the future life; the idea of the restless wandering spirits or ghosts of murdered persons and suicides, who are able to haunt and worry the living, especially those who injured them during life[95]; and (intimately allied to the last idea) the old

[94] There are, of course, many Buddhist works of art representing scenes from the "Jatakas," that is to say, incidents from supposed earlier existences of Buddha. Amongst such works of art is the series of sculptures in the British Museum from the Buddhist Tope at Amaravati in Southern India.

[95] The "astral bodies" of persons who die by their own hands, are murdered, or are killed by accident, have been supposed, as "lemures," to retain their earthly desires and passions (and therefore to be attracted towards certain living persons) until what should have naturally been their span of life has been completed.

Chinese idea of the possibility of obtaining revenge by means of suicide, *i.e.* the idea that the spirit of the dead man may haunt and punish those whose cruelty and malevolence drove him to commit suicide.[96] (It is needless to add that the act of suicide may have been sometimes connected with some peculiar belief or speculation as to what happens after death.) But I have found little in the way of medals, &c., relating to such special aspects of, and mental attitudes towards, death and the supposed life beyond it. The placing of a coin or coin-like object in the mouth of corpses may, however, at one time have been associated with a belief in "vampires" (see Part IV.). In regard to Mediaeval literal representations of Christian doctrines, some of the most curious are frescoes of the Last Judgment (as at the cathedral of Torcello, near Venice), showing lions and wild beasts vomiting up human bodies which had been eaten ages previously.

Medals commemorating executions come under Heading V., and those commemorating martyrdom for religious opinions come under Heading XI., but both these classes are likewise connected with the present heading, since the cruel executions for heresy, as well as the Crusades and other religious wars,[97] depended to a certain extent on the belief in a future existence. The Christian inquisitors or other judges often really believed that they were benefiting their victims by mercilessly torturing

[96] In the British Museum there are some fine coloured Japanese prints or drawings representing the malevolent apparition of ghosts or skeletons. Another class of suicide for revenge has been reported from certain parts of Africa. There a person whose acts have driven another to commit suicide has himself to undergo a like fate. *Vide* E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, 1908, vol. ii. p. 233.

[97] The fierce unyielding spirit of all parties in the religious struggles of the sixteenth century in Europe is well illustrated by the anti-papal Latin hexameter line, said (probably wrongly) to have been written by Luther as an epitaph on himself: "Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua, papa." The intolerant element in Mediaeval Christianity is well shown by the descriptions and representations of Hell. See, for instance, the Jews being boiled in a caldron in Hell, on Pl. lxxiii. (fol. 255) of the reproductions (Strassburg, 1879–1899) of the Abbess Herrade von Landsberg's *Hortus Deliciarum* (twelfth century).

and killing them,—that, in fact, they diminished punishment in the life to come by present punishment inflicted in the name of religion. Here we may likewise mention that the types of certain antique engraved gems possibly refer to human sacrifices.[98] The horrors of human sacrifices and the cruel rites (including "Sutteeism") connected with barbarous religious superstitions, were denounced by the Epicurean philosopher and poet, Lucretius, to part of whose *De Rerum Naturâ*, and to the histories of the Christian Inquisition, might be prefixed the words: "O Religion! (or rather, 'O ignorant Superstitions!') what crimes have been committed in thy name!"[99] Voltaire said, "Jamais la nature humaine n'est si avilie que quand l'ignorance superstitieuse est armée de pouvoir." But is not human nature sometimes equally abased when, not religious, but other noble conceptions, ideals, aspirations, and passions "go wrong" through want of control and intelligent tolerance? Is not Love ("the best of them") to some extent related to mad jealousy and the sexual lust, which, when armed with unbridled power, becomes so terrible? Is not a noble aspiration related to the reckless personal ambition that rides over and tramples down men in the blind race for power, wealth, and fame? Have not dreadful deeds been done in the name of (supposed) Truth, Justice, Honour, Patriotism, and Liberty? Were

[98] Of course some gem-types of the kind may merely depict mythological incidents. On this question see A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900, vol. iii. pp. 229, 260.

[99] Altered from the words on Liberty ascribed to Madame Roland at the guillotine, 1793. In regard to the survival of superstition, it may be mentioned that in England the laws against witchcraft were not repealed till 1736, and that active belief in witches and the "evil eye" still flourishes amongst the ignorant peasants of some parts of Europe. Unfortunate persons of defective intellect have in quite recent times been roughly handled (even killed in one case) during the process of exorcism or fancied casting out of devils. It is really the support of faith itself which has made some religious fanatics so terrible, just as a certain confidence in destiny has made "Nietzsche supermen" (like Napoleon I) so dangerous, just as the fine quality of self-reliance may bring the enterprise of a well-meaning but inexperienced physician or surgeon to disaster.

not the *Libertas aurea* of the medalets of the golden days of Dutch independence (when the United Provinces succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke) and the *Libertas optima rerum* of Sir William Wallace[100] related to the "liberty" of political murders (commemorated on certain Roman and other coins and medals), and to the "liberty" of the great French Revolution and various "reigns of terror," stained to the end of time with the foulest crimes?

One might easily extend the subject of Part II. Heading II. indefinitely by including epigrammatic sayings and art-objects illustrating the ideas of various peoples and various periods on immortality and existence of the soul after death—the heavens, hells, and purgatories of all religions and all times. What differences in faith in regard to retribution after death! In considering only the ideas on heaven and the abodes of the blessed, what variety we meet with!—The strenuous and fleshly glories of the Scandinavian warriors' Valhalla; the "happy hunting-grounds" of the North American Indians; the soft and sensuous delights of the Mohammedan garden of paradise; the idealized domestic happiness of the ancient Egyptian in the society of his wife and those who had been dear to him during his earthly life; the Elysian fields of the ancient Greeks and Romans, with dancing, bathing, and athletic exercises; the philosophic ideas of astral bodies and the gradual solution of the soul after death into air or aether; the Buddhist idea of Nirvana as an ultimate zero-like equilibrium if not complete extinction; the mental bliss (and possibly Nirvana-like state of equilibrium) following an altruistic life and the beneficent exercise of will-power (cf. W. Blake, "I will not cease from mental strife," &c.); the Mediaeval Christian idea of a golden city with angelic orchestras and choirs, the Fathers of the Church, haloed saints, and palm-bearing martyrs (the wretched damned ones meanwhile suffering eternal torments in a world below)!

A kindred subject is constituted by the ideas and longings of those rebellious minds who have refused to accept as the highest conceivable form of happiness, what orthodox teaching of the time promised to the faithful! Many children who have been compelled to sit through a long sermon in church every Sunday morning have had grave doubts as to the desirability of the Christian paradise. So also did Aucassin (in the Mediaeval French romance or love-story of the thirteenth century, *Aucassin et Nicolette*) revolt from the established teaching of Christianity, when he preferred the idea of hell to heaven because goodly knights and noblemen and soldiers who fell in tournaments and battles went there, as well as sweet and courteous ladies who had lovers besides their husbands.

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[100] According to John Fordun's *Chronicle* (fourteenth century), Wallace remarked, "When I was a youth and under the care of my uncle (the Priest of Dunipace in Stirlingshire), all that I could carry away from him was a single proverb, but it seemed to me above all price, and I never forgot it. It was this—

'Dico tibi verum: Libertas optima rerum;
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito, fili.'"

See also the account (with translation of these "Leonine" verses) on the base of the modern statue of Sir William Wallace at Aberdeen. Some Guelders coins of about 1590 are inscribed: "Libertas vitâ carior."

III. Survival after Death in the Minds of Others. Posthumous Fame. Necrology.

Death, as the final incident or scene of mortal life, gives occasion for the summing up of a man's character and deeds in obituary notices and biographies, and for their celebration by commemorative medals, monuments, &c. Two of the best-known sayings connected with death bear on this subject: "Call no man blessed before his death" (Ecclesiasticus xi. 28); and "De mortuis nil nisi bonum." Both of these sayings are associated with the name of Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, for, according to Valerius Maximus (lib. vii. 2, Ext. 2), Solon considered that "no one ought to be called happy as long as he was alive," and, according to Plutarch ("Life of Solon") it was a law of Solon that men "must not speak ill of the dead." Death may be said to "crown life" in the same way that "finis coronat opus," but "death, as the crown of life," will be referred to again under Heading XV.

There are, of course, many medals bearing on the subject of fame of various kinds. Horace thought "Non omnis moriar" (*Od.*, iii. 30. 6), when he had finished his third book of *Odes*, and many men are said to have "immortalized" themselves by their writings or their deeds. A medal (1717) commemorating a "pious foundation" of William Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, has on the reverse the above-mentioned quotation from

Horace. An Italian medal of doubtful authenticity, described by Luckius,[101] represents Fame, with two trumpets, flying to left, and bears the inscription, "Mortalium immortalitas." "Vivit post funera Virtus" is a Latin saying which has been adopted as a motto by several families, and which occurs on a few "Sterbethaler" and mortuary medals. On the sepulchral monument of Dr. Caius, at Caius College Chapel, Cambridge, is the inscription: "Fui Caius. Vivit post funera Virtus. Obiit 1573, Æt. 63." A German mortuary medal of 1701 tells us, "Forma perit, virtus remanet." The inscription on the grand sepulchral monument (1525) in Rouen Cathedral of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen, who died in 1510, ends—

> "Mortuus en jaceo, morte extinguuntur honores,
> At virtus mortis nescia morte viret."

A French commemorative bronze plaquette of Philippe de Girard, by L. E. Mouchon (1892), bears an allegorical representation of posthumous fame. History, like Fame, is sometimes represented warding off destroying Time (a figure, like Death, holding hour-glass and scythe), as on a medal of the historian, L. A. Muratori, by T. Mercandetti, of Rome.

A Renaissance engraving of the "Triumph of Fame over Death"[102] (printed at Paris by Charles le Vigoureux in the last part of the sixteenth century) represents, after Petrarch's *Trionfi*, the triumphal car of Fame crushing the bodies of the three Fates or Parcae, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos (emblematic of the effects of time

[101] Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edit., Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 119, No. 60.

[102] See *Pétrarque, l'Illustration de ses Écrits*, by Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz, Paris, 1902, p. 251.

and death). The car is drawn by elephants and surrounded by the poets, philosophers, and rulers of ancient times: Virgil, Homer, Cicero, Aristoteles, Alexander, Plato, and Charlemagne. A French sixteenth-century design represents Good Fame standing triumphant over the prostrate bodies of the three Fates.[103] Fine Flemish early sixteenth-century tapestries exist at Madrid (Royal Palace), London (Victoria and Albert Museum), and Hampton Court, with various designs of the Triumph of Fame inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi*. On a Hampton Court tapestry,[104] the three Fates on their chariot of Death are falling down at the blast of Fame, who is flying towards them, whilst, all around, the heroes of legendary history and romance (Priam, Menelaus, Jason, Lucretia, King Arthur, Tristan, Charlemagne, Roland, &c.) are rising from their tombs. On the Madrid tapestry,[105] Fame, blowing her long trumpet, is being borne along in an aërial chariot, with Death lying conquered at her feet. A French sixteenth-century miniature (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Manuscript, Fonds Français, No. 594) of Fame overcoming Death,[106] shows the dead body of Petrarch's Laura stretched on the oxen-drawn car of Death. Death, a shrivelled figure of the Mediaeval traditional type, with a serpent coiled around him, standing over the body, staggers and lets fall his scythe at the trumpet-blast of Fame. Around the car Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Scipio Africanus (Minor), and the heroes of antiquity are seen rising from their graves at the call of Fame (Fig. 24).

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[103] Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
[104] *Ibid.*, the plate facing p. 210.
[105] *Ibid.*, the plate facing p. 216.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

The companion miniature, "The Triumph of Fame" (Fig. 25), shows Fame holding her long horn, standing

FIG. 24.—Fame overcoming Death, after Petrarch. Photo of French sixteenth-century miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

victorious on her elephant-drawn car, with Death seated conquered at her feet. Julius Caesar, in Renaissance

armour, rides on her right, and Pompey the Great, holding a pennant, on her left. The car is surrounded

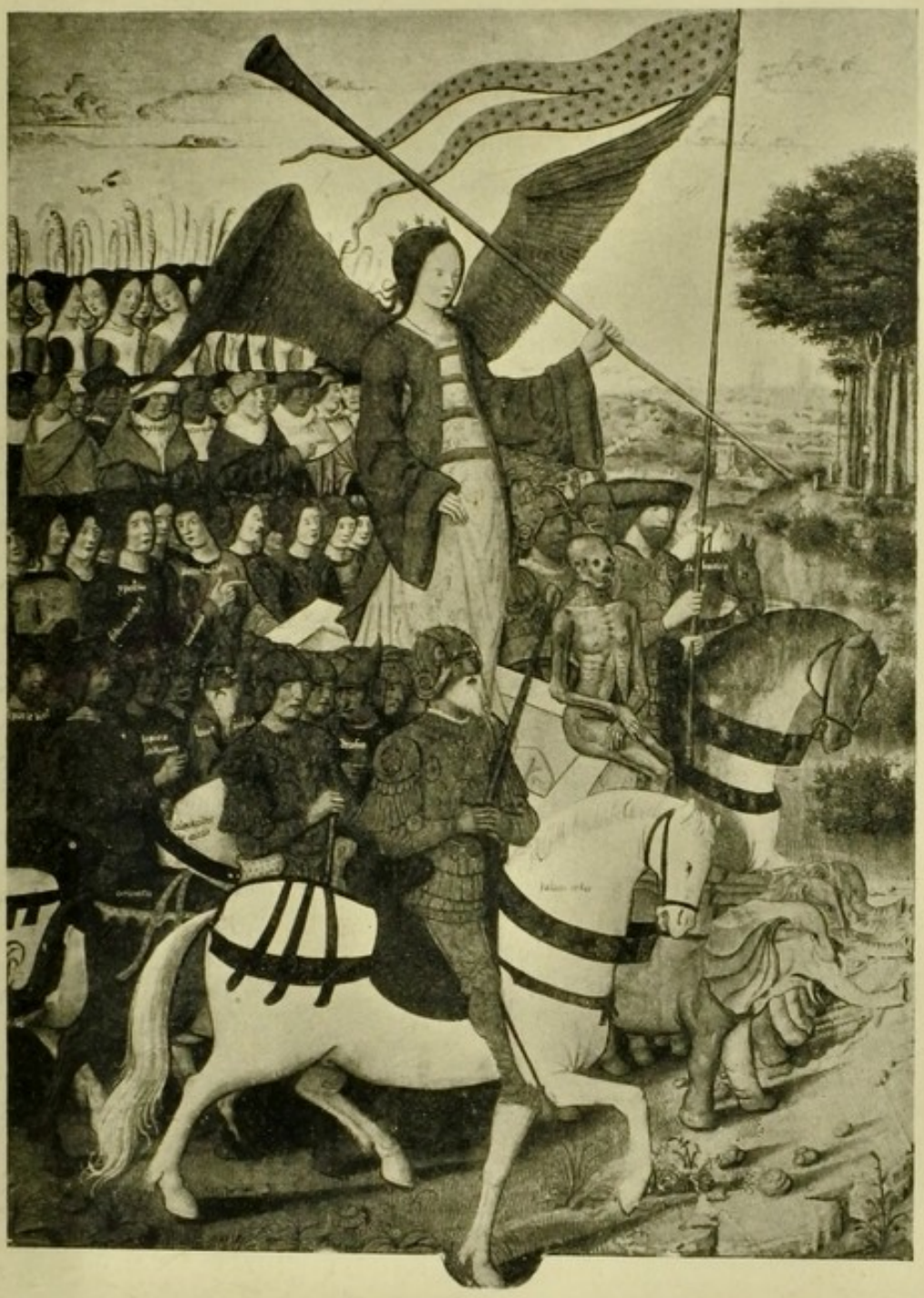

FIG. 25.—The Triumph of Fame, after Petrarch. Photo of French sixteenth-century miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

by Alexander the Great, Scipio Africanus Minor, Scipio Africanus Major, Mucius Scaevola, Fabricius, Cato,

Brutus, Drusus, Fabius Maximus, Manilius (Manlius Capitolinus), Octavianus (Augustus), Hippolyte, Penthesilea, and other famous men and women of ancient history and tale. Behind come Aristoteles, Plato, Pythagoras, Seneca, Gellius, Virgil, and other ancient philosophers, poets, and writers. Behind these come chaste virgins holding palm-branches.

Another aspect of the relation of fame to death, very different to Petrarch's idea, but likewise illustrated to some extent by works of art, is furnished by the vision of the ruin, destruction, and death due to ambition and the relentless, insatiate, and sightless pursuit of Fame, who amongst her victims, like Fortune, can reckon many who have pursued her and many more who have been destroyed by the blind rush of the pursuers, regardless of those around and dependent on them.

Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, writes: "The desire for reputation, and especially for posthumous reputation—'that last infirmity of noble mind'[107]—assumed an extraordinary prominence among the springs of Roman heroism. . . . Marcus Aurelius, following an example that is ascribed to Pythagoras, made it a special object of mental discipline, by continually meditating on death and evoking, by an effort of the imagination, whole societies that had passed away, to acquire a realized sense of the vanity of posthumous fame." We shall see later on that the vanity of posthumous fame is well expressed on some engraved gems of Roman times. (Cf. Martial, *Epig.* i. 26. 8: "Cineri gloria sera venit.")

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[107] Milton, *Lycidas*, line 71. Lecky compares this with the remark of Tacitus (*Hist.*, iv. 6): "Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur" ("The desire for fame is the last desire that is laid aside even by the wise"). Cf. St. Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, 5. 14.

So also Petrarch's succession of "Triumphs" and his idea of a great man's "second death" and "third death" (cf. p. 447) make the "glory of the afterglow" of human life completely fade, in spite of the English poet:

> "And though long sunk from sight, I know
> The glory of your afterglow
> Will never wholly fade."

In one sense, of course, every one does survive in the minds of his successors. A man's life may be obscure and of no obvious significance, or it may be sufficiently striking "to point a moral or adorn a tale;" but every life must yet have some influence—(partly for good and partly for evil)–on the lives of others, and that influence, though diffused and apparently lost, like a ripple on the water (when a stone is thrown in), will be borne down the stream of time into the ocean of eternity.

IV. Death as a Friend and the End of Pain and Misery. Death compared to a Peaceful Sleep after the Fatigue and Turmoil of the Day; and Death as the Awakening after the Fitful, Feverish Dream of Life.

"O death, acceptable is thy sentence unto the needy, and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age, and is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth and hath lost patience" (Ecclesiasticus xli. 2); "It is better to die once for all (ἅπαξ) than to suffer all our days" (Aeschylus, *Prom. Vinct.*, lines 769, 770). In regard to death as a release from pain and disease, compare some verses to Death in the *Greek Anthology* (Appendix, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, No. 196): "Thou hast come sweeter to me than life, for thou hast freed me from diseases, toils, and painful gout." (Cf. Agathios, *Anthol. Graec. Palat.*, x. 69.) The following Latin epitaphs are also interesting:—

"Quod superest homini, requiescunt dulciter ossa.
Nec sum sollicitus ne subito esuriam.
Et podagram (*sic*) careo, nec sum pensionibus arra,
Et gratis aeterno perfruor hospitio."
(*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vi. No. 7193A.)

"Morborum vitia et vitae mala maxima fugi.
Nunc careo poenis; pace fruor placidâ."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol v. No. 5278.)[108]

[108] In regard to the value of health for the full utilization and enjoyment of life, cf. Martial, *Epig.*, vi. 70. 15: "Non est vivere sed valere vita"—a line which was adopted as a motto by the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London (afterwards merged into the Royal Society of Medicine). Cf. Ralph Waldo Emerson: "Give me health and a day, and I will make the pomp of kings and emperors look ridiculous."

"Death is rest from labour and misery" (after Cicero); "Were death denied, to live would not be life" (E. Young). Compare A. C. Swinburne (*The Garden of Proserpine*)—

> "We thank with brief thanksgiving
> Whatever gods may be
> That no life lives for ever;
> That dead men rise up never;
> That even the weariest river
> Winds somewhere safe to sea."

In the great fresco (fourteenth century) of the "Triumph of Death" in the Campo Santo of Pisa, the poor and wretched are represented praying to die, but invoking death in vain (to this subject I shall revert under Heading XIX.). An old English memorial finger-ring has the inscription, "Breath paine, Death gaine." Of course, to believers in a future existence, death may appear not only as the end of pain, but also as the "crown of life," the recompense for pain and trouble bravely borne (compare Heading XV.). One of the inscriptions on the sepulchral monument of Sir George Manners[109] and his wife, in Bakewell parish church (Derbyshire), is, "The day of a man's death is better than the day of his birth" (see Ecclesiastes vii. 1). Edward Young (*Night Thoughts*, 1742) writes—

> "Death gives us more than was in Eden lost,
> This king of terrors is the prince of peace."

In the fine "Monument Aux Morts,"[110] the work of

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[109] Sir George Manners, of Haddon, who died in 1623, was a son of the Haddon heiress, Dorothy Vernon, celebrated for her romantic elopement with Sir John Manners, by whom she became ancestress of the Dukes of Rutland.

[110] This monument is illustrated in T. H. Lewin's *Life and Death*, London, 1910.

the modern French sculptor, Albert Bartholomé (born 1848), in the cemetery of Père Lachaise at Paris, those who have just passed in at the gloomy portal of death are represented in an attitude of peace and beatification, whereas, of those still outside the entrance only the miserable and wretched appear desirous of entering; the others hide their faces and shrink with fear. This reminds one, not only of the famous Pisan fresco already alluded to, but also of a fragment of the *Polyidus* of Euripides:[111] "Who knoweth if what men call dying be not living; what men call living be not dying?"—a query of the eternally agnostic group.

In connexion with the aspect of, or attitude towards, death as giving freedom from pain, the comparison of death to a peaceful sleep after the fatigue and turmoil of the day follows naturally. At the end of the first book of the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, Cicero asks whether (if after all death signifies complete annihilation rather than a change or migration) anything could be better than, in the midst of the labours of life, to close one's eyes and sink softly into an eternal sleep? This is after Socrates, who (according to Plato's *Apology*) referred to death as either a change and migration of the soul, or else a complete annihilation, in which case it would be like a dreamless sleep. The beauty of Leonardo da Vinci's apophthegm will always last: "Si come une giornata bene spesa da lieto dormire cosi una vita bene usata da lieto morire." ("As a well-spent day brings happy sleep, so life well used brings happy death"[112]). Some German "Sterbemünzen" (1619) bear

[111] Cf. Edith Sichel's *Michel de Montaigne*, 1911, p. 55; and John Fiske's *Life Everlasting*, 1901, p. 14.

[112] *Leonardo da Vinci's Note-Books*, rendered into English by E. McCurdy, London (Duckworth & Co.), p. 51.

the inscription, "Mors mihi quies, vita bellum." Heinrich Heine has put it thus—

"Der Tod, das ist die kühle Nacht,
Das Leben ist der schwüle Tag.
Es dunkelt schon, mich schläfert,
Der Tag hat mich müd' gemacht."

Byron ("And thou art dead") exclaims—

"The silence of that dreamless sleep
I envy now too much to weep."

A. Rethel's beautiful design (1851) of "Death as a Friend," shows the "King of Terrors," divested of all terrors, tolling the bell in the church-tower at the peaceful termination of the aged bell-ringer's life (see Fig. 26).[113]

"Be the day weary, or be the day long,
At length it ringeth to Evensong."[114]

Still more did death come as a friend to the poor weary woman in Adelaide Procter's poem, "The Requital," so well known owing to J. Blumenthal's music. Cf. also

"Non mihi mors sed somnus erit: sic carcere clausus
Saepius optatum gaudet adesse diem."

Yet, as J. S. Le Fanu says, old persons are sometimes as unwilling to die as tired-out children are to say good night and go to bed. La Fontaine's fable, *La Mort et le Mourant*, tells us the same. Moreover, as Sir Lyon Playfair

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[113] Indeed, the voices of the bells in old cathedrals and beautiful country churches may suggest to some: "Laus Deo, pax vivis, requies aeterna sepultis."

[114] "Although the day be ever so long,
Yet at the last it ringeth to evening song."

This version, according to John Foxe (the martyrologist), was quoted by George Tankerfield at the stake, in 1555.

The end of an epitaph by Stephen Hawes (early sixteenth century) is—

"For though the day be never so long,
At last the bell ringeth to evensong."

(afterwards Lord Playfair) pointed out,[115] it is merely poetry to call sleep the "twin-brother of death;" scientifically, sleep is rather the preserver of life and a sign

FIG. 26.—"Death as a Friend," by A. Rethel.

of life than in any way analogous to death. Sleep, N. Vaschide has said, is not, as Homer thought, the brother of Death, but of Life, and Havelock Ellis adds, the elder brother.[116] Edward Gibbon, the historian,

[115] *Vide* Sir A. Mitchell's *Dreaming, Laughing, and Blushing*, 1905, p. 10.

[116] *Vide* Havelock Ellis's *The World of Dreams*, London, 1911, p. 280.

has, like Hamlet, voiced another possible objection to the popularity of the idea of death as a long sleep. When, three weeks before his death, he was asked whether he thought the idea of death being a long sleep just and desirable, he answered, "Yes, provided one could be sure—of one's dreams." [117]

In Homer's *Iliad* (book xvi. line 671), Sleep (Hypnos) and Death (Thanatos) are alluded to as twin-brothers, and it is possible that the little Cupid-like figure (with or without wings), holding an inverted torch, on some ancient Roman tombs, &c., is really a kind of genius of sleep as much as a genius of death.[118] In regard to the ideal of sleep on Italian tombs of the fifteenth century, G. S. Davies (*Renascence—the Sculptured Tombs of the Fifteenth Century in Rome*, London, 1910, pp. 8, 9) says that the sculptor had "to place upon the tomb the sleeping figure of Pope, or Cardinal, or Bishop, watched over by the Virgin and Child, and set about with the Virtues, who were to adorn in death, as they should have adorned in life, the dead man's presence." According to Davies, this ideal representation of death as sleep—"perfect, perhaps, in the hands of the perfect artist,

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[117] See the *Diary of Frances Lady Shelley*, London, 1912, vol. i. p. 51. The words may have been suggested by Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: "To sleep, perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub."

[118] In regard to ancient Greek and Roman representations of Sleep and Death on vases, tombs, &c., see Part IV. The German poet, G. E. Lessing, wrote a famous controversial essay on the subject, entitled, *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* (1769). It is hardly surprising that in the interpretation of symbolic representations in ancient art there should be occasional confusion between Death and Sleep. Sleeping is, in a sense, "living without life," and dying during sleep has been poetically alluded to in some Latin lines written for a statue of Sleep by the poet-laureate, Thomas Warton the Younger, as dying without death: "Sic sine morte mori." Thus, indeed, would many like to die.

peaceful and harmless in the hands of the less perfect, and dull and lifeless in the hands of the inferior"—though it was monotonous, was preferable to the more original and striking sculptures on the tombs of the later Renascence (sixteenth century).

Just as the phenomena of death have been often poetically likened to the phenomena of sleep, so also has the refreshing effect of sleep upon the mind been poetically illustrated by what is imagined to happen to the soul after the death of the body; and most of the substance of the following paragraphs might likewise have have included under Heading II. Milton (*Paradise Lost*, book xii. line 434) speaks of "A deathlike sleep, a gentle wafting to immortal life," and Christina Rossetti writes of a "quiet night" after the work and waking day of a man's life—

> "A long-drawn breath, a balm of sorrow,
> And all things lovely on the morrow."

William Allingham (1828–1889) hints at the same idea in the lines—

> "Sleep is like death, and after sleep
> The world seems new begun;
> While thoughts stand luminous and firm,
> Like statues in the sun."

On the other hand, life itself has (from some ancient, Mediaeval, and modern points of view) been poetically compared to a sleep and a fitful or feverish dream ("Vita est somnium"), from which death is but the awakening. Thus the painter, Arnold Boecklin, has named one of his beautiful designs, "Vita, Somnium Breve." Pindar speaks of Σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος. On one of the old houses in Edinburgh I read, "Constanti

pectori res mortalium umbra." On the rafters in the library of the studious, learned, and sceptical Montaigne was perhaps inscribed the "open-court" philosophical question, "Who knoweth if what men call dying be not living; what men call living be not dying?"[119] (from a fragment of the *Polyidus* of Euripides). The later Platonists, as seen in the chapter of Macrobius "On the Descent of the Soul," termed the being born into this world "spiritual death," and dying, "spiritual birth" (C. W. King). Thomas Hood has it (*Her Last Will*)—

> "There are daily sounds to tell us that Life
> Is dying, and Death is living."

Wordsworth says, "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;" and R. W. Buchanan, in *Balder the Beautiful*, has the following lines:—

> "We wake in a dream, and we ache in a dream,
> And we break in a dream, and die!"

Shelley (*Prometheus Unbound*) writes—

> "Death is the veil which those who live call life;
> They sleep, and it is lifted."

A passage from Ali bin Muhammed Al Tahamy has been translated by J. D. Carlyle, as follows:—[120]

> "Life is a sleep of three score years,
> Death bids us wake and hail the light,
> And man, with all his hopes and fears,
> Is but a phantom of the night."

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[119] *Vide* Edith Sichel, *Michel de Montaigne*, London, 1911, p. 55. Montaigne was always inclined to question, and his motto was really, "Que sais-je?" The original verses of Euripides are:

> Τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν,
> Τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται.

[120] Quoted by Claud Field, in *A Dictionary of Oriental Quotations*, London, 1911, p. 198.

Similarly, Robert Browning (*The Flight of the Duchess*) writes—

> "And like the hand which ends a dream,
> Death with the might of his sunbeam
> Touches the flesh and the soul awakes."

In a rather different way Edmond G. A. Holmes (*To Death*) writes—

> "Sometimes I think that in thine arms of love,
> Sleeping the sleep of life, O Death! I rest,
> Whilst through my dreams, like rhythmic tide-waves, move
> The pulses of thy breast.
> And when mine hour has come, thy lips at last
> Will touch my slumb'rous eyelids with a kiss,
> And all life's fevered visions fading fast
> Will weave one dream of bliss."

In regard to a feeling towards the idea of death, the contrary of that expressed in Ecclesiasticus xli. 2, Dr. Pietro Capparoni tells me of a small *memento mori* panel-picture in his possession (figured under Heading XIX.) inscribed, "(Mors) amara habenti pacem in substantiis suis," that is to say, "O death, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth at rest in his possessions!" &c. (Ecclesiasticus xli. 1). A Dutch jeton, dated 1518, bears the similar legend, "O Mors, quam amara est memoria tua."

Death as a Friend.—The saying, "Mors vivis salus," describes what occasionally happens, when Death, by striking down one mortal, "comes as a friend" to many others. I am not alluding to legacies and the everyday subject of the hackneyed epitaph quotation—

> "Resigned unto the Heavenly will,
> The son keeps on the business still;"

but to historical life-saving results of the death of some cruel tyrant, or the end of some "reign of terror" (such as, for instance, accompanied the fall of Robespierre), or the execution of some dangerous criminal. This aspect of death is illustrated by various works of art.

V. Death as a Means of Punishment, Vengeance, or Atonement. The Threat of Death as a Means of exciting Terror. Political Murders and Political Executions.

Under this heading medals commemorating executions should be included, such as those struck on the execution of Monmouth and Argyle in 1685, with the inscription, "Ambitio malesuada ruit," and those struck on the execution of Grandval in 1692. Amongst medals and jettons of various countries commemorating executions (as just or unjust acts), some of the most notable were issued in the Low Countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On certain other medals death is *threatened* as a punishment or means of reprisal. Thus, on two English medals (described later on) commemorating the loss of Minorca in 1756, the obverse inscription is, "Brave Blakney reward, But to B. (Admiral John Byng) give a cord." These medals belong to the popular ("toy-shop") class,[121] and may

[121] The popular or "toy-shop" medals (mostly more or less political) of the period constitute the class best known through the Admiral Vernon and Porto Bello medals of 1739, of which a great many varieties exist. If English history had to be made out by the evidence of medals only, then Admiral Vernon would perhaps figure as the most important personage. These "toy-shop" medals served the purpose of political newspapers; they were, in fact, "medallic newspapers," if the expression is permitted. Most of these "toy-shop" medals are in "Pinchbeck Metal" (an alloy of copper and zinc invented by Christopher Pinchbeck, ? about 1700), and were issued by the Pinchbeck family of "Clock,

really have helped in bringing the unfortunate Admiral Byng to his death. Certain tradesmen's tokens (chiefly halfpennies) of the last years of the eighteenth century, representing a man hanging from a gallows, with the punning inscription, "End of pain," though they did not cause the death of Thomas Paine, may yet have helped to prejudice the English people against him. On a small cast bronze medal, signed by the French sculptor, P. J. David d'Angers, commemorating the so-called "Massacres of Gallicia" (revolt in Austrian Poland) in 1846, the reverse bears the representation of a gallows and the names of those who were regarded as responsible for the "massacres."

Many paintings, drawings, and prints, both caricatures and others, representing degradation and ignominious death as the punishment or natural outcome of vice and crime, may be supposed to have exerted a certain deterrent effect on the young. Of eighteenth-century work of this kind in England, several characteristic designs by William Hogarth (1697–1764) are especially worthy of mention, whilst later on come various caricatures by Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827), George Cruikshank (1792–1878), and others.

Amongst Hogarth's designs of the kind there are, for instance, the final scenes in the series of "The Harlot's Progress" and in that of "The Rake's Progress," and the ignominious death at "Tyburn Tree" of Tom Idle, the "Idle Apprentice," in his "Industry and Idleness" series. Hogarth's "Reward of Cruelty" (1751), well known, like nearly all his designs, by the engravings (engravings by or after Hogarth), is a caricature of the dissection of a criminal's body at

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Watch, and Toy Makers." At the end of the century (about 1795), penny, halfpenny, and farthing tradesmen's tokens were sometimes made to serve a similar political purpose.

Surgeons' Hall in Old Bailey, London.[122] The rope by which he ("Tom Nero") was hung at Tyburn is still around his neck, his intestines are being placed in a pail below the dissecting-table, and a dog has taken possession of his heart. The skeletons of two recently-executed criminals, labelled respectively, "Macleane" (James Maclaine or Maclean, a noted "gentleman highwayman," hung at Tyburn in 1750) and "James Field" (executed for highway robbery early in 1751) adorn niches in the walls. Over the lecturer's chair is the hand feeling a pulse—a device of the present Royal College of Physicians of London. Many prints and minor works of art of various epochs either represent or symbolize in a terrifying manner the natural results of vices (some such designs are referred to in Part I.).

George Cruikshank's famous satirical pattern for a Bank of England note (1818) should be mentioned here. In 1818 there were an enormous number of Bank of England notes for relatively small amounts (one-pound and two-pound notes) in circulation, and the ease with which they could be imitated encouraged forgery. Many persons convicted of forging bank-notes or of uttering forged bank-notes, were transported or suffered the death-penalty. The first forger of Bank of England notes, R. W. Vaughan, was executed in 1758. The prosecutions between 1797 and 1817 were said to have cost the Bank of England nearly a quarter of a million pounds. Between 1805 and 1818 five hundred and one convictions were said to have been obtained, resulting in 207 executions. In 1817 the number of forged one-pound notes detected was stated to have been 28,412. Cruikshank's satirical pattern (see Fig. 27) is inscribed, "Bank Restriction Note. Specimen of a Bank Note—not to be

[122] A certain number of the bodies of executed criminals could be claimed each year by the surgeons for dissection at Surgeons' Hall. In T. G. Smollett's *Roderick Random* (1748) there is a reference to these dissections. After 1783 the public place of execution was in front of Newgate Prison, close by.

imitated. Submitted to the Consideration of the Bank Directors and the inspection of the Public." Eleven bodies (men and women) are hanging from a long gibbet, and "Jack Ketch" (the traditional nickname for the hangman), "for the Governor and Company of the Bank of England," promises to perform the hangings—the number *ad libitum*—"during the Issue of Bank Notes easily imitated, and until the Resumption of Cash

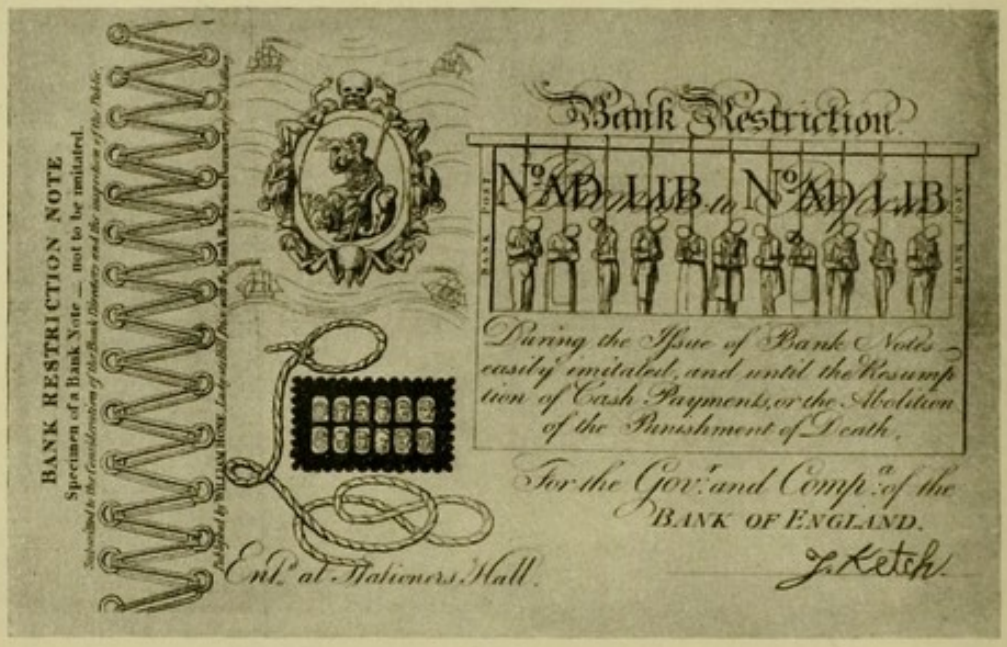

FIG. 27.—G. Cruikshank's satirical pattern for a Bank of England note (1818).

Payments, or the Abolition of the Punishment of Death." These "Bank Restriction Notes" were published by William Hone, at his shop in Ludgate Hill, London, and when they were first exhibited such crowds gathered round his shop-window that the police had to disperse them. Cruikshank maintained that by this caricature he had taken a considerable part in the abolition of the death-penalty for comparatively trivial offences. In 1821 all one-pound and two-pound bank-notes were withdrawn from circulation. The last execution in

England for forgery of any sort was that of Thomas Maynard, in 1829.

This "Bank Restriction Note" of Cruikshank and Hone, in 1818, evidently gave rise to the "anti-republican" satirical pattern note (see Fig. 28), published in 1819 by S. Knight, 3, Sweetings Alley, Royal Exchange, London. It is inscribed, "House of Correction, 1819. I promise to pay to all Republicans,

FIG. 28.—Satirical anti-republican pattern for a Bank-note (1819).

Jacobins and Knaves, the sum of a Perpetual Flagellation; to be strictly inflicted and most judiciously applied, until their turbulent spirits be duly expunged....For the King and Constitution—J. Flogwell." On the left of the note is a man at the cart-tail being flogged by "Jack Ketch." The man who is being flogged is evidently meant to represent William Hone (the publisher of Cruikshank's note), who, in 1817, had been prosecuted by the Government, but acquitted. The men drawing the cart are labelled H—T (Hunt) and C—TT (Cobbett). The accompanying inscription is, "Pain

Exemplified, or the Age of Reason" (an allusion to Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*). Above, on the left, is a devil acting as hangman, arranging the rope on a gallows, with the inscription: "A Printer's Devil. The Knave's desert, or a strong binding for a bookseller." The bookseller referred to was certainly William Hone. Below, on the left, is a man in the stocks, with the inscription, "A Scourge for Rogues with Venomed Stings." The man in the stocks also undoubtedly represents Hone, for the stocks themselves are so drawn as to represent the capital letter H, and this is followed by the "One" to resemble the "One" on one-pound notes. The "pattern" note is numbered in two places, N° 222, the N° being formed by a lion with a looped tail, and the twos by figures of men kneeling to be flogged, labelled respectively "C—tt," "H—t," and "H—e," for William Cobbett (1762–1835), Henry Hunt (known as "Orator Hunt," 1773–1835), and William Hone (1710–1842), the author and bookseller referred to above. In this connexion it may be remembered that in 1810 Cobbett had been fined and imprisoned for publishing censures on flogging in the army. I do not know who designed this "satirical bank-note." A few other less elaborate caricature notes were published about the same time.

Death's heads might appropriately have adorned the handles of an executioner's sword, and though I know no example of that, 1 have seen a scourge with iron tails, part of the handle of which was formed by a death's head carved in wood.

I do not know of any medals referring to the idea of death (voluntary or involuntary) as an act of atonement—apart, of course, from religious medals.

The fancied terrors of death and hell have naturally been much more illustrated on engravings, drawings, and paintings than on medals, engraved gems, &c.[123]; but this subject will be again referred to under Heading XX., on the "Fear of Death."

Emblems of the Death's head class, when employed to inspire terror in certain cases and in certain ways, may be supposed to have exercised a panic-striking effect similar to that produced (according to stories of former days) when pirates of the traditional Captain William Kidd style ran up their Death's head ensign, the hoisting of the flag causing doubtless an equivalent sinking of the blood-pressure and courage in some of those who looked at it. In regard to the terror inspired by the Gorgon's Head in the ancient world, C. W King[124] writes that, accepting the explanation that "at its origin this terrific visage was designed for the 'vera effigies' of the queen of the dead, it was the most speaking emblem of her office that could possibly be chosen." It occupied the centre of the Aegis of Zeus and Athene, and in the Heroic ages it was depicted upon the warrior's shield; with the progress of art, cut in cameo, it became the regular decoration of the Roman Emperor's breast-plate; "in which post it served, as Lucian in his *Philopatris* remarks, 'both to terrify enemies and to avert all danger from the wearer.'" This terror-inspiring use of the symbols of death is analogous to the employment

[123] Certain satirical medals might be mentioned here, especially the English political ones of the toy-shop class (see previous footnote), issued in 1741, representing the devil leading Sir Robert Walpole by a rope round his neck towards the open jaws of a monster (hell), with the inscription: MAKE · ROOM · FOR · SIR · ROBERT —— NO · EXCISE. (See *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. ii. p. 561, Nos. 190–192.)

[124] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 184.

during warfare of war-paint (and terrifying devices of all kinds) by savage tribes, in former times by native races of North America, &c. The military emblems referred to further on, under Heading VI., have likewise some significance in this connexion.

After all, the main original object of *memento mori* devices in Mediaeval Europe was to inspire fear and bring all sinners to timely repentance. A secondary object was perhaps to increase ecclesiastical authority and the earthly power and possessions of the Church. Thus arose the various gloomy or horrible representations of skulls, skeletons, figures of Death of the "skin and bones" type (the German *Hautskelett*), the pictures and carvings of decaying corpses being "eaten with worms," the tale of the "Three Dead and the Three Living," the "Dance of Death" designs, the "Triumph of Death" pictures, tapestries, &c.; and not least of all, the ingenious pictorial, plastic and descriptive variations of the horrors of Hell. What, indeed, could be conceived more horrible than Dante's description of them in his *Inferno*?—magnified by the inscription on the portal: "Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch' entrate" ("Abandon hope, all ye who enter here"). About the end of the fourteenth century some of the fanatic "Flagellants" had skeletons depicted on their clothing, which increased the significance and explained the motives of their mad doings. It is also probable that in serio-comic (boisterous) scenes in "morality plays" of the "Dance of Death" type, figures were sometimes introduced (to represent Death or the dead) in a tight-fitting black dress with a white skeleton painted on it.

Here too, as also under Heading X., one must refer to the interesting medals, tokens, &c., on which fatal

epidemics of plague and other infectious diseases are referred to as punishments or retributive calamities, visitations, or manifestations of the divine wrath on account of the wickedness of the people.

For convenience all medals, memorial rings, &c., commemorating political executions and political murders, may be included under this heading, though some of them (*e.g.* medals commemorating the death of John van Olden Barneveldt in 1619, and of the brothers De Witt in 1672) might also be classed under Heading XI. in so far as they commemorate a kind of martyrdom for political principles. Memorials of this class, owing to their number, cannot all be described here, but we may instance the Roman denarius commemorating the murder of Julius Caesar; certain coins of Athens bearing a representation of the so-called tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton (the statue of them by Kritios and Nesiotes); the medals commemorating the Pazzi conspiracy (1478) at Florence and the assassination of Giuliano de' Medici; the medal on the murder of Alexander de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence, by his kinsman Lorenzino de' Medici, the "Tuscan Brutus," in 1537; the medals, medalets, and other memorials on the execution of King Charles I of England, and on the execution of Louis XVI of France and Marie Antoinette; also memorial medals on the other victims of the great French Revolution, and of various other revolutions in France and other countries. Here too belong medals commemorating such comparatively recent political assassinations as those of Spencer Perceval (1812), Charles Ferdinand duc de Berry (1820), Abraham Lincoln (1865), the Czar Alexander II (1881), the French President Carnot (1894), King Humbert of Italy (1900), King George of Greece (1913), &c.

VI. Death as an Emblem of Stubborn Purpose in War. Death and Ambition.

Deaths' heads have been used as military devices in Germany, France, and England. The device was apparently first adopted by the Prussian "Black Hussars," who were brought into existence by Frederick the Great in 1741. They wore a black uniform and a Death's head instead of a cockade. The "Black Brunswickers," raised in 1809 by Friedrich Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick-Oels (killed at Quatre-Bras, 1815), were likewise given a black uniform with a Death's head as their badge, partly, it is said, as a token of mourning for the previous duke, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Auerstadt (October 14, 1806), in the war against Napoleon.[125] A little bronze Death's head, worn by the Black Hussars on their shakos during the war of 1815 against Napoleon, is illustrated (see Fig. 29). In France a skull and crossed bones constituted the badge of the 9th Regiment of Hussars, which was formed in March, 1793, out of the second corps of "hussards noirs du nord." The device was apparently copied from that of

[125] Three Prussian regiments which at the present day represent the Black Brunswickers and the Black Hussars, continue to wear a Death's head device. The great Italian condottiere, Giovanni de' Medici (1498–1526), called "Giovanni delle Bande Nere," was popularly given this title on account of the sombre mourning dress worn by his terrible bands of mercenaries after the death of his kinsman, Pope Leo X (1521). According to another account, the "Bande Nere," which Giovanni founded, were so called only after the death of their founder, when they changed their uniform from white to black, in token of grief.

the Prussian Black Hussars. The English 17th Lancers wear as a badge on their head-dress and collar a skull and crossed bones, with the words "or glory" below (see Fig. 30). The object of this device ("Death or Glory"), which was introduced at the suggestion of Lieutenant-Colonel John Hale in 1759 (who was Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the newly formed corps), was to create emulation, and to commemorate the

FIG. 29.--Bronze death's-head badge (actual size), worn on the shakos of the Prussian Black Hussars in 1815.

FIG. 30.—"Death or Glory" brass badge (actual size), worn on the head-dress of the English 17th Lancers.

glorious death of General Wolfe at Quebec (1759).[126] "We are strong," said Napoleon, "when we have made up our minds to die;" but yet, victorious fighting and life are more valuable in a war than martyr-like death, and so it is not really surprising that words such as, "Pro patriâ mori, vivere est," "Dulce est pro patriâ mori" (cf. Horace's "Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori," *Od.* iii. 2. 14), or "Pro religione mori" or "Pro libertate mori, vivere est," have not found favour on

[126] *Vide* Major J. H. Lawrence Archer, *The British Army; its Regimental Records, Badges, Devices, &c.*, London, 1888, p. 77. I am indebted to Mr. L. Forrer for this reference.

military badges. For personal and family mottoes of this kind, see J. Dielitz, *Die Wahl- und Denksprüche, &c.*, Frankfurt-a-M., 1888. Similar sentences do indeed appear on some medals and medalets, which, however, as they commemorate patriotic deeds, should be classed under Heading XI. A medal commemorating the capture of Breda in 1590 by the Dutch under Prince Maurice of Nassau, has the inscription, "Parati vincere aut mori." Boniface, Count of Savoy, who died in 1263, took as a motto, "Ni potior, morior" ("Unless I am master, I die"); but this approaches the idea of the saying, "Aut Caesar aut nihil."

This is perhaps the place to allude to works of art relating to "Death and Ambition," especially the insatiable ambition that has justly, or unjustly, been supposed to have no consideration for those pushed aside, killed, and trampled on in the pursuit of power and glory. Most of us have seen prints of a modern picture by P. Fritel ("The Price of Glory"), which was exhibited at the Paris "Salon" some years ago, representing a resplendent cavalcade of military conquerors of all ages (Alexander the Great; Julius Caesar; Napoleon I.; Rameses II; Hannibal; Attila, and Timur or "Tamerlaine," both called "The Scourge of God;" &c.), riding forward in triumphal procession along the sunlit path of military glory, bounded on either side by the closely strewn corpses of those who have fallen in the struggle (the vanquished and the other victims of warfare). But there are many other caricatures of martial glory, such as some depicting the triumphant conqueror accompanied by ghastly skeleton-like figures of Death, Famine, and Pestilence. (Some of the famous ancient Assyrian and Egyptian representations and records of victorious military expeditions and conquests might be noted in this connexion, though of course not originally intended to be satirical.) Political ambition, with its intrigues and its *coups d'état*, has also been symbolized in the same light, and so might various kinds of reckless private ambition, even though the death-dealing results be necessarily much more limited.

VII. Death as an Emblem of Destruction and Ruin.

In regard to the skull and bones as an emblem of danger, destruction, and ruin, there are satirical medals, as there are satirical prints, especially political cartoons, on which Death's heads are introduced to suggest the unsound, dangerous, or destructive nature of certain customs, occupations, or enterprises. Thus, on the occasion of a *fête* given in 1875, when Samuel Plimsoll (1824–1898), "the sailors' friend," was elected Member of Parliament for Liverpool, those present wore a medalet with Plimsoll's portrait on the obverse, and one of the so-called "coffin-ships," a species of death-trap which he helped to get rid of, on the reverse. The ship is represented sinking; on one of its sails is pictured a Death's head with crossed bones; in the exergue are the words COFFIN SHIP. In the same way in still more recent times a figure of Death, as the personification of ruin and destruction (and sometimes accompanied by the Devil), might have been represented driving modern engines by land or sea, or setting fire to or blowing up huge factory buildings crowded with work-people. A suggestion has been brought forward to make it compulsory to use only coffin-shaped bottles (with skull and crossed bones ornamentation on the labels) for solutions of perchloride of mercury (corrosive sublimate) and all

poisons, in order to prevent persons from carelessly drinking them or making other mistakes.

A Dutch plaquette commemorating the International Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899, represents on the reverse a mounted warrior (emblematic of war), crowned by a skeleton (emblematic of death and destruction), being stopped by figures emblematic of peace.

A sixteenth-century plaque will further on be described, representing Death standing in an attitude of fear or submission before Valour ("Virtus"); by which device it was possibly intended to signify that threatening peril and ruin in an enterprise, or imminent defeat and death in war, might sometimes be successfully resisted and averted by courage.

VIII. Death as Conqueror and Leveller of all Mankind.

"All go unto one place; all are of dust, and all turn to dust again" (Ecclesiastes ii. 20). Death awaits all alike and makes all equal. Glory, wealth, beauty, and pride of birth make no difference in the end. "Mors omnibus communis est;" "Omnia mors aequat" (Claudian, *Rapt. Proserp.*, lib. ii. 302); "Mors sceptra ligonibus aequat;"[127] "Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regumque turres" (Horace, *Od.*, i. 4,

[127] This sentence, said to be a quotation from Lucan, but not to be found in his *Pharsalia*, was inscribed over a fourteenth-century mural painting (representing "les trois morts et les trois vifs"), which formerly existed at Battle Church, Sussex. It likewise occurs inserted in the twelfth-century *Vers sur la Mort*, ascribed to Thibaut de Marly (Paris, second edition, 1835, p. 16), and it constitutes the motto of one of Gabr. Symeoni's emblematic devices (*The Heroicall Devices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 273). According to E. Bensly, it is included in Johann Weber's *Dicta Sapientum* (Frankfurt, 1705), but I have been unable to find a copy of that book. An English equivalent occurs in James Shirley's *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (1659)—

> "Sceptre and crown
> Must tumble down,
> And in the dust be equal made
> With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

Cf. also the English rendering in an epitaph on John Cuthbert (1711), at Inverness—

> "In death no difference is made
> Betwixt the scepter and the spade."

This is quoted by T. J. Pettigrew, and amongst many epitaphs referring to the universal and levelling force of death, the two following, given likewise by Pettigrew (*Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, p. 64) may be mentioned here. The first is of Abbot Gervaise de Blois (died 1160), a natural son of Stephen, King of England, by Dameta, a gentlewoman of Normandy—

> "De Regum genere pater hic Gervasius ecce
> Monstrat defunctus, mors rapit omne genus."

13).[128] Ovid (*Consol. ad Liviam Augustam*, v. 357–360) gives the same idea as follows:—

"Fata manent omnes: omnes expectat avarus
Portitor: et turbae vix satis una ratis.
Tendimus huc omnes: metam properamus ad unum.
Omnia sub leges mors vocat atra suas."

The following are two inscriptions on a brass astrolabe and sun-dial (in the museum of Perugia), signed by Ieronomus Wulparia of Florence, and dated 1577:—

The second is on the tomb at Burford, in Shropshire, of Sir Edward Cornwall, a "baronet," who died in 1585, and who was one of the Burford family of Cornwalls claiming descent from Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans:

"For as you are so once was I,
And as I am so shall you be;
Although that ye be fair and young,
Wise, wealthy, hardy, stout, and strong."

[128] This quotation from Horace is inscribed on a silver-gilt watch in the form of a death's head, which is traditionally said to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots (see Part IV.). The following interesting French versions of this famous passage are amongst those given by Caetani Lovatelli (*Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, pp. 45, 46):—

"La mort n'a excepté de ses sévères lois
Ny braves empereurs, ny monarques, ny rois,
Et frappe également les petites boutiques
Des pauvres artisans et les palais antiques."
Bernard de Girard, Seigneur du Haillan, *Tombeau de Henri II.*

"Princes à mort son destinez,
Comme les plus pauvres vivans."
François Villon, Ballade, *Les Oeuvres de François Villon*, Paris, 1723, p. 27.

"Mors, tu abas à un seul jour
Aussi le roi dedans sa tour
Con le pouvre dessous son toit."
T. de Montmorency, Seigneur de Marly, called Thibaud de Marly, *Vers sur la Mort*, Paris, second edition, 1835, p. 26.

These last verses were again published at Paris in 1905—edited by F. Wulff and E. Walberg—as *Les Vers de la Mort*, written at the end of the twelfth century by Hélinant, *Moine de Froidmont*.

"Nil nomen, nil fama juvat, nil candida virtus:
Tempus enim rapido singula dente vorat."

"Hora fugit, celeri properat mors improba passu."

It has sometimes been thought advisable (though doubtless sometimes also a dangerous task) to remind emperors and kings that they are mortal like other men. Gabr. Symeoni, in his work on Emblems (see *The Heroicall Devices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 318) writes as follow: "Isidorus reporteth also that at Constantinople there was a custome, to put the Emperor in mind of his departure hence. The first day that he was to be crowned a certaine Mason should bring unto him three or foure sorts of stones, saying unto him these words—

"'Oh, noble Caesar, puissant king,
Choose thou here presently,
Of which stones shall thy grave be made,
Wherein thou once shalt be.'"

This aspect is illustrated by various "Sterbemünzen" and memorial medals bearing inscriptions such as, "Finis gloriae mundi;" "Sic transit gloria mundi," &c. A medal of the seventeenth century, by Christian Maler, has on the obverse a lady's portrait, and on the reverse a skeleton with the inscription, "Sic nunc, pulcherrima quondam."[129] The type of this medal was apparently copied from a Danish medal dated 1634 (to be afterwards described), which on the obverse bears a similar lady's portrait and words signifying, "I am beautiful," whilst on the reverse is a skeleton with words meaning, "I was beautiful." Such medals may be compared to a certain class of sepulchral monuments (for instance, that of Archbishop Chichele—see back, Part I. C, and Fig. 15) representing the deceased with all the attributes of worldly wealth

[129] Compare H. S. Beham's engraving (dated 1541) of Death and a lady, with the inscription, "Omnem in homine venustatem mors abolet."

and power and social rank, and (on a lower slab or compartment) a skeleton or corpse or emaciated decaying body, often being "eaten by worms." This second figure is what the French call a *gisant*, and, as J. Guiart points out, it served to warn the rich and great, and comfort the poor and unfortunate, of this world by reminding them of the vanity of wealth and earthly titles in presence of Death, the Leveller of all mankind. Guiart quotes a poet of the epoch—

"Et dans ces grands tombeaux, où leurs âmes hautaines
Font encore les vaines
Ils sont mangés des vers."

The fifteenth-century German woodcut (figured in Part II. Heading XIX.) representing "Death in the Jaws of Hell," is accompanied by German verses referring to the levelling of all social distinctions at death.

In regard to more modern popular allusions to Death as the Leveller, a wooden snuff-box may be mentioned, with four skulls painted on it, labelled respectively, "A Beauty," "A Beggar," "A Witch," and "A King." This reminds one of the skeleton represented on a sepulchral "cippus" (probably of the third century A.D.) in the British Museum, with an inscription asking the passer-by whether from the bare skeleton he can tell if the living person had been beautiful like Hylas or ugly like Thersites. Cf. also the well-known passage in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, act v. scene 1 :

"Imperial Caesar, dead, and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away."

Cf. also Juvenal's tenth satire, where he alludes to Alexander the Great. One world was not enough for "Pella's boy." Yet when he came to Babylon he had to be content with the narrow limits of a sarcophagus. "Death alone reveals how insignificant are the puny bodies of men!"—

"Unus Pellaeo juveni non sufficit orbis:
Aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
Ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho:
Quum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
Sarcophago contentus erit. Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula."

Cf. Shakespeare's *King Henry IV*, Part I., act v. scene 4 (Prince Henry's speech over Hotspur's body)—

"Ill-weaved ambition, how much art thou shrunk!
When that this body did contain a spirit,
A kingdom for it was too small a bound:
But now two paces of the vilest earth
Is room enough."

In Shakespeare's *King Henry VI*, Part III. (act v. scene 2), Warwick, "the King-maker," says:

"My parks, my walks, my manors that I had,
Even now forsake me; and of all my lands
Is nothing left me but my body's length!
Why, what is pomp, rule, reign, but earth and dust?
And, live we how we can, yet die we must."

In Shakespeare's *King Richard II* (act iii. scene 2) King Richard says:

"And nothing can we call our own but death,
And that small model of the barren earth,
Which serves as paste and cover to our bones."

Analogous passages are cited by Lewis Evans from the writings of Aeschylus (*Sept. contra Theb.*, 731), Sophocles (*Oedipus Colon.*, 789), Bishop J. Hall (*Satires*, No. 3, second series), John Webster (*The Duchess of Malfy*), John Dryden (*Antony*), and lastly James Shirley (*The Wedding*)—

"How little room
Do we take up in death, that living know
No bounds!"

It has been suggested that the great popularity in Europe (perhaps especially in Germany) of "Dance of Death" designs, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be partly accounted for by the discontent of the lower classes under the feudal system of the period (cf. the history of the Anabaptist "levellers" of Germany

1521–1525). Such pictures, like the *gisants* just referred to, reminded the peasants that at death rank and social distinctions would disappear, peasant and nobleman, poor and rich, would fare alike. The fact that death is the common lot of all mankind ("For dust[130] thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return," Genesis iii. 19) could be distorted into a socialistic argument comparable with that suggested by the fourteenth-century rhyme—

"When Adam dalf and Eve span,
Who was thanne a gentilman?"

on which John Ball preached at Blackheath (1381) during Wat Tyler's rebellion. The consideration that death is a natural consequence of birth, and common to all living creatures, offers a kind of consolation to every one. This aspect of death is therefore, to some extent, also a consolatory one.

In Part I. a great deal has been said in regard to Death as the universal conqueror, and I have referred to various poems and pictures illustrating the "Triumph of Death" and kindred subjects. Mr. J. Allan has kindly drawn my attention to a specially interesting numismatic point in this connexion. On certain Indian gold coins (the "battle-axe type") the king, Samudragupta, who reigned 337–380 A.D., is represented holding the axe of the god of Death, to signify that he is as great a conqueror as Death is. The surrounding inscription means, "Wielding the axe of Kritanta (the 'End-maker,' or Death), he conquers even invincible kings."

[130] An inscription on an elaborate sixteenth-century clock in the British Museum is, "Omnis caro foenum," from the Latin Vulgate version of Isaiah xl. 6: "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field." This passage from Isaiah is quoted likewise on two sixteenth-century prints representing Vanity (Math. Greuter, Lyon, 1596), to which I shall refer in Part III.

IX. Scientific Attitudes towards Death. The Investigation of its Causes, &c. Life-saving Scientific Discoveries.

"Nec silet mors" was the motto of the Pathological Society of London on its foundation in 1846—a motto which might fitly be applied to much recent scientific work carried out in connexion with Egyptian mummies, &c. Death, however much grief it causes, will often, if properly questioned, teach us something about the cause, course, and prevention of a disease, which may be helpful for the preservation of human life and health. The Cheselden and Bristowe prize-medals of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, bear to some extent on this aspect of death, especially the former and more beautiful of the two, on which is the inscription, "Mors vivis salus."[131] A medal of J. B. Morgagni (by T. Mercandetti of Rome) has the inscription, "Saluti scientia," referring to his necropsy work.

The equally beautiful Fothergillian medal of the Royal Humane Society (London) may likewise be mentioned in this connexion, since a specimen struck in gold, now in the British Museum, was awarded in 1845 to Sir John Erichsen for his "Experimental Enquiry into the Pathology and Treatment of Asphyxia."

Here also properly belong all medals commemorating life-saving scientific discoveries. In Part III (Addendum) I describe those relating to Benjamin Franklin's discovery of lightning-conductors, with the famous hexameter epigram: "Eripuit coelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis." The indirectly life-saving discovery of how to produce anaesthesia (the "death of pain," as S. Weir Mitchell called it) for surgical operations, is, I believe, commemorated by minor works of art as well as by some pictures.

Many paintings, drawings, and prints relating to

[131] This motto rather suggests the idea of the overthrow and death of a cruel tyrant, or the execution of a dangerous criminal, and, of course, by the study of the causes of some fatal disease, the cruel monster in question has sometimes been overcome. (Cf. p. 130.)

anatomical dissections and demonstrations, and dead bodies for anatomical or pathological examination, including Rembrandt's famous "Anatomical Lecture," old and modern portraits of Vesalius and others dissecting, or about to dissect or demonstrate, fall under this heading. A great number of famous dissection pictures (chiefly Dutch "anatomies" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) are beautifully illustrated in the second edition of E. Holländer's *Die Medizin in der klassischen Malerei* (Stuttgart, 1913, pp. 15–87). They help to illustrate the life-work of anatomists, physiologists, pathologists, and anthropologists. An interesting contemporary painting in the Hunterian Library at Glasgow pictures John Banister (1533–1610) delivering the "Visceral Lecture" at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall in London, 1581 (see D'Arcy Power, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, Section of the History of Medicine*, 1913, vi. p. 19). There exist likewise various satirical or comical representations (including "initial letter" subjects, &c.) relating to anatomical demonstrations, dissections, and *post-mortem* examinations.[132]

In this group I would likewise place the medals (bearing the device of human skulls) of F. J. Gall (1758–1828), the founder of the so-called "phrenological doctrine," of J. F. Blumenbach (1752–1840), the anatomist and anthropologist, and of the naturalist, Prof. Karl Vogt of Geneva (1817–1895); and certain medals (with skulls or skeletons on them) relating to medical and allied sciences, for instance, the medals of the Company of Surgeons and the present Royal College of Surgeons of England representing the story of Galen and the skeleton of the robber.

No medals have as yet been designed referring to death from the standpoint of the doctrine of the immortality of germ-plasm (August Weismann, &c.).

[132] Representations on old illuminated manuscripts of the removal of the heart or intestines from dead bodies previously to burial, may be mistaken for early pictures of *post-mortem* examinations.

X. Medical, Sanitary, and Social Attitudes towards Death. The Prevention of Unnecessary Death.

Various commemorative medals of medical men and their life-work, and medals relating to sanitation and public health, illustrate to some extent such attitudes towards death. Certain coins of Selinus in Sicily (of the period *circa* 466–415 B.C.) may likewise be referred to in the same connexion, since their types commemorate the freeing of Selinus from a pestilence of some kind (malaria?) by the drainage of the neighbouring marshlands. They therefore illustrate a grand and public-spirited "hygienic" attitude towards preventible death from endemic infectious disease in the fifth century B.C. The spreading devastating epidemics of the dark ages of hygienic knowledge are abundantly illustrated in art, epigram, and poetry. An engraving by the "Meister H. W.," dated 1842, of Death striding through the country, is apparently emblematic of such a visitation. This and a drawing of similar significance by Dürer, dated 1505, have been alluded to in Part I., but many other illustrations of the same kind might be adduced. For medals and medal-like tokens bearing on this subject the little work entitled, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland (Tübingen, 1882), should be consulted. Very interesting are the medals, &c., on which fatal epidemics of plague and other infectious diseases are referred to as punishments or retributive

calamities, visitations or manifestations of the Divine wrath on account of the wickedness of the people. I shall describe typical examples of such memorials in Part III.

Acute epidemic diseases, such as plague, "cholera morbus," "typhoid" fever ("typhus abdominalis" of German physicians), "typhus" fever ("typhus exanthematicus" of German physicians), have been often represented emblematically as demons in works of art. Some modern weird and fanciful designs representing the deadly power of infectious diseases have already been mentioned in Part I., and many others of various periods exist, especially in regard to cholera epidemics. In this connexion an amusing article is that by Dr. J. H. Alexander, in the *Medical Press* (London, 1913, vol. 147, p. 229), headed, "Are Micro-organisms the Demons of the Ancients?" He points out how strongly the facts now proved to be true about pathogenic and other micro-organisms resemble what was believed by the ancients to be true regarding demons, and what is still believed to be true regarding them by the superstitious of modern times in various parts of the world. Amongst their remarkable characteristics in common might be instanced: their universal presence, especially about decaying bodies and dark damp sunless places; their power of entry into living bodies; the minuteness of the space taken up by them; and their invisibility to ordinary eyes.

The ravages of more chronic infections and other diseases, such as tuberculosis, syphilis, and cancer, have been similarly fancifully represented, and in this connexion it may be recalled that from Babylonian and Assyrian times (cf. Prof. Morris Jastrow, jun., Lecture at the Royal Society of

Medicine, London, Oct. 10, 1913), all kinds of diseases, but especially acute diseases, were regarded as caused by demons.

Some violent painful non-infectious diseases, such as an acute attack of gout, have, like infectious diseases, been symbolized as a demon attacking part of the body—witness James Gillray's famous coloured print of the "demon of gout" attacking the ball of the big toe, one of the most popular of this caricaturist's works, published in 1799 by Mrs. H. Humphrey, at 27, St. James's Street, London. Amongst satirical representations of deaths from non-epidemic diseases, that by Ch. Aubry, 1822, entitled, "L'Apoplexie foudroyante" (a bloated-looking, thickly-set man, stretched out on a couch in the dining-room), may specially be noted (see Holländer, *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medizin*, 1905, Plate iii.). This may be compared to Grandville's design (see Part I.) of the apoplectic-looking baron after his good dinner, telling his servant to say that he is "not at home" to a visitor (Death), who is, however, entering the room without waiting for permission. (This design seems to have inspired one of Death being asked to "come in," by Willibald Krain, in *Jugend*.) Alfred Rethel has pictured Death, as a cook, in the kitchen of a rich gourmand's house. Hogarth's "Gin Lane," and "La Vice Suprême" by Félicien Rops, have already been mentioned (Part I.).

There are some medals mentioned in Part III., relating to the sanitary disposal of the dead, *e.g.* to the cremation of corpses and to the prohibition of burials within cities and towns or inside churches and other closed buildings.

A not uncommon device which relates to medical work is that of a skeleton-like figure (representing death or disease) being withheld or driven back as the result of hygienic work or medical skill and devotion; for instance, the obverse design on the military-like medals awarded to all those who helped in sanitary work, &c., during the epidemic of bubonic plague in Hong-Kong, 1894. Similarly, Aesculapius is represented warding off

a figure of death on a medal commemorating the epidemic of cholera in Paris, 1832. The device on certain medals of the Royal Humane Society (London) is much more pleasing. A child is pictured endeavouring to rekindle a torch with its breath, and the accompanying inscription is, "Lateat scintillula forsan." Many of the great advances in medical knowledge and surgery in opposing disease and unnecessary death are commemorated or alluded to on medals (there is, for instance, a medal recording the recent triumph of Paul Ehrlich and S. Hata), and minor works of art; but, to take one instance alone, the account of the medals relating to Edward Jenner and the discovery of vaccination would use up more space than I have to spare. Such discoveries, and especially the modern scientific and practical work of Pasteur, Lister, Koch, Ehrlich, E. von Behring, Ronald Ross, Patrick Manson, W. C. Gorgas, &c., have helped Medicine to climb the lowest rungs of the endless ladder of progress, and have encouraged the application of cheering lines from Arthur Hugh Clough's well-known poem, "Say not the Struggle Nought Availeth," to the steadfast hope and striving advance of the still very youthful sciences of Hygiene and Therapeutics.

To my mind the life-saving progress of the medical sciences should be symbolized by the *infant* Hercules in his successful struggles, rather than by the frequently repeated device of the *adult* Hercules attacking the Lernean Hydra. In this connexion one naturally thinks of Sir Luke Fildes's beautiful and very popular picture of "The Doctor" (1892). For the description of medals of medical interest, I would refer especially to the writings of Dr. H. R. Storer, in the *American Journal of Numismatics* and elsewhere.

Medals relating to the saving of life at great personal risk and to death for the sake of medical duty or medical investigation [133] are best grouped under Heading XI. But for the ordinary medical man "Aliis inserviendo vivo" is surely as good a motto as "Aliis inserviendo morior" or "consumor" (the motto of Tulpius, whose features Rembrandt's art has made familiar [134]).

Here, perhaps, may likewise be mentioned the gemstones (often engraved with special devices), the finger-rings, the coins, the coin-like tokens, the medalets and medals, and the talismans and amulets of all kinds, which, at various times and various parts of the world, have been worn and even nowadays still are carried about the person or somehow employed as supposed means of prevention—as "charms" to ward off disease, the effects of poisons, accidents, the "evil eye," and death. A description of all the objects which have been used for supposed protection against the "evil eye" would alone take up too much space; and amulets of this class are still employed by ignorant peasants of Italy and the South of Europe—*vide* S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*, two volumes, Berlin, 1910. On this whole subject see also *The Evil Eye*, by F. T. Elworthy, London, 1895, and *Horns of Honour, and Other Studies*, by the same author, London, 1900. In the last-mentioned work special information is given in regard to antique "symbolic hands" and the

[133] Very interesting in this connexion, though of doubtful significance, are the medals on the death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer of Karlsbad (1526), described in Part III.

[134] N. P. Tulpius (1593–1678), physician and Bürgermeister in Amsterdam, whose portrait is so well known nowadays owing to Rembrandt's famous picture (1632), called "The Anatomical Lecture" (Hague Picture Gallery), had as a motto, "Aliis inserviendo consumor;" it is inscribed on his portrait by N. Elias, in the Six Gallery, Amsterdam. This motto occurs also on coins of Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1568–1589).

curious terra-cotta "magic" or "sacred" discs met with in many museums of Greek and Roman antiquities. The "symbolic hands" are amongst the most interesting "magic" objects which were supposed to serve as a protection against the "evil eye;" they are always covered over with the attributes of deities and other symbols. Amongst the Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum arranged to illustrate the daily life of the ancients, there are fine specimens in bronze of such "symbolic hands." Phallic and other "charms" worn by women desirous of becoming mothers constitute of themselves a large minor class, and their use has not yet been altogether given up. The New Zealand Maori charms, called "Tikis," of bone or finely polished green jade, with inset circles of mother-of-pearl for the eyes, are some of the most curious of amulets from the collector's point of view. Occasionally a special virtue has been popularly attributed to certain coins, and they, like "cramp-rings" (finger-rings sometimes made out of old coffin-nails, &c.), have been worn as charms against cramp, epilepsy, and convulsions. We need scarcely here allude to the gold "angels" and their connexion with the royal ceremony of "touching for the king's evil" in England, or to the so-called "touch-pieces" which afterwards replaced them.[135] In England in the seventeenth

[135] For medals, coins, and coin-like tokens used as amulets, or talismans, or charms against the plague, cholera, and other deadly epidemic diseases, accidents in travelling, &c., see the section, "Auf Pest und pestartige Krankheiten und deren Abwehr geprägte Medaillen, Jetons, &c.," in *Pestilentia in Nummis*, by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 73–126; also the section on cholera, *ibid.*, pp. 153–169. Amongst the best-known pieces of the kind are the various so-called "Wittenberger Pestthaler" of the sixteenth century, with Moses' brazen serpent on the obverse and the Crucifixion on the reverse; some of these Pestthaler were perhaps really made at Joachimsthal, the flourishing mining-town of Bohemia. The series of St. Benedict amulets, or "Benedicts-Pfennige," described in Part

century there was a special *office* (ecclesiastical) also for the consecration of "cramp-rings." A Greek bronze coin of Laodicea in Phrygia (136–138 A.D.),[136] which I presented to the British Museum, had in ancient times been pierced and furnished with a bronze ring for suspension, probably to be worn as a "charm" against sickness or death, on account of the figures of Asklepios and Hygieia represented on the reverse.

Strictly speaking, an *amulet* was supposed to protect the possessor, whilst a *talisman* gave him some magical power (like the lamp and ring of Aladdin in the *Arabian Nights*), but the two terms have become practically synonymous.

In regard to antique and Mediaeval talismans and amulets of all kinds, against the "evil eye," diseases, &c., see also C. W. King's volume entitled, *Early Christian Numismatics and other Antiquarian Tracts*, London, 1873, pp. 173–247. On p. 202 King narrates a remarkable story regarding one kind of "medical" amulets: "Ismayl Pasha, son of Mohammed Ali, on his return from his expedition to Meroë, took up his quarters with a small guard in a hut at Chendy, Sennaar, imagining the country quite reduced to subjection. But Nimir, the former king, came by night, placed combustibles round the hut, and consumed it, with all those inside. The guard was cut to pieces by these Nubians, with the exception of the pasha's physician, a Greek, who was carried off for the more evil death. His captors drew out all his teeth, which they divided amongst themselves to sew up in their *grigri* bags, it being their firm belief that whosoever carries about him the tooth of a physician (drawn whilst *living*) secures himself thereby from all diseases for all time to come." The kind of African amulet termed a *grigri*, *greegree*, or *griggory*,

III., are likewise very interesting. The earliest pieces are doubtless of the seventeenth century, but the type has been more or less preserved to modern times on medalets sold to credulous pilgrims at various popular shrines of Southern Germany and Switzerland. See also Karl Domanig, *Die Deutsche Medaille*, Vienna, 1907, Plates 92 and 93, for figures of "Georgsthaler" and pest-medals and amulets of various kinds.

[136] Described by Mionnet, *Description de Médailles Antiques Grecques*, Paris, 1807–1837, vol. iv. No. 743.

is generally a little leather bag enclosing passages of the Koran or other charm-like objects. One grigri is supposed to protect the wearer from shot, another from poison, another from venomous beasts, another from evil spirits and witches, and so on.

On p. 316 of the same work King adds the following interesting note regarding another kind of "medical" amulet: "Mightily esteemed during the Middle Ages as a prophylactic against all disease was the *Sign of Health*—the 'masonic pentacle,' or *Solomon's Seal*, having in each of its exterior angles one of the letters of the word SALVS, thus arranged for the sake of mystery: V.A.L.S.S. It became the badge of the medical profession, and was regularly carried by physicians engraved on their rings. A grand example of the fashion I observed in that treasure-house of similar rarities, the *dactyliotheca* of Mr. Octavius Morgan, a gold ring of extraordinary weight, bearing the life-giving symbol elegantly engraved in a circle formed by the coiled serpent of the god of health. Marguerite de Valois adopted this for her device, perhaps induced by the analogy of the word to her own family name."

On Mithraic and the various classes of Gnostic amulets and talismans, see Franz Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Bruxelles, 1899), and his *Die Mysterien des Mithra* (German edition by G. Gehrich, Leipzig, 1911); and C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London 1887. Especially interesting is King's account (*op. cit.*, p. 195) of the explanation of the mode of action of the "evil eye" or the "envious eye," as given in the *Aethiopica* (iii. 8) of Heliodorus, in a passage which is likewise interesting with regard to theories current at the time (fourth century A.D.) on the communicability of infectious diseases: "The air which surrounds us passing through the eyes, as it were through a strainer, and also through the mouth, the teeth, and the other passages, into the inward parts, whilst its external properties make their way in together with it—whatever be its quality as it flows in, of the same nature is the effect it disseminates in the recipient, so that when any one looks upon beauty with envy, he fills the circumambient air with a malignant property, and diffuses

upon his neighbour the breath issuing from himself, all impregnated with bitterness, and *this*, being as it is of a most subtile nature, penetrates through into the very bone and marrow. . . . Consider also, my Charicles, how many people have been infected with ophthalmia, how many with other pestilential diseases, not from any contact with those so affected, or from sharing the same bed or same table, but merely from breathing the same air. . . . And if some give the stroke of the Evil Eye even to those they love and are well disposed towards, you must not be surprised, for people of an envious disposition act not as they wish, but as their Nature compels them to do." Even amongst non-superstitious moderns the "evil eye" (in the form of a disagreeable "stare") has sometimes been potent enough to produce death (by a duel!). The old saying, "A cat may look at a king," should not be acted on when persons pathologically sensitive to being looked at ("ophthalmophobia") are concerned.

The medical profession has always been and will always be peculiarly exposed to satire, because it struggles against disease and death, and because death, by the inexorable laws of nature, must in every case, sooner or later, win the battle. The old proverb, "Physician, heal thyself" (St. Luke iv. 23), is indeed unanswerable, for in the end Death always comes for the physician himself, as he is represented doing in the various famous "Dance of Death" series. In reality, however St. Luke's Ἰατρὲ θεράπευσον σεαυτόν only meant, "Physician, *treat* yourself," like the Vulgate version, "Medice, cura, teipsum" (Similarly, the saying, "Medicus curat, natura sanat," means, "The physician treats—*cares for*—nature heals —*cures*." A favourite phrase in the writings of the surgeon, Ambroise Paré, was: "I treated him, God cured him")

As Shakespeare (*Cymbeline*, act v. scene 5) says, "By medicine life may be prolonged, yet death will seize the doctor too." Hans Sachs, the "Meistersänger" of Nürnberg, in his poem, *Der Tod ein End aller irdischen Ding*, describes the position of medicine towards death at somewhat greater length. He makes the Healing Art say—

"Ich bin nur ein Hilf der Natur,
Die Krankheit zu arzneien nur.
Wo Glück mitwirkt, da hab ich Kraft;
Sunst hilft kein Fleiss noch Meisterschaft."

We need not here allude to all the proverbs, epigrams, epitaphs, witty tales, and cheap jokes of the "chestnut" kind —ancient and modern—that exist in dispraise of the doctor. They mostly hint at the cure (*i.e.* "cura" = treatment), or the doctor, being as bad as, or worse than, the disease ("Pessimus morbus est medicus"—so also, "Young doctors kill their patients, and old doctors allow them to die"), and suggest that the doctor sometimes, from ignorance or carelessness, does more harm than good, and thus unwittingly plays into the hands of Death. We have the modern epitaph on the quack doctor whom Charon did not wish to ferry across the Styx, because in the upper world he was so useful in sending down passengers for Hades (*Nugae Canorae*, by the London surgeon, William Wadd, 1827, epitaph 55)—

> "This quack to Charon would his penny pay:
> The grateful ferryman was heard to say—
> 'Return, my friend! and live for ages more,
> Or I must haul my useless boat ashore.'" [137]

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[137] This uncomplimentary epitaph was doubtless suggested by the very complimentary lines on a physician, by Lucilius, or by similar lines on various physicians, in the *Greek Anthology*. An English translation from Lucilius is given in H. P. Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 50:

> "When Magnus passed below, Dis, trembling, said,
> 'He comes, and will to life restore my dead.'"

This Magnus was probably a physican at the Roman Imperial Court. J. D. Rolleston (*Proc. Royal Society of Medicine, Section of the History of Medicine*, 1914, vii. p. 8) quotes three epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*, illustrating this idea of the physician depopulating Hades. The first (*Anth. Graec. Plan.*, 270) is an epigram by Magnus (? the above-mentioned physician) on a statue of Galen: "There was a time when, thanks to thee, Galen, the earth received men mortal and reared them up immortal, and the halls of Acheron were empty owing to the power of thy healing hand." The second is an epigram by an anonymous writer (*Anth. Graec. Append.*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, 119) at the end of an hexameter poem on Asklepiades: "The physican Asklepiades has gone to the home of the blessed, and has left desolation and solitude among the dead." The third epigram is by Crinagoras on the statue of Praxagoras (*Anth. Graec. Plan.*, 273): "The son of Phoebus implanted in your breast, Praxagoras, the knowledge of the healing art. All the ills which arise from long fevers and the balms to place on the wounded skin, thou hast learnt from his gentle wife, Epione. If mortals had a few physicians like thee, the barque of Charon would not have to cross the Styx."

A similar German epigram by G. E. Lessing refers to Laïs and other beautiful courtezans, and to physicians, as being all of them too useful to Death to be allowed to die young.

Martial's satirical epigrams (for excellent English versions of most of Martial's epigrams relating to medicine, see Raymond Crawfurd, *Lancet*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 1643) on Diaulus (book i. 31 and 48), on an oculist who became a gladiator (book viii. 74), and on Hermocrates (book vi. 53) are typical examples of the kind—

" Chirurgus fuerat, nunc est vespillo Diaulus :
Coepit quo poterat clinicus esse modo."

" Nuper erat medicus, nunc est vespillo Diaulus :
Quod vespillo facit, fecerat et medicus."

' Hoplomachus nunc es, fueras ophthalmicus ante.
Fecisti medicus quod facis hoplomachus."

" Lotus nobiscum est, hilaris cenavit, et idem
Inventus mane est mortuus Andragoras.
Tam subitae mortis causam, Faustine, requiris ?
In somnis medicum viderat Hermocratem."

This last one (cf. the similar epigram by Lucilius, *Anth. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, xi. 257) is outdone by the Greek lines which have been attributed to Nicarchus (*Anth. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, xi. 118) on a (doubtless imaginary) doctor named Phido (" drawing-room equivalent " given in Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 52)—

" Phido nor hand nor touch to me applied ;
Fever'd, I thought but of his name—and died."

Amongst the many epigrams in dispraise of physicians or quacks cited from the *Greek Anthology* by Dr. J. D. Rolleston (*Proc. Roy. Soc. Med., Section of the History of Medicine*, 1914, vii. pp. 3–13), are several which bear on the present subject. An anonymous epigram (*Anth. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, xi. 125) describes a compact between a doctor and a grave-digger, whereby the grave-digger supplies the bandages stolen from the corpses, in return for which the doctor sends all his patients to the grave. An epigram of Nicarchus says (*ibid.*, xi. 115) : " If you have an enemy, Dionysius, don't call down on him the wrath of Isis, nor of Harpocrates, nor of any god

that makes men blind, but invoke Simon, and you will learn what a god can do and what Simon." Two epigrams (Rolleston writes) allude to artistic tastes combined with the swift dispatch of patients. One is by Nicarchus (*ibid.*, xi. 113): "The physician Marcus touched the statue of Zeus yesterday, and though it is stone and Zeus, it has gone to-day (like his patients)." The other is by Ammianus (*ibid.*, xi. 188): "Nicetas when he sings is an Apollo of song, and when he practises medicine he is a slayer [there is a pun in regard to the Greek word *ἀπολλύων* meaning *slaying*] of his patients." Palladas (*ibid.*, xi. 280) describes the surgeon Gennadius as one who, after exacting his fee, conducts his patients to Hades. Rolleston states further that the readiness and impunity with which physicians and surgeons have been said to kill their patients (a favourite theme for the satirist throughout all ages) are exemplified in many of the Greek epigrams. The mere touch (*Anth. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, xi. 114), sight (*ibid.*, 123), thought (*ibid.*, 118), or dream (*ibid.*, 257) of the doctor was said, in satirical epigrams, to have proved fatal. Lucilius, for instance (*ibid.*, 257), wrote: "Diophantus saw the doctor Hermogenes in a dream, and never woke again, although he wore an amulet" (? an amulet against the "evil eye"). "An anonymous poet stigmatizes Damagoras as outweighing plague in the balance (*ibid.*, 334); and Nicarchus compares another doctor, Zopyrus, to Hermes (Psychopompos), the guide to the infernal regions (*ibid.*, 124); but perhaps the wittiest epigram on the wholesale destruction of the sick is one which has been variously attributed to Lucian, Lucilius, and Agathias (*ibid.*, 401). A doctor sends his son to a tutor, but when the boy had learnt the first three lines of the *Iliad* [which tell of the Trojan war sending many souls to Hades], his father said this lesson could be learnt at home, as he himself sent many souls to Hades, and for that had no need of a tutor."

Joseph Zabara, the Jewish author of the *Book of Delights* (finished about the year 1200), indulges in many gibes against the medical profession, though he himself was apparently a doctor. Thus, the following saying occurs in one edition: "A doctor and the Angel of Death both kill, but the former

charges a fee." Another little story is typical of its kind: "A philosopher was sick unto death, and his doctor gave him up; yet the patient recovered. The convalescent was walking in the street, when the doctor met him. 'You come,' said he, 'from the other world.' 'Yes,' rejoined the patient, 'I come from there, and I saw there the awful retribution that falls on doctors; for they kill their patients. Yet, do not feel alarmed. You will not suffer. I told them on my oath that you are no doctor.'" [138]

To enumerate all the ancient and modern satirical sayings [139]

[138] See Israel Abrahams, *The Book of Delights and Other Papers*. The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 12.

[139] See especially the extensive collection entitled, *Le Mal qu'on a dit des Médicins*, by Dr. G. J. Witkowski, of Paris; on the second series of this work is the appropriate device of a physician riding, with Death mounted on the same horse behind him. Several typical German epigrams of the kind are given by E. Holländer, *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medizin*, Stuttgart, 1905, pp. 175–177. A clever English one is that by "A. C." (*Spectator*, 1897), for which I am indebted to Sir William Osler:

> "Wise Arruns, asked 'How long will Caius live?'
> Replied, 'Three days the fatal sisters give':
> And Arruns knew the prophet's art. But lo!
> Stronger than gods above or gods below,
> Euschemon comes: his healing art he tries,
> And in a single day poor Caius dies."

About the end of the eighteenth century in England a medical epigram could apparently hardly become popular unless it referred in one way or another to death. Witness the following very popular ones on the physicians of King George III, namely, William Heberden the younger, Matthew Baillie, and Francis Willis, men at the head of their profession in England, and on the Quaker physician and philanthropist, John Coakley Lettsom, the founder of the Medical Society of London:—

> "The King receives three doctors daily—
> Willis, Heberden, and Baillie:
> Three distinguished clever men—
> Baillie, Willis, Heberden;
> Doubtful which more sure to kill is—
> Baillie, Heberden, or Willis."

> "When patients sick to me apply,
> I physics, bleeds, and sweats 'em;
> Then—if they choose to die,
> What's that to me?—I lets 'em."

These humorous lines, with Lettsom's signature at the end, have been

of this kind and describe their artistic representatives, in the way of coloured prints, &c., would be too great a task. The satirical writings of Molière against the medical profession of the seventeenth century have their analogues in modern times in England as well as in other countries. Amongst the bitterest attacks in France may be mentioned Léon Daudet's

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(doubtless incorrectly) attributed by some to the physician himself. Several slightly different versions exist.

The version which I have given above is the one authorized by J. C. Jeaffreson, in his very popular *Book about Doctors*, but Mr. G. Bethell has kindly drawn my attention to three other versions quoted on equally good authority in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1904 (pp. 133, 134). In all of them the ending imitates Lettsom's signature to his prescriptions, namely, "I. Lettsom." The first is taken from *Old and New London* (vol. vi. p. 279)—

"When any patients call in haste,
I physics, bleeds, and sweats 'em.
If after that they choose to die,
Why, what cares I?
I lets 'em."

The second claims to be the version told by Lettsom himself to the father of Mr. H. S. Cuming—

"If any folk applies to I,
I blisters, bleeds, and sweats 'em.
If after that they please to die,
Well, then I lets 'em."

The third version was obtained from Mr. Gorton, of the "Golden Sun"—

"I, John Lettsom,
Blisters, bleeds, and sweats 'em.
If after that they please to die,
I, John, lets 'em."

In *Notes and Queries* for March 10th, 1906 (p. 191), sent to me also by Mr. Bethell, an epigrammatic reply by a friend of Lettsom is referred to—

"Such swarms of patients do to me apply,
Did I not practise, some would surely die.
'Tis true I purge some, bleed some, sweat some,
Admit I expedite a few, still many call.
I. Lettsom."

Mr. Bethell likewise refers me to *Notes and Queries* for March 17th, 1906 (p. 210), where a quotation is given from *The Wonderful Magazine*

Les Morticoles, in which much of the medical teaching in Paris during the last decade of the nineteenth century is held up to ridicule and even to abhorrence.

To some extent, a doctor having the care of an acute and serious case may be likened to a whist-player, who, however well he plays, may yet have such bad cards that it is impossible for him to win the game. Yet in other cases his cards may be so good that mistakes in playing do not cause him to lose the game. In yet other cases, however, the playing of one wrong card will give the game into Death's hands. The design of a very striking modern German drawing is, I believe, Death playing a game of chess with a doctor for a human life (unless I am really thinking of Moritz Retzsch's drawing of 1831—the devil playing a game of chess with a young man for his soul, an angel looking on). A modern satirical cartoon by "Cynicus" (Martin Anderson) represents "Death and the Doctor" playing cards over a coffin. The rather corpulent doctor, seated in a comfortable armchair, plays deliberately without the least appearance of excitement, whilst Death seems eager to finish the game. On the coffin are bags of gold, suggesting the financial importance of the result to the doctor. (Cartoon No. 22 of *Cartoons, Social and Political*, by Cynicus, published at 59, Drury Lane, London, 1893.)

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and Marvellous Chronicle for the year 1793 (vol. i. p. 346), ending as follows:—

"You say I'm dead, I say you lie,
I physicks, bleeds, and sweats 'em;
If after this my patients die,
Why, *verily*——
J. Lets—'em."

Of only one of these four physicians, namely, Francis Willis, does a portrait-medal exist. The medal in question, of which I had a good specimen in my collection, was struck on the recovery of King George III in 1789, and on the obverse bears a bust of Willis in low relief, with the medallist's signature, C. I. (and a little serpent) on the truncation (the medallist's name is, I believe, unknown). Good portraits exist, however, of the others. Of William Heberden the younger there is a painting by Richard Rothwell, and of Matthew Baillie there is one by John Hoppner, whilst Lettsom occupies a conspicuous place in Samuel Medley's picture of the early members of the Medical Society of London.

There exist, of course, a very large number of satirical designs (sketches, engravings, coloured prints, &c.) in dispraise of physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and naturally quacks and charlatans also. Several of those which are figured in Dr. Eugen Holländer's work, *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medizin* (Stuttgart, 1905), suggest that the drugs and medical treatment, and not the diseases, kill the patients. There is, for instance, a sketch (Holländer, *op. cit.*, p. 223) of the famous "Doctor Requiem, who cured all those that died;" there is the caricature of a charlatan (*ibid.*, p. 162), exhibiting triumphantly the hide of his "last radically cured patient;" there is Daumier's (modern) design of a doctor wondering why all his patients leave him, whilst "imagination" shows a queer procession of imps carrying coffins and the dead bodies of his patients, headed by Death (see *ibid.*, p. 173). Then there is W. Hogarth's "The Company of Undertakers" (1736), with the crowded caricature-portraits of doctors and quacks of the time, and the motto, "Et plurima mortis imago" (Virgil, *Aen.*, lib. ii. 369), between two pairs of crossed bones (see *ibid.*, p. 179). An older print (*ibid.*, p. 178), shows a doctor inspecting the urine of a dead patient, illustrating the saying, "Après la mort, le médecin." A lithograph by Adolf von Menzel, of about 1832 (*ibid.*, p. 290)—"The Difference between Allopathy Homoeopathy"—shows the allopath and the homoeopath both holding banners with the device of a skull and crossed bones; between them are Mephistopheles and Death, the latter grasping both the banners and saying, "Seid einig! einig! einig!" Another caricature (*ibid.*, p. 337), by Th. Heine, shows two very modern-looking ghosts floating over a cemetery. One of them apparently is saying, "That's all the difference: With homoeopathy one dies of the disease, with allopathy one dies of the treatment." A little German painting (in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 1913) shows a doctor studying in a room overlooking a crowded grave-yard. Death (a skeleton) is visiting the doctor as a friend and colleague, and (according to the paper which he holds) is saying, "Mein lieber Herr Collaborator, Sie sind gar zu fleissig" (referring doubtless to the over-full grave-yard towards which his left hand is turned. By D. N. Chodowiecki

(1726–1801), who likewise made a series of "Dance of Death" designs, there is a small engraving of Death appearing to a medical student, with the following inscription underneath :—

"De grâce épargne moi, je me fais médecin,
Tu recevras de moi la moitié des malades."

One of Thomas Rowlandson's "English Dance of Death" series (first volume, London, 1815) shows Death and the quack doctor "Nostrum," outside the shop of the undertaker, "Ned Screwtight ;" and the letterpress (by W. Combe) describes how grieved the undertaker was when his friend Nostrum died so suddenly at his door. His wife explained that it was another job for him, and nothing to be sorry about, but—

"'You foolish woman,' he replied,
'Old Nostrum, there, stretched on the ground,
Was the best friend I ever found. . . .
How shall we Undertakers thrive
With Doctors who keep folks alive? . . .
We've cause to grieve—say what you will ;
For, when Quacks die, they cease to kill.'"

Similar allusions to the undertaker are of course very frequent. Thus, in "The Apothecary's Prayer," by G. M. Woodward (engraved by Thomas Rowlandson in 1801, and published by R. Ackermann, at 101, Strand, London), the Apothecary prays to Aesculapius that people may be ill and require medicines, and mentions that his neighbour, Crape, the Undertaker, is suffering considerably by his (the Apothecary's) want of practice. I have seen two little English engravings, signed "W. E. G.," not dated, but apparently of the early part of the nineteenth century, which might be mentioned in this connexion. One of them depicts an apothecary on a horse which is running away and knocking people over. The inscription below is, "What could be expected of a horse with an apothecary on his back?" Below this are the words *Newcastle Apothecary*. The other shows a huge widely-open mouth, into which a funeral procession of (death-bringing) medicine-bottles is entering ; at the rear of this procession come little

figures of Death and the Doctor, apparently good friends, and chatting with each other. The title "A Medical Allegory,"

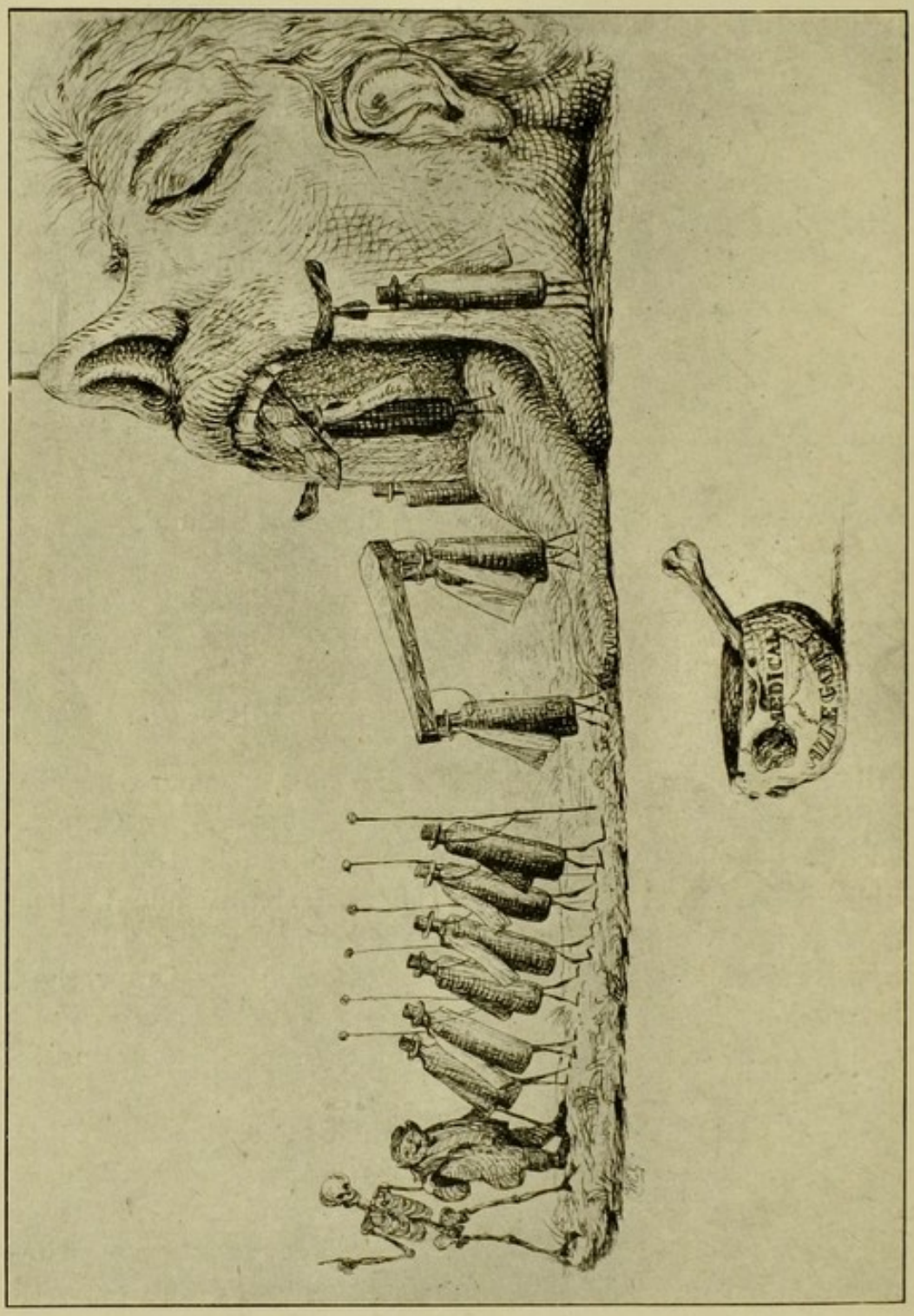

FIG. 30 *bis*.—"A Medical Allegory." (Welcome Historical Medical Museum.)

is inscribed below this print, on a mortar made out of a human skull with a long bone in it as a pestle. (See Fig. 30 *bis*.)

Amongst the caricatures of Medical Consultations (*e.g.* by L. Boilly, 1760) a remarkable one figured, after C. Motte, by Lucien Nass (*Curiosités Médico-Artistiques*, Paris, first series, p. 6), represents four consultants seated in the patient's room. One of them, with much gesticulation, is explaining his views of the case in an excited manner; his discourse has had a soporific effect, not on his patient, but on his colleagues, and even Death (represented as a skeleton holding a scythe), comfortably seated on the ground behind the chair of one of the physicians, appears to have fallen into a doze.

An eighteenth-century print of John Lightbody, constituting the frontispiece to *A Physical Vade Mecum* (London, 1741), by Theophilus Philanthropos (Robert Poole, 1708–1752), illustrates the curious admixture of theology in some medical writings of the time. The physician (apparently a portrait of Dr. Robert Poole, the author) and patient are seated facing each other; the doctor feels the patient's pulse and prescribes for him. In the foreground are a skeleton and a coffin, the latter bearing the inscription: "As now I am, so must you be. Therefore prepare to follow me." On the right in the distance, Death (as a skeleton) threatens the patient with his dart, telling him: "Prepare to die, for behold Death, and Judgment is at hand." The various figures are connected by bands of inscriptions with a triangle (on which is the word ΘΕΟΣ) amidst clouds and cherub-heads in the sky. One of these bands explains what God is saying to Death: "Hold, stay thy hand, and give space of repentance." Below this whole complicated design are the verses—

> "In the midst of Life Death doth us pursue,
> Let each therefore with Speed for Mercy sue."

In further illustration of the stories current in dispraise of physicians, I will refer to certain little bronze coins struck in the island of Cos, bearing the portrait of Xenophon, a Coan physician, and a descendant of the family of the Asclepiadae, who practised at the Imperial Court of Rome in the time of the Emperior Claudius. Of three of these pieces in my father's collection the inscription accompanying the portrait on two (possibly of the second century A.D.) is ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ;

on the third (apparently of the first century A.D.) it is ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ ΙΕΡΕΥC, showing that Xenophon was apparently a priest of Aesculapius, as well as a physician. This Xenophon, according to Tacitus (*Annal.*, xii. 61), obtained certain privileges for his native island from his patron, the Emperor Claudius. According to Tacitus also (*Annal.*, xii. 67), he had the ingratitude to allow himself to be induced by the Empress Agrippina to help her to murder his patron (54 A.D.) by means of a poisoned feather which he was stated to have introduced into his mouth under the pretence of making him vomit. (For other references on the subject, see the notes in Orelli's second edition of the works of Tacitus, Zürich, 1859, vol. i. p. 388; also Pauly and Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1899, vol. iii. column 2815.) The account of Tacitus runs as follows (Bohn's Oxford translation, London, 1854, vol. i. p. 311):—"In fact, all the particulars of this transaction were soon afterwards so thoroughly known, that the writers of those times are able to recount 'how the poison was poured into a dish of mushrooms, of which he was particularly fond; but whether it was that his senses were stupefied, or from the wine he had drunk, the effect of the poison was not immediately perceived;' at the same time, a relaxation of the bowels seemed to have been of service to him: Agrippina, therefore, became dismayed; but as her life was at stake, she thought little of the odium of her present proceedings, and called in the aid of Xenophon the physician, whom she had already implicated in her guilty purposes. It is believed that he, as if he purposed to assist Claudius in his efforts to vomit, put down his throat a feather besmeared with deadly poison; not unaware that in desperate villanies the attempt without the deed is perilous, while to ensure the reward they must be done effectually at once." From this account of Tacitus it is clear that Xenophon was called to his Imperial patient when the latter appeared to have eaten some poisonous food. He, as a physician, immediately did what would have been expected of him; namely, he endeavoured to induce vomiting (by tickling the patient's fauces with a feather). It is unlikely that any real evidence was forthcoming that he

assisted the murder by introducing poison on the feather, or that he was in any way an accomplice in the crime.

Strictly speaking, under this Heading one might refer to various memorials and sepulchral monuments bearing inscriptions of medical interest. The famous epitaph on Dame Mary Page, in Bunhill Fields Burial Ground (London), records that she died in 1728, at the age of 55 years, and that she was tapped (*paracentesis abdominis*) 66 times in 67 months, and "had taken away 240 gallons of water, without ever repining at her case, or ever fearing the operation." A similar epitaph on Mrs. Susanna Wood, in the graveyard of Bermondsey parish church, records that that lady died in 1810, in her 58th year, after a long illness, which she bore with the greatest fortitude; "she was tapped 97 times, and had 461 gallons of water taken from her, without ever lamenting her case, or fearing the operation." Under Heading XI., I have referred to a sepulchral marble at Senlis, commemorating the death, in 1673, after the Caesarian operation, of a woman who saved the life of her unborn child by voluntarily undergoing that operation; she herself died as the result, and thus by her death for the sake of her child, "she succeeded in uniting Love and Death." Much grim humour of a homely sort has been displayed in epitaphs relating to the causes of death, but the genuineness of many of them may be doubted. There is, for instance, that on the poor old body, who "had two sore legs and a baddish cough, But her legs it was that carried her off." Then there is one on the old woman who appeared "so cunning, While one leg kept still, the other kept running." The following are "chestnut" examples:—

> "This little hero lying here
> Was conquered by the diarrhoea."

> "Here lie I and my four daughters,
> Killed by drinking Cheltenham waters.
> Had we but stuck to Epsom salts,
> We wouldn't have been in these here vaults."

The next epitaph (on a baby) might well be applied to examples of excessive infantile mortality, of specific origin:—

"Since I am so quickly done for,
I wonder what I was begun for."

Death from gangrene of the foot commencing after the careless cutting of corns (which has not rarely occurred in senile diabetics and arteriosclerotics) is commemorated by a fanciful epitaph, beginning :—

"Here lie the bones of Richard Lawton,
Whose death was strangely brought on.
Trying one day his corns to mow off,
The razor slipped . . ."

J. D. Rolleston (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, Section of the History of Medicine*, London, 1914, vii. pp. 34 *et seq.*) refers to several strange causes of death mentioned in epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*. A grimly humorous example of such epigrams is the following (*Anthol. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, ix. No. 67): "A young man hung a garland on the column of his stepmother's tomb, thinking that in death her character had changed. But the column fell on the tomb and killed the young man. Children of a former marriage, beware your stepmother's grave!" The epigram by Diogenes Laertius (*ibid.*, vii. No. 112) on the peripatetic philosopher Lycon (third century B.C.) is thus given by Rolleston: "No, by Zeus, we will not forget Lycon, whom gout killed; but what I marvel at most is that he who could only walk with the feet of others, traversed in a single night the long road to Hades."

One or two epitaphs refer to the "resurrectionist" period in the history of medical and surgical anatomy (see *British Medical Journal*, 1908, vol. i. p. 1340, and *Lancet*, 1903, vol. i. p. 899) (cf. also my ADDENDUM, pp. 447, 448):—

"Though once beneath the ground this corse was laid,
For use of surgeons it was thence conveyed.
Vain was the scheme to hide the impious theft—
The body taken, shroud and coffin left.
Ye wretches, who pursue this barbarous trade,
Your carcases in turn may be conveyed
Like this to some unfeeling surgeon's room;
Nor can they justly meet a better doom."

"Her body dissected by fiendish men,
Her bones anatomized,
Her soul we trust has risen to God,
A place where few physicians rise."

XI. Death for the Good of Others,[140] or for the Sake of Ordinary Duty or Honour. Martyrdom for Religious, Patriotic, Political, or Social Opinions, or in the Interests of Scientific Discovery and Adventure.

As illustrating this aspect of death, all medals commemorating heroic deeds of life-saving, or attempted life-saving, might be included, as well as the various medals and decorations awarded to those who have risked their lives in defence of, or in helping, others.

In this connexion, however, it may be noted that in so far as the death of the individual man is necessary for the progress of the race, the natural death of every one may, in a kind of way, be regarded as a sacrifice or "involuntary martyrdon"—if the term be permitted—for posterity.

Intimately allied is the subject of death for the sake of ordinary duty, or for the sake of what is rightly or wrongly supposed to be honour. King Francis I of

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[140] This aspect of death, like No. XIV., may be termed an "altruistic" aspect of death. Strictly speaking, all coins and medals with representations or symbols of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ might be placed under this heading. (Cf. especially the so-called "Wittenberger Pestthaler" of the sixteenth century, with Moses' brazen serpent on the obverse and the Crucifixion on the reverse. Some of these "Pestthaler" were perhaps really made, as Pfeiffer and Ruland pointed out, at the flourishing mining-town of Joachimsthal in Bohemia. Cf. also the fine sixteenth-century medals by Hans Reinhard of Leipzig, representing the Crucifixion.) To a certain extent the aspect of death from the so-called "Epicurean" point of view (No. XII.) may be contrasted as egoïstic.

France, after the battle of Pavia (1525), is said to have written, "Tout est perdu, fors l'honneur" ("All is lost except honour"); [141] but in reality life, and with it hope, remained.[142] When honour is really all that is saved, there is often no voice to tell the tale, no hand to write it, and no artist to celebrate it on a medal.[143] A sixteenth-century medal of Faustina Sforza, wife of the Marquis of Caravaggio Muzio, has a reverse design and legend signifying: "It is preferable to die than to dishonour one's self by committing a disgraceful action." [144] Two Italian medals of about 1500 bear an inscription having a similar significance: "Prius mori qua(m) turpari." With these might be compared the reverse inscription on two other medals: "Potius mori quam animo immutari," if the change of mind referred to were intended to imply cowardice. A sixteenth-century finger-ring,

[141] The actual passage in his letter was: "De toutes choses ne m'est demouré que l'honneur et la vie qui est saulve" (J. A. Dulaure, *Histoire physique, civile et morale de Paris*, 4th edition, Paris, 1829, vol. iv. p. 85).

[142] With the motto, "Dum spiro, spero," and the hackneyed quotation, "Hope springs eternal in the human breast" (Pope, *Essay on Man*), may be compared the following proverbial saying from Theocritus: Ἐλπίδες ἐν ζώοισιν, ἀνέλπιστοι δὲ Θανόντες ("Living beings have hopes, but the dead are hopeless").

[143] In regard to medals and decorations for "honour," there are, of course, numerous satirical sayings. Harry Quilter quotes the following French (freely translated) epigram on the Cross of the Legion of Honour:—

> "In ancient times—'twas no great loss—
> They hung the thief upon the cross:
> But now, alas! I say 't with grief,
> They hang the cross upon the thief."

The Emperor Napoleon I is said to have remarked, "On n'ira pas chercher une épaulette sur un champ de bataille, lorsque' on peut l'avoir dans une antichambre."

[144] Cf. Tacitus, *Vita Agricolae*, xxxiii.: "Honesta mors turpi vitâ potior" ("An honourable death is better than a disgraceful life"). Cf. also Euripides: Τοῦ ζῆν δὲ λυπρῶς κρεῖσσόν ἐστι κατθανεῖν (*Troades*, 632); Οὐ κατθανεῖν δεινὸν, ἀλλ' αἰσχρῶς θανεῖν (uncert. fragment); Σὺ δ'ὥσπερ εἰκός κατθανεῖ κακὸς κακῶς (*Medea*, 1386).

referred to later on, has the inscription, "Rather death than fals fayth;" and a ring supposed to have belonged to a Knight Hospitaller of Winckbourne, is inscribed, "Mieu mori que change ma foi" ("Better to die than change my faith"). Compare the family mottoes: "Mutare fidem nescio;" "Mutare vel timere sperno." The saying, *Besser Land und Leute verlohren als einen falschen Eid geschworen*, was placed on certain German coins of Philip IX, Landgraf of Hesse (1552), and Henry II, Count of Mansfeld (1593) (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1240, 1783, 4303).

Under this heading should belong all medals (and similar memorials) on the death of those who have undergone martyrdom for their religious,[145] patriotic, political, or social opinions. We may instance the medals on the death of John Huss in 1415, of French Huguenots in 1572 and 1685, of Archbishop Affre at Paris in 1848, of John van Olden Barneveldt (political) in 1619, and of the brothers De Witt (political) in 1672. For convenience, however, medals commemorating political executions like that of Barneveldt, and political murders

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[145] In regard to devices which have been supposed to relate to martyrdom, a curious instance of Mediaeval misinterpretation of an antique gem-type may be mentioned. An antique engraved gem in the British Museum, which King describes as representing the Muse Thalia, seated, contemplating a comic mask, with a young faun balancing himself on a pedestal before her, was (King thinks) in Mediaeval times supposed to represent Herodias gloating over the severed head of St. John the Baptist, whilst her daughter Salome practised her steps. The Mediaeval silver setting of this antique gem bears the inscription, IE SVI SEL DE AMVR LEL ("I am the seal of loyal love"). See C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885, Pl. xxxv. No. 1; but is King correct as to the Mediaeval interpretation? For ancient representations of the martyrdom of Christians, see the illustrations in F. Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Paris, vol. i. part i. cols. 423–438.

like that of the De Witts, whether there be an element of martyrdom about them or not, have been included under Heading V.

Here belong also medals and similar memorials of the "martyrs" in the cause of the progress of science and the progress of civilization, notably those who have lost their lives in perilous exploration by land or by sea, including Arctic and Antarctic expeditions: David Livingstone (1873), Henry Hudson (1611), Sir John Franklin (1847), Captain R. F. Scott, and the brave companions who died with him in his successful Antarctic expedition (1912). These heroes perished in the struggle of civilization against the physical agencies of Nature, and so have others who have lost their lives in the adventurous pursuit of scientific (chemical, medical, &c.) knowledge. With them may be reckoned those who, in the cause of civilization, have met their deaths, not from natural physical agencies, but at human hands, in uncivilized parts of the world—such as Captain James Cook (1779) and General C. G. Gordon (1885), of whom there are a few numismatic and similar mementos.

On certain medals, rings, &c., commemorating the death of King Charles I of England, a martyr's celestial crown is represented as being conferred on him instead of his lost earthly one. Similarly, on the monument, in St. Andrews (Parish Church) in Scotland, commemorating the murder (1679) of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, by Covenanters on Magus Muir, the archbishop is represented as receiving a celestial crown in exchange for his earthly mitre.

Strictly speaking, all medals and similar memorials connected with patriotism may likewise be admitted here, including those commemorating individuals who

have risked or lost their lives in fighting for or defending the real or fancied interests of their country. It is remarkable how few numismatic memorials there are of the great patriotic heroes of Greek and Roman history and legend, though patriotism in ancient Greece and Rome was probably considered the highest of all virtues. The legendary patriotism and good faith of M. Atilius Regulus is not commemorated on any of the coins of the Roman Republic struck by members of the gens Atilia. So, also, we look in vain to (genuine) coins for representations of Marcus Curtius, Horatius Cocles, and other legendary heroes of Roman patriotism, though in Renaissance and later times the legendary exploits of Marcus Curtius, &c., were sometimes represented on medals and minor works of art as types of valour, patriotism, &c. A silver denarius struck by L. Manlius Torquatus (who was quaestor in 104 B.C.) bears on the obverse a torque (torques) surrounding the head of the goddess Roma. This is an allusion to the famous exploit of T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus, who, in the war against the Gauls (361 B.C.), killed a gigantic Gaul in single combat, and obtained the surname of Torquatus from wearing the torque taken from the dead body of his adversary. Here, however, we touch upon the large class of medals and other minor works of art commemorating deeds of valour of various kinds and at various ages in the world's history, including posthumous medals of real or legendary heroes, such as Renaissance medals of ancient Greek and Roman patriots, modern medals of Joan of Arc, &c. Such medals are, of course, too numerous to be included in my list.

In regard to coins of certain Greek towns bearing the portrait of the deified Antinous, it should be noted under

the present heading that, according to some conjectures, this beautiful youth, who was drowned in the Nile (122 A.D.) during one of Hadrian's journeys, voluntarily gave up his life for the sake of, from some (possibly Egyptian) superstitious point of view, as a kind of substitute for the Emperor Hadrian.[146]

Amongst medals commemorating deaths for patriotism and military duty in relatively modern times there are those of James Wolfe and the capture of Quebec (1759), Nelson and the battle of Trafalgar (1805), and Sir John Moore at Corunna (1809), and a vast number of medals and jettons of the military and naval heroes of all countries. The motto, "Dulce est pro patriâ mori" (cf. Horace, *Od.*, iii. 2. 14), occurs on a German mortuary Thaler of 1676 and on a Transylvanian medal of 1605. A medal on the death of Marshal Schomberg at the battle of the Boyne (1690) has on its edge the inscription, "Pro religione et libertate mori, vivere est." Here too belong some coins and medals commemorating the death of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden at the victorious Battle of Lützen (1632), bearing various inscriptions.

Bronze medallions, plaques, engraved gems, and finger-rings representing the early Roman legend of the suicide of Lucretia might perhaps (in spite of Beza's "common-sense" epigram, quoted later on in Part III.) be regarded as illustrating one side of this aspect of death. An antique paste is figured by F. de' Fìcoroni (*Gemmae Antiquae Litteratae, &c.*, Rome, 1757, second

[146] The relations of Hadrian to Antinous remain shrouded in mystery, and perhaps it is best so, though surely it has been too readily accepted that Antinous was merely Hadrian's "Ganymede." A curious idea it would have been to think of the deified Antinous as merely a kind of Ganymede in the other world to "Divus Hadrianus Augustus" deified to a kind of Jupiter.

part, Tab. iii. Fig. 4), as representing Sextus Tarquinius threatening Lucretia, but it seems to me that it might represent the slaying of Clytaemnestra by Orestes, in spite of what Ficoroni described as a figure of Psyche on the altar in the background. At any rate, representations of Lucretia were popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as emblems of chastity and honour. An Italian engraving (sixteenth century) of Lucretia, by Marcantonio Raimondi, bears the inscription, Ἄμεινον ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ αἰσχρῶς ζῆν ("Better to die than to live disgracefully"). The fine (Mantuan?) medal (described in Part III.) of Giulia Astallia (a "Lucretia" of the fifteenth century) has a phoenix on the reverse, with an inscription signifying: "a unique example of courage and chastity." An Italian niello finger-ring of the fifteenth century, figured in Thomas Wright's introduction to Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica* (London, 1856, p. 75), from the Londesborough Collection, bears a representation of Lucretia holding a dagger to her breast, doubtless emblematic of chastity and honour.[147] On an early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry (in the

[147] With the subject of this heading the following personal and family mottoes (selected from J. Dielitz, *Die Wahl- und Denksprüche*, new edition, Frankfurt a M., 1888) may be considered: "Aut mors aut vita decora;" "Mors aut vita decora;" "Mors potius maculâ" (compare footnote 144); "Mors patriae, mors mea;" "Melius mori quam inguinari;" "Mori potius quam foedari;" "Potius mori quam foedari;" "Prius mori quam foedari;" "Potius mori quam fidam fallere;" "Prius mori quam fidem fallere;" "Malo mori quam foedari;" "Malo mori quam maculari;" "Malo mori quam turpari;" "Malo pati quam foedari;" "Mourir plutôt que se souiller;" "Plutôt mourir que se salir"—"que changer"—"que mentir"—"que pâlir"—"que vivre sans vertu"—"que flêchir"—"que plier"—"que ployer." In some cases the motto may be connected with the heraldic use of the ermine (*i.e.* referring to the power of some of the Mustelidae to save their lives by ejecting a fluid of intolerable odour, which compels their pursuers to abandon the chase).

Victoria and Albert Museum, London), inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi*, the "Triumphal Death of Chastity" is represented. Chastity, seated on her triumphal chariot drawn by unicorns, surrounded by the Roman Lucretia, Scipio Africanus Minor and other attendants, and with Cupid, his arms bound behind him, standing as a prisoner in front of her, is being speared by Atropos, who, accompanied by the other two Fates (Lachesis and Clotho), mounted on the oxen-drawn car of Death, meets the triumphal procession. On the second portion of the same tapestry (to the right of the scene just described) the three Fates have conquered and are seated victorious in the triumphal car of Death with Chastity at their feet. A similar early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry is preserved at Hampton Court. On another tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum the three Fates are seen standing on a prostrate female figure, which, according to a French sixteenth-century design, is evidently meant to represent Chastity. (In reference to Scipio as the type of male continence in Renaissance art, cf. *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition Cat.*, London, 1912, p. 127.)

A monument of female virtue of another kind may here be referred to. It is a sepulchral marble relief by a sculptor named Malouvre, of Senlis, and is figured by Marcel Aubert (*Cathédrale de Senlis*, Senlis, 1910). It represents a young woman floating on a cloud, with a tender suffering expression and attitude of self-sacrifice. In front of her is a baby, offering her in the right hand a palm-branch, and holding in the left a scroll inscribed, "Meruisti." Below is an inscription, preceded by the words, "Mors et Amor tanto potuerunt funere jungi" ("Love and Death could be united by such a funeral"). The deceased woman, the wife of Pierre de Puget, voluntarily underwent the Caesarian operation for the sake of her child who was thus delivered and lived, whilst she herself died (1673).

XII. The "Epicurean" Attitude towards Death.

The debased Epicureanism of so-called followers of Epicurus in Roman times has been already alluded to and Roman gems exist engraved with *memento mori* devices, plainly advocating present enjoyment of the sensual pleasures of life. Various other Roman or Graeco-Roman antiquities exist, conveying similar so-called "Epicurean" hints: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die" (in the words of St. Paul, explaining a pagan aspect of life, First Epistle to the Corinthians xv. 32); or, as Philip Doddridge (in part of his epigram on the motto attached to his family arms, "Dum vivimus vivamus") has put it—

> "'Live while you live,' the epicure would say,
> 'And seize the pleasures of the present day.'"

A mortal's manifestations of love and friendship towards the fellow-mortals whom he holds most dear might sometimes with advantage be stimulated by the Epicurean *Carpe diem* maxim, and many a pang of vain regret might be thereby lessened—

> "But oh! the very reason why
> I clasp them is because they die."
> (William Johnson Cory, *Ionica.*)

Some persons' mental temperament is naturally of so happy a kind that they might, if fortunately placed

amidst suitable surroundings, truthfully say, with the sun-dial in the garden—

> "Serene I stand amid the flowers,
> And only count life's sunny hours."

On the other hand, some persons who spend their lives in the pursuit of pleasure, fortune, or fame, have a feeling of *Après nous le déluge*, and would perhaps like to be consoled for the approaching end or ruin of their own life by the knowledge that it would be accompanied by some great world-cataclysm (floods, fires, earthquakes, wars, &c.), or the end of all things : Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

XIII. Mindfulness of Death, and a Cloistered Life of Contemplation, as a Preparation for Death.

"Mihi oppidum carcer et solitudo paradisus." "Regnum mundi contempsi propter amorem domini nostri Iesou Christi."

A life of contemplation and quiet study in a cloister, withdrawn from worldly passions and ambitions, calmly awaiting and ever mindful of the coming of death, was a monkish ideal of former times. Some of the ideals of the early ascetic recluses in the desert are reflected in *Paphnutius*, a Latin drama by Roswitha, or Hrotsuit, nun of Gandersheim, in the tenth century; an English version was recently privately acted in London. The contrast between the life of the religious recluse and an ordinary worldly life is pictorially expressed in the well-known fresco of the fourteenth century (already alluded to) known as the "Triumph of Death" in the Campo Santo of Pisa. (Cf. pp. 42, 43, 80, 81.)

The *memento mori* design on the reverse of an Italian medal of the fifteenth century, by Giovanni Boldu, apparently suggested the design of a marble medallion which I have seen on the façade of the famous Church of the Carthusian Monastery (Certosa) near Pavia, though the legend, "Innocentia et memoria mortis," was substituted for that on the medal ("Io son fine"). An Italian medal of Fra Cesario Contughi, by Sperandio (fifteenth century), represents Fra Cesario, in the dress of the Servite order, seated in a contemplative attitude, with a death's head by his side. The inscriptions, "Mors omnibus aequa" and "Vita est meditatio," on a Danish memorial medal of George Hojer (1670), were obviously

meant to suggest that a contemplative life is the best means of preparing for, and being ready for, death, which no one can escape. The same may be said in regard to a medal of Nicolas Georg de Raigersperg, with his motto, "Cogita mori ante mortem." It is, perhaps, the aspect of death from the old religious point of view of the preparation for death (by prolonged meditation on death and the almost necessarily associated withdrawal of interest and energy from the affairs of life) which has more than any other cause tended to make all studies connected with the idea of death unpopular in modern times. Indeed, the constant meditation on death and the unceasing demand, *Vigilate et orate*, during life, may sometimes have helped to make death longed for as a happy release. It is not astonishing that such mottoes should sometimes have occurred as, "Melior mors vitâ" ("Death is better than life"), chosen by the Dutch prelate, J. van Neercassel, who died in 1686. (Cf. Heading XVII., on Pessimism in regard to Life.) It is also not surprising that in extreme instances—more or less as a result of the traditional Christianity handed down from Mediaeval times—a morbid brooding and pathological love of death and everything connected with death (*thanatophilia* of French authors—not the same as, though it may be combined with, *necrophilia*) should have arisen in mentally peculiar individuals and families. This was, perhaps, the case in the Spanish Hapsburg dynasty, which ended (1700) with the feeble King Charles II. (Cf. P. R. Mersey, *L'Amour de la Mort chez les Habsbourg*, Ollier-Henry, Paris, 1912.)

XIV. Mindfulness of Death as an Incentive to Right Living, Charity, helping Others, and making the Best Active Use of Life.

"Teach us to remember that we must die, so that we may become wise" (Psalm xc. 12, after Luther's translation); "In all thy matters remember thy last end, and thou shalt never do amiss" (Ecclesiasticus, Revised Version, vii. 36); "Remember thy last end, and cease from enmity" (*ibid.*, Revised Version, ch. xxxviii. 6); "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest" (Ecclesiastes ix. 10). "I must work the works of him that sent Me, while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work" (St. John ix. 4). The above-mentioned quotation from the 90th Psalm occurs on a Danish medal, dated 1634, which will be described later on. Life may well be regarded as a period during which man should make the best use he can of his strength, his light, and his free will (however little the last may be), before the darkness of death overtakes him. This attitude towards death should be contrasted with those attitudes that suggest a merely contemplative life and withdrawal from worldly cares and temptations (XIII.) or that suggest a life devoted to sensual pleasure (XII.). It tends to induce a life, not of selfish idleness or sensual

pleasure, but of activity and utility.[148] The past is unalterable, the future is uncertain, but the present is ours, for us to use it well.

As illustrating the particular aspect (of life) and death under consideration, we may refer to medals and medalets of physicians or medical societies, inscribed with the famous Hippocratic aphorism: Ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή"[149] (as on a medal commemorating the foundation of the Medical Association of Warsaw, 1809), or its Latin translation, "Ars longa, vita brevis" (as on a medal of J. H. Pozzi, 1697–1752, poet and physician of Bologna, and on another of Dr. C. G. B. Daubeny, 1795–1867, of Oxford).

A memorial medal of the reign of Christian III of Denmark bears an inscription similar to those seen on old sun-dials, "Bedenck das Endt und die Stunde" ("Remember the end and the hour,"[150] that is to say, do

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[148] W. E. H. Lecky (*History of European Morals*, 1905 edition, vol. i. p. 203) wrote: "A life of active duty is the best preparation for the end, and so large a part of the evil of death lies in its anticipation, that an attempt to deprive it of its terrors by constant meditation almost necessarily defeats its object, while at the same time it forms an unnaturally tense, feverish, and tragical character, annihilates the ambition and enthusiasm that are essential to human progress, and not unfrequently casts a chill and a deadness over the affections." Living a life of activity and utility, such as that referred to under XIV., would, doubtless, by some be regarded as "the best form of Epicureanism" ("Labor ipse voluptas"), were it not that the word "Epicureanism" in this connexion might be supposed to signify that the attainment of pleasure is the prime motive, rather than merely a frequent and agreeable consequence or accompaniment, of the active life ("Non dux, sed comes voluptas").

[149] "Art is long, and time is fleeting" (Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*); "Ach Gott! die Kunst ist lang, und kurz ist unser Leben" (Goethe's *Faust*). The Latin form occurs in Seneca's *De Brevitate Vitae*.

[150] Under the present heading (XIV.) the familiar "Respice finem" might be replaced by "Respice vitam." It is not so much "Think of the end," as "Think of the shortness of life, and make active use of the time you have," or, as Benjamin Franklin (*Pennsylvania Almanac*, 1758) said, "Dost thou love life? Then do not squander time, for that

not waste precious hours), recalling the words of Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471): "Memento semper finis, et quia perditum non redit tempus" (Book I. ch. 25. 11). A little gold enamelled coffin-shaped pendant in the British Museum bears the words, "Cogita mori ut vivas," *i.e.* "Think of dying, that you may live (properly in this world, and thus obtain everlasting life)." "Live to die" is one of many similar inscriptions to be found on old memorial finger-rings. The thought of death as an inducement to help others is well illustrated by many medals to the "pious memory" of founders of, and donors to, colleges, hospitals, and other philanthropic and charitable institutions.

This attitude towards death is to some extent illustrated by epitaphs of the following type: —

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is the stuff life is made of." "There will be sleeping enough in the grave" (Benjamin Franklin, *ibid.*). "Shall I not have all eternity to rest in?" exclaimed Thomas Carlyle. In his *Past and Present* (1843) he regarded all true work as religion: "Admirable was that saying of the old monks, 'Laborare est orare.'" The motto, "Ora et labora," occurs on some German coins of the seventeenth century, namely, on some so-called "Kippermünzen," coins of very bad quality, struck about 1620 (see *Münzen und Medaillen der Welfischen Lände—Das-mittlere Haus Braunschweig—Linie zu Wolfenbüttel*, by E. Fiala, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 215 *et seq.*). Resting easily leads to rusting, so Luther thought. "It is better to wear out than to rust out" (saying attributed to Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, 1631–1718). The Greek words signifying "For the night cometh" (after St. John ix. 4) were adopted as a motto by Dr. Samuel Johnson, on his watch, and by Sir Walter Scott, on a sun-dial at Abbotsford. "Ask me for anything but time!" was a pregnant phrase of the great Napoleon, according to Colonel G. F. R. Henderson's *Life of Stonewall Jackson*. Compare the following sayings and sun-dial inscriptions: "Life is fleeting as the shadow;" "You may waste, but cannot stop me;" "There is nothing more precious nor time;" "Days make years;" "Time and tide stay for no man" (on a sun-dial on old London Bridge); "Every hour shortens life;" "Time when past is irreparable;" "(Soles) pereunt et imputantur" (Martial, *Epig.*, lib. v. 20. 13); "Horae cedunt, et dies, et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus unquam revertitur" (Cicero, *De Senectute*, xix. 69).

"That I spent, that I had;
That I gave, that I have;
That I kept, that I lost." [151]

Amongst the various epitaphs containing passages like this, the best known in England are probably the Courtenay (Earl of Devonshire) one, and the Robert Byrkes one (Doncaster), of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively; but the idea of such epitaphs was probably derived from one of the tales in the *Gesta Romanorum*, a monks' compilation of the thirteenth or fourteenth century (see the English translation by Charles Swan, the edition published by Routledge and Sons, London, 1905, page 109, tale xvi.). In digging the foundations for a palace, says the tale, the workmen came upon a golden sarcophagus, inscribed as follows: "I have expended; I have given; I have kept; I have possessed; I do possess; I have lost; I am punished. What I expended, I had; what I gave away, I have."

Under the figure of a priest on a circular brass plate in St. Peter's Church, St. Albans, occurs (according to Pettigrew) a Latin version as follows:—

"Quod expendi habui.
Quod donavi habeo.
Quod negavi punior.
Quod servavi perdidi."

The same (according to Pettigrew) is on a brass of John Killyngworth (1412), formerly in Eddlesborongh Church, now in Pitson Church (Buckinghamshire), and also on a brass at St. Olave's Church, Hart Street, Minories, London.

Of the Courtenay epitaph which formerly existed in Tiverton Church (Devonshire) there are various accounts. It is mentioned in Tristram Risdon's *Survey of Devonshire* (finished in 1630) and in many other works, as being on the tomb of

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[151] The same idea is suggested by the Mediaeval doggerel, already referred to: "O dominus dives, non omni tempore vives; Fac bona dum vivis, post mortem vivere si vis." Compare the following epitaph-advice (1592): "Lyve well and Dye never, Dye well and Live ever" (epitaph on Joane Brodnax, 1592); also the more ordinary mottoes, "Vive ut vivas in vitam aeternam;" "Vive ut postea vivas."

Edward Courtenay, third Earl of Devon, called the blind or "good erle," who died in 1419. The following is the version given by Pettigrew:—

"Hoe! hoe! who lies here?
I, the goode Erle of Devonshere;
With Maud, my wife, to me full dere,
We lyved togeather fyfty-fyve yere.
What wee gave, wee have;
What wee spent, wee had;
What wee left, wee loste."

The epitaph on Robert Byrkes, dated 1579, formerly in Doncaster Parish Church, is given in Edward Miller's *History and Antiquities of Doncaster* (1804, p. 74)—

"Howe, Howe, who is heare?
I Robin of Doncaster and Margaret my feare.
That I spent, that I had,
That I gave, that I have,
That I left, that I lost. A.D. 1579.
Quoth Robertus Byrkes, who in this world did reign
Threescore years and seven, and yet lived not one."

The Robert Byrkes in question was Mayor of Doncaster in the years 1569, 1573, and 1577.

The great popularity of such epitaphs was shown by their repetition in various parts of England. In the Parish Church of Leek, in Derbyshire, I have seen the following version forming the epitaph of a certain Thomas Osborn, who died in 1749:—

"As I was, so be ye;
As I am, ye shall be;
That I gave, that I have;
That I spent, that I had;
Thus I end all my cost;
What I left, that I lost."

On the picture, entitled, "Sic transit gloria mundi," by G. F. Watts, in the Tate Gallery (National Gallery of British Art) in London, the artist inscribed—

"What I spent, I had.
What I saved, I lost.
What I gave, I have."

Francis Quarles put the idea into puzzle verses—

"The goods we spend we keep; and what we save
We lose; and only what we lose we have."

And it is said that an epitaph on a lady in an Italian churchyard declares: "Here lies Estella, who transported a large fortune to heaven in acts of charity, and has gone thither to enjoy it." (Cf. the seventh verse of Bishop C. Wordsworth's hymn—No. 365 in Hymns Ancient and Modern.)

Inscriptions on ancient Egyptian sepulchral stelae, &c., show how in ancient Egypt charity was regarded as a virtue the practice of which would be helpful to the practiser in the judgment of his soul after death.

With all this may be contrasted the reputed epitaph (anonymous, in the *Greek Anthology*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, vii. 325) of King Sardanapalus, and the Latin epitaph (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. ix. No. 2114): "Dum vixi vixi quomodo condecet ingenuom, quod comedi et ebibi tantum meu(m) est." The passage of Cicero (*Tusc. Disputat.*, V. 35) relating to the Sardanapalus epitaph runs as follows: "Quo modo igitur jucunda vita potest esse, a quâ absit prudentia, absit moderatio? Ex quo Sardanapalli, opulentissimi Syriae regis, error adgnoscitur, qui incidi jussit in busto:

"'Haec habeo, quae edi, quaeque exsaturata libido,
Hausit; at illa jacent multa et praeclara relicta.'

'Quid aliud,' inquit Aristoteles, 'in bovis, non in regis sepulcro inscriberes? Haec habere se mortuum dicit, quae ne vivus quidem diutius habebat quam fruebatur.'" J. D. Rolleston refers to a similar epitaph by Simonides of Cos (*Anth. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, vii. 348) on Timocreon of Rhodes, "a fellow-poet celebrated alike for his satirical and gastronomic prowess."

XV. Death and Love, and the "Crown of Life." The Praise of Death.

A well-known picture might reasonably be interpreted by any one looking at it as representing the angel of death conducting away a human soul, who in the gloom recognizes the face of the messenger, transformed from that of death to that of love. To this picture a quotation from the first of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Sonnets from the Portuguese* has been added—

> "'Guess now who holds thee.'
> 'Death,' I said; but then
> The silver answer rang,
> 'Not Death, but Love.'"

More in keeping with the present meaning is the following stanza from Edmond G. A. Holmes's poem, *To Death*:—

> "And yet perchance death's mask of terror hides
> The very face divinely fair and bright,
> Whose baffling beauty lures us on and guides
> Our hearts into the light."

The saying, "La Mort est le baiser de Dieu," is said to have been suggested from old Jewish (scriptural) sources. Death may perhaps, like Pain, be consoled by Love ("The sweetest thing in all the world is pain Consoled by love").

The idea of Love and Death being united by a mother voluntarily undergoing the Caesarian operation for the sake of her child, who was thus delivered and lived, whilst she herself died, is expressed by the inscription on a monument (referred to under Heading XI.): "Mors et Amor tanto potuerunt funere jungi." The lady in question, the wife of Pierre de Puget, died at Senlis in 1673. Another manner of union of Death with Love or Friendship is implied by the pentameter—"Te teneam moriens deficiente manu"—addressed by Samuel Johnson, on his death-bed, to his old friend, Bennet Langton. The actually last handclasp of a dying person may be

occasionally analogous to that of a patient being anaesthetized for a surgical operation.

In regard to love's power of changing the aspect both of life and death, see George Meredith's beautiful *Hymn to Colour*, beginning—

> "With Life and Death I walked, when Love appeared,
> And made them on each side a shadow seem."

Love, like religious faith, may indeed be said to conquer death, when death loses its sting by means of love, and when love produces a fearlessness towards death and a willingness to die or to risk death for the sake of others. The idea of Love (in the form of Cupid) shooting a dart at Death is not unknown as a partly playful, partly serious, design amongst minor work of art.[152]

One has to acknowledge that deaths, like births, are both necessary and beneficial for the progress of the human race. Therefore, in a kind of way, natural death may be regarded as a manifestation of Nature's love for her children.[153] From this point of view it is interesting

[152] See, for example, the illustration on page 248 of *Pétrarque*, by the Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz, Paris, 1902. In a Poem in the *Greek Anthology*, Cupid is said to be able to shoot his darts "even to Acheron and the King of Hades." According to Thomas Stanley's English version (seventeenth century)—

> "His hand, though little, can an arrow throw;
> To Hell he shoots, and wounds the powers below."

(See the *Greek Anthology*, in Bohn's Classical Library, London, 1852, p. 150.) On the other hand, Love is often compelled to witness the separation of two lovers by Death. This is the subject of one of Jost Ammann's emblematic devices (at the end of *Enchiridion Artis Pingendi*, Francof., 1578): Death is about to cut off two lovers with his scythe, whilst Cupid hovers over them.

[153] It is, of course, in a quite different sense that the French poet, Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585), wrote: "L'Amour et la Mort n'est qu'une mesme chose." Here one may also call to mind the strange paradoxical truth (cf. pp. 29, 31) in biology, which Anatole France expresses thus: "All union of sexes is a sign of [approaching] death; and we could not know love were we to live indefinitely."

that on Roman works of art the Genius of Death so closely resembles a Cupid, the "Genius of Love." He differs by his more serious appearance: his torch is inverted and extinguished, or he is extinguishing it, and occasionally he is without wings, to express (according to C. W. King) the cessation of movement at death. It seems as if death and decay are as necessary for life and growth as life and growth are for death and decay, as the existence of pain and sadness is for pleasure and gladness, grief for joy, misery for happiness, evil for good, opposition for valour,[154] vice for virtue, pessimistic ideas for optimistic ideas, darkness for light, female sexuality for male sexuality, negative electricity for positive electricity; a consideration of this "polarity" throws some light on the "mystery" of pain, misery, and death.[155] It is difficult to believe that anything necessary and beneficial for the race would not appear kind and beneficial to the individual also if only he were able to understand everything about it. I have

[154] The motto, "Marcet sine adversario virtus," appears on the reverse of three medals which have been published as of the fifteenth century, *vide* A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. pp. 51, 74, 85. Mr. G. F. Hill has, however, kindly pointed out to me that only the last of these is genuine, namely, the medal by Jean de Candida (see H. de la Tour, *Revue Numismatique*, Paris, 1894, 3rd series, vol. xii. p. 327, and pl. viii.), of his friend and patron, Robert Briçonnet, French statesman and Archbishop of Reims, who died in 1497. I have been able to examine one of the supposed medals of Francesco Accolti (Armand, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 51). In the production of that piece probably a plaster cast of the medal of Robert Briçonnet served as the foundation. In the plaster cast the portrait on the obverse could have been slightly altered, the legend changed to FRAN · ACCOLTIVS · ARET · , and the date (1455) added (incuse) below the bust. From the plaster cast thus altered a sand-casting in bronze could easily be obtained. To some extent the medal of Briçonnet may be taken as suggesting the doctrine of progress by struggle. See also the remarks on this subject in the Preface.

[155] See remarks in the Preface.

not, however, come across any medal or jewel illustrating exactly this aspect of death.

Like life, love, charity, wisdom, folly, &c., dark death even has had admirers. The interpretation of death, like the interpretation of life, varies according to individual temperament and passing mood, and much may be sung by poets and others "in praise of death" (cf. under Heading IV.). Thus, Walt Whitman, in his *Memories of President Lincoln*, hails death as follows:—

> "Dark mother, always gliding near with soft feet,
> Have none chanted for thee a chant of fullest welcome?
> Then I chant it for thee, I glorify thee above all,
> I bring thee a song that when thou must indeed come,
> come unfalteringly."

Pierre de Ronsard's *Hymne de la Mort* was also, in a poetical kind of way, in praise of death. According to Brantome it was read (probably for consolation) by the young Frenchman, Chastelard, on the day of his execution at St. Andrews, February 22, 1562-3.[156]

Of course, to those who believe in a future existence, especially to those who incline to the doctrine of a gradual evolution of souls by passage through the trials of life, natural death (but rarely if ever suicide) may sometimes appear as a reward for troubles bravely borne,—in fact, as the "crown of life" (Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1742); though the latter expression is usually applied to events of life other than its termination. A suitable device for a mortuary medal of some persons would be that of a skeleton placing a wreath on an armed knight,

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[156] Chastelard, who on the mother's side was a grand-nephew of Bayard, the "Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche," was condemned to death after having been detected hiding in the bed-chamber of Mary Queen of Scots, February 12, 1562-3.

emblematic of virtue and valour. Such a representation of "Death crowning Life," and Edward Young's words, just alluded to ("Death is the crown of life,") are both suggested by the passage in Revelation (ii. 10): "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life"—the German version of which appears on a seventeenth-century medal by Sebastian Dadler. A Sterbemünze on the death (1644) of Albert II, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, has the inscription, "Coronam vitae accipe." The words of Henry Vaughan (1621–1695) are quite similar in meaning: "Dear beautious Death, the jewel of the just." From the same source may likewise be derived the idea of the martyr's "celestial crown," an idea which is illustrated further on by the description of certain memorial medals, finger-rings, &c.

One of Gabriello Symeoni's emblems is a human skull crowned with a wreath and accompanied by the words, "Victoria limes" (see *The Heroicall Devices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 319). A remarkable sculptured death's head, crowned and winged, by the Lorraine sculptor of the sixteenth century, Ligier Richier, is figured in *Aesculape* (Paris, supplement for February, 1913, p. 29). It formed part of the mausoleum, which Antoinette de Bourbon had constructed (1552) at Joinville (Haute-Marne) in memory of her husband, Claude de Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, who died in 1550. (On similar works of the same artist, see Paul Denis, *Ligier Richier*, Paris, 1911, and Jules Guiart's article in *Aesculape*, Paris, January, 1913, p. 19.)

As death is the final act or incident of life, it completes it and may be said to "crown" it in the same way that "finis coronat opus" ("the end crowns the work," "the end crowns all," though it may not justify the means). Epictetus, when asked by the Roman Emperor, Hadrian, why the dead were crowned with

garlands, is said to have answered that it was to signify that by death they had overcome the labours, sorrows, and cares of this life. A "crown of death" is likewise spoken of, like one speaks of the "crown of love" and the "crown of life" (cf. *The Triple Crown*, a modern novel, by Rose Schuster, London, 1912), and this reminds one of the succession of "triumphs" in Petrarch's *Trionfi*: the "Triumph of Love," the "Triumph of Chastity over Love," the "Triumph of Death over Chastity," of "Fame over Death," and so on.

Obviously also it may be conceived that death, like love, plays an important part in the unfolding, or evolution, and gradual perfection, of the soul. I do not know if such an idea suggested the design of *Love and Death*, by G. F. Watts, but Edward Carpenter's *Drama of Love and Death* (London, 1912) argues that death may have a kind of awakening effect upon the soul similar to the generally acknowledged awakening and purifying effect of true love.

XVI. Predestination and Free Will in regard to Aspects of Death.

This heading should, perhaps, have followed Heading VII. The passive "Kismet" attitude towards life and death, right and wrong, may well be contrasted with that expressed in the oft-quoted quatrain of W. E. Henley (1849-1903)—

> "It matters not how strait the gate,
> How charged with punishments the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate;
> I am the captain of my soul."

Death may sometimes be successfully resisted by determined action, and a plaque, already referred to, representing Death in an attitude of fear or submission before Valour (or Virtue), was perhaps intended to express this idea. Napoleon, who believed in his "star" of destiny, is said to have said, "Death overtakes the coward, but never the brave until his hour is come" (a curious aphorism to come from a man who himself indirectly caused the death of such a multitude). Compare the proud motto of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), Regent of the Netherlands, daughter of the German Emperor Maximilian I, and (by her mother) granddaughter of Charles the Bold of Burgundy: "Fortune—infortune—forte une."

The *Psychostasia* scenes on Greek vases, &c., described in Part IV., have much to do with this Heading, and so, strictly speaking, have all representations of Doom (Ker, or the "Keres"), Necessity, and Inexorable Fate (Atropos and the other Moirae or Parcae). The doctrine of predestination was frequently used in Classical Literature for the purpose of consolation, but not as an excuse for assuming a lazy, passive attitude in life.

XVII. Aspect of Death from the Standpoint of Pessimism in regard to Life.

This aspect, which should really have followed No. IV., may be contrasted with Nos. XIV. and XV. (optimistic views). A somewhat mocking attitude towards the "eternal riddle"—the meaning of life and death—or rather towards endeavours to answer the riddle—was assumed by Heinrich Heine—

> "Sagt mir, was bedenkt der Mensch?
> Woher ist er gekommen? Wo geht er hin?
> Es murmeln die Wogen ihr ewiges Gemurmel,
> Es wehet der Wind, es fliegen die Wolken,
> Es blicken die Sterne gleichgültig und kalt,
> Und ein Narr wartet auf Antwort."

> Γῆς ἐπέβην γυμνός, γυμνός θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἄπειμι.
> Καὶ τί μάτην μοχθῶ, γυμνὸς ὁρῶν τὸ τέλος.

This epigram by Palladas from the *Greek Anthology* (*Anth. Graec. Palat.*, x. 58) is hardly a desirable development of Solon's ὅρα τέλος μακροῦ βίου (cf. p. 331). Latin versions of it have been given by Janus Pannonius (died 1472), William Lily (died 1522), and Sir Thomas More (died 1535), the last one as follows:—

> "Nudus ut in terram veni, sic nudus abibo.
> Quia frustra sudo, funera nuda videns?"

Palladas likewise (*Anth. Graec. Palat.*, x. 85) refers to us mortals as being kept and reared up for Death, like a herd of swine to be slaughtered.

There may be pessimists (as there doubtless have been many) who think life cruel because they fear that the soul with all its noble aspirations must decay and die with the body. What is the object of it all, they ask; to what can life and all its strivings lead but to decay and the silent darkness of the grave? Thus, on a seal of Chosroës I, the Great, of Persia (see Part IV.), there

is said to have been an inscription signifying, "The way is very dark, what can I see? One lives once only, what can I desire? Behind me is Death, what can delight me?" Compare Psalm lxxxix. 47, 48, "Remember how short my time is: wherefore hast Thou made all men in vain? What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death? Shall he deliver his soul from the grave?" So also the following Latin verses, inscribed on a sun-dial at Monza (Italy), and elsewhere:—

"Quod fuit, est, et erit, perit articulo brevis horae.
Ergo quid prodest esse, fuisse, fore?
Esse, fuisse, fore, heu! tria florida sunt sine flore,
Nam simul omne perit quod fuit, est, et erit."

On a large brass astrolabe and sun-dial, signed by Ieronimus Wulparia, of Florence (1577) (in the museum of Perugia—see Mrs. Gatty's *Book of Sun-Dials*, enlarged edition of 1900), are two inscriptions, as follows:—

"Nil nomen, nil fama juvat, nil candida virtus:
Tempus enim rapido singula dente vorat."

"Hora fugit, celeri properat mors improba passu."

Compare also certain passages in Shakespeare's plays—

"And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe,
And then from hour to hour, we rot and rot:
And thereby hangs a tale."
(*As You Like It*, act ii. scene 7; see also other plays.)

"To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time;
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty earth. Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow; a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more: it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing." (*Macbeth*, act v. scene 5.)

Almost as pessimist, though less painful, is the meaning expressed by John Gay (1688–1732), in his own epitaph (inscribed on his sepulchral monument in Westminster Abbey)—

> "Life is a jest, and all things show it;
> I thought so once, but now I know it."

Others may be or may have been pessimists because of certain tenets in the Christian or other religions, especially with regard to future punishments and the hopelessness of the idea of everlasting damnation. But it was especially the orthodox teaching of mediaeval Christianity that (theoretically) favoured a pessimistic attitude towards the life of this world. All worldly enjoyments were regarded as essentially sinful, and as so many devil's snares surrounding man's life from cradle to grave. The life after death was everything. Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, in spite of his strenuously objective nature, exclaimed, "Nasci miserum, vivere poena, angustia mori!"

St. Bernard's *Rythmus de Contemptu Mundi* (see J. Mabillon's collection of his works) contains the following stanzas:—

> "Homo miser, cogita; mors omnes compescit,
> Quis est ab initio, qui morti non cessit?
> Quando moriturus est, omnis homo nescit:
> Hic qui vivit hodie, cras forte putrescit.
>
> "Qui de morte cogitat, miror quod laetatur;
> Cum sic genus hominum morti deputatur,
> Quo post mortem transeat homo, nesciatur:
> Unde quidam sapiens ita de se fatur:
>
> "Dum de morte cogito, contristor et ploro,
> Verum est quod moriar, et tempus ignoro,
> Ultimum quod nescio, cui jungar choro:
> Ut cum sanctis mereat jungi, Deum oro."

"Quam breve festum est, haec mundi gloria!
Ut umbra hominis, sunt ejus gaudia,
Quae semper subtrahunt aeterna praemia
Et ducunt homines ad dura devia.

"O esca vermium! O massa pulveris!
O roris vanitas, cur sic extolleris?
Ignorans penitus, utrum cras vixeris!
Fac bonum omnibus, quamdiu poteris."

In the famous Latin poem, *De Contemptu Mundi*, by Bernard of Morlaix (or "of Cluny"), a Benedictine monk of the twelfth century, the following lines occur:—

"Hic breve vivitur, hic breve plangitur, hic breve fletur;
Non breve vivere, non breve plangere, retribuetur."

These lines are in England well known, owing to J. M. Neale's English hymn, "Brief life is here our portion," and another part of the poem is still popular in the form of Neale's hymn, "Jerusalem the golden." Cf. "Nasci, laborare, mori." Some naturally maintained that death was better than life, "Melior mors vitâ" (a motto used by the Dutch prelate, J. van Neercassel, who died in 1686).

The following verses (chiefly "Leonine" hexameters) are from a Latin poem of the twelfth century, attributed to Bernard of Morlaix, but included by J. Mabillon amongst the works of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux (I have followed the text given by Mabillon):—

"Vox divina sonat quod nemo spem sibi ponat
In rebus mundi, quae causam dant pereundi.
Quisquis amat Christum, mundum non diligit istum
Sed quasi foetores spernens illius amores,
Estimat obscoenum quod mundus credit amoenum."

"Vita brevis, velut umbra levis sic annihilatur
Sic vadit, subitoque cadit, dum stare putatur."

"Fallitur insipiens vitae praesentis amore:
Sed sapiens noscit quanto sit plena dolore.

Quidquid formosum mundus gerit et pretiosum,
Floris habet morem, cui dat natura colorem,
Mox ut siccatur totus color annihilatur."

I have selected the following stanzas from a Latin poem (of the twelfth century?) on the Worldly Life—"Vita Mundi"—as edited from the manuscript by Édélestand du Meril, in his work, *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1847, p. 108). The lilt is remarkable (one can imagine the verses being roared out, like a Moody and Sankey or Salvation Army hymn in modern times), and by one authority the poem has been attributed to St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux :—

"Heu! heu! mundi Vita,
Quare me delectas ita?
Cum non possis mecum stare,
Quid me cogis te amare?"

"Vita mundi, res morbosa,
Magis fragilis quam rosa,
Cum sis tota lacrymosa,
Cur es mihi graciosa?"

"Vita mundi, res acerba,
Vita levis et superba,
Cum sis nimis iracunda
Cur me petis furibunda?"

"Vita mundi, res immunda,
Solis impiis jocunda,
Nutrimentum vitiorum,
Quid habes in me decorum?"

"Vita mundi, res amara,
Vita brevis atque rara,
Cum sis tota plena dolo,
Cur in te vivere volo?"

"Ego te nunquamamabo
Et in te nunquam sperabo ;
Contra te semper pugnabo ;
Ad te nunquam propinquabo."

"Si volebam jejunare,
Me dicebas aegrotare,
Et monebas manducare,
Nisi vellem pejorare."

"Ad hoc regnum me vocare,
Juste Judex, tu dignare,
Quem expecto, quem requiro
Ad quem anxius suspiro."

Some persons, unsupported by religious faith, are pessimists because of unhappy circumstances in their present life, and because of the misery which they see around them. Of course the author of verses expressing such feelings need not himself be a pessimist. Francis Thompson writes—

"Nothing begins, and nothing ends,
That is not paid with moan;
For we are born in others' pain
And perish in our own."

So says R. W. Buchanan, in *Baldur the Beautiful*—

"We wake in a dream, and we ache in a dream
And we break in a dream, and die!"

P. B. Shelley, in various poems, analyzed many of the aspects of death ("How wonderful is Death, Death and his brother Sleep!"), including the idea of death as the end of a painful life, not relieved by hope. In one of his *Fragments*, dated 1820, is the following:—

"First our pleasures die, and then
Our hopes, and then our fears: and, when
These are dead, the debt is due,
Dust claims dust—and we die too.
All things that we love and cherish,
Like ourselves, must fade and perish.
Such is our rude mortal lot:
Love itself would, did they not."

These lines by Shelley seem to be a poetical version of ideas expressed by Bichat, the great French physiologist (*Recherches physiologiques sur la Vie et la Mort*, 1800), in regard to death from old age. So, he says, animal life comes to cease gradually; so each of the ties which enchain us to the pleasure of living are broken little by little, the pleasure escapes us unawares, and when at length a man has become oblivious of the cost, then death strikes him. This is not really a pessimistic idea at all, and Sir W. S. Savory (*On Life and Death*, London, 1863, p. 182), from whom I have taken this passage, adds, "Is there not something inexpressibly gentle in this gradual severance of the ties between the conscious man and the world around him by the decay of the senses?" (In regard to the relation of love to death, cf. pp. 29, 31, 186, and footnote 153.)

If living were regarded as merely weariness, empty vanity, misery, a painful dream, or a "fitful fever," a purposeless carrying of a heavy burden almost too heavy to be borne, then death would have to be longed for as the only curer, the only giver of peace or rest.

A pessimistic attitude towards life is well expressed in the verses of Theognis of Megara (sixth century B.C.):—

> Πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
> Μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου,
> Φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀίδαο περῆσαι
> Καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπιεσσάμενον.

In the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles a very similar passage (line 1225) forms part of a song of the Chorus, which Professor R. C. Jebb has thus translated: "Not to be born is, past all prizing, best; but, when a man hath seen the light, this is next best by far, that with all speed he should go thither, whence he hath

come." The same opinion has been expressed or quoted in the writings of Alexis, Cicero, and Ausonius. Epicurus, in a letter to Menaeceus (transcribed by Diogenes Laertius in the *Lives of the Philosophers*), asked why the author of such opinions, if he seriously held them, did not himself voluntarily depart from this world. However, individuals may be subject to temporary "pessimistic moods" without killing themselves; such persons exist now, as they existed in Goethe's time, and doubtless existed long before the days of Epicurus. Theognis has inspired Matthew Prior (1664–1721) in the following lines:—

"Who breathes must suffer; and who thinks, must mourn;
And he alone is blessed, who ne'er was born;"

and is rivalled by Byron in his *Euthanasia* (1812):—

"'Aye but to die, and go,' Alas!
Where all have gone, and all must go!
To be the nothing that I was,
Ere born to life and living woe!

"Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,
Count o'er thy days from anguish free;
And know, whatever thou hast been,
'Tis something better not to be."

C. W. King quotes the trite story of the Thracians lamenting on the occasion of a birth, and rejoicing on that of a death in the family[157] (cf. Ecclesiastes vii. 1, 2).

[157] There can hardly be a doubt that such ("philosophical") pessimistic views of life, though seldom, if ever, leading to actual (active) suicide, have sometimes in modern times exerted an anti-procreative effect, and encouraged Malthusian practices. There seems, however, little danger at present of the human race really suffering in this direction from the above or any other causes. It is indeed held by some that undue insistence on "Eugenics" may seriously diminish the

How different is the mental attitude of those persons who, endowed with a serene temperament, and placed in happy surroundings, might, like the sun-dial in the flower-garden, truthfully say—

"Serene I stand among the flowers,
And only count life's sunny hours"—

an English version of the Latin sun-dial inscription, "Horas non nisi serenas numero."[158] Indeed, there are some such happy natures that, wherever they are, they seem to be able to create their own atmosphere, their own "garden of love," in the highest sense of the term, around them. Of such a man one may say, with A. Justinus Kerner—

"Und Liebe, die folgt ihm,
Sie geht ihm zur Hand:
So wird ihm zur Heimat
Das ferneste Land."

Will not love accompany such natures even to the most distant land of all, and make of it too a friendly home, though it lies beyond the grave? Has not the soul of such persons, in some kind of previous existence, had sufficient experience of pain and sorrow to have already learned the sad but necessary lessons required of it?

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birth-rate; but may not Eugenics join hands with Malthusianism to the great advantage of generations to come? Possibly future generations will see the day when the relative permissible breeding-rates of nations will become one of the most important questions of international politics, and when the fact of a nation breeding too rapidly (that is to say, beyond its share in the world's means) will be regarded as one of the very few justifiable grounds for a declaration of war against it by its neighbours.

[158] Preferably, "Horas non numero nisi serenas." For similar English lines see Mrs. Gatty's *Book of Sun-Dials*, enlarged edition by Eden and Lloyd, London, 1900, p. 210, No. 45, and p. 288, No. 465. See also G. Clinch, *Handbook of English Antiquities*, London, 1905, p. 276.

Sir Thomas Browne, though not a pessimist, quoted (*Religio Medici*, 1643) the following passage from Lucan (*Phars.*, lib. iv. 519):—

> "Victurosque dei celant, ut vivere durent,
> Felix esse mori;"

and, after Seneca (*Theb.*, 152)—

> "Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest;
> At nemo mortem;"

he himself wrote, "There is, therefore, but one comfort left, that, though it be in the power of the weakest arm to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death." Pliny asserted that the greatest favour Nature had bestowed on man was the shortness of his span of life.[159] (Compare Heading IV.)

Melancholic and pessimistic ideas often lend themselves well to lyrical expression. It is doubtless to temporary pessimistic moods of learned men and poets that we owe many beautiful passages in poetry and prose. A touch of human sympathy and fellow-feeling in unhappiness, together with the absence of any feeling of selfishness, jealousy, or revenge, often gives a special charm to the poetical expression of pessimistic ideas.

Several seals, medals, &c., having a pessimistic significance will be described later on. An old English memorial finger-ring is inscribed—

> "Breath paine, Death gaine."

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[159] Such sayings do not really express a pessimistic attitude towards life any more than do A. C. Swinburne's lines (*The Garden of Proserpine*)—

> "We thank with brief thanksgiving
> Whatever gods may be,
> That no life lives for ever;
> That dead men rise up never;
> That even the weariest river
> Winds somewhere safe to sea."

On certain medals, &c. (see Part III.), human life is likened to a soap-bubble. That is a rather pessimistic view, but some there may be who wish that the "bubble of life," the gift of Nature to her children,[160] consisting of life's hopes and aspirations—and even its illusions, its mirage, and its dreams—will never burst, at all events, not till death has overtaken them. The death of hope, which may be said to make of life a "living death," has been allegorically represented on a bronze plaquette ("L'Espérance morte," 1892) by the modern French artist, L. E. Mouchon. One of the woodcuts in *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers*, printed by Guiot Marchant, at Paris, in 1493 (British Museum copy, p. g, vi), represents a figure of Death (of the *Hautskelett* type) mounted on a horse, holding a dart in his right hand and a coffin under his left arm, riding from the open jaws of a monster (hell). The woodcut is accompanied by the following explanatory text: "En lapocalipse est escript que saint jehan vit ung cheval de couleur palle sur lequel seoit qui avoit nom la mort . et enfer suivoit ce cheval qui nous segnefie le pecheur a couleur palle pour sa maladie de peche . et porte la mort . car peche est la mort de lame . et enfer le suit . car en quelque lieu que le pecheur alle enfer est pres sil moroit sans penitance pour lengloutir et devorer."

Certain medals, medalets, &c., might be quoted here, by way of antithesis, as having an optimistic significance.

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[160] Compare the painting (1821) by William Hilton, R.A., "Nature Blowing Bubbles for her Children," now in the National Gallery of British Art (Tate Gallery), London.

XVIII. Grief for the Death of Others.

Numberless memorial medals, finger-rings, &c., have devices and inscriptions which more or less illustrate this subject. Here may be mentioned various rings, brooches, lockets, &c., bearing "mourning" devices, and memorial medals with such inscriptions as: "We shall not look upon his like again" (after Shakespeare's *Hamlet*). Thus, a memorial medal (a specimen of which was formerly in my collection) of a certain Bartholomew Johnson, who died at Scarborough on February 7, 1814, when he was supposed to be in his 104th year, bears on the reverse the inscription, "He was a man, take him for all in all. We shall not look upon his like again." A memorial medal by the Belgian medallist, Charles Wiener, of Jonas Webb, 1862, a celebrated breeder of sheep in Cambridgeshire (whose statue now stands in the Corn Exchange at Cambridge), has around the bust on the obverse the inscription, "We shall not look upon his like again." Both the longer and the shorter of these inscriptions (after *Hamlet*) occur on various commemorative medals of Shakespeare himself (*Medallic Illustrations of British History*, London, 1885, vol. i. pp. 208–212).

A medal of Ferdinand (afterwards the German Emperor Ferdinand I), brother of the Emperor Charles V, struck in 1547, on the death of his wife Anna of

Hungary, has on the reverse the letter A over a death's head and a bone, with the inscription, *Wier klagens Gott* ("We bewail it to God"). This medal makes one think of a bell for tolling at funerals, with the words "Mortuos plango" or "Defunctos ploro," inscribed on it. On the minster bell at Schaffhausen in Switzerland is the inscription, "Defunctos plango, vivos voco, fulmina frango." [161]

The "parting scenes" on Greek and Etruscan sepulchral monuments (including reliefs on stelae, terra-cotta sarcophagi, wall-paintings and some painted vases) hardly come within the range of the present work, but will be alluded to in Part IV. Mourning for the dead and the bringing of funeral offerings are frequent subjects on Greek painted vases, especially on the white (probably Attic) sepulchral lekythi of the fifth century B.C. Mourning for the dead is, of course, abundantly illustrated in the larger works of art of many countries and many periods.

Some eighteenth-century mourning finger-rings, brooches, &c., have inscriptions intended to comfort the survivors, such as: "Not lost, but gone before," and "Heaven has in store what thou hast lost." Some coins of Philip, the last Duke of Brunswick of the old Grubenhagen line, bear the consolatory inscription, "Got gibt, Got nimbt"—presumably in reference to the deaths, in 1595, of his wife and only brother. But I have not seen it suggested on any mourning or memorial medals, jewellery, &c., that too long mourning for the dead is a useless waste of life, and therefore wrong. Cf.

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[161] The similar bell-inscription always quoted in connexion with Schiller's famous *Lied von der Glocke* is, "Vivos voco, mortuos plango, fulgura frango."

Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 21, "Thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself;" one of William Blake's illustrations

Fig. 31.—"Sorrow," by W. Dadd, 1854.

to Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* might have also served as an illustration to this passage in Ecclesiasticus. Many references to ancient authors in regard to

philosophic consolation for the death of friends, &c., are given in R. Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (part ii. sect. 3, M. 5).

The accompanying design (one of a series), intended to represent "Sorrow," has a somewhat unusual interest of its own, as it was the work of William Dadd (1854), when an inmate of Bethlem Hospital (Mental Diseases), London (see Fig. 31). I am indebted to Dr. W. H. B. Stoddart for permission to reproduce it.

XIX., XX. The Attributes and Pomp of Death. Funerals. The Fear of Death.

The fancied terrors of death have been naturally more frequently illustrated by engravings, drawings, and paintings than by medals, engraved gems, &c. (see also under Heading V.). The idea of representing the decaying body as being occupied by long worms, snakes, toads, &c. (*i.e.* as being "eaten by worms," according to a phrase still in use in some countries), was doubtless chiefly derived from Ecclesiasticus (ch. x. 11), "For when a man is dead, he shall inherit creeping things, beasts, and worms." An engraving of about 1480, by the "Meister I. A. M. von Zwolle" (the "Meister mit der Weberschütze"), represents Moses with the tables of the ten commandments in an upper compartment, and a skeleton-like corpse, being "eaten by worms," in a lower compartment. This design is evidently meant to illustrate another particular passage in Ecclesiasticus (ch. xxviii. 6), "Remember corruption and death, and abide in the commandments." Snakes were preferred to worms in order that the artist might magnify the horror of his subject.[162] Even when Death was represented by a

[162] In regard to the spontaneous generation of worms and snakes from decaying corpses, an interesting passage is that quoted by Jules Guiart from Pliny the Younger (*Hist. Nat.*, lib. x. cap. 66): "Anguem ex medullâ hominis spinale gigni, accepimus a multis. Pleraque occultâ et caecâ origine proveniunt, etiam in quadrupedum genere." Guiart thinks that the mediaeval representation of decaying corpses being "eaten by worms" was preferred by the artists of the time as being more horror-inspiring (and therefore having a more powerfully *memento mori* admonitory effect) than the representation of dry skeletons. This is extremely probable, and, moreover, the artist's deficient anatomical (osteological) knowledge was somewhat hidden by the ragged skin which covered the skeleton and partially concealed

skeleton or a shrivelled figure of skin and bones (the German *Hautskelett*) in life-like attitude, the snakes and toads were often not omitted. Thus, in a German fifteenth-century woodcut (by an unknown artist) of "Death in the Jaws of Hell" (reproduced in the *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts in the British Museum*, by Campbell Dodgson, 1903, vol. i. pl. 2), Death, who is represented by a shrivelled figure of skin and bones (in the mouth of a monster who is vomiting up flames), is accompanied by a snake, and has a toad in place of the conventional fig-leaf (see Fig. 32). So also, in the fifteenth-century engraving of "Death warning a Youth," by the "Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinets" (already referred to), the life-like shrivelled figure representing Death is accompanied by a toad and snake.

In Part I. (Heading C) I have referred at some length to the horror-inspiring aspect of *Memento mori* religious art, and to the ghastly spectacle of decay and putrefaction revealed in pictures by Valdes Leal, &c. A small panel-painting in the possession of Dr. Pietro Capparoni of Rome (which he has kindly allowed me to illustrate) seems to rival all others in this respect (see Fig. 33). It represents a man's head in a state of putrefaction and being "eaten by worms" and coleoptera. The head rests on a closed book; by the side is a winged hour-glass; and above is suspended a small iron lamp, such as might be used to illuminate a dismal vault. In the upper right corner is the inscription from Ecclesiasticus xli. 1, "(Mors) amara habenti pacem in substantiis

such mistakes as those of the Meister von Zwolle, who, in the above-mentioned design, placed the shoulder-blades of the skeleton-like figure in front of the thorax instead of on the back.

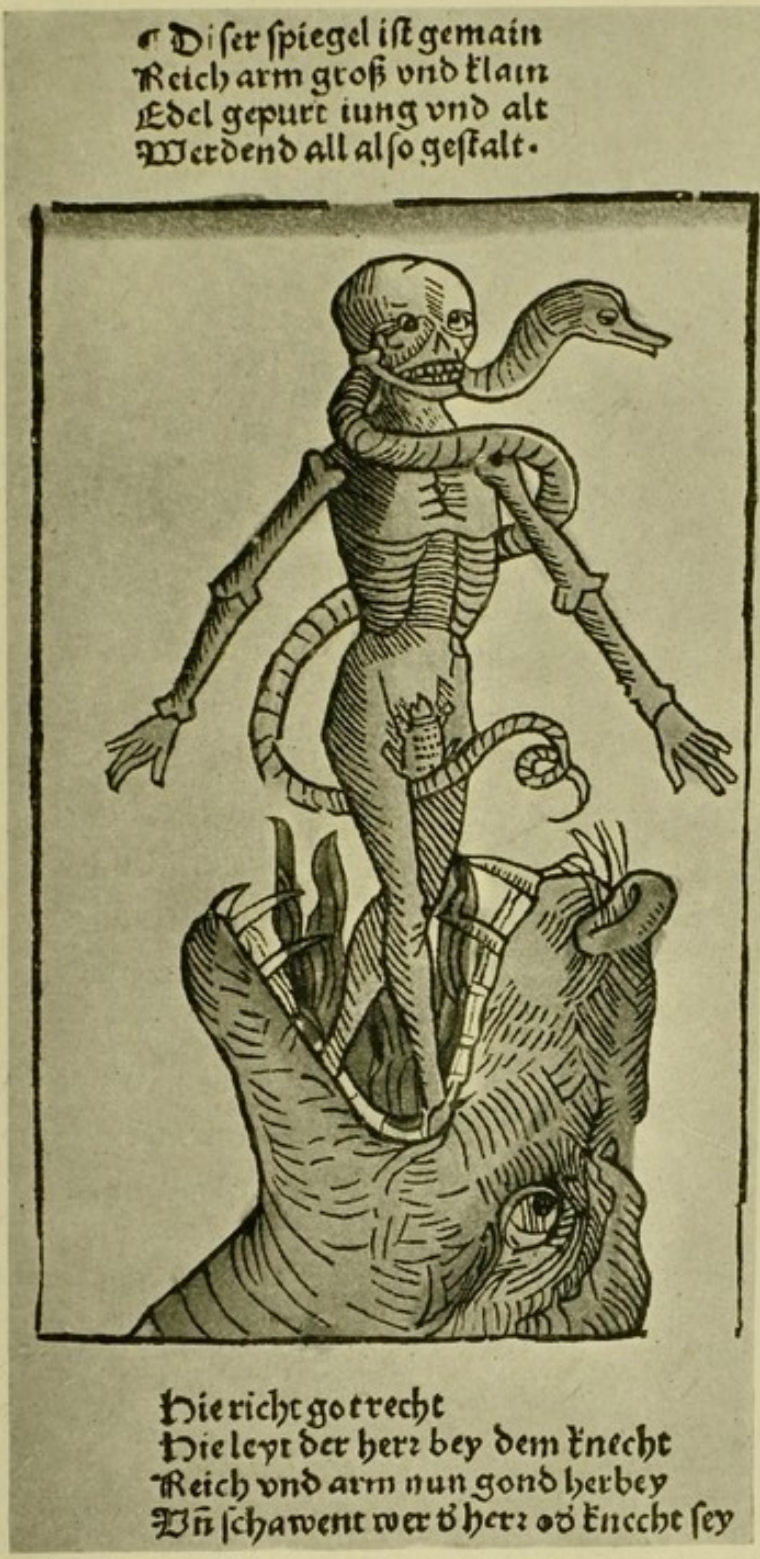

FIG. 32.—"Death in the Jaws of Hell." From a fifteenth-century German woodcut in the British Museum. The accompanying German verses express the levelling of all social distinctions by Death. With this design may be compared a fifteenth-century French woodcut (included in *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers*, printed by Guiot Marchant, at Paris, in 1493, page g, vi.—see British Museum specimen), representing Death (the *Hautskelett* type) on horseback, holding a dart and a coffin, riding out of the open jaws of a monster (hell).

suis." The picture does not seem to me a very early one. In this connexion one may well remember the lines of Edward Young (*Night Thoughts*, 1742)—

> "The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave;
> The deep damp vault, the darkness, and the worm;
> These are the bugbears of a winter's eve,
> The terrors of the living, not the dead."

The attributes and pomp of death may frighten more than death itself. Cf. Bacon's *Essays*: "Of Death," and his reference to a supposed passage on the terror of the pomp of death in the writings of an ancient philosopher: "Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa." Yet the "pomp of death," in the form of a funeral or funeral procession, has been appreciated by great rulers (the Emperor Charles V, etc.); it is a spectacle still dearly loved by a certain class of the community, and in the hearts of many servant-girls and others is only rivalled by the pomp of weddings. The immense importance attached to burial and funeral rites by the ancient Greeks and Romans can hardly be realized nowadays. Thus, it was considered a man's supremely "pious" duty to see to the burial of relatives, friends, and companions in arms. The idea of Pompey's corpse lying (for a time) unburied on the Egyptian shore formed the subject of a fine Latin epigram by the Italian poet, Francesco Molza (died 1544). Of this John Fiske quoted the following (somewhat defective) English paraphrase :—

> "We grieve not, Pompey, that to thee
> No earthly tomb was given;
> All lands subdued, nought else was free
> To shelter thee but Heaven!"

Ancient funeral rites and customs are well illustrated by certain Egyptian painted papyri, by Greek and Etruscan painted vases, by certain wall-paintings from

Etruscan tombs, and by reliefs on Roman sarcophagi (see the elaborate article under the heading "Funus,"

FIG. 33.—A *Memento mori* panel-picture, representing decay and putrefaction.

in Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Paris, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 1367–1409).

Funerals, funeral processions, and sepulchral monuments

are, moreover, illustrated by minor works of art, such as prints and medals, of many periods. To some extent Roman mortuary or *consecratio* coins, struck to commemorate the deification, apotheosis, or immortality of deceased emperors and empresses, come under this heading. Amongst such *consecratio* types are: a large funeral pile or mausoleum; and a funeral carpentum drawn by mules or elephants. Under the same heading, and to the same extent come the German mortuary Thaler and other coins ("Sterbemünzen," "Sterbethaler," Begräbnissthaler, &c.), commemorating the death and burial of German sovereigns and princes. Then there are the numismatic and other small representations of famous mausoleums. Even the medalets made in various countries and at various times for distribution at funerals might find a place here.

In connexion with the "Pomp of Death," a reference is not out of place to the tinsel-like or plated character of the jewellery and of the inferior quality of the "furniture" and offerings of various kinds used for funereal and sepulchral purposes in Greek and Roman times. Of course, many objects of the kind, including the leaden antique finger-rings, and the large relatively modern ecclesiastical plated rings, may be regarded as "tokens" only. It seems probable that the silvered terra-cotta ware described by A. Klügmann (*Annali dell' Instituto di' Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1871, vol. 43, p. 5), of which several examples, from tombs in Central Italy, are now in the British Museum, were made exclusively to be used as "furniture" for tombs.[163] An oenochoë and

[163] See F. P. Weber, "Exhibition of an Antique Phiale of Terra-cotta, supposed to have been originally silvered to imitate Metal," *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.* 1895, Second series, vol. xv. p. 305.

an amphora in the British Museum are mere outer shells to look like vessels, and made with large apertures at the base, so that they could never have held any liquid. Aristophanes, in a passage (to which my attention was kindly drawn by Mr. E. J. Forsdyke), in his *Ecclesiazusae* (line 996), refers to an artist "who paints lekythi for the dead," in an evidently disdainful and satirical manner. In the tomb in which the Etruscan sarcophagus of a lady, "Seianti Thanunia, wife of Tlesna" (second century B.C.), was found, were some silver vases, a silver mirror, &c., which are now, together with the sarcophagus, in the British Museum. They are extremely thin, as if they were made for "tomb furniture," and not for actual use. Many similar examples could be cited pointing to the special manufacture of "tomb furniture" by the ancients. Possibly some of the numerous plated and other spurious specimens, now regarded as contemporary forgeries of antique coins, may have at the time been regularly utilized, even if not expressly manufactured, for funereal and sepulchral purposes, or for votive offerings at shrines, to be cast into sacred wells, &c. It has been remarked by a numismatist, Mr. J. Allan tells me, that in finds of Roman denarii which have been cast as votive offerings into wells, &c., the proportion of the plated pieces is surprisingly large. The Chinese use pasteboard facsimiles of Mexican dollars for funereal purposes (see Rev. E. Rogers, *Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1911, fourth series, vol. xi. p. 11).

In regard, however, to real treasures of great value deposited in tombs, see the account of jewels, &c., found in 1544, in the tomb of Maria, the child-wife of the Emperor Honorius and daughter of his all-powerful adviser, Stilicho; and the golden signet-ring and other

objects found in 1654 in the tomb of the Frankish King Childeric I, who died in 481 A.D. (C. W. King, on "Tomb Treasures," in *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, pp. 191–194). The original object of depositing such treasures in tombs before the establishment of Christianity had apparently been the idea of propitiating the *Manes* of the deceased.

The subject of relative fear or fearlessness of death has already been referred to in Part I., and under various preceding headings (especially Heading V.) in Part II. Casca, in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, says, "Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life, cuts off so many years of fearing death." Again, in the same play (act ii. scene 2), Caesar says—

> "Cowards die many times before their deaths;
> The valiant never taste of death but once.
> Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
> It seems to me most strange that men should fear,
> Seeing that death, a necessary end,
> Will come, when it will come."

Lucilius, the Latin satirical poet of the second century B.C., wrote (translation by W. Cowper)—

> "Far happier are the dead, methinks, than they
> Who look for death, and fear it every day."

Seneca (*Epist.*, 69) spoke of the folly of dying from the fear of death ("Stultitia est timore mortis mori"), and Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), quoted as a "true saying," "Timor mortis morte pejor." This particular point is well illustrated by one of Thomas Rowlandson's coloured caricatures (1792), entitled "The Hypochondriac." The miserable patient, seated in a chair, is a prey to fears. He sees a hearse and a skeleton (Death) threatening to spear him, whilst a ghastly figure personifying Suicide offers him a pistol or a rope to

kill himself with. Francis Bacon (in the essay already referred to) allows that the pomp and circumstances attending deaths make the idea of death terrible: "groanes and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping and blackes (*i.e.* hired mourners?) and obsequies, and the like;" but he also reminds one that the fear of death is not strong enough to prevent it being mastered by various human passions, including revenge, love, and honour.

In regard to the fear of death, much depends on a man's philosophical and religious ideas on life and death, but very much depends also on his age, his aims and aspirations, his surroundings, his means and opportunities for (and power of) enjoyment, his sensibility towards pain and grief, and, lastly not least, his present mental and bodily state of health. Sir Richard Baker (1568–1645) said, "Health is the wealth of wealth;" and Ralph Waldo Emerson's exclamation—"Give me health and a day, and I will make the pomp of kings and emperors look ridiculous"—conveys much the same meaning as Martial's well-known line, "Non est vivere sed valere vita." [164]

[164] This hendacasyllabic line from Martial (*Epig.*, vi. 70. 15) was adopted as a motto by the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London (afterwards merged into the Royal Society of Medicine); but, like many aphorisms, it is neither true in the literal sense, nor altogether true in the sense which was originally intended, namely, "Real life is the being in health, not merely the being alive." How far, in this latter sense, it is a true saying depends, of course, on what is meant by "health" and "real life." Some persons are satisfied with life, and make it not only enjoyable to themselves, but even useful to others, though they can hardly be said to possess "health." To such persons, indeed, it seems as if, owing to their physical deficiency, more of the stream of vital energy has been directed into intellectual channels, thus increasing their powers of observation, their love of Nature, their sympathy with others, and their highest mental enjoyments of life.

Under Heading IV., on "Death as the End of Pain and Misery," I alluded to the English finger-ring inscription—"Breath paine, Death gaine"—and to the great fresco painting (fourteenth century) of the "Triumph of Death" in the Campo Santo of Pisa, where the poor and wretched are represented praying to die, but invoking death in vain. The same idea is expressed on the fifteenth-century fresco of the "Triumph of Death" in the Palazzo Sclafani at Palermo. There Death is represented triumphing over pope, kings, and the great of the world. With his darts he has just struck down a lady and a youth in the midst of social festivities, but the poor and wretched implore him in vain to release them from their misery. With these and other ideas and designs already referred to (Heading IV.), the following Latin inscriptions on sun-dials might be compared: "Afflictis lentae, celeres gaudentibus horae;" and "Felicibus brevis, miseris vita longa" (cf. also Ecclesiasticus xli. 2).

It is, however, by no means true that aged infirm persons and weary labourers, who believe they are tired of life, always welcome the approach of death. Amongst ancient writings, Aesop's fable of "Death and the Woodcutter" may be remembered in this connexion, and so may the passage in Homer's *Odyssey* (book xi.), where the shade of Achilles in the nether world tells Ulysses that it were better to be a poor labourer's hireling amongst the living than a king amongst the dead. Compare also La Fontaine's fable, *La Mort et le Mourant;* in his *La Mort et le Bucheron* he writes—

> "Plutôt souffrir que mourir
> C'est la device des hommes."

J. S. Le Fanu, in a beautiful passage of one of his best-

known novels, likens the unwillingness of the old persons to die and their clinging to a sometimes even painful life to the unwillingness of tired-out children to say Good night and go to bed; and on the same subject one may call to mind the lightly written introductory chapter of Claude Tillier's ever-popular novel, *Mon Oncle Benjamin*. Thomas Moore's lines (*Odes of Anacreon*) were, however, not meant to refer specially to aged persons—

> "Still as death approaches nearer,
> The joys of life are sweeter, dearer."

A great deal has been written by ancient and modern authors in various languages and in various parts of the world to remedy unreasonable fear and to offer consolation for the idea of one's own approaching death and for the death of one's friends (see Part I., and Headings I., II., IV., XV., and XVIII. of Part II.). Fortunately (as already mentioned), the near approach of natural death is generally by no means so terrible to the dying individual himself as it is still popularly supposed to be, and as it often is to his loving friends at the death-bed. All physicians, nurses, and others, whose duties have necessitated their frequent presence at death scenes, more or less strongly corroborate this statement; and to support it I need only refer, amongst others, to the writings of Sir Henry Halford, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Sir W. S. Savory,[165] Sir William Osler,[166] Professor H. Nothnagel,[167] and Professor C. A. Ewald,[168] as well as to Colonel

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[165] See *On Life and Death*, London, 1863, p. 178.

[166] See *Science and Immortality*, London, 1904, p. 36.

[167] See *Das Sterben* (second edition, Vienna, 1908, p. 52), by Professor Hermann Nothnagel. His own last illness, in 1905, was apparently attended by much distress, but in "angina pectoris," from which he suffered, the ending is sometimes so sudden, that in reference to it,

T. H. Lewin's work, *Life and Death, being an Authentic Account of the Deaths of One Hundred Celebrated Men and Women* (London, 1910). How different is all such testimony from many modern ideas about "last hours" ("Mourir n'est rien, c'est notre dernière heure!") and from those suggested by the illustrations of the religious "guide-book," *Ars Moriendi* (which has been already referred to in Part I. B.), and other orthodox teaching of the mediaeval Christian Church! The idea of "dying well" (according to Christian or other teachings) has doubtless been occasionally illustrated in very different ways, when persons in sound health have (wrongly) supposed that they by mistake have just swallowed some deadly poison for which no antidote or treatment is efficacious.

As all medals relating to funerals and sepulchral ceremonies to some extent belong here, those on cremation mentioned in connexion with Heading X., should likewise find a place under the present Heading. Here belong also medals commemorating reinterments, such as the medal by N. G. A. Brenet on the transportation, in 1840, of the remains of the Emperor Napoleon I from Saint Helena to France (cf. F. P. Weber, *Medals and Medallions of the Nineteenth Century relating to England by Foreign Artists*, London, 1894, p. 13). I have not, however, thought it advisable to overburden Part III. with a description of all such medals or of most of the countless medals of various periods and various countries relating to funerals.

Sir W. Osler (in one of his writings) has quoted Newman's lines on the sudden death of his mother—

> "One moment here, the next she trod
> The viewless mansions of her God."

Nothnagel kept a diary of his last hours, and another medical sufferer from "angina pectoris," Dr. G. H. R. Dabbs (died 1913), did so also.

[168] Ewald, *Ueber Altern und Sterben*, 1913, p. 30.

XXI. Skulls, Animated Skeletons, &c., in Grotesque Art.

Many objects of Chinese and Japanese art should (see pp. 425–6) be included under this heading, the representations of skeletons, &c., serving the purpose of grotesqueness without apparently being intended to possess any *memento mori* or other special significance. Examples of this group are furnished also by the art of many other countries, especially of relatively modern times (eighteenth century and later) (cf. Part I. D, and Part IV. Heading II.).

Skulls and skeletons tend to lose their horror in grotesque art, and a skull carved smoothly on the top of a post is as convenient to rest a hand on as the bald head in bronze of a celebrated pathologist of the latter part of the nineteenth century, which I have seen serving the same purpose as the top of a stair-post at the entrance to the house of one of his artistic friends.

The element of grotesque amusement in many of the skeleton designs in modern art corresponds to a similar tendency in literature, as evidenced by the ghost stories of the *Ingoldsby Legends* (R. H. Barham) and *Tam O'Shanter* (Robert Burns, 1791). Cf. also the final stanza of Ferd. Riemen's amusing *Hobel-Lied*, which might quite well accompany a modern grotesque "Dance of Death" scene, almost stripped of terror by its homely (*genre*) good humour. However, just as in modern literature, some of the tales of Edgar Allan Poe are truly ghastly, so in modern art some of the designs of Antoine Wiertz and Félicien Rops inspire real horror. In regard to Chinese and Japanese "horrors" (whether grotesque or not), a callous or unfeeling or even cruel attitude towards human pain and suffering may sometimes account for their existence.

PART III.

COINS, MEDALS, AND MEDAL-LIKE TOKENS RELATING TO DEATH AND THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH.

MOST of these pieces fall under one of the following classes:—

(A) Personal or other medals, bearing *memento mori* devices, as, for instance, those of Erasmus of Rotterdam.

(B) Ordinary commemorative medals, mostly of well-known individuals, issued on their death (sometimes on their assassination or execution). Some of these, like certain sepulchral monuments[169] of Church dignitaries and other persons of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and like certain mourning finger-rings (described later on), have been designed to serve as a *memento mori* to the living as well as a memorial of the dead.

(C) Memorial medalets made, like some memorial and mourning finger-rings, to be distributed "in memoriam" at funerals. Some of these, like some of those of the preceding class, have been designed so to serve the double purpose of a memorial of the dead and a *memento mori* to the living.

(D) Various pieces bearing *memento mori* devices, used

[169] The sepulchral monument of Archbishop Chichele (died 1443) and similar monuments, especially of the *gisant* class, have been considered in Part I., C.

as tickets, passes, or badges, in connexion with funeral celebrations, medical guilds (Delft and Middelburg), medical gardens (Amsterdam), &c. According to Bergsøe (*Danske Medailler og Jetons*, Copenhagen, 1893, p. 141), certain death's head medalets were at one time used by medical students of the Copenhagen University as badges on their caps. In Holbein's picture, known as "The Ambassadors" (1535), in the National Gallery, London, one of the two young men, Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, is represented wearing a little death's head of silver or white enamel mounted on gold as a jewel in his black bonnet. This was perhaps an outward sign of the wearer's mental attitude, indicated likewise by the ("hidden") skull at his feet. Needless to say, the death's heads worn as cap-badges by some regiments in the German and English armies have a very different significance.

(E) Medals bearing *memento mori* devices designed to have a "moral" significance, and to be used as gifts or rewards on special occasions, like the so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" of the town of Basel. These may be compared to *memento mori* finger-rings and jewels used for devotional purposes, &c.

In regard to the persons represented on the medals, the selection I have made cannot be regarded as a "collection of medals of famous men and women," for almost unknown individuals are commemorated side by side with those whose names are still household words amongst the educated classes of the whole world. The same may be said of almost every collection of portraits,[170]

[170] In regard, for instance, to collections of medals of "famous" physicians and naturalists, Billroth (1829–1894), the great surgeon, once remarked to Dr. J. Brettauer of Trieste (who died in 1905), that the

and in the case of some medallions, just as in the case of many beautifully painted or sculptured portraits, the very name of the person represented has been irretrievably lost.

In the present work I have not attempted to describe *every* medal, coin, medallic token, or badge bearing a device or inscription relating to death, but those that I have selected include characteristic examples of various periods. The order followed is mainly chronological, and the large Roman numerals in brackets, as I have already stated, refer to the aspects of, or attitudes towards, death which I think the devices or inscriptions on the medals illustrate.

(X.) Greek coins illustrating a medical and hygienic attitude towards preventible death in the fifth century B.C.

The following silver coins of Selinus in Sicily date from about 466–415 B.C., and commemorate the freeing of Selinus from a pestilence of some kind (malaria ?)[171] by the drainage of the neighbouring marshlands.

Obv.—Apollo and Artemis standing side by side in a slowly moving quadriga, the former discharging arrows from his bow.

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medals in such collections are chiefly, not of distinguished and well-known, but of forgotten, obscure, or absolutely unknown physicians and naturalists. This was the Dr. Brettauer who bequeathed his magnificent collection of medals relating to medicine and allied subjects to the University of Vienna.

[171] In regard to the question of malaria, it seems to have been at about the same period (in the fifth century B.C.) that Greece proper first began to suffer severely from malaria, a disease which appears ultimately to have taken an important place among the causes of Greek national decadence. *Vide* W. H. S. Jones, *Malaria and Greek History*, Manchester, 1909. Several epigrams quoted by J. D. Rolleston (*Proc. Roy. Soc. Med., Sect. Hist. of Med.*, London, 1914. vii. pp. 36, 37) from the *Greek Anthology*, allude to malaria.

Rev.—The river-god Selinus, naked, with short horns, holding patera and lustral branch, sacrificing at an altar of Asklepios (Aesculapius), in front of

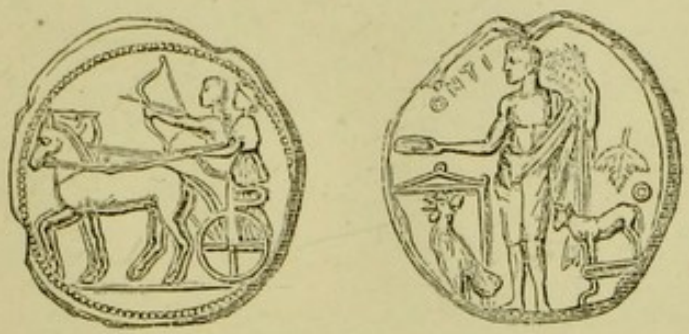

FIG. 34.—Tetradrachm of Selinus.

which is a cock. Behind him on a pedestal is the figure of a bull, and in the field above is a selinon leaf. Inscription: ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. (Fig. 34.)

Silver tetradrachm. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Sicily*, London, 1878, p. 140.

B. V. Head (*Historia Numorum*, Oxford, 1887, p. 148) says of this piece: "Apollo is here regarded as the healing god (*ἀλεξίκακος*) who, with his radiant arrows, slays the pestilence as he slew the Python. Artemis stands behind him in her capacity of *εἰλείθυια* or *σοωδῖνα*, for the plague had fallen heavily on the women too: *ὥστε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δυστοκεῖν* (Diogenes Laertius, lib. viii. 2, *Life of Empedocles*, 70). On the reverse the river-god himself makes formal libation to the god of health, in gratitude for the cleansing of his waters, whilst the image of the bull symbolizes the sacrifice which was offered on the occasion."

Obv.—Heracles contending with a wild bull, which he seizes by the horn, and is about to slay with his club. Inscription: ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ.

Rev.—The river-god Hypsas sacrificing before an altar, around which a serpent twines. He holds a

branch and a patera. Behind him a marsh-bird (stork) is seen departing. In the field, a selinon leaf. Inscription : ΗΥΨΑΣ. (Fig. 35.)

FIG. 35.—Didrachm of Selinus.

Silver didrachm. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Sicily*, London, 1878, p. 141.

Head (*loc. cit.*) says of this piece : "Here, instead of Apollo, it is the sun-god Herakles, who is shown struggling with the destructive powers of moisture symbolized by the bull, while on the reverse the river Hypsas takes the place of the river Selinus. The marsh-bird is seen retreating, for she can no longer find a congenial home on the banks of the Hypsas now that Empedocles has drained the lands." It seems that the philosopher Empedocles, who at that time was at the height of his fame, put a stop to the plague by turning two neighbouring streams into one, *καὶ καταμίξαντα γλυκᾶναι τὰ ῥεύματα* (Diogenes Laertius, *loc. cit.*). The Seluntines conferred divine honours upon Empedocles, and their above-described coins still exist as a wonderful monumental record of the events in question.

(II.) Greek coins of Eleusis in Attica, commemorating the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The Eleusinian Mysteries were supposed to have offered a comforting view in regard to death and a

future existence. They are commemorated on certain bronze coins of Eleusis, supposed to date from the fourth century B.C., which represent Triptolemos in a winged

FIG. 36.—Bronze coin of Eleusis.

car drawn by serpents (dragons) on the obverse; and a pig on a pine-torch, or encircled with a wreath of corn, on the reverse, with the inscription ΕΛΕΥΣΙ (Fig. 36).

Another bronze coin of Eleusis, also referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries, has the head of Demeter or Persephone on the obverse; and a "plemochoë" on a pedestal on the reverse, with the inscription ΕΛΕΥΣ. *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum—Attica*, London, 1888, pp. 112–114.

In regard to antique gems engraved with devices referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries, especially after the introduction of these mysteries into Italy and Rome, see A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, 1900, vol. 3, pp. 208, 253, 339; see also C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885, Pl. xlvi. No. 3.

(V.) The murder of Julius Caesar, on the Ides (15th day) of March, 44 B.C.

There is a Roman denarius commemorating the murder of Caesar, struck (according to the evidence of the historian Dion Cassius [172]) by actual order of one of his murderers, M. Junius Brutus.

[172] According to Dion Cassius (*Historia Romana*, lib. xlvii. sect. 25),

Obv.—Bare head of Brutus to right. Inscription : BRVT. IMP. L · PLAET · CEST. (Brutus imperator; Lucius Plaetorius Cestianus).

Rev.—Cap or pileus (as the emblem of liberty) between two daggers. Below, inscription : EID · MAR · (Eidibus Martis). (Fig. 37.)

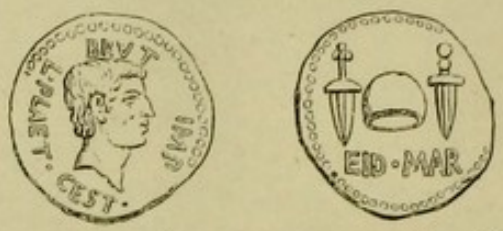

FIG. 37.—Roman denariuns, commemorating the murder of Julius Caesar.

E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, Paris, 1886, vol. ii. p. 119, No. 52. Of this rare silver denarius antique plated copies likewise occur. The piece was doubtless struck in the East some time between B.C. 44 (when Caesar was assassinated) and the battle of Philippi (B.C. 42). Of the moneyer L. Plaetorius Cestianus no mention is made in history.

Several coins struck under Brutus and Cassius after the murder of Caesar, have the head of Liberty on the obverse, with the inscription, LIBERTAS or LEIBERTAS.

During the interregnum which followed the death of Nero (68 A.D.), denarii were struck with the head of Liberty on the obverse and with the old type of the pileus between two daggers on the reverse, the obverse and reverse inscriptions reading: LIBERTAS P. R. RESTITVTA (Libertas populi Romani restituta).

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the two daggers on the reverse signify the joint shares of Brutus and Cassius in the murder. See also Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, vol. vi. (1796), p. 24.

(Fig. 38.) *Vide* H. Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, first edition, 1859, vol. i. p. 249, Nos. 267 and 268.

FIG. 38.—Roman denarius struck during the interregnum following the overthrow of Nero.

The type of the "cap of liberty" between two daggers occurs again on the reverse of a medal (described later on) commemorating the murder of Alexander de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence, in 1537, by his kinsman, Lorenzo de' Medici, called "Lorenzino."

(VIII.) Coins of Samudragupta, Indian king, 337 to 380 A.D.

On one side of the gold coins of the "battle-axe type," King Samudragupta is represented standing, holding the axe of Kritanta (the "End-maker," or Death), signifying that the king in question is as great a conqueror as Death himself is. The surrounding inscription means: "Wielding the axe of Kritanta, he conquers even invincible kings." There are other coins commemorating Samudragupta's successes in the arts of war and peace, his wonderful conquering campaigns, and his musical attainments. His reign was long and prosperous.

(XI.) Martyrdom of John Huss, the Bohemian Reformer, 1415.

The Reformer's death at the stake is represented on various sixteenth-century memorial medals by the medallists, Michael Hohenauer and Ludwig Neufarer.

One of these medals bears the portrait of Count Stephan Schlick on the obverse. Hohenauer's monogram was mistaken by Adolf Erman, before Fiala's work on the subject, for that of Hieronymus Magdeburger. *Vide* L. Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists;* Eduard Fiala's note on Michael Hohenauer in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vienna, 1890, vol. 22, p. 258; and R. Weil, "Die Medaille auf Johannes Hus," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin, 1887, vol. 14, p. 125.

Here it may be mentioned, by the way, that a few Byzantine and other relatively early Christian medalets, &c., exist, commemorating Christian martyrs. Amongst the martyrs most frequently portrayed are St. Lawrence, St. Agnes, and St. Menas of Alexandria (the last especially on little pilgrims' terra-cotta flasks from Egypt). On an early Christian leaden medalet (of the fifth century?) with loop for suspension, figured by F. X. Kraus (*Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896, vol. i. p. 126), the soul of the martyred St. Lawrence is represented as a draped (female?) figure, in the attitude of an *orans*, rising out of the martyr's roasting body. This medal is likewise figured in Fernand Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Paris, vol. i. (1907) column 431. In the same work several other ancient representations of martyrdoms are figured (vol. i. part i. columns 423–438). In regard to representations of the human soul in early Christian art (usually as a diminutive nude human figure escaping from the mouth of a dying individual), see the illustrations in L. Twining's *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art* (London, new edition, 1885).

(I. and XVII.) *Memento mori* medals by Giovanni Boldu, of Venice, 1458–1466.

Obv.—Bust of Boldu, with Greek inscription.

Rev.—A young man, nude, sitting on a rock, to right, hiding his face with his hands; on the right a winged child is seated, resting his right arm on a skull and holding a torch in his left (? genius holding the torch or flame of the young man's life). Legend: OPVS. IOANIS. BOLDV. PICTORIS. VENETI. XOGRAFI. MCCCCLVIII. (Fig. 39.)

Diameter, 3·35 inches; cast in bronze. A Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, 1883, vol. i. p. 36, No. 1. A. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1887, vol. i. (Venetian Medals), Pl. ii. No. 2.

FIG. 39 (reduced).—Reverse of a medal by Giovanni Boldu, of Venice, 1458.

According to Cornelius von Fabriczy (*Italian Medals*, translated by Mrs. G. W. Hamilton, London, 1904, p. 47), the winged child on the reverse of this medal is copied from the cupid on the reverse of a medal of the Marquis Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 27) made by the medallist, Pietro da Fano, about 1452–1457. I have little doubt that Boldu's reverse type, above described (as well as that of the medal by Boldu, to which I refer in Part IV., Fig. 120), was

intended to represent a rather pessimistic aspect of human life, reminding one of Goethe's lines commencing, "Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass." The child is thrust into life and forced to join in its race, with its trials and troubles, its punishments and rewards; and death, a cure for grief and misery, awaits him at the end.

A third medal, made by Boldu in 1466, represents the bust of the Roman Emperor Caracalla on the obverse,

FIG. 40 (reduced).—Reverse of a medal by Giovanni Boldu, of Venice, 1466.

with the legend: ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVGVSTVS. The reverse is similar to that of the first-described medal, but it has the legend, IO. SON. FINE ("I am the end") and the date MCCCCLXVI. (Fig. 40.)

Diameter, 3·6 inches; cast in bronze. Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 37, No. 4. Heiss, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. ii. No. 3.

The reverse type of this medal has apparently suggested the design for one of the marble medallions which I have noticed on the façade of the famous Certosa di Pavia (Carthusian Monastery, near Pavia), but instead of the legend, IO. SON. FINE, the marble medallion has

the legend: INNOCENTIA. E. MEMORIA. MORTIS. The reverse type was also used, Dr. Capparoni tells me, for a bronze plaque commemorating the death at Rome, in 1689, of Queen Christina of Sweden (diameter, 3·4 inches, formerly in the Guerrini collection).

(V.) Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici and the Pazzi conspiracy (1478).

The Pazzi conspiracy (1478) was formed by members of the Pazzi family, assisted by Francesco Salviati, titular Archbishop of Pisa. The conspirators decided to assassinate the two brothers whilst they were attending Mass in the Duomo of Florence. Giuliano was killed, but Lorenzo escaped and took vengeance on the assassins. The following medal was formerly attributed to Antonio del Pollajuolo, owing to a statement of Vasari, but has recently been assigned by W. Bode to Bertoldo di Giovanni, the Florentine sculptor (died 1492).

Obv.—An octagonal scaffolding representing the pillars of the Duomo. Above, the head of Lorenzo de' Medici to right. Below, priests ministering at an altar. Outside the enclosure, conspirators with swords drawn, and others, Lorenzo escaping. Inscription: LAVRENTIVS MEDICES and SALVS PVBLICA.

Rev.—A similar scene, with the head of Giuliano (to left) above it; Giuliano being slain, below. Inscription: IVLIANVS MEDICES and LVCTVS PVBLICVS.

Diameter, 2·5 inches; cast in bronze. C. F. Keary, *Italian Medals exhibited in the British Museum*, 1881, p. 16, No. 34. C. von Fabriczy, *Italian Medals*, English edition by Mrs. Hamilton, London, 1904, pp. 111, 112.

A medal of Giuliano de' Medici, commemorating the same event, has the portrait of Giuliano on the obverse, with the inscription: IVLIANVS. MEDICES. On the

reverse is a figure of Nemesis, with the inscription, NEMESIS. Diameter, 3·55 inches. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, Paris, 1887, vol. iii. p. 27.

(II.) Medal of Domenico Riccio, a Dominican monk (*circa* 1498).

Obv.—Bust, to left, in monastic dress, the head covered by a hood. Inscription: DOMINICVS RICCIVS.

Rev.—Phoenix (emblem of the resurrection of the body and immortality of the soul) under the sun. Inscription: MORTE. VITA. HYEME. AESTATE. PROPE. LONGE. (Refers to the endless summer for the blessed after their wintry life on earth.)

Diameter, 2·8 inches. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 77; also vol. iii. (1887), p. 185.

According to G. Milanesi (quoted by Armand), this Domenico Riccio was Fra Domenico da Pescia, Savonarola's disciple and companion, who was executed with him in 1498.

(I. and XIII.) *Memento mori* medal of Fra Cesario Contughi (second half of fifteenth century).

Obv.—Bust, to left, in Servite dress, the head covered by a hood. Inscription: FR(ATER) · C(A)ESARIVS. FER(RARIENSIS) · ORDIN(I)S. · SER(VORVM) · B(EATAE) · M(ARIAE) · V(IRGINIS) · DIVIN(VS) · ET · EXCELLEN(S) · DOC(TOR) · AC · DIVI(NI) · VER(BI) · FAMOSIS(SIMVS) · PR(A)EDICATOR.

Rev.—Fra Cesario, wearing the dress of the religious order of Servites, seated, facing, in an attitude of meditation; a death's head on the ground at his side. Inscription: INSPICE · (TV) MORTALE · GENVS · MORS · OMNIA · DELE (that is, delet) · —OPVS · SPERANDEI.

Diameter, 3·35 inches; cast in bronze. By Sperandio of Mantua. A. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs*

de la Renaissance: Sperandio de Mantoue, Paris, 1886, p. 36, Pl. v. No. 3.

Fra Cesario Contughi, sometimes called Cesarione, of the order of Servites, was a famous preacher, and Dean of the University of Ferrara. He died in 1508. My attention was kindly directed to this medal by Mr. G. F. Hill.

(I.) *Memento mori* medal of Galeotto Marzi (second half of fifteenth century).

Obv.—Bust to left. Inscription: GALEOTTVS. MARTIVS. POETA. CLARS. MATHEMATICVS. ET. ORATOR.

Rev.—Two shelves of books, those in one upright, in the other lying flat. Inscription: NASCENTES. MORIMVR. FINIS. Q. AB. ORIGINE. PENDET. [Manilius, *Astronomicon*, iv. 16.] SVPERATA. TELLVS. SIDERA. DONAT.

Diameter, 4·3 inches; Italian fifteenth-century cast medal. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 35, No. 25.

Galeotto Marzi was a poet and learned man. He was tutor to the son of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary.

There is a similar medal of smaller size (diameter, 3·1 inches) with the same design and legend on the reverse, but with a somewhat younger portrait on the obverse (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 35, No. 26).

(I.) *Memento mori* medal, with portrait of Virgil, apparently of fifteenth-century work.

Obv.—Profile bust of Virgil to left, in mediaeval dress, wearing barrette, between the letters P (for *Poeta*) and O (for *Orator*); below, VIRGILIVS; the whole within an ornamental circle. Outside this circle is the inscription, in Gothic letters—

"Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc Parthenope. Cecini pascua, rura, duces."

Following the inscription is the fanciful date 113Ϙ (= 1134).

Rev.—The head and neck (skull, spinal column, collar-bones) of a skeleton facing, in an ornamental circle. The skull is being "eaten by worms," and has a thigh-bone between its jaws; remnants of neck-muscles are indicated. Inscription in Gothic letters: "Quod sumus, hoc eritis, fuimus quandoque quod estis."

Diameter, 2·6 inches. A specimen, from the Bernal Collection, in silver-gilt, cast and chased, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, to the officials of which I am indebted for the plaster-cast from which the accompanying illustration (Fig. 41) was made. Another specimen has been described in *L'Arte*, Rome, 1907, vol. x. pp. 449–450; and 1908, vol. xi. p. 56.

The whole type of the medal must refer to Virgil's reputed tomb at Naples, over which (according to Donatus) was engraved the inscription, "Mantua me genuit," &c. In mediaeval times and later, this tomb constituted one of the great sights for visitors at Naples, and a reputed tomb is still shown near the eastern entrance of the "Grotta de Posilipo." The date (1134) on the medal probably refers to the alleged original discovery by an Englishman (as narrated by Gervase of Tilbury, in his *Otia Imperialia*) of the poet's bones inside a mountain, in the reign of Roger of Sicily (see Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, English translation by E. F. M. Benecke, London, 1895, p. 273). I am indebted to Mr. G. F. Hill for information. On Virgil's tomb, see also R. T. Günther, *Pausilypon, etc.*, Oxford, 1913.

An earlier date than the fifteenth century cannot, I maintain, be admitted for this medal, which appears to be the work of a good goldsmith but a poor artist. It was

FIG. 41.—*Memento mori* medal, with portrait of Virgil: obverse.

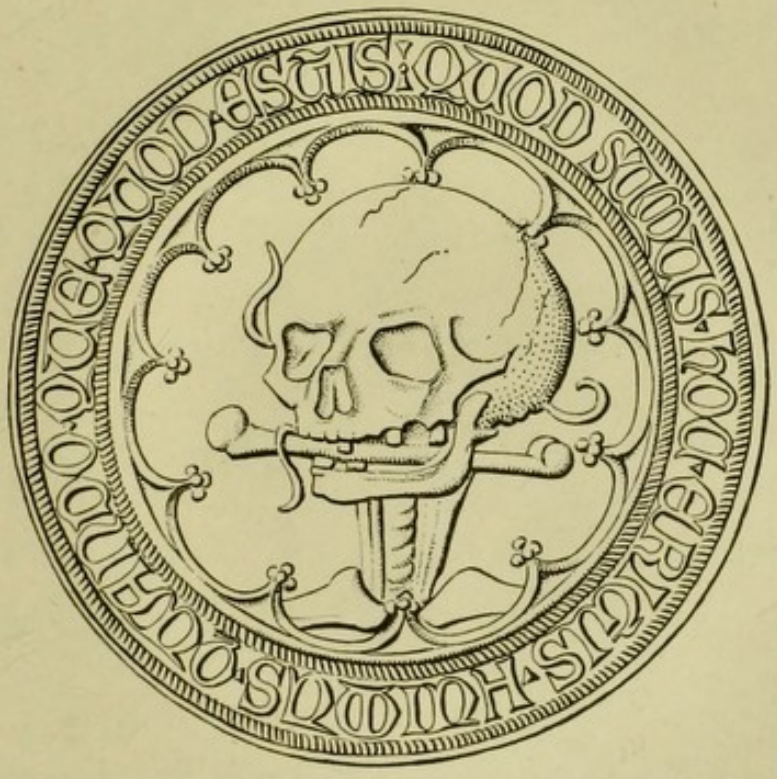

FIG. 42.—*Memento mori* medal, with portrait of Virgil: reverse.

perhaps made to be "planted" at Naples, and sold as a valuable, if not magical, relic to rich and credulous, though possibly lettered, travellers of the period. The devices of obverse and reverse are analogous to the two figures on the *gisant* class of sepulchral monuments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see Part I. C), where an upper figure represents the deceased with all the attributes of worldly wealth, power, and social rank, whilst on a lower slab or compartment an emaciated or decaying body or skeleton is represented—often being eaten with worms —to warn the rich and great, and comfort the poor and unfortunate, of this world, by reminding them of the vanity of wealth and earthly titles in the presence of Death, the leveller of all bodily and social distinctions. The *gisant* type of sepulchral monument did not come into existence before the fifteenth century, and this fact alone furnishes almost conclusive evidence that the medal under consideration is not of earlier date.

(I) Several jetons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, described by J. F. Dugniolle amongst historical jetons of the Netherlands (*Le Jeton Historique des dix-sept Provinces des Pays-Bas*, Bruxelles, 1876–1877), bear the inscription, "In omnibus respice finem" (but cf. p. 101).

(XI.) Two Italian medals of about 1500, by the medallist termed by Armand, "le Médailleur à la Fortune," have on the reverse the inscription: PRIVS. MORI. QVA(M). TVRPARI ("Rather to die than be defiled"). On the obverse of one of these medals is the portrait of Lodovico Lucio, of Sienna (A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 98, No. 2). On the obverse of the other is

the portrait of Allessandro Vecchietti (1472–1532) of Florence (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 99, No. 4).

(I.) Italian portrait medal (said to be of about 1500 ?).

Obv.—Head of a young man to left. Inscription: PAN-DVLPHVS · IANOINTIS · SVE · XXVIII.

Rev.—Human skull between what seem to be two closed doors with crosses marked on them. Inscription: O(MN)IVM · RERVM · VICISSITIVDO.

Diameter, 2·7 inches; bronze. A specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum was obtained from the Piot sale at Paris, in 1864.

The passage in Terence (*Eunuchus*, 2. 2. 45) from which the legend on the reverse is taken is: "Omnium rerum, heus, vicissitudo est." The identity of the man, whose portrait in the 28th year of his age is represented on the obverse, is apparently unknown, and the legend seems to be blundered. I am indebted for information about this medal to Mr. A. Richmond and Mr. W. W. Watts, of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

(XI.) Here may be mentioned some Italian bronze plaques of the early part of the sixteenth century: the bust of Lucretia with a dagger in her hand by Moderno, and a larger representation of Lucretia by Andrea Briosco, surnamed Riccio. Moderno likewise represented on a circular plaque (diameter, 1·3 inches) the Roman tradition of the self-sacrifice of Marcus Curtius, who, on horseback and fully armed, was said to have leaped into a chasm which had appeared in the forum. There are likewise German sixteenth-century "moral" medals of Lucretia.

In Part II. Heading XI., and in Part IV., I have alluded to Italian niello finger-rings of the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries, representing conventional portraits of Lucretia. In the romance and art of the Middle Ages Lucretia's place as the legendary paragon of all female purity and honour may be compared with that of Helen of Troy as the legendary ideal of all female beauty. Hence Cervantes, in his immortal novel, makes Don Quixote proclaim, in caricature of mediaeval romance, that the lady of his heart, Aldonza Lorenzo, a simple farm-girl, is "fairer than Helen and purer than Lucretia." In regard to pictures and works of art (especially Italian of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) representing the suicide of Lucretia as an example of female virtue, a curious Latin epigram, attributed to Beza, is printed in Abraham Wright's *Delitiae Delitiarum* (Oxford, 1637, p. 14). It has been translated as follows by Dr. George Turnbull (*vide* H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 134) :—

> "If Tarquin's wrong, Lucretia, pleased your soul,
> Death was but justice for a crime so foul ;
> But if by strength alone his will he had,
> To die for his misdoings proves you mad :
> Then be no more the matron's boast and pride,
> You lived a wanton, or a fool you died."

The following medal is conveniently arranged here, though a little out of its order in chronological sequence.

(XI.) Medal of Giulia Astallia, a "Lucretia" of the fifteenth century.

Obv.—Portrait of a girl in peasant's dress. Inscription: DIVA · IVLIA · ASTALLIA.

Rev.—Phoenix on burning funeral pyre looking towards the sun. Inscription: VNICVM · FOR(titudinis) · ET · PVD(icitiae) · EXEMPLVM.

Diameter, 2·5 inches; cast in bronze. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 83, No. 3.

This medal (the idea of the obverse inscription of which is evidently derived from the "consecratio" coins, commemorating the deification of Roman empresses) is probably by a medallist of Mantua of the end of the fifteenth century. It was attributed by J. Friedlaender to Bartolo Talpa. The Giulia Astallia portrayed on the medal as a "unique example of courage and chastity," has been supposed to be the Giulia of one of Bandello's tales, who, though of peasant parentage, rivalled the Roman Lucretia in chastity (*The Novels of Matteo Bandello, Bishop of Agen*, done into English by John Payne, London, 1890, vol. i. p. 118, Novel 7). The medallic portrait may, however, be an imaginary one, made many years after the girl's death. The phoenix ("the Arabian bird") on the reverse signifies "an unique example," or paragon, for, according to the Oriental myth, there was only one phoenix in existence at a time. Compare Shakespeare's *Cymbeline:* "She is alone the Arabian bird."

Compare also the following passage in *The Heroicall Devises of M. C. Paradin, &c.* (English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 349): "Bone, a most famous and noble woman of Savoy, and moother to John Galeaz, Duke of Milan, after her husbandes deceasse, caused a coine to bee made (which the people there doe call a testone) upon the one side whereof was a phenixe pourtraied with these wordes: *Sola facta solum Deum sequor.* Signifying therby, that as the Phenix is alone herselfe in the world, so she beeing made a widow by the death of her husband, voweth her selfe to live for ever with God alone."

This silver testone of Bona of Savoy, as Regent of Milan (1476–1480), bears her profile portrait to right on the obverse, and on the reverse the phoenix over a lighted funeral pyre, with the inscription as above stated. The piece, like other Milanese coins of the period, is supposed to be the work of Caradosso, one of the greatest medallic artists of the Italian

Renaissance. In regard to her veiled portrait on the obverse, he may have been influenced a little by the veiled portrait of Queen Philistis (wife of Hieron II of Syracuse, 275–216 B.C.) on silver coins of Syracuse, or by Egyptian silver coins with the veiled portrait of Queen Berenice II (third century B.C.).

(I.) Medals of Erasmus in 1519 and 1531, with his *memento mori* device.

Obv.—Bust of Erasmus in profile to left. In the field: ER. ROT. ("Erasmus of Rotterdam"). Legend: IMAGO . AD . VIVÂ . EFFIGÎÈ . EXPRESSA . THN · KPEITTΩ · TA · ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ · ΔΕΙΞΕΙ ("His image modelled to the living features. His writings will represent it better"). Below the bust is the date 1519.

Rev.—A man's head to left on a cubical boundary stone inscribed, TERMINVS. In the field: CONCEDO NVLLI ("I yield to none"). Legend: OPA · TEΛOΣ · MAKPOY · BIOY · [173] MORS VLTIMA LINEA RERVM ("Keep in view the end of a long life. Death is the final goal of all"). (Fig. 43.)

Diameter, 4·15 inches; in bronze or lead; cast. Julien Simonis, *L'Art du Médailleur en Belgique*, Bruxelles, 1900, Pl. ii. No. 3.

There are two very similar but smaller medals, both cast. One (an obverse only) bears the same date 1519 (diameter, 1·75 inches; Simonis, *op. cit.*, Pl. ii. No. 4) as the large medal, and has the inscription, ERASMVS · ROTERO · around the portrait of Erasmus. The other, the smallest of the three, is dated 1531 (diameter, 1·35 inches; Simonis, *op. cit.*, Pl. ii. No. 5), and very much

[173] According to the story narrated by Plutarch in his Life of Solon, ὅρα τέλος μακροῦ βίου was the substance of the advice given by Solon to Croesus, King of Lydia, as the latter afterwards, when defeated and a prisoner, explained to his conqueror, Cyrus. Ὅρα τέλος is the ordinary Greek equivalent of the Latin "Respice finem;" and like Γνῶθι σεαυτόν, it is included amongst the wise sayings of the seven wise men of Greece.

resembles the largest medal in type and legends, but the features of Erasmus are slightly more sharply cut.

Fig. 43 (reduced).—Medal of Erasmus (1519). From a specimen formerly in the author's collection.

The large medal has been attributed to Dürer, and it is interesting that Dürer's signed engraving of Erasmus

(see Fig. 44), dated 1526, bears a very similar inscription to that on the obverse of the medal. On Dürer's engraving, however, the head of Erasmus is not quite in profile, and his features are much more sharply expressed than on the medal. Moreover, the portrait on the medal is now supposed to be after a lost original by Quentin Metsys. Erasmus himself wrote that Quentin Metsys made a portrait of him, cast in metal. According to Julien Simonis (*op. cit.*, pp. 80–88), one of the above-described medals was the work of the medallist Jean Second, who probably modelled it from a medallion by Quentin Metsys now lost. I do not see why the obverse of the large medal should not be the work of Quentin Metsys himself.

The largest and the smallest of these medals of Erasmus are likewise figured in the *Museum Mazzuchellianum*, Venice, 1761, vol. i. Pl. 45 and Pl. 46. In that work it is explained that the "Terminus" (terminal head) on the reverse is an allusion, not to the great value of the writings of Erasmus, as some have supposed, but to death, the common goal of all, *i.e.*, as the medal itself tells us, "mors ultima linea rerum" (Horace, *Epist.*, book i. 16, line 79).

A man's head on a cubical stone inscribed, TERMINVS, with the legend, CONCEDO NVLLI or CEDO NVLLI, was the favourite device of Erasmus. In the Museum of Basel is an original sketch, which I have seen, showing a rendering of this device,[174] by Holbein (No. 122 of the sketches in the Museum), and there is likewise a fine woodcut by Holbein, designed for a title-page to the

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[174] See the design for a painting on glass, figured by E. Hiss, *Dessins d'Ornements de Hans Holbein*, Paris, 1886, Plate iv.

works of Erasmus, representing Erasmus standing under a highly decorative Renaissance arch, with his right hand

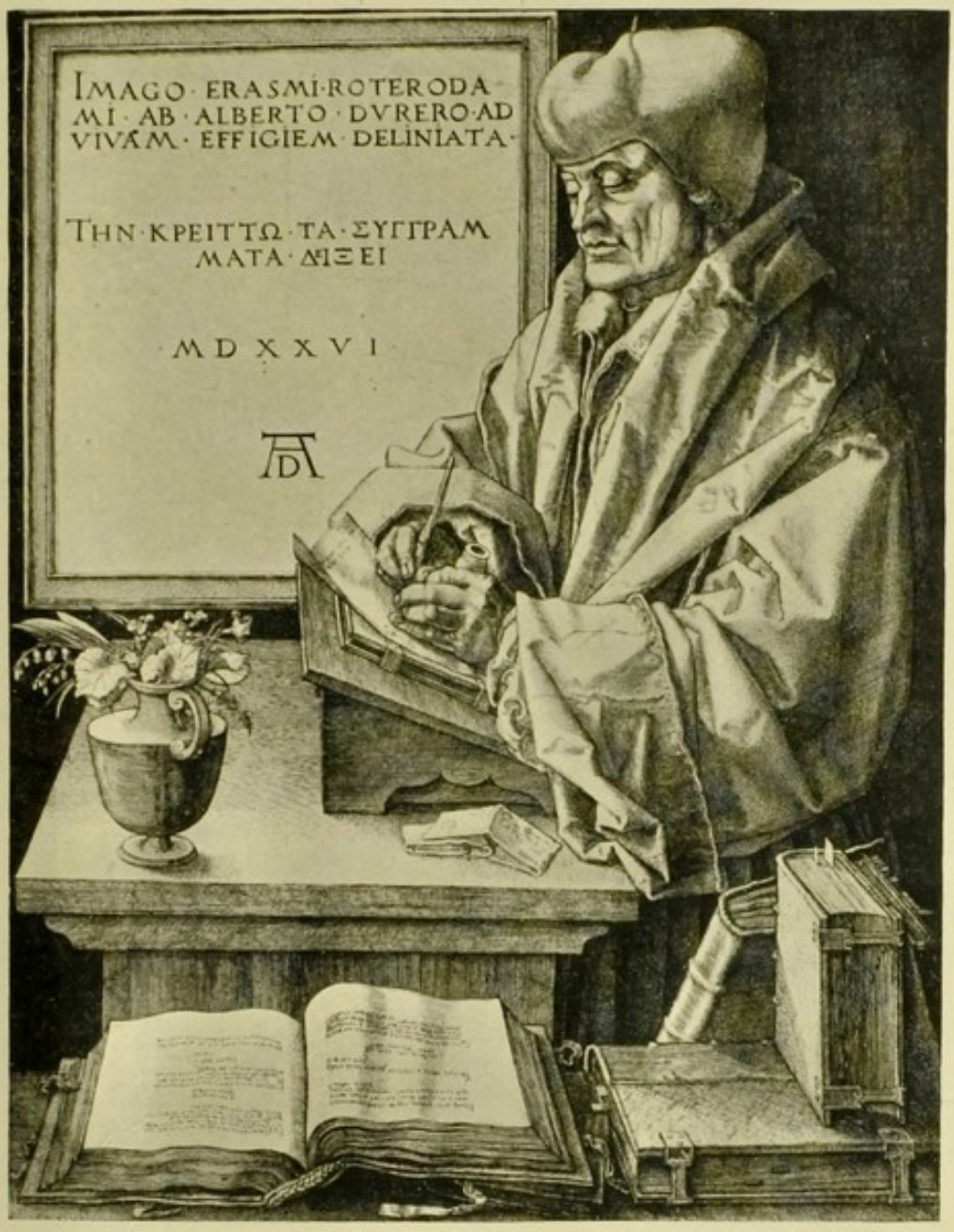

FIG. 44.—Engraving of Erasmus by Dürer. Reduced from an example in the British Museum.

resting on the head of a terminal figure (or "Hermes"), on which is the inscription, TERMINVS. On a seal, which Erasmus had specially engraved for himself, the

man's head on the boundary stone was represented facing, not (as on the medals) in profile, and the legend was CEDO NVLLI, not (as on the medals) CONCEDO NVLLI.[175] With this seal, which I shall illustrate later on, he sealed his last will, dated at Basel, in the house of Jerome Frobenius, 12th February, 1536; and an enlarged copy of the "TERMINVS" on this seal was placed by his heirs over the tablet where he was buried in the Cathedral of Basel (cf. R. B. Drummond, *Erasmus, his Life and Character*, London, 1873).

The "Terminus" device of Erasmus might be regarded as a "masked," "disguised," or "softened" *memento mori*, analogous to the elongated death's head which is represented on Holbein's famous picture (to which I have already alluded) painted in 1533, known as "The Ambassadors," in the London National Gallery.

(I.) *Memento mori* medal of Pietro Balanzano, of Venice (fifteenth century or early sixteenth century).

Obv.—Head in high relief to left. Inscription: PETRO BALANZANO.

Rev.—A human skull. Inscription: NVLA EST REDENCIO (that is equivalent to "There is no escape from death").

Diameter, 2·3 inches; cast. A bronze Italian medal of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition,

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[175] This seal is figured by J. J. Jortin, together with an antique intaglio representing a terminal bust (or "Hermes"), without any inscription, from which Erasmus apparently derived his idea of adopting a terminal figure as his *memento mori* device. See J. Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*, London, 1808, vol. iii. (specimens of the handwriting of Erasmus, No. 1). In Part IV. I shall again refer to this seal of Erasmus.

Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 128; and vol. iii. (1887), p. 205. The specimen figured in the auction sale catalogue of the Lanna Collection (Berlin, 1911, p. 11, No. 115, and Plate 10) has the number 204266 in relief below the head on the obverse.

(I., II., XI.) Death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer (or Payer or Bayer) of Karlsbad, in Bohemia, 1526 (see Fig. 45).

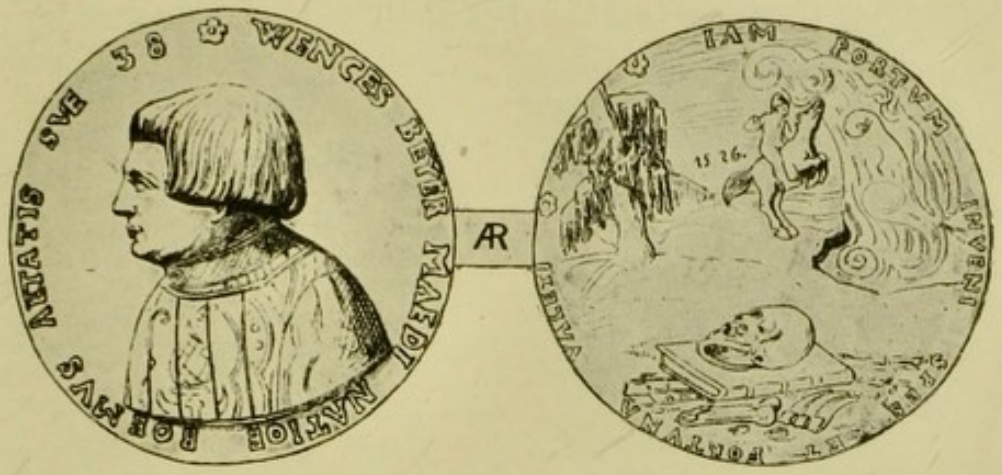

FIG. 45.—Medal on the death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer, of Karlsbad, in 1526. (After Bergmann.)

Obv.—Portrait of Beyer in profile to left, at the age of 38 years, with inscription: WENCES BEYER, etc.

Rev.—In a bare landscape with one tree, a steaming chasm, into which a horseman (Marcus Curtius?) is about to plunge. In the foreground, a book, upon which a skull; loose bones lying about. In some specimens the date, 1526, occurs on the field. Inscription: IAM PORTVM INVENI, SPES ET FORTVNA, VALETE.[176]

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[176] The usual quotation (which was inscribed by the first Lord Brougham on his villa at Cannes) is—

"Inveni portum; Spes et Fortuna, valete!
Sat me lusistis, ludite nunc alios."

("I have found the haven; Hope and Fortune, farewell!
You have made sport enough of me, now make sport of others.")

The original is said to have been a Greek epitaph. (See also the various versions given in Part I., pp. 13, 14.) A version commencing, "Jam portum inveni," has been attributed to Sir Thomas More.

Diameter, 2·2 inches; cast in silver. C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 93.

Marcus Curtius, the Roman legendary hero, when he heard that the chasm in the forum could only be filled by throwing Rome's greatest treasure into it, mounted his horse and leaped into the abyss, declaring that Rome possessed no greater treasure than a brave and gallant citizen.

(I., II., XI.) Death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer, 1526 (see Fig. 46).

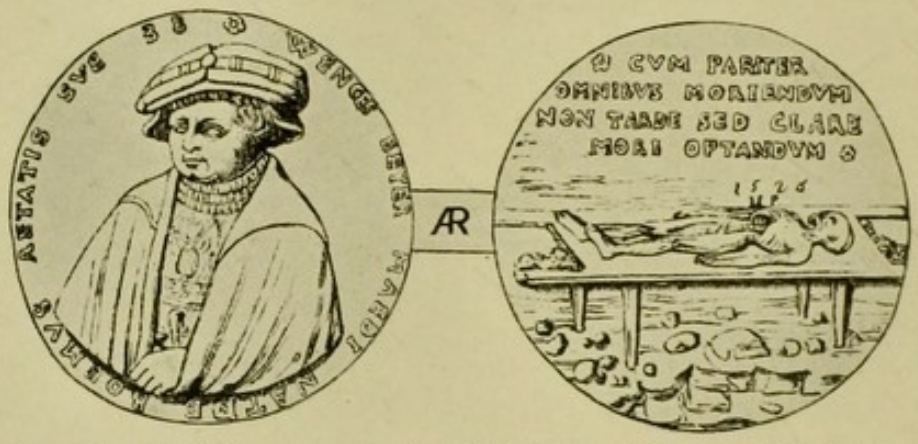

FIG. 46.—Medal on the death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer, of Karlsbad, in 1526. (After Bergmann.)

Obv.—Nearly full-face portrait, with name, etc.

Rev.—On stony ground, a bier, with a decaying corpse on it. Above this is an inscription in four lines: CVM PARITER OMNIBVS MORIENDVM NON TARDE SED CLARE MORI OPTANDVM ("Since all alike must die, it is desirable to die not tardily, but illustriously"). In the field is the date 1526.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; cast in silver. C. A. Rudolphi, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

Dr. Wenzel Beyer was the author of the first medical treatise on the thermal waters of Karlsbad, in Bohemia.

Tractatus de Thermis Caroli IV., &c., Leipzig, 1521. In that book he wrote: "I have said that this water must be drunk. As, however, till now it has seldom been used for drinking, but more for bathing, what I have said will appear to many as something new." It seems, therefore, that he was practically the first physician to recommend the internal use of the Karlsbad waters. Beyer was born in 1488 at Elbogen, near Karlsbad, and hence on the title-page of his book his name appears as Venceslaus Payer "*de Cubito*," that is to say, of Elbogen. He died on 11th December, 1526. Specimens of these medals are in the Imperial Collection at Vienna. They are described also by Karl Domanig, in *Die Deutsche Medaille* (Vienna, 1907, pp. 37, 38), but their designs are discussed in considerably greater detail by Joseph Bergmann, in his *Medaillen auf berühmte und ausgezeichnete Männer des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates* (Vienna, 1844, pp. 85–88, and Plate viii. Nos. 31, 32), and by Dr. J. de Carro, in a Karlsbad almanack, published at Prague in 1841, to which Dr. Paul Mayer has kindly drawn my attention. Nothing seems to be known with certainty as to the cause of Beyer's death, and Bergmann, in regard to the medallic evidence, aptly quotes Ovid (*Fast.*, iv. 709)—

"Factum abiit, monumenta manent."

The reverse design of the larger medal, apparently referring to the old Roman legend of Curtius, seems hardly appropriate for an ordinary death. It is possible (see Bergmann's suggestions, *loc. cit.*) that his death was the result of (or at the time supposed to be the result of) an injury or disease acquired when examining the source of the great hot spring ("Sprudel") at Karlsbad. At

the present day, close to the "Sprudel," along the sides of the river Tepl, clouds of steam arise from the ground itself. The rocky ground on which the bier stands (in the smaller medal) probably represents the bed of the Tepl. Beyer's patron, Count Stephan Schlick, to whom he dedicated his treatise on the thermal springs, was hereditary Lord of Elbogen, and doubtless owned Karlsbad itself. Therefore Beyer's book (alluded to on the reverse type of the larger medal), by increasing the use of the thermal waters, was probably of some financial service to the Schlick family, who apparently had these commemorative medals made. Like most other German medals of the time, they were, of course, not struck, but cast and chased, and were doubtless the work of some goldsmith patronized by the Schlick family, who must have had much to do with goldsmiths and die-engravers.[177] The family had been granted the right of coining money by the Emperor Sigismund, in the early part of the fifteenth century, and about 1519 Count Stephan Schlick and his brothers, who owned the valuable silver-mines of Joachimsthal (Bohemia), began to strike the large silver coins called "Joachimsthaler," or, in short, simply "Thaler." From these "Schlick" Thaler other large silver coins of Europe and America have been named thalers, or dollars. Count Stephan Schlick himself was one of those who perished with their sovereign, King Louis II of Hungary (and Bohemia), in the disastrous battle against the Turks (under Soliman II) at Mohacs, on 29th August, 1526.

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[177] There are medals of Count Stephan Schlick by the medallists and engravers Ludwig Neufarer and Michael Hohenauer, and in 1557 the latter engraver was working for the Joachimsthal Mint, which belonged to the Schlick family.

(II.) Medal of Tommaso Moro of Venice, Prefect of Verona 1527.

Obv.—Bust to right. Inscription : THOMAS MAVRVS VENETVS VERONAE PRAEFECTVS.

Rev.—Phoenix in flames, an emblem of the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul. Inscription : MORIENS. REVIVISCO. –MDXXVII.– IO. MARIA. POMEDELVS. VERON. F.

Diameter, 2·0 inches. Bronze medal by Pomedello of Verona. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 128, No. 11.

(II.) A phoenix, with the word REVIXIT, occurs likewise on the reverse of a medal of Cardinal Christofero Madruzzo, Prince-Bishop of Trento (died in 1578), by Lorenzo Parmigiano (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 278, No. 1).

(I.) Medal of Hans Kerrn (German, sixteenth century).

Mr. W. T. Ready has kindly told me of a small silver cast medal which he has met with of a certain Hans Kerrn. On the obverse is Kerrn's portrait. On the reverse is Death (in the form of a skeleton) holding an hour-glass and driving before him a child attached by a chain. The inscription on the reverse is: MI . . . IN GLEICH IVNG ODER ALD, SO HAD VNS DER DOT IN SEINER GWALD. I cannot find a description of this piece in any book on German medals. It is apparently German work of the sixteenth century (about 1530).

(II.) A Thaler-like medal (1532) of Francis, Duke of Brunswick (Middle Lüneburg line—Giffhorn) has on the reverse the inscription from St. Paul's Epistle to the

Romans xiv. 8: DOMINI SVMVS SIVE VIVIMVS SIVE MORIMVR. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 3595.)

(V.) The murder of Alessandro de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence, 1537.

Alessandro de' Medici was assassinated, in the name of liberty, by his kinsman Lorenzo de' Medici, called "Lorenzino," on the night of 5th to 6th January, 1537. The following medal (which is not very rare, and for some information about which I am indebted to Mr. W. Wroth) is described by A. Armand, *Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, vol. ii. p. 151, No. 3.

FIG. 47.—Medal of "Lorenzino" de' Medici.

Obv.—Bare head of Lorenzino, to right. Inscription: LAVRENTIVS MEDICES.

Rev.—Cap of liberty (the Roman "pileus") between two daggers. Below: VIII · ID · IAN (6th January).

Diameter, 1·5 inches; bronze. (See Fig. 47.)

The reverse device is adopted from the reverse of the Roman denarius of Brutus (which I have already referred to) commemorating the murder of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., but the date under the cap of liberty on the Italian medal is of course different.

After the murder Lorenzino fled to Venice, where Filippo Strozzi (called "the younger") greeted him as the "Tuscan Brutus." Alessandro had supposed Lorenzino to be his friend, and the murder was an act of horrible treachery. The medal, which is of the size of a Roman large bronze coin or bronze medallion, was doubtless made at the time or slightly later. Lorenzino was himself tracked down and assassinated in 1548.

(I.) German plaque, of about 1530–1540.

There is a circular plaque (1·8 inches in diameter) of white metal, possibly the reverse for a medal, representing

FIG. 48.—Plaque by Lorenz Rosenbaum. From an original in the British Museum.

a lady, in the costume of the time, seated in the interior of a room, offering the breast to a baby; on the table is a death's head and on the window-sill an hour-glass. It is of good workmanship, and signed L.R., apparently by Lorenz Rosenbaum, a goldsmith and a medallist of Schaffhausen. There are specimens in both the British Museum (see Fig. 48) and the Victoria and Albert Museum. The design is taken from a well-known

engraving (already alluded to in Part I.: see Fig. 19) by Barthel Beham (1502–1540), which, though it may be intended to represent the Madonna and Child, seems likewise to suggest thoughts of the beginning and the inevitable end of life. Anyhow, two other engravings by B. Beham, representing human skulls (in one of these engravings there are three, in the other four skulls) and a baby with an hour-glass were certainly meant to suggest such thoughts and illustrate the line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" or, as Sir Michael Foster has expressed it, "The first cry of the newly born child is its first step towards the grave."

(II. or III.) Here we may for convenience mention a uniface portrait medal by Lorenz Rosenbaum, dated 1531, the portrait (bare head to right) being apparently that of the artist himself. The inscription is VT · MORTVVS · VIVEREM——VIVO · HIC · MORITVRVS. Signed L.R. 1531. The medal, which is cast in lead (diameter, 1·75 inches), is described and figured by E. Merzbacher, "Beiträge zur Kritik der deutschen Kunstmedaillen," *Mittheilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft*, München, 1900, vol. 19, p. 8, and Pl. i. Fig. 4. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. L. Forrer. Lorenz Rosenbaum, probably a son of the goldsmith Conrad Rosenbaum, was born at Schaffhausen, but from 1539 to 1546 worked as a goldsmith in Augsburg. The meaning of the legend is either: "Vivo hic moriturus," "I live here about to die," *i.e.* "This is my portrait before death;" "Ut mortuus viverem," "(I made this portrait) that I might live after death"—or else: "I live here (on earth) about to die (*i.e.* prepared for death) so that I may live after death;" but in the latter case one would have

expected "vivam" instead of "viverem." Cf. the mottoes: "Vive ut vivas," and "Vive ut postea vivas."

(I.) *Memento mori* medal of Johann Friess, 1540.

Obv.—Clothed bust of a man, with a long beard, to left. Inscription: IMAGO · IOANNIS · FRISII · ÆTA · SV · 36 · 1540.

Rev.—A figure of Death, on the right, holds up an hour-glass to a wealthy-looking man (nobleman), standing on the left.

Diameter, 1·5 inches; silver. (See Fig. 49.)

FIG. 49.—Reverse of medal of Johann Friess, 1540.

(XVIII.) A medal of Ferdinand (afterwards the German Emperor Ferdinand I), brother of the Emperor Charles V, struck in 1547, on the death of his wife, Anna of Hungary, has on the reverse the letter A over a death's head and a bone, with the inscription, WIER KLAGENS GOTT ("We bewail it to God"). Figured by Karl Domanig, *Die Deutsche Medaille*, Wien, 1907, Plate 79, No. 699.

(II. and XIV.) Memorial medal of Queen Dorothea of Denmark (mother of Frederick II), (1560).

Obv.—Profile head of Queen Dorothea to right. Inscription: DOROTE REGINA DANIE MDLX.

Rev.—Hour-glass over skull and crossed bones. Inscription: BEDENCK DAS ENDT VND DIE STVNDE. (Fig. 50.)

Diameter, 1·1 inches; silver gilt. *Danske Mynter og Medailler i den Kongelige Samling*, Copenhagen, 1791, p. 212, No. 4, Pl. xii. No. 5. The meaning of the reverse inscription, which is similar to some inscriptions engraved on old-fashioned sundials, is doubtless that of Thomas à Kempis in

FIG. 50.—Memorial medal of Queen Dorothea of Denmark, 1560.

De Imitatione Christi, Book I. chap. xxv. 11: "Memento semper finis, et quia perditum non redit tempus."

(I.) Medal of Onophrius Korn (1562).

Obv.—His bust, to left, with inscription.

Rev.—Male figure, holding hour-glass, leaning on an altar or tomb (on which is a death's head) inscribed: RESPICE FINEM. The whole reverse device is in an architectural "setting."

This medal, by a German artist signing himself S. W., is figured by A. Erman, *Deutsche Medailleure*, Berlin, 1884, Pl. vii. No. 3.

(XI.) Medal of Goffredo Franco (about 1565).

Obv.—Bust to left. Inscription: IOFREDVS FRANCVS. Artist's signature, P. P. R.

Rev.—A nude man standing on a pedestal in the middle of the sea, holding a rod in his left hand, his right foot resting on a skull. Inscription: POTIVS. MORI. QVAM. ANIMO. IMMVTARI ("Rather death than change one's mind").

Diameter, 2·2 inches. A medal by Pietro Paolo Galeotti, called "Romano." Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 229, No. 7.

(XI.) The same reverse type and legend occur on a medal of Alberto Litta, dated 1565, attributed to the same artist (Galeotti), though not bearing any signature (Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, Paris, vol. iii. (1887), p. 112).

(V., XI.) Execution of Count Egmont and Count Hoorn, 1568.

A medal by Martin Holtzhey, struck in 1748 in connexion with the Jubilee Festivities commemorating the Peace of Westphalia (Peace of Münster) in 1648, refers to Count Lamoral Egmont and Philip Count von Hoorn (who were beheaded at Brussels in 1568, after condemnation by the Duke of Alva's "Council of Blood"), as "martyrs" for Dutch liberty.

(I. and VIII.) Medal of Sebastian Zäh, of Augsburg, 1572.

Obv.—His clothed bust to right, with bare head and pointed beard. Inscription: SEBASTIAN . ZÄH . ANNO . AET . XXXXV. 1572. (Artist's signature) AN. AB.

Rev.—A man in rich costume, with a beggar accosting him. Inscription: RESPICE FINEM.

Diameter, 1·6 inches; cast. By Antonio Abondio, the younger (1538–1591). Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 274, No. 34; Karl Domanig, *Die Deutsche Medaille*, Wien, 1907, No. 832.

(XI.) Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572).

The medal of Pope Gregory XIII, commemorating this event, bears the signature of the medallist, Federigo Bonzagna, called "Parmigiano."

Obv.—Bust of the Pope, to left, in cape and skull-cap. Legend: GREGORIVS · XIII · PONT · MAX · AN · I · Below the bust, artist's signature, F. P.

Rev.—Destroying angel to right, holding sword and cross; men and women dead, wounded, and flying before her. Legend: VGONOTTORVM · STRAGES · 1572.

Diameter, 1·25 inches; struck; silver, bronze gilt. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 226, No. 37. Many restruck examples and later copies exist; the modern English copies, of a somewhat larger size, being those most unlike the originals.

The Massacre of the Huguenots is commemorated in the same spirit by Vasari's fresco in the Sala Regia of the Vatican at Rome, though the inscription under the painting has been obliterated.

Some French medals of Charles IX (of which many restruck specimens exist) refer to the same event. According to Mazerolle, they are probably the work of the Paris medal-engraver, Alexandre Olivier.

Obv.—Laurelled bust of King Charles IX, to left. Inscription: CAROLVS · IX · D · G · FRANCORVM REX INVIC · 1572.

Rev.—The king, holding sword and sceptre, seated on a throne; at his feet are lying dead bodies, severed heads, and weapons. Inscription: VIRTVS . IN . REBELLES.

Diameter, 1·5 inches. There are modern restruck specimens in the British Museum Collection. *Trésor de Numismatique, Médailles Françaises*, Première Partie, Paris, 1836, Pl. xix. 4.

Obv.—The king seated, as on the reverse of the last piece, with the same inscription.

Rev.—The French arms surmounted by a crown, between two pillars. Inscription: PIETAS EXCITAVIT IVSTITIAM. In exergue: 24 · AVGVSTI . 1572.

Diameter, 1·5 inches. There is a fine original silver-gilt struck specimen in the British Museum collection.

Obv.—Laurelled bust of the king, and inscription, as on the first of these medals.

Rev.—The French arms, &c., as on the reverse of the last medal.

Diameter, 1·5 inches; illustrated in the *Trésor de Numismatique, loc. cit.*, Pl. xix. 3.

Obv.—Laurelled bust of the king, to right. Inscription: CAROLVS · IX · D · G · FRANCOR · REX.

Rev.—Hercules, holding club and torch, attacking the Lernean Hydra. Inscription: NE FERRVM TEMNAT SIMVL IGNIB(VS) OBSTO. In exergue, 1572.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; illustrated in the *Trésor de Numismatique, loc. cit.*, Pl. xix. 5. There is a modern restruck specimen in bronze in the British Museum collection.

(I.) Medal of Gabrielle Fiamma, of Venice, Bishop of Chioggia in 1584.

Obv.—His bust to right; in front, a human skull. Inscription: MEMINISSE IVVABIT.

Rev.—Inscription in twenty-five lines.

Diameter, 3·2 inches; a bronze cast medal of the second half of the sixteenth century, by Andrea Cambi, called "Il Bombarda," of Cremona. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 227; and vol. iii. (1887), p. 96.

The skull on the obverse may be intended as a *memento mori* device, but the obverse inscription refers apparently to Fiamma's passing safely through trials and difficulties of life: "Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit"—

"Perhaps some day it will be pleasant to remember even these happenings" (Virgil, *Aen.*, lib. i. 203). The hexameter line, *Dulce est praeteriti quondam meminisse laboris*, occurs on a silver coin of Gratz in Styria. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 4897.)

(I., II.) The so-called "Brillen-Thaler" ("eye-glass Thaler") were issued 1586–1587 at Goslar by Julius, Duke of Brunswick (of the middle Wolfenbüttel line). They show on one side a so-called "wild man" (like the heraldic "wild men") carrying a light in his hand, and, slung over his arm, are a death's hand, an hour-glass, and a pair of eye-glasses. The letters accompanying this type, namely, W.H.D.A.L.V.B.D.S.S.N.H.V.K.W., are supposed to signify: *Was hilft dem Armen* (or *dem Alten*) *Licht und Brill, der sich selbst nicht hören* (or *helfen*) *und kennen will?*[178] A mortuary Thaler ("Sterbethaler") commemorating the duke's death in 1589, has the "wild man" with hour-glass and eye-glasses slung over his arm, leaning on a tablet (on which is a skull) inscribed, VIXIT · AN · LX, &c. The inscription surrounding the type is, LVCTV PVBLICO. On the Brillen-Thaler appear likewise the letters I.M.C.M. or M.I.C.M., possibly signifying, *In medio cursu metuo*, or *Medio in cursu metuo.*

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[178] A similar motto occurs on a Dutch seventeenth-century picture by Jan Steen, in the Ryks Museum at Amsterdam. Above the head of an old roisterer is the representation of an owl with candles and eye-glasses, and the inscription—

"Wat baeter Kaers of Bril,
Als den Uil niet sien wil?"

("Of what use are candles or eye-glasses when the owl will not see?")

Any one who has watched the tedious process of testing the eyes for glasses in a hospital out-patient room might be tempted to paraphrase the motto of the Brillen-Thaler, and exclaim—

"Was hilft dem Armen Licht und Brill,
Der selbst seine Sinne nicht brauchen will?"

It may here be noted that eye-glasses are pictured likewise on gold so-called "eye-glass ducats" struck in 1647 by Christian IV, King of Denmark, with an inscription, VIDE MIRA DOMI(NI), and on a Swedish jetton or counter, with an inscription signifying, "He who has good luck needs no eye-glasses."

(II.) A medal (1590) of the French jurist Hugues Doneau, or latinized, Hugo Donellus (1527–1591), who is said to have known the "Corpus Juris" by heart, gives his portrait in his 64th year on the obverse, and on the reverse the inscription (after St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans xiv. 8): SIVE VIVIMUS SIVE MORIMUR DOMINI SUMUS. DOMINO VIVENDUM ET MORIENDUM.

Diameter, 2·0 by 1·5 inches, oval. Described by Anthony Durand, *Médailles et Jetons des Numismates*, Genève, 1865, p. 246.

(VI.) A Dutch medal of 1590, commemorating the taking of Breda in that year by the Dutch (under Prince Maurice of Nassau) from the Spaniards, has on the reverse a scene showing how the town was taken, with the inscription: PARATI VINCERE AVT MORI . 4 . MARTII. In the exergue: INVICTI ANIMI PR(aemium) (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 4682.)

(II.) Two mortuary Thaler (1591) on the death of the Elector Christian I of Saxony, bear the motto: HAVD TIMET MORTEM QVI VITAM SPERAT. The medallist's signature on both of them is HB, for Hans Biener. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 515, 2955.)

(XVIII.) Some coins struck by Philip, the last Duke of Brunswick of the old Grubenhagen line, bear the inscription: GOT . GIBT . GOT . NIMBT—presumably in reference to the deaths, in 1595, of his wife and only

brother. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1080 and 3559–3561.)

(X.) The series of so-called "Pestthaler" or "Wittenberger Pestthaler" of the sixteenth century have the design of the brazen serpent of Moses on the obverse, and a representation of Christ's Crucifixion on the reverse. They were doubtless sometimes used as amulets or talismans against the plague and other fatal epidemic diseases. There are various types and various sizes (half-thaler and quarter-thaler sizes). Many of them, as the mint-marks [179] seem to show, were probably really struck at the silver-mining town of Joachimsthal in Bohemia. For a description including all medals and coins of similar (sometimes more elaborate) design, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (many bearing dates, such as 1525, 1527, 1528, 1531, 1538, 1551, 1557, 1619), see L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 75–87. These authors likewise give a good deal of information about other coin-like or medal-like amulets, or supposed preservative "charms" ("Pest-Pfennige," &c.) against plague, cholera, and other deadly epidemic diseases.

(XI.) Medal of Faustina Sforza, wife of the Marquis of Caravaggio Muzio (second half of the sixteenth century).

Obv.—Bust to right. Inscription: FAVSTINA · SFORTIA · MARCH · CARAVAGII.

Rev.—An ermine-like animal pursued by a huntsman and a dog. Inscription: MORI POTIVS QVAM FOEDARI ("Better to die than be defiled;"

[179] Some of these mint-marks are the same as those used on the large silver coins struck from 1519 onwards by the Counts Schlick at Joachimsthal. These "Joachimsthaler" were the original pieces from which the words "thaler," "daler," and "dollar" are derived. See also Max Donebauer, *Sammlung Böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen*.

"Rather death than dishonour"). Artist's signature in incuse letters: PETRVS . PAVLVS . ROM.

Diameter, 3·0 inches. Medal by Pietro Paolo Galeotti, called "Romano." Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 234, No. 35.

The reverse design on this medal refers to the power of some of the "mustelidae" (*e.g.* the skunk) to save their lives by ejecting a fluid of intolerable odour, which compels their pursuers to abandon the chase. The meaning of the reverse is therefore, "It is preferable to die than to dishonour one's self by committing a disgraceful action;" "Honesta mors turpi vitâ potior" (Tacitus, *Vita Agricolae*, xxxiii.). Cf. the mottoes mentioned in Part II. xi.

(I., II.) A *memento mori* reverse for a mortuary medal,

FIG. 51.—Reverse design by Tobias Wolff, German, sixteenth century.

or "Sterbedenkmünze" by the Silesian medallist, Tobias Wolff (second half of the sixteenth century), is figured in A. Erman's *Deutsche Medailleure*, Berlin, 1884, p. 69. A naked child, holding a flower, seated by a human skull and bones; in the background, a tree with a withered leafless branch and a vigorous branch rich in leaves.

Inscription: SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTVM. (See Fig. 51.) This design, which bears the artist's signature, W, occurs as a reverse with a later obverse dated 1619, bearing the portrait of Gottfried Woyssel, a Silesian physician (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 111, No. 296). The design obviously illustrates the frequently quoted line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet." It also illustrates the eternal succession of new life springing from the old. The inscription is, of course, equivalent to one of resignation: "Let the will of God be done."

(II.) A German silver religious medal of the sixteenth century (Fig. 52) shows on the obverse the Prophet Jonah being vomited up alive by the whale, and on the reverse Christ's resurrection and the final triumph over death.

FIG. 52.—German sixteenth-century religious medal, representing Christ's triumph over death.

In the foreground Christ stands with one foot on the head of a monster of some kind (by comparison with the obverse the monster seems to be a kind of miniature whale); behind Christ is a prostrate human skeleton, emblematic of the defeat of Death; in the background is the tomb, with two sleeping watchers. The Latin

inscription signifies: "Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Corinthians xv. 57). The medal is described in Max Donebauer's *Sammlung Bömischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Prag, 1888–1890, vol. 2, No. 4412. Compare the medal of Jonah and the Resurrection, by the Meister G. W., dated 1537 (Donebauer, *loc. cit.*, No. 4304).

The mediaeval representations of the "Triumph of Death," as expressed in the various "Dance of Death" series, are sometimes followed by a design of the same kind as that on the reverse of Fig. 52, representing Christ's final Triumph over Death, that is to say, the "death of Death"—"The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death" (1 Corinthians xv. 26). Cf. the treatment of this subject in the *Todten Dantz*, by Rudolph and Conrad Meyer of Zürich (Zürich, 1650). Compare also the following.

(II.) A German religious medal has on the obverse the Latin hexameter line: NON MORIAR VIVAM SPES E(st) MIHI MAGNA SEPVL(crum); and on the reverse it has the pentameter line: E TVMBA IN COELOS TE DVCE CHRISTE FERAR. The obverse and reverse designs signify the resurrection and triumph over Death. On the reverse is the resurrection of Christ; two watchers are asleep by the tomb; below is a death's head. There is no date. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 5216.)

(I.) In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin is a sixteenth-century Italian oval plaquette representing a draped bust of a skeleton to right, with the legend: MEMOR · ESTO · QVONIAM · MORS · NON · TARDAT (*Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*, second edition, vol. ii. (Italian bronzes), Berlin, 1904, Plate 73, No. 1383).

(I.) Untimely death (sixteenth century).

Obv.—Bearded bust of a man in the prime of life to left. Inscription: MAXINVS A FVRNO.

Rev.—On the left is Death (as a skeleton holding scythe), upright, to right, facing a group of three persons (on the right), one of whom is in an attitude of expostulation. Inscription: INTEMPESTIVA VENIS ("You come untimely—too soon"). The inscription is evidently the expostulation addressed to Death.

Diameter, 2·1 inches; cast in bronze.

I am indebted to Mr. Harold Mattingley for kindly drawing my attention to this apparently unpublished medal, of which the only example I know of is in the British Museum, and seems to be an after-casting from original work of the sixteenth century. The style of the obverse portrait reminds one of the medals by Leone Leoni, but I find no mention of any exactly similar medal in Eugène Plon's work, *Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni*, Paris, 1887. It seems to me quite certain that the medal is "faked" in the following sense: The medal is a sand-casting (French?), for the obverse of which the obverse of a genuine sixteenth-century medal has been used, namely, of the medal of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle by Leone Leoni, figured in Eugène Plon's work just mentioned, Plate xxxii. Fig. 3; but the inscription has been altered. For the reverse a circular plaque (of white metal?) has, I think, been used, somewhat comparable in workmanship to the next one described (see Fig. 54), and the hole where the original plaque was pierced can still be distinctly made out on the upper part, after the letter S of VENIS (see Fig. 53). The same reverse occurs apparently on a medal of Annibale d'Este, attributed to Pastorino of Siena (A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 195, No 42), and on a medal of Alfonso d'Este Tassoni (Armand, *op. cit.*, 1887, vol. iii. p. 245), likewise supposed to be by Pastorino. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the obverses

of these two medals are likewise "faked." The legend, MAXINVS A FVRNO (du Four or Dufour), seems to have been inscribed on the obverse-mould of the present

FIG. 53.—Untimely Death. Medal in the British Museum.

medal, specially to excite the interest of French collectors.

(II., VII., XVI.) Plaque representing Death yielding to Valour (or Virtue).

In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford there is a sixteenth-century plaque of white metal (circular; diameter, 2·8 inches) with figures of Death and Valour (or Virtue) in very low relief. Death (on the left) is represented by a skeleton, crowned and holding a scythe, standing in an attitude of fear or submission before a fully armed Minerva-like female figure approaching (on the right). Above the skeleton is the word MORS; above the armed figure, VIRTVS. Death may here represent destruction and ruin in an enterprise, or merely imminent defeat and death in warfare, which can sometimes be prevented by courage. The device may, however, be an allegorical representation of death being "swallowed up in victory" (St. Paul), that is to say, in a sense, being overcome by

virtue. Compare the Roman Catholic antiphon already referred to: "O mors, ero mors tua: morsus tuus ero, inferne." "Vivit post funera Virtus" is a Latin saying which occurs on various "Sterbethaler" and mortuary medals. It has also been adopted as a motto by several families, and is inscribed on the monument of Dr. Caius

FIG. 54.—Death and Virtue, on a sixteenth-century plaque.

(died 1573) in Caius College Chapel, Cambridge. A German medalet, dated 1611, bears the following inscription on the reverse: ALLES WAS AVF ERDN IST VERGEHT, LOB EHR VND TYGEND EWIG BSTEHT. The medallist's signature is H.R.F. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 5231). In Rouen Cathedral, on the sepulchral monument (1525) of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise (died 1510), Archbishop of Rouen and Minister of King Louis XII of France, is an inscription ending with—

"Mortuus en jaceo, morte extinguuntur honores,
At virtus mortis nescia morte viret."

For permission to illustrate this plaque, I am indebted to Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Bell, of the Ashmolean Museum, who kindly sent me a cast (see Fig. 54). A Flemish sixteenth-century tapestry of curious design, at Berlin,

may also be referred to in this connexion. It represents the triumph of Valour, and is figured in the great work, *Pétrarque . . . son Influence sur les Artistes*, by the Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz, Paris, 1902, p. 263.

(IX.) The motto, *Dulce est pro patriâ mori*, occurs on a medal (1605) of Stephen II, Bottskai, Prince of Transylvania (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1603), and on a mortuary Thaler (1676) commemorating the death (from a gunshot wound at the capture of Philippsburg, in Baden) of Augustus Frederick, eldest son of Antony Ulric, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (Madai, *op. cit.*, No. 3641).

(II.) A medal of Adolph Occo III (1524–1606), a physician (and numismatist) of Augsburg, doubtless a friend of the princely and art-loving Fuggers (Augsburg) of his day, has the following inscription on the reverse: VITA MIHI CHRISTVS MORS ERIT IPSA LVCRVM ("To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain"—St. Paul's Epist. to the Philippians i. 21). C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 110. There are two varieties. Another medal (dated 1552) of the same physician (see Fig. 122 on p. 443, after Camille Picqué, *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1899, vol. 55, p. 44 and Pl. iii.) has a skeleton and the following inscriptions on the reverse: ABSORPTA EST MORS IN VICTORIAM ("Death is swallowed up in victory"—St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians xv. 54); and IPSE IVBET MORTIS TE MEMINISSE DEVS ("God Himself commands you to remember death")—Martial, *Epigram*, lib. ii. No. 59.[180] (Compare Psalm xc. 12.) Dr. Storer has told me of several other medals of the three physicians, Adolph Occo I (1447–1503), Adolph

[180] "Frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tinguere nardo:
Ipse jubet mortis te meminisse deus."

By "deus" Martial meant the deified Roman Emperor.

Occo II (1495–1572), and Adolph Occo III, especially, two medals of Adolph Occo II, with a skeleton on the reverse and the inscription, DIXI PVTREDINI, &c. (Job xvii. 14: "I have said to corruption, Thou art my father: to the worm, Thou art my mother, and my sister"). See also the article by R. Forrer in *Archiv der Medaillen- und Plakettenkunde*, Halle-a-S., 1914, vol. i. p. 27. One of the third Occo (about 1552?) has on the reverse a skeleton, with an inscription in Greek. The skeleton is leaning in a pensive attitude on an altar (or rather *cippus*), on which is an hour-glass. The design of this, as also of the other skeletons on the Occo medals, was suggested by Jan von Calcar's woodcut (cf. p. 77, and Fig. 123, on p. 444) in Vesalius's great anatomical work, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, Basel, 1543, p. 164.

(II.) Memorial medal of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham (1618?), the founders of Wadham College, Oxford.

Obv.—Bust of Nicholas Wadham, three-quarters, to right, head bare, in ruff and plain cloak. Inscription: WHEN CHRIST WHO IS OVR LIFE SHAL APPEARE.

Rev.—Bust of Dorothy Wadham, three-quarters, to left, in damasked gown, stiff ruff, and broad-brimmed hat. Inscription: WE SHAL APPEARE WITH HIM IN GLORY.

A narrow wreath, united by a skull at each side and at each end, forms a border on both sides. Oval medal, consisting of two plates or shells soldered together. Diameter, 2·15 × 1·8 inches. *Medallic Illustrations*, London, 1885, vol. i. p. 220, No. 73.

Nicholas Wadham, of a family settled at Merrifield, in Somersetshire, died in 1609, at the age of 77 years. Dorothy Wadham, his wife, died in 1618, at the age of 84 years. She was a daughter of Sir William Petre, Principal Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. The first stone of Wadham College was laid on July 31, 1610.

In regard to the legend on this medal, cf. St. John xi. 25, 26 (the passage which has been adopted for the commencement of the Church of England Burial Service); also the motto: "Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi."

(I., XIX.) Some "Sterbemünzen," or rather "Begräbnissmünzen" (1618), commemorating the death and burial of Anna Maria, of Brandenburg, the widow of Barnim XI, Duke of Pomerania, represent on the reverse the Pomeranian griffin with ten heraldic shields of arms on its wings, holding a sword in its right claw, and in its left claw a shield with a death's head on it. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1424 and 1425.) The Thaler of this type is figured in O. Helbing's sale catalogue, Munich, December, 1913, Plate xiv. No. 2059.

(V., XI.) Execution of John van Olden Barneveldt Grand Pensionary of Holland (1619).

There are three different medals commemorating the death of Barneveldt, each of which bears his portrait and name on the obverse, and an inscription on the reverse, referring to his high character and the injustice of his execution. These medals are described and figured in G. van Loon's *Histoire métallique des Pays-Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. ii. pp. 109–111.

(II., IV.) Some mortuary pieces commemorating the death (1619) of Francis II, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, have on the reverse the inscription, "Mors mihi quies, vita bellum." (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler Cabinet*, Nos. 1311 and 3799.)

(I.) A "Sterbethaler" (1621) of Rudolph, Prince of Anhalt, the founder of the Zerbst line, bears the motto, MEMENTO MORI. This inscription likewise occurs on some earlier coins issued during his reign. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1010, 1011.)

(I., II.) Some memorial pieces (1622) of John, Duke of Holstein, have a death's head and bones on the obverse, with the inscription, VIVE MEMOR LETHI. Below are the letters G.G.G.M.F., which some have supposed to stand for the saying, *Gottes Güte Giebt Mir Friede.* (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1288, 1289.)

(II., XVIII.) A mortuary thaler (1623), commemorating the death of Clara Maria, the first wife of Augustus junior, Duke of Brunswick-Wolffenbüttel (new line), has on the obverse a long Latin inscription, signifying that the Duke Augustus junior, with tears, had the medal made to the memory of his wife (*conjugis suavissimae memoriae cum lachrymis fieri fecit*). On a tablet on the reverse is the inscription: VIXI . DUM . VIXI . BENE . IAM . MEA . PERACTA . MOX . VESTRA . AGETUR . FABULA . VALETE . ET . VIVITE . UT . VIXI . BENE (K. G. von Schulthess-Rechberg, *Thaler-Cabinet*, München, 1867, vol. iii. part ii. p. 43, No. 6821.)

(II., III., XI.) Death of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, at the Battle of Lützen, 1632.

Obv.—The dead body of the king in armour. His soul is being carried by two angels upwards to heaven. From the radiant Hebrew name Jehovah, above, come the following words: EUGE SERVE FIDELIS! Over a battle-scene in the distance: VEL MORTUUM FUGIUNT. The whole design is within a wreath of leaves, outside which is the inscription: GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS MAGNUS.

Rev.—The king seated on a triumphal car, the right half of his body in armour, the left half represented as a skeleton. In the right hand he holds a sword, and in the left hand (that of a skeleton) he holds a book (the Bible). Religion and Justice crown him with laurel. The car, drawn by winged horses, is rolling over monsters, one of which wears the

Papal triple crown. Above the king, in two lines: ET VITA ET MORTE TRIUMPHO. The whole design is enclosed in a wreath of leaves; outside which is the inscription: DUX GLORIOS(us) PRINC(eps) PIUS HEROS INVICT(us) VICTOR INCOMPARAB(ilis) TRIUMPH(ator) FELIX & GERM(aniae) LIBERATOR 1633. There are similar smaller pieces. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 221 and 2630. Schulthess-Rechberg, *Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 2042 and 2043.)

(II., III., XI.) A memorial double-thaler on the death (1632) of Gustavus Adolphus, struck in 1634 at Erfurt, under the direction of the Erfurt Münzmeister, Weissmantel (whose mark it bears), represents the king in a triumphal car on the obverse. On the reverse the body of the king is represented lying in armour and crowned, whilst two angels are carrying his soul to heaven. From the radiant Hebrew name Jehovah, above, come the words: EVGE SER(ve) FIDELIS. Shields are arranged around the main type, with the inscriptions: (1) MONVMENTUM REGIVM, *den 6 . Novemb. 1632*; (2) IN ANGVSTIIS INTRAVIT; (3) PIETATE(m) AMAVIT; (4) HOSTES PROSTRAVIT; (5) REGNVM DILATAVIT; (6) SVECOS EXALTAVIT; (7) OPPRESSOS LIBERAVIT; (8) MORIENS TRIVMPHAVIT. Around the whole design is the pentameter verse: VITA MIHI CHRIST(us) MORS MEA DVLCE LVCRVM (cf. St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians i. 21). (Schulthess-Rechberg, *Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 2048.)

Very similar to the first piece (with the half-skeleton figure in a triumphal car) is a large medal by Sebastian Dadler. There is also a similar commemorative medal by Dadler issued in 1634, and there are likewise several medals and medalets commemorating the same event, with a celestial crown or some similar device on the reverse.

(II., III.) The inscription, *Vivit post funera virtus*, occurs on various German coins and Sterbethaler: of Ludwig der Treue, Landgraf of Hesse (1626); of Anna Maria, Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1634); of Reuss (1619, &c.); of John Adolph, Bishop of Gottorp (1607).

(I., II.) A mortuary thaler (1632), on the death of the learned Moritz, Landgraf of Hesse, has on the reverse an hour-glass, with the inscription: MAVRITI MEMENTO MORI . CONSILIO ET VIRTVTE. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1246.)

(II. and VIII.) Danish *memento mori* medal (1634).

Obv.—Inscription in seven lines: NAAR DU : MEENE. AD : FLORERE BEST SAA . ER . DØDEN DIN : WISSE GEST ·:· ("When you think you are blooming best, Then is death your certain guest").

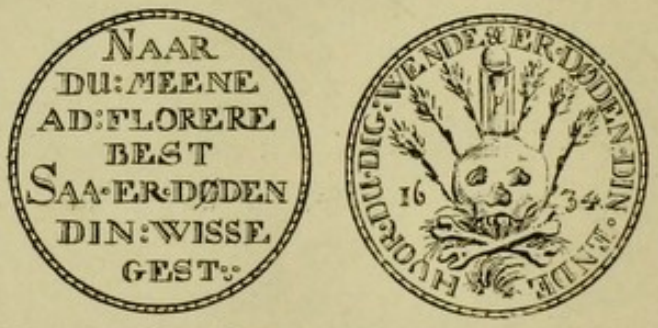

FIG. 55.—Danish *memento mori* medal, 1634.

Rev.—Skull and crossed bones, with hour-glass (surmounted by a ball to represent human life) and ears of corn. Inscription: HVOR . DV . DIG : WENDE ER . DØDEN . DIN . ENDE ("Wherever you wend, Death is your end"). In the field, the date 1634. (Fig. 55.)

Diameter, 1·0 inch; copper gilt; in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. *Danske Mynter og Medailler i den Kongelige Samling*, Copenhagen, 1791, p. 331, No. 842, Pl. xxii. No. 12.

The device of the ears of fresh corn, that is to say, corn springing up from dry and apparently lifeless seeds, on the reverse of this medal, refers to the doctrine of resurrection and eternal life. Compare the "tessera anatomica" figured in Thomas Bartholin's *Domus Anatomica* (printed at the Hague in 1662), p. 27. The design represents a skull and crossed bones with ears of corn, and is surrounded by the legend, VT SEMINA SICCA VIRESCENT. I have seen a similar device of skull, hour-glass, and ears of corn at the end of one of the "Dance of Death" books. So also one of Gabr. Symeoni's emblematic devices represents corn springing up around bones, with the motto, "Spes alterae vitae." Symeoni adds (*The Heroicall Devices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. C., London, 1591, pp. 320, 321): "Corne, graine, and seeds of sundrie sorts, being dead and cast into the ground, do revive, and spring againe: So mans bodie falling into the ground shall rise againe in glory, in the last and general day of the resurrection of the flesh."

(II. and VIII.) Danish *memento mori* medal (1634).

Obv.—Bust of a young woman, with coronet on her head, to right. Inscription: (in outer circle:) LERE · OS · AT · BETENCKE · AT · WI · SKULLE · (and in inner circle:) DØE · AT WI · MA · BLIFE · PSAL · 90 ("Teach us to remember that we must die, so that we may become wise," Psalm xc. verse 12, after Luther's translation). In the field to right: IEG ER SKIØN ("I am beautiful").

Rev.—Skeleton standing by a table resting left hand on an hour-glass. Inscription: (in outer circle:) MINE · DAGE · HAFFE · VERIT · SNARERE · END · EN · LØBERE . (and in inner circle:) DE · FLYDE · BORT · OCH · HAFFE · INTET IOB

9 (" My days are swifter than a post: they flee away, they see no good"—Job ix. 25). In the field, below the table: IEG WAR SKIØN 1634 ("I was beautiful, 1634"). (Fig. 56.)

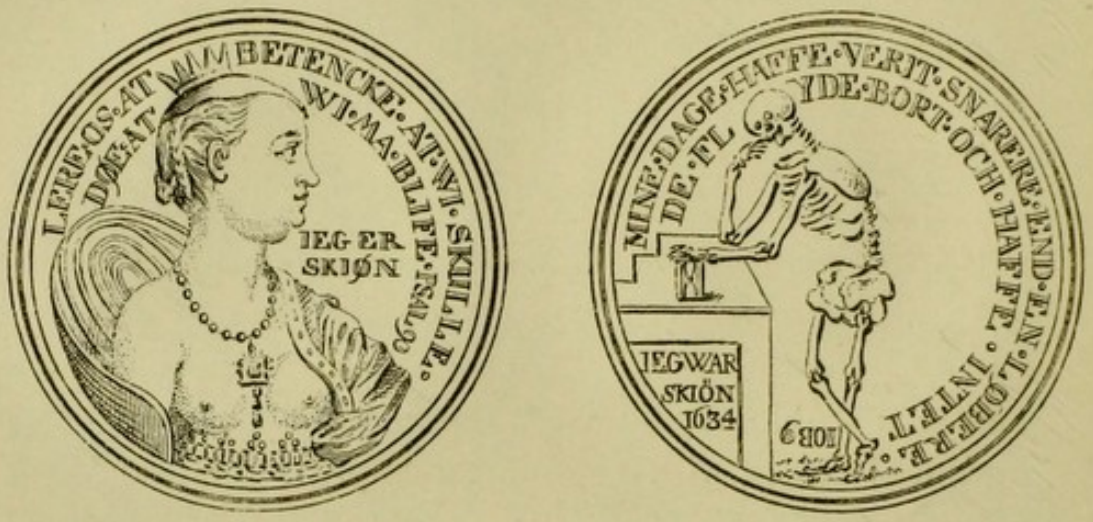

FIG. 56.—Danish *memento mori* medal, 1634.

Diameter, 1·75 inches; gold; in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. *Danske Mynter og Medailler*, *loc. cit.*, p. 331, No. 841; Pl. xxii. No. 11.

These last two medals (specimens of which my father, Sir H. Weber, kindly examined during a recent visit to Copenhagen) are said to have been struck on the death of Anna Cathrina, the eldest daughter of King Christian IV of Denmark by his morganatic wife, Christina Munk (or Munck). The lady in question (born in 1618) was betrothed to Frantz Rantzow (or Rantzau), Governor of the Royal Palace, when the latter was (apparently accidentally) drowned in the moat of the Royal Palace of Rosenborg in 1632. She is supposed to have died of grief in the following year (1633). *Vide* F. C. Schønau, *Leben und letzte Stunden Christina von Munk*, German translation, Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1757, p. 211.

(II. and VIII.) German *memento mori* medal of about 1634.

Obv.—Bust of a young woman with coronet on her head to right. Inscription: QVAE SIM POST TERGA VIDEBIS ("Who I am you will see on the reverse").

Rev.—Skeleton standing by a table, resting left hand on an hour-glass. Inscription: SIC NVNC: PVLCHERRIMA QVONDAM ("Like this now; very beautiful once"). In the field below the table: CVM PRIVIL: CAES: C.M. (Fig. 57.)

FIG. 57.—German *memento mori* medal by Christian Maler.

Oval medal, 1·5 × 1·2 inches; illustrated in Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, London, vol. iii. p. 542.

The German medallist, Christian Maler, generally added the words "cum privil." to his signature C.M., as he has done on the reverse of this medal, because he held the Imperial permission to strike medals in his own house. The designs of obverse and reverse are evidently copied, as Mr. C. F. Gebert of Nürnberg kindly pointed out to me, from those on the medal last described, which is supposed to relate to the death of Anna Cathrina, daughter of King Christian IV of Denmark. The reverse designs on both medals were evidently suggested by Jan

von Calcar's woodcut (cf. p. 77) in Vesalius's *Anatomy*, Basel, 1543, p. 164 (see Fig. 123, on p. 444). I have to thank Mr. L. Forrer for the kind loan of the blocks for Fig. 57.

It is needless to point out that medals of this kind are analogous to the *gisant* type of sepulchral monuments (see Part I. C), inasmuch as they are intended to contrast—from the religious and admonitory, or *memento mori*, point of view—life, vigour, and beauty with death, powerlessness, and putrefaction. So also, various carved beads, wooden or wax statuettes, &c., described in Part IV., have a quite similar significance. The inscriptions may be compared with the mottoes on memorial rings, &c., such as: "Quod es fui, quod sum eris," "Hodie mihi cras tibi." Dr. H. R. Storer kindly tells me of an earlier *memento mori* medal (1603) by Christian Maler. The obverse represents a woman in rich dress, behind whom is Death with an hour-glass; Latin inscription. The reverse device is a withered tree in a spring landscape. (Silver; diameter 1·5 inches.)

(VIII., XVII.) A German medal of about 1634 by Christian Maler, likens human life to soap-bubbles, and

FIG. 58.—Reverse of German *memento mori* medal by Christian Maler.

might have been inspired by Ecclesiastes. The obverse is the same as that of a preceding medal (Fig. 57). But the reverse (Fig. 58) represents a boy seated on the ground, leaning on a death's head, and playing with soap-bubbles. Inscription: OMNES BULLÆ SUM(VS)

INSTAR ("We are all like a bubble");[181] the letters in the exergue seem not to be the ordinary signature of the medallist, Christian Maler. I am indebted for the illustration of this piece to the sale catalogue, by Otto Helbing of Munich, 1901, of the J. J. Schrott Collection, in which it formed No. 1443. My attention was kindly drawn to the existence of the piece by Mr. A. E. Cahn of Frankfurt-a.-M.

Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly drawn my attention to a memorial medal of Tomas Ernsthuyse, who died in 1684, shortly after he had been appointed Governor-General of the Dutch Indies. The medal is figured by G. van Loon (*Histoire metallique des Pays-Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. 3, p. 286), and bears on the reverse the device

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[181] Cf. the Greek saying, Πομφόλυξ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ("Man is a bubble"), and the Latin equivalent, "Bulla est vita humana." In Lucian's dialogue, entitled "Charon," that famous ferryman of the lower world has visited the upper world to find out what there is in life on earth that makes all men weep when they enter his boat, and in his conversation with Hermes (Mercury), he compares the lives of men to bubbles, some large, some small, but all breaking up after a longer or shorter time. Compare the various mottoes and sayings likening the life of man to a shadow. Most of the following have somewhere or other been inscribed on sun-dials: Σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος ("Man is like the dream of a shadow," Pindar, *Pythia*, viii. 136); "Man is but a shadow;" "Pulvis et umbra sumus" (Horace); "Man is like a thing of naught; his time passeth away like a shadow" (Psalm cxliv. 4); "Our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding" (1 Chronicles xxix. 15); "My days are like a shadow that declineth" (Psalm cii. 11); "Shadows we are, and like shadows depart;" on a painted-glass sun-dial in a window at Groombridge Place, I have seen the following inscription: "Umbra videt umbram"—signifying that the person looking at the shadow on the sun-dial is himself only a passing shadow: "He (man) fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay" (Church of England Burial Service, after Job xiv. 2); "Shadows we are and shadows we pursue" (as alluded to by Edmund Burke); "Quod petis, umbra est." The significance of all such mottoes and sayings may be summed up in the words of the Preacher: "Vanity of vanities: all is vanity" (Ecclesiastes i. 2); "All is vanity and a striving after wind" (Ecclesiastes i. 14, Revised Version).

of a child blowing bubbles, with the inscription: MEMENTO MORI.

A "Sterbethaler" (1679) of Christiana, the wife of Christian, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, may be compared with the two preceding medals. It has on the reverse a boy, seated on a human skull, blowing soap-bubbles, with the inscription: OMNIA VANITAS. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet,* No. 1540.)

(I.) A badge of the guild of physicians and surgeons at Delft (1635) bears on the obverse a skull and crossed bones, with the inscriptions: MEMENTO MORI and DELPHENS. S(igillum) COLLEGII MEDIC & CHIRURG. The device is that on the seal of the guild in question. H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, April, 1901, p. 111, No. 1614.

(II.) A mortuary medal (1640) of Anna, daughter of John Günther IV, Count of Schwarzburg, bears her motto: A(lles) V(ergänglich), G(ottes) G(nade) W(ähret) E(wiglich). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1891.)

(II., XV.) A thaler on the death (1644) and burial (1645) of Albert II, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, has the inscription: CORONAM VITÆ ACCIPE (cf. Revelation ii. 10). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1484.)

(II.) Memorial medal on the death of Sir John Hotham (1645).

Obv.—Bust of Hotham to right; behind his neck, a minute skull, surmounted by a crown. Inscription: MORS MIHI VITA.

Rev.—Shield of arms of Sir John Hotham impaling those

of his fifth wife, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Anlaby, of Elton, in Yorkshire.

Diameter, 1·25 inches; cast and chased in silver. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 314.

Sir John Hotham was Parliamentary Commander of Hull, but became dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Parliamentary party, and was with his son suspected of treason. They were both condemned and executed on Tower Hill.

(II., XV.) A curious "moral" medal by the seventeenth-century German medallist, Sebastian Dadler, has on the reverse the inscription: SEY GETREW BIS AN DEN TODT SO WILL ICH DIR DIE KRON DES LEBENS GEBE (Revelation ii. 10). I do not know on what ground this medal has been (doubtless incorrectly) supposed to commemorate the Peace of Westphalia (Peace of Münster) in 1648.

(I., XIII.) A medal of Nicolas Georg de Raigersperg, representative of the Archbishop Elector of Mainz in drawing up the Treaty of Westphalia (Peace of Münster), 1648, has his portrait on the obverse and his arms on the reverse, with the motto: COGITA MORI ANTE MORTEM. This medal (diameter, 1·1 inches) is signed by Vestner, and is therefore a work of the eighteenth century. (Le Maistre sale catalogue, Amsterdam, 1913, No. 184.)

(II. and V.) Memorial medal on the death of King Charles I of England (1649).

Obv.—Bust of Charles I to left. Legend: CAROLVS D. G. &c.

Rev.—A skull between the letters C. R.; over it, a celestial crown with a label GLORIA ; below it, an earthly crown with the label VANITAS. Legend : BEATAM . ET . ETERNAM . SPLENDIDAM . AT . GRAVEM. The legend signifies : "(I receive) a blessed and eternal (crown). (I relinquish) one splendid but burdensome." Floral border on both sides.

Oval medal ; diameter, 0·8 by 0·7 inch ; cast and chased in silver. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 344.

The device on the reverse is illustrated by the following passage in the *Icon Basilike :* "I shall not want the heavy and envyed crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully Crowned and Consummated his graces with Glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that Heavenly Kingdome with himselfe." The device on one of the memorial rings (described in Part IV.) on the King's death is similar to that on the reverse of this medal.

(I., II.) German late seventeenth-century or early eighteenth-century religious *memento mori* medal (by Christian Wermuth).

FIG. 59.—German seventeenth-century *memento mori* medal.

Obv.—Death (as a skeleton with a scythe) standing behind a rich man who holds a clock in his left hand and an image of the sun in his right hand. Inscription : OMNIS DIES OMNIS HORA QVAM

NIHIL SUMUS OSTENDIT ("Every day, every hour, shows that we are nothing").

Rev.—A hand from a cloud holding the mystic Christian emblematic device of a pelican feeding her young with her blood. Over this device, on an arched scroll, is the inscription: NAM CHRISTI MORS MEA VITA EST ("For the death of Christ is my life"). Above this is a hand from a cloud holding a death's head, with the legend: DISCO MORI CHRISTO ("I learn to die in Christ").

Diameter, 1·25 inches; struck in silver; in the author's possession (Fig. 59). (Cf. p. 333*a*.)

The pelican feeding her young with her own blood (the heraldic device of the "pelican in her piety") is a mystic Christian emblem of Christ and the resurrection, the fabulous idea being that the female pelican wounded her breast and revived her apparently dead young ones with her own blood. The device has likewise been employed as an emblem of parental (especially maternal) devotion and self-sacrifice, and of charity in general.

The following four pieces belong to the class of so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" struck at Basel in the seventeenth century. They were apparently designed to be given as presents, sometimes probably in connexion with funerals. The medallist, whose signature on these pieces is F. F., was doubtless Friedrich Fechter or one of his family (F. F. standing either for Friedrich Fechter or for "Fechter fecit"). In connexion with *memento mori* medalets of this class, it must not be forgotten that the devastating epidemics of disease in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave them an increased significance at the time when they were issued [182]

[182] Georges Kastner (*Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, p. 3, footnote) speaks of a medal struck at Basel in connexion with the very fatal epidemic of 1438. Three roses were on one side and a skull and ear of corn (symbols of death and life after death) on the other; according to

(I. and VIII.)

Obv.—Basilisk, with leaf-like wings, holding shield bearing the arms of Basel.

Rev.—Skull on bone, with worm; rose-tree with flower and buds growing over it. Inscription: HEUT RODT MORN DODT ("To-day red, to-morrow dead"). In exergue, an hour-glass and the engraver's signature, F.F. (Fig. 60.)

FIG. 60.—Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century.

Diameter, 0·95 inch; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Swiss Coins in the South Kensington Museum* (the Townshend Collection of Swiss Coins), London, 1878, p. 45, No. 15.

(I. and VIII.)

Obv.—View of the city of Basel.

Rev.—Skull and crossed bones; above which, rose-tree with flower and buds; beneath, hour-glass.

FIG. 61.—Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century.

Inscription: HEUT . RODT . MORN . DODT ("To-day red, to-morrow dead"). (Fig. 61.)

Kastner, the survivors presented the medal to each other as a *memento mori*. Obviously, however, Kastner was referring to a seventeenth-century medalet similar to those here described, with the inscription, "Heut roth, morgen todt."

Diameter, 0·8 inch; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 45, No. 16.

(I. and VIII.)

Obv.—Branch with three roses. Inscription: HEVT SENID WIER ROT ("Heut sind wir roth"—"To-day we are red").

Rev.—Dead stag to left, transfixed with arrow, beneath trees. Inscription: UND MORGEN TODT ("And to-morrow dead"). (Fig. 62.)

FIG. 62.—Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century.

Diameter, 0·6 inch; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 45, No. 17.

(II.)

Obv.—View of the city of Basel.

Rev.—Phoenix in burning nest (emblem of the resurrection of the body, and the immortality of the soul). Inscription: MORIAR UT VIVAM ("I will die that I may live"). (Fig. 63.)

FIG. 63.—Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century.

Diameter, 1·2 inches; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 46, No. 20.

(I.) An English seventeenth-century *memento mori* medalet (*circa* 1650).

Obv.—A child seated on the ground, leaning on a skull. On either side, a flower. In the background, a building with spires, apparently meant to represent a church. The whole type surrounded by a serpent with its tail in its mouth. No legend.

Rev.—Legend in two circles with a rose in the centre: (in outer circle), AS . SOONE : AS . WEE . TO . BEE . BEGVNNE : (and in inner circle:)

FIG. 64.—English *memento mori* medalet.

WE . DID . BEGINNE : TO . BE : VNDONE : (Fig. 64.)

Diameter, 1·25 inches; struck in bronze.

A specimen, which I afterwards presented to the British Museum Collection, was described by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892 (Third Series, vol. xii. p. 253), where I alluded to its resemblance in style of workmanship and in certain details of execution to the medal commemorating John Lilburne's trial in 1649 (*Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 385, No. 3). A similar piece, possibly from another die, but with the same legend, was described by J. Atkins (*The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, London, 1889, p. 250) as a jeton or token supposed to

have been issued by Sir Walter Raleigh for the Settlement made by him in Virginia, 1584.

There is another variety (see Fig. 65) with a slight difference in the legend, a specimen of which was kindly shown me by the late Sir John Evans, to whom it belonged. It is of decidedly rougher and more careless workmanship, somewhat smaller (diameter, 1·15 inches), and reading: (in outer circle:) AS . SOONE . AS WEE . TO . BEE . BEGVNN (and in inner circle:) WE .

FIG. 65.—English *memento mori* medalet.

DID . BEGIN . TO . BE . VNDONN. This variety is figured in the Catalogue of the Fonrobert Collection, by Adolph Weyl (Berlin, 1878, p. 336, No. 3728).

I think these pieces may have been produced to be distributed at funerals. The obverse design and the legend on the reverse were evidently derived from an illustration (see Fig. 66) in G. Wither's *Emblems* (London, 1635, folio, p. 45); the legend in question is an English rendering (which accompanies Wither's illustration) of the well-known Latin hexameter line: "Nascentes morimur finisque ab origine pendet" (Manilius, *Astronomicon*, iv. 16). Wither may have derived the idea of the child leaning on the skull from

one of Giovanni Boldu's medals already referred to, or from some other Italian source,[183] or from one of Barthel Beham's engravings representing a child and skulls.[184]

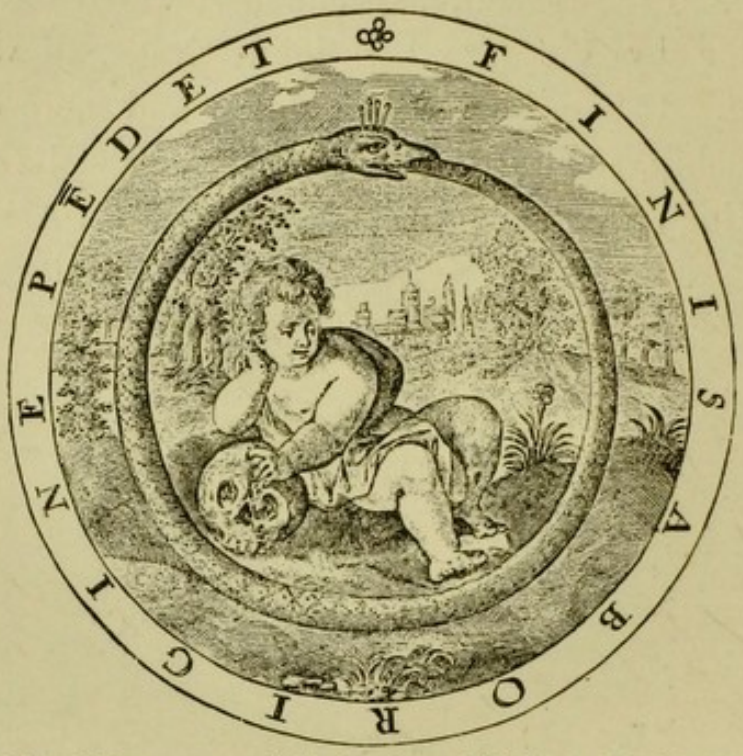

FIG. 66.—*Memento mori* design from Wither's *Emblems*, 1635.

[183] For instance, a Florentine woodcut (already referred to in Part I.) by an unknown master of the fifteenth century, represents a naked boy leaning on a skull, with an hour-glass on the trunk of a tree at his head, and the inscription: LHORA PASSA. The woodcut in question is reproduced by G. Hirth and R. Muther, in their work on *Meister Holzschnitte*, Muenchen, 1893, plate 31. An allegory of life is expressed in a similar way by various Italian statuettes, &c. Thus, in the *Catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Italian Sculpture* (London, privately printed, 1912), there is the description (page 58, No. 8) of a sixteenth-century ivory statuette in the possession of Mr. F. Leverton Harris. It represents a nearly nude boy, standing; in his left hand is a staff, which rests on a skull. In the same catalogue (p. 66, No. 32) is the description of a bronze hand-bell by Andrea Briosco, surnamed "Riccio" (early sixteenth century), in Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's possession. It bears the arms of the Doria family, and the handle is formed in the shape of a nude boy seated on a skull and holding an acanthus thorn in his left hand. The Italian statuette of a boy with a skull, figured in Part I. (Fig. 23), may likewise be referred to in this connexion.

[184] The aspect of life suggested by the illustration in Wither's *Emblems*

The perpetual springing up of new life to replace the old life which is decaying, is indicated on these medalets and on Wither's design by the flowers and by the serpent with its tail in its mouth, an emblem of eternity. In a similar way, Schiller (*Wilhelm Tell*, 1804) puts it—

> "Das Alte stürzt, es ändert sich die Zeit,
> Und neues Leben blüht aus den Ruinen."

Cf. Ecclesiastes i. 4: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever." Or possibly the flowers springing up from near the skull constitute an emblem of the doctrine of resurrection: The dead are to rise up and live again, just as fresh corn and flowers spring up from dry and apparently lifeless seeds.

(X.) There are several medals of Pope Alexander VII. referring to the bubonic plague (1656 and following years) at Rome (L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 109, 110). One of them, signed with the initials of the medallist, Gaspare Mola, has the portrait of the Pope on the reverse in the third year of his pontificate. The reverse shows stricken persons lying on the ground, one of whom looks towards and raises hands towards a floating figure of St. Peter

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is an easy one of quiet contemplation amidst shady groves and beautiful park-land, with the view of church spires in the distance (the ideal life of a college don in the popular imagination of former generations). On a circle around the illustration is inscribed part of the line from Manilius: "FINIS AB ORIGINE PENDET; and accompanying the illustration is printed the English equivalent—

> "As soone as wee to bee begunne,
> We did beginne to be undone."

holding keys. On the right a winged form, holding a death's head and a flaming sword, is departing. On the left, in the distance, is the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome. Underneath is the inscription: VT VMBRA ILLIVS LIBERARENTVR. Of this medal there are two varieties (Pfeiffer and Ruland, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 318 and 319). Another medal has the portrait of the same Pope in the third year of his pontificate on the obverse, and on the reverse the representation of an angel holding a cross and the Bible, conquering Death; inscription: POPVLVM RELIGIONE TVETVR (Pfeiffer and Ruland, *loc. cit.*, No. 320).

(I.) A mortuary piece (1670) on the death of Leopold Charles, the infant son of Ferdinand Albert, Duke of Brunswick (new Wolfenbüttel line), bears the inscription: HOMO UT FLOS ORIETUR MORIETUR. (Cf. Job xiv. 2: "He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.") (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 3652.)

(II., XV.) A mortuary piece of Charles Gustave X, King of Sweden (1660), has the inscription: ÆTER-NAM (coronam) SIBI RESERVAVIT. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 2639.)

(II.) A "Sterbethaler" (1660) of Elizabeth Charlotte, widow of the Elector George William of Brandenburg (1619–1640), mother of the "Great Elector" Frederick William (1640–1688), and sister of the unfortunate Frederick V, Count Palatine of the Rhine (the "Winter King" of Bohemia), has the inscription: NON FVIT MORTALE QVOD OPTABAT DEFVNCTA. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 595.)

(II.) An Italian piece, dated 1663, mentioned by Madai (*Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 4608), of a Count of Gazoldo, bears the type of a phoenix, with the inscription: HINC VITA PERENNIS.

(II.) A "Sterbethaler" (1664) of Eleonora Dorothea, widow of William IV, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, bears the inscription: "Christus ist mein Leben, Sterben ist mein Gewinn" (St. Paul's Epist. to the Philippians i. 21). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1496.)

(VIII.) A "Sterbethaler" and smaller pieces (1666) of Augustus, Duke of Brunswick (New Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel line), has on the reverse a leafless tree with a human skull at its foot and various chronogrammatic inscriptions, including: *Sic transit gloria mundi.* This was the Duke of Brunswick who in 1643 had the famous series of "Glockenthaler" (coins with a bell on the reverse) struck, and whose motto, *Alles mit Bedacht*, appears so frequently on his coins.[185] (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1153 and 3629.)

(II., XIV.) A mortuary medal on the death (1670) of William VII, Landgraf of Hesse, has on the reverse: VIXIT DIV QVIA BENE VIXIT. The medal is signed: I G.B. (Johann Georg Büttner?). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1261.)

(II.) A "Sterbethaler" (1670) on the death of Aemilia, widow of Ludwig Günther, Count of Schwarzburg, has

[185] On one type of his Thaler there occurs, in addition, *Jacta est alea*, as Julius Caesar is said to have cried out when, after mature deliberation, he crossed the Rubicon. It is like Ulrich von Hutten's favourite German motto, *Ich habs gewagt.*

on the reverse a Christian device, with the inscriptions: IESVS—HOC DVCE—SVB CRVCE—NON SINE LVCE. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1899.)

(I.) Halfpenny token of John Brearcliffe or Briercliffe, of Halifax (*circa* 1670).

Obv.—Inscription in five lines: *John Brearcliffe in Halifax his halfe Penny.*

Rev.—A skull and crossed bones, with the inscription: RESPICE . FINEM, on a label above the skull. (Fig. 67.)

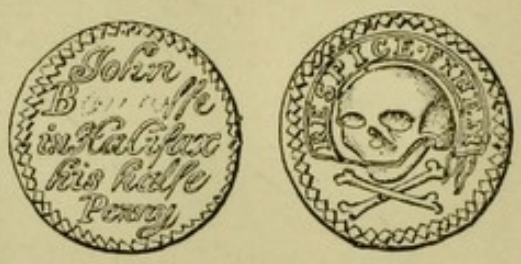

FIG. 67.—Halfpenny token of John Brearcliffe, of Halifax.

Diameter, 0·8 inch; struck in copper or bronze. G. C. Williamson's edition of Boyne's *Trade Tokens*, London, 1891, vol. ii. p. 1317, No. 104.

John Brearcliffe was a surgeon and antiquary of Halifax, where he died in 1682, at the age of sixty-three years. The device on the reverse of this token is one of the commonest and simplest *memento mori* devices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shakespeare refers to a similar device, when, in the Second Part of *Henry IV* (act ii. scene 4), he makes Falstaff say, "Do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end."

(XIII.) Memorial medal on the death of George Hojer (1670).

Obv.—Skull, lamp, and corn. On a ribbon above is the inscription: *Obiit Amstelodami 26 Aprillis* CIↃIↃCLXX. Below: *Mors omnibus aequa.*

Rev.—Inscription in six lines: *P M Cl^s Doct^s Viri Georgii Hojer Commissarii Regis Daniae* VITA EST MEDITATIO ("To the pious memory of the most illustrious and learned man, George Hojer, Commissary of the King of Denmark.—Life is Meditation").

Oval, 2·1 by 1·85 inches. Illustrated in *Danske Mynter og Medailler i den Kongelige Samling*, Copenhagen, 1791 (Coins and Medals of Christian V), Pl. 62, No. 3.

The corn with the skull and lamp on the obverse of this medal evidently has the same signification as that associated with the death's head and hour-glass on a Danish medal of 1634, already described and illustrated (see Fig. 55). The dead man is to rise up and live again, just as fresh corn springs up from dry and apparently lifeless seeds.

(II.) A mortuary piece (1671) on the death of Sibylla Ursula, the first wife of Christian, Duke of Hollstein-Glücksburg, represents on the reverse the deceased duchess accompanied by angels above the clouds; below lies a skeleton, with a cross, a scourge, and thorns; inscription: QVI VICERIT SIC VESTIETVR VESTIMENTIS ALBIS. (See Revelation iii. 5, "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life.") (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1292.)

(V., XI.) Murder of the brothers Jan and Cornelius De Witt, at the Hague, 1672.

There are seven medals commemorating the murder of

the De Witts. All of these are figured and described in G. van Loon's work, *Histoire métallique des Pays-Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. 3, pp. 81–85. The largest of these medals (diameter, 2·75 inches), signed by a medallist, "Aury" or "Avry" (signature: AVRY F.),[186] bears on the obverse the portraits of the two De Witts facing each other; the reverse design represents their murder by the populace in the guise of a many-headed monster. There is a fine specimen of this medal struck in gold in the British Museum Collection. On the reverse of one of the other medals, the dead bodies of the two brothers are shown fastened to a post.

(II.) A silver mortuary medal (1672) on the death of Heinrich Ernst, Count of Stolberg-Wernigerode, has on the obverse a death's head with the following inscription: HOC ERGASTVLO CONFRACTO SVBLIMIS VIVO, which means, "Now that this prison is broken up, I live on high." The larger letters (H.E.C.S.VV.) of this inscription stand for Henricus Ernestus Comes Stolberg-Wernigerode. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1920.)

(I., II.) Memorial medal on the death of Anne Eldred (1678).

Obv.—Armorial shield. Legend: ANNE · THE · WIFE · OF · IO : ELDRED · ESQ. DIED · MAR · THE · 31 · 1678 . AGED · 72.

Rev.—A veiled female figure seated, facing, holding a skull, and resting her head upon her hand

[186] On comparing this medal with a medal of the French Jesuit statesman, Michel Le Tellier, dated 1679, and signed AVRY F., I agree with Miss Agnes Baldwin that both of them are the work of the same medallist, who was probably a Frenchman, or resided in France, not in the Netherlands.

supported by a pedestal, on which stands an urn. Legend: A WISE WOMAN BVILDETH HER HOVSE.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; a hollow medal, cast and chased in silver, in high relief, of rather coarse workmanship. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 571; Lady Evans, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, 1908, vol. viii. p. 178.

The Anne Eldred commemorated on this medal was the wife of John Eldred (who died November 16, 1682), of Olivers, in Essex, and was the daughter and co-heir of Thomas Godman, of Leatherhead, Surrey. For further details, see Lady Evans, "Memorial Medal of Anne Eldred," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1908, *loc. cit.*

(I.) Josias Nicolson. Memorial medal on his death 1683–84).

Obv.—Bust of Nicolson, three-quarters, to left, with the legend: IN REMEMBRANCE OF IOSIAS NICOLSON. The legend is divided by four death's heads.

Rev.—Death leaning on a spade, with the legend (incuse): MEMENTO MORI.

Diameter, 2·15 inches; made of two plates of silver, cast and chased, in high relief and of somewhat rude workmanship. In the collection of the late Sir John Evans. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 597.

In regard to what is known about this Josias Nicolson and his family, see Lady Evans's article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Fourth Series, 1901, vol. ix. p. 241), where the medal is well illustrated.

(X.) Recovery of the town of Erfurt (1683) from the pestilence.

Obv.—The Archangel Michael, standing on a skeleton, sheathes his flaming sword; to the left is a tablet, surmounted by a death's head, with the inscription: A · 1683 · SUMMA MORTUORUM · 9437. The surrounding inscription is the "Leonine" pentameter line: MORS JUGULANS CEDIT, VITA SALUSQ(ue) REDIT. Below is the signature, D (? D. S. Dockler, of Nürnberg).

Rev.—View of the town of Erfurt, with the sun shining above it. The inscription is the pentameter line: HOC REDEUNTE PERIT CONTAGIOSA LUES ("This—the sun—returning, the contagious pestilence disappears"). In exergue: ERPHORDIA A PESTE LIBERA(tâ) · ANNO 1683 EXEUNTE.

Diameter, 1·9 inches; struck in bronze. Described by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, p. 112, No. 330. These authors likewise describe a variety without a death's head over the tablet on the obverse, and with German instead of Latin inscription on the tablet.

(X.) Recovery of the town of Magdeburg (1683) from the pestilence.

Obv.—The town, with the sun shining; above, the arms and, on a band, the inscription: TANDEM LVX ALMA REVERTIT. Below is the signature, C. P. (Christoph Pflug, Mint-master at Magdeburg).

Rev.—In a landscape are two female figures standing; on the right, Death with his scythe rides away; above is the eye of God, and, on a band, the inscription: VITA ADSTAT MORSQUE RECEDIT. In exergue: MAGDB · A · PESTE LIBERATUM MENS · FEBR · 1683.

Diameter, 1·8 inches; struck. Described by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, p. 112, No. 332. There exists likewise a variety of this medal dated 1682 instead of 1683.

(I., VIII.) A "Sterbethaler" (1684) on the death of Duke Julius Sigismund, of the Münsterberg-Oels line, has on the reverse a leafless tree with a young shoot, and a chronogrammatic inscription: "Exusta est arbor, sic exit gloria mundi," &c. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1582.)

(I.) Two medals of the Swedish court physician, Urban Hjärne (1641–1724), with his portrait on the obverse, have the following curious reverse design: A human skull, without the lower jaw-bone, rests on the ground, encircled by laurel, irradiated by the sun, and bathed by rain from an armorial shield (of the Tott family) among the clouds. From the right orbit comes a serpent or worm. Around the skull is the inscription: GOTT VND TOTT. One medal is dated 1682, and the other 1702; they are both signed by the medallist, A. Karlsteen. The play on the word TOTT (= Death) alluded to the family of Tott, patrons of Hjärne. See C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 196.

(I.) Memorial medal on the death of King Charles II of England (1685).

Obv.—Time seated to right, on a tomb, with one foot on a skull, holding in one hand a scythe and hour-glass, and extending a laurel wreath in the other. Legend: TO · THE · COLD · TOMB · ALL · HEADS · MVST · COME.

Rev.—Inscription: KING · CHARLES · THE · SECOND · AETAT · 55 · OBIIT · FEBRV · 6 · ANNO · DOM · 1684. (The date is according to the old style.)

Diameter, 1·55 inches; struck in silver and copper. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 601. There are two varieties, differing from each other only in the arrangement of the legend on the obverse.

This legend on the obverse is taken from James Shirley's *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (1659)—

"Your heads must come
To the cold tomb;
Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust." [187]

A specimen of the second variety, in the British Museum Collection, has had the reverse inscription erased, and another inscription engraved in its place, commemorating the death, in 1702, of Bartholomew Gidley, of Gidley, in Devon. Specimens, thus altered, were probably distributed at the funeral of Bartholomew Gidley.

(VIII.) Memorial medal on the death of King Charles II of England (1685).

Obv.—Bust of Charles II to right. Legend: CAROLUS II D. G., etc.

Rev.—Sea, with setting sun. Legend: OMNIA ORTA OCCIDUNT. In exergue, MDCLXXXV.

Diameter, 1·95 inches; struck in silver or (as in a specimen which belonged to me) in white metal. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 601.

The reverse legend, referring to the dissolution of all created things, is derived from Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 2, and may be compared with Ecclesiastes i. 4, 5, "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh. . . .

[187] In Tate and Brady's metrical version of the Psalms (1696) the following similar lines occur (Psalm 112):—

"The sweet remembrance of the just
Shall flourish when he sleeps in dust."

The sun also ariseth and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose."

(V.) Execution of Monmouth and Argyle (1685).

Obv.—Bust of King James II of England, with his titles, &c.

Rev.—A pedestal inscribed: AMBITIO MALESUADA RUIT; on the pedestal, Justice, trampling on a serpent, weighs three crowns against the sword, the torch, and the serpent of discord. At her feet lie the bodies of Monmouth and Argyle; their heads are on blocks inscribed: IACOBUS DE MONTMOUT—ARCHIBALD D'ARGYL. Above, the sun. On one side, lightning darting against troops at Sedgemoor. On the other side, two heads fixed over the gates of the Tower of London.

Diameter, 2·4 inches; struck in silver and white metal. *Medallic Illustrations*, London, 1885, vol. i. p. 615, No. 27.

This medal is by R. Arondeaux, a Flemish medallist, of the end of the seventeenth century. There are other medals commemorating the defeat and execution of Monmouth. One of them (*Medallic Illustrations, loc. cit.*, No. 26) presents the rebellion in a different light. It bears the portrait of Monmouth on the obverse, and, on the reverse, his head spouting blood, with the legend: HUNC SANGUINEM LIBO DEO LIBERATORI.

(XI.) Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV, 1685.—Persecution and Martyrdom of Huguenots.

A medal commemorating the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes bears on the obverse a figure of the Pope seated on the beast with seven heads, holding the keys in his left hand and wielding a thunderbolt with his right hand. On the reverse is a scene representing the

execution and persecution of Protestants in France, with the inscription: EX MARTYRIIS PALMAE. Diameter, 2·25 inches; struck in silver.

This and two other medals on the same subject are described and figured by G. van Loon, in his *Histoire métallique des Pays-Bas* (French edition), 1732, vol. 3, p. 312, Nos. 1–3. Three medals of Louis XIV commemorate the same event from the Roman Catholic point of view, bearing such inscriptions as EXTINCTA HAERESIS and RELIGIO VICTRIX. They are described and figured in *Médailles de Louis le Grand*, Paris, 1702, pp. 209–211. Another (undated) medal commemorating religious persecution under Louis XIV, was struck at Rome about 1673. On the reverse is a warrior attacking Heresy, with the inscription, QVIS CONTRA NOS. It is signed by Giovanni Hamerani.

(II.) Seventeenth-century ornamental memorial plate (1688). Lady Evans has kindly shown me a small engraved and enamelled plate, the design on which is oval, measuring 1·75 by 2·0 inches. On a shield-shaped compartment the following inscription is engraved: "James Son of Ben^{j} Warren and Mary Denew ob: 22^{d} March 168$\frac{7}{8}$ aged 5 years. Dreamed 48 hours before he dyed that he had Wings and Flew to HEAUEN." Above the inscription are two cupids supporting a crown. With this, in regard to *naïveté*, the Latin epitaph (1676) on a boy named Thomas Welsted, in the cloisters of the Chantry Chapel at Winchester College, may be compared (*Inscriptiones Wiccamicae*, Oxford, 1885, p. 61). He was killed at the age of 18 years by a blow from a ball, and the inscription adds: "In this school he was first, and is not, we hope, the last in Heaven, whither he went instead of to Oxford (University)." An American visitor was heard to say that "it must have come a good deal cheaper."

(II., VI.) Memorial on the death of Marshal Schomberg at the Battle of the Boyne (1690).

Obv.—Bust of Marshal Schomberg, three-quarters, to right. Legend: FRIDERICUS MARESCHALCUS SCHOMBERG, &c. Artist's signature on truncation, P. H. M. (Philipp Heinrich Müller).

Rev.—Schomberg, in Roman dress, resting on a shield ornamented with the Christian monogram, plants, like another Hercules, his club, which takes root and flourishes as an olive-tree, &c.

Diameter, 1·95 inches; struck in silver, &c., or (as a draughtsman) in wood.

For a more complete description of the reverse of this medal, see *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 717, No. 139. The edge bears the inscription: PRO RELIGIONE ET LIBERTATE MORI, VIVERE EST, with the initials of Friedrich Kleinert, who is said to have been the first medallist in Germany to strike medals with an inscription on their edges.

(V.) Execution of Grandval (1692).

There are several medals commemorating the execution of Barthélemi de Lignières, Chevalier de Grandval, on account of his share in the plot to assassinate William III of England. He was hung, drawn, and quartered, and on three of the medals gallows and poles bearing his head and quarters are represented. (*Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 75–78, Nos. 287–290.)

(I.) A gold mortuary medal (1693) of Ida Blok, of Amsterdam, has the device of a skull and crossed bones, surmounted by a winged hour-glass. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer; figured in the catalogue of the Müller sale at Amsterdam, 18th March, 1907, No. 66.)

(I., VIII.) A memorial medal on the death (1697) of Charles XI, King of Sweden, has on the reverse the inscription: HVC TENDIMVS OMNES. (Cf. Ovid, *Consol. ad Liviam Augustam*, v. 359, "Tendimus huc omnes; metam properamus ad unam.") (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 2643.)

(II., III.) A mortuary medal (1701) on the death of August, Graf von der Lippe zu Bracke, "General-Feldmarschall" of Hesse-Cassel, is remarkable for the number of mottoes which it bears. On the obverse, above the count's head, three figures of Fame trumpet forth the following messages: (1) *Vivit post funera virtus*; (2) *Haec me post fata manebunt* (the middle figure who trumpets this is placing a crown of laurel on the count's head); (3) *Major post exequias.* On the reverse is the cross of the Deutscher Orden, with a crown above it and the inscription: *Vicerunt crucem coelestia gaudia tandem*; over the crown: *Promissa fideli.* On the four sides are two roses, a star, and a swallow, heraldic bearings from the count's arms; with the first rose (1) is the inscription: *Nunc cinis, ante rosa*; with the star (2) is: *Per aspera ad astra*; with the swallow (3) is: *Alibi hyemandum*; with the second rose (4) is: *Forma perit, virus remanet.* The medallist's signature occurs on the obverse: G.L.C. (Gabriel Le Clerc). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1748.)

(II.) A medal commemorating the death (1717) of Anna Sophia, widow of John George IV, Elector of Saxony (1691–1694), states that the deceased, *quae illustris vixit, illustris nunc vivit*, and that her son, the Elector Frederick Augustus I, King of Poland, had the "eternal memorial" made. The reverse shows a ship entering a port, with the inscription: DEO DVCE PORTVM INVENIT. (In regard to the saying, *Inveni portum*, see Part I.) The medal is signed I.G.S. (for Iohann Georg Schomburg). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 560.)

(III., XIV.) A Thaler-like medal (1717) of William

Ernest, called "The Righteous," Duke of Saxe-Weimar, has on the reverse the inscription, NON OMNIS MORIAR (Horace, *Od.*, iii. 30. 6), referring to a "pious foundation" of his. The medal is signed C.W. (for Christian Wermuth, the well-known medallist). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1500.)

(I., IX.) There are various medalets (about 1661–1693) of the Guild of Surgeons at Middelburg, which bear *memento mori* devices. One of them has on the obverse a skeleton with hour-glass and dart and the inscription: VIVE MEMOR LETHI. See H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, July, 1901, p. 17, Nos. 1636–1639.

(I., IX.) Various entrance tickets to the Medical Garden of Amsterdam bear *memento mori* devices, such as a skeleton with scythe, hour-glass, and tomb. I suppose they began to be used in the second half of the seventeenth century. See H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, July, 1901, p. 19, Nos. 1651–1664.

(X.) The series of St. Benedict amulets ("Benedicts-Pfennige") were employed by believers as preservative charms against deadly epidemic diseases, &c. The earliest pieces are doubtless of the seventeenth century, but the type has been more or less preserved to modern times on medalets sold to credulous pilgrims at various popular shrines of Southern Germany and Switzerland. The characteristic type is as follows: The obverse represents St. Benedict with the inscription, CRVX S. P. BENEDICT. The reverse has the device of a cross with the letters, CSSMLNDMD, and in the angles,

CSPB; the surrounding inscription is, IHS·V·R·S·N·S·M·V·S·M·Q·L·I·V·B. These mystical letters stand for "Crux sacra sit mihi lux non draco (sit) mihi dux. Crux Sancti Patris Benedicti. ——Iesus.—— Vade retro, Satanas, nunquam suade mihi vana. Sunt mala quae libas, ipse venenum bibas." See L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 106–108. These authors likewise describe many other medalet-like amulets, or "Pest-Pfennige," against plague, cholera and other deadly epidemic diseases. Figures of St. Sebastian and St. Rochus occur on some of the plaque-medalets. Thus, an oval one, with loop for suspension, struck at Munich (1637 ?), has on the obverse Moses and the brazen serpent before the town of Munich; three dead bodies are lying on the ground. On the reverse is the so-called "shield" of St. Benedict (that is to say, the reverse type of a St. Benedict amulet) between the figures of St. Sebastian and St. Rochus, with the inscription: S. SEBASTIANE . O(ra) . P(ro) . N(obis)—S. ROCHE . O(ra) . P(ro) . N(obis) (Pfeiffer and Ruland, *op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 298.) Another (*ibid.*, p. 106, No. 301) has a cabalistic sign and legend on the obverse, with the surrounding inscription: SIGNVM·ROCHI·CONTRA·PESTEM·PATRONVS (*sic*); on the reverse is St. George riding to the right, with the inscription: ORA · PRO · NOBIS · S. GEORGIVS.

(V., X.) The following are typical examples of the class of medals, &c., on which deadly epidemics of plague and other infectious diseases are referred to as punishments or retributive calamities, visitations or manifestations of the divine wrath on account of the

wickedness of the people. They were made at Hamburg, 1709–1714:—

Obv.—Patient lying in bed, with priest, physician, and surgeon at his bedside. Inscription: DIE STRAFF WIR WOHL VERDIENET HAN, SOLCHS MUS BEKENNEN JEDERMAN. NIEMAND DARF SICH AUSSCHLIESSEN.

Rev.—An angel digging a grave. DRUM LEGE DOCH DIE SÜNDE AB. SONST GRAB ICH EILENT DIR EIN GRAB.

The following is struck on a four-cornered flan:—

Obv.—Dead and dying lying on the ground; the towers of the town in the distance; above, over clouds, an angel holding sword. Inscription: SO IHR EUCH NICHT BESSERT, WERDET IHR ALLE ALSO UMBKOMEN. In the exergue is the Latin inscription: "Periculum ex aliis capito."

Rev.—Inscription: ACH! GOTT! BESSERE ZEIT UND LEUTE · 1711. In the exergue is the Latin inscription: "Dabit Deus his quoq(ue) finem."

Another four-cornered medal has the same obverse, but on the reverse has the inscription: DOCH WERD'T IHR EUCH VON SÜNDEN KEHREN, SO WIRD AUCH GOTT DER PLAGE WEHREN, 1713.

The following medal, signed by the Hamburg medallist, David Gerhard von Hachten (engraver at the Hamburg Mint, 1704–1726), was made in 1714, the year after the preceding medal:—

Obv.—Christ standing amongst dead and dying persons; the town in the background. Inscription: IESUS DER EINIGE, &c. In the exergue: ANNO MDCCXIV, and the medallist's signature, "V Hachten."

Rev.—Long inscription: HAMBURG, SIEHE ZU, DU BIST GESUND WORDEN, SUNDIGE FORT NICHT MEHR, &c.

On the edge of the medal: DER HERR HAT GROSSES AN UNS GETHAN, DES SINT WIR FROLICH, PSAL. CXXVI.

The above medals are all described by O. C. Gaedechens, in his book, *Hamburgische Münzen und Medaillen*, Hamburg, 1850, and by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 115–117.

Pfeiffer and Ruland (*op. cit.*, pp. 117, 118), also quote a four-cornered piece relating to Prague, 1713, very similar to the second of the two above-mentioned four-cornered pieces. Another medal, which they describe (*op. cit.*, p. 118), relating to the termination of the same epidemic at Prague, shows on the reverse the sword held by the avenging angel being grasped by a hand from the clouds; the inscription is: SVFFICIT, NVNC CONTINE MANVM TVAM; in exergue: II. REG. XXIV. V. 16. A medal struck at Leipzig in 1680 (Pfeiffer and Ruland, *op. cit.*, p. 111, No. 327), commemorating the deliverance of the town from the bubonic plague, suggests the same idea of epidemic diseases being manifestations of divine wrath. The reverse inscription is: WIR SAHEN GOTTES RVTH V(nd) SIND AVCH SELBST VERSEHRT, DOCH WARD DVRCH REV V(nd) BVS, DER PLAGE BALD GEWEHRT. Similarly, a medal on the termination of the pestilence at Erfurt in 1683 (already referred to) represents the Archangel Michael sheathing his sword.

(I.) A curious medal by the Swiss medallist, Hans Jakob Gessner, of Zurich, commemorates the death (1725) of the wife of Hans Georg Steiner, of Zurich, who was daughter and co-heiress of Heinrich Rahn of Winterthur. On the obverse are the arms of the Rahn and Steiner families, with the inscription: RARA CONCORDIA. On the reverse, Death with a scythe is mowing in a field of grass and flowers; inscription: FLOS DEFLUIT ET REFLUIT. (Cf. Psalm ciii. 15: "As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the

FIG. 68.—Swiss medal, 1725.

field, so he flourishes;" and Job xiv. 2: "He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down.") In the exergue is the date, MDCCXXV; the artist's signature is H.I.G.

Diameter, 1·55 inches; struck; silver. A specimen was sold in the Stroehlin Collection, 1911. (See Fig. 68.) The thirteenth card of old packs of "Tarot" cards has a skeleton reaping with a scythe, somewhat as on the reverse of this medal.

(II.) A "Sterbethaler" (1737) commemorating the death of Frederick Eberhardt, Count of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, has on the reverse the device of a phoenix in

flames with the motto: EX CINERIBVS ORIOR, that is to say, "I rise out of the ashes." (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1725.)

With this may be compared other Hohenlohe pieces with the device of a phoenix and the motto: EX FLAMMIS ORIOR, that is to say, "I rise out of the flames." (Madai, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1720, 1723, 5307.)

(I., II.) A mortuary medal (1738) of Geldolphus van Overbeke, of Amsterdam, has the following obverse design: At the left, a tree in foliage and flowering plants beneath a radiant sun. At the right, a recumbent skeleton beneath a withered tree. On the reverse there is a corpse upon a couch supported by skeletons; above the corpse are floating angels with trumpets. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer; figured in the catalogue of the Müller sale at Amsterdam, 18th March, 1907, No. 383.)

(II., XIX.) An engraved mortuary medal (1738) of Johanna Elisabeth van de Werre has the obverse design of a monument surmounted by cherub-heads and supported by skeletons holding scythes. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer; figures in the catalogue of the Müller sale at Amsterdam, 18th March, 1907, No. 384.)

(III.) A medal of the Italian historian, L. A. Muratori (1672–1750), the work (1806) of the medallist, Tommaso Mercandetti, of Rome, has for the reverse design a figure representing History warding off a winged figure holding hour-glass and scythe, representing the

destructive power of Time. (Anthony Durand, *Médailles et Jetons des Numismates*, Genève, 1865, Pl. ix. Fig. 5.)

(IX.) Memorial of the death of William Cheselden, the surgeon (1752). The Cheselden prize-medal of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, for practical surgery and surgical anatomy.

Obv.—Bust of William Cheselden (1688–1752), the well-known surgeon, to right. Legend: CHESELDEN. Below, W. WYON SC. MINT.

Rev.—The body of a man laid out for dissection. In the background, on a table decorated with the arms of St. Thomas's Hospital, are a skull, book and vases; above is a human leg which has been

FIG. 69.—Reverse of the Cheselden medal.

dissected. Legend: MORS VIVIS SALVS. In the exergue: ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL.—W. WYON S. MINT. (See Fig. 69.)

Diameter, 2·85 inches; struck. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. ii. p. 668.

This beautiful prize-medal, one of the finest works of William Wyon, R.A. (1795–1851), was founded by the late George Vaughan.

(IX.) A medal of J. B. Morgagni (1682–1771) with his portrait on the obverse, has on the reverse a figure of Minerva handing a knife (for post-mortem examinations) to a winged genius, holding the serpent-staff of Aesculapius; in the background, on a couch, is a dead body, the thorax of which has been opened; inscription: SALVTI SCIENTIA. This medal is signed by the medallist, T. Mercandetti, of Rome, and dated 1808. (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 30, No. 2.)

(IX.) The medal of the Company of Surgeons (London), by Thomas Pingo, 1767.

The obverse of this medal bears the arms of the Company of Surgeons (now the Royal College of

FIG. 70.—Medal of the Company of Surgeons, London, 1767.

Surgeons of England), and the reverse represents the story of Galen contemplating the skeleton of a robber. (See Fig. 70, for which I am indebted to Mr. L. Forrer and Messrs. Spink and Son.) The skeleton lies on the ground, on the right, in rustic mountainous scenery; Galen, in antique dress, on the left, stands facing the

skeleton, in an attitude of contemplation. The story, as given by Galen himself, is as follows: "I saw the body of a robber lying on a mountain, remote from any public road. He had been killed by a traveller whom he had attacked, and the inhabitants of the vicinity, conceiving so wicked a man proper prey for the vultures, refused him sepulture, and two days afterwards his bones were stripped of their flesh, and dry, like those prepared for students." In those days it was very difficult to get the opportunity of studying from actual skeletons —even at medical schools skeletons were rare, and it may be called to mind that Apuleius (the author of the *Metamorphoseon*, or *Golden Ass* romance), who, like Galen, was born about 130 A.D., was accused amongst other things of possessing a skeleton—*for purposes of magic.* There was, therefore, some danger in possessing a skeleton.

On the reverse of this medal Pingo has evidently, as Mr. T. E. James observed to me, to a large extent copied the design of the frontispiece, representing the same subject, of William Cheselden's *Osteographia* (published in London, 1733).

The reverse of the present "honorary medal" of the Royal College of Surgeons of England is the same as that of Pingo's medal. Sir Henry Morris kindly tells me that, under the Company of Surgeons, from 1768 it was the custom to award a medal to the Company's Professor of Anatomy each year. Mr. Joseph Else, who, I understand, was the second of the Company's Professors of Anatomy, was the first one to receive the medal; it was presented to him in 1768, that is to say, the year after Pingo engraved the dies, according to the date (1767) on the obverse die. The idea of having a medal made dated from before the Company of Surgeons separated from the Company of Barber Surgeons (the separation occurred in 1745). At all events, on 15th August, 1734, according to

the records, it was ordered that a silver medal was to be made with a proper device on each side, to be presented at the end of the year to the Demonstrators, as an acknowledgment of their trouble in performing such demonstrations. On 17th September, 1734, it was further decided "that for the encouragement of such Demonstrator and Demonstrators as shall duly and zealously discharge the trust reposed in them . . . a medal shall be given yearly with a fine stamp in relievo of the most excellent picture of this Company by Hans Holbein, of King Henry the 8th giving the Charter to the Company on one side. On the reverse the fine Anatomical Theatre of the Company built by Inigo Jones, with a body dissected on the Table, and a proper inscription expressing the intention and motive of establishing the same." No medals of this type were, however, ever made.

(IX.) Because of its reverse design, the following medal of William Hunter (1718–1783), the physician and anatomist, may be described here. It is the work (1774) of Edward Burch, R.A., who was well known as a gem-engraver, and, as mentioned further on, was indebted to William Hunter for opportunities of acquiring anatomical knowledge.

Obv.—Bust of William Hunter to left. Inscription: GVL . HVNTER . ANATOMICVS. Signed in smaller letters: BURCH · FEC.

Rev.—A large two-handled vase on which is the representation in bas-relief of an anatomical demonstration. Inscription: OLIM MEMINISSE IVVABIT ("Once it will be a pleasure to remember," Virgil, *Aeneid*, i. 203).

Diameter, 3·2 inches; cast in bronze. Figured by Anthony Durand, *Médailles et Jetons des Numismates*, Genève, 1865, Plate vi, Fig. 4.

A variety has the date, 1774, on the reverse. I have seen yet another variety, without either date or artist's signature, but with the following inscription on the rim:

S^{t} GEORGE'S SCHOOL OF MEDICINE SESSION 1856-57 ANATOMICAL PRIZE, AWARDED TO M^{R} HERZEON.[188] From any cast medal (in fairly high relief) altered copies can easily be made later on, either to serve as prize medals, &c., or even for purposes of fraud (to deceive collectors).

The design on the vase on the reverse doubtless refers to William Hunter's lectures, dissections, and anatomical demonstrations at his house at Great Windmill Street in London, or to his *Anatomical Description of the Human Gravid Uterus* (Latin edition, J. Baskerville, Birmingham, 1774). In this connexion it may be noted that the artist, Edward Burch, R.A., who, according to the Royal Academy records, died in 1814, expressed himself as much indebted to his patron, Dr. William Hunter, for opportunities of acquiring anatomical knowledge. (See p. xiii. of the introduction to a *Catalogue of One Hundred Proofs from Gems engraved in England*, by E. Burch, R.A., Engraver to His Majesty for Medals and Gems, London, 1795, quarto.)

(IX.) The Bristowe prize-medal of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, may be mentioned for convenience here. On the obverse is the profile head to left of Dr. John Syer Bristowe (1827–1895), a well-known physician of the hospital. The reverse represents the interior of a pathological laboratory, with a young man seated to right, examining a human heart (see Fig. 71). The medal is awarded annually in silver for pathology.

(XIV.) A medal of J. H. Pozzi (1697–1752), poet and

[188] There is no record of this at St. George's Hospital Medical School, London. The Anatomy Prizemen of that session had other names.

physician of Bologna, is inscribed on the reverse with the Hippocratic aphorism, VITA BREVIS ARS LONGA. (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 28.)

FIG. 71.—Reverse of the Bristowe medal.

The following medals and medalets, bearing the same Hippocratic aphorism, are placed here for convenience, though somewhat out of their chronological order.

(XIV.) A medal of Dr. C. G. B. Daubeny (1795–1867), Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, has the legend, ARS LONGA VITA BREVIS, on the reverse. (H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, July, 1893, p. 12, No. 630.)

(XIV.) A medal commemorating the foundation of the Medical Association of Warsaw, 1809, bears the Hippocratic aphorism, Ο ΒΙΟΣ ΒΡΑΧΥΣ Η ΔΕ ΤΕΧΝΗ ΜΑΚΡΗ, and the names of Dr. A. F. von Wolff and the other founders. (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 193.)

Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly furnished me with descriptions of medals on which this famous aphorism of Hippocrates occurs. Besides the medals of Pozzi and Daubeny and of the Warsaw Medical Association, already mentioned, it occurs in Latin on medalets of various Paris medical societies, including the Société Médicale (founded 1796), the Société Médico-Philanthropique (1806), and the Société Médico-Pratique (1808).

(V.) Threat of death to Admiral John Byng, after the loss of Minorca in 1756.

Obv.—Half-length figure of General Blakeney, facing, holding the British flag; on one side is a ship, on the other a fort firing cannon. Inscription: BRAVE. BLAKNEY . REWARD . (in exergue:) BUT . TO . B . GIVE . A . CORD.

Rev.—Half-length figure of Admiral Byng, three-quarters, to left, receiving from a hand a purse; behind him, a ship. Inscription: WAS MINORCA SOLD BY · B · (in exergue:) FOR · FRENCH GOLD.

Diameter, 1·4 inches; struck in brass or bronze. *Medallic Illustrations*, London, 1885, vol. ii. p. 679, No. 394. There is likewise a slightly smaller variety of this medal with a relatively larger figure of Byng (*Medallic Illustrations, loc. cit.*, No. 395).

The island of Minorca surrendered to the Duc de Richelieu, on June 27, 1756. This medal is one of the toy-shop or popular kind, like those struck to commemorate the taking of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon in 1739; and it was doubtless one of the numerous means of exciting popular indignation against Admiral Byng. On his return he was tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, 14th March, 1757.

(II.) A medal of the philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), of Berlin, has on the reverse a skull, on which is a butterfly, and the inscription: PHAEDON. It refers to his work, *Phaedon, oder über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele* (in imitation of the *Phaedon* of Plato), published at Berlin in 1767.

(X.) The following medal (1777), commemorating the prohibition of burials within the walls of Breslau, is described by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, in their book *Pestilentia in Nummis* (Tübingen, 1882, p. 172, No. 478).

Obv.—A church in a broad inclosure. Inscription: CONSERVA NOS DOMINE IN PACE.

Rev.—Long Latin inscription, commemorating the event in question.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; struck in silver.

(X.) A Belgian new year's jetton for 1785 commemorates the edict of the 26th June, 1784, whereby burials were prohibited in cities and towns or inside cathedrals, churches, chapels, and other closed buildings throughout Belgium.

Obv.—Busts facing each other of Marie Christine and Albert of Saxe-Teschen. Inscription: MAR. CHRIST. AVST., &c.

Rev.—Inscription in five lines: MORTVI VRBIBVS ELIMINATI MORE VETERI MDCCLXXXIV.

Octahedral in shape; struck; 1·45 inches in longest cross-measurement. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, Bruxelles, 1888, vol. 44, p. 73, Plate ii. Fig. 1. Dr. H. R. Storer kindly drew my attention to this piece.

(V.) Satirical tokens threatening Thomas Paine (1793–1797).

There are many halfpenny and farthing tokens of the end of the eighteenth century, representing on the obverse a man hanging from a gallows, with the inscription END OF PAIN. On one variety of this type a demon is seated on the gallows, smoking a pipe. Amongst the reverse-types of this series are the following:—

(*a*) An open book inscribed: THE WRONGS OF MAN · JANY 21 1793.

(*b*) Inscription: MAY THE KNAVE OF JACOBIN CLUBS NEVER GET A TRICK.

(*c*) A man and a monkey, each standing on one leg, with the inscription: WE DANCE . PAIN SWINGS.

(*d*) A number of combustibles, intermixed with labels, issuing from a globe inscribed FRATERNITY. The labels are inscribed: REGICIDE, ROBBERY, FALSITY, REQUISITION, FRENCH REFORMS 1797.

See James Atkins, *The Tradesmen's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1892, pp. 133, 373, 374, 382, 383.

Thomas Paine (1737–1809) published his *Rights of Man* in London, 1790–1792, and, after migrating to France in 1792, was given the title of French citizen and elected a member of the Convention. His *Age of Reason* was published in 1793, and made him still more unpopular in England. A satirical print by the caricaturist, James Gillray, entitled "Tom Paine's Nightly Pest," shows Paine sleeping on a bed of straw, seeing in his dreams judges, scaffold and pillory awaiting him; Fox and Priestly as winged cherubs are acting as guardian angels.

The satirical halfpenny and farthing tokens of the "END OF PAIN" type probably helped to prejudice

the people against him. Such political tokens doubtless served the purpose of cheap political newspapers, just as some of the "toy-shop medals" (such as those of Admiral Vernon) did during an earlier portion of the same century.

(II.) A memorial medal of Aloisio Galvani (1737–1798), by Mercandetti (1803), bears on the reverse the inscription: MORS MIHI VITA, (and in the exergue:) SPIRITUS INTUS ALIT (Virgil, *Aen.*, vi. 726). (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 33.)

(IX.) Medals of F. J. Gall (1758–1828), the founder of the so-called "phrenological doctrine." A medal by Friedrich Loos, of Berlin, dated 1805, with Gall's portrait on the obverse, has on the reverse a partially veiled human skull on a cube, in the front of which are a torch and the Aesculapian staff crossed; the inscription on the reverse is: DER SEELE WERKSTATT ZU ERSPAEHN FAND ER DEN WEG. Another medal, by Abramson, of Berlin, also dated 1805, has a similar portrait on the obverse; on the reverse a human skull, mapped out phrenologically, is represented, with the inscription: DISTRIBUIT PARTES ANIMAE SEDESQUE. I have likewise seen wooden snuff-boxes with representations, in low relief on the lid, of three human skulls mapped out phrenologically according to Gall. On the under-surface of these boxes is an explanatory tabular key of the phrenological areas.

(X.) A French medal of Gall, by J. J. Barre, dated 1820, has his portrait on the obverse. The reverse represents a sick person upon a bed, from whom

Aesculapius, holding his staff in his left hand, drives away with his right hand an owl and a bat, and with his foot crushes a toad; behind him is a skull upon a pedestal; the inscription is: AESCULAPIO SALVATORI.

One of Thomas Rowlandson's caricatures represents Gall lecturing on phrenology; and doubtless many satirical designs exist on the same subject.

(IX., X., and XI.) The Fothergillian medal of the Royal Humane Society (London), 1810.

Obv.—A raft with a man and two boys. In the distance a hastening boat. Artist's signature, W. WYON R.A.

Rev.—A nude child, to right, endeavours to rekindle a torch with his breath. Legend: LATEAT SCINTILLVLA FORSAN. In exergue: EX MUNERE ANTONII FOTHERGILL, M.D. MDCCCX. Artist's signature: W. WYON R.A.

Diameter, 2·8 inches; struck in bronze or gold.

This medal has been awarded in gold on about four occasions since it was founded, for the best treatise on methods of saving life. The British Museum now possesses the specimen struck in gold awarded to the late Sir John Erichsen, the surgeon, in 1845, for his *Experimental Enquiry into the Pathology and Treatment of Asphyxia.* Amongst others who received the medal struck in gold was H. R. Silvester, whose "method of restoring persons apparently drowned" was adopted by the Royal Humane Society in 1861. The beautiful reverse design occurs likewise on the ordinary medals awarded by the Society for gallantry in saving life.

Into the general subject of medals awarded for or commemorating gallantry in life-saving in England and other countries, I shall not enter here. It constitutes a large subject in itself.

(II., XVII.) A mortuary medal (1827) of Adrian van Bijnkershoek van Hoogstraten (1774–1827), a numismatist of Amsterdam, has the following obverse design: A compartment with long inscription, inclosed by bones and surmounted by an infant blowing soap-bubbles (emblematic of life and the vanity of earthly ambitions); the compartment is supported by skeletons (emblematic of death), one with scythe and the other with inverted torch. The reverse design is meant to suggest life after death. The dead man, upon a couch supported by cherubs, is irradiated from a Hebrew word in the clouds above. Two floating cherubs are holding a ribbon, on which is the inscription: "Ziet de Dood is een Ingang ten Leven," equivalent to: "Death is entry into life." (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer; Anthony Durand, *Médailles et Jetons des Numismates, &c.*, Genève, 1865, p. 21, Plate ii, Fig. 4.) The medal was engraved in silver (oval, 2·9 by 2·6 inches) by the dead man's friend, Hendrik Westhoff, Junior, of Amsterdam, whose name appears below the large compartment on the obverse.

(IX.) A medal of the anatomist and anthropologist, J. F. Blumenbach (1752–1840), made at Berlin by Heinrich Gube, under the direction of Gottfried Loos (1825), has his portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse three human skulls of ethnological interest (European between Mongolian and Aethiopian skulls).

(XIX.) A medal on the death (1832) of the Duke of Reichstadt, titular Emperor of the French as Napoleon II, has on the reverse his epitaph at Vienna: PHTHISIS TENTAVIT, TRISTISSIMA MORS RAPVIT, &c. It is the work of the French medallist, Valentin Maurice Borrel, 1840.

(X.) Epidemic of cholera in Paris (1832).

A French medal, by E. Rogat (1832), has on the obverse a figure of Aesculapius feeling the pulse of a sick woman with his left hand, and warding off a figure of death with his right hand. Diameter, 3·3 inches. Figured in *Pestilentia in Nummis*, by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, Tübingen, 1882, No. 450.

(X.) Some curious amulets or "charms" against the cholera at Munich (1836) are described by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, p. 162. Many analogous coin-like or medalet-like amulets of various periods, against diseases, &c., are described by these and other authors.

(X.) Help during cholera epidemics at Brussels, 1849 and 1854.

A medal by the Belgian medallist, J. P. Braemt, of Charles de Brouckère, Burgomaster of Brussels, has on the obverse the portrait of de Brouckère, and on the reverse St. Michael striking down a dragon (the arms of Brussels); on the left, a spade and coffin; upon the latter, a skull and crossed bones; inscription: ZELE INFATIGABLE PENDANT L'INVASION DU CHOLERA 1849 & 1854. Diameter, 3·5 inches.

(X.) A medal commemorating the cholera epidemic at Paris of 1848 and 1849 has on the obverse the bust of the French Republic and a corpse facing each other; at the sides, a scythe and torch. On the reverse is a tomb with the dates 1848, 1849. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer.)

(V.) Indignation against the so-called "Massacres of Gallicia" ("Blutbad") in connexion with the suppression of the revolt in Austrian Poland (1846).

Obv.—Head of Liberty, to right; in front, a bayonet; behind, a palm-branch. Inscription (incuse): DÉMOCRATIE FRANCAISE. Below the head is the artist's signature, *David*, with the date, 1846.

Rev.—A gallows. Inscription (incuse): MASSACRES DE GALLICIE (and in the field below the gallows:) METTERNICH BRENDT VOUÉS A L'EXÉCRATION DE LA POSTÉRITÉ.

Diameter, 1·6 inches; cast in bronze, very low relief. A specimen was formerly in my collection.

It is the work of (or rather from models by) the French sculptor, P. J. David d'Angers, whose extensive series of portrait medallions (cast in bronze) is so well known. In the Musée David at Angers is a large cast bronze medallion (diameter, 15·75 inches), by the same artist, and commemorating the same historical episode. It represents Liberty inscribing on a gallows the names of the leaders who were regarded by the French and Poles as responsible for the "massacres" (*Catalogue of the Musée David*, by H. Jouin, Angers, 1881, p. 222, No. 210). The same museum contains a design for the head of Liberty on the obverse of the above-described medal. David d'Angers, like his friend and patron, Louis David,

the painter, was much concerned in the political movements of his time, and after the *coup d'état* of 1852, was forced to leave France, owing to the position he had taken up. In commemoration of the "Blutbad" there is likewise a cast bronze plate-shaped medal (diameter 3·75 inches), by the Polish medallist Dmochowski, with the heads of Metternich and Szela, and men, women, children, a death's-head and bones about them.

(XI) Death of Denis Auguste Affre, Archbishop of Paris (1848).

There are a considerable number of struck medalets commemorating his martyr-like death, having his portrait on the obverse and various devices on the reverse. On one reverse the inscription is: MORT MARTYR DE SON HÉROIQUE DÉVOUEMENT 27 IUIN 1848. A contemporary rough medalet, cast in white metal, is figured in *Souvenirs Numismatiques de la Révolution de* 1848, Paris (not dated), Pl. 54, No. 6.

Archbishop Affre was shot on the barricades in Paris, whilst endeavouring to prevent bloodshed between the Parisian insurgents (red republicans), who were defending the barricades, and the tricoloured soldiery who were attacking them. He had been warned by General Cavaignac of the risk he ran in such an attempt, but replied that his life was of small consequence. He was removed to his palace, where he died on 27th June, 1848.

(VII.) Medal of Samuel Plimsoll, "the Sailors' Friend" (1875).

Obv.—His head to left, wearing spectacles; neck and shoulders clothed. Inscription: S. PLIMSOLL. HOUSE OF COMMONS 22 JULY 1875 LONDON. Signed on the truncation, A. CHEVALIER.

Rev.—Ship at sea, sinking. On a sail is pictured a death's head with crossed bones. In exergue are the words, COFFIN SHIP.

Diameter, 1·4 inches; struck in bronze or brass, with loop for suspension.

These medalets refer to the "death-traps" termed "coffin ships," which Mr. Plimsoll greatly helped in abolishing. These or similar smaller medalets were made by A. Chevalier, an engraver (of Paris), and were worn by those present at a *fête* given in 1875, when Mr. Plimsoll was elected Member of Parliament for Liverpool.

(X.) Commemorative medal of the International Medical Congress held in London (1881).

This medal has on the obverse the crowned head of Queen Victoria to left, and on the reverse an allegorical design by Sir John Tenniel (executed by Leonard C. Wyon, son of W. Wyon, R.A.), representing Aesculapius standing in front of a globe; before him a mother, holding her sick child, and two sufferers, seek his aid; behind him a figure of death is represented floating in the air. Diameter, 2·8 inches; struck in bronze, &c. From the artistic point of view, this medal is unfortunately not pleasing.

(X., XI.) A medal by Madame Marcelle Renée Lancelot-Croce, commemorating the visit of Humbert I., King of Italy, to Naples, during the cholera epidemic of 1884, bears his exclamation in reply to warnings not to venture to Naples: "A Napoli si muora: vado a Napoli," that is, "At Naples they are dying: I go to Naples." The medal was struck in 1888. (Communication from Dr. H. R. Storer.)

(I., X.) There are, according to Bergsøe, certain "pest-tokens" (1889), bearing on the obverse a skull and crossed bones, with or without the inscription, MEMENTO MORI, and on the reverse the inscription, DEN ER DIG VIS ("It—death—is certain for you"). Vilhelm Bergsøe, *Danske Medailler og Jetons*, Copenhagen, 1893, p. 141, Nos. 989, 990.

(X.) Epidemic of cholera in Hamburg, 1892.

The honorary medal of the Communal Council of Hamburg, conferred for services rendered during this epidemic, is by August Vogel, a contemporary sculptor and medallist residing at Berlin. The obverse bears the arms of Hamburg, with the inscription: DAS DANKBARE HAMBURG 1892. The reverse represents Hercules attacking the Lernean Hydra, and has the inscription: DEN HELFERN IN DEN NOT, together with the artist's signature, and what I take to be the initials of the designer, "J. v. L." (Diameter, 2·75 inches.)

(IX.) A medal (1892) of Karl Vogt, the great German naturalist, Professor at the University of Geneva, by the Swiss medallist, Hugues Bovy, has a skull as part of the device on the reverse.

(III.) A cast commemorative bronze plaquette (4·5 × 3·25 inches) of Philippe de Girard, by the modern French artist, Louis Eugène Mouchon (1892), bears an allegorical representation of posthumous fame. A specimen of this plaquette is exhibited in the Luxembourg Museum at Paris.

Philippe de Girard, the inventor of the flax-spinning machine, was born in 1775, at the village of Lourmarin,

in the department of Vaucluse. He died in 1845. During his life he never received due recognition for his varied talents, his restless work, and his useful inventions; it was not till 1882 that a bronze statue (by Guillaume) was erected to him at Avignon.

(IX., X.) A medal of Sir George Buchanan (1831-1895), M.D., F.R.S., the hygienist, has his portrait on the obverse. On the reverse two female figures are standing, of whom one wards off Death, winged and holding a scythe, from a prostrate person; inscription: IN SALUTEM PUBLICAM AUDACIA ET INDUSTRIA. By Buchanan's endowment in 1894, this medal was to be awarded in gold triennially by the Royal Society, for distinguished services in sanitary science.

(X. and XI.) Medal awarded for help in sanitary and medical work during the epidemic of bubonic plague at Hong-Kong (1894).

Obv.—Sick Chinaman on a bed, partly supported by a European man, who with his left arm presses back a figure of death floating in the air and aiming a spear at the sick man. On the other side of the bed stands a European sick-nurse. In the field, on the left, Chinese characters signifying Hong-Kong. On the right, A. WYON SC. In exergue the date, 1894.

Rev.—PRESENTED BY THE HONG KONG COMMUNITY (and in the centre) FOR SERVICES RENDERED DURING THE PLAGUE OF 1894.

Diameter, 1·4 inches; struck in silver and gold. This medal is by Allan Wyon, the obverse being from a design by Frank Bowcher. Illustrated in *The War Medal Record*, London, 1896, vol. i. Pl. i. No. 4.

(V., XIX.) There is a plaque by the great modern French medallist, L. O. Roty, representing France mourning over President Carnot (assassinated 1894).

(II.) A modern "Odd Fellows" medalet.

Obv.— Three links of a chain, in which respectively are the three letters, F., L. and T. (standing for Friendship, Love, and Truth). Above, the radiating eye of Providence. Below, a human skull and crossed bones.

Rev.—The Lord's prayer, inscribed in very small letters.

Diameter, 0·55 inch; struck in bronze. Given me by Dr. H. R. Storer. Medals and medalets with an optimistic significance like this might likewise be remembered (by way of antithesis) under Heading XVII.

(X., XIX.) Medals relating to the cremation of corpses.

Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly drawn my attention to various modern medals on this subject.

The first is a medal of Dr. Malachia de Christoforis, of Milan. A cinerary urn, &c., are represented on the obverse, with the inscription: VERMIBUS EREPTI PURO CONSUMIMUR IGNI, &c.

The second commemorates the consecration of a crematorium at Stuttgart, 1907.

Obv.—An angel, floating upwards, conducting two souls to heaven. In the lower background, a building. In the exergue, two smoking torches. On the lower right edge of the field is the artist's signature: P. MÜLLER INV. On the lower left edge of the field is the signature of the die-sinking firm: M. & W. ST. (Wilhelm Mayer and Frantz Wilhelm, of Stuttgart).

Rev.—Within depressed circular field, a three-pointed mausoleum, upon which the following verses in incuse letters in eight lines: SAGT ES NIE-

MAND, NVR DEN WEISEN, WEIL DIE MENGE GLEICH VERHÖHNET, DAS LEBEN'GE WILL ICH PREISEN, DAS NACH FLAMMEN—TOD SICH SEHNET. Circular inscription: Z. GEDÄCHTNISS D. EINWEIHVNG D. KREMATORIVMS I. STVTTGART 1907.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; struck in bronze. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer.) There is likewise a quite similar smaller medal, of diameter 1·3 inches. The P. Müller, since deceased, whose signature appears on the obverse, was a sculptor (a native of Stuttgart), who furnished the local Crematorium Union with the design from which the medals were made.

The third is a medal of Burkhard Reber, of Geneva, with a covered urn on the reverse, on which is the word CREMATION.

Burkhard Reber, pharmacist and archaeologist of Geneva, founded the Cremation Society of Geneva in 1887, and in 1912 that society had another medal made in his honour, by A. Jacot-Guillarmod, to commemorate his twenty-five years of activity since its foundation. His portrait, three-quarters to right, is on the obverse, and on the reverse is a dedicatory inscription, with a kind of canopic vase, &c. The medals relating to cremation should to some extent find a place under Heading XIX. as well as under Heading X.; a few have also a bearing on Heading II.

(VII.) A Dutch plaquette commemorating the International Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899, has the following reverse design: A warrior (emblematic of war) on horseback is being stopped by figures emblematic of peace. A skeleton (emblematic of death and destruction) places a wreath on the warrior. Above, two floating cherubs hold a scroll, on which is the word PAX. This

rectangular plaquette was struck in silver and in bronze (3·3 by 2·5 inches); it was designed by Professor G. Sturm modelled by W. Achtenhagen, and executed by Begeer. (*Tijdschrift van het Koninkl. Nederl. Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, Amsterdam, 1911, vol. xix. p. 9, Plate i.)

(XI.) In connexion with Heading XI. medals of those who have lost their life in perilous exploration by land or sea, including Arctic and Antarctic expeditions, might be referred to: David Livingstone (1873), Henry Hudson (1611), Sir John Franklin (1847), Captain Robert Falcon Scott (and the brave companions who died with him in 1912), and many others. These heroes perished in the struggle of civilization against the physical agencies of Nature, as those also did who have lost their lives in the adventurous pursuit of scientific (chemical, medical, &c.) knowledge. With them may be associated those who in the cause of civilization in savage parts of the world have met their death, not from natural physical agencies, but at human hands—such as Captain James Cook (1779) and General C. G. Gordon (1885)—of whom we possess medallic or similar memorials. On 10th November, 1913, the Italian Geographical Society presented a gold medal to Captain Scott's widow, bearing the following inscription: "Alla memoria di Robert F. Scott, R.N., guinto secondo al polo Australe suggella colla morte la verita della scoperta."

Amongst modern medals relating to medicine and the medical sciences, kindly communicated to me by Dr. H. R. Storer, are the following:—

(IX., X.) A medal of Paul Ehrlich of Frankfurt-a-M.,

and S. Hata of Tokio, signed by the Austrian medallist, Franz Kounitzky, commemorates (1909) the discovery of salvarsan (called at first "606"), a discovery of the greatest therapeutical importance. On the obverse are their portraits. The reverse represents Hercules and the Lernean Hydra.

(X.) A medal (1900) of J. C. Félix Guyon, the Paris surgeon, by the medallist, Louis A. Bottée, of Paris, represents on the reverse a figure of Death lying, overthrown, upon his shoulders.

(X.) A medal of Samuel Jean Pozzi, the gynaecologist of Paris, by the great French medallist, J. C. Chaplain (1905), has for the reverse type a nude and agonized woman clinging to an erect and laureated female, who protects her from a robed skeleton which leans over the operating-table.

(IX.) A medal (1899) of L. H. Faraboeuf, Professor of Anatomy at Paris, is by the celebrated Paris medallist, Louis Oscar Roty. The reverse represents a draped woman making a drawing of a nude cadaver. Above, on the left, is a diagram of skeleton and pelvis.

(IX., X.) The plaquette of the International Conference for the Study of Cancer (Paris, 1910), by the Hungarian medallist, Tony A. Szirmaï, has a skeleton in the reverse design. The medal of the International Sanitary Conference (1911), by the same medallic artist, has for the reverse design a nude female seated, contemplating a skull.

(IX.) A curious medal on the centenary (1909) of the birth of the great English naturalist, Charles Robert Darwin, has the design of an ape contemplating a skull; a serpent between. It is the work of the German medallist, K. Goetz.

(IX., X.) A medal, by Gyorgy Vastagh, of Dr. Cornelius Chyzer, of Buda-Pest, struck in connexion with the Congress of Hungarian Physicians and Naturalists at Miskolcz, in 1910, has on the reverse a semi-nude and bearded man, seated, contemplating a skull which he holds in his left hand.

(I., IX., X.) A medal of the Hungarian, Dr. Ignacz Berger, by J. Remenyi, struck in 1907, has the device of book, skull, candle, and inkstand, with the inscription: VMBRA SVMVS. Dr. Berger was born at Miskolcz in 1852.

(IX.) There is a commemorative medal of the German Anthropological Society (1907), bearing a representation of Strassburg Cathedral on the obverse, and on the reverse an inscription in four lines, with the arms of the city above and a human skull below. The medal is lozenge-shaped, struck in bronze.

ADDENDUM TO PART III.

(I., IV.) Two Dutch jetons, dated 1518, described by J. F. Dugniolle (*Le Jeton historique des dix-sept Provinces des Pays-Bas*, Bruxelles, 1876, vol. 2, p. 11, Nos. 1089, 1090) bear on one side the inscriptions respectively: COGITA · MORI · COGITA, and O · MORS · QVAM · AMARA · EST · MEMORIA · TVA (cf. Ecclesiasticus xli. 1). On the first one the accompanying device is three death's heads on a shield over a cross patté; on the second, the device is a figure of Death carrying a coffin. Dr. H. R. Storer also tells me of a jeton of L. Deriard Richarme, of Brussels, with a skeleton on the reverse, but I do not know the date.

(I., II.) One of the finely cast and chased silver religious medals by Hans Reinhard the elder, of Leipzig (1536), bearing a representation of the Fall of Man (Adam and Eve and the Serpent at the Tree of Knowledge) on the obverse, and the Crucifixion of Christ on the reverse, belongs to some extent to the *memento mori* class. The obverse inscription is: ET · SICVT · IN · ADAM · OMNES · MORIVNTVR · &c. This magnificent medal was made by order of the Elector John Frederic, "the Magnanimous," of Saxony. (See W. E. Tentzel, *Saxonia Numismatica, Linea Ernestina*, 1714, Pl. viii. Fig. 1.)

(I.) German sixteenth-century "moral" medal by Lugwig Neufarer.

Obv.—Boy resting with his right arm on a death's head; in the background a town. In the exergue inscription in three lines: TEMPVS · EDAX · RERV(m) · TV · QVE · INVIDIO(sa) · VETV(stas).

Rev.—Representation of Solon before enthroned Croesus. Inscription: ERS (*sic*) · ERIT · SVBITO · QVI · MODO · CROESVS · ERAT · O · SOLOM · SOLOM.

Diameter, 1·6 inches; struck in silver. (Max Donebauer, *Sammlung Böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Prag, 1888–1890, vol. 2, No. 4300.)

On a similar smaller medal (diameter, 1·0 inch) the obverse inscription is, TEMPVS · EDAX · RERV(m), and the reverse inscription is, OSSITAS (*sic*) · ERIT · SVBITO · QVI · MODO · CROESVS · ERAT. (Max Donebauer, *loc. cit.*, No. 4301.)

The inscriptions on these medals were evidently derived from the hexameter and pentameter lines—

"Tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas."

"Pulvis [? or Mortis] erit subito quomodo Croesus erat."

Compare Ovid, *Metam.*, xv. 234—

"Tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas,
Omnia destruitis, vitiataque dentibus aevi
Paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte."

The word *ossitas*, substituted by the medallist for *pulvis* or *mortis*, meant, I suppose, a skeleton, or *Knochenmann*.

According to the story narrated by Plutarch in his Life of Solon, the substance of the advice given by Solon to Croesus, King of Lydia, was: "Keep in mind the end of a long life—account no man happy before his death." When later on Croesus was taken prisoner by Cyrus, and was about to be burned on the funeral pyre, he was heard three times to call out the name of Solon. Cyrus asked for an explanation, and when Croesus told him the words of Solon, he countermanded the order for execution, and made Croesus his friend.

(I., II.) A German sixteenth-century "moral" medal (silver) has on the obverse a representation of Adam and

Eve at the Tree of Knowledge. On the reverse is a seated woman with hour-glass, death's head, and a light, and the inscription, SICH · MENS . BDENCK · DAS · ENDE, which means, "Man, think of the end." (Auction catalogue by Otto Helbing Nachfolger, Munich, December, 1913, No. 4284.) In regard to the reverse compare the following medal, described by Max Donebauer (*Sammlung Böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Prag, 1888–1890, vol. 2, No. 4361):—

Obv.—The holy women standing under the cross. Inscription: ET · EGO · SI · EXALTVS · FVERO, &c.

Rev.—Under a tree, a female figure, seated, resting her right arm on an hour-glass. On the left stands a lamb with its head on the woman's lap. In the background a town with towers and open gate. Inscription: SICH · MENS · BDENCK · DAS · ENDE.

Diameter, 1·25 inches; silver.

(II.) A German silver medal (1593) of Tobias Panzer, Recorder (Ratschreiber) of Nürnberg, has on the obverse his portrait at the age of 65 years. On the reverse is a phoenix rising from the flames, with the inscription: OMNIVM RERVM VICISSITVDO (cf. Terence, *Eunuchus*, 2. 2, 45) and the date. The obverse is signed M.C., which, according to Adolf Erman (*Deutsche Medailleure*, Berlin, 1884, p. 60, Plate vi. Fig. 6) probably stands for Melchior Carl, a silversmith of Nürnberg.

(I.) Some Pomeranian mortuary coins (silver) of 1618 have the obverse device of a rose-bush and serpent, with inscription: VT ROSA RODIMVR OMNES ("Like the rose, we are all eaten up").

(I.) A medal of Johann Udalrich, Prince of Eggenberg zu Ehrenhausen, by Sebastian Dadler (1631), has

his portrait on the obverse. On the reverse is a lily, and above it the inscription: HOMINES · SVMVS · ITA. Cf. Job xiv. 2, "He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not."

(I.) Some thin "bracteate" German coins of the sixteenth century, issued by the bishopric of Halberstadt, have been mistakenly termed "Sargpfennige" ("Coffin-pennies"), because they were supposed to bear the device of a death's head and crossed bones on a shield. In reality this device on the shield was originally meant to represent the bust of St. Stephen, the patron saint of the bishopric of Halberstadt, but on some specimens the workmanship is so bad that the bust of the saint resembles a death's head with crossed bones below it. (*Vide* H. Halke, *Handwörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Berlin, 1909, p. 310.)

(II.) A kind of religious medallic "charm," or "amulet" (German, apparently of the seventeenth century), has on the obverse a traditional representation of the Adoration of the Three Kings ("Magi"), and on the reverse the following inscription, in six lines: H(eilige) · 3 · KON(ige) · CAS(par) · MEL(chior) · BAL(thazar) · BITET FUR UNS IEZ U · IN DER · STERB · STUND · ("O Holy Three Kings, Caspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, plead for us now, and in tbe hour of death!") This little piece (octagonal, 0·75 × 0·85 inch), struck in bronze, was kindly sent to me by Dr. H. R. Storer, who suggests that it may have come from Cologne, where there is a famous shrine of the Three Kings. (Cf. the idea of the death-bed scene, as shown in Fig. 14.)

(I., II.) German *memento mori* medal by Christian Wermuth (about 1700).

Obv.—A man seated at the base of a broken column; on the ground by him is an antique Roman lamp; on the other side of the column Death is leaning in the form of a skeleton with a quiver full of arrows. Inscription in Gothic letters: "Schau mich an und bedrachte wohl, aus dir dergleichen werden soll."

Rev.—Inscription in Gothic letters in fifteen lines: "Gewiss ist der Todt, ungewiss der Tag, die stund auch niemand wissen mag, drum fürchte GOTT, und denck darbey, dass jede stund die letzte sey." Medallist's signature: C. W.

Diameter, 1·35 inches; struck; in the Royal Collection at Dresden. Illustrated in *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, Leipzig, 1885, vol. 5, Pl. 75, Fig. 15. (Compare also the medal in my possession, illustrated in this book, Fig. 59.)

(IX.) Two medals of Benjamin Franklin, dated respectively 1784 and 1786 (of the latter one I had a very fine specimen in my collection), should be mentioned in this book, because they refer to his life-saving discovery of lightning-conductors, just as much as to the part he played in the American War of Independence. Both medals are signed as the work of the artistically and technically gifted Augustin Dupré, of Paris, the foremost medallist of the great French Revolution. On the obverse (the same obverse die was used for both medals) is a clothed bust of Franklin in profile to left, a life-like expressive portrait of the great and upright and philanthropic sage. On the reverse both have as inscription the famous Latin hexameter epigram: ERIPUIT CŒLO FULMEN SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS ("He snatched the thunderbolt from heaven, and the

sceptre from tyrants"), but the reverse of the medal of 1786 has the inscription as the main type (within a wreath of oak), whereas on that of 1784 the inscription accompanies the following device: a winged genius stands facing, and with his right arm points to a circular temple on a hill at the left, protected by a rod (lightning-conductor) from a flash of lightning darting from a cloud; with his left arm he points to a crown and sceptre, both broken, on the ground before him. The Latin epigram on these medals was first applied to Franklin by the French statesman Turgot (1727–1781), to whom it was probably suggested by a hexameter line of Manilius (*Astronomicon*, i. 104), relating to the influence of the teaching of Epicurus against superstitious fears: "Eripuitque Jovi fulmen, viresque tonandi." (Cf. C. W. Betts, *American Colonial History illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, New York, 1894, p. 302.) With reference to a French translation of Turgot's epigram, Franklin wrote: "Notwithstanding my experiments on electricity, the lightning continues to fall before our noses and our beards, and as regards the tyrant there were more than a million of us engaged in tearing the sceptre from his hands."

(XVIII., XIX.) Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly drawn my attention to a rare Masonic medal used at the memorial procession at Boston, in 1800, coincident with the funeral of George Washington, the first President of the United States of America (who died on 14th December, 1799):—

Obv.—Bust of Washington within wreath. Inscription: HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS.

Rev.—Skull and crossed bones, with account of Washington's life.

Struck in silver; perforated for suspension.

(II.) Medal of Dante, of the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

A medal described by A. Armand (*Les Medailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 11, No. 1) should likewise find a place in Part III. The obverse bears the bust of the poet in profile to left, crowned with a laurel-wreath; inscription: DANTHES · FLORENTINVS. In regard to the reverse, I shall quote T. Whitcombe Greene's account in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (London, Fourth Series, 1913, vol. xiii. p. 414, and Pl. xx. No. 1): "The reverse of this medal seems never to have been fully explained. . . . On one side stands Dante, holding in his left hand the open book of the *Divina Commedia*, and extending his right arm as if in the act of addressing or reviewing the scene. Before him appears a towered rock which stands for the 'Mountain of Paradise.' There is a winding road running round it, and an archway towards the top. On the summit are two figures. . . . These will be found to represent Adam and Eve, standing on either side of the Tree of Knowledge, round which the serpent is entwined. At the foot of this and an adjoining rock may be distinguished two caverns, entrances to the infernal regions, with demons and nude human forms about them. Above are the seven circles of Heaven. Describing the performances of the Mysteries, in which Italy, and especially Florence, excelled, Jacob Burckhardt (*Renaissance in Italy*, English translation, London, 1878, vol. ii. p. 184) says: 'In the public squares, in the churches, and in the cloisters, extensive scaffolds were constructed, the upper

story of which served as a Paradise, to open and shut at will, and the ground-floor often as a Hell, while between the two lay the stage properly so called, representing the scene of all the earthly events of the drama.' These shows reached their full development in the fifteenth century." Greene points out that the introduction of printing into Florence in 1471 added to the popularity of Dante's works, and that it is to the last quarter of the fifteenth century that the date of the medal may probably be assigned. The most important source of Dante's portrait, he says, is supplied by the contemporary fresco (about the year 1300) by Giotto in the Bargello Chapel at Florence. "At a later date (1465) his picture in the Duomo at Florence was painted by Domenico di Michelino (freely copied from this painting is the early Florentine engraving described by A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings in the British Museum*, London, 1910, text, p. 28, No. 23). In this picture Dante stands facing the spectator, holding the open book as on the medal, between 'Inferno' and portions of the city of Florence, having behind him the 'Mountain of Paradise,' and the heavenly circles." Greene thinks that the bust of Dante, at Naples, may have some connexion with the portrait on the medal, at any rate in time.

(V.) The political executions in France during the great French Revolution are satirized on an anti-revolutionary medal (1795) by the London medal- and gem-engraver, W. Whitley. The reverse shows a decapitated man, surrounded by a circle of bleeding heads and the inscription : A PHILOSOPHICAL CURE FOR ALL EVILS—LICENTIOUS LIBERTY IS DESTRUCTION, &c.

PART IV.

ENGRAVED GEMS, FINGER-RINGS, JEWELS, ANCIENT POTTERY, AND SMALL OBJECTS OF ART, RELATING TO DEATH AND THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OR ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH.

I. Antique Engraved Gems, Designs on Antique Vases, &c.

There seem to be no antique gems engraved with devices which could make one suppose that they had served the purpose of memorial tokens of deceased friends or relatives, analogous to the memorial finger-rings of relatively modern times, to be described later on. No "parting scenes" occur on gems, such as are found on some beautiful Greek sepulchral marbles,[189] reminding one of the famous lines of Lucretius, commencing—

> "Jam jam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor
> Optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
> Praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent;"

and of Horace's—

> "Linquenda tellus et domus et placens
> Uxor neque harum quas colis arborum
> Te praeter invisas cupressos
> Ulla brevem dominum sequetur."

There are, however, various engraved gems of early

[189] Parting scenes occur also on some of the white Attic sepulchral lecythi, for instance, the parting of mother and child, on a fragment of such a lecythos in the British Museum, Parting scenes as allegories of death are readily understood. Maurice Maeterlinck's *La Mort de Tintagiles* is simply a pathetic parting scene of the kind for acting.

and later Roman times which may be supposed to have in a kind of way served a *memento mori* purpose. Thus C. W. King figures a late Roman sard intaglio (once the property of Murat),[190] on which a winged Cupid-like figure (a kind of "genius of death," like that found on Roman sarcophagi [191]), is represented (Fig. 72) holding a torch downwards (an "inverted" torch). Similar winged

FIG. 72.—A genius of death. (After King.)

Cupid-like figures holding inverted torches appear on three Roman intagli figured by Salomon Reinach (*Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1895, Plate 36, No. 74, 4 and No. 74, 7, and Plate 124, No. 38). In the "C. W. King" (or

[190] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, London, second edition, 1885, Pl. xliii. No. 2. In regard to the representation of a "genius" of sleep, with or without wings, on Roman tombs, see G. E. Lessing's famous controversial essay, *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* (Berlin, 1769). In the Liverpool Museum is a rudely carved relief of a winged Cupid-like figure on a piece of a long bone, doubtless from a small casket of about the third century A.D. This figure was supposed to represent a "genius of death," but apparently on very insufficient grounds. See the description of this relief in the *Catalogue of Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum*, by J. O. Westwood, London, 1876, p. 3. For illustrations of somewhat similar bone carvings, see in the *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Cairo*, the volume on *Koptische Kunst*, by Josef Strzygowski, Vienna, 1904, pp. 182 *et seq.*

[191] G. Kastner (*Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, Pl. i. Fig. 4) figures such a relief. A winged Cupid-like boy rests his inverted torch on the recumbent figure of the dead person.

"Johnston") collection of engraved gems in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, a Roman intaglio in yellow sard bears the device of a boy extinguishing a torch and with the other hand holding a large hoop, which King, in his catalogue (No. 208), explains as an emblem of Time. In his essay on "Death, as depicted in Ancient Art,"[192] King thus writes of this Cupid-like representation of the Genius of Death: "Mingling among the Cupids, whether sculptured or glyptic, and easy to be mistaken for one of the sportive group by the casual observer, comes the most popular antique embodiment of what to our notions is the most discordant of all ideas. He can only be distinguished from the God of Love by observing his pensive attitude; his action of extinguishing his torch either by striking the blazing end against the ground or by trampling it out with the foot; otherwise he leans upon it inverted, with folded wings, and arms and legs crossed in the attitude of profound repose. At other times he is divested of wings, to typify the end of all movement, and whilst he quenches his torch with one hand, he holds *behind* him with the other the large hoop (*annus*), to signify that for his victim no more shall the year (annus) roll on."

King lays great stress on the attitude of crossed legs or crossed arms in ancient art as indicating profound repose or sleep. After referring to the crossed legs of Hypnos and Thanatos on the coffer of Cypselus (see further on), he writes:[193] "Thus it is manifest that from the very dawn of pictorial art the *crossed legs* were the accepted emblem of the most profound repose; whilst the sluggard's wish for 'a little

[192] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 179.

[193] King, *loc. cit.*, pp. 183, 184.

more folding of the hands in slumber,' bears the same testimony to the import of the *crossed arms* of the Roman genius who leans on his inverted torch. In that masterpiece of Roman chasing, the Pompeian 'discus,' representing the Death of Cleopatra, the object of the design is indicated with equal truth and pathos by the placing of the beauteous infant genius at the knee of the dying queen, on which he rests his elbow to form a support for his head, as though dropping off into a gentle slumber. The traditional attitude retained its significancy well understood far down into the Middle Ages: witness so many cross-legged effigies of warriors resting from their toils—who for that sole reason popularly pass for Crusaders."

King also figures a peridot intaglio of Roman Empire style,[194] on which Charon in his boat receives the dead

FIG. 73.—Charon in his boat, receiving the dead from Mercury. (After King.)

from Mercury, that is to say, the Greek Hermes, in his character of "Psychopompos" (Fig. 73). With this gem

[194] King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, London, second edition, 1885, Pl. lii. No. 6. A so-called "gryllus" of human faces combined with a death's head might also be mentioned here, but the significance of the device is uncertain, though Venuti and Borioni (1763), who figured it, thought it was meant to represent the ages of human life. This "gryllus" intaglio, or a similar one, is likewise figured by Salomon Reinach (*Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1895, Pl. 24, No. 47, 11), and similar ones are referred to by G. Treu, in his Latin dissertation, *De Ossium Humanorum Larvarumque apud Antiquos Imaginibus*, Berlin, 1874, pp. 24, 25.

the scene on a lecythus from Athens may be compared, likewise representing Charon in his boat, as ferryman of the rivers of the nether world, receiving a dead man from Hermes Psychopompos. It is figured in *Die Graeber der Hellenen*, by O. M. Baron von Stackelberg (Berlin, 1837, Pl. xlvii.). A good many "Charon scenes" exist on Greek vases, &c., in various collections.

It might be mentioned here that the winged figure of Saturn, holding a crooked pruning-knife, as it occurs on some Roman engraved gems, bears a resemblance, but merely a superficial one, to modern figures of Time holding a scythe.

FIG. 74.—The skeleton and wine-jar type. (After King.)

Several Roman gems (intagli) are engraved with figures of skeletons ("larvae," or "shades"). Some at least of these designs seem to suggest the popular conception of Epicurean advice, namely, to seek pleasure, to eat, drink, and enjoy life to-day, since death may come to-morrow.[195] Thus, an occasional subject (Fig. 74) is a

[195] Cf. Horace's ode—

> "Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
> Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae,
> Dum res et aetas et sororum
> Fila trium patiuntur atra;"

and similar passages already quoted in Part I. A, including the well-known Latin students' song—

skeleton with a large wine-jar (amphora)[196] or two skeletons with a wine-jar between them.

A. Furtwängler, in his work, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1900, vol. i.), figures several antique engraved gems having an obviously similar Epicurean significance. A chalcedony intaglio (Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 47), apparently identical with the one which I have figured after King (Fig. 74), represents a human skeleton standing in an easy attitude, leaning with his left elbow on a large amphora for wine and holding a lecythus (or perhaps it is a small wine-jug) in his right hand. A brown sard intaglio (Furwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 49) represents two human skeletons carrying a large wine-amphora between them;

Fig. 75.—Two skeletons carrying a large amphora between them. From an antique intaglio. (After Furtwängler.)

one of the skeletons holds a festive garland towards the other skeleton in his disengaged hand (see Fig. 75). The second skeleton seems to be in a tipsy attitude. The

"Gaudeamus igitur, juvenes dum sumus,
Post jucundam juventutem,
Post molestam senectutem,
Nos habebit humus."

[196] C. W. King, in 1869 (*Horatii Opera, illustrated from Antique Gems*, p. 431), described the device on a gem of this kind as follows: "Skeleton, the received mode of depicting a *larva*, or ghost, leaning pensively against an amphora, and holding out the lecythus, oil-flask, that indispensable accompaniment of every Grecian burial. These two vessels held the wine and oil, the libations poured upon the funeral pile." But

design of another intaglio (Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 51) is a human skeleton stretched out like a corpse; on the right is a thyrsus and a festive garland; on the left is an uncertain object which, I think, is probably meant to represent a staff with a wine-cup attached to it (Fig. 76). A carnelian intaglio (Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xlvi. Fig. 26) shows a human

FIG. 76.—Antique intaglio representing human skeleton with thyrsus, garland, &c. (After Furtwängler.)

skeleton reclining at ease by the side of a large wine-amphora, and holding a cup (cantharus) in the left hand; above is a festive garland; on the left is a column with

FIG. 77.—Antique intaglio representing human skeleton, amphora, festive garland, and sun-dial. (After Furtwängler.)

a sun-dial (*solarium*) on it (Fig. 77).[197] The use of a

in a later work, namely, his *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885 (p. 226), he describes the same device (*i.e.* the device on the identical gem) as an Epicurean device: "Larva, ghost, leaning upon a tall wine-jar, and holding forth an unguentarium: an Epicurean hint to enjoy life whilst one can." E. le Blant (*Mélange d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, published by the "École Française de Rome," 1887, année vii. pp. 252–257) refers to an unpublished gem, evidently of the same class, in the Walter Fol collection; it represents an upright skeleton and an amphora; the skeleton holds a small vessel in one hand.

[197] In connexion with such gem-devices it is interesting to note that in Nubian (Berberine) cemeteries large wine-jars have been found by

sun-dial on this gem, as a *memento mori* emblem, is interesting, though the significance of the *memento mori* message was, of course, of Horace's *Carpe diem* kind, and totally different to that conveyed by the sun-dial at a later period in Christian Europe. There is no evidence, I believe, that mottoes or epigrams of *memento mori* or other purport were ever inscribed on sun-dials or their bases in Greek and Roman times. A carnelian intaglio (Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xlvi. Fig. 24) has the slightly more complicated device (see Fig. 78) of a

FIG. 78.—Antique intaglio representing a death's head, a wine-jar, a wine-cup, a festive garland, and four astragali. (After Furtwängler.)

death's head between an oenochoë (wine-jug) and a cup for wine, apparently of the *phiale mesomphalos* shape; above the skull is a festive garland; and on each side above and below is an astragalus (the four astragali

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the side of mummified human bodies or skeletons (*vide* Bulletin No. 1 of the *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, Cairo, 1908). Food and wine were placed in tombs for the use of the soul of the deceased at much earlier periods in Egypt. A similar custom has existed also in other parts of the world, where a life after the death of the body has been believed in (the soul of the deceased being supposed to frequent the tomb for purposes of nourishment, &c.). Some of the above-described gems constitute a kind of satire on the fact of the real bodies or skeletons lying shrivelled in their tombs beside their dried-up wine-jars. It is just possible that an idea of this kind suggested some of the designs to the gem-engravers of late Roman times, though an actual satire was probably not intended. Offerings were made by the Greeks and Romans at the tombs of the departed. Some of the "Epicurean" designs on gems, drinking-vessels, &c., may indeed have been suggested by the Roman custom of offering gifts to the Manes of the dead—food, wine, garlands, fillets (ribbons), &c.

show the four possible "throws"). The significance of the device is not quite so obvious on an intaglio of sardonyx with transverse stripes (Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 50), which represents a human skeleton carrying on his left shoulder a pole to which two vessels are attached; in his right hand he holds a burning torch (Fig. 79).

FIG. 79.—Antique intaglio representing human skeleton carrying on his left shoulder a pole to which vessels are attached. (After Furtwängler.)

It seems probable that the oil-flask (*lecythus* or *unguentarium*) sometimes held by the skeleton (as perhaps in Fig. 74) refers both to the sepulchral use of oil and to the anointing of the body after baths, which, like wine, were included amongst the "Epicurean" delights of life. The priapic appendages on skeletons (one example is mentioned further on) have a similar coarse "Epicurean" significance, namely, that the joys of sexual love are to be tasted whilst there is still opportunity,[198] before the

[198] This reminds me in some respects of the rare medals of members of the "Beggars' Benison Club," which was instituted at Anstruther in the first half of the eighteenth century. In my collection there was an example of such a medal in silver gilt, 1·4 by 1·15 inches in diameter. The obverse showed Adam and Eve, naked, standing facing, their hands joined; Adam points to a bower; at their feet, a lion. Inscription: BE · FRUITFULL · AND · MULTIPLY. The reverse showed Venus, recumbent, beneath a canopy; at her side, Cupid; behind, Adonis with spear, and dog under a tree. Inscription: LOSE . NO . OPPORTUNITY. Rather later varieties of the Beggars' Benison Club medal exist, one apparently issued as late as 1822 or 1826. The club was ostensibly for collecting "good" songs, jokes, &c., of all kinds, "but in reality to serve as an outlet for the most outrageous fun of the roughest description." The club included many noblemen and eminent men of all classes. I believe that King George IV was at one time a member,

warmth of life gives place to the coldness of the grave. The dancing or tipsy attitude of skeletons on some other vases is probably meant to supply a similar "Epicurean" hint, namely, to drink wine or dance (*i.e.* "enjoy" one's self generally) whilst one can. The collective meaning of all such objects is therefore to lose no opportunity of enjoying life and its chief delights, namely, "wine, women, and song," baths and dancing. Gross indulgence of this kind was, indeed, in late Roman times considered by some so-called "Epicureans" to "constitute life," though (in excess) it led to disease—

> "Balnea, vina, Venus, corrumpunt corpora nostra,
> Sed faciunt vitam, balnea, vina, Venus." [199]

I must here refer to several other antique objects showing an obviously "Epicurean" motive. A remarkable antique sardonyx cameo [200] (the genuineness of which, as far as I know, has not been questioned) has a human skull cut on it, and below the skull is a tripod with eatables on it. Between the tripod and the skull is

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before he came to the throne. See Hawkins, Franks, and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, London, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 526–528, and *Henry Erskine, his Kinsfolk and Times*, by Lieut.-Col. A. Fergusson, 1882, pp. 147 *et seq.*

[199] If the word "Venus" might be allowed to stand for the female sex and women's work in general (including nursing), and if one believes that alcohol and bath-methods deserve any place in modern therapeutics, then the second line should nowadays run: "Nos aegros curant, balnea, vina, Venus." In regard to the first line exactly the same idea is conveyed by an anonymous epigram in the *Greek Anthology* (Tauchnitz edition, 1829, x. 112): "Wine, baths, and love inspired by the Cyprian goddess speed men to Hades by the swiftest path." Other epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*, quoted by Iwan Bloch and J. D. Rolleston, associate public baths with prostitution, and remind one of modern London scandals connected with so-called massage and medical bath establishments.

[200] A. F. Gori, *Inscript. Antiq.*, part iii., Florence, 1743, p. 21; quoted by Baron J. J. A. M. de Witte, *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, Paris, 1869, vol. 31, p. 167; and by G. Kastner, *Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, p. 3. The small engraved gem in question is absurdly enlarged in Gori's figure.

the following inscription in six lines: Πῖνε, λέγει τὸ γλύμμα, καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ περίκεισο ἄνθεα, τοιοῦτοι γεινόμεθα ἐξαπίνης ("Drink, says the engraved stone, and eat, and crown yourselves with flowers, you will quickly become like this"—that is to say, like the death's head engraved on the gem). Compare the verses from the *Greek Anthology*, commencing—

> Πῖνε καὶ εὐφραίνου. τί γὰρ αὔριον, ἤ τί τὸ μέλλον, οὐδεὶς γινώσκει.

("Drink and enjoy yourself; for what there will be to-morrow, or what is to happen, nobody knows.") *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, Didot edition, Paris, 1872, vol. ii. p. 294. Compare also: εὖφραινε σαυτὸν, πῖνε, and inscriptions of this type quoted by Caetani Lovatelli, *Monum. Ant. . . . dei Lincei*, Milano, 1895, vol. v. cols. 5 to 15. I have already alluded in Part I. A, to the little jointed figures of skeletons ("larvae") of bronze or silver introduced at Roman banquets in the way described by Petronius, in his satirical account of Trimalchio's feast. In Part I. A, the subject of the skeleton-reliefs on the wine-cups of the famous Boscoreale treasure was also discussed. Several other, though less costly vessels or dishes (or fragments of such) exist, decorated with skeletons in similar style.

A clay drinking vessel[201] in the museum of Orleans, found in 1865 at Heudebonville (Eure) is adorned with a relief of four skeletons or "skin-and-bone figures" in more or less dancing attitudes, and apparently grouped around what seems to be an altar, on which are a rudder

[201] Baron J. J. A. M. de Witte, "Note sur un vase de terre décoré de reliefs," *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, Paris, 1869, vol. 31, p. 160 (illustrated).

and an oar. Perhaps these implements of navigation constitute, as has been suggested, an allusion to the voyage of the dead to Hades or to the Elysian Fields (Fortunate Isles). Pieces of vessels of red-glazed "Arretine ware" have been discovered ornamented with reliefs of skeletons carrying fruit, plates of eatables, and garlands, and several other fragments have been illustrated.[202] Of a period somewhat earlier than that of "Arretine ware" is the portion of a vase of a yellowish-red shiny ware (somewhat resembling, and a precursor of, red "Arretine ware") in the Schliemann collection at Berlin. It bears the figure of a skeleton (wrongly represented with the scapulae in front of the thorax) in the posture of a drunken or dancing man, in rather high relief. The relief is an "applied" one, and was evidently made by a method somewhat similar to that in which the relief designs on "iced cakes" are made, and not by the whole vessel having been pressed into a mould with the concave design in it. This vase was found in a Hellenistic or Roman house, and is described and figured by H. Winnefeld, in W. Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion* (Athens, 1902, pp. 444–446, Fig. 256).[203] Mr. E. J. Forsdyke

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[202] See Caetani Lovatelli, *Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Milan, 1895, vol. 5, columns 11 to 14, with figures.

[203] This vase is also illustrated by Jules Guiart, in *Aesculape* (Paris, December, 1912, p. 265), and by E. Holländer, in his *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medicin*, Stuttgart, 1905, and in his *Plastik und Medizin*, Stuttgart, 1912. Holländer refers, in the last-named work, to other antique vases bearing figures of skeletons, and thinks that, when such vases were intended for drinking wine out of (as in the case of the Boscoreale cups—see Fig. 1, in Part I.), the skeleton ornamentation must have had a so-called "Epicurean" significance. He thinks that the occasional occurrence of death-masks or mummy-masks on ancient Peruvian pottery must have had the same significance, but, in this connexion, it may be noted that certain antique terra cotta fragments,

mentioned to me that in the "Antiquarium" (Altes Museum) of Berlin there was an antique green-glazed cup with the figure of a skeleton in relief. I understand that it will shortly be described and illustrated by Dr. R. Zahn, together with other objects of similar green-glazed pottery. Dr. R. Zahn kindly informs me that this cup (which is said to have been obtained from Pella) is almost certainly of the same period as the above-mentioned vessel in the Schliemann collection. The skeleton, he tells me, is represented facing, with a wreath on the neck, between two grotesque phallic dancers. In the field are Bacchic emblems and the inscription ΚΤΩ ΧΡΩ. The inscription (signifying "Hold and use") is the same as that on an engraved gem, which I shall describe and figure further on, representing a skeleton with a wine-jar and various other emblems.

A Roman glass bowl in the Pierpont Morgan collection, formerly deposited for a short time in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), is ornamented with figures of skeletons in relief. They are represented in grotesque attitudes and are furnished with priapic appendages, as if to emphasize the contrast between death and amorous pursuits.

It seems to me that all these "Epicurean hints," in which skeletons or dried-up (mummy-like) human figures are introduced, constitute practically a kind of caricature (from the grossly sensual point of view) of the

from Cilicia, &c., are also supposed, by Dr. Félix Regnault (*Presse Médicale*, Paris, May 13th, 1911), to represent the faces of decomposing human corpses. Dr. Regnault has also written on the subject of various antique terra-cottas of pathological interest, from Asia Minor (Smyrna), *Bull. de la Société Française d'Histoire de la Médecine*, Paris, 1909, p. 344.

delights to be expected by the just after death in the Elysian Fields. (See further on - the paragraphs dealing with the representation of skeletons in later Roman and Graeco-Roman art)

In regard to the mere *memento mori* allusion on cups and dishes, that is to say, in connexion with eating and drinking, Lady Evans kindly refers me to some relatively modern instances. One such is on a plate of Lambeth Delft ware (dated 1661), bearing the inscription: "*You and i are Earth.*" The plate is a deep one, of white glaze, of diameter $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and without any ornament or design excepting the above-mentioned inscription and date (in blue); it is described by John Eliot Hodgkin and Edith Hodgkin, in their *Examples of Early English Pottery*, privately printed, London, 1891, p. 87, No. 312. Lady Evans likewise refers me to the description by Sir A. H. Church (*English Earthenware*, London, 1884, p. 37) of a large dish ; it was boldly painted with shields of arms and various emblems, and bore the legend: "Earth : I : am : et : is : most : trwe : desdan : me : not : for : soo : ar : you : Jan : 16th 1660." On a scroll were the names: "Gorg : and : Ellizabeth : Stere." The dish perished at the burning of the Alexandra Palace (London) in 1873.[204]

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[204] The calvarium or upper part of a human skull has sometimes been made into a bowl or drinking-cup, not for any ordinary *memento mori* purpose, but to remind the drinker of the death of an enemy. It was a delight of the Scandinavian paradise to drink mead out of the skulls of vanquished enemies thus transformed into cups. Alboin, King of the Lombards (died 573), was said at a carousal to have ordered his wife, Rosamunda, to drink from the skull of her father, Cunimund, King of the Gepidae, who was slain in 566. Similarly, the skull of Sviatoslav (Swatoslaw) I, Slavonic Prince of Russia, slain by the Petchenegs about 972, was adorned with gold and made into a drinking-cup for the use of the conquering chief. According to one story the

On one gem a skeleton is seen emerging from an urn, by the side of which some armour is piled, and plucking a branch from a palm-tree (Fig. 80). C. W. King [205] alludes to this device as "a speaking allegory of the reaping of posthumous fame" (cf. Martial, *Epig.*, i. 26. 8: "Cineri gloria sera venit"). It may, perhaps, be held to express the emptiness of posthumous fame, and to illustrate the lines of Persius (*Sat.* 5, line 229, Dryden's

FIG. 80.—Allegory of posthumous fame. (After King.)

translation): "Live while thou liv'st; for death will make us all a name, a nothing but an old wife's tale." [206] It is, however, not quite certain that any "Epicurean" suggestion was implied by the device. On the contrary, as

skull of Baldwin I, first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, was mounted with gold and used as a wine-cup by the Bulgarian King, Joannice, who defeated and captured him at Adrianople in 1205. So also Abbas I ("the Great"), Shah of Persia (1586–1628), is said to have had the skull of a slain chief of the Usbegs made into a drinking-bowl and ornamented with gold. (See E. Caetani Lovatelli, *Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, pp. 77–78.) Some of the old legends of the Scottish clans (in regard to ferocity and revenge) remind one a little of these stories, which also suggest the triumph of savages in killing and *eating* their enemies. Cf. the story of the human tooth quoted by L. Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, English edition, 1909, p. 476.

[205] *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, p. 217.

[206] See Persius, *Sat.* 5, lines 151 *et seq.*—

"Indulge genio : carpamus dulcia; nostrum est
Quod vivis : cinis et manes et fabula fies.
Vive memor lethi : fugit hora : &c."

expressing the vanity of posthumous fame, the gem may possibly have belonged to a Roman philosopher of the type of Marcus Aurelius, who "made it a special object of mental discipline, by continually meditating on death, and evoking, by an effort of the imagination, whole societies that had passed away, to acquire a realized sense of the vanity of posthumous fame."[207]

Another gem[208] represents Cupid throwing the light of a torch into a large vessel (crater), from which issue a

FIG. 81.—Cupid and a skeleton. (After King.)

skeleton and a laurel-branch (Fig. 81). This device may signify the driving out of an evil spirit (*i.e.* one of the Larvae) by Love, or it may have been meant to convey the "Epicurean" hint that gloomy thoughts might

[207] See Lecky's *History of European Morals*, edition of 1905, vol. i. p. 186. Lecky says (*loc. cit.*, p. 185) that the desire for reputation, especially for posthumous reputation, "assumed an extraordinary prominence among the springs of Roman heroism."

[208] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxxv. No. 3. In the first edition of the *Handbook* (Bohn's Illustrated Library, 1866, p. 364) King says that on this gem it is clear that the skeleton represents a ghost—Ovid's "ossea larva," and Seneca's "larvarum nudis ossibus cohaerentium figuras." *Larvae*, he says, was the name given to the shades of the wicked; those of the good, on the contrary, became *Lares*, or domestic deities. But even amongst the Romans themselves confusion arose in regard to the terms "Larvae," "Lemures," "Lares," and "Manes." I shall return to the subject further on.

be expelled by the aid of the light of Love. On the other hand, the device may merely have been intended to typify life and its pleasures (Cupid) contrasted with death (the skeleton), with or without any special *memento mori* significance. With this subject may be compared the somewhat similar one of an antique intaglio formerly in the late Mr. M. P. W. Boulton's collection. The gem I refer to represents a Cupid holding a torch and raising the lid of an urn, from which a skeleton and a butterfly emerge. The butterfly is the symbol of Psyche (the human soul), apparently released by love and death from its earthly connexion with the body (symbolized by the skeleton) (Fig. 82).

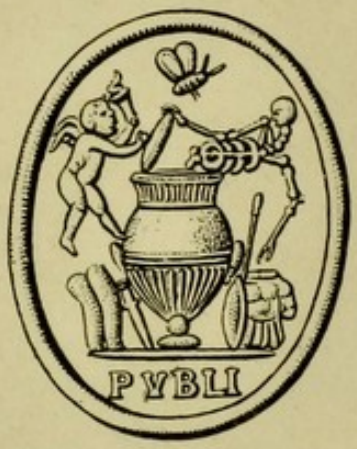

FIG. 82.—Cupid, skeleton, and butterfly.

Indeed, various gem-designs of this period seem to suggest the possibility of the survival of the soul (Psyche) after death. Certain terminal Hellenistic bearded heads (in the style of a so-called "Hermes" or "Terminus") engraved in profile with butterfly wings above the ear have often been described as portraits of Plato[209] (Fig. 83). This explanation was apparently

[209] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxix. No. 3; A. H. Smith's *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British*

due to Winckelmann,[210] who regarded the butterfly's wings as an allusion to Plato's argument for the immortality of the soul (Psyche or "anima"). Furtwängler[211] speaks of all such heads as representing Hypnos, the Greek god or personification of sleep, who on a fine bronze head of the fourth century B.C. (from Civitella

FIG. 83.—So-called head of Plato. (After King.)

d'Arno, near Perugia), now in the British Museum, is represented beardless[212] and youthful, with the wings of

Museum, 1888, Pl. i. No. 1512. Similar heads are figured by A. Furtwängler amongst Hellenistic and early Roman intagli. (See Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900, vol. i. Pl. xxvi. Nos. 41, 42, and Pl. xxx. Nos. 24–26.) Below the bust on one of those pictured on Pl. xxx. (No. 24) is a caduceus (*κηρύκειον* of Hermes), thus bringing the gem in question into connexion with the Greek Hermes-busts.

[210] Winckelmann, quoted by A. H. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 170. On an antique gem at Paris, evidently representing portraits of Socrates and Plato facing, that of Plato is without the wings. (See King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. xlix. No. 2.)

[211] A. Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 209, 292.

[212] There is a marble statue of Hypnos at Madrid and a bronze statuette at Vienna. A youthful beardless figure of Sleep, with butterfly wings on his back, and with horns (containing balm?) in his hands, occurs also on gems, if C. W. King's interpretation is correct (*Antique Gems*, 1872, Pl. xxxvi. No. 1, and *Handbook*, 1885, Pl. lxxvi. No. 3). On an engraved gem, figured by A. Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxx. No. 53), Hypnos is represented as a bearded figure (King has described this figure as Death—cf. footnote 238 in regard to the possible confusion of representations of Death with representations of Sleep) with wings on his back, coming to the relief of the tired Heracles; and on two other antique gems (Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 28, and Pl. xxxvi. No. 20) he is represented in the same form, but behind

a night-hawk attached to his temples (the wing on the left side has been broken off). An almost certain and unmistakable allusion to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is, however, furnished by an early Roman intaglio (Fig. 84) representing a bearded man (philosopher) seated, reading from a scroll; on the *scrinium* (or *capsa*) before him is a human skull (emblem of the mortality of the body), and above it a butterfly, the symbol of Psyche, the human soul, or "anima."[213] The butterfly was, indeed, as Furtwängler has pointed out, employed at a still earlier period to indicate the soul, and Furtwängler figures an Etruscan scarabaeus of the fifth century B.C. (to which I shall again refer), on which Hermes, in his character of Ψυχαγωγός, is represented with a butterfly on his right shoulder.[214]

FIG. 84.—Philosopher reading from a scroll, with a skull and butterfly on a scrinium before him. (After Furtwängler.)

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the figure, not of Heracles, but of a sleepy or sleeping woman. The supposed thunderbolts on a gem of this type (King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxxv. No. 4), which, according to Furtwängler, are really ants, made King describe it as representing "Jupiter descending in a shower of thunderbolts upon the dying Semele." The early and archaistic representation of Hypnos with a beard may be compared with that of Hermes in the early and archaistic bearded types, so different from the figures of the Roman Mercury. It is, of course, quite natural that male figures should be more frequently represented with a beard in archaic (and therefore also archaistic) than in later art.

[213] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxx. No. 45. This type was more probably intended to represent Pythagoras than Plato. It might be fairly described as "a philosopher meditating on mortality (the skull) and immortality (the butterfly)," whereas the type of another small intaglio, described further on (a philosopher seated with a threatening skeleton standing in front of him), might be described as "a philosopher and mortality." (See Fig. 105.)

[214] For other early instances of the butterfly being used as a symbol of the soul, see Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 202, 203.

At any rate, Psyche herself[215] is frequently accompanied or symbolized by a butterfly on Roman gems, and a butterfly as the symbol of Psyche is often associated with a figure of Cupid. Sometimes a Cupid is represented burning a butterfly with a torch or at a flaming altar, or the butterfly is represented burning itself over a torch or flaming altar.[216] On an intaglio, formerly in the late Mr. M. P. W. Boulton's collection, Cupid is represented holding a whip, in the act of whipping a butterfly, just as on another Roman intaglio[217] he is

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[215] Amongst excellent articles on Psyche in Greek and Roman art are: that by Otto Waser, in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1902–1909, vol. iii. part ii. columns 3201–3256; and that by G. Nicole, in Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Paris, 1905, vol. iv. part i. pp. 743–750. In regard to ancient works of art which have been supposed to represent Psyche *without wings*, see these two articles, and also Caetani Lovatelli, *Amore e Psiche*, Rome, 1889; the latter thinks that the artists may sometimes have preferred to represent Psyche, during her earthly pilgrimage, without wings. Psyche, and Psyche with Cupid, are of course also frequent subjects of Renaisssance and modern art—there are the beautiful series of wall-paintings by Raphael in the Farnese Palace (Rome), representing Psyche's story after the tale in the *Asinus Aureus* of Appuleius; Giulio Romanus likewise treated the subject; and there are the beautiful statues and engraved gems by excellent artists of more modern times. In regard to the whole subject of ancient ideas on the immortality of the soul from the literary point of view, see Erwin Rohde, *Psyche, Seelencuit und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, Tübingen, 1903, third edition.

[216] *Catalogue of Gems in the British Museum*, 1888, Nos. 832, 833; also S. Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1895, Pl. 38, No. 80, 5.

[217] *Vide* S. Reinach, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 38, No. 79, 7. Conversely, on a remarkable Roman intaglio (*ibid.*, Pl. 38, No. 79, 5) Cupid is represented bound to a column, with a butterfly close by, as if the butterfly had something to do with the binding; whilst on another gem the butterfly is replaced by Psyche, who is represented binding Cupid to a column (*ibid.*, Pl. 38, No. 79, 4). The Roman gem-engravers seem to have taken a special delight in Psyche and Cupid subjects, and the fanciful varieties they designed must have been almost countless. On one of the intagli figured by Reinach (*loc. cit.*, Pl. 39, No. 80, 8) Venus is holding a butterfly before Cupid, who stretches out his left hand towards it, and in his right hand holds a torch. On another (*ibid.*, Pl. 39, No. 81, 1) Cupid has one leg caught in a kind of "man-trap," on which there is a butterfly, and a second Cupid stands looking on. On yet another gem (*ibid.*, Pl. 38, No. 80, 1) Psyche herself is

maltreating Psyche herself. It seems as if the butterfly on Roman gems, though often symbolical of the immortality of the soul (freed from its chrysalis-like imprisonment in the body), yet may sometimes signify sexual love or the consuming passion of love, as if Psyche herself were consumed with love; and so indeed she was in the beautiful tale of Cupid and Psyche, as handed down to us in the Romance (*Asinus Aureus*) of Appuleius. Psyche may thus have been regarded as a kind of "female Cupid," that is to say, as personifying the more receptive, female element in love, whilst Cupid personified the more active, male element; Psyche would then be the passion of love ready to be ignited, and Cupid would be the flame which sets it on fire. Undoubtedly the Roman gem-device of a torch burning a butterfly is symbolical of Cupid and Psyche, in fact, the torch signifies Cupid (who burns with his torch after wounding with his arrows) igniting the passion of love in Psyche; sometimes the butterfly (Cupid's victim) is being burned not with a torch, but, as already mentioned, at a flaming (Hymenaeal?) altar. In the above-mentioned tale (included in the *Asinus Aureus* of Appuleius) Cupid's torch (as well as his bow and arrows) is referred to. An amusing Roman conceit is that described by Georges Lafaye and others,[218] representing Cupid condemned as an incendiary to be given to the wild beasts. He is attached to a post in the circus, and spectators are present to watch his punishment, but out of the opened wild beasts' den, instead of savage animals, came only a couple of doves. This interesting scene bears the inscription: AMOR INCINDIARIVS.

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burning a butterfly. The famous sardonyx cameo representing the mystic marriage of Cupid and Psyche, a treasure of the former Marlborough Collection, would still be one of the finest works of art of the kind in existence, even if (as has been suggested) the signature ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ were not genuine, and it were not the work of Tryphon, a celebrated ancient gem-engraver referred to in the *Greek Anthology*. C. W. King is amongst those who, with Brunn, have doubted the antiquity of the whole cameo as well as of the signature.

[218] The scene is figured in *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi*, Paris, 1892, p. 243; and by F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1907, vol. i. col. 443. Cabrol refers to an article entitled, "L'Amour incendiaire," by G. Lafaye, 1890.

I am inclined to think that the above explanation of the Roman Psyche-symbols is generally the correct one, though in some cases both explanations are possible. Thus, on a gem figured by Furtwängler,[219] a skull is depicted with a butterfly above it (Fig. 85). This may be taken as an emblematical representation of mortality (the skull) and immortality (the butterfly), that is to say, of the survival of the soul (the butterfly) after death (the skull), or else as an Epicurean hint contrasting love (the butterfly) with death (the skull), just as on the gems previously mentioned the wine-jar and the Cupid were contrasted with the skeleton.

FIG. 85.—Skull with butterfly above it. (After Furtwängler.)

On another intaglio[220] the upright figure of a skeleton is accompanied by the following symbols: a wine-jar, a wreath, a ball, and a butterfly (see Fig. 86,

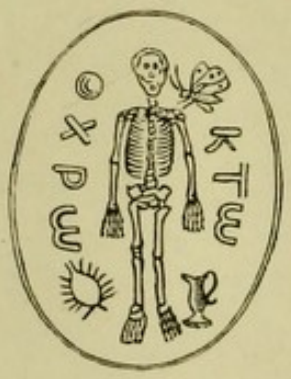

FIG. 86.—Intaglio engraved with skeleton and various emblems. (After Caetani Lovatelli.)

after Caetani Lovatelli, with permission). This device may be intended to represent the instability of human life (the ball), and to contrast temporary sensual enjoyment

[219] A. Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. No. 48.

[220] Filippo Buonarrotti, *Frammenti di Vetri Antichi*, p. 193, Tab. xxviii. Fig. 3; quoted by several writers on the subject, and in J. A. Hild's article on "Larvae," in *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier), Paris, 1904, vol. iii. p. 952.

(the wine-jar and the wreath) with the immortality of the soul (the butterfly) after death (the skeleton), but is much more probably intended to convey the Epicurean advice that since human life is uncertain and fleeting (the ball), and since after death (the skeleton) no pleasure is possible, it is better to lose no opportunity of enjoying wine and feasting (the wine-jar and wreath) and love (the butterfly). This latter explanation is decidedly favoured by the inscription which accompanies the device on the gem in question: ΚΤΩ ΧΡΩ ("hold and use"—in other words, "use and enjoy what you have whilst you possess it, and whilst you have the power to enjoy it"). The same inscription occurs on a green-glazed antique cup with the figure of a skeleton, in the Berlin Antiquarium (see back). A quite similar device is that in intaglio on the bezel of a silver ring figured by Edmond le Blant.[221] A skeleton is standing with the left hand on the hip, in an easy attitude, and the right arm resting on a staff, to which a small vessel is attached; on the right (the observer's right) of the skeleton is an amphora (for wine) crowned with a garland of flowers, and a butterfly above it. The inscription, POLIO, seems to have been the owner's name (see Fig. 87). The butterfly on these two gems may, however, have been really intended to symbolize the human soul, thus suggesting that those who like (whether enjoying the present life or not) may live in hope of an ethereal, though problematic existence after the death of the body. The meaning of the whole device on each of the two gems would thus become that of the already-quoted

[221] Le Blant, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, published by the "École Française de Rome," Rome, 1887, année vii. Pl. vii. Fig. 4.

late epigram (by Palladas) in the *Greek Anthology*: Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος καὶ παίγνιον: ἢ μάθε παίζειν τὴν σπουδὴν μεταθείς ἢ φέρε τὰς ὀδύνας ("All life is a stage and a game: either learn to play like a child, laying earnestness aside, or bear its griefs").

FIG. 87.—Bezel of an antique silver finger-ring, representing a skeleton, with wine-amphora, butterfly, &c. (After Le Blant and J. A. Hild.)

Furtwängler refers likewise to a gem[222] representing a skeleton and a butterfly with a torch below the latter, and thinks that this device is meant to signify that the soul is no more immortal than the body, that, as Lucretius in his great didactic poem, *De Rerum Naturâ*, endeavoured to teach, it perishes with the body. But I have already pointed out that the torch burning

[222] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 297. This gem (a carnelian intaglio) is depicted in an absurdly magnified form by R. Venuti and Borioni (*Collect. Antiq. Roman.*, Rome, 1736, Pl. lxxx.). Amongst the various symbols associated with the skeleton, in addition to the skull and butterfly, is a wheel, evidently referring to the instability and fleeting nature of human life. The complete meaning of complicated devices of this kind is often by no means certain. Thus, F. de' Ficoroni (*Gemmae Antiquae Litteratae, &c.*, Rome, 1757, second part, Pl. viii. Fig. 1) has figured a sard intaglio with the following symbols on it: human skull, butterfly, lyre, vessel, wreath, and pincers. Another intaglio (*ibid.*, Pl. viii. Fig. 3) has a human skull, a pair of scales (balance), and a wheel (uncertainty and instability of life).

the butterfly on Roman gems signifies Cupid igniting the passion of love in Psyche; so that the whole device on the gem in question would possess an "Epicurean" meaning like other devices already referred to.

It is, however, quite likely that amongst the Romans the idea of love (*i.e.* sexual love) was often blended with the idea of the human soul, whether the latter was regarded as mortal or immortal. It appears, then, natural that Psyche (or her butterfly) should be employed as a symbol both of sexual love and of the soul (see p. 354), though the soul was doubtless regarded by some as mortal and by others as immortal.

The story of Cupid and Psyche was adopted by the early Christians as typifying the purification of the human soul by the trials and sufferings of life,[223] just as the myth of Orpheus charming the wild beasts was regarded as symbolical of the work of Christ. A sculptured stone sarcophagus (Fig. 88) in the British Museum, the front of which represents Cupid and Psyche, is probably early Christian of the Constantinian age, though the account by Mr. A. H. Smith, in the *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (1904, vol. 3, p. 330, No. 2320), does not point to any such special interpretation of the design. The scene represented is thus described by Mr. W. R. Lethaby (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, 1911, vol. 23, p. 326): "Cupid and Psyche recline at the banquet. The figures, contrary to wont, are almost fully draped, and Psyche looks intently into the face of Cupid. Cupid holds a wine-cup,

[223] On the Platonic and early Christian aspects of Psyche in art, see E. Caetani Lovatelli, *Amore e Psiche*, Rome, 1889; compare, of course, the writings on Psyche already referred to.

and beneath his hand is a roll in a basket or 'capsa,'

FIG. 88.—Stone sarcophagus in the British Museum, with apparently early Christian representation of Cupid and Psyche.

possibly the Gospel. In front is the table with the

significant fish (the Christian emblem, ΙΧΘΥΣ); the ends of the couch also have the fish form as found on Christian ivories. The attendant (to the left of the couch), who plays a lute, sits in a high-backed wicker chair, such as are frequently seen on Christian ivories; the table which supports the fish is of the three-legged type which appears in the catacomb paintings. Beneath the reclining figures of Cupid and Psyche a boy plays with a bunch of grapes and a young goat or rabbit, whilst, above, another winged boy releases a bird—a well-known symbol of the flight of the spirit in death. At the head of the couch is Orpheus, or a Cupid in the attitude of Orpheus—I think the former; he holds his lyre in the traditional way on his upraised left knee, his left foot resting on a peacock, the well-known symbol of immortality (the peacock is frequently seen with Orpheus). Further to the left and right are two pairs of figures, possibly the Seasons, who frequently appear in the catacombs. At each end is a fruit tree."

In regard to the doctrines of metempsychosis and the question of a spiritual existence independent of bodily life, I shall for convenience here refer to a Graeco-Scythian gold finger-ring (about the first century B.C.) found in the tomb of a woman at Kertch (the ancient Panticapaeum), and presented by Dr. C. W. Siemens to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. According to the description exhibited in the Museum, the facing head engraved in intaglio on the bezel represents the Oriental moon-god (Deus Lunus of later Rome), and the figure of the bee above the head is the symbol of the moon as the abode of spirits (Fig. 89). In the old Persian religion (according to the same account) the moon represents the cosmic bull from whose carcase

bees, typical of the vital principle in souls, swarmed to earth.[224] Thus, in Mithraism the moon itself came to be known as the Bee (cf. Porphyrius, *De Antro Nympharum*). For permission to illustrate the ring in question I am indebted to Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, who kindly sent me an impression.

FIG. 89.—From a Graeco-Scythian gold finger-ring.

There are several antique gem-types to which we must still allude. In the first place, Hermes has sometimes been represented on early intagli in the exercise of his functions as Ψυχοπομπός (*νεκραγωγός, ψυχαγωγός*, etc.), the conductor of the shade (*εἴδωλον*) or soul (*ψυχή*)

[224] Compare Virgil's description (*Georg.*, iv. lines 281 *et seq.*) of a method, said to have been practised in Egypt, of raising a stock of bees from the putrefying carcase of a steer. Conington, in a note on Virgil's description, says that this notion of the generation of bees from putrid oxen was common among the ancients. Varro (*Res Rusticae*, ii. 5), in speaking of oxen, refers to the same belief: "Denique ex hoc putrefacto nasci dulcissimas apes, mellis matres, ex quo illas Graeci Βουγενεῖς appellant." Compare also the story of Samson and the swarm of bees in the lion's carcase (Judges xiv. 8). In reference to Virgil's mistaken belief, Mr. S. G. Shattock has drawn attention to the striking resemblance to bees and wasps (mimicry) observed in certain species of the family Syrphidae, the maggots of which are found in decaying matter. J. H. and A. B. Comstock (*A Manual for the Study of Insects*, p. 471) say that a common representative of this family, *Eristalis tenax* (the "Drone-fly"), is often mistaken for a male honey-bee. The device of Samson and the lion, with the motto, *Ex forte dulcedo*, occurs on a Thaler (1676) commemorating the hundred-year jubilee of the Helmstedt University. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 2374.)

of the deceased from the upper to the lower world. Particularly interesting is an Etruscan sardonyx scarabaeus,[225] on which (Fig. 90) Hermes is seen standing with petasos slung at the back of his neck, holding a diminutive human figure (evidently intended to signify a human soul or shade) on his left arm, whilst in his right hand is the kerykeion (caduceus); the Acheruntian water of the nether world is indicated at his feet on the right. A quite similar device occurs on a carnelian Etruscan scarabaeus of older style,[226] but the water is

FIG. 90.—Hermes Psychopompos. (After Furtwängler.)

FIG. 91.—Hermes with butterfly on right shoulder. (After Furtwängler.)

not indicated as it is on the last-mentioned one. On an Etruscan scarabaeus[227] of the fifth century B.C., Hermes, holding his kerykeion, is represented with a butterfly on his right shoulder (Fig. 91); and Furtwängler points out how interesting it is to find that at that early period already the butterfly was employed as a symbol of the human soul, the "anima" or Psyche.[228]

In regard to the representation of the human soul on Greek painted terra-cotta vases of the "black-figure" and "red-figure" periods, there is a good deal of material at hand. H. B. Walters, in his *History of Ancient*

[225] Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 12.

[226] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xvi. No. 54.

[227] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 22.

[228] For other early instances of the butterfly being used as a symbol of the soul, see Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 202, 203.

Pottery,[229] refers to small winged figures representing a soul which has escaped from the body of a deceased person, or indicating the souls of Achilles and Hector (*Iliad*, xxii. 209), or the souls of Achilles and Memnon being weighed in the balance—the "Psychostasia" (cf. *Iliad*, viii. 69). This weighing is represented as being carried out by Hermes as "Psychostates" (generally the archaic bearded type of Hermes, and generally holding his kerykeion), in one instance at least in the presence of Zeus (who holds a thunderbolt).

The Ψυχοστασία, or "Weighing of the Souls," was the name of a lost tragedy by Aeschylus, in which Thetis and Eos weighed the souls of Achilles and Memnon against one another (following the passage in the *Iliad*, xxii. 209 *et seq.*, above referred to). It was parodied by Aristophanes in part of his *Frogs*. On this whole subject of the "Psychostasia" compare S. Reinach (*Peintures de Vases Antiques recueillies par Millin et Millingen*, Paris, 1891, pp. 15, 16, and Plates, Millin, i. 19), who gives references not only in the *Iliad*, but also to Quintus Smyrnaeus, Aeschylus, and the commentary of Servius on Virgil's *Aeneid*. O. Crusius, in his article on "Keres" in Roscher's *Lexikon* (W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1890–1894, vol. ii. part i. cols. 1135–1166), figures three "Psychostasia" scenes from Greek painted vases. His first figure (from the first edition of A. S. Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, 1883, vol. ii. p. 28) represents an archaic bearded Hermes standing, and as Psychostates, weighing the two κῆρες or εἴδωλα in the form of minute winged figures. His second figure (Reinach-Millin, *loc. cit.*) represents a beardless Hermes seated, weighing two minute winged figures in the scales of the balance. His third figure (taken from J. A. Overbeck, *Heroische Bildwerke*, Stuttgart, 1857, Atlas, Pl. xxii. Fig. 9) is that of the Luynes vase, on which the two κῆρες or εἴδωλα

[229] H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, London, 1905, vol. ii. p. 72.

are personified as two minute fully-armed wingless figures (of the warriors in question) standing up in the scales. The weighing is being carried out by a bearded Hermes, standing, holding kerykeion, in the presence of Zeus, standing, holding thunderbolt and long staff. Another interesting "Psychostasia" scene, on a kylix in the Louvre Museum at Paris, forms the subject of one of the illustrations of Otto Waser's article on "Psyche," likewise in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. part ii. col. 3225, Fig. 14, where a bearded Hermes, as Psychostates, is weighing two minute wingless figures standing upright in the scales; on either side are Thetis and Eos. (This scene is likewise figured in *Monumenti Inediti dall' Instituto di Corrisp. Archeol.*, Rome, 1857, vol. vi. Pl. 5A.) A "Psychostasia" scene, where Hermes is as usual Psychostates, also constitutes the device on an Etruscan mirror, now in the Royal Library of Madrid (see S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, Plates, Millin, i. 72, Fig. 1, and Crusius, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 4). Hermes, beardless, is there represented seated and weighing, in the presence of Apollo, the εἴδωλα or κῆρες of Achilles and Memnon, symbolized by small clothed human figures (without wings), standing upright in the scales of the balance; the names (Etruscan versions) are inscribed on the metal beside the various figures pictured. In such representations there seems to be some confusion between the εἴδωλον (ghost or shade), and the κήρ ("doom") assigned to a man who was to die a violent death. In the "psychostasia" passages in Homer's *Iliad* it is the κῆρες (of Achilles and Hector) that are weighed in the balance. According to one passage (*Iliad*, ix. 411), Achilles had two κῆρες, between which he was permitted to choose.

The ghost or shade (εἴδωλον) of a hero is sometimes represented on black-figure vases floating in the air, fully armed, with large wings. On a black-figure vase illustrated by E. Gerhard,[230] a ghost of this kind floating above a prow, is apparently intended for that of Achilles

[230] E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1847, part iii. Pl. cxcviii. Fig. 1.

hovering over the Greek ships before Troy. On a similar vase[231] the ghost, apparently of Patroclus, is represented in the same way, hovering over his tomb. On another black-figure vase[232] the inscribed names leave no doubt as to what the artist meant to represent. The body of Hector is seen fastened by the feet to the chariot of Achilles, and the ghost of Patroclus floats over a tomb hard by, as a diminutive fully armed figure (this time without wings). On an amphora in the National Museum at Naples, with a similar scene of the body of Hector fastened by the feet to the chariot of Achilles, the ghost of Patroclus, in the form of a diminutive armed and winged figure, floats close by.[233] So also on certain Greek vase-paintings (described further on) belonging to the picture-type of Sleep (Hypnos) and Death (Thanatos) lifting the corpse of a fallen hero, the εἴδωλον of the warrior is represented as a minute winged and fully-armed figure floating just above his dead body.

In early (and up to late mediaeval) Christian sepulchral art, as is well known, the soul was often represented leaving the dying person (generally coming out of the mouth) in the form of a diminutive draped or nude human figure. On Greek painted vases, little winged figures are sometimes represented in the air near dead or dying persons (especially in "prothesis" or laying-out scenes), or near tombs (especially in scenes depicting persons making funeral offerings at a tomb),

[231] E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1847, part iii. Pl. cxcviii. Fig. 2.

[232] *Ibid.*, Pl. cxcix. Fig. 1.

[233] Figured by Raoul-Rochette, *Monumens inédits*, Paris, 1833, part i. Pl. xvii.; also in Otto Waser's article on "Psyche" in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon* (*op. cit.*), vol. iii. part ii. col. 3223, Fig. 13.

and there is a good deal of difficulty in interpreting their exact significance.

On a white, so-called Attic, sepulchral lecythus (figures on white ground) from Eretria, now in the British Museum,[234] a diminutive draped and winged figure is flitting in the air near a tomb (sepulchral *stele*), with one hand raised to its head and with the other pointing to the tomb. On a similar white lecythus figured by E. Pottier (*Études sur les Lécythes blancs Attiques à Représentations Funéraires*, Paris, 1883, Pl. iv.) a little winged human figure is again pictured floating near a tomb. Similar little winged figures hovering about tombs (sepulchral *stelae*) are pictured on two Attic lecythi in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (described and figured by Percy Gardner, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1905, vol. xxv. pp. 73–76, Figs. 544 and 546A). These might all be supposed to represent the εἴδωλα of the deceased persons whose tombs are pictured, but on another vase (*Monumenti Inediti pub. dall' Instit. di Corrisp. Archeol.*, Rome, 1864–1868, vol. viii. Pl. 5, Fig. 1*h*) several little winged figures of the same kind are seen on a tomb; and on yet another vase (Otto Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1868, Pl. xxxiii.; and Fig. 6 in O. Crusius's article on "Keres" in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon*) three little winged figures of the same type are hovering over the stretched-out body of the deceased in a "prothesis" (laying-out) scene. Otto Waser, in his article on "Psyche" in Roscher's *Lexikon* (*op. cit.*, vol. iii. part ii. cols. 3201–3256), refers to various "Charon scenes," in which one or more minute winged figures, similar to the above-mentioned ones, are pictured as hovering in the air near the dead persons, who are being received by Charon (standing in his boat as ferryman of the rivers of the nether world). Waser figures two such scenes (Figs. 15, 16 of his article): the first from a lecythus in the Louvre Museum at Paris (Stackelberg, *Die Graeber der Hellenen*, Berlin, 1837, Pl. xlviii.), represents a dead man and a dead

[234] A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, London, 1896, Pl. v.

woman being received by Charon, with three of the little winged figures hovering about them ; on the second one, from a lecythus in the Polytechneion at Athens (*Antike Denkmaeler*, Berlin, 1891, vol. i. Pl. 23, Fig. 1), only one little winged figure is seen. Waser refers likewise to an Attic lecythus in the Ashmolean at Oxford (described and figured by Percy Gardner, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1905, vol. xxv. p. 75, Fig. 547), on which apparently the dead person himself, who is being received by Charon, is represented in the form of a similar minute winged figure. Charon is in his boat, amidst reeds, holding a boat-pole in his right hand, and extending his left hand towards the little winged figure that flies, with both arms outstretched, to him.

A white sepulchral lecythus, figured by Miss J. E. Harrison, in her article on "Pandora's Box" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1900, vol. xx. p. 101, Fig. 1, after Paul Schadow's dissertation, "Eine Attische Grablekythos," Jena, 1897), represents a bearded Hermes standing, holding a kerykeion in one hand and a wand in the other, apparently letting out a whole swarm of similar little winged figures from the mouth of a huge jar or "pithos" which is buried almost up to its neck in the ground. Miss Harrison holds that on this vase Hermes Psychopompos is letting loose the κῆρες "which give grievous diseases to men," and that Pandora's "box" (really a pithos in old Greek descriptions) contained similar imprisoned κῆρες, which Pandora set free to men's undoing.

The question is whether all such little winged figures, which are pictured on Greek vases as hovering near the dead or dying, or about tombs, do not represent κῆρες rather than εἴδωλα (*animae*, spirits, souls, or ghosts). In the *Jahrbuch des Kais. Deut. Archäol Instituts* (Berlin, 1895, vol. x., *Archäol. Anzeiger, Beiblatt*, p. 37, Fig. 11), a scene on a (red-figure) Greek vase is pictured, showing Herakles driving back a little nude winged human-like figure with his club. This little figure evidently represents a "Ker," and, as Miss Harrison says, shows what manner of pests such little winged Keres must have been supposed to be.

On another interesting vase (red-figure period) in the

British Museum,[235] the scene is the death of Procris; she is wounded, Cephalus stands sorrowful by her side, and a human-faced bird is flitting in the neighbourhood, looking towards her. On a fragment of another red-figure vase (P. Hartwig, *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, London, 1891, vol. xii. p. 340), above the face of a fallen warrior is a little winged human-like figure with hand outstretched to the mouth of the prostrate hero, as if to grasp his soul escaping from the body. In this case the little winged figure seems to represent a κήρ of malignant type, but the human-headed bird on the Procris vase has been supposed to symbolize the departing εἴδωλον, psyche, or soul. In this connexion one should also allude to some famous painted slabs in the Louvre Museum at Paris. They formed part of the wall-decoration of an Etruscan tomb at Cervetri, and are figured in the *Monumenti Inediti dall' Instit. di Corr. Archeolog.*, Rome, vol. vi. Pl. xxx. The subject is an Etruscan funeral procession, and the body of the deceased is being carried to the funeral pyre. On one of the slabs two old bearded men are seated facing each other, and above one of them, in the upper right corner of the slab, a small human-headed bird is represented (see description in the *Annali dall' Instit. Archeol.*, Rome, 1859, vol. xxxi. p. 333).

Human-headed bird-like (harpy-like, or siren-like) figures do indeed certainly occur on Greek vases in association with tombs, as if they were souls of the departed. For references and illustrations on this subject, see O. Waser's article on "Psyche" in Roscher's *Lexikon* (*op. cit.*). Waser illustrates a sculptured harpy-like figure of this kind on a tomb. In this connexion one may also remember that in the Egyptian papyrus (see the facsimile and the wall-paintings in the Egyptian rooms of the British Museum), inscribed with the hieroglyphic text of the Book of the Dead for the scribe Ani (about 1500 B.C.), the soul of Ani is repeatedly symbolized as a human-headed hawk. In that form, for instance, his soul is pictured as revisiting his mummified body in the tomb, to illustrate the chapter on the "reuniting of the soul to the

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[235] James Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments: Painted Greek Vases*, London, 1822, Pl. xiv.

dead body." To the subject of Ker and Keres I shall return further on.

According to C. W. King, in the Roman gem-device of a winged foot crushing a butterfly, the butterfly is an emblem of life, and the winged foot the symbol of departure with the winged messenger, Mercury[236] (Hermes Psychopompos). King compares the winged foot as an emblem of death to the horse on sarcophagi and mortuary reliefs, that is to say, the horse significant of departure, looking through the window or door upon a party feasting and enjoying themselves. In his edition of Horace's works illustrated from antique gems, he has chosen "a winged foot and butterfly" gem from his own collection to illustrate No. 4 of the first book of *Odes*, as it fits the famous passage—

> "Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
> Regumque turres."[237]

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[236] King, in his essay on "Death, as depicted in Ancient Art" (*The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 182) writes: "The idea of death is ingeniously and curiously expressed in a fresco decorating the lately discovered vault of Vincentius and Vibia in the Catacombs of Praetextatus, Rome. In the scene labelled 'abreptio Vibie et Discensio,' the messenger of Fate, 'Mercurius,' appears placing one foot, and leading the way, into a huge urn laid sideways on the ground. The allusion to Orcus in the name of such a vessel, *orca*, is sufficiently obvious." For an account of the inscriptions in this vault, see the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin), vol. vi. No. 142.

[237] *Horatii Opera*, edited by C. W. King and H. A. J. Munro, London, 1869, p. 9. See also C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 185, where he adds: "On this account the *foot* became the peculiar attribute of the infernal deities; and the figure of one carved in stone was often dedicated in the temple of Serapis—apparently as an *ex voto* commemorating the donor's escape from the very threshold of his dark domain." He likewise notes: "A colossal example of the finest workmanship was exhumed at Alexandria a few years ago. It may have been contemporary with the

It is noteworthy that the Etruscan "Charun," armed with his long hammer or mall, seems never to occur on Etruscan gems, nor (it is supposed) on Etruscan mirrors. From the representations on the mural paintings of Etruscan tombs, on Etruscan sarcophagi, on painted vases, &c., we know that he was imagined as the inflexible and brutal-looking messenger of Death, who conducted the soul or shade (εἴδωλον of the Greeks, probably the "hinthial" of the Etruscans) of the deceased to the lower world. He corresponds more to the Hermes Psychopompos than to the Charon of the Greeks, and was evidently supposed to be in attendance in order to separate the soul from the body (this is probably why he holds the long formidable-looking hammer or hammer-like instrument) at the moment of death, like Azrael, the Jewish and Mohammedan "Angel of Death." In an Etruscan sculpture (figured in the *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 1844, vol. i. Pl. 17, Fig. 1), referred to by C. W. King, Charun, "armed as usual with his ponderous mall," leads a horse (emblem of departure and death), "upon which sits the deceased with head muffled up, *capite obnupto*—the established form in sentencing a criminal to execution." The winged bearded deity appearing to fatigued Heracles, on an early antique intaglio, which was supposed by C. W. King to be a Charun-like representation of Death, is regarded by Furtwängler as Hypnos, the personification of Sleep.[238]

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coin of Commodus from that mint, which has for reverse a head of Serapis placed upon a foot for pedestal, with the date of his seventh year." This idea has no connexion with the phrase, "one foot in the grave."

[238] See Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxx. No. 53. It is hardly surprising that in the interpretation of symbolic representations in ancient art there should be occasional confusion between Death and

In Etruscan death-scenes the Etruscan Charun is occasionally represented (see Fig. 92) accompanied by various Gorgon-like or Fury-like demons, sometimes holding snakes in their hands, including "Vanth," probably the Greek Thanatos (*Θάνατος*).[239] A somewhat

FIG. 92.—An Etruscan "parting scene," with the Etruscan "Charun" holding hammer, and a winged demon holding snakes. The Etruscan inscription shows that the scene was intended to represent the parting of Admetus and Alcestis. From an Etruscan painted vase (crater) obtained from Vulci, described by A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1902, part ii. pp. 546, 547. (After Dennis.) It is the sharp contrast between the fancied demons connected with death and the sweet domestic delights of earthly life that makes Etruscan "parting scenes" so horrible.

similar winged Gorgon or Fury (but with four wings), holding a serpent in each hand, is represented on an

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Sleep, "twin-brothers" as Homer calls them, when they carry off the body of Sarpedon, slain by Patroclus, to Lycia—*Iliad*, book xvi. 671–683: *Πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι, Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν.* Sleeping is, in a sense, "living without life," and dying during sleep has been poetically alluded to by the poet-laureate, Thomas Warton the younger, as dying without death—"sic sine morte mori." Thus, indeed, would many like to die. See also footnotes 190 and 212, concerning representations of Death and Sleep, and see also Part II. Heading IV., on Death compared to a Peaceful Sleep.

[239] See G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, London, third edition, 1883.

antique gem figured by C. W. King.[240] Here we may refer to a carnelian scarab (in Berlin), figured by Furtwängler,[241] representing a winged figure bending forwards, holding an urn in both hands and apparently about to lay it down (Fig. 93). Furtwängler suggests that this winged figure may represent the demon "Thanatos." Representations possibly intended to suggest the idea of a death-genius carrying off one or two souls sometimes occur on archaic Greek or Etruscan gold ornaments, &c.[242]

FIG. 93.—Winged figure holding urn. (After Furtwängler.)

With regard to representations of "Thanatos" [243] during the fine period of Greek art certain painted terra-cotta vases may be referred to on which the body of a man (or woman) is being lifted by two winged male figures, one, usually beardless, representing Hypnos, the other, usually bearded, apparently representing Thanatos, the prototype of the idea being the legend of Sarpedon, whose body,

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[240] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885, Pl. xlv. No. 6.

[241] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xix. No. 68.

[242] See F. H. Marshall, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1911, vol. xxxi. p. 264.

[243] Cf. Carl Robert, *Thanatos*, Berlin, 1879, with illustrations; Julius Lessing, *De Mortis apud Veteres Figurâ*, Berlin, 1866; also Comtessa E. Caetani Lovatelli's monograph on *Thanatos* (Rome, 1888); and C. W. King's essay on "Death, as depicted in Ancient Art" (in his book, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, pp. 179–194). See also H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, London, 1905, vol. ii., section on the Nether World, pp. 66–72. The latest work is that of Kurt Heinemann, *Thanatos in Poesie und Kunst der Griechen*, München, 1913.

according to the Homeric account (*Iliad*, xvi. 671 to 683), was carried off by Death and Sleep to Lycia. One of the two white Attic (of the fifth century B.C.) sepulchral lecythi with this subject in the British Museum collection (specimen D. 59) is still labelled, however, as representing "Boreas and Zephyros[244] carrying Memnon to his tomb."[245]

On the exterior of the fine red-figure kylix bearing the signature of Pamphaios, now in the British Museum (figured in the *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, fourth edition, 1912, p. 233, Fig. 113), two winged, beardless, armed and helmeted youths (Hypnos and Thanatos?) are pictured lifting the body of a bearded man under the guidance of a draped female messenger (Iris) holding a herald's staff (kerykeion or caduceus) like Hermes. At the feet of the corpse stands another draped female figure.

On part of the archaic so-called "Coffer of Cypselus" (a chest of cedar-wood with figures on it in cedar-wood, ivory, and gold), which was preserved at Olympia when Pausanias travelled there in the second century A.D., Death and Sleep were represented. The description of Pausanias runs as follows: "A woman is represented carrying a white boy asleep on her right arm; on her other arm she has a black boy who is like one that sleeps: the feet of both boys are turned different ways

[244] This lecythus is pictured in *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, by A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith, London, 1896, Pl. ix.; the other one is presented on Pl. xi. It is Quintus Smyrnaeus, in his epic poem after Homer (book ii. lines 549 *et seq.*), who speaks of Memnon's body being carried off by the winds.

[245] A large white Attic lecythus with the Hypnos and Thanatos subject for its design, is figured by E. Pottier, *Études sur les Lécythes blancs Attiques à Représentations funéraires*, Paris, 1883, Pl. ii.; but it appears to be a forgery (see Kurt Heinemann, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

[that is to say, I suppose, 'are folded' or crossed]. The inscriptions show, what it is easy to see without them, that the boys are Death and Sleep, and that Night is nurse to both."[246] In favour of the view that the idea of the design on the "Coffer of Cypselus" was largely derived from the Hesiodic *Theogony*, H. S. Jones, in his elaborate article on the subject ("The Chest of Kypselos," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1894, vol. xiv. pp. 30–80, see especially p. 52), quotes the following passage from the poem (*Theog.*, 211):—

> Νὺξ δ' ἔτεκε στυγερόν τε Μόρον καὶ Κήρα μέλαιναν
> καὶ Θάνατον, τέκε δ' Ὕπνον, ἔτικτε δὲ φῦλον Ὀνείρων.

("Night indeed brought forth hateful Fate and black Doom and Death, and brought forth Sleep and gave birth to the race of Dreams.") He also quotes another passage (*Theog.*, 756, which, according to August Fick, has been embedded in the poem at a somewhat later date)—

> ἡ δ' Ὕπνον μετὰ χερσὶ, κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο
> Νὺξ ὀλοὴ, νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένη ἠεροειδεῖ.

("The other one, destructive Night, veiled in murky mist, [holding] in her hands Sleep, the brother of Death.")

Nothing is known about the figures of Hypnos and Thanatos which the same Pausanias, in the second century A.D., saw on the Acropolis of Sparta. He wrote, "There are also images of Sleep and Death, whom, in harmony with the lines in the *Iliad*, they believe to be brothers" (Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book iii. chap. xviii. 1; J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898,

[246] Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book v. chap. xviii. 1 (J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898, vol. i. p. 263).

vol. i.). Sleep and Death are of course alluded to as twin brothers in the famous passage of the *Iliad*, already quoted (book xvi. lines 671–683)—

> πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι,
> Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν, &c. ;

and as brothers in an earlier passage (*Iliad*, book xiv. lines 231 *et seq.*)—

> ἔνθ' Ὕπνῳ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο,
> ἓν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν, &c.

In his recent Inaugural-Dissertation, entitled, *Thanatos in Poesie und Kunst der Griechen* (München, 1913), Kurt Heinemann has described or referred to all the known Greek vase-paintings of the picture-type of Hypnos and Thanatos lifting or carrying a dead body. They include the following representations :—

The "Piot amphora," a black-figure vase from Capua, in the Louvre Museum at Paris (figured by E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1906, Pl. 87, F. 388 ; Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1). Two winged fully-armed beardless figures (Hypnos and Thanatos ?) are lifting a beardless dead body (Sarpedon ?) between them. The ghost (εἴδωλον) of the fallen hero is depicted as a minute fully-armed beardless winged warrior hovering just over his dead body. By the figures are imitation inscriptions, but there are no real inscriptions on this vase.

The "Bourguignon amphora," a black-figure vase formerly in a collection at Naples (S. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases Peints Grecs et Étruscques*, Paris, 1899, vol. i. p. 347, No. 1 ; Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5), has on one side an almost exactly similar scene, but the corpse is bearded, and the two armed figures (one of whom, at the feet of the dead body, is bearded) are without wings. The εἴδωλον of the fallen warrior is represented, as on the "Piot amphora," just above the corpse. The dead hero on the Bourguignon vase is probably meant to be Memnon, because on the other side of the vase a winged female figure (evidently Memnon's mother, Eos) is represented carrying a bearded corpse.

A red-figure lecythus from Eretria, now in Berlin (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2). Two fully-armed, winged, bearded nude figures are lifting a young male beardless corpse apparently to lay it down at a tomb (indicated by the dead man's shield, helmet, and weapons).

The "Pamphaius" red-figure kylix, from Vulci, now in the British Museum, which I have above referred to (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 3 and Pl. 4). The bearded corpse was probably meant to be that of Memnon. The female figure with kerykeion (caduceus), on the spectator's left, is, as already stated, Iris, and that on the right is probably Eos, the mother of Memnon.

A black-figure Attic lecythus in the Furtwängler collection at Frankfurt-am-Main (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1). Two winged male figures, wearing short chitons, are lifting up a bearded corpse. This is probably that of Memnon, and the draped female at the side of the corpse is probably his mother, Eos.

The red-figure krater from Caere, in the Louvre Museum at Paris (*Monumenti Inediti dall' Instituto di Corrisp. Archeol.*, Rome, 1858, vol. vi. Pl. xxi.; Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5), represents a youthful beardless male corpse being lifted by two nude winged male figures. The one at the head of the corpse is beardless, and was meant to be Hypnos, as the accompanying inscription shows. Owing to a restoration of the vase, it is uncertain whether the other one (Thanatos), at the feet of the corpse, was originally depicted with or without a beard, and was or was not accompanied by an inscription.

The black-figure kylix of the commencement of the fifth century B.C., found at Velanidesa (Attica), and now at Athens (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5). Two bearded winged figures, dressed in short chitons, carry the corpse of a bearded man (Memnon); by the side of the dead body, and tenderly bending over it, walks a draped winged female (Eos, the mother of Memnon); in front of the procession is Hermes, looking backwards, and a woman and youth follow behind.

The black-figure lecythus of the Navarra (Terranova) collection, a good example of antique over-painting (O. Benndorf, *Griech. und Sicil. Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1868, Pl. 42, No. 2;

Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 6), represents a variation of the usual scene, for the bearded corpse (Memnon) is being lifted by two negroes (Aethiopians) instead of by Hypnos and Thanatos (or Boreas and Zephyros).

In the above-mentioned vase-paintings of most archaic style, the winged demons, that may almost certainly be regarded as Hypnos and Thanatos, were represented (cf. the "Piot amphora") quite similar to each other (like twin-brothers, as in the Homeric account) and fully armed; in the designs of rather later style they were represented dressed in short chitons, or (as on the Caere crater in the Louvre) entirely nude. It is interesting to note that the vase-painters allowed themselves great latitude in their renderings of this artistic *motif*. Thus, on the "Bourguignon amphora" (of the same period as, if not by the same artist as, the "Piot amphora") the two armed, winged demons carrying the corpse are replaced by similarly armed figures without wings, and on the "Navarra lecythos" the winged figures are replaced by Aethiopians.

We may now pass on to the white-ground Attic lecythi bearing designs of the Hypnos and Thanatos *motif*. On these Thanatos, usually bearded, and Hypnos beardless, are depicted lifting the body of a man or woman to deposit it in the grave at the foot of a sepulchral stele. Heinemann divides these vases into an earlier group, on which Thanatos has a somewhat savage or gloomy aspect and is always represented at the feet of the corpse; and a later group, on which the respective positions of Hypnos and Thanatos have been changed, Thanatos having a milder or even a sorrowful and tender aspect, and being at the head of the corpse instead of at the feet.

In the first group he places the two white lecythi in the British Museum above referred to (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 7 and Pl. 8), on one of which (Murray and Smith, *op. cit.*, Pl. xi.) the nude Hypnos is painted brown, reminding one of Death and Sleep being represented, the one as a white boy and the other as a black boy, according to Pausanias's account, on the previously mentioned archaic "Coffer of Cypselus." On both these lecythi the armour shows the corpse to be that of a warrior.

In the later group he places a lecythus in the vase-collection at Berlin (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 9), a lecythus in the National Museum at Athens (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10), and the following two others. A second one in the National Museum at Athens (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 6) has a variety of the usual scene, for the burial of a woman is represented. The draped life-like body of the young woman is being lifted to her tomb by two winged male figures, Thanatos (bearded) being at her head and Hypnos (beardless) being at her feet. To the right of the stele stands a young man looking on; he is dressed in chlamys and petasos, and might, I believe, though he is beardless, represent Hermes (compare the beardless heads of Hermes on the silver coins of Aenus in Thrace, 450 to 400 B.C.), but Heinemann prefers to suggest that he represents a brother or some relative of the deceased.

On another lecythus (or rather the fragment of one) in the vase-collection at Berlin (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 11) the Hypnos and Thanatos scene is represented in a peculiar way, namely, as an "architectural" ornamental design on the top of a sepulchral stele; around this stele stand the usual relatives or mourners, bringing funereal ribbons, &c. The deceased in this instance again is a woman. She is draped and diademed. She is held almost entirely by Hypnos (beardless), and turns her sorrowful face towards (the bearded) Thanatos, who is about to assist Hypnos in lifting her.

Heinemann likewise gives references to many other objects on which a corpse is represented being carried by two winged or wingless figures. On some of them the design is evidently the Hypnos and Thanatos subject, or has been suggested by it, but on others the explanation may be a different one. Thus Pausanias, in his description of the painting by Polygnotus at Delphi, representing the "Sack of Ilium," says that at one part of that picture "Sinon, a comrade of Ulysses, and Anchialus, are bringing out the corpse of Laomedon" (Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book x. chap. xxvii. 1; J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898). The body of Meleager was also represented on ancient art being carried by two bearers, and at one part of the *Tabula Iliaca* illustrated

in Otto Jahn's *Griech. Bilderchroniken* (Pl. 1) Hector's body is being carried in the same way.

Besides other painted vases with designs of this kind, Heinemann (*op. cit.*, pp. 57–68) refers to a small terra-cotta altar, to bronze handles from the lids of "Etruscan" cistae, to the "Colonna" marble relief (Emil Braun, *Antike Marmorwerke*), to a small ivory relief in Naples (Hans Graeven's *Antike Schnitzereien aus Elfenbein*, Hannover, 1903, first series, No. 28), to a bronze Etruscan mirror (E. Gerhard's *Etruskische Spiegel*, Berlin, 1840–1897, vol. iv. Pl. 397, 1), and to some engraved gems. On the bronze handles from the lids of cistae (above referred to) the bearers of the dead body are sometimes men in armour, sometimes nude, and the corpse is mostly that of a young man (armed or nude), but in at least one instance is that of a woman (nude). On the above-mentioned portable terra-cotta altar (*Monumenti Ined. dall' Instit. di Corr. Arch.*, vol. xi. Pl. x. 3) the winged male bearers probably represent Hypnos and Thanatos; in some instances the bearers (male or female) are winged and in others wingless; on a bronze in

FIG. 94.—Two winged figures carrying dead body. From an Etruscan scarabaeus. (After Furtwängler.)

the Museo Kircheriano at Rome the bearers are a young man and a young woman.

I have still shortly to refer to gem-devices of this kind. A. Furtwängler (*op. cit.*, vol. i. Nos. 22 and 23) figures two carnelian Etruscan scarabaei of early style bearing an intaglio representation of two winged figures carrying a dead body. In his description (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 77) he says that on the first (see Fig. 94, after Furtwängler) the corpse is being carried by a nude winged youth and a draped winged woman [?derived from the Thanatos, Eos, and Hypnos idea, though without Hypnos], but that on the second (see Fig. 95, after

Furtwängler) the corpse is being carried by two female figures in long chitons. He likewise refers to an early sard "Etruscan" scarabaeus from Chiusi in the British Museum collection (*Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum*,

FIG. 95.—Two winged figures carrying dead body. From an Etruscan scarabaeus. (After Furtwängler.)

by A. H. Smith, London, 1888, p. 69, No. 346, Pl. E) representing a corpse being carried by two draped and winged female figures (see Fig. 96); and also to a similar device on an antique paste in the Fol collection. Formerly two such winged female figures were regarded by E. Gerhard as Victories carrying the body of a fallen hero (Gerhard's *Ges. academ. Abhandlungen*, Berlin, 1866, vol. i. p. 167; compare his Pl. xi. Nos. 1 and 2). They might represent the idea of Eos, with

FIG. 96.—Two winged figures carrying dead body. (After an Etruscan scarabaeus in the British Museum.)

the help of Iris, carrying off the body of Memnon. In favour of such a supposition I would refer to the above-mentioned bronze Etruscan mirror, figured by E. Gerhard (*Etruskische Spiegel*, Berlin, 1840–1897, vol. iv. Pl. 397, 1), on which two draped females are carrying the corpse of a bearded man. Gerhard believed that the scene represented Eos and Iris carrying off the body of the fallen Memnon. Neither of the bearers has wings on the shoulders, but one of them (Eos?) has wings on the ankles, and has a kind of *nimbus* around the

head: a *nimbus* or halo seems fitting enough as an attribute either of Eos (Dawn) or of Iris (the rainbow idea). It is interesting, by the way, to note that in the ornamental border surrounding the device (below the centre of it) a winged bearded figure is represented with a ray-crown on his head. This figure, according to Gerhard, was perhaps intended to represent Thanatos or Hades.

In all probability, in the play *Alcestis*, by Euripides, "Thanatos" was represented as a winged male figure. The dialogue shows that he was robed in black, and carried a sword to cut off a lock from his destined victims. The relief on a sculptured drum (Fig. 97), now in the British Museum, from a column of the later temple of Artemis at Ephesus, apparently represents Alcestis between Hermes (with his kerykeion or caduceus) and Thanatos. If that be the correct explanation of the three figures in question, as W. R. Lethaby seems to be right in claiming,[247] Thanatos is pictured as a winged nude youth with a sword girded on by his side. The first temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt down in B.C. 356 (in the night on which Alexander the Great was born), and this relief would therefore probably date from the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

On a vase (stamnos), of Etruscan make,[248] a winged youthful figure, probably meant to represent Thanatos, is standing behind the Telamonian Ajax, apparently urging him to commit suicide by throwing himself on a sword which projects, point upwards, from the ground in front of him. On an alabaster urn with a scene of the

[247] W. R. Lethaby, "The Sculptures of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1913, vol. xxxiii. p. 87).

[248] S. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases Peints Grecs et Étrusques*, Paris, 1899, vol. i. p. 278.

combat between the brothers Polynices and Eteocles,[249] Ker (Doom) is apparently personified, in much the same way as Thanatos, by a winged (but female) figure seated

FIG. 97.—Alcestis between Hermes and Thanatos. Relief on a drum (now in the British Museum) from the later temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

beside the brothers, who have both fallen mortally wounded. To Ker, and the Keres, I shall refer again, however, further on.

In describing the painting by Polygnotus at Delphi, representing Ulysses in Hades, Pausanias writes: "Higher up

[249] *Gazette Archéologique*, Paris, 1881-1882, année vii. Pl. viii.

than the figures I have enumerated is Eurynomus; the Delphian guides say that he is one of the demons in hell, and that he eats the flesh of the corpses, leaving only the bones. But Homer's *Odyssey*, and the poem called the *Minyad*, and the one called *The Returns*, though they all speak of hell and its terrors, know of no demon Eurynomus. However, I will describe his appearance and attitude in the painting. His colour is between blue and black, like that of the flies that settle on meat: he is showing his teeth, and is seated on a vulture's skin" (Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book x. chap. xxviii. 4; J. G. Frazer's translation, vol. i. p. 542). This description shows that even the celebrated Greek painter Polygnotus (fifth century B.C.) sometimes in his pictures introduced loathsome objects relating to the idea of death, reminding one of other primitive conceptions of horrible monsters and guardians of the nether world, such as the fierce dog-like monster Cerberus (with its three, or fifty, or even a hundred heads), the Etruscan "Charun," already alluded to, with his hideous face and his terrible-looking hammer, and the Etruscan male and female winged demons and Gorgon-like or Fury-like figures, holding hissing or biting serpents. Medusa or Gorgon-head masks, as wall-paintings, as minute terra-cotta antefixes, &c., were common objects of Etruscan sepulchral ornamentation. An archaic type of such masks showed a horrible mouth with tongue protruding between two pairs of tusk-like teeth. On an early Greek painted vase in the Louvre Museum at Paris, with a representation of Thetis and her sister Nereides mourning over the death of Achilles, the dead body of the hero is laid out on a funeral couch and a large Gorgon-mask by the side of the couch is apparently only the front of his shield. The Gorgon's mask was, indeed, pictured at early periods of Greek art as a terror-inspiring emblem on the shields of the warriors, as it afterwards was universally represented on the aegis of Zeus and Athene. In Roman times, in cameo form, it decorated the breastplate of the emperors. In sepulchral decoration it and other terrifying objects of infernal significance were perhaps introduced partly for the purpose of frightening away intruders.

King points out that the traditional Etruscan image of 'Charun" was handed down in Italy through mediaeval times, for Dante speaks of "Charon, demonio con occhi di bragia" ("Charon, a demon with live-coals for eyes"). Etruria was, as King explains, the early school of art for Rome, and she supplied the figures of the Roman deities. Pluto, he points out, must have been personified, like the Etruscan "Charun," in the shows of the Roman amphitheatre, as late as the third century A.D.; for Tertullian, in his *Apologia* (XXV.), remarks that "amongst the other scenic cruelties of the afternoon, the spectators laughed at the sight of Mercury raising the dead with his red-hot wand (applied, doubtless, to the feet of the slaughtered gladiators, to ascertain if life still lingered); whilst the 'Brother of Jupiter,' *armed with his mall*, escorted the dead bodies of the combatants." A horrible monster was the Egyptian Am-mit (the "Eater of the Dead"), in part crocodile, in part lion, and in part hippopotamus, who ate up the heart of the deceased when in the balance its weight was found wrong (to this subject I shall return further on). E. A. Wallis Budge (*A Guide to the Egyptian Collection in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 144) writes: "According to some, those who were condemned in the Judgment were devoured by the monster Am-Mit, the 'Eater of the Dead;' but others held that they were dragged to the divine 'block of doom,' where they were beheaded by the headsman of Osiris, called Shesmu. Sometimes their bodies were hacked limb from limb by him, and sometimes they were seized upon by the 'Watchers,' who 'carry slaughtering knives, and have cruel fingers,' and cut the dead into pieces, which were thrown down into pits of fire, or into the great 'Lake of Fire.' Here, at one corner, sat a monster who swallowed hearts and ate up the dead, himself remaining invisible; his name was 'Devourer for Millions of Years.'" Kali, in the Hindu mythology, the bloody consort of Siva, or Shiva, is depicted with black body, red palms, and long dishevelled hair, wearing a necklace of human heads and a girdle of bloody hands, her tongue protruding from her blood-stained mouth.

Ker—Κήρ—the goddess of death or doom (sometimes

the plural is used, Κῆρες *θανάτοιο*), was a dark and hateful figure frequently mentioned in the Homeric poems. On the archaic so-called "Coffer of Cypselus," according to the description of Pausanias, who examined it at Olympia in the second century A.D., Ker was represented in the scene of the combat between the brothers Polynices and Eteocles. The passage (Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book v. chap. xix. 6), translated by J. G. Frazer, runs as follows: "Behind Polynices stands a female figure with teeth as cruel as a wild beast's, and the nails of her fingers are hooked: an inscription beside her declares that she is Doom (Κήρ)." In his annotation on this passage Frazer refers to an alabaster urn (see illustration in the *Gazette Archéologique*, Paris, 1881–1882, année vii. Pl. 8) representing the combat of Polynices and Eteocles; beside the brothers sits a winged female figure with drawn sword. In the Hesiodic poem, *The Shield of Heracles*, the Keres are described as hideous creatures with white teeth and great claws, who drank the blood of those slain in battle.[250] In some respects the Keres are analogous to the "Valkyrs" of Norse mythology; the latter chose those who were to be slain in battle, but, on the other hand, after death conducted them in triumph to everlasting enjoyment in Valhalla, the warriors' paradise and the abode of Odin.

[250] In Greek art, as I have already stated, there is some confusion between the representations of the εἴδωλον, the shade or ghost of a hero, and the Κήρ, or Doom of a man who was to die a violent death. In the "psychostasia" passages in Homer's *Iliad* it is the Κῆρες (of Achilles and Hector) that are weighed in the balance. According to one passage (*Iliad*, ix. 411) Achilles had two Κῆρες, between which he was permitted to choose. In regard to the representation of more than one, or several, Κῆρες in "prothesis" (laying-out) scenes, or in scenes representing persons making funeral offerings at a tomb, or in scenes representing Hermes bringing the dead to Charon, the ferryman of the lower world—see back.

The reason why snakes are so frequently represented on tombs or in connexion with tombs on Greek painted vases of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. does not seem very clear, unless they were regarded as underground creatures, and fitting symbols of the nether world.[251] The harmless snakes, which at the present time abound in the hot caverns and natural or artificial galleries where thermal springs arise in the Pyrenees, are probably the same as those connected with the worship of Asclepios (Aesculapius) in ancient Greece and Rome. They probably also often frequented sepulchral chambers and caverns in ancient Greece. A Greek painted kylix in the British Museum (A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, London, 1896, Pl. xvi.) represents the story of Polyidos and Glaukos, a favourite subject with the ancient poets and artists. Polyidos and Glaukos are pictured inside a vaulted tomb; the latter wrapped or muffled up in the squatting position in which a corpse was probably usually buried in such tombs. Two snakes are seen on the stony floor of the vault. The vase bears the signature of the artist Sotades, and the figures of Polyidos and Glaukos are both "labelled" with their names, painted in minute letters beside them. The tale, as told by Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, iii. 3), was that Glaukos, one of the sons of the Cretan king, Minos, was suffocated when a boy by falling into a cask full of honey. Minos searched in vain for his son until the body was discovered by the soothsayer Polyidos, of Argos. Minos then required Polyidos to restore Glaukos to life, but as he could not

[251] For a discussion of many Greek painted vases on which snakes are figured, see Miss J. E. Harrison's article "Delphika," in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1899, vol. xix. pp. 203–251.

accomplish that, he was entombed alive by order of Minos with the body of Glaukos. When Polyidos was thus shut up in the vault, he saw a snake approaching the dead body of the boy, and killed the reptile. Soon afterwards another snake came, and placed a herb upon the dead snake, which was thereby restored to life. Polyidos then covered the body of Glaukos with the same herb, and the boy at once came to life again.

Reference has already been made to the implements of navigation on a clay drinking-vessel in the museum of Orleans (ornamented with reliefs of skeleton-like figures and an altar, on which are a rudder and an oar) as possible symbols of the voyage of the dead to Hades or to the Fortunate Isles (Elysian Fields, the "realms of bliss"). Caetani Lovatelli alludes to gems and other objects, which may perhaps have a similar significance, notably to a gem figured by Venuti and Borioni, representing Psyche (the human soul, or "anima") on a boat drawn by two dolphins. C. W. King [252] speaks of the hippocampus (a fantastic figure, like a winged sea-serpent, which later became the Roman Capricornus) as an emblem of the voyage after death to the happy land. He says the original monster is often engraved on Phoenician scarabs, and refers to a vase figured by Caylus,[253] on which the monster in question is painted "joyously careering over the sea," whilst on the other side of the vase stands the mourner (*praefica*), "chaunting the funeral hymn over the corpse laid out upon its bier

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[252] See C. W. King's essay on "Death as depicted in Ancient Art," in *The Gnostics and their Remains*, London, second edition, 1887, pp. 182–883.

[253] Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, Paris, 1761, vol. i. Pl. xxxii.

of bronze." A muffled-up figure seated on a hippocamp is sculptured on a monument figured in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1844 (Paris, vol. i. Pl. 17, Fig. 2).

With these emblems of the sea-voyage, King compares the horse, symbol of departure from life, on sarcophagi and tablets, on which that animal, ready for the supreme journey, is represented looking in through the window upon a party feasting and merry-making On an Etruscan sculpture, already referred to, "Charun," the rough Etruscan messenger of death, "armed as usual with his ponderous mall, actually leads the horse upon which sits the deceased with head muffled up." "The same reason," says King, "probably made the horse's head so popular a subject for signet-gems; it served there for a *memento mori*, like the death's heads so much in vogue amongst the jewels of the cinque-cento time, although the antique symbol carried with it a widely different admonition."

FIG. 98.—Hermes summoning a soul from the lower world. (After Furtwängler.)

Certain representations of Hermes on antique gems are thought by Furtwängler [254] to relate to Pythagorean and Orphic [255] doctrines of a transmigration of souls

[254] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 202, 255 *et seq.*

[255] In regard to the Orphic doctrines of an existence after death, see especially the account of Orphic inscribed tablets of thin gold, found in tombs of Lower Italy, &c., in Miss J. E. Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 572 *et seq.*, and the Critical Appendix by Mr. G. Murray. Numerous representations of the Orpheus legend occur in antique and later art; in Christian symbolism Orpheus became a type of Christ (see pp. 358–360).

(metempsychosis), doctrines probably originally derived from India and the East. Thus, on a carnelian Etruscan scarabaeus[256] (Fig. 98), Hermes with his kerykeion (caduceus) seems to be summoning a soul from the earth (or rather, from the lower world). On another Etruscan scarabaeus (of chalcedony),[257] Hermes seems to be calling up a soul from a large jar (pithos); a bearded head is seen emerging from the jar which is perhaps intended to represent an exit from the lower world (Fig. 99). Furtwängler likewise figures several early

FIG. 99.—Hermes calling up a soul. (After Furtwängler.)

FIG. 100.—Hermes raising a soul. (After Furtwängler.)

Italian intagli,[258] on which Hermes (mostly with his kerykeion) is represented "raising" souls or spirits out of the earth, the soul or spirit being indicated by a human head (Fig. 100), or by a head and upper portion of the body. On two Etruscan scarabs,[259] Hermes appears to be placing a human head on the body of a swan or bird of some kind (Figs. 101, 102). Furtwängler thinks that these gems do not refer to mere magic or so-called "necromancy" (*νεκρομαντεία*), that is to say, the magical invocation or "raising" of ghosts or shades of the dead (for the purpose of obtaining information about

[256] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 55.

[257] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xx. No. 32.

[258] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxi. Nos. 64–72. C. W. King (*Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxxv. No. 1) describes a similar gem-type as: "Mercury, by the magic power of his caduceus, drawing up a soul from the Shades."

[259] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xix. Nos. 49, 50.

the future), as believed in by the credulous of many ages and many countries. He supposes that the idea of metempsychosis is indicated,[260] and that Hermes is represented calling up souls from Hades that they may live again on earth.

FIG. 101.—Hermes placing a human head on the body of a bird. (After Furtwängler.)

FIG. 102.—Hermes placing a human head on the body of a bird. (After Furtwängler.)

A peacock, employed in modern times as a symbol of vanity, occurs not rarely on Roman intagli; and, according to Furtwängler, was intended by the Roman gem-engravers to signify everlasting life. It is represented alone or together with other birds; sometimes at a fountain or basin of water, or with a thyrsus.[261] It may be accompanied by a butterfly,[262] or may be apparently standing on a butterfly;[263] and in one case a peacock, a "hermes" of Priapus, and a butterfly are all represented on the same gem.[264]

I have already pointed out that on some Roman gems the butterfly, especially the burning butterfly, appears rather to be an emblem of sexual love than an emblem of the soul. It seems, indeed, as if in many Roman minds ideas of love (sexual love), the human soul, and immortality, were closely

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[260] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 254, 262.

[261] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Nos. 57 (with thyrsus), 60; Pl. lxiv. Nos. 51, 52.

[262] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. No. 55.

[263] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. No. 61.

[264] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxiv. No. 59.

united.[265] And this is not surprising when one remembers that, even nowadays, youthful, ecstatic love, jealous of time and space, in poetry and real life, often believes itself immortal and fondly refuses to acknowledge any bounds but those of eternity.[266]

In Imperial Roman times the peacock, as the special "bird of Juno," was sometimes placed on the reverse of coins of the "consecratio" kind, commemorating the "deification," "apotheosis," or "immortality" of an Empress, just as the eagle, the special bird of Jupiter, was placed on similar ("consecratio") coins commemorating the deification of an Emperor.[267] By the early Christians the peacock was adopted as a symbol of immortality, because it renews its tail-feathers every year, or for some imaginary reason [268]

Amongst other "consecratio" types on Roman Imperial coins are: a large funeral pile or mausoleum, and a funeral carpentum drawn by mules or elephants.

We may here for convenience mention the numerous Roman Imperial coins with reverse types symbolic of "aeternitas." Eternity was represented in various ways: often by a veiled figure, standing, holding the heads of

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[265] Is this not a kind of chance foreshadowing of the modern doctrine of the immortality of germ-plasm (August Weismann, &c.)?

[266] "How near to good is what is fair,
Which we no sooner see,
Than with its form and outward air
Our senses taken be."
(Ben Jonson.)

[267] The eagle, however, also appears on "consecratio" coins of Empresses. Thus on the reverse of coins commemorating the deification of Faustina senior, this Empress is sometimes represented as being carried up to the skies on an eagle or by a figure of Victory.

[268] For examples of this and other devices of ancient Christian symbolism, see Fernand Cabrol's great *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Paris, 1907 and following years).

the Sun and the Moon in her hands, with an altar at her feet; by a figure of Ceres in a chariot; &c. The phoenix, as a symbol of eternity, appears on pieces of Constantine the Great and his children; and, needless to say, this fabulous bird has been much employed in Christian countries as an emblem of the resurrection.[269]

FIG. 103.—Skeleton in dancing attitude before a man seated piping. (Enlarged from an antique gem, after Gori.)

A. F. Gori [270] figures an antique gem (see Fig. 103), on which is engraved a man in rough dress (countryman,

[269] The phoenix ("the Arabian bird"), as, according to the Oriental myth, there was only one in existence at a time, came to be an emblematic device for a man or woman excelling all others in some noble quality—a paragon. It is thus referred to in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*: "She is alone the Arabian bird." It is represented in this sense on the reverse of an Italian late fifteenth-century medal (described in Part III.) of Giulia Astallia, with the inscription: "Unicum for(titudinis) et pud(icitiae) exemplum."

[270] Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, Florence, 1731, vol. i. Pl. 91, No. 3. Salomon Reinach (*Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1895, Pl. 43, No. 91. 3) figures the same intaglio, and describes it simply as representing Silenus making a skeleton dance.

peasant, or, as sometimes described, Silenus?) seated on a stone, with his right foot resting on a globe; he is piping on a double flute, and before him a skeleton dances grotesquely. Perhaps the skeleton was meant to represent a malevolent ghost or spirit (one of the "larvae," an "ossea larva" of Ovid), and the device of the piping man was intended to show that any one leading a natural life with innocent pleasures had no

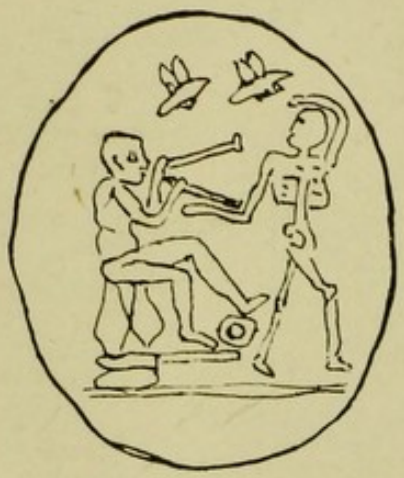

FIG. 104.—Skeleton in dancing attitude before a man seated piping. (Enlarged from an antique gem, after Kastner.)

occasion to fear the apparition or malignant interference of ghosts or evil spirits, or could charm them with his piping. On the other hand, a contrast was possibly intended, the man being represented unaware or unmindful of some threatening danger or disaster, connected with the appearance of the skeleton, the gem being used as an amulet supposed by some talismanic virtue to protect the bearer. Kastner[271] refers to a very similar engraved gem (Fig. 104, after Kastner) which at one time was in the Badeigts de Laborde collection. In favour of the view that the skeleton on these two gems is meant really to represent a danger to life, is an intaglio formerly

[271] G. Kastner, *Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, Pl. ii. Fig. 10.

in the late M. P. W. Boulton's collection (see Fig. 105). On the Boulton gem a man is seated, reading from a scroll; resting against his chair is a lyre; in front of him is a skeleton standing holding a dagger or knife in upraised hand.

FIG. 105.—Roman intaglio (enlarged), representing a philosopher seated, with a skeleton in front of him.

This brings us back to the subject of the representation of "larvae," and to the significance of skeletons and shrivelled mummy-like figures of skin and bone (in Greek σκελετόν, understanding σῶμα, in Latin *sceletus*, understanding *homo*, *i.e.* the *Hautskelett* of mediaeval art) in Roman and Graeco-Roman art. The skeletons and "skin-and-bone figures" not rarely represented typical "larvae," the shades of wicked persons, apparitions of evil omen, but sometimes doubtless they (though called "larvae") merely represented the dead as a class. Ovid uses the expression "ossea larva" for a skeleton-like apparition: "Insequar atque oculos ossea larva tuos" ("And as a bony spectre I will haunt your sight"). Seneca (*Epist. ad Lucilium*, xxiv. 18) writes, "Nemo tam puer est, ut Cerberum timeat et tenebros et larvarum habitum nudis ossibus cohaerentium." Similarly, Lucian, in his *Philopseudes*, speaks of the Greek Mormo and Lamia[272] as bogies or bugbears to frighten children with. Apuleius, in his *Apologia* (p. 315, Elmenh.), speaking of a "sceletus" which he had been accused of possessing and using as a magical object, groups "sceleti," "larvae," and "demons" all together:

[272] The Empusae were monstrous spectres sent by Hecate to frighten travellers. Amongst the Empusae were the Lamiae and Mormolyceia, who assumed the form of handsome women for the purpose of attracting young men, and then sucked their blood and ate their flesh. They represented the Vampire and Willi ideas of Eastern Europe in mediaeval and modern times.

"Hiccine est sceletus? Haeccine est larva? Hoccine est quod appellitabatis daemonium." A sceletus, according to him, is "eviscerata forma diri cadaveris."[273]

As an instance of the terror inspired by the apparition of a larva or σκελετόν in a dream, the following story from Pausanias may be quoted: "Scarcely, it is said, had he [Phaylus] entered on the command when he saw a vision in a dream. Amongst Apollo's votive offerings [at Delphi] was a bronze effigy of a mouldering corpse, the flesh all wasted away, nothing left but the bones. It was said by the Delphians to be an offering of Hippocrates, the physician. Now, in his dream, Phaylus thought that he resembled this effigy; and immediately he was attacked by a wasting sickness that fulfilled the augury of the dream."[274] From Pausanias's description of the demon Eurynomos, in the painting by Polygnotus representing Ulysses in Hades, it seems as if the Delphian guides in the second century A.D. (when Pausanias made his Baedeker-like notes of the "sights" of the antique world)

[273] On the whole subject of "larvae," see the article by J. A. Hild, in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquites Grecques et Romaines* (Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier), Paris, 1904, vol. iii. pp. 950–953. I am much indebted to this article.

[274] Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book x.—Phocis—ch. ii. 4; J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898, vol. i. p. 501. There can hardly be a doubt that the bronze figure referred to was that of a man wasted by disease, almost to a skeleton, a votive or thank-offering (ἀνάθημα, or "donarium") from some emaciated sick man after, or in hopes of, recovery. Baron de Witte, who takes this view (*Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, 1869, vol. 31, p. 168), refers to a votive bronze figure found near Soissons (Aisne, France) representing an emaciated man sitting on a stool and inscribed, ΕΥΔΑΜΙΔΑC ΠΕΡΔΙΚ(κου ἀνέθηκε). It was figured by A. de Longpérier in *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, first series, 1844, vol. i. Pl. 13. That Greek physicians did, however, sometimes place medical or surgical objects in the temple of Apollo at Delphi is shown by the leaden tooth-extractor placed there by Erasistratus, according to the passage (kindly pointed out to me by Professor Karl Sudhoff) in the work of Caelius Aurelianus, *De Morbis Chronicis* (lib. ii. cap. iv. 84): "Nam Erasistratus plumbeum inquit odontagogum, quod nos dentiducum dicere poterimus, apud Delphum in Apollinis templo ostentationis causâ propositum," &c. Phaylus's dream does not appear to have attracted the attention of modern interpreters of dreams (Sigmund Freud, &c.), who have dealt with the subject historically.

tried to stir up the emotions of travellers and sight-seers by all kinds of dreadful tales.[275]

In 1810 three curious representations in relief, discovered in a tomb at Cumae, were described by A. de Jorio[276] and attracted great attention. Two of the reliefs seem to show the happiness of the dead in the Elysian Fields, whilst the third relief is a caricature (see Fig. 106), representing three shrivelled-up human "skin-and-bone" figures (such an object is a σκελετόν, or *Hautskelett*, but is not strictly speaking a skeleton) in the attitude of dancing.[277] Olfers, who wrote on the Cumaean reliefs in 1831, also figured a bas-relief[278] from

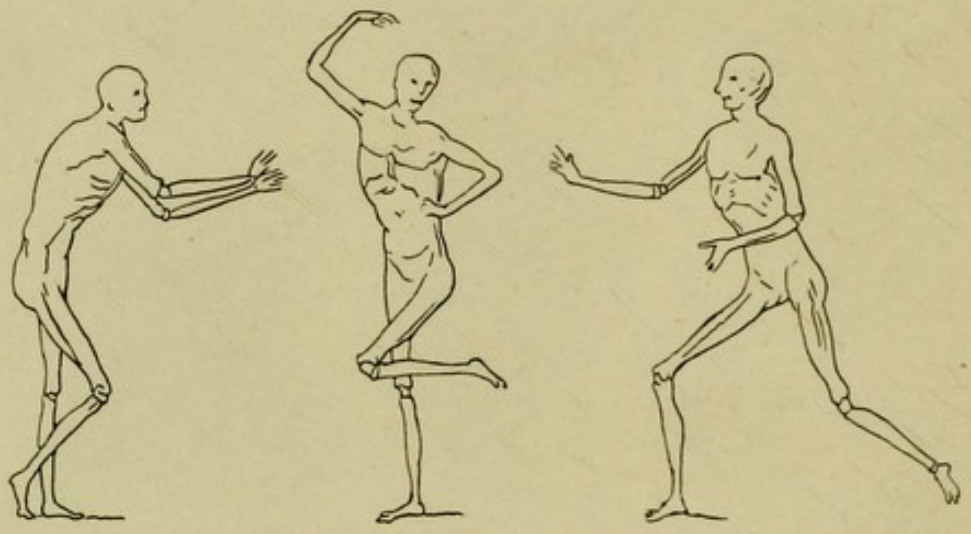

FIG. 106.—Dance of the Dead, the so-called "Cumaean Skeletons." (From a tomb at Cumae, after Olfers and J. A. Hild.)

a cippus in the museum at Naples. A shrivelled skeleton-like body is reclining on rocky ground. The soul, as a butterfly, is represented escaping from the body, which, under the form of a chrysalis-case or cocoon, is about to be swallowed by a lizard, as an emblem of the earth. A stucco bas-relief belonging to the tomb of Calventius Quietus at Pompeii represents[279] a rather small (evidently a child's) skeleton, stretched with folded feet (as in sleep) on rocky ground, to which

[275] See Pausanias, *op. cit.*, book x. chap. xxviii. 4.

[276] "Scheletri Cumani dilucidati," Naples, 1810.

[277] J. Fr. M. von Olfers, "Ueber ein Grab bei Kumae und die in demselben enthaltenen merkwürdigen Bildwerke, mit Rücksicht auf das Vorkommen von Skeleten unter den Antiken," Berlin, 1831, Pl. 3.

[278] Olfers, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5, Fig. 2.

[279] F. Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompéi*, Paris, 1824, part i. Pl. xxix. Fig. iv.

a draped woman (? the surviving mother) is presenting a funereal ribbon or fillet. The significance of such figures is fairly obvious, and on the relief from a sepulchral "cippus" (probably of the third century A.D.) in the British Museum, which has already been referred to, the skeleton, stretched out at full length, has quite the ordinary modern meaning, for the inscription above it asks the passer-by whether from the bare skeleton he can tell if the living person had been beautiful like Hylas or ugly like Thersites. There can likewise be no difficulty in explaining the skeleton on the famous gem-type

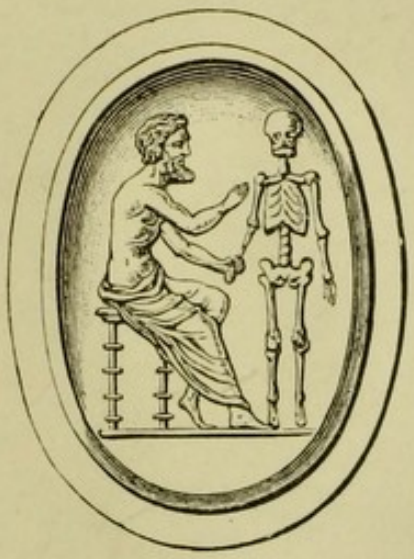

FIG. 107.—Prometheus modelling his man. (From an antique sard intaglio, after King.)

(see Fig. 107) of a male figure engaged in modelling a skeleton, doubtless Prometheus in the first stage of making his man, *i.e.* before he has covered the skeleton with the soft parts.[280] From the devices on the Boscoreale wine-cups and from other vessels and antique objects (gems, &c.) to which I have referred, it is quite clear that skeletons and skeleton-like figures (even if all called "larvae") in late Roman and Graeco-Roman art did not necessarily mean the ghosts of bad persons, the malignant spectres or "larvae," in the old sense of the latter word. They might simply represent the dead, good or bad, famous or unknown; but they never stood for the idea of the personification of death itself till mediaeval times. (Cf. G. E.

[280] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, London, 1885, Pl. lxxviii. Fig. 1—an antique sard intaglio.

Lessing's famous essay, *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet*, Berlin, 1769.) Even in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Death was not represented by a skeleton or a *Hautskelett*. Thus, on a Saxon manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century in the British Museum, Death is represented by a strange human-like winged figure, with scorpions or snakes behind the wings, and accompanied by the inscription MORS, whilst above is a figure of Christ, with the word VITA. On a German manuscript of the eleventh century, Death is represented by a human figure lying chained at the feet of Christ. (See L. Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art*, London, new edition, 1885, Pl. 68, Fig. 1 and Fig. 2.)

Several Roman lamps or fragments of lamps much connected with our present subject have been discovered, and they have been described especially by Edmond Le Blant and other French authors.[281] The upper surface of these lamps (that is, the part of a Roman pottery lamp which usually bears the device) is ornamented with skeletons in relief. The device on one lamp (Le Blant, Fig. 2) is particularly interesting. A philosopher, seated with a scroll under his left hand, appears to be meditating or lecturing on the mystery of life (or birth) and death, for before him there is a skeleton (towards which he is pointing with the right hand), and below him a baby is lying in swaddling-clothes. An undoubtedly genuine lamp, with exactly the same device, probably from the same mould, but in more perfect preservation, is in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in London (the potter's sign is Q. P.), and I have been kindly allowed to illustrate it (see Fig. 108, and also frontispiece). In the same Museum is likewise a cast from another lamp (in Rome) showing a skeleton standing facing, apparently holding a skull in each hand (see Fig. 109). (This is evidently a cast of the lamp

[281] On these lamps see especially Edmond Le Blant, "De quelques Objets antiques représentant des Squelettes," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, published by the "Ecole Française de Rome," 1887, année vii. pp. 252–257 and Pl. vii. (excellent illustrations); see also Baron J. J. A. M. de Witte, *Bull. de la Soc. des Antiq. de France*, 1870, p. 107; and J. A. Hild's article on "Larvae," in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier), Paris, 1904, vol. iii. pp. 950–953.

described by Le Blant, Fig. 6.) Another lamp (Le Blant, Fig. 1) represents two skeletons dancing or engaged in an interesting debate or heated argument.[282] Another (Le Blant, Fig. 3) shows two skeletons and a clothed man in conversation

FIG. 108.—The upper surface of a Roman terra-cotta lamp, representing a philosopher lecturing on the mystery of life and death.

with one of them. On another (a fragment) (Le Blant, Fig. 5) two skeletons are wrestling, and behind one of them is a thyrsus. It has been supposed that the last scene suggests a

[282] On this type, see F. Wieseler's account of H. Kestner's collection of antique lamps, *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellsch. der Wissensch, Göttingen*, 1870, p. 186, No. 182.

satirical representation of the athletic exercises and other (*post-mortem!*) delights awaiting the dead in the Elysian Fields, for which compare Virgil's *Aeneid*, book vi. line 642—

"Pars in gramineis exercunt membra palaestris,
Contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena."

("Some in a grassy wrestling-ring disport
Their limbs, or in the lists at various games
Contend and struggle on the yellow sand."
Alfred Schuster.)

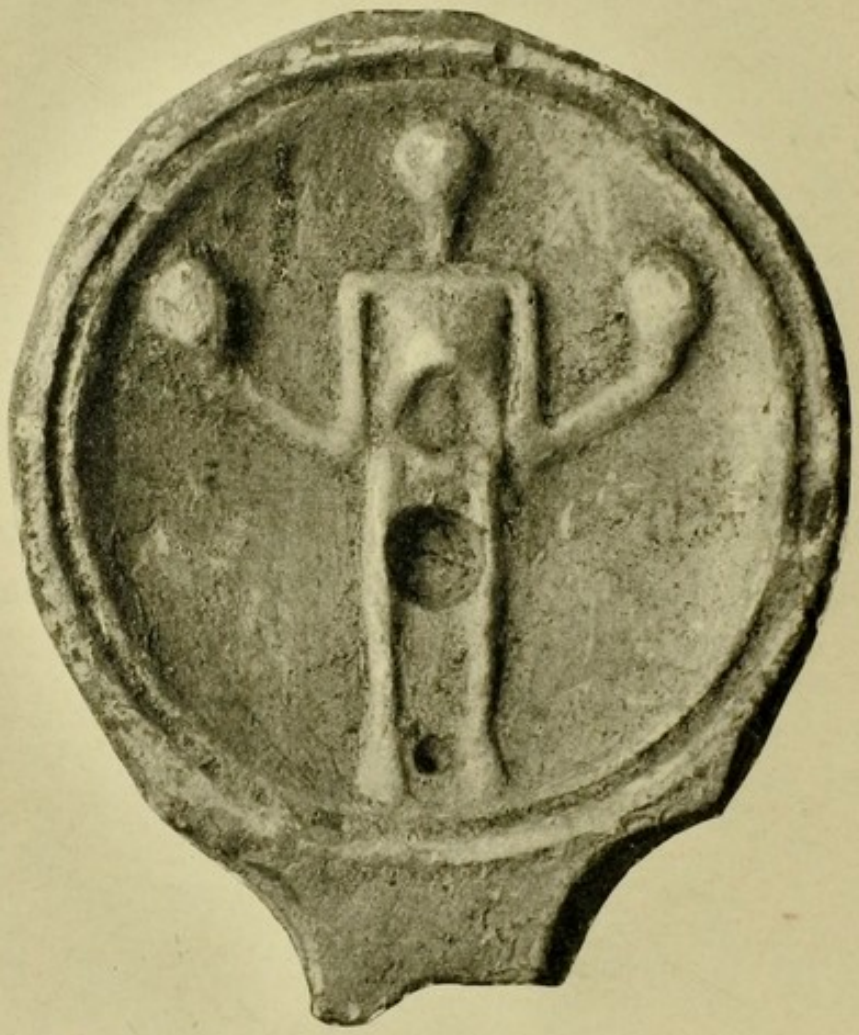

FIG. 109.—The upper surface of a Roman terra-cotta lamp, representing a skeleton, apparently holding a skull in each hand.

The reason why such skeleton-designs were selected for these lamps does not appear quite obvious.[283] Sometimes,

[283] Some of the lamps in question may have been made for actual sepulchral use, namely, for illuminating tombs on certain occasions.

doubtless, mere grotesqueness was the object, as in many Chinese and Japanese skeleton-designs, but in other instances probably an "Epicurean" motive was present. I believe myself that some of these skeleton-designs were almost certainly "Epicurean" in significance, and, like the representations on the Boscoreale wine-cups (see Part I. A) and on several other cups and engraved gems (see Part IV., back), they were practically equivalent to caricatures of the sensual and other delights to be expected after death by the blessed in Elysium. The designs of some such representations may, indeed, have been suggested by the custom of the ancients of offering gifts at the tombs of the departed (by the Romans to their "Manes")—food, wine, garlands, ribbons (funeral fillets), &c.

In regard to the lamp with the representation of the philosopher lecturing on life and death, I believe that many Romans of the period would have interpreted the meaning of the scene somewhat as follows: "There sits a learned man trying to expound the riddle of life and death, but however learned he may be, and however wise his discourse, what does all his teaching amount to? There is only one practical conclusion to be derived from it all, namely, the one which the skeleton tells us: *Edite! bibite! post mortem nulla voluptas!*" By early Christianity, which was then commencing, this precept was (incorrectly) held up as the essence of Pagan philosophy; by mediaeval Christianity it was pointed to as a devil's maxim. The device may be compared with that of a plaster-impression in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (Fig. 110) of an (apparently) antique intaglio (I do not know where the engraved gem itself is) representing a draped man standing, holding a rolled-up scroll in his left hand; on his right side is a skeleton which he is apparently studying or demonstrating; at his feet is a scrinium containing rolled-up manuscripts. The significance is uncertain.

A fragment of marble relief representing a skeleton playing the double flute, was figured in 1887 by Edmond Le Blant.[284] An object of uncertain significance (possibly not even

[284] *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, published by the "École Française de Rome," 1887, année vii. p. 252 and Pl. viii. Le Blant (*op. cit.*, p. 252) seems to think that it may not be antique.

antique?), in the British Museum, is a large human skull in marble, found at the ruins of the Villa of Tiberius on the Island of Capri.

A mosaic skeleton-like figure illustrated by the Contessa E. Caetani Lovatelli, in her monograph on *Thanatos* (Rome, 1888), has at any rate evidently a *memento mori* significance. This mosaic (pavement) was discovered in a tomb on the Appian Way, and was described by Prof. Ettore De Ruggiero in 1878.[285] The shrivelled mummified body or skeleton-like figure is lying on its side, with its legs in the usual crossed position (associated by the ancients with sleep and death) and pointing to the inscription below it: ΓΝΩΘΙ · CAYTON (*γνῶθι σεαυτόν*, "Nosce teipsum"). My illustration is from a photo-

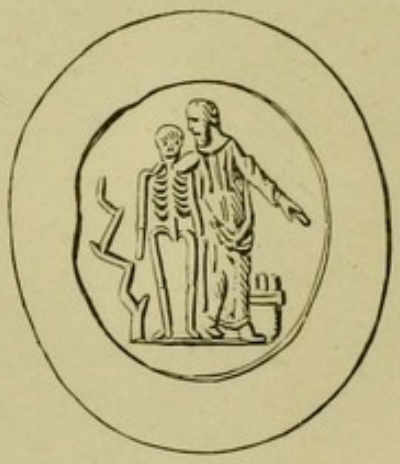

FIG. 110.—Intaglio representing a draped man and a skeleton; by the man is a scrinium containing rolled-up manuscripts.

graph of the original mosaic now in the Museo Nazionale at Rome (Fig. 111), kindly sent me by Dr. Pietro Capparoni.

In the National Museum at Naples there are apparently some antique passes, checks, or tesserae of Roman times, carved in bone or ivory in the shape of a death's head. My attention was kindly drawn to them by Dr. E. Holländer, of Berlin. They seem to have been used like counters or like draughtsmen in some game similar to checkers (draughts), or else as admission tickets to the theatre or some other public or private establishment.

[285] E. De Ruggiero, *Catal. del Mus. Kircheriano*, Rome, 1878, part i. pp. 272, 273.

Corpses or skeletons sometimes figure on Mithraic or Gnostic talismans, for instance, a corpse or skeleton bestridden by the Solar lion. Gori [286] published a Gnostic gem on which a skeleton is represented holding a whip and driving his lion-drawn biga over another skeleton lying prostrate on the ground; another skeleton is standing by. Such representations may have been connected with initiation ceremonies. Certainly corpses and sham murders had something to do with Mithraic initiation, for, as C. W. King [287] points out, "Limpridius puts down, amongst the other mad freaks of the

FIG. 111.—Mosaic pavement from a tomb on the Via Appia.

Emperor Commodus, that during the Mithraic ceremonies, 'when a certain thing had to be done for the purpose of inspiring terror, he polluted the rites by a *real murder*:' an expression clearly showing that a scenic representation of such an act did really form a part of the proceedings." The meaning of such skeletons on talismans or amulets may, however, be quite different.

Furtwängler [288] figures some early Italian and Roman

[286] Gori, quoted by G. Kastner, *Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, p. 43; see Kastner's Pl. ii. Fig. 9.

[287] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 129.

[288] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 252; and vol. i. Pl. xxii. Nos. 12, 15; and Pl. xxx. Nos. 46–48. Needless to say, the word "Italian" is not usually employed in England in the sense in which Furtwängler uses it in his description of antique gems.

intagli representing one or two peasants (rustics) standing by a skull, on which there is sometimes a butterfly. It is possible that this type refers to the calm meditation supposed to be associated with a country life.

In this connexion one should, however, note the existence of many gems representing one or more persons looking at a human head. Superficially some of them resemble those already mentioned (representing a man standing by a human skull), but on several of them the head is evidently speaking or prophesying (sometimes the mouth is open), and a man is writing down the (prophetic?) words uttered. Furtwängler[289] figures several such gems, one of them an Etruscan scarabaeus of the finest style, the others early Italian intagli of the kind immediately succeeding the Etruscan scarabaeus. He thinks that the type may relate to Orpheus legends. C. W. King described a gem of the kind as representing an Etruscan sorcerer raising a ghost in order to give responses to those consulting him. On the gems on which two or more persons are looking at (and listening to) the head, one of them has a stick or wand in his hand, and either points out the head to the others and explains what it is saying, or else is a magician who has "raised" the head from the infernal regions so that it may reveal the future to his clients (ordinary necromancy, *νεκρομαντεία*).

In regard to superstitions connected with death and the idea of a future existence, we may here mention that there are several antique gems which have been supposed to represent human sacrifices, but it is generally difficult

[289] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 245–252; and vol. i. Pl. xxii. Nos. 1–9, 13, 14 (all in early Italian style immediately succeeding the Etruscan scarabaeus); and Pl. lxi. No. 51 (an Etruscan scarabaeus of the finest style).

to be sure that such gems are not merely representations of mythological incidents.[290]

One may here also refer to the numerous ancient Egyptian amulets, not rarely cut in gem-stones, that have been found with mummies. They were placed either on the mummified body itself or between the mummy swathings, and were intended to help the deceased in his future existence. Amongst the amulets (dating from early Egyptian civilization to Ptolemaic times) of this class exhibited in the British Museum are: scarabs, or beetles, representing new life and resurrection; heart-amulets to protect the heart (to the protection of which chapters xxvii.–xxx.B of the Book of the Dead are devoted); the serpent's head, protecting its wearer against the attacks of worms and snakes in the tomb; the human-headed hawk, assuring to the deceased the power of uniting his body, soul and spirit, at will; the ladder, representing the ladder by which Osiris ascended from earth to heaven; the two-finger amulet representing the fingers (index and middle fingers) which Horus used when he helped his father Osiris up the ladder which reached from earth to heaven; the steps, symbolic of the throne of Osiris, and obtaining for the wearer exaltation to and in heaven; the buckle or "girdle of Isis;" the pillow or head-rest (usually made of haematite); the papyrus sceptre; &c. Amongst other objects to be seen in collections of Egyptian antiquities, which relate to death, are the interesting "sepulchral boats" and the sepulchral stelae. The ancient Egyptians certainly believed in another world, with future life and rewards for the righteous. In existing papyri there are representations of the judgment of Osiris (the

[290] See Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 229, 260.

"King of Eternity," the god of the resurrection, and the great judge of the dead), and also of the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the presence of Osiris and others. The heart was the symbol of the soul, and if it failed to counterbalance the feather, which was the emblem of righteousness, it was cast to the monster called Am-Mit, or the "Eater of the Dead." The souls of all those who had died during the day were judged at midnight; eternal happiness was decreed for the blessed, and annihilation, not everlasting punishment, for the wicked. In late times a kind of purgatory seems to have been believed in for those souls who for some reason or other (such as, insufficiency of the amulets buried with their bodies) failed to reach the kingdom of Osiris. There was to be recognition of relatives and friends in the other world, and in the papyrus of Anhai (about 1040 B.C.) this lady is seen meeting her father and mother in the Sekhethetep (or "Elysian Fields") and sailing with her husband in a boat on one of the canals; in the papyrus of the scribe Ani (about 1500 B.C.) the deceased is seen seated with his wife Thuthu, playing draughts.[291]

In this connexion also the subject of "Charon's money" may be alluded to. In ancient Greece a small coin, such as an obolus or "danacé," was placed between the teeth of a corpse; it was intended to serve as a charm or as a kind of Charon's fee for ferrying the shade of the departed across the rivers of the lower world. Certain very thin circular embossed plates of

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[291] See E. A. Wallis Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, London, 1909, pp. 137–151; also *The Book of the Dead*, 1901; *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 1911, &c., by the same author.

gold ("gold bracteates" of modern numismatists) were likewise buried with corpses, and, though they were probably often used as dress-ornaments, they probably also sometimes served the purpose of "Charon's money" or were intended in some way to help the deceased in his future life in the world below. I had two such gold "bracteates" in my collection, one with a simple rosette pattern, the other with a figure of Triptolemos seated in his winged car ("dragon-chariot") drawn by serpents. The latter was apparently made by pressing a thin sheet of gold over the obverse of a bronze coin of Eleusis in Attica of the type which I have already described in Part III. (see Fig. 36).

The use of Charon's obolus or "danacé" is alluded to by several ancient authors (*e.g.* Pollux, ix. 82), and Lucian (*De Luctu*, 10) ridiculed the custom, asking how people knew whether Attic, Macedonian, or Aeginetan obols passed as current coin in the infernal world. In spite, however, of Lucian's ridicule, the custom of placing coins in the mouth of the dead survived from ancient Greece, through Roman and Byzantine ages, to modern times in Rumelia and Anatolia. The worthless nature of the coins or coin-like objects employed in this way is apparently indicated by certain passages of Pherecrates and Hesychius, and reminds one of the tinsel-like character of jewellery and ornaments manufactured exclusively for sepulchral purposes. It has occurred to me that some of the numerous plated and other spurious specimens, now regarded as contemporary forgeries of antique coins, may have at the time been regularly utilized, even if not expressly manufactured for, funereal and sepulchral purposes, or for votive offerings at shrines, in sacred wells, &c.

For a notice on the subject of the "danacé," and "gold bracteates," see especially E. Babelon's *Traité des Monnaies Grecques*, vol. i. part i. (1901), pp. 514–519 and pp. 629–633. See also A. Sortin-Dorigny, "Obole funéraire en or de Cyzique," *Revue Numismatique*, Paris, 3rd series, 1888, vol. vi. p. 1. For these references I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. Wroth. If Mr. J. C. Lawson (*Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 111 *et seq.*) is right in supposing that the coin or coin-like object placed between the teeth or in the mouth of a corpse was ever intended to serve as an amulet to prevent an evil spirit from entering, or the soul of the deceased from re-entering, the dead body, then of course the ancient custom of providing the dead with "Charon's money" may indeed be regarded as to some extent connected with the Eastern European belief in "vampires."

The very ancient (Egyptian, Greek, &c.) idea of the spirit of a dead person revisiting its mummified (or decayed) body, its tomb, or the localities which it frequented during earthly life, is probably connected with mediaeval and later superstitions regarding the existence of vampires, werwolves (werewolves) and "willis" ("wilis"). The spirits or "astral bodies" (or *lemures*? or *larvae*?) of those who died "before their time," especially in some violent or tragic manner, were supposed to haunt the scenes of their earthly life, and for some time (in the case of violent deaths, until the end of what would have been "the natural term of life") to retain their earthly desires and passions (revenge, love, &c., and their preferences and dislikes in regard to particular living individuals), which they therefore still endeavoured to satisfy. A werwolf (French, *loup-garou*) would, according to such a view, have been the spirit of an individual with evil passions, which he perhaps had not had sufficient opportunity of satisfying during his earthly life (but this explanation of the werwolf is not that which was usually accepted). The "willis" were supposed to be the spirits of brides who had died just before their expected marriage; after death they haunted forests and—apparently in order to satisfy their as yet unsatisfied earthly love—they would lure passing youths

to join them in a fatal dance. The ghastly warrior in G. A. Bürger's ballad, *Lenore*, was in a kind of way the male analogue of such a female spirit.

II. Finger-Rings,[292] Jewels, Ivories, &c.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when *memento mori* inscriptions and devices met the eye almost everywhere in towns, sometimes even as exterior or interior decorations of dwelling-houses,[293] it is not surprising that jewels bearing analogous devices or inscriptions were not rarely worn for personal adornment. A death's head occasionally formed the bezel of a so-called "decade ring," that is to say, a finger-ring with ten projections to serve the devotional purpose of a rosary. In some of these decade rings, like one in the British Museum (seventeenth century?), the death's head is enamelled white and attached to the ring by a swivel mounting. Rings decorated with death's heads, skeletons, and such-like, used to be occasionally worn by persons who were,

[292] For information concerning memorial rings that I have not seen myself, I am greatly indebted to Sir John Evans's pamphlet on *Posy Rings* (London, 1892), to the chapter on "Memorial and Mortuary Rings" in W. Jones's *Finger-Ring Lore* (London, edition of 1898), to the section entitled "Facts about Finger-Rings," in F. W. Fairholt's *Rambles of an Archaeologist* (London, 1871), and to the chapter on *memento mori* jewels in H. Clifford Smith's *Jewellery* (Methuen & Co., London, 1908). There are many memorial and mourning rings in our great London Museums, and Sir John Evans kindly showed me those in his collection. A good many *memento mori* and mourning rings are described in the *Catalogue of the Finger Rings in the British Museum—Early Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Mediaeval, and Later*, by O. M. Dalton, British Museum Publications, London, 1912 (see especially pp. 125–128).

[293] Amongst inscriptions still to be seen on old Edinburgh houses, occurs the following: "Hodie mihi, cras tibi. Cur igitur curas?" This inscription is accompanied by the date 1570. On certain other old houses in the same city is the motto, "Spes alterae vitae."

or affected to be, of a serious turn of mind, in the same way as in Holbein's picture, already referred to, known as "The Ambassadors," Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, is represented wearing a *memento mori* jewel (a death's head of silver or white enamel set in gold) as a cap-piece. A lady, named Agnes Hals, in a will dated 1554, bequeathed to her niece her gold ring "with the wepinge eie," and to her son her ring "with the dead manes head" (Clifford Smith). Dr. Martin Luther is said to have worn a gold finger-ring with a small death's head in enamel, and the words, "Mori saepe

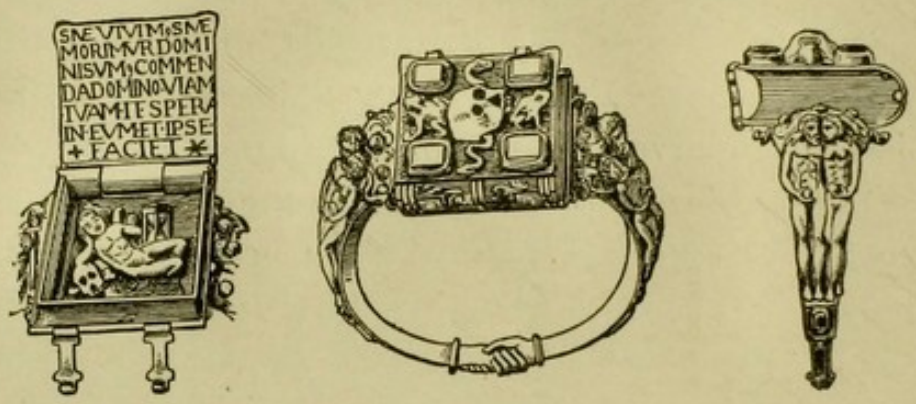

FIG. 112.—*Memento mori* finger-ring of the sixteenth century, in the British Museum.

cogita" ("Think often of death"); round the setting was engraved: "O mors, ero mors tua" ("O death, I will be thy death").[294] A very remarkable German

[294] The inscription in question forms part of an antiphon used in the Roman Catholic Church for Holy Saturday at Lauds: "O mors, ero mors tua: morsus tuus ero, inferne" ("O death, I will be thy death: O hell, I will be thy ruin"). Compare St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians xv. 54, 55: "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"—and verse 26: "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." Compare also St. John xi. 25, 26 (a passage which has been adopted for the Church of England Burial Service): "I am the resurrection and the life. he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die." From this

memento mori finger-ring of the sixteenth century (Fig. 109), in the Waddesdon Bequest at the British Museum, is thus described (Sir C. H. Read, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest*, London, 1902, p. 94, No. 199)—

"Large finger-ring of gold, enamelled and set with jewels. The bezel is in the form of a clasped book, having on the upper side a skull in the centre between four stones (sapphire, ruby, emerald, and diamond) and two toads and two snakes in enamel; the under side of the book is engraved and enamelled red and blue. Inside the book, on a loose plate of gold, is a recumbent figure with skull and hour-glass, all enamelled; and on the under side of the cover (which opens on a hinge) is inscribed in black enamel: "SIVE VIVIM(VS) SIVE MORIMVR DOMINI SVM(VS) COMMENDA DOMINO · VIAM TVAM · ET · SPERA IN · EVM · ET . IPSE FACIET." (St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans xiv. 8; and Psalms xxxvii. 5.) On the shoulder of the ring, supporting the bezel, are two groups in enamel, representing respectively the Fall and the Expulsion from Eden. The back of the hoop of the ring is in the form of hands clasping a heart, enamelled."

A ring said to have belonged to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, now in the possession of the Earl of Ilchester, has as its bezel a large ruby cut in the shape of a death's head and with diamond eyes inserted; the bezel is supported by cross bones in enamel (Clifford Smith). In the collection of the Rev. W. B. Hawkins was a gold official ring of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (Malta), with skeleton, scythe, and hour-glass

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is derived the motto: "Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi." With the fierce antiphon mentioned above may be compared the passage in Dante's *Inferno* (canto vii.), where Virgil, accompanying Dante, thus addresses Plutus: "Be silent, accursed wolf! thy fury inward on thyself prey, and consume thee!"

in enamel, on the bezel, and with death's head and crossed bones on the shoulders. Rings with a death's head are said to have been in favour amongst the English Puritans.[295] A gold ring engraved with a death's head, the words "Memento mori," and the initials J.B., was found in 1765 amongst the ruins of the North Gate House on Bedford Bridge, and has been supposed to have belonged to John Bunyan (1628–1688), who was imprisoned there. According to Fairholt,[296] skull and skeleton decorations for rings and similar *memento mori* devices on jewellery came into regular fashion at the Court of France when Diane de Poitiers, who was then in widow's mourning, became mistress of King Henry II.

Shakespeare, in his *Love's Labour's Lost* (act v. scene 2), makes Biron compare the countenance of Holofernes to "a death's face in a ring;" and death's-head rings (with inscriptions such as "Memento mori," or "Respice finem") are likewise alluded to by Beaumont and Fletcher

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[295] W. Jones (*loc. cit.*, p. 551) says: "By a strange inconsistency the procuresses of Queen Elizabeth's time usually wore a ring with a death's head upon it, and probably with the common motto, 'Memento mori.'" He quotes John Marston, who, in *The Dutch Courtezan* (1605), says: "As for their (loose women's) death, how can it be bad, since their wickedness is always before their eyes, and a death's head most commonly on their middle finger?" E. C. Brewer (*Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 1904 edition, p. 338), in support of a similar statement, quotes a passage in Massinger's play, *The Old Law* (act iv. scene 1): "Sell some of my cloaths to buy thee a death's head, and put upon thy middle finger. Your least considering bawds do so much." However, as Sir C. H. Read tells me, it seems *primâ facie* improbable that such a custom should really have existed. Is the true explanation to be found in the probable fact that some procuresses, &c., of the time wore death's-head rings in order to give themselves the appearance of leading a religious and meditative life, just as some criminals of modern times have been notorious church-goers, and just as persons connected with the modern "white slave traffic" have sometimes assumed the garb of medical or surgical nurses?

[296] F. W. Fairholt, *Rambles of an Archaeologist*, 1871, p. 148.

in *The Chances:* "I'll keep it as they keep death's heads in rings, to cry *Memento* to me." Shakespeare may have been thinking of a similar kind of *memento mori* ring, when in the First Part of *Henry IV* (act iii. scene 3) he makes Falstaff say to Bardolph, "I make as good use of it (Bardolph's face) as many a man doth of a death's head or a *memento mori*;" and again in the Second Part of *Henry IV* (act ii. scene 4) when Falstaff says to Doll Tear-sheet, "Peace, good Doll! do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end."

Memento mori devices and inscriptions were frequently adopted for memorial rings and mourning rings, bequeathed or given away at funerals. Many such memorial rings were designed to serve the double purpose of a memorial of the dead and a *memento mori* for the living. Many of them have a death's head enamelled or engraved on the bezel; in some rings of more elaborate and delicate workmanship, the bezel itself is in the form of a minute skull, enamelled white, and occasionally having diamond (or ruby ?) eyes inserted; in others again the skull is engraved in cameo on a gem-stone mounted in the bezel; in the less expensive rings the death's head was occasionally of mother-of-pearl, &c. Some have the shank or whole ring enamelled or chiselled with figures of skeletons, skulls, and crossed bones, &c. *Memento mori* rings of this kind, especially the earlier ones (like some of those already described), are naturally not always to be regarded as memorial or mourning rings. A late seventeenth-century gold ring in the British Museum has a bezel (formerly enamelled in white), representing on one side a woman's head, and on the other side a grinning skull (reminding one

of the *memento mori* ivories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries described further on); at the top of the bezel is a small diamond. In the British Museum likewise is a Caucasian (?) silver ring of the seventeenth century, with niello ornamentation; in the oval bezel is an Oriental garnet engraved in intaglio with a skeleton standing, holding a scythe or mattock. In the same collection there is an English gold enamelled ring of the seventeenth century, the bezel of which consists of a small case, made to open on a hinge, and containing a minute death's head in white enamel. Fairholt illustrates a gold enamelled ring now in the British Museum, formed by two figures of skeletons supporting a miniature sarcophagus, the lid of which was made to slide off so as to show a tiny skeleton in the interior.[297] In another ring the bezel carried a coffin-shaped crystal engraved with the figure of a skeleton. "Skull-decorations" were also sometimes used for the chiselled or enamelled backs of small seals or "signets," and for other small objects.[298] In some memorial rings an actual piece of bone (presumably human bone) has been inserted in the gold, behind the bezel or elsewhere.

English memorial and mourning finger-rings of the *memento mori* class bear such inscriptions as: "Memento mori;" "Remember death;" "Live to die;" "Dye to live;" "Breath paine, Death gaine" (in the collection of the late Sir John Evans); "Mors bonis grata" (on an English sixteenth-century gold ring in the British Museum); "As I am, you must bee" ("Quod es fui, quod sum eris");

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[297] F. W. Fairholt, *Miscellanea Graphica*, London, 1856, pl. x. Fig. 2.

[298] See Paul Lacroix's *Arts in the Middle Ages*, English edition by Sir W. Armstrong, p. 135, Fig. 139; also Mr. H. Clifford Smith's *Jewellery*, Methuen & Co., London, 1908, Pl. 40.

"Hodie mihi, cras tibi"[299] (on a seventeenth-century specimen in the British Museum); "Death sy myn eritag," that is to say, "Death is my heritage" (on a sixteenth-century gold ring in the British Museum); "Nosse te ypsum;"[300] "Prepare for death;" "Prudenter aspice

[299] The words are from Ecclesiasticus (Vulgate version) xxxviii. 22. An inscription (with the date 1570), still to be seen on one of the old Edinburgh houses, is, "Hodie mihi, cras tibi. Cur igitur curas?"

[300] Γνῶθι σεαυτόν ("Nosce teipsum," "Know thyself"), the "Heaven-sent" words (*vide* Juvenal, *Sat.* 11, 27) inscribed over the portico of the great temple of Apollo, at Delphi, though they have not actually a *memento mori* significance, are frequently associated with *memento mori* sentences, the idea being that those who learn to know themselves are ready for death whenever death comes. The Greek saying has been enlarged in the Arabian: "Who knows himself knows his God" (see *Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, &c.*, by Freiherr Hammer-Purgstall, 1848, p. 49, note). "Nosce teipsum" perhaps suggested the "See yourself as you are" on Solario's painting (dated 1505) of Giov. Cristoforo Longono, of Milan, now in the London National Gallery:—

"Ignorans qualis fueris, qualisque futurus,
Sis qualis, studeas posse videre diu."

A medal, dated 1534, with an unknown portrait and the words, "Nosce te ipsum," is given amongst the German medals of the *Trésor*, and is likewise figured in the Lanna sale catalogue, 1911, Part iii., No. 343.

ΓNΩΘI · CAYTON is inscribed on a mosaic representation of a skeleton (or rather a *Hautskelett*) from an antique tomb on the Appian Way, which I have already (Fig. 111) referred to. This motto lends itself to purposes of satire and jokes. I have heard that a famous London physician of the nineteenth century said that the best way to "know oneself" was to examine one's urine (for the presence of albumin or sugar). "Know yourself," in the sense of "Know the structure of your own body," has been used as a motto for modern "popular," and often disgusting, so-called anatomical museums, attached to cheap "panopticons" and "dime museums."

On certain seventeenth and eighteenth century satirical medalets by Christian Wermuth (1661–1723), the inscription on one side, *Nosce te ipsum*, accompanies the curious device of a stork with a human face in front of its body tweaking the nose of this human face with its bill. Various devices occur on the other side of these medalets. One type (dated 1687) represents a flowering tree with an inscription referring to the "pietist movement" of the seventeenth century in Germany: "Voll Blüthen ist der Pietist" (cf. "By their fruits ye shall know them," St. Matthew vii. 16 and 20). Another type (not dated) represents a queer-looking man engaged in catching grasshoppers, with the inscription: *O Gryllicapiens!* ("O grasshopper-catcher!"). On another (likewise not dated) is the following inscription in mixed languages, in nine lines: "Vom Hahnrey rednet *scoptice;* Dann dieses ist *verissime*, Dass mancher Stümpf *per cornua* [that is to say, by wearing the cuckold's horns] Erlangt hat höhe *Officia.*" This *Harnrei* (cuckoldry)

finem" (cf. p. 101); "Behold the ende;" "Oritur non moritur;" "Prepare to follow R. J.;" "I am gone before;" "Prepared be to follow me" (on two memorial rings of King Charles I of England, in the British Museum); "Eram non sum;" "Heaven is my happyness;" "I restless live, yet hope to see That day of Christ, and then see thee;" "Not lost, but gone before"[301] (eighteenth century); "Fallen to rise" (eighteenth century); "Omnia vanitas" (eighteenth century).

Mr. W. T. Ready tells me of a finely made old German *memento mori* ring, which he has seen, bearing a Latin inscription signifying, "Death opens the gate of life." A sixteenth-century gold ring exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a hexagonal bezel with a death's head enamelled on it and the inscription, "Nosse te ypsum" ("Know thyself"); on the edge of the bezel is a second inscription, DYE TO LYVE. Another sixteenth-century gold ring to be seen in the same Museum has a death's head in enamel on its hexagonal bezel surrounded by the inscription, "Behold

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reverse occurs likewise with the appropriate obverse type of a great horned stag. Cf. *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, Leipzig, 1885, vol. 5, Pl. 75; also contemporary trade-catalogues of medals by Wermuth (? and his assistants).

The so-called "Eye-glass Thaler" or "Brillen-Thaler" (1586–1589) of Julius, Duke of Brunswick (Middle Wolfenbüttel line) are described elsewhere (see Part III.). They bear the letters: W·H·D·A·L·V·B·D·S·S·N·H·V·K·W·, signifying: *Was hilft dem Armen* (or *dem Alten*) *Licht und Brill, der sich selbst nicht hören* (or *helfen*) *und kennen will?* Why are not the words, "Know thyself," more often followed by the maxim, "Rule thyself," or, "Be master of thyself"?

[301] This favourite English saying of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is similar to the ending of one of Seneca's letters to Lucilius: "Et fortasse, si modo vera sapientium fama est recipitque nos locus aliquis, quem putamus perisse, praemissus est." (Senec., *Epist.*, 63, in O. Hense's edition of Seneca's works, Teubner, 1898, vol. iii. p. 187.)

the ende;" on the edge of the bezel is another inscription, "Rather death than fals fayth."[302] A large gold ring found in 1780 by the sexton of Southwell Church, and supposed to have belonged to one of the Knights Hospitallers of Winckbourne, bore the following motto deeply cut on the inside: + MIEV + MORI + QVE + CHANGE + MA + FOI + ("Better to die than change my faith"—cf. family motto, "Mutare fidem nescio").

I have already alluded (Part II., Heading XI.) to an Italian niello finger-ring of the fifteenth century, figured in Thomas Wright's introduction to Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica* (London, 1856, p. 75), from the Londesborough collection. It bears a representation apparently of the Roman legendary Lucretia, holding a dagger to her breast, doubtless emblematic of chastity and female virtue.

Thomas Wright, speaking of this Londesborough ring, notes an allusion by Shakespeare (*Twelfth Night*, act ii. scene 5) to the use of a signet representing Lucretia. Malvolio, opening a letter which he thinks is from his mistress, says, "By your leave, wax—Soft!—and the impressure her Lucrece, with which she uses to seal." I have seen Italian silver finger-rings and pendants of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, ornamented with a conventional female portrait in niello almost exactly like that on the above-described Londesborough ring, but without the dagger. In all probability these conventional portraits, though without the dagger, and often of careless workmanship, were accepted at the time as "Lucretias" (cf. the above-quoted passage from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*), that is to say, as emblems of chastity and honour. In some of these niello portraits the place of the hand and dagger is taken by a floral ornament.

Some of the memorial rings of King Charles I of England are of curious workmanship and design. One that belonged to Horace Walpole has the King's head

[302] This ring, like several others in various collections, was said to have been given by King Charles I of England on the day of his execution to Bishop Juxon. But the ring itself is of earlier workmanship.

in miniature, with a death's head between the initials C.R. in front, and the motto, "Prepared be to follow me." Another has a death's head, with an earthly crown below it, and the word VANITAS (on one side); above the death's head is a celestial crown with the word GLORIA (on the other side).[303] It contains the miniature portrait of the King, and is inscribed, "Gloria Angl. Emigravit," with the date (old style) of the King's execution. Two other rings bear the King's portrait and the inscription, "Sic transit gloria mundi." Another gold ring had the King's portrait in a little case (forming the bezel), on the outside of which the four cardinal virtues were represented in enamel; on the inner side of the lid, a skull and crossed bones were enamelled.

Izaak Walton, in a codicil to his will (1683), fixed both the value of his memorial rings and the legend they were to bear. The value was to be 13*s.* 4*d.*, and on those given to his family the words or mottoes were to be, "Love my Memory, I.W., obiit;" and on one for the Bishop of Winchester, "A mite for a million, I.W., obiit;" and on those for other friends, "A friend's farewell, I.W., obiit." In all he bequeathed about forty rings. Speaker Lenthall (1591–1662) directed by will that "Oritur non moritur" should be inscribed on fifty gold rings to be given away in his family at his death; and Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) left to each of the Fellows of Eton College a gold black-enamelled ring

[303] This device is similar to that on the reverse of a memorial medal (already described) on the King's death, and is illustrated by a passage in the *Icon Basilike*, commencing: "I shall not want the heavy and envyed crownes of this world." Besides finger-rings various little jewels exist commemorating the execution of Charles I. A heart-shaped silver locket in the Southampton Corporation Museum is inscribed: "Prepared bee to follow mee," with the device of a death's head and the initials, C. R.

with the motto within: "Amor unit omnia." At the funeral of Samuel Pepys, the diarist, in 1703, as many as 123 mourning rings were given away, and John Evelyn, another famous diarist, on the occasion of the funeral of a son in 1658, had rings distributed, bearing the words: "Dominus abstulit." Shakespeare, in his will (1616), mentioned several persons to whom he bequeathed twenty-six shillings and eightpence a-piece, for them to purchase rings with, doubtless memorial rings like some of those already referred to. W. Jones quotes the following clause from a will dated 1648: "Also I do will and appoint ten rings of gold to be made of the value of twenty shillings a piece sterling with a death's head upon some of them." It is probable that jewellers kept memorial rings of this kind in stock ready for inscriptions to be engraved on them as required.

In some finger-rings with a bezel representing a death's head (or a death's head and crossed bones) the bezel has been made hollow and to open like a minute box. Some have supposed that these boxes were made to contain poison (such as arsenic), but it appears extremely unlikely that any genuine secret "poison-ring" should ever have been made in a form likely to attract special attention. It is far more likely that such boxes were intended to contain relics of some kind, "charms," or *mementos* (such as hair) of a dead relative or friend.

Memento mori devices have occasionally been adopted for seals, and the backs of small seals or "signets," just as the shanks and other parts of finger-rings were sometimes chiselled in *memento mori* fashion ("skull-decorations," &c.).[304] I have already alluded to the

[304] One such signet is figured in Paul Lacroix's *Arts in the Middle Ages*, English edition, by Sir W. Armstrong, p. 135, Fig. 139. See also H. Clifford Smith, *Jewellery*, Methuen & Co., London, 1908, Plate 40.

seal of Erasmus (a man's head, facing, on a boundary stone or terminus, with the inscription, CEDO NVLLI) with which he sealed his last will, dated at Basel, 1536; and I now picture it (Fig. 113) from the figure in Jortin's

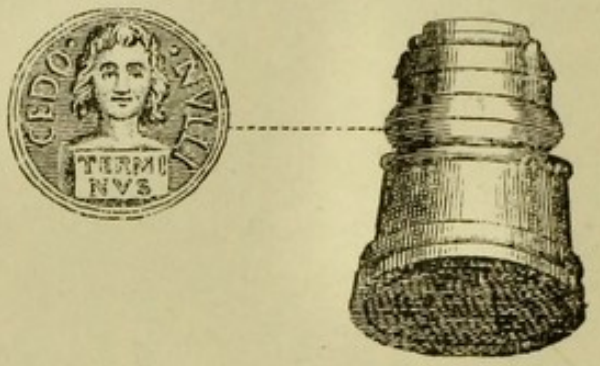

FIG. 113.—Seal of Erasmus with his "terminus" device. (After Jortin.)

Life of Erasmus, together with an antique intaglio which belonged to Erasmus. The latter forms part of a finger-ring, and represents a bearded terminal head, or "Hermes," possibly the Indian Bacchus, in Hellenistic style, without any inscription; from this Erasmus apparently derived his idea of taking a terminal figure as a *memento mori* device (Fig. 114). The seal of the

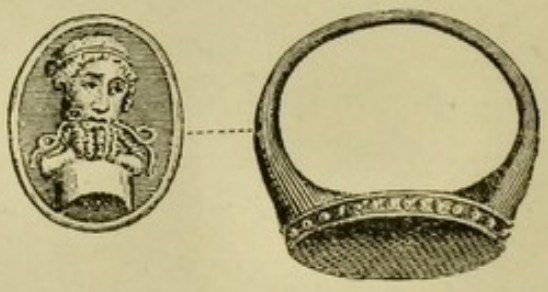

FIG. 114.—Finger-ring with an antique intaglio, from which apparently Erasmus derived the idea of his "terminus" device. (After Jortin.)

Guild of Physicians and Surgeons at Delft was a skull with crossed bones, and the inscription, MEMENTO MORI.

Inscriptions referring to death occur on a few

Oriental seals.[305] Thus on a seal of Chosroës I, the Great, of Persia, called Nushirvan or "the Generous Mind" (531–579 A.D.), there is said to have been a pessimistic inscription (such as might have been derived from Ecclesiastes) signifying: "The way is very dark, what can I see? One lives once only, what can I desire? Behind me is Death, what can delight me?"[306] It must, however, be remembered that Chosroës was a man of great general learning, and caused many Greek, Roman, and Indian classics to be translated into Persian. At the conclusion of his first war with the Romans (532 or 533 A.D.) one of the conditions of peace imposed on the Emperor Justinian was that seven Greek, but pagan, philosophers who had resided some time at the Persian court, should be allowed to live in the Roman Empire without being subject to the imperial laws against pagans. On the seal of Moawiyah II (683 A.D.), the third Caliph of Arabia of the Ommiad dynasty, there are said to have been words meaning, "The world is

[305] There is some confusion between Oriental seals and Oriental talismans. A talisman may be a gem-stone engraved with an incuse Arabic inscription like a seal, but in a talisman the inscription should not be reversed as in a seal. Carnelians are favourite stones for Oriental seals, and are likewise used for talismans; in the latter case the incuse inscription is sometimes filled in with white enamel. Such carnelian seals, owing to the red colour of the stone, have been likened by poets to red wine and red lips, and kissing has therefore been playfully likened to sealing, and a kiss to the device known as "Solomon's seal." In this footnote I have used the word "talisman" somewhat loosely for both talismans proper and protective "charms" (*i.e.* "amulets").

[306] Chosroës was a philosopher as well as a man of action and a great leader. Compare the words of another moody or dreamy man of action, the Emperor Napoleon I, who, when a young lieutenant in the artillery at Valence, wrote: "Whither do my thoughts turn to-day? To death. Yet is my life only at its dawn, and I may expect to live a long time. . . . Since I must die some day, why not now? . . . My life is a burden to me." (From a document still preserved, quoted by T. P. O'Connor, in an article on "The Insanity of Napoleon's Genius," 1911.)

vanity." On the seal of Walid I (705–715 A.D.) the sixth Caliph of the same dynasty: "O Walid, thou art dead and shalt be brought to account." On the seal of Walid II (743–744 A.D.), the eleventh Caliph of the same dynasty: "O Walid, take heed of death." [307] An Arab seal of the Blacas Collection [308] bears an inscription signifying: "O Khalil, remember death, and put thy trust in God. That will be sufficient."

For contrast with these seal-inscriptions a rather different *memento mori* idea may be quoted from one of the tales of the Caliph Haroun al-Raschid (Claud Field, *Tales of the Caliphs*, London, 1909, p. 81). Abu'l Kasim shows the Caliph his treasures, amongst which, on a throne of gold, the embalmed figure of their first owner is seated, with an inscription stating: "Whosoever shall see me in the condition I now am in, let him open his eyes; let him reflect that I once was living like himself, and that he will one day die like me. . . . Let him make use of it (the treasure) to acquire friends and to lead an agreeable life; for when the hour appointed for him is come, all these riches will not save him from the common destiny of men." An (Epicurean) answer (of another kind) to the above-mentioned seal of Chosroës is furnished by some newly-discovered verses of Omar Khayyam (Miss J. Kilmer's translation, from the *New York Evening Times*):—

"And wherefore then should you and I be sad
Because to life no minute we can add? . . .
So drink! For this blue sullen vault of sky
Hates our white souls and waits to watch us die.
Rest on the soft green grass, my love, for soon
We shall be dust together, you and I."

In regard to passive fatalistic ("Kismet") attitudes towards death and the events of life (see Part II., Heading XVI.), another Oriental seal of the Blacas Collection [309] may be instanced, the inscription on which signifies that it is "of no avail to defend one's self against destiny."

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[307] See *Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber*, &c., by Freiherr Hammer-Purgstall, 1848, pp. 6, 8, 9. I am indebted to Dr. Oliver Codrington for reference to this paper.

[308] J. T. Reinaud, *Description des Monuments Musulmans du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, Paris, 1828, vol. ii. p. 292, and Pl. iv. No. 128. For this reference I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. Allan.

[309] J. T. Reinaud, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 28, Pl. i. No. 8.

One would expect that swords and daggers and their handles and sheaths would sometimes have been decorated with *memento mori* emblems or devices. It is not therefore astonishing that a Holbein design (see Fig. 115) for the sheath of a dagger (the Museum at Basel and the Beuth-Schinkel Museum at Charlottenburg, Berlin) represents a spirited "Dance of Death" subject, Death fetching a king, a queen, a soldier, a young woman, a monk, and an infant. (See A. Goette, *Holbeins Totentanz*, Strassburg, 1897, plate i.; and E. Hiss, *Dessins d'ornements de Hans Holbein*, Paris, 1886, plate xxi. No. 3; and Francis Douce, *op. cit.*)

Memento mori death's heads (generally pierced for use as rosary beads or for suspension in various ways) are met with in ivory, rock-crystal, amber, silver, &c. In the British Museum is an Ancient Mexican rock-crystal death's head, that is to say, a mass of rock-crystal cut and polished in the shape of a human skull. It is nearly if not quite as large as an average adult skull, and is referred to by G. F. Kunz in his *Gems and Precious Stones of North America* (2nd edition, 1892, p. 285), who says that similar skulls exist in the Blake Collection (United States National Museum), the Douglas Collection (New York), and the Trocadéro Museum (Paris). A much larger rock-crystal skull is in the possession of G. H. Sisson of New York, measuring $18\frac{3}{16}$ inches in length, $15\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width, and $15\frac{11}{16}$ inches in height. Kunz (*loc. cit.*, p. 286) adds that the making of these rock-crystal skulls may have been suggested by the real skulls, incrusted with torquoise, &c., such as the Christy specimen now in the British Museum. The actual purpose, however, for which the Mexican rock-crystal skulls were made appears to be unknown. It seems to me

FIG. 115.—Dance of Death designed by Holbein for the sheath of a dagger.

quite possible that they were in some way connected with Aztec religious observances. One may recall the descriptions of the "teocallis" or temples of Ancient Mexico, and the gruesome rites practised by the priests, as they appeared to the Spanish conquerors. Cortes and his companions, on their arrival in the city of Mexico, found that human sacrifices to the Aztec idols were of very frequent occurrence, and saw human hearts which had evidently quite recently been torn out of the bodies of unfortunate victims. From the terraces of a lofty teocalli on to which the Aztec "Emperor," Montezuma II, conducted them, they could enjoy the fine view over the surrounding country, but at the shrines the loathsome smears of blood and nauseous odour contrasted most unpleasantly with a dazzling display of gold and gems or precious stones. In this connexion one may remember that death-masks or mummy-masks are occasionally represented on ancient Peruvian pottery of the time of the Incas. Here one should also mention that in Japanese "netsukes" (a kind of toggles) and other Japanese carvings of ivory, bone, boxwood, &c., human skulls and skeletons are often represented, probably not with any *memento mori* intention, but merely as comical ornaments like the cleverly modelled fierce-looking masks used as netsukes, &c. Such skulls and skeletons are sometimes being "eaten by worms," or associated with snakes, frogs, toads, &c., as if the Japanese designers had obtained their ideas from old European *memento mori* ivories. One Japanese ivory which I have seen represents a human skeleton fighting with toads, as if the artist had got the curious grotesque idea of a dead body resenting his "heritage" of "creeping things, beasts, and worms." In some Japanese coloured drawings and

prints ghosts or skeletons are represented, probably as "grotesque horrors," like (if I may mention an analogy at hand) the skeleton's head with one enormous eye, depicted as appearing to frightened sailors during a storm at sea, in one of Alfred Kubin's designs of 1907 (reproduced in S. Seligmann's *Der böse Blick*, Berlin, 1910, vol. 2, p. 436). As to the signifiance of skulls and skeletons in Japanese and Chinese art, I would again quote the story of the Chinese mystic, Chung Tzu (*Musings of a Chinese Mystic*, London, 1906, p. 84): One day the Chinese philosopher came upon a bleached human skull, and [Hamlet-wise] mused as to what kind of a man it had once formed part of. In the night he dreamt that the skull appeared to him and told him that after death there were no troubles, that existence was bounded only by eternity, and that the happiness of a king among men did not exceed that enjoyed by the dead. I have, however, seen one Japanese design at least in which living men are represented as being "haunted" by the ghosts of those whose deaths had been caused by them.

Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, as represented in Holbein's picture (1533) known as "The Ambassadors," wore a hat-jewel formed of a silver (or white enamel) skull set in gold. The enamelled gold hat-medallion (sixteenth century) in the British Museum, with the original owner's name, Carolus von Sternsee, bears an elaborate allegorical device (relating to the fickleness of fortune and the uncertainty of human life, and to the world, the flesh, the devil, life, death, &c.), in which both death (a skeleton) and the devil figure. Skulls, skeletons, and decaying bodies, as *memento mori* devices in jewellery, just as in paintings and engravings, were

frequently represented with long worms, snakes, toads, &c., that is to say, being "eaten by worms," the idea having been doubtless chiefly suggested by the well-known passage in Ecclesiasticus (x. 11): "For when a man is dead he shall inherit creeping things, beasts, and worms." The artists seem to have preferred snakes to worms, in order to increase the horror of their subjects.

In the British Museum are several *memento mori* carved ivories mostly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (possibly certain ivories of the kind are earlier, *i.e.* of the fifteenth century), and mostly made as beads, or for suspension. Some of these are quite analogous in their significance to the sepulchral monuments of the *gisant* type of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries referred to in Part I. and to certain *memento mori* or admonitory medals described in Part III., such as those portraying a beautiful woman on the obverse and a skeleton on the reverse.[310] One of these ivories (Fig. 116) represents a human head and a human skull back to back; the face of the former is "eaten by worms;" in the mouth of the latter a toad is visible; on the forehead of the face is the inscription, in black letters, "à la saint . . ." on the frontal bone of the skull is: "point de devant à la mort."[311] Another of these ivories represents on one

[310] It is interesting to note that *memento mori* ivory skulls, &c., perhaps became such familiar objects as to lose their horror-inspiring quality. I have, for instance, seen a carved ivory (of the seventeenth century?) representing a human skull being "eaten by worms;" the worms (or rather snakes) and some flowers are *arranged in a symmetrical ornamental pattern*, about the orbits, &c.; the whole device was thus transformed into a mere symbol of the words *memento mori*, and lost its power of striking terror, just as phonetic alphabetical letters lost their original hieroglyphic or picture-writing significance of primitive times.

[311] *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 148, No. 441.

half a lady's head and on the other her skull, below which is a pair of scales.[312] Another has on one side the head of a woman (head-dress of the early sixteenth century), with the inscription: ELLAS NEST (?) IL

FIG. 116.—*Memento mori* ivory in the British Museum.

POINT POSSIBLE TAN ECHAPER; below: MEMENTO; on the other side are the head and shoulders of a skeleton.[313] An elaborate one (Fig. 117) has on one side the head of a moribund person, on whose forehead is a band inscribed, "dura et aspera;" on the other side is a skull with worms; below are two gold labels enamelled with INRI and MARIA; from the base hangs a small gold enamelled pendant representing two hearts crowned; at the top a small chain is attached for

[312] *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 148, No. 442.

[313] *Ibid.*, p. 149, No. 443.

suspension.[314] In the Victoria and Albert Museum (Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's collection in the Loan Court) were exhibited some similar carved ivories (of the sixteenth century). Two have on one half the head of a man, and on the other half his bare skull.[315] Another has on one side the head of a youth (sixteenth-century dress), and

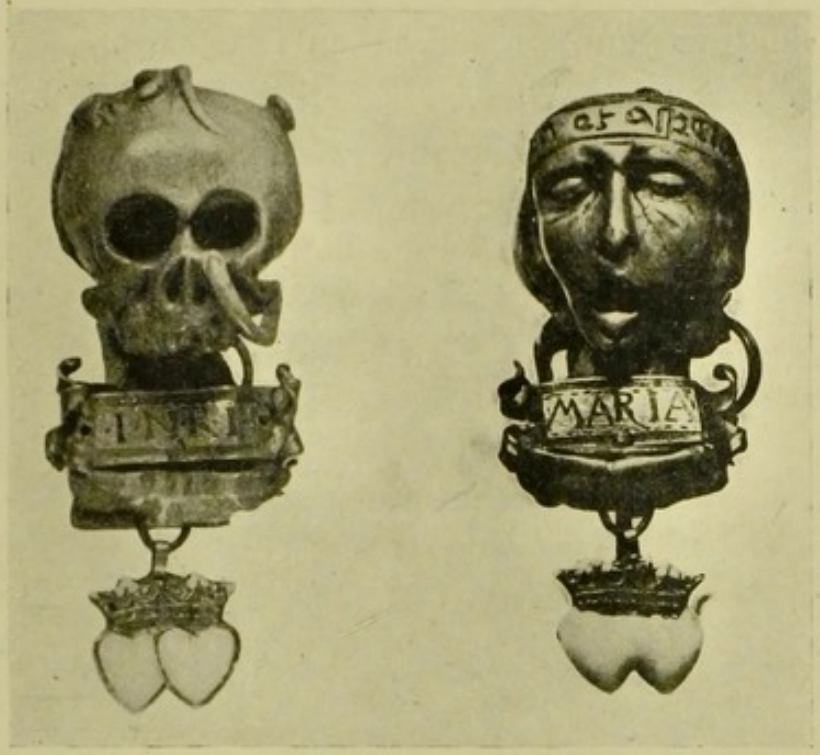

FIG. 117.—*Memento mori* ivory in the British Museum.

on the other side the upper part of a skeleton, with the inscription: COGITA MORI. Another has on one side the portrait of a woman, and on the other side the upper portion of a skeleton, with the inscription: V. QVOT (?) ERIS ("See what you will be"). Another ivory of the same class (Marlay Bequest, Fitzwilliam Museum,

[314] *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, p. 149, No. 444. This ivory carving has been regarded as the work of Christoph Harrich (who died in 1630), but is probably of earlier work.

[315] Mr. Henry Oppenheimer has kindly shown me a similar rock-crystal bead in his collection, representing on one side a human face and on the other side a skull.

Cambridge), of doubtful authenticity, represents the mask of a moribund man, and on the other side, a skull with lizard-like reptiles; below are the inscriptions, COGITA MORI and RESPICE FINE(M).

A larger ivory of the same kind in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is eight inches high, and has on one side the figure of a woman slightly draped, and on the other side the figure of a skeleton in a shroud. This is referred to by Mr. Alfred Maskell, who, in his book on

FIG. 118.—Large rosary-bead ("or boss") of *memento mori* design.

Ivories, likewise describes a remarkable terminating rosary-bead ("boss") in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[316]

The bead in question (Fig. 118), of old German work, is large—two inches in diameter—and consists of four half-figures placed back to back. One is a man in the costume of the time with a cup in his hand, and beneath is inscribed: "Amor mundi." The next represents the man dying, the

[316] A. Maskell, *Ivories*, Methuen & Co., London, 1905, p. 188. See also the account by W. Maskell, *A Description of the Ivories, Ancient and Mediaeval, in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1872, p. 6.

mouth open, gasping for breath, and under him is the inscription: "Vado mori." The third shows him in a shroud, with staring eyes and swollen tongue; the abdomen is occupied by a hideous head, supposed to signify punishment; under him is the inscription: "Sequere me." The fourth is a skeleton with an hour-glass, and with worms crawling in and out of the sockets of his eyes; the inscription below is: "Ego sum." (For early prints and literature of admonitory significance analogous to all such ivories, &c., see Part I. B.)

Large ivory rosary-beads of the same *memento mori* class sometimes represent three conjoined heads, namely, of a man and woman in the prime of life, and of a skeleton. There is a good specimen of this variety in the Victoria and Albert Museum; and a similar one in the Pierpont Morgan collection, formerly exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum, was carved into figures of a man and woman (husband and wife?) on one side, and on the other side (back to back with them) a skeleton with worms. In the Victoria and Albert Museum there is likewise a rosary of sixteenth-century German work, consisting of twelve carved ivory beads, the two terminating beads, or "bosses," being larger than the others. The larger of the two bosses has three heads carved upon it: a man's, bearing a laurel-wreath; a woman's, with hair plaited in the form of a diadem; and a skull, also crowned with laurel, out of the jaws of which worms creep. The other beads are carved with representations of a king, an emperor, and a pope, and with the heads of princes, princesses, gentlemen, ladies, bishops and ecclesiastical dignitaries, monks and nuns. The whole rosary is designed to show the power of death, whilst the tablet at the top represents the Virgin Mary and St. John, by whose intercession (cf. Part I. B—the death-bed scenes of the *Ars*

Moriendi, &c.) doubtless the owner hoped to obtain salvation. (See W. Maskell, *Description of the Ivories, Ancient and Mediaeval, in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1872. p. 115.)

A larger carving in wood, eighteen inches in height, illustrated by Julius von Schlosser (*Werke der Kleinplastik*, Vienna, 1910, vol. ii. Pl. 1) under the description "Allegorie der Vergänglichkeit," is obviously meant to have the same significance, although death is not actually presented. It is of very fine German work of about the end of the fifteenth century, and consists of three full-length nude figures standing with their backs to each other, namely, a young man, a young woman, and a very aged emaciated woman with a distorted face. With this may be compared a German painting of the sixteenth century, in the Museo del Prado at Madrid, representing "the three ages of mankind." Death, a shrivelled mummy-like figure of "skin and bones," has come to fetch an aged woman, and links his arm in hers to conduct her away. She, evidently unwilling to accompany him, takes hold of the shoulder and scanty drapery of a younger woman, standing by her; but the latter turns away to avoid the disagreeable sight. At their feet lies a child in an attitude of peaceful sleep. (See illustration in Paul Richer's *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, p. 523, Fig. 328.)

I have seen modern (nineteenth-century) coloured wax statuettes, intended to convey much the same idea. One side of each standing figure is modelled after a richly dressed man or woman in the prime of life, whilst the other side represents a skeleton with fragments of decaying flesh and skin still adherent to it. Mr. C. J. S. Thompson tells me that the two wax figures of this class

in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (1913) are certainly the work of the late Richard Cockle Lucas (1800–1883). Lucas is supposed by many to have modelled the wax bust of "Flora," now in the Berlin Royal Museum, which was claimed by W. Bode as a genuine work of Leonardo da Vinci, and gave rise to so keen a newspaper correspondence about the beginning of 1910.

Symbolically quite analogous to the ivories and other objects just described, are a couple of prints (representing Vanity) by Math. Greuter, of Lyon, dated 1596. One of these shows a lady in the costume of the period, with farthingale and broad skirts. On the other, the lady's skirts are opened so as to expose what is beneath them, namely, a skeleton, a coffin, and a skull (encircled with a wreath). The inscription on both prints is: "Omnis caro foenum, et gloria ejus sicut flos agri," which means: "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field" (Isaiah xl. 6).

Here one may mention certain jewels, small bronzes, &c., bearing devices referring in one way or another to the subject of death. Mr. W. T. Ready has kindly given me an illustration (Fig. 119) of an early sixteenth-century German shell-cameo, which is circular, 1·1 inch in diameter, and mounted in a silver-gilt setting of the time. It represents a nude man and a nude woman seated facing, with a figure of Death, holding a scythe, standing between them in the background. The woman has two infants in her arms, one of whom is being seized by Death. Before the man is an anvil, on which he is hammering a child, whilst he grasps another child tightly between his knees. This device[317] appears to

[317] The arrangement of the device may have been suggested by some group representing Venus in the workshop of Vulcan.

me to represent a somewhat pessimistic view of life (man, woman, and children) and death. The child is thrust naked into the world to take part in the trials and penalties and pains of life, whether he wishes or not; death stands by, awaiting him, and often seizes him, not during his troubles, when he is being hammered on the anvil, but when he is happy and contented with life and does not wish to die. I would further explain the device by the help of the type on the medals (date c

FIG. 119.—German shell-cameo of the sixteenth century.

respectively 1458 and 1466), already described and figured (Figs 39 and 40) in Part III., by Giovanni Boldu of Venice, representing a young man seated, hiding his face with his hands, with a winged child (probably meant to represent a kind of "genius" of his life, the flame or torch of which he holds) and a skull before him. Compare the passage in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (part i. cap. xiii.), of which an English version is given in Longfellow's *Hyperion* :—

"Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass,
Wer nie die kummervollen Nächte
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte.

"Ihr führt ins Leben uns hinein,
Ihr lasst den Armen schuldig werden,
Dann überlasst ihr ihn der Pein,
Denn alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden."

In this connexion another medal, made by Boldu in 1458, may likewise be referred to. It represents the artist's bust on the obverse, with inscription in Greek and Hebrew. On the reverse (Fig. 120) is a young man, nude, seated to left, resting his head on his right arm.

FIG. 120.—Reverse (reduced) of a medal by Giovanni Boldu of Venice. (After Heiss.)

Under him is a skull, and behind him an old woman is striking him with a whip. In front of him is a winged angel, holding a cup, as an emblem of Christ's Passion (cf. pictures of Christ's Agony in the Garden, by Giovanni Bellini, &c.). Above is the sun. The legend is: OPVS · IOANIS · BOLDV · PICTORIS · VENETI · MCCCCLVIII. This medal, cast in bronze, 3·4 inches in diameter, is described by A. Armand (*Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edition, 1883, vol. i. p. 36, No. 2) and A. Heiss (*Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1887, vol. i., Venetian medals, pl. ii. No. 1).

In Thomas Wright's introduction to Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica* (London, 1856, p. 63), a curious seventeenth-century jewel in the Londesborough Collection is illustrated, which appears to have belonged to King James I of England. It is a silver apple containing a small skull, the top of which opens like a lid. Inside the skull are representations of the Creation and the Resurrection, with the inscription: "Post mortem vita eternitas."

Watches of the seventeenth century were occasionally made in the form of a death's head, so as to serve *memento mori* purposes, reminding one that with every hour one is nearer one's end, and that hours misspent cannot be regained. In this respect they resemble old sun-dials and clocks with quaint *memento mori* inscriptions. Compare the words of Thomas à Kempis, "Memento semper finis, et quia perditum non redit tempus"—which could have been used for an inscription on a sun-dial or a clock.

The moral and admonitory inscriptions, relating to the waste or misuse of time, on clocks and watches, are of course the representatives of similar verses, epigrams, &c., written in regard to, or inscribed upon, sun-dials and hour-glasses in earlier times.

F. J. Britten (*Old Clocks and Watches and their Makers*, third edition, London, 1911, pp. 127–138) describes and figures several "skull-watches" or "death's-head watches," the most remarkable of which is traditionally said to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots. The skull is of silver-gilt, and on the forehead is engraved a figure of Death holding scythe and hour-glass, standing between a palace and a cottage, with the appropriate inscription from Horace (*Od.*, i. 4. 13): "Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regumque turres." On the hinder part of the skull is a representation of Time, with the

inscription: "Tempus edax rerum tuque invidiosa vetustas" (Ovid, *Metam.*, lib. xv. line 234).[318] Some other *memento mori* watches in existence are traditionally supposed to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots; one of them mentioned by Britten (*loc. cit.*) is enclosed in a piece of rock-crystal shaped like a coffin. The same author also says that in the Vienna Treasury there is a small skull-watch of the reign of the Emperor Rudolph II (1576–1612), in which the movable lower jaw has been constructed to strike the number of the hours against the upper jaw. A rock-crystal watch shaped like a death's head, which I have illustrated, with the kind permission of Professor Jules Guiart, from *Aesculape* (Paris, January, 1913, p. 20), is said to have belonged to that mentally-morbid character, King Henry III of France (Fig. 121). There are several silver "death's-head watches" in the Cluny Museum at Paris. A rather commonplace silver seventeenth-century death's head watch is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Frank Smart Bequest) at Cambridge.

Here likewise may be mentioned the small silver pomander boxes or vinaigrettes in the shape of a human skull with an hour-glass on the top—some of them probably made in quite modern times for the benefit of curio-hunters.

Amongst *memento mori* jewels in the British Museum are locket-like pendants or charms (seventeenth century) shaped like a coffin, containing the minute figure of a skeleton. One of these coffin-shaped pendants is of gold, enamelled, bearing the words, COGITA MORI VT

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[318] Ovid's lines are—

"Tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas,
Omnia destruitis, vitiataque dentibus aevi
Paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte."

VIVAS ("Think of dying so that you may live"). Another in silver is inscribed with the name of the deceased. A coffin-shaped pendant of this kind is figured by H. Clifford Smith, in his work on *Jewellery* (London, 1908, Plate 44, No. 16). It is of enamelled gold and contains a minute articulated skeleton. In the collection of the late Mr. M. P. W. Boulton was a fine jewel (German sixteenth-century work) of enamelled gold, shaped as a sarcophagus with nude figures of Adam

FIG. 121.—A death's-head watch. (After Guiart.)

and Eve and a serpent on the cover; on the sides were Greek inscriptions signifying "Know thyself" and "Remember the end;" inside was a miniature skeleton. A locket-like memorial pendant of a later date in the possession of Lady Evans is in the shape of a minute coffin; the lid is made to open on a hinge, and in the inside is some hair in an ornamental border of gold thread, with a death's head (there were originally doubtless two death's heads) and the initials P.B. in fine gold wire; the back is inscribed: "P.B. obit y^{e} 17 Mar: 1703 Aged 54 years."

A little pendant (early seventeenth century) in the British Museum is of gold and enamel in the form of a skull;[319] in the interior of the skull, which opens on a hinge, is a minute enamelled figure of a skeleton with an hour-glass under its neck as a pillow. A small heart-shaped memorial locket of gold, enamel, and gold-thread ornamentation (late seventeenth century) represents a skeleton emerging from a tomb, with an angel on either side, trumpeting the resurrection; below is the monogram of the deceased, with the inscription, COME YE BLESSED. A small memorial brooch of the same period and kind of work bears the device of a figure seated at a table with open book, candle, and death's head; and the legend, LEARN TO DIE. A small eighteenth-century mourning brooch exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a miniature painting of the deceased's relatives mourning at his tomb, in the usual style of the period, with the inscription, HEAVEN HAS IN STORE WHAT THOV HAST LOST. Minute skulls in ivory or white enamel (with perhaps ruby-eyes) have sometimes been mounted for use as pins for the scarf or necktie, probably to supply an occasional demand for eccentric jewels and ornaments in modern times.[320]

Even mirrors used by ladies, and mirror-cases, have been decorated with death's heads and similar devices. C. W. King alludes to a mirror-frame of this kind which

[319] It is figured in F. W. Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica* (London, 1856, Pl. i. Figs. 3, 4) from the Londesborough Collection, but is now exhibited in the Gold Ornament Room of the British Museum.

[320] Some specimens of *macabre* finger-rings and jewels are actually spurious, being modern imitations of *cinquecento* objects, cheaply made by casting, &c., in order to deceive unwary curio-hunters who have never seen original specimens of elaborate workmanship.

he speaks of as Lucrezia Borgia's. The little gorgon's head above the curious design of the back of the famous "Martelli" mirror, supposed to be the work of Donatello (in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), also carries with it, strictly speaking, an allusion to death, though only a distant echo of its meaning in the ancient world.

In comparatively modern times death's-heads (notably in ivory) have sometimes served to ornament the handles of walking-sticks.

With the admonitory devices and inscriptions on sepulchral monuments and memorial medals, finger-rings, &c., may be compared some of those on funeral palls. The hearse-cloth or state pall of the Vintners' Company of London, still preserved at the Company's Hall, bears, amongst other devices in embroidery, four representations of Death, supporting a coffin with one hand, and in the other holding a spade. Above these four figures are labels with the following inscriptions: (1) "Morere ut vivas," *i.e.* "Die so that you may live (for ever);" (2) "Mors p(ec)catoru(m) pessima," *i.e.* "The death of sinners is most wretched;" (3) "Mori disce quia morieris," *i.e.* "Learn to die because you shall die;" (4) "Mors justoru(m) vita a(n)i(m)aru(m)," *i.e.* "The death of the just is the life of souls." Similar state hearse-cloths are in the possession of several other City Companies: the Merchant Taylors' Company possess two; the Ironmongers', the Fishmongers', the Brewers', the Saddlers', each possess one. In the Victoria and Albert Museum is part of a fifteenth-century hearse (from Snarford Church, in Lincolnshire) bearing the inscription—

> "Aspice, quid prodest transacti temporis evum!
> Omne quod est nichil est preter amare Deum."

A kind of old funeral pall in the Cathedral of Evreux is embroidered with the representation of a corpse being 'eaten by worms," and bears the Latin inscription: "Credo quod redemptor meus vivit," &c. (Job xix. 25 and 26).

Compare the following admonitory inscription, for which I am indebted to Dr. J. A. Arkwright:—

> "Vive diu, sed vive Deo; nam vivere mundo
> Mortis opus, viva est vivere vita Deo."[321]

("Live long, but live for God; for to live for the world is death's work [it is unlikely that 'opus' means 'need' here]; the living life is to live for God.") This advice is addressed to the reader of the epitaph on the

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[321] This epitaph inscription reminds one of the repetition of syllables in some mediaeval and later Latin jingling "puzzle-verses," such as the hexameter, "Mors mortis mordet mortalia morsu," which E. H. Langlois said he could decipher on a representation of "the Three Dead and the Three Living," at Longpaon, near Rouen. Cf. also the following Latin verses quoted by R. Pierpoint (*Notes and Queries*, July 6, 1889, p. 12), relating to the Christian "death of death:"—

> "Mors mortis morti mortem mors morte redemit."

> "Mors mortis, morti, mortem si morte dedisset;
> Hic foret in terris, aut integer astra petisset:
> Sed quia dissolvi fuerat sic juncta necesse;
> Ossa tenet saxum, proprio mens gaudet in esse."

> "Mors mortis morti mortem nisi morte dedisset [*or*, dedisses],
> Aeternae vitae Janua clausa foret."

> "Morti morte tuâ mortem moriendo dedisti,
> Est tua mors mortia Christe medela mea."

Cf. also—

> "Mala mali malo mala contulit omnia mundo,
> Causa mali tanti foemina sola fuit."

("The jaw-bone of the evil one brought all evils to the world by an apple,
The cause of so much evil was woman alone.")

monument of a member of the Burrell family (1628) in Cuckfield Church, Sussex.

For the numerous *memento mori* and admonitory inscriptions on sun-dials and church bells, see *The Book of Sun-Dials*, by Mrs. Alfred Gatty, enlarged and re-edited by H. K. F. Eden and Eleanor Lloyd, London, 1900; the chapter on old sun-dials in G. Clinch's *Handbook of English Antiquities*, London, 1905; *A Book about Bells*, by G. S. Tyack, London, 1898. I have already referred to many of the sun-dial mottoes. Amongst the inscriptions on English bells are—

"I toll the funeral knell,
I hail the festal day,
The fleeting hour I tell,
I summon all to pray;"—

"Remember death;" "Prepare to die;"

"My roaring sound doth warning give
That men cannot heare allwaies live;"—

"All men who hear my mournful sound
Repent before you lye [*or* be] in ground;"[322]—

"When you hear this mournful sound,
Prepare yourselves for underground;"—

"I to the church the living call
And to the grave do summon all;"—

"Unto the church I do you call,
Death to the grave will summon all."

The last inscription occurs with the following lines added:—

"Attend the instruction which I give,
That so you may for ever live."

[322] Such an inscription occurs on a Bakewell (Derbyshire) church bell dated 1671.

On the minster bell at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, is the inscription: "Defunctos plango, vivos voco, fulmina frango." This is almost identical with the one always quoted in connexion with Schiller's famous *Lied von der Glocke*: "Vivos voco, mortuos plango, fulgura frango."

FIG. 122.—Medal (1552) of the physician, Adolph Occo III, of Augsburg. (After Picqué.) The reverse design has been suggested by a woodcut in the *Anatomy* of Vesalius, published in 1543. (See Fig. 123, on p. 444.)

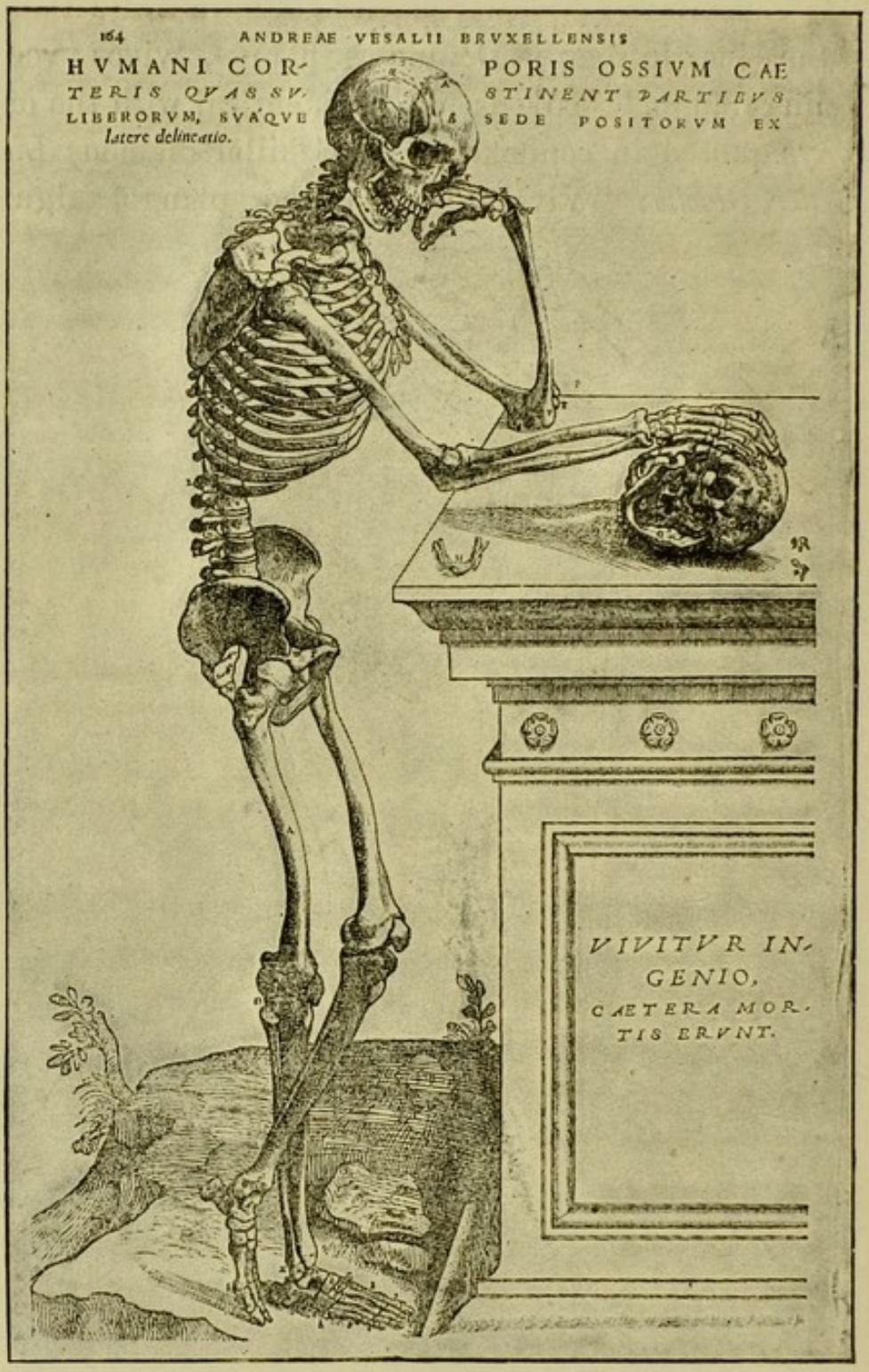

FIG. 123.—Anatomical woodcut by Jan von Calcar (see p. 77), from the great anatomical work of Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, printed by J. Oporinus, at Basel, 1543, p. 164. This woodcut suggested the design on various *memento mori* medals, &c. (Cf. pp. 77, 79, 267, 268, 274-276, 448; and Fig. 122 on p. 443.)

APPENDIX.

CARMINA DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI.

With the verses quoted on pp. 194–197 may be compared portions of various other Latin poems and prose writings relating to "scorn of the world." The shorter one of two such poems by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (died 1109), as printed in Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, commences—

"Quid probitas, quid nobilitas, nisi mors animarum?
Unde superbit homo, cum constet quod moriatur?
Nam caro mortalis, et quisquis ei famulatur
Morte perit duplici, quia post obitum cruciatur.
Quid prodest homini, si vivat saecula centum,
Cum moriens vitam transisse putet quasi ventum?"

In Anselm's longer *Carmen de Contemptu Mundi* the following passages are characteristic :—

"Non tonsura facit monachum, non horrida vestis;
Sed virtus animi, perpetuusque rigor.
Mens humilis, mundi contemptus, vita pudica,
Sanctaque sobrietas : haec faciunt monachum.
Haec vos in coelum, monachi, quadriga levabit :
Haec post hanc vitam praemia summa dabit.
Nil tonsura juvat, juvat aut vilissima vestis,
Si lupus es, quamvis esse videris ovis."

"Magnum nomen habes, clara est tibi fama per orbem,
Laudat te mundus; sed moriere tamen."

"Fumus et umbra levis tota est haec gloria mundi."

In the following vivid description he almost overdraws the ills that human flesh is heir to; but we must remember that very much less was known in Anselm's days than now in regard to the medical and surgical relief of aches and pains of all kinds. Nowadays pain can frequently be removed by ordinary rational methods which formerly lasted very long or was only escaped from by death. Surgical anaesthesia—the "death of pain"—and surgical asepsis and antisepsis—the "death of microbes"—often enables the modern healing art to ward off death and "kill" the cause of pain.

"Si nunc aspicias animalia caetera quaeque;
Invenies tantis subdita nulla malis.
Nos capitis laterumque dolor, febrisque fatigat:
Totum hominem tollit lepra, chiragra manus,
Dira podagra pedes; oculos ophthalmia caecat:
Obsidet arctati pectoris asthma vias.
Laesa suos claudit lithiâ vesica meatus:
Viscera torquentur, parsque pudenda, colon.
Dens dolet, aut cervix; os torpet; lingua ligatur.
Splen tumet; aegrotat pulmo, laborat hepar.
Cor marcet; renes patiuntur; solvitur alvus;
Brachia nil possunt; languida crura jacent."

In like manner, Pope Innocent III (died 1216), in his prose writing, *De Contemptu Mundi* (Migne's edition), pictures (with some humour) the supposed evils of old age. In fact, he gives us a kind of caricature of its infirmities: "Si quis autem ad senectutem processerit, statim cor ejus affligitur, et caput concutitur, languet spiritus et fetet anhelitus, facies rugatur, et statura curvatur, caligant oculi, et vacillant articuli, nares effluunt, et crines defluunt, tremit tactus, et deperit actus, dentes putrescunt, et aures surdescunt. Senex facile provocatur, difficile revocatur; cito credit, et tarde discredit, tenax et cupidus, tristis et querulus, velox ad loquendum, tardus ad audiendum, sed non tardus ad iram: laudat antiquos, spernit modernos: vituperat praesens, commendat praeteritum, suspirat et anxiatur, torpet et infirmatur. Audi Horatium poetam: 'Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda.' Porro nec senes contra juvenem glorientur, nec insolescant

juvenes contra senem, quia quod sumus iste fuit. erimus quandoque quod hic est."

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (died 1228), amongst other works, wrote a Latin poem on "Scorn of the World."

In Petrarch's Latin dialogues, *De Contemptu Mundi*, are many interesting quotations, including, in the first dialogue, the celebrated passage from "Juvenal" (*Sat.*, x. 172), doubtless (directly or indirectly) well known to Shakespeare and Elizabethan dramatists—

"Mors sola fatetur,
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula."

In the third dialogue he makes Saint Augustine quote from his (Petrarch's) Latin epic poem *Africa*, the passages regarding a great man's "second death" (that is, when his tomb and monument decay and fall to pieces), and his "third death" (that is, when his writings are destroyed or forgotten)—

"Mox ruet et bustum, titulusque in marmore sectus
Occidet, hinc mortem patieris, nate, secundam.
. . . . libris autem morientibus, ipse
Occumbes etiam: sic mors tibi tertia restat."

After all, Petrarch's poetical allegory of a great man's second and third deaths (the idea of which is quite in keeping with the general sentiment of the successive "triumphs" of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, &c., in his Italian, *Trionfi*, so popular in renaissance Italy) was scarcely more far-fetched than was Archbishop Anselm's (just quoted) idea of a man's "second death," when, after his real death, his flesh is "tortured" ("cruciatur") by being "eaten by worms."[323]

[323] A mediaeval religious aim was indeed to purify the soul not only by physical methods, namely, by hard manual labour and ascetic mortification of the body, but also by psychical methods, *e.g.* by endeavouring to drain to the dregs the manifold cup of sympathetic mental suffering. Thus, in the beautiful poem by Jacopone (Jacopo da Todi, who died in 1306), commencing, "Stabat Mater dolorosa," we have—

"Eia, Mater, fons amoris,
Me sentire vim doloris
Fac, ut tecum lugeam."

Such imaginative *post-mortem* horrors may be compared to the popular dread (notably in the England of the eighteenth century) of having one's body "anatomized" in the dissecting-room or cut open for necropsy purposes. This carries one back to the days of the "resurrectionists" and "body-snatching" (cf. the epitaphs on p. 166*h*, relating to this subject). Nowhere is this feeling better illustrated than in Hogarth's "Reward of Cruelty," already referred to (p. 132). Clearly, in such a caricature the anatomists and surgeons were held out to youthful hooligans as bogies to children, namely, as additional instruments of (*post-mortem!*) punishment for the crimes committed by murderers, highwaymen, &c.

JAN VON CALCAR'S ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE *ANATOMY* OF VESALIUS (cf. pp. 77, 79, 267, 268, 274–276; and Figs. 122 and 123).

At one time the illustrations in Vesalius's great anatomical work, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, printed by J. Oporinus, at Basel, in 1543, were wrongly attributed to Titian, but it is now definitely settled that they are by Jan von Calcar, a pupil of Titian, whose paintings were said to be almost indistinguishable from those of that master. An original sketch by Calcar for the title-page (which I have already alluded to—see p. 79) of Vesalius's work has been recently reproduced by Paul Kristeller ("Eine Zeichnung von Johann Stephan von Calcar zum Titelblatte der Antomie des Andreas Vesalius," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst—Beilage der graphischen Künste*, Vienna, 1908, No. 2, pp. 17–24).

INDEX.

(*Numerals in Roman type refer to the pages of the Preface.*)

A

Abbas I of Persia, 348 *n.* 204
Abramson, medal by, 316
Accolti, F., supposed medal of, 187 *n.* 154
Aeneid, the, 23 *n.* 30; 258; 310; 316; 400
Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus*, 122. *Septem contra Thebas*, 149
Aesop, *Fables*, 101 *n.* 84; 216
Affre, D. A., Archbishop, 321
Agathios, 13; 122
Agrate, M. d', 67; 91 *n.* 19
Alboin of Lombardy and his wife Rosamunda, 347 *n.* 204
Alcestis (Euripides), 21; 381
Alexander, Dr. J. H., 154
Alexander the Great, 381
Alexander VII, Pope, medals of, 287
Allan, J., 35 *n.* 37; 213; 422 *n.* 308
Allan, W., 108 *n.* 91
Allingham, W., 128
Al Tahamy, Ali bin Muhammed, 129
Amboise, Cardinal Georges d', monument of, 116; 266–267
Ammann, J., 186 *n.* 152
Am-mit, 384
Amsterdam Medical Garden, entrance tickets to, 301
Amulets and talismans, 157–161; 319–320; 333; 405; 421 *n.* 305
Anatomy of Melancholy, 5 *n.* 9; 13; 206; 214
Anderson, M., 166*a*
Anna Sophia of Saxony, medal, 300
Anne of Brittany, 65
Anne of Lorraine, 68
Anselm, Archbishop, poems by, 445–446
Anthology, Greek, 10 *n.* 18; 20; 21; 122; 163–164; 166*h*; 184; 186 *n.* 152; 192; 343 *n.* 199; 344; 357
Antinous, 171; 172 and *n.* 146
Apuleius, 309; 394
Archer, Major J. H. L., 141 *n.* 126
Aristophanes, 212
Armand, A., 116 *n.* 101; 187 *n.* 154; 236; 255–257; 261; 264; 333*c*; 435
Arms of Death (*Wappen des Todes*), 29; 31; 32
Arondeaux, R., medallist, 297
Ars Moriendi, 48–55; 218; 431–432
Arthur, British king, 74; 117
Astallia, Giulia, medal of, 238–239; 392 *n.* 269
As You Like It, 20 *n.* 26; 193
Atkins, J., 284; 315
Aubry, Ch., 155
Aucassin et Nicolette, 114
Augustine, St., 120 *n.* 107
Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, 101 *n.* 84; 102 *n.* 85
Aurelianus, Caelius, 395 *n.* 274
Ausonius, 8; 13; 63; 102 *n.* 85
Aztecs, religious rites of, 425

B

Babelon, E., 408
Bacon, Francis, *Essays*, 4 *n.* 5; 210; 214
Badham, C., translator of Juvenal, 102 *n.* 85
Baker, Sir R., 215

Balanzano, P., medal of, 244–245
Balbiani, Valentina, monument of, 59
Balbulus, Notker, 103
Baldwin I, Emperor of Constantinople, 348 *n.* 204
Ball, John, 149
Bandello, M., 239
Banister, J., 152
Bank-note, Cruikshank's satirical pattern, 133; 134; Knight's anti-Republican pattern, 135; 136
Barberini, Cardinal Fr., epitaph of, 61
Barham, R. H., *Ingoldsby Legends*, 219
Barneveldt, J. van Olden, 269
Barre, J. J., 316–317
Bartholin, T., 273
Bartholomé, A., 123–124
Bartholomew, St., 67
"Bathos," 87; 88
Baudelaire, 66
Beaumont and Fletcher, 83; 412
Bede, Venerable, 59 *n.* 52
Beggars' Benison Club, 342 *n.* 198
Beham, B., 75; 76; 252
Beham, H. S., 74; 147 *n.* 129
Bella, Stefano della, 89
Bellini, Giovanni, 435
Bellini, Jacopo, 42; 58; 77
Bells, church, inscriptions on, 442
Benedicts-Pfennige, 301-302
Benndorf, O., 14; 376
Berger, Dr. I., medal of, 329
Bergsøe, Vilhelm, 221; 323
Bernard, St., 194; 195; 196
Bernard of Morlaix, 195
Betts, C. W., 333*b*
Bewicks, the, 39
Beyer, Dr. Wenzel, 245–248
Bichat, 198
Bismarck, 102 *n.* 84; 85
Blacas Collection, 422 *n.* 307
Black Prince, the, epitaph, 60
Blair, R., 85
Blake, W., 85; 114
Blakeney, General, 131; 313
Blant, E. le, 340 *n.* 196; 356 and *n.* 221; 398 and *n.* 281; 401 *n.* 284
Blok, I., 299
Blumenbach, J. F., 152; 318
Boats, sepulchral, 405
Bode, W., 433
Boecklin, A., 84; 128
Boldu, G., medals by, 99; 228–231; 434; 435
Bona of Savoy, 239
Bontemps, P., 65
Bonzagna, F., medal by, 256
Borch, E., 90
Borrel, V. M., medallist, 319
Boscoreale wine-cups, 17; 18; 20; 21; 46; 48; 73 *n.* 60
Bottée, L. A., medallist, 328
"Bourguignon amphora," 375; 377
Bovy, H., medallist, 323
Boyd, H., 69 *n.* 54
Braemt, J. P., 319
Braun, E., 379
Brearcliffe, J., token of, 290
Breda, capture of, 259
Brettauer, Dr. J., 221 *n.* 170
Brézé, L., Grand Seneschal of Normandy, monument of, 59
"Brillen-Thaler," 258
Briosco, A., 286 *n.* 183
Britten, F. J., 436; 437
Brodie, Sir B., 217
Brodnax, Joane, epitaph of, 109 *n.* 92
Brougham, Lord, 13; 245
Browne, Sir T., 201
Browning, E. B., 185
Browning, R., 130
Brueghel, P., the Elder, 79
Buchanan, R. W., 129; 197
Buchanan, Sir G., 324
Büchmann, xvi
Buckingham, Duke of, John Sheffield, epitaph of, 23 *n.* 30
Buddha and Buddhist works of art, 111 *n.* 94
Budge, E. A. W., 384; 406 *n.* 291
Bullen, G., 50 *n.* 51
Bundy, E., 88
Buonarrotti, F., 355 *n.* 220
Burch, E., 310; 311
Burckhardt, J., 333*c*
Bürger, G. A., 84 and *n.* 75; 409
Burgkmair, H., 74
Burns, Robert, 219
Burton, R., *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 5 *n.* 9; 13; 206; 214
Butterfly, as accompaniment or symbol of Psyche, 353; emblematic of the immortality of the soul, 110; and sexual love, 390–391; as symbol of the human soul, 350
Buzaglo, A., 87
Byng, Admiral F., 131; 313
Byron, 7; 125; 199

C

Cabrol, F., 169 *n.* 145; 228; 354 *n.* 218; 391 *n.* 267
Caesar, Julius, 117; 118; 225; 226
Caius, Dr., 116; 266
Calcar, J. von, 77; 79; 267; 268; 274–276; 443; 444; 448
Camden, W., 23 *n.* 30
Cancer Conference, plaquette of, 328
Candida, J. de, xv
Capparoni, Dr. P., 130; 208
Carlyle, J. D., 129
Carlyle, T., 181 *n.* 150
Carnot, President, 325
"*Carpe diem*" advice, 21; 26; 27; 175
Carpenter, E., 190
Carus, P., xv
Cassius, Dion, 225 and *n.* 172
Caylus, Comte de, 387 and *n.* 253
Chaplain, J. C., 328
Charlemagne, 74; 117
Charles I, King of England, 109; 279–280; 417–418
Charles II, King of England, 295–297
Charles IX, King of France, 256–257
Charles XI, King of Sweden, 299
"Charms." *See* AMULETS
Charun, Etruscan messenger of Death, 370; 383; 384; 388
Chastelard, 188
Chastity, 73–74; 75; 173; 174
Cheselden, W., 307; 309
Chevalier, A., 322
Chichele, H., Archbishop of Canterbury, 57; 58
Chichele, W., brother of Archbishop, 61
Chinese and Japanese "horrors," 219
Chodowiecki, D. N., 166*b*-166*c*
Cholera, 319–320; 323
Chosroës I of Persia, 421 and *n.* 306
Christian I, Elector of Saxony, 259
Christianity, mediaeval, "gambling spirit" in, 96; 97
Christoforis, Dr. M. de, 325
Chung Tzu, story of, 426
Church, Sir A. H., 347
Chyzer, Dr. C., medal of, 329
Cicero, 4; 5; 19; 105; 123; 124; 181 *n.* 150; 184
Clarke, Rev. W., epigram of, 104 *n.* 87
Claudian, 76 and *n.* 69; 145
Clinch, G., 200 *n.* 158; 442
Clough, A. H., 156
Codrington, Dr. O., 422 *n.* 307
Coins (and medals) commemorative of various individuals, 222–333*d*; *consecratio*, 210–211; 391 and *n.* 267; Greek and Roman, commemorative of patriotic heroes, 171; of Eleusis, 224; of Selinus, 222-224; of the Schlick family, 248 and *n.* 177; placed in the mouths of the dead, 111; 112
Colvin, Sir S., 69 *n.* 54; 70
Combe, W., 166*c*
Comparetti, D., 234
Congreve, W., 3 *n.* 4
Consolation, philosophical, for death, 5–10
Contughi, C., 232–233
Cook, T. A., 95; 96
Cooper, R., colour sketches of, 88
Copa Syrisca (Virgil), 22
Cory, W. J., 175
Costa, L., 71
Cousteau, *Danse Macabre*, 78
Crawfurd, R., 163
Cremation, medals relating to, 218; 325–326
Cruikshank, George, 133; 134
Cruikshank, I., father of George, 86
Crusius, O., 363
Cumont, F., 160
Cust, L., *The Master E. S. and the Ars Moriendi*, 49 and *n.* 50; 50
Cymbeline, 161; 239; 392 *n.* 269
Cypselus, coffer of, 373–374; 377; 385

D

Dabbs, Dr. G. H. R., 217 *n.* 167
Dadd, W., 206
Dadler, S., 271; 279; 333
Dalton, O. M., 409 *n.* 292
Dance of Death (*Danse Macabre*), 28; 30; 36; 37; 38 and *n.* 39; 39; 42; 46; 48; 78; 86; Danza de la Muerte, 37; English, 86; 166*c*; German, 85; 107; 263; Holbein's, 39-40; 78; 423–424
Dance of the Dead, 46; 47
Dancing, the "Dancing Mania," 38

Dante, 19; 88; 138; 333*c*; 384; 411 *n.* 294
Darwin, Charles, centenary medal of, 329
Daubeny, C. G. B., 180; 312
Daudet, L., 166-166*a*
Daumier, design by, 166*b*
David d'Angers, medals by, 132; 320
Davies, G. S., 127
Death (*see also* TABLE OF CONTENTS): and ambition, 142; and sleep, 370-375; as an incentive to the enjoyment of life, 14; 15; as consolation for mundane suffering, 149; as end of pain, &c., 122; 215-216; as involuntary martyrdom, 167; aspects of, how grouped, 100; as punishment of vice, 132; as rest, 123-125; as sleep, 127-128; as the crown of life, 188; as the leveller, 145 *seqq.*; as threshold of future existence, 105; axe of, on Indian coins, 150; bitterness of the thought of, 130; consolation for, 217-218; dance of, see DANCE; effect of love on, 186; familiarity with thoughts of, 3; fancied terrors of, 137; fear of, 1 *n.* 2; 213-215; fed by life, 31; for the sake of honour, 167; 168; from the standpoint of religious faith, 105-109; genius of, 187; 336; effect of the idea on the living, vii; importance to the development of the race, 2; ideas of, how modified, ix; in modern art, 94; meditation on, 177; 178; necessary and beneficial, 186-187; philosophical attitude towards, 5; 7; readiness for, 4 and *n.* 5; represented on jewels and bronzes, 433; successful resistance to, 191; the death of, Christian idea of, 441 *n.* 321; triumph of, 70; 71; 74; 177; triumph over, 107; 116
Debrosses, C., 65
De Civitate Dei (Augustine), 120 *n.* 107
Dennis, G., 371 *n.* 239
De Rerum Naturâ (Lucretius), 6 *n.* 10; 7
Desbois, 90
De Senectute (Cicero), 181 *n.* 150
De Witt, J. and C., medals commemorative of murder of, 291-292
Dielitz, J., 142; 173 *n.* 147
Dinteville, J. de, 91; 426
Divina Comedia, 88
Dmochowski, medal by, 321
Doddridge, P., epigram by, 175
Dodgson, C., 208
Domanig, K., 253
Donebauer, M., 260 *n.* 179; 263 (*bis*); 331-332
Donellus, H., 259
Dorothea, Queen of Denmark, medal of, 253-254
Douce, F., 38 *n.* 39; 39; 50; 423
Drummond, R. B., 244
Dryden, 149; 348
Dugniolle, J. F., 330
Dulaure, J. A., 168 *n.* 141
Dupré, A., medallist, 333*a*-333*b*
Durand, A., 259; 307; 310; 318
Dürer, Albrecht, 30-31; 86

E

Eadulph, Bishop of Devon, epitaph on, 62
Ecclesiastes, 123; 145; 179; 199; 277 *n.* 181; 287; 297; 421
Ecclesiasticus, 17; 25; 101; 122; 130; 179; 205; 207; 210; 216; 415 *n.* 299; 427
Egmont and Hoorn, Counts, 255
Egyptian, amulets, &c., 110 and *n.* 93; belief in another world, 110 *n.* 93; feasts, 14, 16 and *n.* 21
Ehrlich, P., and Hata, S., medal of, 328-329
Eldred, A., memorial medal of, 292-293
Eleusinian Mysteries, 224-225
Elisabeth Charlotte, mother of the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg, 109
Ellis, Havelock, 126 and *n.* 116
Elworthy, F. T., 157
Emerson, R. W., 102 *n.* 108; 215
Empedocles, 224
Empusae, 394 *n.* 272
Epictetus, 35 *n.* 37; 189
Epicurean philosophy (original and debased), 17; 19 and *n.* 25; 22; 26 and *n.* 32; 342 *seqq.*; 346; 349
Epicurus, 6; 18; 19; 199
Epidemics and death, 31; 33; 67; 80; 103-104; 153; 154

Epitaphs, admonitory, 37 *n.* 38; 57–62; 65; 107; 109; inculcating right living, 182–184; Latin and Greek, 8–11; 14; 63; 122; mediaeval and modern, 4; 9; 13; 23 and *n.* 30; 62; 125 *n.* 114; referring to "Resurrectionists," 166*h*
Erasmus, 80; 93; 240–244; 420
Erfurt, town, recovery of, from plague, 293–294
Erichsen, Sir J., 317
Erk, L., 25
Erman, A., 254; 261; 332
Ernsthuyse, T., memorial medal of, 277
Essling, Prince d', and Müntz, E., *Pétrarque*, 69 *n.* 54; 71; 72; 73 *n.* 61–64; 74; 116 *n.* 102; 117; 267
Etruscan mirrors, scarabs, &c., 379–381; 389; scenes on tombs, 28 *n.* 33; 59 *n.* 53
Euripides, 21; 105; 124; 129; 168; 381
Eurynomus, 383
Evans, Lady, 109; 293; 347
Evans, Sir J., xvi; 409 *n.* 292
Evelyn, J., memorial rings, 419
Evolution, aspects of, in epigram, &c., xiv
Ewald, Prof. C. A., 217 and *n.* 168
Explorers, medals commemorating, 327

F

Fabriczy, C. von, 229
Fairholt, F. W., 173; 409 *n.* 292; 412 *n.* 298; 414; 417; 436; 439 *n.* 319
Falke, Gustav, xv
Fame, car of, 116–119; posthumous, 115–121; triumphing over death, 74; 118; triumphing over the Fates, 117
Fanu, J. S. le, 125; 216
Faraboeuf, Prof. L. H., medal of, 328
Faust, xv; 180 *n.* 149
Fechter, F., 281
Ferdinand I, German Emperor, medal of, 253
Ferguson, H. D., 62
Fiala, E., 181 *n.* 150
Fiamma, G., medal of, 257
Fick, A., 374
Ficoroni, F. de', 172; 173; 357 *n.* 222
Field, C., 129 *n.* 120; 422
Fiske, John, 1; 124; 210
Flagellants, 138
Flay, Mrs. E., portrait, 93
Flegel, J. G., 85
Fordun's *Chronicle*, 114 *n.* 100
Forrer, L., 228; 275
Forsdyke, E. J., 345
Fothergillian medal of the Royal Humane Society, 317
Foxe, J. (martyrologist), 125 *n.* 114
France, Anatole, 31; 186 *n.* 153
Francis, Duke of Brunswick, 249–250
Francis I, of France, 65, 167; 168 and *n.* 141
Francis II, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, 269
Franco, G., medal of, 254–255
Franklin, B., 180 *n.* 150; 333*a*–333*b*
Frazer, J. G., 35 *n.* 37; 374 and *n.* 246; 378; 383; 385
Free will, 2
Friedländer, M., 24
Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia, 102 *n.* 85
Friedrich Wilhelm I of Saxe-Weimar, 109 *n.* 92
Friess, J., medal of, 253
Frimmel, Dr. T., 40; 46 *n.* 49; 77
Fritel, P., 142
Frobenius, Leo, 111, 348
Froment, N., 66
Funeral, customs, ancient, as represented on tombs, &c., 210–212; "furniture," 212–213
Furtwängler, A., 110; 113 *n.* 98; 225; 339; 340-342; 351 and *n.* 209; 311; 312; 352 and *n.* 213, 214; 355 and *n.* 219; 357 and *n.* 222; 362 *n.* 225–228; 370 and *n.* 238; 372 and *n.* 241; 376; 379–380; 388-390; 403-404 and *n.* 288-289; 405 *n.* 290
Future life, belief in, 110-112

G

Gaedechens, O. C., 304
Galen, 152; 308-309
Gall, F. J., 152; 316-317
Gallicia, so-called massacres of, 320
Galvani, A., 106; 316
Gardner, P., 366
Gatty, Mrs. A., 94; 95 *n.* 83; 193; 200 *n.* 158; 442

Gaudeamus igitur, 25
Gay, John, 20; 193; 194
Gellert, C. F., 4
Genesis, 150
George III, epigram on physicians of, 165 *n.* 139
Georgics, the, 361 *n.* 224
Gerhard, E., 364 *n.* 230; 379; 380-381
Gerson, J., 49
Gessner, H. J., 305
Gesta Romanorum, 182
Gheyn, J. de, 78
Gibbon, E., the historian, 126-127
Gil Blas (Le Sage), 13
Gillray, J., caricaturist, 155; 315
Giotto, 67
Girard, Bernard de, 146 *n.* 128
Girard, P. de, 116; 323
Gisant type of sepulchral monument, 56-60; 64-68; 148; 150; 236; 427
Glockenthaler, 102, 289
Gnostic gems, 403
Goethe, xv; 180 *n.* 149; 434
Goette, A., 40; 423
Goetz, K., medal by, 329
Goloubew, V., 77 *n.* 70
Gordon, General, xiii
Gorgon's head, 137
Gori, A. F., 343 *n.* 200; 392 and *n.* 270
Gough, Sir R., 57 *n.* 52; 59
Goujon, J., 4 *n.* 7; 61
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 42 *n.* 45
Graeven, H., 379
Grandval, medals commemorating execution of, 299
Grandville, *Voyage pour l'Eternité*, 89
Greene, T. W., 333*c*
Gregorovius, F., 10
Greuter, M., 433
Gube, H., medallist, 318
Guiart, J., 56; 60; 64-68; 88-90; 148; 207 *n.* 162; 208 *n.* 162; 345 *n.* 203
Gusman, P., 15 *n.* 20
Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, death of, 106; 270-271
Guyon, J. C. F., 328

H

Hachten, D. G. von, 303-304
Hadrian, Emperor, 10 and *n.* 18
Halford, Sir H., 217
Halke, H., 333
Hall, Bishop J., 75; 103; 149
Hall, Micah, epitaph, 9
Hamlet, 66; 127; 148
Hammer-Purgstall, 422 *n.* 307
Hapsburgs, Spanish line of, 178
Haroun-al-Raschid, 422
Harrich, C., 429 *n.* 314
Harrison, Miss J. E., 367; 386 *n.* 251
Hartwig, P., 368
Hautskelett, 21; 29; 31; 33; 34; 40; 46-48; 68; 138; 208; 209
Hawes, S., 125 *n.* 114
Head, B. V., 223; 224
Hearne, T., 23 *n.* 30
Heemskerk, M. van, 71-72
Heine, H., 125; 192
Heine, Th., caricature by, 166*b*
Heinemann, K., 372 *n.* 243; 373 *n.* 245; 375-379
Heiss, A., 436
Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, 160
Henley, W. E., 191
Henneberg, R., 84
Henry IV, 16; 83; 149; 290; 413
Henry VI, 149
Herbert, G., 4
Hercules Furens (Seneca), 22
Herder, 24
Heriot, G., epitaph, 107; 108
Hermes, 361-362; 373; 385 *n.* 250; 378; 388-390
Hero, shade of, how represented, 364-365
Herodotus, 14
Herrick, R., 26
Hesiodic Poems, 374; 385
Hild, J. A., 355 *n.* 220; 395 *n.* 273; 398 *n.* 281
Hillel, Rabbi, ix
Hilton, W., 202 *n.* 160
Hind, A. M., 69-70; 333*d*
Hippocrates, aphorism of, 312-313
Hiss, E., 423
Hjärne, U., medals of, 295
Hobel-Lied (Riemen), 219
Hodgkin, J. E. and Edith, 347
Hogarth, W., 87; 88; 132; 166*b*; 448
Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, Counts of, pieces commemorative of, 305-306
Hojer, G., 4 *n.* 6; 177; 178; 290-291
Holbein, xv; 80; *Dance of Death*, 29; 38 and *n.* 39; 39;

78; design for sheath of dagger by, 423; portrait of Sir Brian Tuke, 81, 82; 84; "*The Ambassadors*," 91; 221; 410; 426
Holländer, E., 152; 155; 165 *n.* 139; 166*b*; 345 *n.* 203
Hollar, W., 38
Holmes, E. G. A., ix; 130; 185
Homer, *Iliad*, xvi; 83 *n.* 74; 127; 363; 364; 371 *n.* 238; 373; 375; 385 *n.* 250; *Odyssey*, 216; 383
Hone, W., 134; 135; 136
Hood, T., 129
Hooghe, R. de, 90
Hoogstraten, A. van B., 318
Horace, 1 *n.* 2; 3; 18 *n.* 25; 21; 22; 23; 73; 79; 101; 115; 141; 142; 146; 277 *n.* 181; 301; 334; 338 *n.* 195; 369; 436
Horse, as emblematic of departure from life, 388
Hortus Deliciarum, 55; 112
Houasse, 67
Hrotsuit of Gandersheim, 177
Hull, E., 87
Humbert I, King of Italy, 322
Hunter, William, 310-311
Huss, John, 227-228
Hutten, Ulrich von, 82
Hypnos, 351; 372-380

I

Ibn-al-Kifty, 26 *n.* 32
Icon Basilike, 280
Iconography of Death, monographs on, 39 and *n.* 41
Iliad, xvi; 83; 127; 363; 364; 371 *n.* 238; 373; 375; 385 *n.* 250
Inferno (Dante), 138; 411 *n.* 294
Innocent III, Pope, *De Contemptu Mundi*, 446
Ireland, Dr. W. W., xii
Isaiah, 22; 150 *n.* 130; 433
Ivories, carved with skulls, &c., 427 *seqq.*

J

Jacks, L. P., 105 *n.* 89
Jacopone, 447
Jahn, O., 379
Jason, 74
Jeanne de Bourbon, 68
Jerome, St., 1
Job, 64; 81; 305; 441
John III, King of Sweden, 102 *n.* 85
John, St., 108; 179; 268; 410 *n.* 294
Johnson, S., 181 *n.* 150; 185
Johnston, David, 10
Jones, H. S., 374
Jones, W., 409 *n.* 292
Jonson, Ben, 391 *n.* 266
Jortin, J., 244 *n.* 175; 420
Judges, 361 *n.* 224
Julius Caesar, 214
Juste, J., 65
Juvenal, 102 *n.* 85; 148; 415 *n.* 300; 446

K

Kali, Hindu deity, 384
Kastner, J. G., 39; 281 *n.* 182; 335 *n.* 191; 393 and *n.* 271; 403 *n.* 286
Kaulbach, W. von, 86
Keller, A. von, 85
Kempis, Thomas a, 436
Ker, goddess of Doom, 369; 382; 384-385
Kerner, A. J., 200
Kerrn, H., medal of, 249
Keyes, Dr. E. L., 1 *n.* 2
King, C. W., 7; 48; 129; 137 and *n.* 124; 199; 388. *Early Christian Numismatics*, 159. *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, 169 *n.* 145; 225; 335 and *n.* 190; 337 and *n.* 194; 340 *n.* 196; 348 and *n.* 205; 349 *n.* 208; 350 *n.* 209; 351 *n.* 210; 352 *n.* 212; 372 and *n.* 240; 389 and *n.* 258; 397 *n.* 280. *Horatii Opera*, illustrated from antique gems, 339 *n.* 196; 351 *n.* 212; 369 *n.* 237. *The Gnostics and their Remains*, 160; 213; 336 and *n.* 192, 193; 369 *n.* 236-237; 372 *n.* 243; 387 and *n.* 252; 403 *n.* 287
Kleinert, F., medallist, 299
Klügmann, A., 212
Knox, J., 81 *n.* 73
Koberger, A., 46-47
Korn, O., medal of, 254
Kounitzky, F., medal by, 328
Kraus, F. X., 33 *n.* 36; 228
Kristeller, P., 448
Kubin, A., 426
Kuenstle, C., 40
Kunz, G. F., 423

L

Lacroix, P., 419 *n.* 304
Laërtius, Diogenes, epigram by, 166*h*; *Life of Empedocles*, 223; 224; *Life of Epicurus*, 19 *n.* 25
La Fontaine, 125; 216
Lagrange, Cardinal, 58
Lamps, Roman, figured with skeletons, &c., 398 *seqq.*
Lancelot-Croce, Mme. M. R., medal by, 322
Landsberg, Abbess Herrade von, 55; 112
Lane-Poole, S., xii
Langlois, E. H., 39; 64
Langton, S., Archbishop, 447
Lares and *Manes*, 11; 349 *n.* 208
Larmand, L., 66
Larvae, 15; 17; 20; 46; 48; 349 *n.* 208; 394
Lavalée, J., 89
Law, J., xi
Lawson, J. C., 408
Lawton, R., epitaph, 166*h*
Lazarus, resurrection of, 66
Le Brun, 67
Lecky, W. E. H., 4 *n.* 5; 5 *n.* 9; 19 *n.* 25; 120 and *n.* 107; 180 *n.* 148; 349 *n.* 207
Le Clerc, G., medallist, 300
Leighton, E. B., 88
Leipoldt, C. F. L., 35 *n.* 37
Leland, J., 81
Lenthall, W., memorial rings, 109; 418
Leonardo da Vinci, xv; 124
Le Sage, 13
Lessing, G. E., 21; 127 *n.* 118; 162–163; 335 *n.* 190; 398
Lessing, J., 372 *n.* 243
Lethaby, W. R., 358–360; 381 and *n.* 247
Lewin, Col. T. H., 123 *n.* 110; 218
Life, aspects of, with regard to ideas of death, 1 *seqq.*; clinging to, 216; compared with a dream, 128; compared with a stage, 20; how to be used, 179; 180; of pleasure, 5–27; 48; pessimistic attitude towards, 194
Lightbody, J., 166*e*
Lily, William, 13; 192
Lippe, Aug. Graf von der, 300
Litta, A., 255
Lodge, Sir O., 11
Longfellow, 105; 180 *n.* 149; 434
Longpérier, A. de, 395 *n.* 274
Loos, F., medal by, 316
Lorenzetti, 42
Lorraine, C. de, Duke of Guise, and his wife, sepulchral monument, 68
Loti, Pierre, 1 *n.* 1
Lotto, L., 93
Louis XII, sepulchral figure of, 65
Lovatelli, Contessa E. Caetani, 9; 12; 15; 22; 344; 345; 348; 353; 355; 358; 372; 387; 402
Love, aspects of, xiii
Love's Labour's Lost, 83; 412
Lucan, 5 *n.* 8; 10; 201
Lucas, R. Cockle, 433
Lucian, 111; 137; 277; 394; 407
Lucilius, 162; 214
Lucretia, as type of purity, 173; 237–238
Lucretius, 6 and *n.* 10; 8; 63; 113; 334
Ludwig I of Bavaria and Lola Montez, 86
Luke, St., 161
Luther, Martin, 24; 103; 107; 112 *n.* 97; 410

M

Macaber Dance. *See* Dance of Death
Macabre, grande Danse, des Hommes et des Femmes, 65–66
Macarius, St., Egyptian anchorite, 42
Macbeth, 193
McCurdy, E., 124 *n.* 112
Mackail, J. W., 21 *n.* 27
Macrobius, 129
Madrid, Royal Palace, tapestry at, 71; 73
Madruzzo, C., medal of, 249
Maeterlinck, M., 5 *n.* 9; 105; 334 *n.* 189
Magdeburg, recovery from plague, 294
Malaria in ancient Greece, 222 *n.* 171
Mâle, E., 40; 58; 61
Maler, C., 275; 276
Manilius, 75 *n.* 69; 79; 103; 105; 252; 262; 285; 333*b*
Manners, Sir G., and his wife, sepulchral monument, 123 and *n.* 109
Mansfeld, F. C., Count of, 102

Mapes, Walter, 25 ; 37
March, H. C., xvi
Marchand, Guyot, 66 ; 209
Marcus Aurelius, 6 ; 105 ; 120 ; 349
Margaret of Austria, 191
Marly, Thibaud de, 146 *n.* 128
Marot, Clément, 27
Marshall, F. H., 372 *n.* 242
Marston, J., 412 *n.* 295
" Martelli mirror," the, 440
Martial, 13 ; 22 ; 120 ; 122 *n.* 108 ; 163 ; 181 *n.* 150 ; 215 and *n.* 164 ; 268 and *n.* 180 ; 348
Marzi, G., 105 ; 233
Maskell, A., 430 and *n.* 316
Maskell, W., 30 *n.* 34
Massinger, 412 *n.* 295
Matthew, St., 415 *n.* 300
Mazois, F., 396 *n.* 279
Mechel, C. von, 39
Mediaeval religious teaching and ideas of Death, 28 and *n.* 33 ; 36 ; 38 ; 43 ; 49 ; 50 ; 56 ; 70 ; 73 ; 112
Medical profession, satires and caricatures, 161
Medici, Alessandro de', murder of, 250–251
Medici, Lorenzo de', 231
Medici, " Lorenzino " de', 250–251
Médicis, Catherine de, tomb of, 64
Mendelssohn, M., medal of, 314
Menoeceus, 6
Menzel, A. von, 166*b*
Mercandetti, T., medallist, 306–307 ; 308 ; 316
Merchant of Venice, 83
Meredith, G., 186
Merivale, C., 10
Merkel, C. G., 85
Mersey, T. R., 178
Merzbacher, E., 252
Metamorphoses (Ovid), 331 ; 437 and *n.* 318
Metempsychosis, 111 ; 360 ; 388–390
Meydenbach, J., printer, 78
Meyer, C. F., 82
Meyer, C. and R., 107 ; 263
Michael Angelo, 68
Miller, E., 183
Milton, 105 ; 120 ; 128
Minyad, the, 383
Mitchell, Sir A., 126 *n.* 115
Moawiyah II, seal of, 421
Moirae, or Fates, 45–46 ; 73 and *n.* 60 ; 74 ; 116
Mola, Gaspare, medallist, 287
Molière, 166
Molza, F., 210
Mompesson, C., 104
Monmouth and Argyle, execution of, x ; 297
Montaigne, 124 ; 129
Monteverde, J., 90
Montez, Loia, 86
Moore, T., 217
" Moralische Pfenninge " of Basel, 27 ; 103 ; 221 ; 281
Morality Plays and Stories of the Middle Ages, 35 and *n.* 37 ; 38 ; 44
More, Sir T., 13 ; 80 ; 192 ; 245
Morgagni, J. B., 308
Morgan, J. Pierpont, 429 ; 431
Moritz, of Hesse, mortuary thaler of, 272
Moro, T., 249
Motte-Fouqué, De la, 31
Mouchon, L. E., 202 ; 323
Müchler, C., 24
Müller, P., 325 ; 326
Muratori, L. A., 116 ; 306–307
Murillo, 67 ; 91 *n.* 79

N

Nantes, Edict of, revocation of, 297–298
Napoleon I, xiii ; 142 ; 181 *n.* 150 ; 421 *n.* 306
Nass, L., 55 ; 66 ; 89 ; 166*e*
Neale, J. M., hymns of, 195
Necromancy, Etruscan, 404
Necrophilia, 178
Neercassel, J. van, 109 ; 178
Nero, death of, coins referring to, 226–227
" Netsukes," Japanese, 425
Neuenaar, H., Graf von, 1 *n.* 2
Neufarer, L., medals by, 330–331
Newland, A., 9
Newman, 217 *n.* 167
Nicolson, J., 293
Nothnagel, Prof. H., 217 and *n.* 167
Notker Balbulus, 103

O

Occo, Adolf (three physicians of that name), 106 ; 107 ; 267–268 ; 443
Odyssey, 216 ; 383
Oedipus Coloneus (Sophocles), 198
Olfers, J. F. M. von, 396 *n.* 277–278

Omar Khayyam, 26 and *n.* 32; 422
Oporinus, J., printer, of Basel, 79
Oppenheimer, H., 429 *n.* 315
Orcagna, 42
Orelli, J. C., 14
Ornament, analytical morphology of, xv; xvi
Osborn, M., 24
Osiris, 405-406
Osler, Sir W., 217
Overbeke, G. van, mortuary medal of, 306
Ovid, 3; 4; 146; 299; 331; 349; 394; 437
Owen, John, epigram, 1

P

Pain and death, vi, xv, xvi, 122–130, 151, 185, 201, 217, 218, 446
Paine, Thomas, 132; 314–316
Palladas, 20; 192
Palls, funeral, devices on, 440; 441
Pamphaios, kylix, signed by, 373; 376
Pannonius, Janus, 13; 192
Panzer, T., medal of, 332
Paphnutius, mediaeval play, 177
Paradin, M. C., *Heroicall Devices*, 189; 239; 273
Paradise Lost, 105; 128
"Parting Scenes," in ancient art, 28 *n.* 33; 59; 334
Paul, St., 22; 103; 106; 107; 108; 267; 268; 271; 289
Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 35 *n.* 37; 373; 374; 377; 378; 382; 383; 385; 395 and *n.* 274; 396 *n.* 275
Pavius, 78
Peace Conference, International, 326–327
Peacock, symbolic of everlasting life, 390–391
Pelican, device of, 281
Pepys, S., memorial rings of, 419
Persius, 22; 348 and *n.* 206
Pessimism, 26; causes of, 197; reflections on, 201
Pestthaler and Pest-tokens, 158 *n.* 135; 167 *n.* 140; 260; 323
Peters, H., 31 *n.* 35
Petrarch, *Africa*, 102, 121, 447; *De Contemptu Mundi*, 121; 446; 447; his Laura, 117; *Trionfi*, 45; 69; 70–72; 75; 116–119; 121; 190
Petronius, 3 *n.* 4; 15; 20 *n.* 26
Pettigrew, T. J., 23 *n.* 30; 60; 62; 108; 145
Pfeiffer, L. and Ruland, C., *Pestilentia in Nummis*, 158 *n.* 135; 260; 287; 288; 294; 302; 304; 314; 319
Phaedo, 4
Philip, Duke of Brunswick, 259–260
Phoenix, 392 and *n.* 269
Piccolomini (Schiller), 23 *n.* 30
Pigalle, J. B., 90
Pilon, G., 59; 64; 68
Pinchbeck, 131 *n.* 121
Pindar, 128; 277 *n.* 181
Pingo, T., medallist, 308
"Piot amphora," 375; 377
Plagues, &c., medals commemorative of, 302-304; 324
Plato, 4; 5; 105; 110; 124
Playfair, Sir L., 125–126
Plimsoll, S., 143; 321–322
Pliny, 7; 35 *n.* 37; 63; 201; 207 *n.* 162
Plutarch, 16 and *n.* 22; 115
Poe, E. A., 219
Pollux, 407
Polygnotus, 382; 383
Polyidos and Glaukos, legend of, 386–387
Polynices and Eteocles, 382; 385
Pompey the Great, 119; 210
Pope, 168 *n.* 142
Poole, Robert, 166*e*
Poole, R. S., 282; 283
Pottier, E., 353; 366; 373; 375
Pozzi, J. H., 180; 311-312
Pozzi, S. J., 328
Predestination, doctrine of, 191
Prior, M., 199
Proctor, A., 125
Propertius, 102 *n.* 84
Proverbs, 25
Psalms, 17; 25; 179; 192; 277 *n.* 181; 305
Psyche and Cupid, 354; 358
"*Psychostasia*" scenes, xvi; 191; 363-364; 385 *n.* 250
Pythagoras, 5; 105; 120

Q

Quarles, F., 184
Quatrefages, de, 65
Quilter, H., 104 *n.* 87
Quintus Smyrnaeus, 373 *n.* 244
Quivil, Bishop P. de, 59

R

Radowitz, General J. M. von, 1
Raigersperg, N. G. de, 178; 279
Raimondi, M., 77
Read, Sir C. H., 411
Ready, punning epitaph, 4
Ready, W. T., 433
Reber, B., 326
Regnault, Dr. F., 346 *n.* 203
Reichstadt, Duke of, 319
Reinach, S., 15; 335; 337; 353; 363; 375; 381; 392
Reinaud, J. T., 422 *n.* 308
Reinhard, Hans, 330
Religio Medici, 201
Rembrandt, 152
Remenyi, J., medal by, 329
René of Anjou, titular King of Naples, verses attributed to him, 65
René de Chalon, Prince of Orange, statue of, 68
Resistance, necessity of, for vital reaction, xv
Rethel, A., 85; 86; 125–126
Retzsch, M., 85
Revelation, 189; 279; 291
Riccio, D., 232
Richard II, 149
Richarme, L. D., jeton, 330
Richer, P., 42; 60; 65; 67; 432
Richier, Ligier, 68; 189
Richter, L., 85
Ridder, A. de, 371
Riemen, F., 219
Risdon, T., 182
Robbia, Girolamo della, 64
Robert, C., 372 *n.* 243
Robespierre, 130
Rochefoucauld, La, x
Rogat, E., medallist, 319
Rogers, Rev. E., 213
Rohde, E., 10 *n.* 17; 353 *n.* 215
Roland, Madame, 113 *n.* 99
Ronsard, P. de, 66; 186 *n.* 153; 188
Roper, Margaret, Sir T. More's daughter, 81
Roper, W., *Life of Sir T. More*, 81 *n.* 73
Rops, F., 89; 90; 219
Rosamund, epitaph, 59
Rosenbaum, L., 252
Ross, Dr. E. D., 26 *n.* 32
Rossetti, C., 128
Rossetti, D. G., 35 *n.* 37; 85
Rossi, G. B. de, 62
Roswitha of Gandersheim, 177
Roty, L. O., medallist, 325; 328
Roubiliac, L. F., 90
Roubillac. *See* Roubiliac
Rowlandson, T., 86 and *n.* 77; 132; 166*c*; 214; 317
Rudolph, Prince of Anhalt, *Sterbethaler* of, 269
Rudolphi, C. A., 262; 267; 295; 308; 312 (*bis*); 316
Ruggiero, Prof. E. de, 402 *n.* 285
Rylands, W. H., 50 and *n.* 51

S

Sachs, Hans, 101; 161
Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 297
Samudragupta, coins, 227
Sarpedon, 371–373; 375
Satyricon (Petronius), 15
Savory, Sir W. S., 198; 217
Schaffhausen, bell at, 443
Schedel, H., 46
Schildo, E., 24
Schiller, 23 *n.* 30; 204 *n.* 161; 287; 443
Schlick family, coins struck by the, 248 and *n.* 177
Schlosser, J. von, 77; 432
Schomberg, Marshal, 109; 298–299
Schomburg, I. G., medallist, 300
Scott, Sir W., 181 *n.* 150
Sears, G. E., 40
Seelmann, W., 40
Seianti Thanunia, sarcophagus of, 213
Seligmann, S., 157; 426
Selinus, coins of, 153
Seneca, 3; 5; 22; 180; 201; 214; 349; 394; 416
Sforza, Faustina, 168; 260
Shakespeare, 107 *n.* 90; *As You Like It*, 20 *n.* 26; 193; *Cymbeline*, 161; 239; 392 *n.* 269; *Hamlet*, 66; 127; 148; *Henry IV*, 16; 83; 149; 290; 413; *Henry VI*, 149; *Julius Caesar*, 214; *Love's Labour Lost*, 83; 412; *Macbeth*, 193; *Merchant of Venice*, 83; *Richard II*, 149; *Sonnets*, 7 *n.* 13; the Globe Theatre, 20 *n.* 26; *Twelfth Night*, 417
Sharp, J., Archbishop, 170
Shelley, Lady F., 127 *n.* 117
Shelley, P. B., 129; 197
"Shih King," the, of the Chinese, 26
Shirley, J., 145; 149; 296

Shirley, L., 4th Earl of Ferrers, epitaph, 23 *n.* 30
Simonides, 5; 101; 184
Sisson, G. H., 423
Siva and Kali, Hindoo deities, 28 *n.* 33
Skeletons, accompanied by symbols of pleasure, 355; dancing, figured on gems, 392 *seqq.*; in ancient art, 14–26; in Chinese art, 426; in Japanese art, 425–426; on Gnostic talismans, 403; the Cumaean, 396.
Smith, A. H., 63; 350 *n.* 209; 358; 380
Smith, H. C., 409 *n.* 292; 419 *n.* 304; 438
Smyrnaeus, Quintus, 373 *n.* 244
Socrates, 4–6; 105; 124
Solario, 415 *n.* 300
Solon, 115
Sophocles, 149; 198
Sortin-Dorigny, A., 408
Soul, of the dying, representations of, 365–366; survival of, gem designs suggesting, 350 *seqq.* *See also* SURVIVAL
Spartianus, 10
Sperandio, 177
Spinoza, 1
Spintriae, xiv
Stackelberg, O. M. von, 338
Statius, 7
Steen, J., 258 *n.* 178
Stephen II (Transylvania), 267
Sterbethaler and *Sterbemünzen*, 106; 109; 147; 189; 212; 258; 261–262; 269; 278; 289–290; 295; 305
Sternsee, C. von, hat-medallion, 426
Stock, A., 78
Stoic philosophers, 4 *n.* 5; 19
Stolpe, H., xvi
Storck, Dr. W. F., 36; 37; 40; 41; 42 and *n.* 44–45; 45
Storer, Dr. H. R., 156; 278; 301; 312
Strzygowski, J., 335 *n.* 190
Suffield, Lord, 96
Suicide, 111; 112 and *n.* 96
Sun-dials, 94–95; 193
Survival, after death in minds of others, 115–121; of soul after death, 5; 106; 110; 114
Sutteeism, 111; 113
Sviatoslav I, of Russia, 347 *n.* 204
Swanenburg, W., 79
Swinburne, A. C., 107 *n.* 90; 123; 201 *n.* 159.
Sylke, Prior, tomb, 62
Symeoni, G., *Emblems*, 35 *n.* 37; 147
Symonds, J. A., 7
Szirmaï, T. A., medallist, 328

T

Tacitus, 11; 120 *n.* 107; 166*f*–166*g*; 168 *n.* 144; 261
"Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living," 35 and *n.* 37; 36; 38; 40–43; 45–46; 48; 57; 60; 70
Talismans, amulets, &c. *See* AMULETS
Tankerfield, G., 125 *n.* 114
Tate and Brady, 296 *n.* 187
Taylor, A. E., 19 *n.* 25
Temple, Sir R., 3 *n.* 4
Tenniel, Sir J., xiii; 322
Tentzel, W. E., 330
Terence, 237; 332
Tertullian, *Apologia*, 384
Tesserae, Roman, in shape of Death's heads, 402
Thanatophilia, 178
Thanatos, representations of, 371–382
Theocritus, 168
Theognis, 198
Thompson, C. J. S., 432
Thompson, F., 197
Tiepolo, 89
Tillier, C., 217
Timbs, J., 23 *n.* 30
Tousé, R., sepulchral slab, 64
Treu, G., 337 *n.* 194
Trigoulet, E., 89
Trimalchio's feast, 15; 16
Trionfi (Petrarch), 45; 69–71; 116–119; 121; 190; 447
Tristan, 74
Triumph of Death, 42; 45; 69; 71–72; 75; 79; 81 *n.* 73; 103; 123; 215; 216
Tuke, Sir Brian, 81; 82; 84
Tulpius, N. P., 157 and *n.* 134
Tusculanae Disputationes (Cicero), 4; 5; 105; 124; 184
Twelfth Night, 417
Twining, L., 55; 228; 398
Tyack, G. S., 442

U

Usteri, J. M., 27

V

Vado mori poems, 36 ; 37
Valdes Leal, 67 ; 91 ; 103 ; 208
Vampires, mediaeval superstitions concerning, 111 ; 408
Varro, 361 *n.* 224
Vasari, 256
Vaschide, N., 126
Vaughan, H., 189
Veneziano, A., 77
Veneziano, B., 71
Verard, A., 42 ; 78
Vernon, Admiral, 131 *n.* 121
Vesalius, 77 ; 79 ; 267 ; 268 ; 274–276 ; 443 ; 444 ; 448
Vigoureux, le, 74 ; 116
Villefosse, Héron A. de, 17 and *n.* 23
Villon, F., 66 ; 146
Virgil, x ; *Aeneid*, 23 *n.* 30 ; 258 ; 310 ; 316 ; 400 ; *Copa Syrisca*, 22 ; *Georgics*, 361 *n.* 224 ; portrayed on medal, 61 ; 233-236
Vogel, A., medallist, 323
Vogt, Prof. K., 152 ; 323
Voltaire, 113

W

Wadd, W., 162
Wadham, N. and D., 108 ; 268
" *Wahrheits-Thaler*," 102 *n.* 84
Walid I, of Arabia, seal of, 422
Wallace, A. R., xv
Wallace, Sir W., 114 and *n.* 100
Walpole, Sir R., 137 *n.* 123
Walters, H. B., 362–363 ; 372 *n.* 243
Walton, Izaak, 418
Warenne, John de, epitaph, 60
Waser, O., 353 *n.* 215 ; 366-368
Watches, Death's-head, 436-437
Watts, G. F., 85 ; 183–184 ; 190
Webster, J., 149
Weismann, A., 391
Welsted, T., epitaph, 298
Wermuth, C., 301 ; 333*a* ; 415 *n.* 300
Werre, J. E. van de, 306
Westermarck, E., 112 *n.* 96
Westhoff, H., medallist, 318
Westwood, J. O., 71 *n.* 56 ; 335 *n.* 190
Wharton, T., the Younger, 38 *n.* 39 ; 127 *n.* 118 ; 371 *n.* 238
Whitman, Walt, 188
Wiener, C., Belgian medallist, 203
Wiertz, A. J., 89 ; 219
Wieseler, F., 399 *n.* 282
Wilhelm Meister, 434
Wilhelm Tell, 287
Wilkinson, Sir J. A., 16
Willette, L. A., 90
William Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, 115 ; 300-301
Winkel, J., 89
Withers, G., *Emblems*, 285
Witkowski, Dr. J. G., 165 *n.* 139
Witte, Baron de, 395 *n.* 274
Wood, E., 36 *n.* 37
Woodward, G. M., 86 ; 166*c*
Wordsworth, 129
Worms, toads, and snakes in emblematic representations of Death, 34 ; 40 *n.* 42 ; 56 ; 61 ; 64–65 ; 67–68 ; 207–208 ; 386–387 ; 425–427
Wotton, Sir H., 418
Woudanus, J. C., 79
Wright, A., 238
Wulparia, I., 146
Wynkyn de Worde, *Contemplacyon of Synners*, 43
Wyon, A., medallist, 324
Wyon, L. C., medallist, 322
Wyon, W., medallist, 307 ; 317

Y

Young, E., *Night Thoughts*, 85 ; 123 ; 188 ; 210
Yver, Canon E., monument, 64

Z

Zabara, J., *Book of Delights*, 164
Zäh, S., medal of, 255
Zahn, Dr. R., 346
Zeno, 18 ; 19
Zumbo, Gaetano, Giulio, 67

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