FORM AND CONTENT IN REMBRANDT'S
EARLY RAISING OF LAZARUS THEME

by

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ABSTRACT

In the formative period of his career Rembrandt completed
three works dealing with the theme of the resurrection of
Lazarus: the 1630 drawing, the painting circa 1630, and the
etching of approximately 1631. A discussion involving the
dating of Rembrandt's painting and etching focuses on the
chronology of his 1630 drawing, and Jan Lievens' etching and
painting of the same theme.

The discussion in scholarly literature of Rembrandt's
treatment of the miracle has been limited primarily to
compositional analysis and to the questions addressing the
dating chronology. No previous study approaches the icono-
graphy of the subject. In this thesis an examination of the
theme reveals that Rembrandt's depiction follows the type
which interprets the raising of Lazarus as a key to the
achievement of eternal life through faith in Christ.

Chapter I introduces and describes the works, notes the
legends associated with the Lazarus narrative, summarizes
and cites the original text, and closes with a history of
the literature.

A selection of works dating from the 2nd to 15th centuries
is examined in Chapter II to establish the earlier pictorial
tradition and describe motifs common to the depiction of this
narrative.

Chapter III isolates and defines distinct Southern and
Northern types which appear in the 16th century.

In Chapter IV, two of Rembrandt's immediate compositional sources, Jan Lievens and Pieter Lastman, are investigated. Following a brief clarification of their personal association with Rembrandt, several stages in the development of Rembrandt's conception are explored, contrasting his work with these earlier sources. As a result of this examination it is possible to isolate the compositional elements Rembrandt was attracted to as well as those which he rejected. The analysis also reveals several aspects of the painting and etching which suggest contrasting influences; these serve as valuable clues to the doctrines lying behind them.

In the final chapter I consider the meaning of this theme of raising from the dead. The analysis is divided into two parts. In the first I review the present scholarship regarding the function of the theme's earlier tradtions. Three interpretations emerge from this broad perspective: 1) the narrative is understood simply as a miracle, though Christ's most spectacular, 2) it embodies a hope of future resurrection and promise of rebirth, and 3) it acts as a symbol of spiritual rebirth on earth. Although the delineations are not extremely clear-cut, each of the three interpretations appears to gain precedence at various times in history.

In part two I consider how Rembrandt's narrative may have functioned in early 17th century Holland. Here the outstanding visual elements isolated in Chapter IV are considered in conjunction with relevant religious doctrine and

documents. Viewed together with the previous iconography this
analysis provides clues which suggest the theme's function
in the early 17th century was to reveal that faith in Christ
was the key to eternal life.

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Chapter I

I. Introduction and Description:

The <u>Raising of Lazarus</u> by Rembrandt,[1] now in the Los
Angeles County Museum (Figure 1), oil on panel, measures
93.7 x 81.1 cm.[2] This painting is generally dated about
1630.[3] It is followed shortly afterward by the etching
(Figure 2) dated about 1631-2.[4]

An initial assessment of the painted and etched
representation of the subject immediately reveal the same
major distinguishing elements. The first to be noted focuses
on the characterization of Christ.

In both works, Christ, the miracle worker, proportionally
over life-size, acts as a "magician."[5] In the painting he
stands behind the tomb facing the observer with his right
arm raised in a powerful gesture. He does not wear an
expression of calm assurance in his divine power over death,
but stares as though in a trance. Instead of focusing steadi-
ly on Lazarus, Christ looks with wide-open eyes downward
toward Lazarus, not directly at him. Christ's brow is furrowed
(Figure 3), as though a divinity had to concentrate in order
to achieve a miracle.[6]

In the etching Christ stands with his left hand raised
in an equally powerful gesture. Due to the position of his
head Christ's expression is not completely visible, but it
seems to be quieter than it appears in the painting.

Lazarus is characterized in both works as a fully-draped

wakening corpse grasping the sides of the ground-level tomb as he pulls himself forward. His attention is directed not only away from the observers, but also away from Christ. In the etching, Lazarus acknowledges neither the presence of a kneeling female figure (perhaps one of his sisters) placed only a few feet in front and to his right, nor the figure on his left, who leans with outstretched arms over the sarcophagus. He is mentally alert: his eyes are clearly open and his mouth formed as though in speech. In contrast, the painting shows Lazarus' eyelids about three quarters open with his lips slightly separated; though not fully alert, he is sufficiently conscious to be aware of his own awakening.

Rembrandt clusters the witnesses around the sarcophagus. They each show a varying degree of surprise and awe at the spectacle of Lazarus' body coming to life. A majority of the figures in the painting are placed to the left of the tomb, with the suggestion of a kneeling female figure in the foreground. A greater amount of light falls on the witnesses and Lazarus than on Christ.[7] In addition to the single kneeling female figure in the right foreground, the spectators in the etching are placed in two clusters, one group to the left behind Christ, the other to the right behind the tomb. The attention of the spectators in both works is focused on Lazarus, with one exception: in the etching a single figure looks toward Christ; he is one of the group of figures situated directly behind the Saviour.

A further element common to both the painting and etching is the background wall - on it hang a quiver full of arrows, a sword, and a bow.

II. Lazarus Legends:

The description of the raising of Lazarus and the events leading up to it fall within the Gospel of John, Chapter 11, verses 1 to 45. Notably, this event is not mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels,[8] although two other raisings from the dead, those of Jarius[9] and of Nain,[10] are described. The omission from the Synoptic Gospels of what must have been the most astounding of Christ's miracles has prompted many theologians to question the historical authenticity of the theme.

Some scholars suggest that John fabricated the story. His style of gospel exposition is highly symbolic; it has been proposed that the miracle, as the seventh and last of the Johnannine "signs," is used as a climactic symbol of the future death and resurrection of Christ.[11]

This suggestion is reinforced when one considers that John has created a great amount of dramatic tension by deliberately delaying Christ's arrival until Lazarus has been dead for four days.[12] A popular belief of the time was that the soul and body separated after three days, with no hope of resuscitation. Other recorded raisings had been of persons only recently dead.[13] Lazarus' resurrection is hence magnified not only as the greatest of the raisings, but as the greatest of the miracles.

A more serious objection to the historical authenticity of the theme is the silence of the other evangelists, particularly that of Luke, who knew of the sisters, Martha and Mary, but not of Lazarus.[14] Furthermore, the fact that Lazarus is not mentioned in any other context within the biblical text throws additional doubt on the theme's authenticity.

Some scholars have sought an explanation of the story's origin in connection with the parable of the poor man Lazarus of Dives.[15] Jesus gave the name "Lazarus" to the sick and miserable man who lay at the gate, longing in vain for the "crumbs that fell from the rich man's table."[16] When both men died, Lazarus was borne by an angel to heaven, the rich man to the torments of Hades. Suffering greatly, the rich man asked if his brothers could be spared this pain by warning them of the consequences of their selfish actions. He was told, however, that if his brothers "do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced if someone should rise from the dead."[17] While it has been argued that the raising originated as an illustration reinforcing the parable's lesson, this explanation does not account for the association of Mary and Martha with Lazarus, for which no theological motive can be distinguished.[18]

Lazarus of Bethany is hence not to be confused with St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, the poor man "full of sores" of the parable. In the middle ages the poor man of the parable became St. Lazarus, patron of beggars and lepers. This

military order of hospitaller knights still exists today in the form of two separate orders of merit and knighthood in Italy and France.

Furthermore, several points should be clarified with regard to the legends surrounding Lazarus of Bethany. Although the Bible tells us nothing of his later life, and few, if any, facts are known, two legends have developed. In Eastern tradition he, his sisters, and others who were said to have been put on a leaking boat by the Jews of Jaffa miraculously landed safely on Cyprus. Lazarus was made bishop at Kition where he died peacefully thirty-nine years later. In 890 Lazarus' reputed relics were moved from Cyprus to Constantinople, where a church and monastery were built in his honor by Emperor Leo VI.

In the West Lazarus is associated with the legend of St. Mary Magdalen in Provence.[19] According to this 11th century legend, Lazarus and his sisters arrived in the south-east of Gaul in an oarless, rudderless boat. There Lazarus developed a following and became bishop of Marseilles. Later martyred, he was buried in a cave over which the abbey of St. Victor was subsequently built. Lazarus relics, principally a skull, were transferred to Autun and enshrined there in a new cathedral in 1146. Autun cathedral remains the principle Lazarus shrine in Western Europe.

III. Biblical Text:

The complete text, taken from the King James transla-
tion first published in 1611, London, appears below. In
1630 no Dutch translation of the Bible had yet been
published; hence it is not certain which text Rembrandt
may have used.[20]

In Christ's three year ministry this deed stands as
the final miracle he performed before the Last Supper.
When their brother Lazarus fell ill, Mary and Martha of
Bethany sent for Christ.[21] Because the Jews had recently
attempted to stone Christ for blasphemy[22] the disciples
feared for his and their lives and therefore wished to
avoid Judaea. Nonetheless, the party proceeds, and not far
outside Jerusalem, Christ performs the raising, some fifteen
furlongs (1½ miles) off the road to Bethany.[23]

It is to this miracle that John attributes the decision
of the High Priests and Pharisees to kill Christ, for many
Jews were converted by the deed; they "Had seen the things
which Jesus did, (and) believed on him."[24] The Sanhedrin,
fearing Christ's power, "took council together for to put
him to death."[25] "For this man doeth many miracles. If we
let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the
Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation."[26]

The other evangelists, probably following Mark 11:18,
attribute the Pharisees' anger to Jesus' act of cleansing
the temple of the merchants and money changers.[27]

The complete text describing the events leading to the

raising, the description of the resurrection itself and the

decision of the Sanhedrin, follows:

Chaper 11

Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus, of Bethany, the
town of Mary and her sister Martha.
2   (It was that Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment,
and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was
sick.)
3   Therefore his sisters sent unto him, saying, Lord, behold,
he whom thou lovest is sick.
4   When Jesus heard that, he said, This sickness is not unto
death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God might
be glorified thereby.
5   Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus.
6   When he had heard therefore that he was sick, he abode
two days still in the same place where he was.
7   Then after that saith he to his disciples, Let us go into
Judaea again.
8   His disciples say unto him, Master, the Jews of late
sought to stone thee: and goest thou thither again?
9   Jesus answered, Are there not twelve hours in the day?
If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he
seeth the light of this world.
10   But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because
there is no light in him.
11   These things said he: and after that he saith unto them,
Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him
out of sleep.
12   Then said his disciples, Lord, if he sleep, he shall do
well.
13   Howbeit Jesus spake of his death but they thought that he
had spoken of taking of rest in sleep.
14   Then said Jesus unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead.
15   And I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the
intent ye may believe; nevertheless let us go unto him.
16   Then said Thomas, which is called Didymus, unto his fellow
disciples, Let us also go, that we may die with him.
17   Then when Jesus came, he found that he had lain in the
grave four days already.
18   Now Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen fur-
longs off:
19   And many of the Jews came to Martha and Mary, to comfort
them concerning their brother.
20   Then Martha, as soon as she heard that Jesus was coming,
went and met him: but Mary sat still in the house.
21   Then said Martha unto Jesus, Lord, if thou hadst been
here, my brother had not died.
22   But I know, that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of
God, God will give it thee.
23   Jesus saith unto her, Thy brother shall rise again.

24 Martha saith unto him, I know that he shall rise again in
the resurrection at the last day.
25 Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life
he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he
live:
26 And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.
Believest thou this?
27 She saith unto him, Yea, Lord: I believe that thou art
the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.
28 And when she had so said, she went her way, and called
Mary her sister secretly, saying, The Master is come, and
calleth for thee.
29 As soon as she heard that, she arose quickly, and came
unto him.
30 Now Jesus was not yet come into the town, but was in that
place where Martha met him.
31 The Jews then which were with her in the house, and com-
forted her, when they saw Mary, that she rose up hastily and
went out, followed her, saying, She goeth unto the grave to
weep there.
32 Then when Mary was come where Jesus was, and saw him, she
fell down at his feet, saying unto him, Lord, if thou hadst
been here, my brother had not died.
33 When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews also
weeping which came with her, he groaned in the spirit, and
was troubled.
34 And said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto him,
Lord, come and see.
35 Jesus wept.
36 Then said the Jews, Behold how he loved him!
37 And some of them said, Could not this man, which opened
the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should
not have died?
38 Jesus therefore again groaning in himself cometh to the
grave. It was a cave, and a stone lay upon it.
39 Jesus said, Take ye away the stone. Martha, the sister
of him that was dead, saith unto him, Lord, by this time he
stinketh: for he hath been dead four days.
40 Jesus saith unto her, Said I not unto thee, that, if thou
wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?
41 Then they took away the stone from the place where the
dead was laid. And Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said,
Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me.
42 And I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of
the people which stand by I said it, that they may believe
that thou hast sent me.
43 And when he thus had spoken, he cried with a loud voice,
Lazarus, come forth.
44 And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with
grave clothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin.
Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go.

45 Then many of the Jews which came to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him.
46 But some of them went their ways to the Pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done.
47 Then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many miracles.
48 If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation.
49 And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all.
50 Nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.
51 And this spake he not of himself: but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation:
52 And not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad.
53 Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death.
54 Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews: but went thence unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his disciples.
55 And the Jews' passover was nigh at hand: and many went out of the country up to Jerusalem before the passover, to purify themselves.
56 Then sought they for Jesus, and spake among themselves, as they stood in the temple, What think ye, that he will not come to the feast?
57 Now both the chief priests and the Pharisees had given a commandment, that, if any man knew where he were, he should shew it, that they might take him.

IV. Historiography:

Before proceeding further, the contributions of other art historians with regard to this narrative will be considered. The theme is given fuller coverage in areas outside Rembrandt literature. Briefly, Panofsky, in Early Netherlandish Painting, suggests an interpretation for Ouwater's painting of 1450.[28] Caravaggio's representation and its relationship to

the 16th century tradition is discussed by Richard Spear;[29]
Denis Mahon also deals with the subject in "A late Caravaggio
rediscovered."[30] An article by Giorge H. de Loo touches on
the Netherlandish influence in the French school of artists
surrounding Nicolas Froment.[31] Also, Mâle,[32] Schiller,[33] and
Kirschenbaum[34] provide very useful iconographic surveys in
which they occasionally advance interpretations of the narra-
tive.

Focusing on Rembrandt literature, the subject is rarely
mentioned. In older scholarship, Saxl deals with the miracle
in "Rembrandt und Italien," Oud Holland, 1928.[35] He
primarily considers the Lievens problem and discusses formal
analysis. Müntz's book, Die Kunst Rembrandt's und Goethes
sehen, Leipzig, 1934, remains the most penetrating examination.[36]
In addition to a discussion of formal analysis, Müntz touches
on the theme's religious interpretation. In 1957, the art
historian once again mentions the subject, though briefly,
in "Rembrandt's Vorstellung von Antlitz Christi."[37]

Two articles by Stechow[38] and Johnson[39] published in the
Los Angeles Art Bulletin in 1973 and 1974, respectively, deal
with the painting. The earlier paper provides a compositional
analysis, with a brief review of the differing opinions
concerning the Lievens problem. Johnson, a restorer, discusses
the technical aspects of the work, including the condition of
the panel and X-rays taken of the work.

The most current in-depth study dealing with the subject

is by H. Guratzsch, "Die Untersicht als ein Gestaltung-smittle in Rembrandt's Frühwerk," Oud Holland, 1975.[40]

Chapter II

I. Introduction:

The following historical overview is undertaken to establish the early iconographic tradition of the Raising of Lazarus. The focus of the discussion will be on the most typical representative types of general time periods, with a brief indication of any major divergent motifs. The three time periods to be dealt with in this chapter are 1) Early Christian - 1st to 9th centuries; 2) Byzantine - 6th to early 14th centuries, with one example from the late 14th century; and 3) the 12th to the 15th century North. In later chapters, both the 16th century Northern and Southern traditions and Rembrandt and his immediate circle will be examined. It is only after completing this overview of the pictorial tradition that elements of key iconographic significance emerge, the general significance of which will not be discussed until the latter part of this paper.

II. Early Christian:

The earliest representative type to be considered spans the first to the ninth centuries. These initial works are simple in detail. In the St. Lucina catacombs outside Rome, (dated 240-250; Figure 4) only two figures, Lazarus and Christ, are present. The Saviour stands facing the viewer, with a wand in his left hand and his right arm raised, as Lazarus, wrapped tightly in bands, stands erect at the entrance to a small aedicula. Similar samples of this type are found in

illustrations five and six.

With few alterations, this basic model remains constant until the 9th century. The most significant innovation lies in the abandonment of the wand.[1] This instrument, with its magical association, is occasionally replaced by a long staff, the top of which contains a cross (Figure 7).[2] The staff is generally held in the left hand, however, freeing the right hand to form the gesture which revives Lazarus. The staff was soon relinquished in favor of the commanding gesture of the right hand, becoming the sole instrument by which Lazarus is raised from the dead.[3]

As this theme's dramatic narrative develops, one naturally witnesses the addition of greater numbers of figures. Not only does this permit a clearer definition of the moments illustrated, but some variety as well. In the Hessisches Landesmuseum's 5th century Syrian ivory pyxis, (Figure 8), one notes the presence now of both Mary and Martha.[4] Further-more, the textual reference of the depiction is very clear: Christ has given the order for the sepulchre door to be opened; Martha reacts by raising the hem of her mantel[5] thus refering to the words: "Lord by this time he stinketh, for he hath been dead four days."[6]

Yet another example dating from the 6th century is the miniature of the Gospels of St. Augustine, Monte Cassino Monastery (Figure 9). This work illustrates a later moment in the story of Lazarus. Positioned at the entrance of a

small aedicule, a fully resurrected Lazarus stares open-eyed
at the world once again. In this example, the unbearded
Christ figure performs the miracle unaided by wand or staff,
using instead the strong gesture of the upraised right hand.

III. Byzantine Type: 6th to 14th centuries

The Byzantine model, spanning the years from the 6th
to 14th centuries is, like its early Christian forerunner,
of Eastern derivation; however, it stems not from Greece or
Egypt, but from the Syro-Palestine area.[7] The earliest
example illustrating these new characteristics is the Codex
Purpureus Rossanensis in Calabria, Italy, dated c. 575
(Figure 10). Here the addition of descriptive detail is more
advanced. The total of four to six figures of earlier
representations has now increased to a dozen or more.
Furthermore, two parts of the episode which are historically
separate now appear in one scene.[8] The meeting on the road
during which Mary and Martha implore the Saviour to save their
brother is simultaneously depicted with the scene of the
resurrected Lazarus standing in the grotto. Mary and Martha
are shown prostrate at Christ's feet, as a group of apostles
on Christ's right witness the resurrection with awe and a
gathering of Jews on his left remain unmoved by the scene.
Another new feature during this time period is the addition
of a man untying the grave bandages while shielding his lower
face (to minimize the odor of the former cadaver.)[9]

These basic characteristics of the Syro-Palestinian

Byzantine model remain essentially unchanged through the 14th century. Two examples witnessing the same elements observed in the 6th century <u>Codex Rosanno</u> are in 12th century wall painting of S. Angelo in Formis (Figure 11), and in the 14th century depiction by Giotto in the Arena Chapel, Padua (Figure 12). Notwithstanding the consistency in the representation of these elements through these centuries, several other minor changes did occur.[10] The modifications which serve primarily to give greater narrative definition are the rolling away of the stone, as illustrated in the S. Angelo in Formis wall painting and the representation of a fuller landscape (frequently with the outline of Bethany), depicted in both of these works.[11]

Thus, unlike the Early Christian type, the Byzantine model leaves no question as to which sequences are depicted; clearly, two historically separate sequences are presented as though occurring simultaneously. The reason this basic model remained virtually unchanged throughout such an extended time period will be discussed in Chapter V.

Late 14th century:

Giovanni da Milano's fresco of 1356 (Figure 13) in S. Croce, Florence, presents the first clear break from the Byzantine model exemplified by the Giotto fresco.[12] The most significant change is in the consolidation of the narrative moment. While Giotto depicts the two incidents of the biblical story, the entreating of Mary and Martha and the raising of Lazarus, as though occurring simultaneously,

Giovanni offers a conception which is more unified. The
request-response of two separate episodes is replaced by
more fluidity of action. Lazarus no longer stands tightly
bound, as Mary and Martha kneel at Christ's feet; he is
now draped in a loosely fitting cloth, stepping forward
out of an above-ground sarcophagus with the help of two
assistants. His sisters, with varying gestures, look to
Christ, who in turn, looks toward Lazarus. Twelve disciples,
each with nimbed head, gather on the right while to the left
the Jews stand at the gate of Bethany.

IV. 12th to 15th century North

Whereas the Byzantine image retained favor in Italy
from the 6th through the 14th centuries, receiving sporadic
use even into the 15th century, a separate tradition developed
in Northern Europe.[13] Essentially three factors distinguish
this type from the Southern model. First, generally fewer
figures are represented,[14] and second, a general intensifi-
cation of their interrelationships occurs. Direct eye contact
between Christ and Lazarus or Mary and Martha is established,
and occasionally, Christ even grasps Lazarus' hands. The
most striking difference in the Northern tradition, however,
involves the image of Lazarus: rather than standing in a
grotto or leaning upright in the walls of a tomb, he is
represented sitting in a coffin.[15]

Examples illustrating this distinct Northern type are
found in an 11th century column (Figure 14) and in the early

11th century illustrated Bernward miniature (Figure 15) from Hildesheim. In the former, five figures are present: Christ, Lazarus and three witnesses. Christ looks toward the viewer with his right arm stretched forward at waist level, while Lazarus, looking at Christ, rises to a sitting position in response to his command. Behind them, three witnesses gesticulate vigorously, expressing wonder at this raising from the dead.

A further example is found in the 14th century Bohun manuscript, Bodleian Library, Oxford (Figure 16). Although this composition is unusual in its numerous figures, the central configuration of Lazarus and Christ clearly distinguishes it as Northern. In a direct confrontation, Christ, arms extended at waist level, looks down at Lazarus who, wrapped in a loose shroud, slowly rises.

This model appears again in the late 14th century illustrated manuscript, Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry, (Figure 17), presently located in the Condé Museum, Chantilly. Christ, pointing to the sky, gazes at Lazarus, who moves forward as two figures remove the coffin lid. As in the Byzantine examples, different moments are illustrated here as though occurring simultaneously: one of the sisters kneels, looking up at Christ; the other holds her nose.

Thus, one can clearly distinguish the qualities described above as forming a Northern model. By the mid-15th century a major change is observable. In addition to the

representations of Lazarus stepping forth in response to
Christ's command, there are now representations of the moment
when Christ gives the command to "untie him."[16] In Nicolas
Froment's triptych of 1461 (Figure 18) in the Uffizi, Florence,
Lazarus sits in a sunken grave, looking toward the sky, his
legs outstretched and hands in a praying gesture. St. Peter
is now frequently seen assisting in the untying of the bands.[17]
As Schiller points out, Christ's command to untie Lazarus'
hands has been reinterpreted through the ages, for at the
time of Christ, "untying" meant loosening of the bands in
which Lazarus' body was wrapped.[18] The command is now
reinterpreted to mean that the resurrected man's hands were
locked in a praying gesture which could not be relaxed until
the tie was loosened.[19]

A further distinguishing characteristic in the depiction
of Lazarus is the greater realism; his emaciated body and
sunken face emphasize the textual reference that he has been
"dead for four days."[20]

However, we see one of the most radical deviations from
the precedent in a painting by Haarlem artist A. van Ouwater
(Figure 19), c. 1450, Berlin-Dahlem Staatliche Museum, which,
as Panofsky states, "is of unparalleled iconography in the
history of the theme."[21] First mentioned by Max J. Friedländer[22]
the painting is later considered by Panofsky.[23] Here, one of
the numerous deviations Panofsky mentions is the substitution
of an ecclesiastical interior for the traditional open-air

setting.[24] This interior consists of a Romanesque central
plan building of a dome and ambulatory, the outer capitals
of which detail old testament stories from the flight of
Hagar and Ishmael to Moses giving the law. Furthermore,
the composition is strictly frontalized rather than unfold-
ing left to right.[25] In addition, St. Peter is given an
unusually prominent role, evenly dividing the faithful on
the left and addressing the non-believers on the right.[26]
Centrally placed, Lazarus faces the viewer rather than the
Saviour; he is presented not as one being raised from his
grave, but as one who has risen. The eminent art historian
continues: "So many deviations from precedent must be dictated
by a definite intention;"[27] the significance of these
deviations will be discussed in Chapter V.

Chapter III

I. 16th Century Southern Iconography

Although little is done with this theme in the South
during the 15th century, during the 16th century, treatment
of the subject regains major currency. At the turn of the
century, strong elements of the Byzantine model remain.
A work in which some of the Giotto Byzantine elements linger
is the 1504 Bramantino painting (Figure 20), now in the
Kress Collection, New York. As in the Giovanni da Milano,
the request-response is replaced with a more unified theme.
Although not entirely consolidated, two closely linked,
consecutive actions are represented: Lazarus rising to the
point just before he is commanded to step forth, with the
sisters thanking Christ.

Palma Vecchio's painting in the Uffizi, Florence, dated
1510 (Figure 21) is somewhat more developed in its unity of
action. The scene is fluid: the sisters' gestures clearly
show surprise. Lazarus reclines, his body limp as he is
assisted from the sarcophagus.

By 1519, Sebastiano del Piombo completed a monumental
presentation now in the National Gallery in London (Figure
22). This work plays a role of major significance for
several reasons. First, it involves an important competition
between Sebastiano and Michelangelo, on the one hand, and
Raphael on the other. In 1516 the rivalry of these two
factions is put to a direct comparative test when Cardinal

Giulio de' Medici commissions Sebastiano to paint The
Raising, and at the same time and on the same scale (3.81 x
2.89 cm.) engages Raphael to paint the Transfiguration,
each work intended as a companion picture for Giulio's
diocese at Narbonne.[1] The degree of Michelangelo's
collaboration with Sebastiano is open to discussion; the
evidence is briefly examined in Appendix I.

Second, Sebastiano's model establishes a new precedent
from which the basic layout and motifs are copied for over
a century.[2] His depiction breaks away from these essentially
unchanged Byzantine models and establishes a new model in
which Christ's commanding pose and gesture dominate all
other actions. Christ's right arm, bent at the elbow, is
aimed toward the sky. His left arm is outstretched, his
fore-finger pointing toward Lazarus. Lazarus is no longer the
mummified figure with sunken eyes of earlier representations,
but a strong, muscular nude; with some assistance, he loosens
his own shroud.

The composition is complex, built up through distinct
foreground, middleground and background groupings of the
figures. The foreground is dominated by two groups: on the
left Christ is surrounded by Mary, Peter and other kneeling
figures; on the right spectators encircle Lazarus while three
figures help to untie his shroud. In the middleground, on the
right and left sides of the composition, stand a group of
figures deep in conversation.

Giovanni Pordenone's mosaic of 1529, in St. Marks,
Venice (Figure 32), is strikingly similar to Sebastiano's
composition. The figures of Christ and Lazarus and the
gestures of the two kneeling female witnesses between them
evidence this likeness.

Federico Zuccaro's Venetian fresco (Figure 24) of 1564,
in San Francesco della Vigna, is among the most influential
representations in the latter part of the century.[3] His
design was so dynamic that elements were copied and
modified by other artists well into the 17th century.
Although his fresco may have been influenced by a painting
attributed to his older brother, Taddeo, which is now in the
gallery at Pesaro, Zuccaro's ultimate debt is to Sebastiano's
model.

Cavaliere d'Arpino's version of the miracle, now located
in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome, (Figure 25) contains several
elements which are clearly modelled on Federico's composition:
the pose of Christ; the pose of Lazarus, with one leg in the
tomb and the other hanging outside; the pose of the kneeling
sisters; the pose of the figure embracing the molding of the
Ionic base; and the positions of the groups of spectators on
either side.[4]

Some of the Zuccaro elements which appear in the d'Arpino
depiction are also utilized by the former's great student,
Caravaggio.[5] Caravaggio's painting, now located in the
National Museum, Messina, (Figure 26), is dated 1608-9.

Spear[6] clearly illustrates that those innovative elements which are identified by Friedlaender,[7] Berenson[8] and Wagner[9] as unusual must derive from d'Arpino's little-known painting of the miracle, thus linking his composition with this strong 16th century tradition.

The first of the features cited as unusual involves Lazarus; in both works, he is posed in an oblique position and totally nude, the clearly-detailed movement of his fingers echoing renewed life.[10]

Further evidence indisputably supporting Spear's argument that d'Arpino's painting is linked to the 16th century tradition exists in the form of the male figure holding the stone covering of Lazarus' open tomb.[11] Though textually founded, the presence of this figure is rare after the 14th century. The position and role of the figure are identical in both paintings: standing between Lazarus and Christ, he leans forward with bare arms diagonally outstretched, his head turned sharply to the left. Another similarity between the two paintings lies in the choice of a grave beneath pavement. Finally, Caravaggio's Lazarus, like d'Arpino's, is surrounded by a group of spectators who gaze generally toward the centre of the composition rather than at Christ.

II. <u>16th Century Northern Iconography</u>

Lazarus iconography of the 16th century Northern tradition presents a "truly unique"[12] situation. In France, as well as in Holland and the Germanic countries, one moment of

the biblical text is represented almost exclusively, that is, when Christ commands others to "untie"[13] Lazarus' bands. Although depictions of this particular scene occur in the 15th century, it is not until the 16th century that this representation becomes so popular. Three examples illustrate the use of this moment during the early, middle and latter parts of the century: 1) Jean Bourdichon, ca. 1511 (Figure 27) Hours of Anne of Brittany, Biblioteque Nationale, Paris; 2) Jan Cornelis Vermeyenc, ca. 1530 (Figure 28), Brussels Museum; and 3) F. Pourbus, ca. 1573 (Figure 29), Tournay Cathedral. In each work, Lazarus receives assistance in untying his grave bands; from St. Peter in the Bourdichon and Pourbus examples; and from Lazarus' sister, Martha, in the Cornelis.

A second iconographic change at this time involves the depiction of the cave. In the earlier tradition Lazarus is represented sitting in a coffin or sarcophagus. For the first time in the North the biblical text is accurately portrayed: Jesus "came to the grave, it was a cave and a stone lay upon it."[14] This contrasts strongly with the Southern tradition where the grotto appears as early as the 6th century in the Byzantine type, for example, in the Codex Rossano.

Lucas van Leyden's composition (Figure 30; Leiden Printroom) exemplifies the modifications described above. His composition is simply designed, with Lazarus kneeling in

front of the cave while Peter unties the bands around his
outstretched arms. Having just given the command to untie
Lazarus, Christ looks skyward, possibly uttering the words,
"Father, I thank thee that thou has heard me."[15] The town
of Bethany can be seen in the right background. In the
middleground, figures walk toward the central action, as
bystanders leaning against the trees look toward Lazarus.
In the foreground, Mary and Martha stand on either side of
their brother.

Lucas Cranach, the Younger's painting, dated 1558
(Figure 31), may be considered the first depiction by a
Protestant artist. Schiller's assessment of the presentation
seems to me quite accurate: placed in the center, Lazarus
sits on the edge of a sunken grave; in the left foreground,
the families of the donor, Meienburg, and his sons kneel;
his daughter and first and second wives appear across from
him.[16] To the left of Lazarus, a group of reformers cluster
around Luther. This group, as well as the assemblage gathered
in the churchyard, "represents the community of the reformed
church in their belief in the resurrected Christ."[17] Further
discussion of this work appears in Chapter V.

Cornelius Cort's engraving (Figure 32) after Federico
Zuccaro's design, brought the latter's model to the North
where its influence was seen in many artists' works.[18]
Abraham Bloemaert's drawing (Figure 33) in the Leipzig
Kupferstichkabinett was directly based on Cort's engraving.[19]

Spreading Zuccaro's conception further was Jan Muller's engraving (Figure 34), styled after Bloemaert's.[20] In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, two artists in Rembrandt's immediate circle, Pieter Lastman and J. S. Wtewael, were among those strongly influenced by these important copies of the Zuccaro model.[21]

Many similarities to Cort's engraving can be seen in Bloemaert's work. Most significant are those involving Lazarus: he sits on the edge of a ground-level grave with one leg dangling inside and the opposite foot resting against the edge; a figure supports him as he leans back. One notable alteration Bloemaert makes is to position Lazarus' hands so the tips of the fingers are pressed together in a praying gesture.

Other similarities between the Cort engraving and Bloemaert drawing include the pose and gesture of Christ, which, though presented in reverse in the Bloemaert, are otherwise identical. In addition, in the drawing, the figure grasping the base of the Ionic column is depicted facing us rather than with his back to us. Correspondingly in Cort's engraving the heavily-draped, kneeling sister on Christ's left is depicted with her back to us. The open-air setting of the miracle is retained.

Utrecht Mannerist J. A. Wtewael included many elements of the original Zuccaro model in his conception of the miracle (Figure 35), which is now located in the Lille Museum. One

may observe the continued use of the ground-level grave and a loosely-draped Lazarus with one leg in the tomb and the other dangling at its edge. Once again, Lazarus leans backward, supported by another figure. As in Cort's engraving, Christ's left hand holds his robe, Lazarus extends one arm forward, and the background is an open-air setting with roofs and turrets of Bethany. Most strikingly, the muscular figure standing in full view and dominating the left half of the composition is repeated in Wtewael's conception of the raising of Lazarus.

Elements of this model continue to be utilized by artists up to Rembrandt's immediate predecessor and teacher, Pieter Lastman. The key similarities linking this model,[22] signed and dated 1622, located in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, (Figure 36) to the strong Italian tradition lie in the motifs of Lazarus and Christ. Lazarus' pose remains clearly derived from the Zuccaro model. Perhaps more familiar with Muller's engraving, Lastman's Lazarus, again loosely wrapped in a shroud, sits at the edge of his grave on a raised stone sarcophagus, one leg positioned behind the other. The resurrected man leans against another figure for support; finger-tips touching in a praying gesture, he stares vacuously into space. Christ dominates the center of the composition. One arm is upraised, the other holds the robe draped round him. Both the stone platform on the left of the Muller engraving and the twig in the foreground are repeated in Lastman's

painting. Rather than adopting the predominantly Southern tradition of an open-air setting, Lastman borrows the brick arch of Muller's engraving, utilizing it in the form of an arched entrance to the cave.

Chapter IV

I.   <u>Introduction</u>:

Having established the Northern and Southern traditions
for depicting the raising of Lazarus which were widely
available to Rembrandt in Holland through copies, engravings
and etchings, we are now prepared to examine the artist's
treatment of the theme. A formal analysis of Rembrandt's
work reveals how his concepts contrast with his immediate
sources and shows the compositional qualities to which he
was attracted, those which he rejected, and the elements he
added in their development. In this way the relationship of
Rembrandt's conception to these 16th century Northern and
Southern iconographic traditions will be more clearly
defined.

The first step in determining Rembrandt's compositional
goals is to examine his creative adaptation of the depictions
of the theme by two artists in his immediate circle: Jan
Lievens and Pieter Lastman. First I will propose that
Lievens' version dates before Rembrandt's depictions. That
Lievens is a primary source for Rembrandt may become apparent
through a comparison of Rembrandt's painted version of the
theme with Lievens' work. A study of Rembrandt's etched
version reveals several fundamental stylistic modifications
which appear to rely on Lastman's, rather than Lievens',
depiction of the theme.

II. The Early Collaboration of Jan Lievens and Rembrandt

The close artistic relationship between Lievens and Rembrandt has been well examined.[1] Between 1624 and 1625 Rembrandt returned from Amsterdam to Leiden, where he shared a studio with Lievens. For approximately five years the two artists remained in close contact with one another, working on similar themes, sharing models, and occasionally working on each other's projects. Rembrandt departed for Amsterdam in 1631 or 1632 and Lievens for London in 1631.

The contemporary appraisal of these two artists' talents, even at this early point in their careers, is well documented. The young painters, who had not yet reached the age of twenty-five, were singled out by Huygens[2] as on a par with most artists whom they would, furthermore, soon surpass. The critic observed that the young Rembrandt was superior to Lievens in his ability to depict expression of emotion and appropriate gesture and movement in a small carefully worked-out picture, while Lievens surpassed Rembrandt in grandeur of invention and boldness.

Huygens selects the central figure of Judas in Rembrandt's Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver of 1629 (signed and dated; in the collection of Lady Normanby) to illustrate Rembrandt's superior ability to paint a highly dramatic episode from the Bible. Judas bewails his crime and asks for a pardon which he knows he cannot receive. Rembrandt depicts him as a man of stricken conscience, his face full of horror,

his hair dishevelled and his clothes torn.

Rosenberg and Slive point in particular to the <u>Raising</u> of Lazarus as a work which reveals the distinct artistic strengths of the two artists in their formative years. In his search for monumentality Lievens tends to exaggerate the theatrical aspects of the scene, although the dramatic mood, dark tonality, minute technique and the individual types of Lievens' <u>Raising of Lazarus</u> are similar to Rembrandt's depiction. However, at "this stage of their careers Rembrandt had already surpassed Lievens in power of concentration, incisive characterization and in ability to relate tightly and convincingly, the single parts by the organization of the chiaroscuro effects."[3]

A further link between the young artists is their common mentor, Pieter Lastman. One year Rembrandt's junior, Lievens studies with Lastman as a young apprentice from 1619 to 1621. Rembrandt had spent six months in Amsterdam with Lastman between 1624-1625, just prior to Rembrandt's return to Leiden. It was through Lastman, their common teacher, that Rembrandt and Lievens were exposed to the realism of Caravaggio.

III. <u>Jan Lievens</u>

The etched version of Lievens' <u>Raising of Lazarus</u>, dated ca. 1629, 35.88 x 33.02 cm., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, (Figure 37) reveals a design based on two separate areas of interest, to the left and right of the central vertical axis.

On the right, a clear geometric arrangement is achieved by the juxtaposition of Christ's verticality with the emphatic horizontals formed by the platform and coffin which contrasts with the more pliant composition on the left, in which the lines of the six figures tend to flow with the undulating landscape. Here Mary, the foremost figure, holds the shroud which falls softly to the rocks below. It forms the bottom half of an arch which moves upward from the center foreground, while the line of Mary's body parallels this curve, complementing the arc. Behind Mary's right shoulder Martha pulls back, looking somewhat reluctantly toward Lazarus, her back and that of the figure behind gently repeating this curve.

These separate areas of interest do not isolate the figures; instead, their contrasting emotions draw them together. One of the links formed is between Christ and Lazarus. In the middleground the standing Christ is viewed frontally on a stage-like platform, his hands clasped as if in prayer. He does not communicate with those in his immediate surroundings; rather, he is in spiritual communion with God. Below him Lazarus' hands rise eerily over the edge of the tomb. The power of their relationship is created through this striking juxtaposition of gestures. These movements draw the figures together, evoking a mood of great pathos. This mood is further reinforced by the contrast between Christ's inward intensity and Lazarus' awakening consciousness.

A second link is formed between Christ and the left-hand figure group. Unlike the mood projected by the previous contrast, the feeling created here is one of tension. This is achieved through several means. First, accentuated by a great circle of light, the witnesses maintain a respectful distance from Christ, thus building a barrier. Second, rather than being drawn toward the Saviour, they recoil from him. For example, the two figures directly behind Mary express greater fear than awe at the unfolding miracle, whereas the three most frontally placed convey astonishment.

Saxl suggests two distinct sources for this design. The linear structure on the right is thought to be a more idealized "classical" motif, as seen in Guido Reni's Pietà. The more active, natural reactions of the figures on the left reflects the stronger realism of the Italian Netherlandish painters - above all, Pieter Lastman. The two figures in the arched area of the far left background of Lievens' work are cited as similar to those standing in the arched area of the cave in Lastman's painting.[4]

IV. Rembrandt's Modifications in the Drawing and Painting

At this point we must consider Lievens' treatment of the raising of Lazarus in his etching and painting of the subject. The etching in particular may provide a prototype for Rembrandt's drawing of the miracle dated 1630, later modified to an entombment of Christ. Although Rembrandt adopted and modified the design in significant ways, first in the drawing

and painting and later in his etching, in my opinion,
Lievens is the innovator.

The argument concerning this dating sequence focuses
on the following question: which was the initial conception
of the theme, Lievens' etching or Rembrandt's drawing?
Scholarly opinion is divided. Saxl,[5] Heverkamp-Begeman,[6]
Schneider,[7] and White,[8] stipulate the more convincing
chronology: Lievens' etching appearing first in about
1629 or 1630 (Figure 37), followed by Rembrandt's drawing
in 1630 (Figure 38), and Lievens' painting in 1631 (Figure 39).
This chronology is based on an analysis of the modifications
made in Rembrandt's drawing of 1630.

Heverkamp-Begeman argues that Rembrandt's modification
of his Raising of Lazarus drawing to an Entombment of Christ
makes it an unlikely prototype for Lievens' Raising of
Lazarus. Both the similarity of chalk in the additions to
the Rembrandt drawing, and the general absence of reworking
in his drawing technique, suggest that the change would have
been made almost immediately, before Lievens' could have seen
the initial Lazarus version.[9] And it does not seem likely
that Lievens would have extracted the Raising of Lazarus from
the final Entombment. However, the working relationship of
the two artists was so close at this time that the possibility
of Lievens' seeing the drawing in its Lazarus version cannot
be ruled out.

Stronger evidence supporting this chronology is Saxl's observation of the modifications made in Rembrandt's initial Raising of Lazarus image. In a detailed examination, he established the drawing's conception in breadth, height, illumination, single aspects of line direction, and background figures as so close stylistically to Lievens' etching that Rembrandt must have indeed copied him. Saxl makes two convincing observations: 1) In the area just below the 1630 date, Lazarus' image is modified. Specifically, the two pairs of oblong semicircles, in addition to the two heads of the rising Lazarus, indicate what could be presumed to be Rembrandt's copying of not one, but two different pairs of rising hands. This is followed by two further stages in the development of Lazarus' image: the addition in two places of differing head poses; 2) The female in profile leaning forward just above the entombment group, dressed with the helmet-like headgear, is drawn with ill-defined hand strokes. Upon examination of Lievens' design, they can be explained as clearly taken from the shroud she holds in her hand.[10]

Accepting this chronology, why is Lievens' painting conceived in reverse of the etching? As Heverkamp-Begeman points out, if the date 1631 on the painting is correct, we can assume that Lievens executed his painting by following the design he etched on the copper plate, before it was reversed in the printing process.[11]

An opposing chronology proposed by Benesch,[12]
Müntz,[13] and Bauch[14] and Haak[15] advances the following
sequence of dates: 1) Rembrandt's 1630 drawing; 2) Lievens'
etching 1630-1631; 3) Lievens' 1631 painting; 4) Rembrant's
etching of about 1631 or 1632. This point of view is
based on the dates alone, placing Rembrandt's etching last
as a reverse image of Lievens' painting. For several
reasons I find this chronology unacceptable. First, Saxl's
convincing compositional analysis is overlooked wherein he
indisputably establishes the similarity in feeling and
breadth that the drawing appears to derive from Lievens'
etching. Secondly, if Lievens was so impressed by Rembrandt's
drawing as to preserve its direction in his etched "copy",
why did he reverse the image in his later painting? This
problem remains unsolved and only Haak suggests the possibility
of a "missing link."[16]

Accepting the dating sequence supported by Heverkamp-
Begeman and Saxl, we see two stages in Rembrandt's develop-
ment toward his first fully resolved conception. The first
modifications occur in the 1630 drawing, which is based on the
Lievens' etching of ca. 1629. In this initial stage of
development away from Lievens' version, two significant
alterations are made which are maintained in succeeding
conceptions of the narrative. First, few changes have been
made in the Christ figure; the basic pose and gesture are
copied, the only difference lying in the raising of the hem

of his garment. However, the striking modification lies
in the image of Lazarus; the eerily rising hands are replaced
by a half figure. Also discernable are the trace of a second
head and the hands of Lazarus. The second modification is
the general intensification of spectators; they are more
numerous and widely dispersed. Those added include two on
the right, looking over the edge of the platform toward
Lazarus; the spectator who turns away from the miracle,
forward of the position formally occupied by the pentimenti
of Christ; to his left, another figure with a tall hat;
and a man to his right.[17]

The second stage of development involves modifications
to the first fully-resolved depiction of the theme, the
painting at the Los Angeles County Museum, dated ca. 1630.
Although Rembrandt maintains the horizontal and vertical
arrangement of the Lazarus and Christ figures, he makes a
key alteration: rather than an open composition divided
along a central axis, he utilizes a dynamic, triangular
arrangement of figures built up through and reinforced by
dramatic body movement and gesture.

Rembrandt lessens the pathos between Christ and Lazarus
by replacing Lievens' subdued characterization (the quiet,
praying gesture) with the robust action of the Saviour's
upraised arm. Both Christ's gesture and his direction of
visual focus reinforce the structural build-up of the compo-
sition. Over life-size, Christ's short torso and long legs

form a vertical, his upraised arm defining the apex of
a pyramidal structure. This creates a direct line of
movement to Lazarus, which is reinforced by the focus of
his trance-like gaze.

The fuller characterization, horizontal placement and
direction of Lazarus' gaze equally establish and reinforce
this triangular structuring. Here, the gesture of the two
parallel hands moving upward is replaced by the corpse;
gross and emaciated, Lazarus sits in the coffin with one
hand grasping its side. His torso forms the right corner
of this triangle, and the parallel lines of the grave
complete the base. This line of movement is continued by
his gaze, which directs the viewer's attention across the
composition to the sharply recoiling reaction of the witnesses.
Clearly, two contrasting points of visual focus are presented.
Christ's trance-like gaze is not aimed at Lazarus directly,
but at a point just beyond him. Similarly, Lazarus does not
look at Christ, but across the canvas. We are not presented
with the direct eye-to-eye contact of, for example, the
Sebastiano painting, nor with the inner spiritual ecstasy
of Lievens, in which the Saviour's intense, inward concentra-
tion is illustrated by closed eyes and a backward-tilted
head. Here two areas of focus are created: that of the
resurrector and the resurrected.

The viewer's relationship to these two areas of interest
is unmistakable. Drawn into the painting through the strong

vertical of Christ's figure, one is pulled deep into the
picture, at Lazarus' eye level, to the point by Christ's
feet, where the light falls. From here we glance momentari-
ly to Lazarus, the strong diagonal immediately forcing us to
look up to Christ; his gesture and glance cast our attention
back toward Lazarus. Hence one looks first to Christ, then
to Lazarus. The viewer's attention is suspended between
the two, causing the psychological aspect to come into
play; one questions what Lazarus could be thinking, a
decaying corpse quietly awakened after four days of death.
What thoughts occupy Christ's mind, given his expression of
determined concentration?

V. Rembrandt's Etching and Lastman's Influence

Having clarified the primary source and major modifica-
tions of Rembrandt's first fully-resolved conception of
the narrative, we will next consider the etching dated
about 1631. This version of the miracle was possibly
completed within one year of the painting. While earlier
modifications were directed toward intensification of the
body movements and gesture, in addition to spatial reorgani-
zation, here tighter frontal placement of figures, Christ's
and the witnesses' greater corporality, and particularly the
treatment of light, are key stylistic elements distinguishing
it from the painting. Here Lastman's depiction of the theme
will be examined to establish what means he uses to achieve
compositional unity, for many of the modifications made in

the etching, particularly with regard to the use of light, reveal his influence.[18]

Pieter Lastman was Rembrandt's mentor in Amsterdam between 1624 and 1625. His influence on Rembrandt was extensive. In recent literature Bruyn[19] examines this association, demonstrating how thoroughly Rembrandt reinterpreted several of Lastman's prototypes; Christian Tümple[20] considers this association primarily with regard to history painting, suggesting Lastman strongly influenced Rembrandt's narrative style throughout his career. It is also primarily through Lastman, who like many Northern artists in the early 17th century had been to Italy, that the influence of Caravaggio and Elsheimer reached Rembrandt. Lastman was able to convey to Rembrandt the Italian use of light as the major device to achieve compositional unity.[21]

The Raising of Lazarus by Lastman, signed and dated 1622, The Hague, Mauritshuis, 63 x 92 cm., contrasts with Lievens' treatment of the theme. Here it is through an emphasis on tactile qualities that the viewer is immediately drawn into the work. This is achieved by several means. The first and perhaps most obvious is the frontal placement of action: more than a dozen figures are stationed in the foreground, the remaining three falling to the background. Secondly, light is used to intensify the viewer's relationship to the painting, clearly commanding one's attention and strengthening its compositional unity. A triangular placement

of figures is presented in which Christ forms the apex, the corner of the stone slab forms the right angle, and Lazarus completes the left angle. The greatest concentration of light falls on the figures within this triangle, appropriately accenting their differing reactions, while simultaneously unifying them. For example, in the right foreground, light individually emphasizes the old woman calmly praying, the open-armed, bearded man showing astonishment, and the kneeling woman whose powerful glance is aimed directly at the viewer.

Furthermore, light is used to establish the strikingly solid, volumetric, sculpted quality of figures. An examination of its treatment on the resurrected man reveals its use in creating both sharply defined and softer, more sensually molded effects. Entering at the left, middle and foreground, it casts a sharp line of shadow below Lazarus' uplifted arms. In the same area, a softer light molds clearly defined muscle modulations of which individual sections follow the lines of the rib cage, thigh, hip, buttock and right leg. This sharper light is applied not only to Lazarus, but to the majority of surrounding figures. For example, the robes of the figures holding the resurrected man and those to his left are stiffly and crisply textured, more metallic than textile-like. Also sharply accented are the geometric lines of the sarcophagus and the coffin lid.

In summary elements of the Italian tradition are
evident in Lastman's design. This tradition comes through in
his painting as a triangular composition, and through the
characteristic placement of figures in the foreground. In
addition, light is used as an integral element of the composi-
tional unity, and is used to establish a strikingly volumetric
sculptural quality in the figures.

Rembrandt's grasp of these Italian stylistic elements,
particularly light, is more fully realized in his etched
version of the miracle. This treatment of the theme is a
step further removed from Lievens' design than is the
earlier painting. In the etched version a broadening and
loosening of figures is achieved primarily through the new
function light serves. While its use in the 1630 painting
was mainly to focus the viewer's attention, here it serves
as an integral means of building up the composition in
which neither the linear structure nor the light work
effectively without one another.

In general, Rembrandt's etching has greater fluid movement.
Several striking changes made in this direction are evident
in the image of Christ. By comparison to the earlier
frontally-placed figure, here the Saviour stands in profile,
his left arm rather than his right performing the miracle.
No longer perpendicularly raised, this gesture is more relaxed,
yet remains strikingly powerful. In contrast, the other hand
gently rests on his hip, while the more fluid lines in the
folds of his robe flow loosely, and similarly, his hair falls

richly about his shoulders.

The surrounding figures are equally loosened. Because
Christ's gesture assumes a less dominant role, the remaining
gestures have a greater impact, which functions to broaden
the space. For example, the gesture of the man in the right
background, whose arms move diagonally into depth, acts
as a clear contrast and counter-reaction to Christ's. It
also has the effect of broadening the composition by extend-
ing the depth. Furthermore, this figure and the others
surrounding him create an impression of greater openness, as
they lean back, gesturing with loosely outstretched arms,
contrasting with the closely knit unit on the left, in which
the bearded men appear less as individually characterized
personalities than as members of a group.

Briefly, we immediately perceive that the majority of
figures remain placed in a triangular arrangement; two groups
on either side of Christ form the base, with Christ as the
apex. Light is used to reinforce this triangular placement.
A strong beam falls onto Lazarus and the right-hand figure
group. Highlights accent the face and gesture of the left-
hand figure group. In addition to accenting Christ's face
and gesture. Simultaneously, this beam of light establishes
a clear definition of the left side of the triangle as Christ's
back falls into shadow.

Furthermore, although the kneeling woman in the right
foreground is not part of the major grouping forming this
triangle, she is not isolated. The dark shading of her back

works with the dark shading of the back of Christ and the left-hand figure group, visually drawing these figures together. This use of light unites her with the left-hand figure group, yet she works with the linear structure closeing off the base and th left side. At the same time, this closed-off area contrasts with the open space on the right and reinforces the feeling of depth created by the diagonally gesturing man.

Chapter V: Conclusions:

I. <u>Early Iconography</u>

    1. <u>Introduction</u>:

We are now prepared to consider the meaning and function
of this resurrection theme. First, let us review the current
interpretation of the theme's function in earlier artistic
traditions.

    2. <u>Early Christian</u>:

The early Christian type establishes the basic elements
of this religious dramatic narrative, which over the course
of a long development, is modified and elaborated according
to changing interpretations of the religious significance
and function of the raising of Lazarus miracle. The history
of this type shows an increasing concern to heighten dramatic
impact and direct involvement of the viewer by focusing on
some specific point in the story. Examples of the early
representations display the rudimentary elements of the type:
Christ, bearing a slender rod, a kind of "wand", in his hand,
stands before Lazarus, who is also standing in a sepulchral
aedicule, wrapped in grave bands. At this point these works
have so few descriptive elements that it is impossible to
determine the specific moment depicted. Despite the brief,
almost symbolic imagery at this elementary stage, a comparison
to the biblical text reveals additions and omissions which
provide the first clues to the contemporary function of the
theme.

Significant elements not mentioned in the biblical text are the "wand" held by Christ and the sepulchral aedicule in place of the "grave in a cave, with a stone lying upon it," described in the text.[1] The presence of these two particular items is even more striking in the absence of such basic elements as the figures of Mary and Martha, and the witnesses. These modifications suggest that another prototype was used in addition to or in place of the biblical text.

The source of the unusual elements of this early type is found in the pagan world. Here, the connotation of the wand as a tool of magic is clear. The ancient Roman, Greek, and Egyptian worlds saw it as an instrument of supernatural power. For the Greeks in the Odyssey, it was the wand that changed Ulysses' companions to animals.[2] In ancient Egypt, it was the wand which Osiris used to give life to the dead; even within the Christian world, the instrument is referred to as a tool of magic in the Bible.

Early Christian Lazarus imagery is most directly related to Egyptian tradition. There is a great deal of similarity between the depiction of Lazarus as a stiffly upright, mummified figure, standing in a box-like structure which frequently had several front steps, together with Christ, who like Osiris, the divine figure of Egyptian mythology, strikes the wand which promises rebirth.[3]

In addition to the strong iconographic link with Egypt, there exists a more fundamental association in the similarity between Christian and Egyptian soteriologies, the most basic link suggesting that the resurrection theme was initially (and is essentially) accepted as necromancy. Both Christian and Egyptian religions accept the death and resurrection of their central divine figures, Christ and Osiris, respectively. Each is concerned with individual achievement of salvation through the experiences of the divine hero. Both soteriologies developed a technique for the partial achievement of salvation, in which devotees sought to participate in the resurrection achieved by their heros by ritually imitating their saviour's experiences. In Egyptian mythology, it was through the mortuary ritual of embalming and other ancillary rites; for the Christian, rebirth was symbolized by baptism, and the achievement of salvation through an ongoing, daily effort to emulate Christ, following his word and example.[4]

What did the earliest representations of Lazarus symbolize to the first Christians? Deep within the cata- combs, one can readily accept the need of the persecuted Christian threatened with violent death to believe in a power over life and death. From the earliest catacomb representations to the 9th century depictions, the essential meaning remained unchanged, both Mâle[5] and Schiller[6] suggest: the theme embodied the Christian's hope of future resurrection, The magical promise of rebirth. Lowrie agrees, but suggests

that by the time of Ravenna and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, in
the 6th century, it assumed a clearly instructive role.[7]

Mâle submits further evidence suggesting that the need
for belief in the possibility of future resurrection, was
indicated not only by numerous times the scenes were repre-
sented in the catacombs(some seventy in all), but by the use
of Lazarus statuettes. Small figures of metal, ivory or bone,
wrapped in bands representing Lazarus were frequently placed in
the narrow tombs in which the dead were laid. If used on the
outside of the tombs, the statuettes were placed next to a
plaque of marble marked with the name of the deceased at the
moment the loculus was closed.[8]

In addition, Schiller states, the theme can ultimately
be regarded as a prefiguration of the resurrection of Christ
and of the raising of the Dead at the Last Judgment. Further-
more, placed parallel to a depiction of the baptism in the
catacombs, its meaning could be extended to represent the
symbol of spiritual rebirth on earth.[9]

3. Byzantine:

As discussed in Chapter two the Byzantine model discloses
that in the 6th to 14th century a major shift in narrative em-
phasis took place. Two moments in the story are shown rather
than one: Mary and Martha's request for Lazarus' restoration to
life, and the fulfillment of their request, Lazarus' raising.[10]

These changes may relfect a contemporary understanding
of the raising of Lazarus as simply the greatest of Christ's
series of miracles with lessened emphasis on its symbolism
of hoped for resurrection. A depiction of this dual
request and response stresses the great powers the Savior

displays as a miracle worker; his might is challenged
and fantastically, he fulfills the task. This view of Christ
is shared by the disciple who, in verse 37, says: "Could not
this man who opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that
even this man should not have died?"

Further evidence supporting this Byzantine understanding
of the theme is the fact that this scene was frequently placed
in a series with Christ's other miracles. This is illustrated
in the Andrews Dyptych, at the Victoria and Albert Museum,
dated ca. 5th century (Figure 40), and in the Lungara
Sarcofagus (Figure 41), Le Terme Museum, ca. 4th century.

Why did the Byzantine type remain virtually unchanged
throughout these centuries? Mâle refers to the Guide to
Painting.[11] Didron saw artists frequently consulting it
when painting a fresco at Mount Athos. Though it dates from
the 18th century, all those elements which remain constant in
the Byzantine iconography are clearly detailed. Artists
refering to this book would read:

> Jews by the mountains, Lazarus stands in
> a sepulchre, man pulls off shroud, another
> lifts stone, Christ stands and blesses
> with right hand, behind are Apostles,
> Mary and Martha prostrate themselves.[12]

Thus, Mâle continues, one can understand the immobility of
the Byzantine iconography.

Further evidence dating from the 5th century suggests the
theme's role at that time. A reason for its consistent icono-
graphy is offered in St. John Chrysostum's (347-407), Homilies
of John's Gospels. Paraphrased in the 14th century by
St. Gregory Palamas (1296-1359), he states that the miracle

occurred to illustrate Christ's power over death, a divine intervention which converted many non-believers present at the scene: "by his odour and touch they believed in Him."[13]

In conclusion, though evidence suggests that to the early Christians the theme symbolized their great hope for future resurrection, later, the interpretation appeared to shift in emphasis from a preoccupation with after-life to that of divine intervention ON EARTH -- the changes which Christ was able to effect in the lives of men through super-natural powers of sufficient magnitude to resurrect the dead.

4. 12th to 15th century, North:

In the tradition that developed in the North between the 12th and the 15th centuries, there arises by the end of this period a new distinct iconographic motif in the imagery of Lazarus narrative: an emphasis on the moment when Christ commands in John 11:44, "Loose him and let him go," as represented in Nicolas Froment's 1461 Uffizi, Florence painting. (Figure 18). Mâle suggests that the remarkably consistent representation of this moment was due to the influence of Fransiscan St. Bonaventure's (1221-1274) Apocryphal Gospel, Meditations of the Life of Christ. This book was frequently consulted by the authors of the Mystery plays. Mâle suggests that, as is seen in other religious imagery, this book had a great influence on art. It was above all by means of the Mysteries, which were strongly consistent throughout Europe, that the meditations penetrated art. In "The Mystery of the Passion of Jean Michel," one saw the resurrection of Lazarus

and heard the following dialogue:

> "Untie him," commanded Christ to the apostle.
> St. Peter and St. Andrew responded, "Let us
> untie him, for the Master orders it."[14]

Peter removes the ties from the wrists of Lazarus, for it is to Peter that Christ gives, "the right to tie and untie." Christ bestowed a unique position on Peter and extended special responsibilities to him[15] when he said, "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church."[16] Peter is also "conferred on high the keys of the kingdom of heaven," and to him the power of "lossening the bands"[17] is granted. Furthermore, he was the first Apostle to whom Jesus appeared; when Jesus first stated the former's responsibilities: "Free my lambs, free my sheep."[18] Thus as Mâle implies, Peter "had that day exercised for the first time the high perogative," of loosening or freeing a believer from the bonds of sin symbolized by the loosening of Lazarus' grave bands. This absolution is, of course, a prerequisite to the achievement of salvation. Peter's presence in this role demonstrates the vital role of the Church as the agent by which men are freed from their sins.

In the mid 15th century Ouwater presents a depiction of the miracle (Figure 19) which, as Panofsky states, is of "unparalleled iconography."[19] Ouwater does not portray the moment of the untying of the bands, as represented in Nicolas Froment's painting. The unprecedented elements cited in Ouwater's work are the following: 1) The unusual prominence of the role given to St. Peter; 2) the uneven

division between the faithful and non-believers; 3) the
replacement of the customary open-air setting with a
Romanesque structure which alludes to Jerusalem both
topographically and eschatologically; 4) the semblance of
the posture of Lazarus to that of the resurrector; and 5)
the subjection of the whole composition to the principle of
hieratic symmetry.[20]

Ouwater does not interpret the raising of Lazarus as a
transition from death to transient physical life, but has
transformed the scene into a simile of the Last Judgment;
it is a symbol of the Christians' resurrection from death
to eternal spiritual life. As in the Last Judgment, Christ
decides our righteousness and, if judged righteous, we are
brought from physical death to eternal spiritual life. In
John 11:25, Christ says, "I am the resurrection and the life,
he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he
live;" This dialogue occurs between Christ and Martha,
Christ revealing that it is through faith in him that eternal
life is achieved.[21]

5. 16th century, North and South

In the 15th century there are few representation of the
subject in the South. However, as noted in Chapter three, by
the 16th century there is a great increase in the popularity
of the Lazarus theme not only in the South but also in the
North. The cause for the increased popularity in 16th
century Europe is a major consideration. It involves the

influence of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation doctrine. The question of the influence this doctrine has on the iconography of the period is an issue too broad to be dealt with here. However, several observations can be made with regard to the theme's function. Evidence suggests the most probable purpose the theme served in both churches is to emphasize the raising of Lazarus as a spiritual rebirth, pointing to Christ as the means of achieving eternal life. The marked shift toward this particular interpretation may be the basis of the theme's renewed popularity.

In the period of the Reformation one of the leading points of contention between the Old and Reformed churches was Luther's fundamental adherence to the principle of "Sola cripture." The Reformers demanded the means of achieving salvation was through "Faith and faith alone," while the Catholic Church maintained its position of control, granting the sacraments necessary for the Catholic to achieve salvation.

Moreover, the controversy of the means to redemption was not only the chief issue of dispute between the Reformed and Catholic churches but the question of when acceptance of faith in Christ occurs, symbolized by infant or adult baptism, was an important concern among Protestant sects. The definition of Christian commitment was at stake. For example, the Anabaptists, commonly known as Mennonites, followers of Simon Minnos, developed a sect in Zurich around 1535. One of the major issues debated, focussed on the

question of baptism. To be a Christian meant a voluntary
and deliberate decision which expressed itself in the
acceptance of adult baptism. Not only the Anabaptist,
but the Spiritualists and the Antitrinitarians repudiated
infant baptism.[22]

In addition, the reformers' emphasis on faith in Christ
alone, as the means to redemption, affected the attitude
toward death. In the Reformation writings, death had "lost
its sting", and both the Lutherans and Calvinists insisted
that death had finally been vanquished with the help of
Christ.[23] In fact, in the early stages of the Reformation,
death was looked on with a renewed sense of optimism being
linked with repentance and conversion.[24]

A further step in this investigation is the review of a
16th century text. In John Calvin's commentary on The Gospel
According to John, first published in 1540, the reformer refers
to the event both as a miracle and as a sign of promise for
future resurrection. Verse I of the biblical text reads:
"Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus." Calvin makes
immediate reference to the fact the raising is a "miracle
eminently worthy of being recorded."[25] Christ, aware of the
imminence of his own death, desires to glorify all that he
has done in one final, magnificent feat. The reformer
perceives:

> Of his (Christ's) deathe (sic) was already at hand.
> We need not wonder, therefore, if he illustrated
> his own glory, in an extraordinary manner, in that
> work, the remembrance of which he wished to be

deeply impressed on their minds, that it
might feel, in some respects, all that had
gone before. 26

Calvin stresses that Christ's power is even more
extraordinary when one recognizes that although he has
raised others from the dead, the Saviour here "displays his
power on a rotting corpse."[27]

Furthermore, the Reformer refers to the miracle as
proof of Christ's power which allows future resurrection to
occur:

> Not only did Christ give a remarkable proof
> of his divine power in raising Lazarus, but
> he likewise placed before our eyes a lively
> image of our future resurrection. 28

Clearly while Calvin achnowledges the event as both a
miracle and as a promise for future resurrection, what is
its ultimate meaning? The key verses revealing the essence
of this 16th century theologian's understanding are those
spoken when Martha meets Christ on the road to Bethany,
verses 21-26, particularly verses 25-26. Here, Calvin makes
clear that Christ refers to spiritual and not physical
death; life commences not with physical birth, but with the
defeat of spiritual alienation.

The Saviour declares in the first line of verse 25: "I
am the resurrection and the life." Calvin explains:

> He is the resurrection, because the
> resurrection from death to life naturally
> comes before the state of life. Now the
> whole human race is plunged into death; and
> therefore, no man will be a partaker of life
> until he has risen from the dead. Thus,
> Christ shows that he is the commencement of
> life; 29

That is to say, since the fall of man, the human race was plunged into "death," for as sinners, we are estranged from God. The reformer adds:

> That Christ is speaking about spiritual
> life is plainly shown by the exposition
> which immediately follows.30

That which follows is the second line of verse 25: "He who believeth in me, though he were dead, shall live." The theologian comments:

> Away now with those who idly talk that
> men are prepared for receiving the grace
> of God by the movement of nature. They
> might as well say that the dead walk...for
> the death of the soul is nothing else
> than being estranged and turned aside from
> God. Accordingly, they who believe in
> Christ, though they were formerly dead,
> begin to live, because faith is a spiritual
> resurrection of the soul, and so-to-speak
> animates the soul itself that it may lift
> to God...31

Finally, Calvin reveals his ultimate understanding of the raising as a revelation that the key to eternal life is through faith in Christ. It is clear to him that while Martha talks only about a physical life, Christ talks about his authorship of a "more excellent life, a spiritual one," and it is to give his followers some opportunity of knowing this power that he soon after raises Lazarus:

> Martha wished that her brother should be
> restored to "life." Christ replied that
> he is the Author of "a more excellent
> life," and that he is, because he quickens
> the souls of believers by divine power.
> Yet I have no doubt that he intended to
> include both favor; and therefore, he
> describes, in general terms, that spiritual
> life which he bestows on all his followers,
> but wishes to give them some opportunity

of knowing this power, which he soon after
was to manifest in raising Lazarus.32

Calvin views the command given by Christ, "He cried
with a loud voice, bound hand and foot with bandages, 'Loose
him, let him go,'" as an indication that it is not by physi-
cal touching that Christ brought Lazarus to life, but that
it is by his word that Christ resurrected Lazarus. Calvin
emphasizes that in the raising of Lazarus, we are given
"visual token or proof, that the key element which makes
rebirth possible is the word of Christ." It is "not by
touching with the hand, " but "only by crying with the
voice," that Christ's "divine power is more fully demonstrated."33

> For how did Christ restore life to the
> dead but by the Word? and therefore, in
> raising Lazarus, he exhibited a visual
> token of his spiritual grace, which
> would experience every day by the per-
> ception of faith, when he shows that
> his voice gives life. 34

The reformer disagrees with the Papist interpretation of
Christ's command to remove Lazarus' bandages. With regard
to their belief in the necessity of the Church as the agent
by which the faithful are reconciled to God, Calvin states:

> The Papists act an excessively ridic-
> ulous part by endeavoring to draw
> auricular confession from this passage.
> They say, "Christ, after having restored
> Lazarus to life, commanded his disciples
> to loose him: and therefore it is not
> enough for us to be reconciled to God,
> unless the Church pardon our sins." 35

Calvin insists, "On the contrary," "Christ could have
made the bandages give way of themselves." We may infer the
order was given to the Jews to further magnify the glory of

the miracle, and remove "every ground of doubt or hesitation" of the glory of this raising.[36]

Hence, unlike the early Christian or Byzantine interpretation, Calvin's assessment places the understanding of the miracle on a universal level. While he retains the interpretations of the resurrection of Lazarus as a miracle of Christ, and as a sign of the promise of future resurrection, he believes the most important message of this verse, if not the entire text, is that Christ was sent to reveal himself as the saviour of the spiritual world of humankind. The reformer interprets the raising as a masterful description of the way in which faith in Christ overcomes sin, death, and hell. In effect, the miracle of the raising of Lazarus is seen as a revelation of the process of universal salvation.

Calvin's understanding of the miracle agrees with the function as reflected in the 1558 depiction by Lucas Cranach the Younger, the first conception of the theme by a Protestant artist. This work, similar to Ouwater's points to Christ as the means to redemption. Schiller suggests the painting "is born of the spirit of the Reformation"[37] It embodies the belief of the faithful in the Gospel, the same belief which Christ asked God to give the people before he worked the miracle on Lazarus; that is, belief in him as the means to salvation. Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Luther himself are represented in the immediate left foreground, with other members of the

reformed community gathered together in support of their belief in the resurrected Christ.

The reforms in the Catholic Church also affected the interpretation of the raising of Lazarus theme. Of interest to us here are the radical reforms in the 16th century which took place in the Franciscan order, some of whose members were seeking a return to the initial simplicity of their movement. One important event in the reform was Pope Leo's X Roman assembly of the order on May 31, 1517, which led to the papal bull offically separating the Conventual and the Observant orders. The reform communities were thus united in the order of the Friars Minor of Observance.

Cardinal Giulio de Medici's 1517-19 commission of Sebastiano's Raising of Lazarus and Raphael's Transfiguration of Christ as gifts to the Franciscan Observant church of Narbonne, may reflect a possible reform influence in the theme's function. The original location of the works in the church has not been established. However, the circumstances surrounding their commission discussed in Chapter III, and their similar size and scale, suggests a thematic relationship. In the Transfiguration Christ assumes an altered state revealing a message before his disciples, Peter, James, and John. God's voice announces from a bright cloud, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him." The choice of the Transfiguration as a companion piece to the Raising when considered in the context of contemporary reforms in the Franciscan order toward

spiritual simplicity, suggests that the Raising was viewed
as a second instance of altered state of being in which
the message common to both works is that spiritual rebirth
occurs when one accepts faith in Christ.

Giovanni Grimani's important commission is a second
example, which may also show reform influence in the interpreta-
tion of the Raising of Lazarus theme. Grimani, was a member
of one of the important Venetian families, who were also
leading patrons of art. His chapel in San Francesco della
Vigna is sumptuously decorated. Zuccaro completed two
fresco's, the Raising of Lazarus and the Conversion of the
Magdalen, placed on either side of the Grimani chapel. The
theme of the conversion is associated with a definite
adoption of faith. It may be defined as a turn-about, a
regeneration, or a change in thought, feeling and will. Here
the placement of the Raising across from the Conversion may
indicate that the Raising was also viewed as a transition,
change or spiritual revelation.

To summarize, it is not unreasonable to suggest that
a depiction of a dead man brought back to life by the power
of Christ's word lends itself less to an understanding of a
physical rebirth or promise of future resurrection, but
would address the question of more immediate concern in the
16th century, in both the Reformation and Counter-Reformation
churches, that is, the means of achieving salvation.
While Calvin's commentary clearly emphasizes the spiritual
aspects of the raising, interpreting it as a visual token

or proof that spiritual rebirth occurs through faith in the word of Christ, the Franciscan reforms within the Catholic church suggest a similar emphasis of spiritual revelation or conversion.

Finally having examined both the Catholic and Protestant representations in the 16th century, one may suggest a possible iconographic distinction reflecting their individual bias. This is represented by the motif of St. Peter, or a disciple loosening the bands of Lazarus' hands. As mentioned in Chapter II, this motif, first represented in the 15th century, was originally inspired by the text of St. Bonaventura's Meditations. In the 16th century the presence of Peter, or a disciple in this role is widely used. If one recognizes Calvin's comment denying the "Papists" view of Christ's command, along with a recognition of the motifs popularity in the 16th century, its use may reflect the emphasis the Catholic Church places on the importance of its role in achieving salvation.

II. Rembrandt

The underlying principle molding the young artist's
conception is his desire to achieve the most emotionally
strong and gripping means of presenting the miracle. The
unity of Rembrandt's composition arises from this single
dramatic intention. His design achieves the maximum amount
of physical as well as emotional interplay between the figures.
This effect is accomplished primarily through Rembrandt's under-
standing of the power of the individual figure.

The composition is constructed as a spatial polarity
focusing on the powerful magician image of Christ, counter-
balanced by Lazarus. The figures are arranged in a strong
pyramidal structure which is set up by their placement and
outwardly directed gestures. This linear arrangement is
balanced by the psychological tension created by the strong
contrast between Christ's intensely inward expression and the
outward attention of Lazarus' quietly awakening eyes and the
spectators' strong expressions of awe and surprise.

In the etching Rembrandt makes even greater use of light
to build up the dramatic structure and to intensify the
compositional unity.

Rembrandt looked to models strongly influenced by
Italian prototypes. He did not follow the strong Northern
tradition of the miracle, represented, for example, by Lucas
van Leyden's depiction. Unlike him, Rembrandt does not
utilize the motif of the untying of the bands. Nor does he
construct a composition structured on a clear division of

foreground, middle and background areas. Rather, Rembrandt
borrows from Lievens those elements that offer the most
theatrically dramatic means of presenting the narrative.
From Lievens he adopts the horizontal and vertical composition
originally inspired by Guido Reni, but alters this "classical"
layout and quiet mood by rearranging the figures into a dynamic
pyramidal structure. Above all, Rembrandt copies the climatic
moment between life and death in which Lazarus hovers, that
transitional point, which had not been represented since
Caravaggio.

From Lastman Rembrandt borrows elements of the Italian
tradition; triangular composition, the characteristic placement
of figures in the foreground, and particularly the use of light.

Clearly, the model for the Christ figure in the Raising of
Lazarus follows an Italian prototype. Müntz suggests that of
Rubens' in his version of the theme. Stechow suggests that
Rembrandt developed the gesture from Lastman's 1622 picture of
the miracle, a model which can be linked ultimately to
Sebastiano's painting. Furthermore, the similarity to the
Christ figure in Caravaggio's Calling of St. Matthew and
Raphael's figure of Paul in the Tapestry Cartoons of "Paul
Preaching in Athens" can not be overlooked.

The consideration remains, what is the significance of
the subtly lit, yet prominently placed quiver full of arrows,
sheathed sword, bow and cap, which hang on the cave wall
just above Lazarus? This embellishment is not present in
the Lievens, or previous compositions. White suggests,
"in following the Gothic proportions of his copy after Lievens"
Rembrandt is completely "into this setting", introducing a

"note of totally inappropriate realism, by adding the dead man's personal effects, the sword, bow and arrows." On the contrary, I believe these items act as visual symbols providing clues to the themes underlying meaning.

The biblical references to each of these objects illuding to spiritual life are numerous. For example, the arrow frequently symbolizes God's power or judgement, as in Kings 13: 17, "the arrow of the Lord's deliverance," and in Ezekiel 55:16, "evil arrow of famine." The quiver often symbolizes the grave, a protected place, or preparedness for the grave. For example, in Jeremiah 5:6, "Their quiver is as an open sepulchre." References to the grave as a sheltered place are made in Isaiah 49:2, "in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me, and made me a polished shaft; in his quiver hath he hid me." In Psalm 127:5, "the man that hath quiver full (of arrows)," the quiver acts as a sign of spiritual preparedness or preparedness for the judgement of the grave. The bow is sometimes a symbol for God's power and wrath, as in Psalm 7:12, "He hath bent his bow, and made it ready." Most notably, Ephesians 6: 16-18 refers to the "helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit," "wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked," by, "taking the shield of faith."

In summary, while the young artist's prevailing concern is to achieve the most emotionally gripping means of presenting the narrative, the message conveyed by the raising clearly reflects "ideas floating in the air." Calvinism had become

the established religion by 1570 in the Zuider See area, and by 1618 had gained the "upper hand" in the Northern Provinces.[41] Certainly, Calvin's interpretation of the theme, would have been preached from the pulpits of Amsterdam. Furthermore, the Calvinist attitude toward death as more of a completion than as a ravage or punishment [42] would influence the understanding of this resurrection. Thus, if one accepts Lazarus' personal effects on the grave wall to symbolize spiritual preparedness, and if one acknowledges Calvin's understanding of the miracle to symbolize spiritual rebirth on earth, these points considered with this attitude toward death, suggest the theme's function simply as a miracle or as the hope for future resurrection and promice of rebirth, is unlikely. A more immediate interpretation of the narrative was demanded and understood; linked with repentance and conversion Rembrandt's resurrection of Lazarus acts as a symbol of spiritual rebirth on earth revealing that faith in Christ is the key to eternal life.
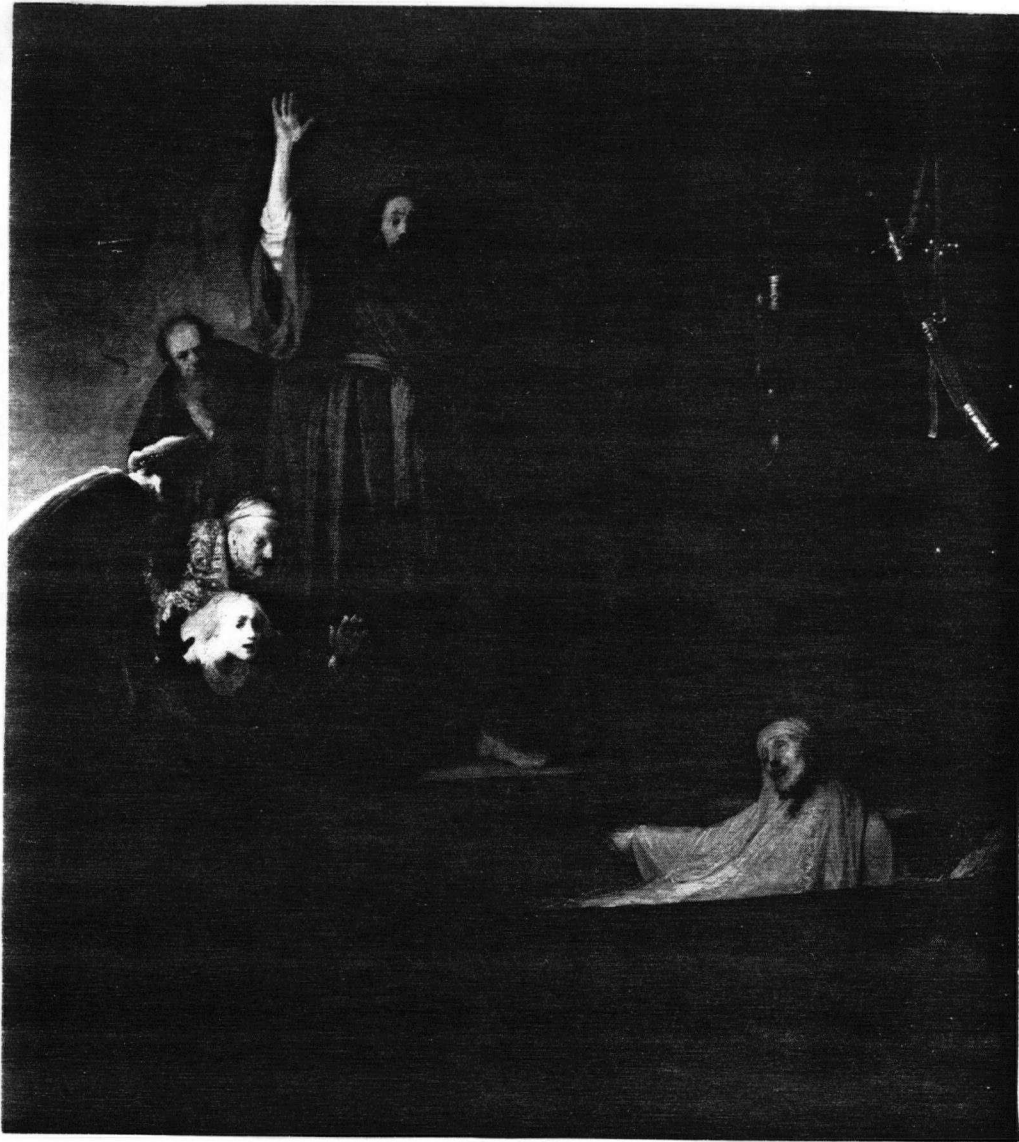
Figure 1.   Rembrandt. Raising of Lazarus, (panel, 93.7 x
            81.1 cm.), ca. 1630, L.A. County Museum.

Figure 2.   Rembrandt.   Raising of Lazarus, (etching, 36.6
x 25.8 cm.), ca. 1631.

Figure 3.   Rembrandt.   Raising of Lazarus, (panel, detail
             of Christ's face), ca. 1630, L.A. County Museum.

Figure 4.   Raising of Lazarus, wall painting, ca. 240-250,
St. Lucina catacombs, Rome.

Figure 5.   Raising of Lazarus, silver relief, cover of a
pyxis, ca. 5th c., Castello di Brivio.
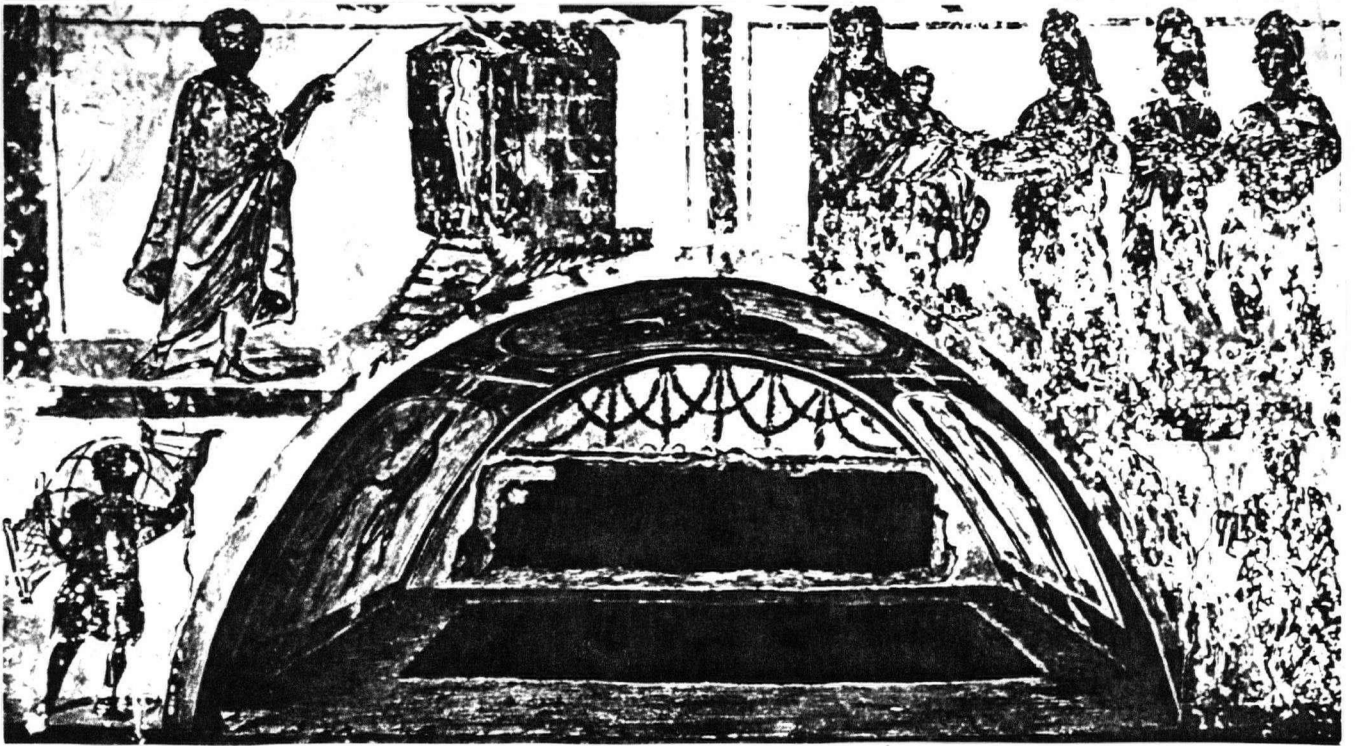
Figure 6. <u>Raising of Lazarus</u>, wall painting, Domitella catacombs, ca. 4th c., Rome.

Figure 7. Raising of Lazarus, ivory Gospel cover from
Murano, 9th c., National Museum, Ravenna.

Figure 8.   Raising of Lazarus, Syrian ivory pyxis, ca. 5th
             c., Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt.

Figure 9.   Raising of Lazarus, manuscript illustration,
            Gospels of St. Augustine, ca. 600, Monte
            Cassino Monastery.

Figure 10.   Raising of Lazarus, Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,
             Rossano, Calabria, ca. 575.

Figure 11.   Raising of Lazarus, wall painting, Monte Cassino
              School, ca. 1075 - 1100, S. Angelo in Formis,
              Rome.

Figure 12.   Giotto.   Raising of Lazarus, fresco, Areno Chapel, ca. 1305, Padua.

Figure 13.   Giovanni da Milano. Raising of Lazarus, 1365,
             S. Croce, Florence.

Figure 14.   Raising of Lazarus, bronze column, ca. 1015-22,
              Hildesheim Cathedral.

Figure 15.   Raising of Lazarus, Bernward miniature, early
11th c., Hildesheim.

Figure 16.   Raising of Lazarus, Bohun manuscript Book of
Hours, ca. 1370-80, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Figure 17.   Raising of Lazarus, Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry, ca. late 14th c., Museum Condé, Chantilly.

Figure 18.   Nicolas Froment. Raising of Lazarus, 1461,
Uffizi, Florence.

Figure 19.   A. van Ouwater. Raising of Lazarus, ca. 1450,
            Berlin-Dahlem State Museum.

Figure 20.   Bramantino. <u>Raising of Lazarus</u>, ca. 1504,
Kress Collection, New York.

Figure 21.   Palma Vecchio. Raising of Lazarus, ca. 1520,
              National Gallery, London.
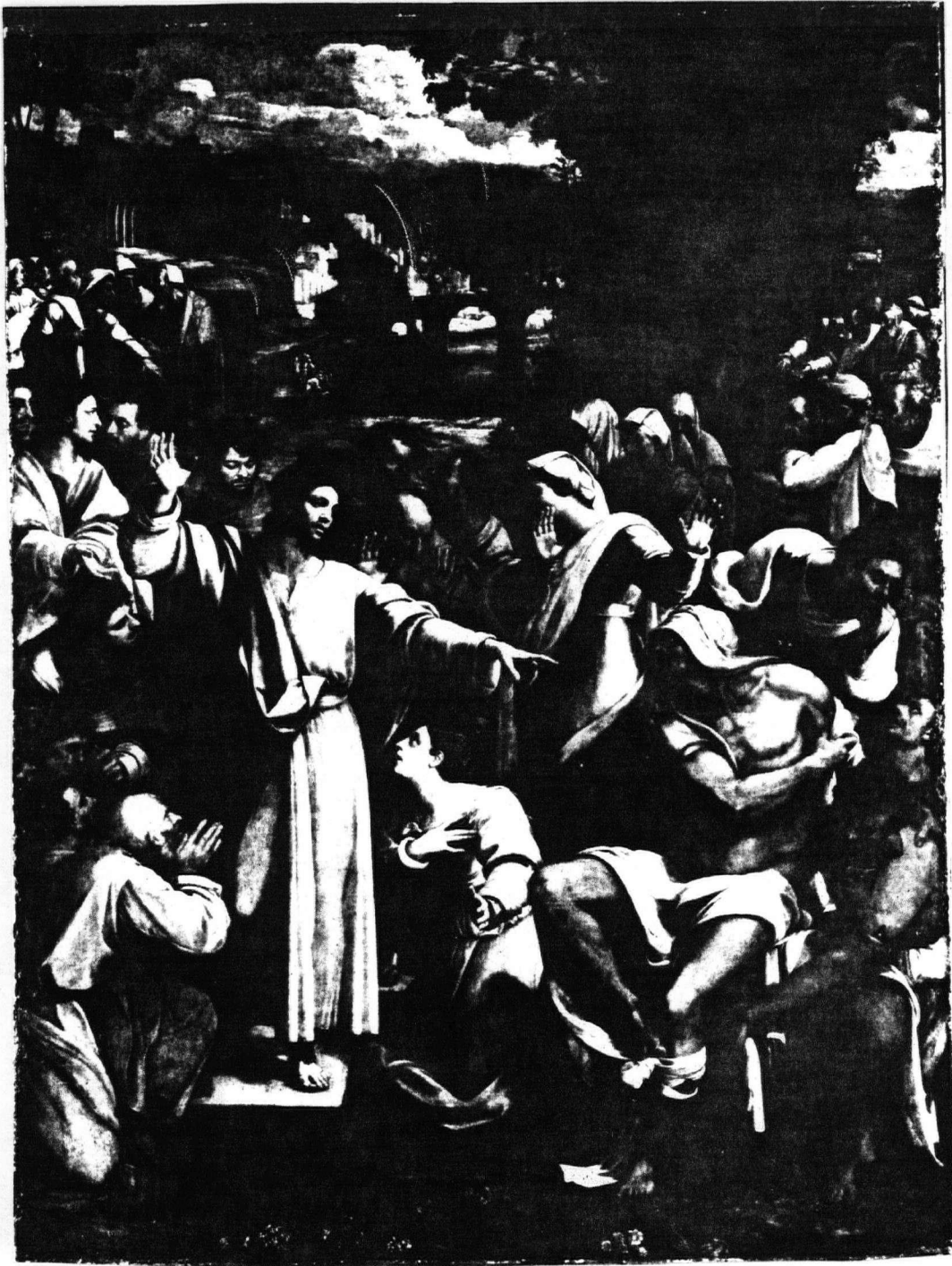
Figure 22.   Sebasiano del Piombo. Raising of Lazarus,
              (painting), ca. 1520, National Gallery, London.

Figure 23.   Giovanni A. Pordenone.   Raising of Lazarus,
              (mosaic), ca. 1529, St. Marks, Venice.

Figure 24.   Frederico Zuccaro. Raising of Lazarus, (fresco),
              1564, Grimani Chapel, S. Francesco della Vigna,
              Venice.
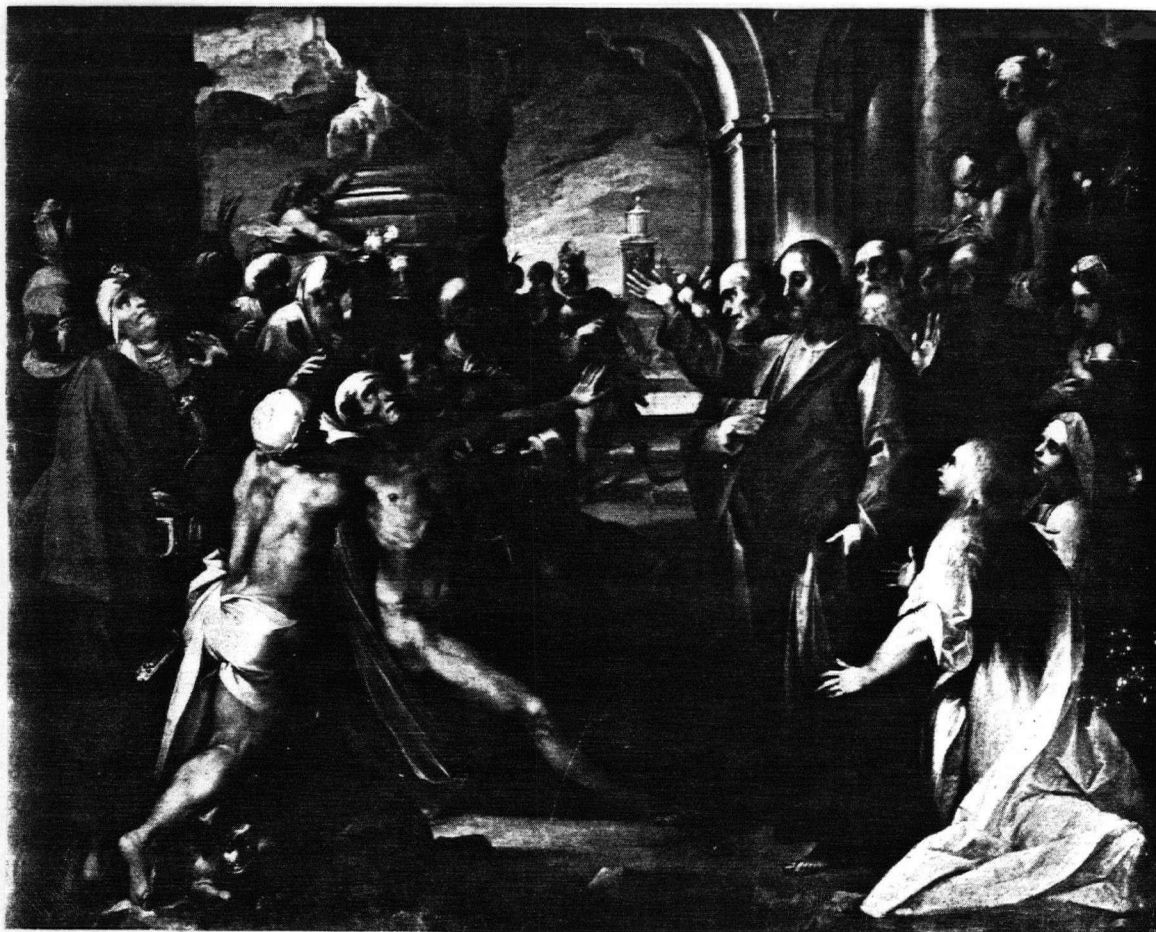
Figure 25. Caveliere d'Arpino. Raising of Lazarus, ca. 1590, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

Figure 26.   Caravaggio. Raising of Lazarus, 1608, National
              Museum, Messina.
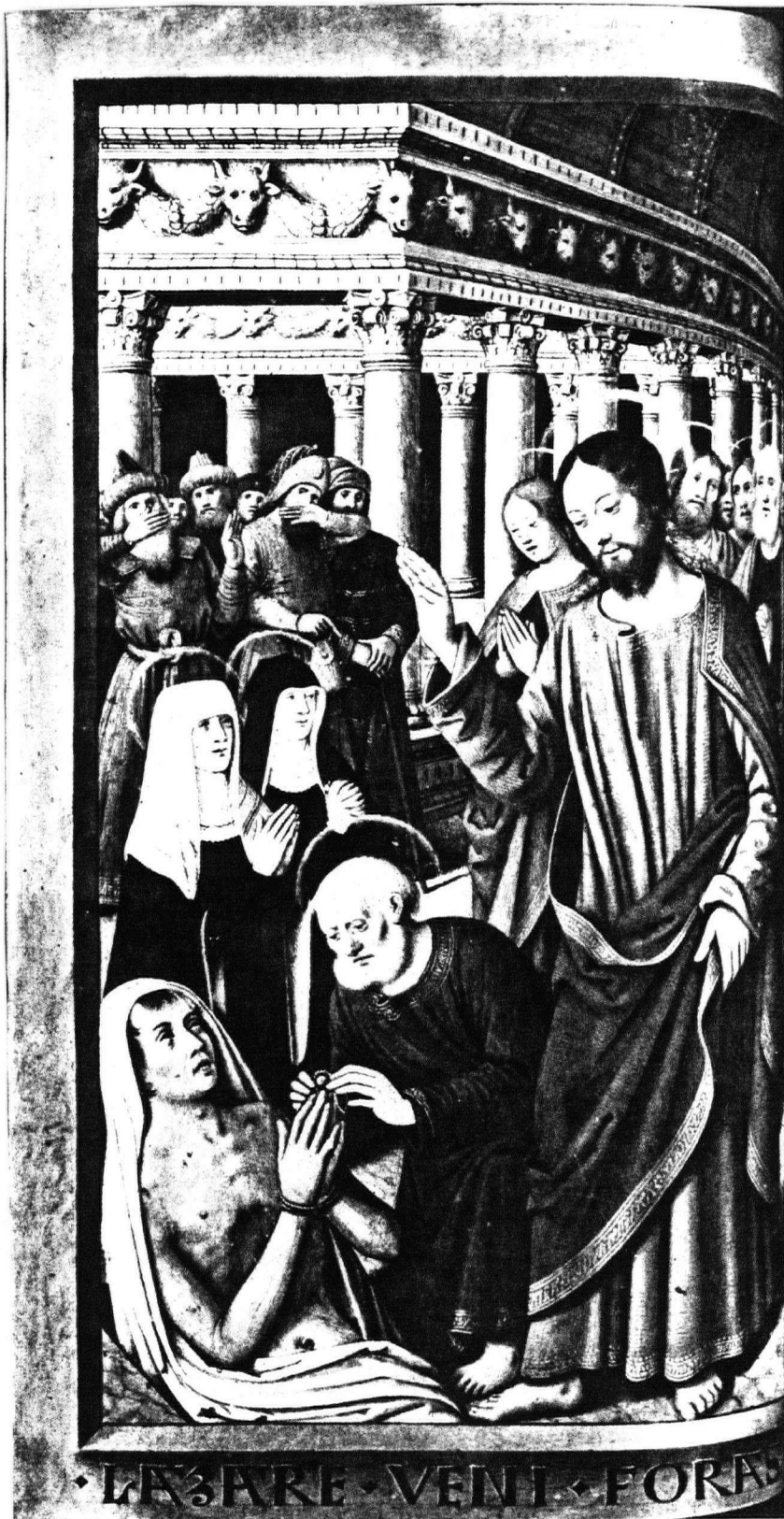
Figure 27. Jean Bourdichon. Raising of Lazarus, Hours of Anne of Brittany, 1511, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Figure 28.   Jan Cornelis Vermeyenc.   Raising of Lazarus, Belgium Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels, 1530.
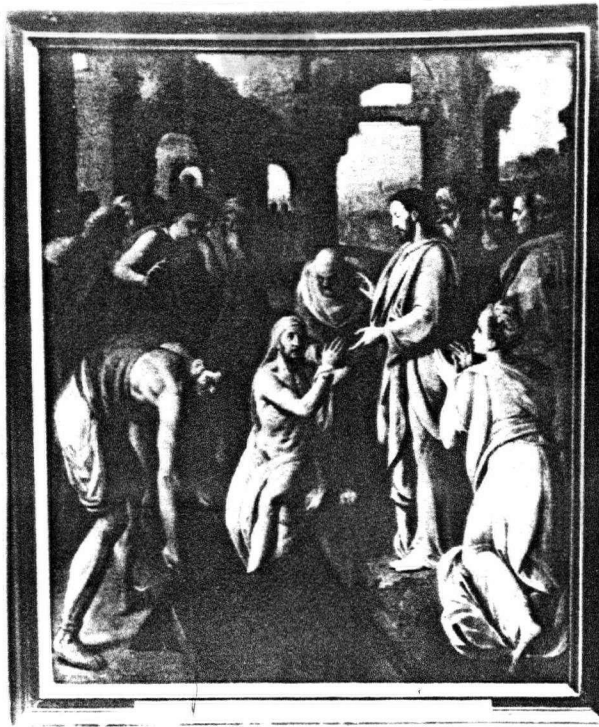
Figure 29.   F. Pourbous. <u>Raising of Lazarus</u>, Tournay
             Cathedral, ca. 1573.

Figure 30.   Lucas van Leyden. Raising of Lazarus, Leiden,
              Printroom, ca. 1508.
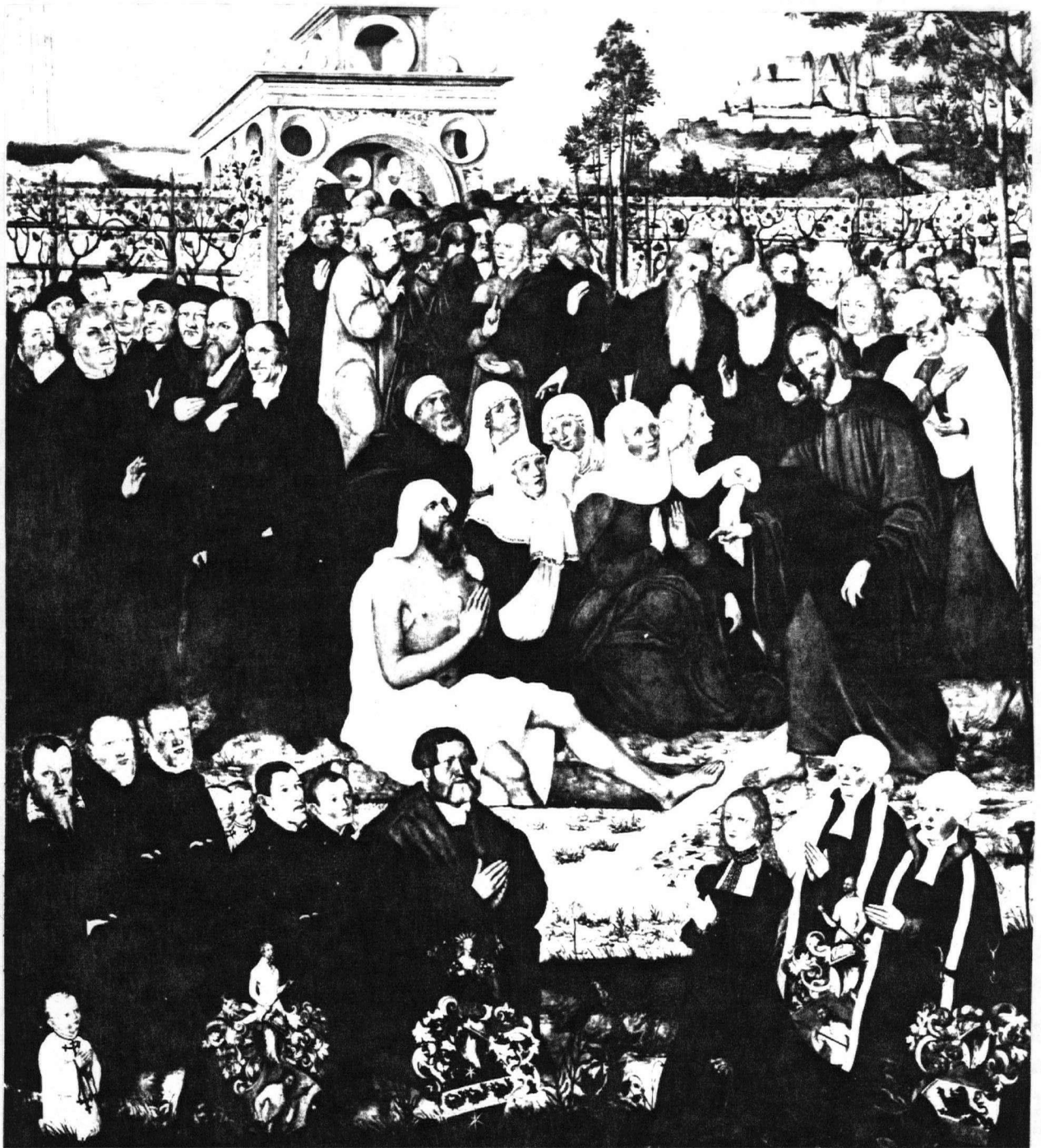
Figure 31. Lucas Cranach, the Younger. (copy) <u>Raising of Lazarus</u>, 1558, location unknown, photo source: G. Schiller, <u>Iconography of Christian Art</u>.

Figure 32.   Cornelius Cort. Raising of Lazarus, n.d.,
              engraving after Frederico Zuccaro, British
              Museum.

Figure 33. Abraham Bloemaert. Raising of Lazarus, (drawing), n.d., Leipzig Museum der bildenden Künste.

Figure 34.   Jan Muller.   Raising of Lazarus, n.d., engraving
              after Abraham Bloemaert, Printroom, Rijksmuseum,
              Amsterdam.

Figure 35.   T.J. Wtewael.   Raising of Lazarus, n.d., Palace
               of Fine Arts, Lille, France.

Figure 36.   Pieter Lastman. Raising of Lazarus, (63 x
92 cm.), Mauritshuis, The Hague.
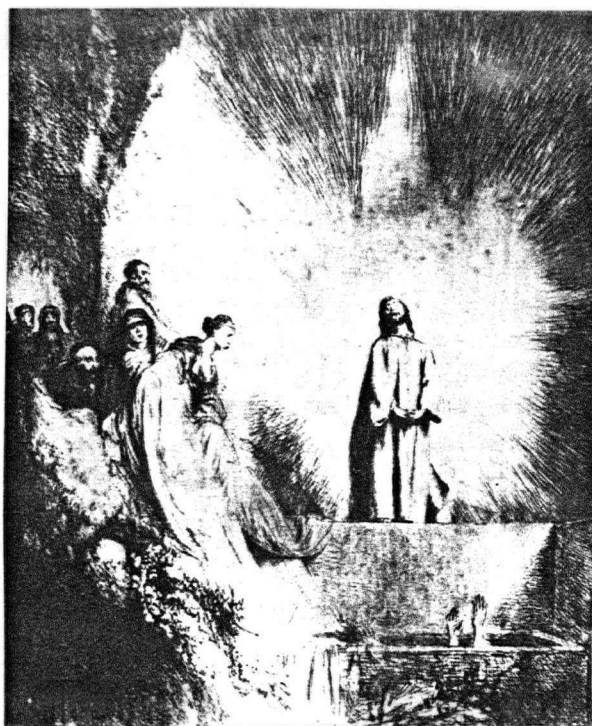
Figure 37.   Jan Lievens. Raising of Lazarus, (etching,
              35.88 x 33.02 cm.), ca. 1619, Printroom,
              Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figure 38.   Rembrandt, The Entombment of Christ, (drawing),
              1630, London: British Museum.
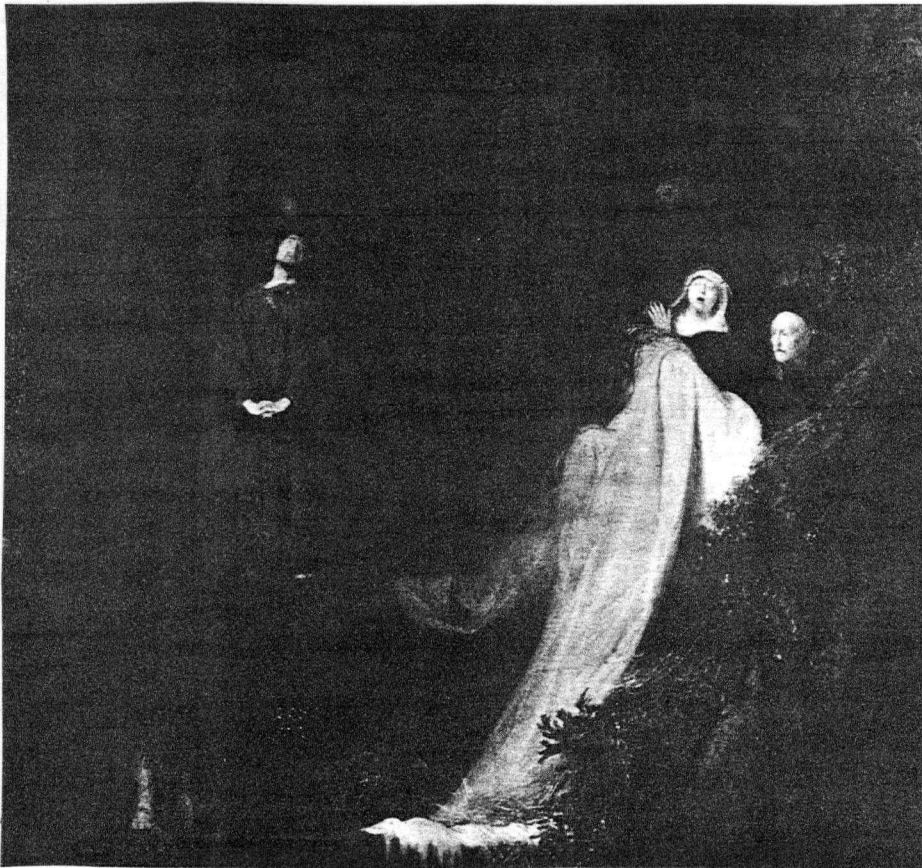
Figure 39.   Jan Lievens.   Raising of Lazarus, (105 x
              114.3 cm.), 1631, Art Gallery, Brighton.
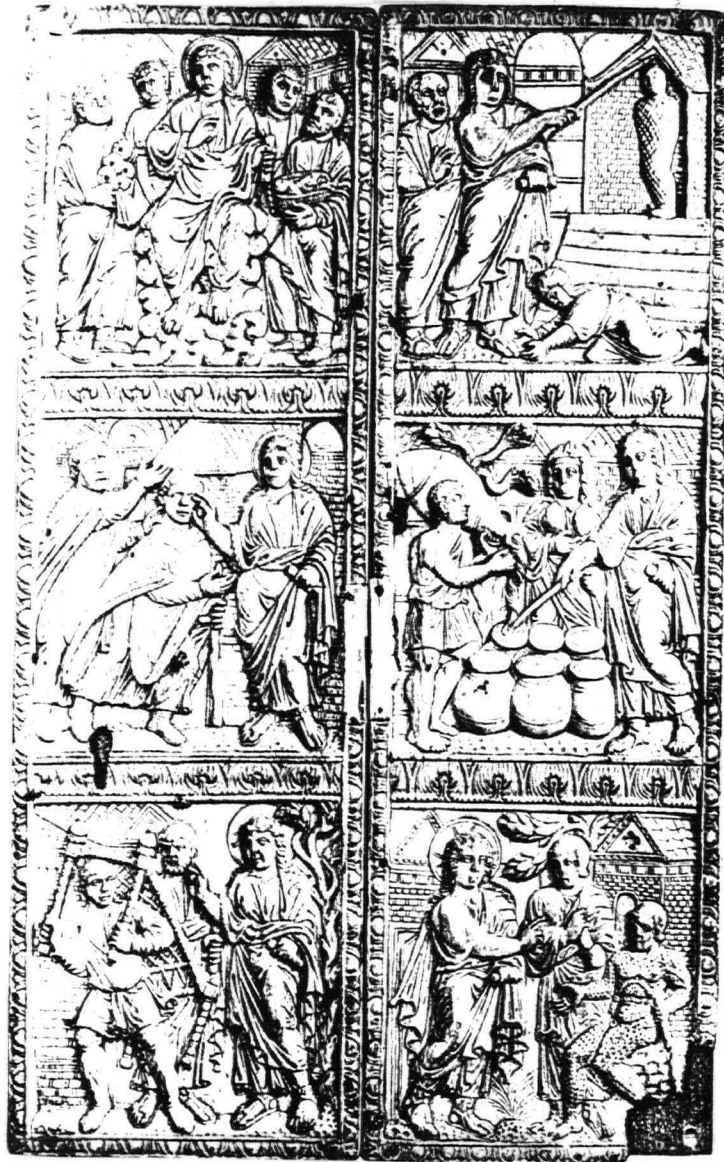
Figure 40.   <u>Raising of Lazarus</u>, Andrews Dyptych, 5th c.,
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
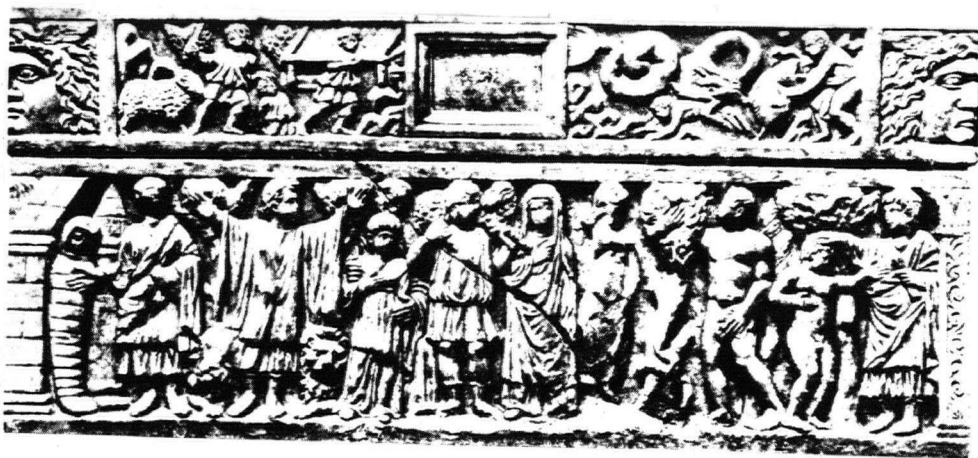
Figure 41.   Raising of Lazarus, Lungara Sarcofagus, ca. 4th
c., Le Terme Museum, Rome.

Notes to Chapter I

[1]Rembrandt completed two later works on the Raising of Lazarus theme; a pen and bistre drawing and an etching. The former, in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, measures 18.2 x 15.7 cm. Benesch, in The Drawings of Rembrandt, 6 vols., (London: Phaidon Press, 1954-7), vol. 3, No. 578, suggests the date 1642. White, in Rembrandt as Etcher, (London: Zemmer Ltd., 1969), p.50, agrees, suggesting the drawing represents a first idea for the 1642 etching. The latter, the so-called "smaller plate," measures 15 x 11.4 cm. and is dated and signed: Rembrandt f 1642. For the most complete list of print locations, see White and Boone, Rembrandt's Etchings, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: A. L. van Gendt and Co., 1969) vol. 1, p. 37, cat. no. B72.

[2]The Los Angeles County painting is catalogued as number 538 in A. Bredius' Rembrandt Paintings, revised ed. H. Gerson (London: Phaidon, 1969). K. Bauch lists the painting as no. 51 in Rembrandt Gemälde, (Berlin: W. de Gruyter and Co. 1966). For information on its present physical condition, see B. B. Johnson, "Examination and treatment of Rembrandt's Resurrection of Lazarus," Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin, 20 (1974): 18-35.

[3]The discussion related to the dating of both the 1630 painting and the ca. 1631 etching by Rembrandt appears in Chapter IV.

[4]L. Müntz's A Critical Catalogue of Rembrandt's Etchings, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon Press, 1952), lists the etching as no. 192. It is indexed B73 in White and Boon, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 38. Impressions of the larger plate are located in the British Museum, Vienna and Amsterdam. For additional locations and description changes made in the nine states, see these two catalogues. The etching is signed RHL van Ryn f.

[5]L. Müntz, "Rembrandt's Vorstellung von Antlitz Christi," Festschrift Kurt Bauch, (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag): 208-209.

[6]Ibid.

[7]B. Haak, Rembrandt - His Life, Work and Times, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), p. 63.

[8]Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. "Lazarus," by E. May.

[9]Mark 5:22-43.

[10]Luke 7:11-17

[11]May, "Lazarus."

[12]Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible: Introduction and Commentary for Each Book of the Bible Including the Apocrypha, with general articles, s.v. "John 11:1-44."

[13]The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: an Illustrated Encyclopedia Identifying and Explaining all Proper Names and Significant Terms and Subjects in the Holy Sc.iptures, Including the Apocrypha, with an Attention to Archaeological Discoveries and Researches into the Life and Faith of Ancient Times, s.v. "Lazarus of Bethany," by J. N. Sanders suggests in the case of Jarius' daughter (Mark 5:22-43) and the son of the widow of Nain (Luke 7: 11-17), that it can be argued they were not really dead, but deeply unconscious; indeed, in the former case, Christ states, "The child is not dead, but sleeping." (Mark 5:39).

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Luke 16:21. The complete text of Lazarus of Dives occurs in Luke, verses 19 to 31.

[17]Luke 16:31

[18]Sanders, "Lazarus of Bethany."

[19]A. Butler, Lives of the Saints, ed., revised and supp. by H. Thurson and D. Attwater, 4vols., (New York: Kennedy, 1956), p. 574.

[20]Listed as #169 in the June 25,1656 inventory of Rembrandt's goods in Hofstede de Groot's Die Urkunden über Rembrandt, (The Hague: 1906), item #285 refers to an "old Bible." More detailed identification of the text is not provided. The 1618-19 Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church of Dordrect ordered a new translation of the Bible made from the original text; it was first published in 1637.

[21]John 11:3

[22]John 10:31

[23]John 11:18

[24]John 11:45

[25]John 11:53

[26]John 11:47-48

[27]Sanders, "Lazarus of Bethany."

[28]Erwin Panofsky, <u>Early Netherlandish Painting</u>, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1953), p. 320 f.

[29]Richard Spear, "The Raising of Lazarus - Caravaggio and the 16th century tradition," <u>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</u> (February 1965): 65-70.

[30]Denis Mahon, "A Late Caravaggio Rediscovered," <u>Burlington Magazine</u> 98 (1956): 225-8.

[31]George Hulin de Loo, "Die Auferweckung des Lazarus der Sammlung von Kaufmann und die Niederlander Maler des Konigs René d'Anjou," <u>Jahrbuch der Preusseshen Kunst Sammlungen</u> 25 (1904): 72-9.

[32]Émile Mâle, "La Résurrection de Lazare dans l'art," <u>La Revue des Arts</u>, 1 (1951): 43-52.

[33]G. Schiller, <u>Iconography of Christian Art</u>, 2 vols., trans. by Janet Seligman. (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1971), 1: 181-6.

[34]E. Kirschenbaum, <u>Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie</u>, 3 vols. (Freiburg in Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1971)3: p. 35.

[35]F. Saxl, "Rembrandt und Italien," <u>Oud Holland</u> (1923-4): 145-60.

[36]L. Müntz, <u>Die Kunst Rembrandts und Goethes Sehen</u>, (Leipzig: Verlag Heinrich Keller, 1934), passim.

[37]L. Müntz, "Rembrandts Vorstellung von Anlitz Christi," <u>Festschrift Kurt Bauch</u> (Munich: Deutscher Kunst Verlag): pp. 205-27.

[38]W. Stechow, "Rembrandt's Resurrection of Lazarus," <u>Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin</u> 19 (1973): 7-11.

[39]B. B. Johnson, "Examination and Treatment of Rembrandts Resurrection of Lazarus," <u>Los Angeles County Museum Art Bulletin</u> (1974): 18-35.

[40]H. Guratzsch, "Die Untersicht als ein Gestaltungsmittle in Rembrandts Frühwerk," <u>Oud Holland</u> 89 (1975): 243-263.

Notes to Chapter II

[1] Mâle, "La Résurrection," p. 46.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Schiller, Iconography, p. 183.

[5] Ibid.

[6] John 11:39.

[7] For further discussion of Byzantine iconography refer to Millet's Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1960), p. 233, wherein he describes an Italian Byzantine and Capadocean model. The elements of the Capadocean are identical to the Syro-Palestinian type described by this writer in the text. The elements which distinguish the Syro-Palestinian type from the Italian Byzantine type are: 1) Christ's entry into the scene from the right instead of the left; and 2) the stone of the tomb is frequently rolled at an angle. The Italian Byzantine type is exemplified by the Raising of Lazarus on the Pisa Doors. Note that the Italian Byzantine model is far less frequently represented.

[8] Mâle, "La Résurrection," p. 46.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Schiller, Iconography, p. 183.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Schiller suggests in Iconography, p. 186, that the operative influence here is not so much the Gothic pictorial type, but an assimilation of the image of the Resurrection of Christ.

[13] Ibid., p. 184.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Mâle, "La Résurrection," p. 50.

[17] Ibid., p. 49.

[18] Schiller, Iconography, p. 186.

[19]Ibid.

[20]John 11:39

[21]Panofsky, <u>Early Netherlandish Painting</u>, vol. 1, p. 36.

[22]M. J. Friedlaender, <u>Die altniederlandische Malerei</u>, 14 vols., (Berlin: Paul Cassirer (I-XI) and Leiden: A. W. Sijhoff (XII-XIV) 1924-1937), 3: 57, 112.

[23]Panofsky, <u>Early Netherlandish Painting</u>, vol. 1, p. 320.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.

Notes to Chapter III

[1]Cecil Gould, National Gallery - The Sixteenth Century Italian School Excluding the Venetian, (London: Publications Department, National Gallery, 1962), indicates the painting was sent from Rome to Narbonne Cathedral some time after April 12, 1520. Some time before 1723 the regent of Orléans "bought or begged" the work from the Chapter of Narbonne. The location within the Cathedral during the two centuries is not entirely clear; it may have been in the apsidal chapel of St. Michel. A copy by Carle Vanloo arrived around 1750 and was in the chapel of St. Martin. After the Orléans sale (Lyceum, London, 26, December 1798), it went into the Argerstein collection. That National Gallery acquired the work in 1824. It is on canvas transferred from panel.

[2]R. Spear on page 64 in "The Raising of Lazarus: Caravaggio and the 16th century tradition," points to Sebastiano as an earlier source for F. Zuccaro's 1564 Raising of Lazarus.

[3]Ibid, p. 68.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., p. 65.

[6]Spear, "Caravaggio and the 16th century tradition," p. 65.

[7]W. Friedlaender, Caravaggio Studies, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 213-6.

[8]B. Berenson, Caravaggio, His Incongruity and His Fame, (London: Chapman Hall, 1953), pp. 42-3.

[9]Hugo Wagner, Michelangelo da Caravaggio, (Bern: Benteli, 1958), pp. 156-8.

[10]Ibid., p. 64.

[11]Ibid. All the points described as similar between Caravaggio and d'Arpino's work in this paragraph appear on page 66.

[12]Mâle, "La Résurrection," p. 51.

[13]Ibid., p. 49.

[14] John 11:38.

[15] John 11:41.

[16] E. Ruhmer, _Cranach_, trans. by Joan Spencer (London: Phaidon, 1963), p. 27.

[17] Schiller, _Iconography_, p. 186.

[18] Spear, "Caravaggio and the 16th century tradition," p. 68.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Lastman completed two versions of this theme. The later painting is located in The Hague, Mauritshuis, signed and dated 1622, on panel 63 x 92 cm. The other version in the collection of P. Leendertz, Amsterdam, on panel, 62 x 84 cm., is dated ca. 1620-2.

Notes to Chapter IV

[1] Seymour Slive, "The Young Rembrandt," _Allen Memorial Art Bulletin Museum_ 20 (Spring, 1963): 120-49, in particular 136-44. Slive discusses the two young artists' collaboration. This association is complicated by the fact that Rembrandt and Lievens occasionally worked on one another's projects. Slive points to several early drawings and paintings which are ascribed to Lievens by some scholars and to Rembrandt by others. For example, _The Portrait of an Old Man_, now at the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is clearly dated 1632 and monogrammed by Rembrandt, but shows unmistakable traces of the soft, silky touch Lievens developed around 1630.

[2] Constantine Huygens was secretary to Stadtholder Prince Frederick Henry, from 1625, when he was 29 years old to 1687 at the time of his death. One of the most outstanding men of the Netherlands during the 17th century, he not only served his country but was also a dilettante of the arts. Around 1630 Huygens began an autobiography which among other subjects, discusses painting.

[3] J. Rosenberg; S. Slive; and E. H. ter Kuile, _Dutch Art and Architecture 1600-1800_, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 144.

[4] Saxl, "Rembrandt und Italien," p. 147.

[5] Ibid.

[6] E. Heverkamp-Begeman, "Review of Otto Benesch - The Drawing of Rembrandt," _Kunstchronik_ 14 (January 1961): 20.

[7] H. Schneider, _Jan Lievens - Sein Leben und Seine Werk_, supplemented by R. E. O. Ekkart, (Amsterdam: V. M. Israel, 1972), p. 38, catalogue no. 31.

[8] White, _Rembrandt as Etcher_, p.30.

[9] Heverkamp-Begeman, "Review of Otto Benesch," p. 20.

[10] Saxl, "Rembrandt und Italien," p. 146-7.

[11] Heverkamp-Begeman, "Review of Otto Benesch," p. 20.

[12] Benesch, _Drawings of Rembrandt_, p. 7, catalogue no. 17, figure 22.

[13]L. Müntz, <u>A Critical Catalogue of Rembrandt's Etching</u>, (London: Phaidon Press, 1952), 2: 176, catalogue no 192.

[14]K. Bauch, "Zum Werk des J. Lievens," <u>Pantheon</u> 25 (May/June 1967): 166ff.

[15]B. Haak, <u>Rembrandt - His Life, Work and Times</u> (London: Thames and Hudson), fig. 91, p. 62f.

[16]Ibid., p. 63.

[17]Saxl, "Rembrandt und Italien," p. 146.

[18]Saxl, "Rembrandt und Italien," p. 152.

[19]J. Bruyn, "Rembrandt and the Italian Baroque," <u>Simiolus</u> 4 (1970): 40.

[20]C. Tümple, "The Iconography of the Pre-Rembrandtists," (Sacramento, California: E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1974) p. 127.

[21]Rosenberg, Slive, and ter Kuile, <u>Dutch Art and Architecture</u>, p. 131.

Notes to Chapter V

[1]John 11:38

[2]Mâle, "La Résurrection," p.45.

[3]Ibid.

[4]David Flusser, "The Redemption in Ancient Egypt
and Early Christianity," Types of Redemption, ed. by R. J.
Werblowsky; C. Jouco Bleeber (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970),
p. 39.

[5]Mâle, "La Résurrection," p. 44.

[6]Schiller, Iconography, p. 181.

[7]W. Lowrie, Art in the Early Church, (New York:
Pantheon Books, 1947), p. 97.

[8]Mâle, "La Résurrection," p. 44.

[9]Schiller, Iconography, p. 181.

[10]Mâle, "La Résurrection," p. 46.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Millet, Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile,
p. 231.

[14]As quoted from Mâle, "La Résurrection," p. 51.

[15]D. Attwater, Dictionary of Saints, (Middlesex, England:
Penguin Books, 1965), p. 274.

[16]Matthew 16:16-19.

[17]Matthew 18:18

[18]John 21:15-19

[19]Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, p. 321.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Hans J. Hillerbrand, <u>The World of the Reformation</u>, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), p. 61.

[23]As quoted from Edelgrad Dubruck in David E. Standad, <u>Death in the Western Tradition</u>, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 22.

[24]Ibid.

[25]J. Calvin, <u>Commentaries on the Gospels</u>, translated by Reverend William Pringle, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing, 1847), p. 424.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid., p. 435.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid., p. 463-7.

[33]Ibid., p. 447.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Schiller, <u>Iconography</u>, p. 186.

[38]Müntz, <u>Rembrandt's Etchings</u>, number 214.

[39]Stechow,"Rembrandt's Resurrection of Lazarus;" p. 8.

[40]White, <u>Rembrandt as Etcher</u>, p. 31.

[41] J.Huizinga, <u>Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century</u>, trans. by Arnold J. Pomerans, (London:Fontana Press, 1968), p. 52.

[42]J.B. Knipping, <u>Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands</u>, 2 vols., (Leiden: A.W. Sijtkoff, 1974), p.92.

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――――――. "Rembrandts 'Christus am Kreutz.'" Pantheon 20 (May/June 1962): 137-44.

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――――――. "Zum Werk des Jan Lievens." Pantheon 25 (1967): 160-70.

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    Encyclopedia Identifying and Explaining all Proper
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    to Archaeological Discoveries and Researches into the
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    the Netherlands. 2 vols. Leiden: A. W. Sijtkoff,
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    97 (January 1955): 44-50.

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    Early Roman Catacomb Painting. Princeton, New Jersey:
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Appendix

The extent of Michelangelo's collaboration in the design is open to discussion. Vasari, who describes the circumstances under which the picture was commissioned and executed, asserts that it was done, "sotto ordini e disegno in alcune parti di Michelangelo."[1] As Freedberg suggests, the phrase "may be interpreted in several ways, but its literal meaning is that Michelangelo supplied ideas, not for the entire composition, but for some motives in it."[2] As we know from Sebastiano's letters to Michelangelo, the degree of Michelangelo's supervision was truly minimal; he saw the work only once in January 1518, several months after Sebastiano had begun the painting.[3] Thus, if Michelangelo had no part in the design as a whole, the question arises as to the extent of his collaboration.

Evidence of Michelangelo's assistance exists in the form of three preparatory drawings, one for the Lazarus figure and two for his attendants. Opinion is divided as to the authorship of these drawings. Johannes Wilde attributes them to Michelangelo in his 1953 catalogue, though he previously attributed them to Sebastiano.[4] Gould, in his 1964 catalogue, also ascribes the drawings to Michelangelo.[5]

Freedberg disagrees and suggests that although the three drawings are dependent on Michelangelo's draftsmanship to the point of possible confusion, this literalness decreases

as Sebastiano moves toward the final form. Freedberg

points out that several other figures resemble Michelangelo

motifs more closely, such as those taken from the Sistine

Ceiling. For example, the arms of Christ are similar in

both the Separation of Earth and Water and the Creation of

Adam. In addition, the attitude of Martha is similar to

that of Adam in Michelangelo's Expulsion. In Freedberg's

opinion, the Lazarus figure was "with great probability based

on a suggestion in drawing made ad hoc by Michelangelo at

Sebastiano's request," but in its final conception, is not

literally derived, but worked up and away from Michelangelo's

original suggestion.[6] Whichever attribution of the drawings

one accepts, it is clear that several motifs originate from

Michelangelo. In some cases, they are more literally borrowed.

In others, they are more greatly evolved. However, Freedberg

concludes that although Michelangelo did contribute

to this work in some degree, the contribution was

insignificant and the painting is Sebastiano'a personal

creation.

Notes to Appendix

[1]Vasari, as quoted in S. J. Freedberg, _Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence_, (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 383.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Johannes Wild, _Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum_, Michelangelo and His Studio, (London: Publications Department, British Museum, 1953), p.30.

[5]Gould, _Sixteenth Century Italian School Excluding the Venetian_, p. 78.

[6]Freedberg, _Painting of the High Renaissance_, p. 383.