

Die Bibel in der Kunst / Bible in the Arts

Online-Zeitschrift 8, 2024

“And the rich man also died:
and he was buried in hell.” (Luke 16:22b).
The Afterlife of Dives in Visual and Musical
Representations through the Centuries

Siobhán Dowling Long

“And the rich man also died:
and he was buried in hell.” (Luke 16:22b¹).
The Afterlife of Dives in Visual and Musical
Representations through the Centuries*

Siobhán Dowling Long

College Lecturer, University College Cork, Ireland

Abstract

The biblical story of the rich man and Lazarus, more commonly known in tradition as Dives and Lazarus, is a parable from Luke’s Gospel (16:19–31) that does not appear in any other Gospel. Regarded as “possibly the best-known account of the Afterlife in the entire New Testament,”² it was written in Greek, and translated into Latin – the most notable version being the Latin Vulgate. A translation of the Greek noun Hades (ᾍδης *hadēs*; Luke 16:23) as *infernus* in Latin (Vulg. Luke 16:22) and as “hell / Helle” in early English and German translations in the vernacular all contributed in later tradition to the rich man’s evil reputation as a violent, greedy, glutton who not only failed in his Christian duty to care for the poor man Lazarus but who was guilty of committing many of the seven deadly sins, most notably, the sin of avarice. This interpretation inspired a wealth of visual and musical representations depicting Dives tortured by demons in the flames of hell as punishment for his sins. Such was the biblical story’s popularity, it featured on the external walls of twelfth-century cathedrals and in illuminations of medieval manuscripts before reaching a highpoint in sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth-century paintings, engravings, and musical compositions. Focusing primarily on the rich man, this article explores the afterlife of the biblical story in visual and musical representations by well-known and lesser-known artists, engravers, composers, and songwriters through the centuries.

1. The Rich Man: A Man of Vanity and Violence

Three characters preside in the Lukan parable, the unnamed rich man, Lazarus, Abraham, and a biblical narrator who recounts the brief story but with some notable gaps as to certain details, which over the centuries have been subjected to multiple interpretations. The biblical narrator opens the story with a description of the rich man’s clothing and lavish lifestyle, both of which were fit for a King – “purple and fine linen” – and an image of the rich man feasting “sumptuously every

* My thanks to Martin O’Kane, Klaus Koenen, and the anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

¹ This biblical quotation is taken from the Douay-Rheims translation. Hereafter, quotations are taken from the Revised Standard Version.

² Erhman, *Heaven and Hell*, 199.

day” (v. 19). In the pictorial tradition in particular, the festive scene is sometimes illustrated with musicians playing music at the banquet while the rich man, clothed in exquisite attire, feasts either alone or in the company of others in luxurious surroundings, and tended by servants who carry platters of food and pitchers of drink to add to the already lavish display on the table. Heinrich Aldegrever (ca. 1502–1555/1561) depicted this scene in two engravings as part of a series of five entitled *The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (1554). One engraving illustrated here, *The Rich Man at His Table* (Fig. 1), focuses on the licentious behaviour of the rich man. Although not disclosed by the biblical narrator if the rich man had engaged in any illicit conduct or not, the engraver points to it through the symbolism of musical instruments, in this case, a flute which is played by a performer to the left of the rich man. The distinctive shape of this instrument points to its phallic association with the immorality of the rich man whose naked body is depicted across the table alongside the naked image



Fig. 1 Heinrich Aldegrever, *The Rich Man at His Table*, from: *The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (1554, plate 1 from a series of five engravings, 8 x 11 cm).

of a woman in her bathtub. Images in the engraving that point to the folly of the rich man include an individual to the right who inspects a jug of liquid half-full to symbolize a life of virtue not lived to its full potential, and the presence of a jester to the right of the lady, seated beside the rich man, who personifies Folly and the foolishness of the rich man in choosing a life that focused on himself to the exclusion of others less fortunate. A man, possibly a surgeon, who is letting blood from a seated female suggests illness and an imbalance of the four humours to suggest the unbalanced life of the rich man who enjoyed a life of excessive pleasure.

The second engraving by Aldegrever entitled *Lazarus at the Rich Man's Gate* (1554, Plate 2)³ features a more standard image of the rich man at his banquet with Lazarus lying half-naked by the gate as dogs lick his sores (Luke 16:19–21). This scene was widely depicted by artists,⁴ engravers, and composers. The

³ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/354610>.

⁴ Jacobo Bassano (1510–1592) painted two well-known versions of the banquet scene, an earlier rendition from ca. 1550 (oil on canvas, 146 x 221 cm, The Cleveland Museum of Art, OH)

vanity of the rich man is incapsulated in two examples here from the seventeenth century, *The Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man* from the Workshop of Domenico Fetti (ca. 1618–22; Fig. 2) and *Den rike mannen och Lazarus* by the well-known Flemish artist, Frans Francken I (1542–1616; Fig. 3).



Fig. 2 The Workshop of Domenico Fetti, *The Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man* (1618/1628, oil on panel, 61.6 x 45.4 cm).



Fig. 3 Frans Francken I, *Den rike mannen och Lazarus* (n.d., oil on panel, 47 x 65 cm).

Both artists illustrate the rich man and his companions at the lavish banquet, with a table overflowing with food and drink, surrounded by guests who are waited on by servants, in the opulent setting of a banquet hall with musicians and a singer providing the entertainment in Fig. 2, and in a fashionable seventeenth-century dining room in Fig. 3. Although the biblical narrator refrains from revealing any details of the guests who may or may not have been present, many artists included them, along with a female or females to suggest the presence of the rich man's wife if he was married or indeed a lady-friend (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) or other females (Fig. 4 and Fig. 10). By contrast, Frans Francken I includes only male guests at the banquet (Fig. 3) to perhaps suggest the rich man's brothers with allusions to Luke 16:28 or indeed like-minded companions who had little regard for the poor man lying at the entrance of their rich friend's exquisite dwelling. Both artists (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3) embellished the biblical narrator's story in their depiction of a servant brandishing a stick who, most likely on the orders of the rich man, either threatened poor Lazarus or indeed caused him grievous bodily harm (see also Fig. 4). In Fig. 3, the servant is also accom-

which features a lute-player entertaining the guests, see <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1939.68>; and a later version from ca. 1570, (oil on canvas, 150 x 202 cm, Museo Del Prado, Madrid), which features two musicians playing a lute and a lira da braccio, see <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/lazarus-and-dives/449efb74-3344-4d5d-97ff-e6fb985dedb9>.

panied by a group of servants who surround the poor man like a pack of demons in their efforts to drive him away from the rich man's estate. In images of Dives in hell, many artists reversed this image of Lazarus by illustrating Dives encircled and admonished by the Devil and his demon comrades (see also Fig. 7, 8, 10, 12, 22, 23, 24, 25).

The violence of the rich man which is depicted in visual representations also features prominently in English folk ballads, most notably, the broadside ballad, *A Dialogue between Dives and Lazarus* (Harding B 19 [129 and Johnson Ballads, 1766), hereafter called the broadside ballad,⁵ and in the well-known folk ballad/Christmas carol (Child ballad 56 and the Roud Folk Song Index 477), *Dives and Lazarus*,⁶ hereafter called the Child ballad, both of which are loosely based on the biblical story. In the broadside ballad,⁷ Lazarus is given a voice to speak as he begs the rich man for "Christian charity" to relieve him of the pain of his sores (Lazarus: "And how each one doth like a mouth appear;"). He tells the rich man that the dogs have shown him more kindness than the rich man had ever done (Lazarus: "The very dogs more kindness shew than you, who lick my sores and heal my ulcers too.") The anonymous ballad writer presents the rich man as a scoundrel who lacked any care for the poor man who in the ballad sings outside his gate (Dives: "Why, Sirrah! How dare you presume to urge my patience with your tune?"). Here the rich man is also presented as a potential murderer who threatens to kill the poor man (Dives: "Or venture at my Gate to lye? Up, and begone' or look to die."), and to break his bones with a good stick (Dives: "Be gone, you Rascal, Sirrah go; Or I'll release your Cries and Groan, With a good Stick to break your Bones!").

The rich man's violent reputation also features in the Child ballad which was well-known in many parts of England, as it is today, and depending on the location was sung to a variety of tunes: *Dives*, *Dives and Lazarus*, *Lazarus*, *Eardisley*, *Gilderoy* in Scotland,⁸ and *Star of the County Down* in Ireland.⁹ In the twentieth century, the English composer Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958) who was also a well-known collector of folksongs arranged this folk carol on several

⁵ For the full text of this Broadside, see <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/16130>.

⁶ There are two versions of this ballad, namely, 56A and 56B. The former (56A) features in two sources: Sylvester, *A Garland of Christmas Carols*, 50, from an old Birmingham broadside; and Husk, *Songs of the Nativity*, 94, from a Worcestershire broadside of the last century: The latter (56B), which was sung from memory by carol-singers at Christmas in Worcestershire at Hagley and Hartlebury, 1829–1839, features in *Notes and Queries*, 76. The proper name Dives in variant 56A is changed to Diverus in variant 56B. A performance of this folk carol is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zlh0cRfIUfY>.

⁷ A slight variation of this dialogue also features in *A voice from heaven, to the youth of Great Britain ...* by an anonymous writer. Early English Books, 1690.

⁸ The tune is named after Gilderoy (Roud 1486), a Scottish cattle raider and extortionist who was executed in 1636. A performance of this tune is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KN4jGGwUZLc>.

⁹ A performance of this tune is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jXLnSkGmTdQ>.

occasions,¹⁰ as well as introducing it as a hymn tune in *The English Hymnal* (1906), naming it *Kingsfold* after the village where he arranged it to the words of Horatius Bonar's hymn "I heard the Voice of Jesus Say."¹¹ The composer also quoted the tune *Kingsfold* in Movement 1 of the *English Folk Song Suite* (1923),¹² arranged it both as an orchestral piece entitled *Five Variants of Dives and Lazarus for String Orchestra and Harp* (1939),¹³ and for unaccompanied male voices (TTBB) entitled *Dives and Lazarus* (1941).¹⁴ An English composer-friend of Vaughan Williams, Gustav Theodore Holst (1874–1934), also created an evocative arrangement entitled *Diverus and Lazarus* (H137, ca. 1917) for SATB chorus.¹⁵

The verses of the Child ballad¹⁶ (56B, see note 6) highlight in no uncertain terms the violence of the rich man and his ill-treatment of Lazarus which was enacted through the agency of his servants who were sent out to whip poor Lazarus, and whose hungry dogs were set upon the poor man to cause him bodily harm.

Then Diverus sent his merry men all,
To whip poor Lazarus away,
They had not power to whip one whip,
But threw their whips away.

Then Diverus sent out his hungry dogs,
To bite poor Lazarus away;
They had not power to bite one bite,
But licked his sores away.

Artists and composers illustrated the vanity of the rich man as a type of *Memento mori* to encourage viewers and listeners to change their sinful ways, and to remind them of their Christian duty to care for the poor and needy. In the seventeenth century, the Italian Jesuit composer Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674) did this in two Latin oratorios based on the story of the rich man and Lazarus that were intended to instruct the aristocratic congregation at the *Oratorio del Santissimo Crocifisso* in Rome on how to live a good Christian life.¹⁷ Each work concludes with a moral about the dangers of pride that can arise from an accu-

¹⁰ Vaughan William's interest in this carol arose after he discovered under the title "Lazarus" in Lucy E. Broadwood and J.A. Fuller Maitland's *English County Songs* (1893).

¹¹ To see Hymn No. 574 from *The English Hymnal* (1906), follow the link: <https://archive.org/details/theenglishhymnal00milfuoft/page/746/mode/2up>.

¹² A performance is available at this link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D0sC4xbyT5c>.

¹³ A performance of this work is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RQoP9iLwoos>.

¹⁴ Vaughan Williams arranged this carol during World War I for a choir that he had developed in his 2/4 London Field Ambulance unit while stationed at Salonika, Greece (1917). *Dives and Lazarus* is the last carol in *Nine Carols for Male Voices, Unaccompanied* (1970).

¹⁵ A performance of this work is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rd5mXL75JM>.

¹⁶ <https://mainlynorfolk.info/peter.bellamy/songs/divesandlazarus.html>.

¹⁷ *Vanitas 1 – La vanité des hommes* for SSATB soloists and SSATB chorus (no date), inspired by Eccles 1:2 and Luke 16:19–22, and *Historia Divitis – Dives Malus* (no date) for STTB Soloists and SATB and SATB chorus, inspired by Luke 19–31.

mulation of wealth. In *Vanitas 1 – La vanité des hommes*, Carissimi highlighted the folly of two biblical characters, the rich man (Luke 16:19) in Canto I, and King Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 2–3) in Canto II, and the sin of pride that both characters exhibited as a result of their great wealth. In the first Canto, the anonymous librettist embellished the biblical story by recounting how the rich man possessed a thousand servants, whom he controlled ceaselessly, and whose wealth brought about in him “a sick pride” (Latin: *aegra superbia*). Composed in the manner of a sermon, the chorus concludes with a reminder that a life of pride is vanity. Furthermore, it appeals to God to inflame the hearts of his people forever as they “stagger in the darkness of mortal life, in torments, in affliction” to ensure their hearts seek only God.¹⁸

In the early eighteenth century, J.S. Bach (1685–1750) also reminded listeners of their obligations and duties to care for the poor in three large-scale bipartite cantatas for the First Sunday after Trinity.¹⁹ The libretti of all three cantatas remind listeners of the rich man’s eternal punishment which was caused by his lack of charity to the poor man Lazarus. BWV 75 has particular significance as the first cantata composed by Bach in his new role as Cantor of the Thomaskirche, Leipzig, and also as one of the longest of all the cantatas. The title of BWV 75 *Die Elenden sollen essen* (“The afflicted shall eat”)²⁰ invites listeners to reflect not only on the poor man Lazarus but also on their obligations and duties to the poor in general.

Memorable moments in this cantata include the first recitative *Was hilft des Purpurs Majestät, Da sie vergeht?* (“What use are purple robes since they pass away?”) which is sung by a bass soloist who points to the futility of wealth in a series of questions²¹ using imagery from Luke 16:19–30. The tenor aria (No. 3), *Mein Jesus soll mein Alles sein!* (“My Jesus shall be everything to me”) is sung to oboe, strings, and continuo accompaniment, and scored in triple metre to create a soothing, lilting affect that is suggestive musically of Abraham gently rocking Lazarus, like a mother rocking her baby to sleep (see Unger, annotated

¹⁸ Translations retrieved from Flavio Colusso, Giacomo Carissimi: The Complete Oratorios, 18.

¹⁹ BWV 75 performed on 30 May 1723; BWV 20 on 11 June 1724; and BWV 39 on 23 June 1726), each one inspired by the Epistle and Gospel readings for the day (1 John 4:16–21; Luke 16:19–30).

²⁰ A performance of BWV 75 is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CVigm_9XHj0.

²¹ *Was hilft des Purpurs Majestät, Da sie vergeht?* (“Of what use is purple majesty when it perishes?”); *Was hilft der größte Überfluss, Weil alles, so wir sehen, Verschwinden muss?* (“What use is the greatest abundance, because everything, as we see it, must disappear?”); *Was hilft der Kitzel eitler Sinnen, Denn unser Leib muss selbst von hinnen?* (“What use is the tickle of vain senses, for our body itself must go?”); *Ach, wie geschwind ist es geschehen, Dass Reichtum, Wollust, Pracht. Den Geist zur Hölle macht!* (“Ah, how quickly it happened that wealth, lust, splendour make the spirit hell!”). Translations retrieved from the *Bach Cantatas Website*: <https://www.bach-cantatas.com/Texts/BWV75-Eng3P.htm>.

score).²² Bach included the chorale *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan* (“What God Ordains is done well”) by the German poet and hymnwriter Samuel Rodigast (1649–1708), which concludes Part 1 and Part 2 of the cantata (verse 5 in Part 1 and verse 6 in Part 2), to remind listeners how a life in God’s fatherly arms brings about comfort in the midst of the pain of earthly life.

2. The Names Dives and Lazarus

Although the identity of the unnamed rich man remains a mystery for the entire biblical story, early English writers and songwriters traditionally named him Dives or Diverus (see note 6), which derives from the Latin *dives* for “rich” in the Latin Vulgate – *Homo quidam erat dives* (Luke 16:19). In literature, the proper noun Dives features in Chaucer’s “The Summoner’s Tale” from the *Canterbury Tales* (line 1877 – “Lazar and Dives lyveden diversly”), written in Middle English between 1387–1400, and in William Shakespeare’s *Henry IV* (Part 1, 111, 3, 30–33 – spoken by Falstaff: “I never see thy face but I think upon hellfire and Dives that lived in purpose, for there he is in his robes, burning, burning.”) written between 1596–1597. In music, it features in the lyrics of several folk ballads that were in circulation during the sixteenth century,²³ most notably in the Child ballad where the rich man is named Dives in version 56A and Diverus in 56B (see note 6). In musical works and paintings, the rich man’s negative character traits, which are not explicitly mentioned by the biblical narrator, are variously described as *Dives malus* (“the evil rich man”) in Latin, *Ricco Eupolne*²⁴ (“the rich glutton”) in Italian, and *mauvais riche* (“the wicked rich man”) in French. The latter, which is the title of an etching by the French artist Abraham Bosse (1604–1676), forms part of the series of engravings, *La Parable du mauvais Riche at de Lazare* (Fig. 4). The third stanza of poetry below the etching refers to the rich man as a barbarian (*Sependant le pauvre LAZARE a la porte de ce Barbare* (“Meanwhile poor Lazarus at the gate of this Barbarian”), while the final stanza urges viewers

²² An annotated score by Melvin Unger is available at: <https://melvinunger.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/BWV-75-Aug-12-2021.pdf>.

²³ A non-extant ballad entitled The Rych man and poor Lazarus was circulating in sixteenth-century England as reported in the Stationers’ Register where it is recorded as having been licensed to Master John Wallye and Mistress Toye (1557–58); W. Peckerynge (1570–71); H. Carre (1580); and Richard Jones (1583). Cited in Edward M. Wilson, *Three Printed Ballad Texts from Birmingham*, 339.

²⁴ Some examples of paintings with this title include: Bonifacio Veronese, *Il Ricco epulone Lazzaro* (1535–40, oil on canvas, 206 x 438 cm, Gallerie Accademia, Venezia) at: <https://www.gallerieaccademia.it/parabola-di-lazzaro-e-il-ricco-epulone>; Bassano Jacopo, *Lazzaro e il ricco Epulone* (ca.1550, oil on canvas, 176 x 251 x 12 cm, Cleveland, Museum of Art) at: <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1939.68>; Mattia Preti, *La cena del ricco Epulone* (ca. 1665, oil on canvas, 148 x 200 cm, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome) at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Banquet_of_the_Rich_Glutton#.

against imitating him and his guests (*Tu dois ne les imiter pas, Si tu veux t'obliger toy mesme / "You ought not imitate them if you want to do your own duty."*).

The name of the poor man Lazarus is a Grecized, shortened form of Hebrew or Aramaic *'El'āzār*, known from the Old Testament and translated as "God has helped."²⁵ Although the biblical narrator remains silent on the nature of the poor man's affliction, it was understood in medieval times as leprosy.²⁶ Subsequently, the poor man became known as the patron saint of lepers, with his Feast Day celebrated on June 21st and his name associated with leper hospitals (*lazaretto*) and the Order of St Lazarus, also known as either the



Fig. 4 Abraham Bosse, *The Banquet of the Rich Man*, from: *La Parabole du mauvais riche et de Lazare* (mid-to-late-17th century, etching, 26 × 32.7 cm).

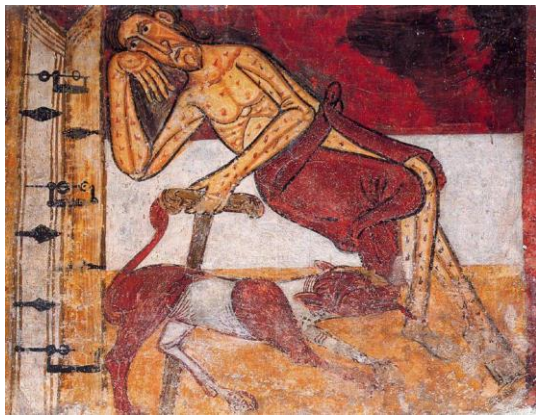


Fig. 5 Mestre de Taüll, *Lazarus waiting at the door of Dives* (ca. 1093, fresco).

a Leper Brothers of Jerusalem or the Lazarists. In the pictorial tradition, artists frequently illustrated the leprous or ulcerated body of Lazarus covered in red or black sores. An eleventh-century fresco from Sant Climent de Taüll in Catalan, Spain (Fig. 5), which is depicted on the wall to the side of the central apse, is a good illustration as it features the skeletal body of Lazarus covered in red sores as he lies by the gate of the rich man's house (see also Fig. 8 below). As in the biblical story, a dog licks the poor man's sores to provide some relief from the burning pain – a pain which the rich man would experience in a reversal of fortunes in the Afterlife.

²⁵ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV*, 1131.

²⁶ See John T. Fitzgerald, *Lazarus at:* <https://m.bibleodyyssey.org/people/main-articles/lazarus/>.

3. The Dogs who Came and Licked the Poor Man's Sores (Luke 16:21b)

Although the biblical narrator refers to dogs in the plural, their number in the pictorial tradition varies from one dog to any number of dogs. The dogs' owners, for which the biblical narrator provides no details, was interpreted by artists in different ways: either as belonging to the rich man, in which case they appear well-groomed, or as scavengers who roamed the streets alluded to in the pictorial tradition by their skeletal form (see Fig. 8 below).

Artists who depict a single skeletal dog such as the one illustrated in the fresco above (Fig. 5) might well have interpreted it to be the poor man's dog. The



Fig. 6 Abraham Bosse, The Death of Lazarus, from: La Parabole du mauvais Riche et de Lazare (mid-17th century, etching with engraving, 25.6 × 32.2 cm).

French engraver Abraham Bosse understood it in this way as illustrated in *The Death of Lazarus* (Fig. 6). While such images of the poor man's final hours feature more in engravings than they do in any other painted medium, many also contain Christological imagery in the depictions of Lazarus lying on a bed of straw in his humble abode, surrounded by his grieving wife and child, while angels wait patiently to take his gentle soul to the Bosom of Abraham (Fig. 6).

In music, Christological themes are also found in a Christmas carol from the nineteenth century entitled *Dives and Lazarus* by the English Anglican priest and hymnwriter John Mason Neale (1818–1866). Here the lyrics appeal to the wealthy to actively seek out the poor like Lazarus from “land and ditch,” because, according to the hymn writer, the poor, unlike the rich man Dives, are more like Christ, “the King of all” who “laid aside his riches” to be born in a stall in Bethlehem.²⁷

Returning to the presence of dogs in the biblical story (v. 21b), Verheyden notes that they are “symbolic of all that is unclean, debased, threatening and

²⁷ Lyrics available on p. 308 at: https://archive.org/details/cihm_76634/page/n333/mode/2up.



Fig. 7 Master of James IV of Scotland, *The Soul of Lazarus Being Carried to Abraham* (ca. 1510/1520, tempera colors, gold, and ink on parchment, 23.2 x 16.7 cm).



Fig. 8 Westphalian Master, *Healing of Lazarus* (ca. 1400, oil and gold on wood panel, 43.5 x 37.8 cm).

even diabolical.”²⁸ In one Book of Hours, the *Spinola Hours* (Fig. 7), the Master of James IV of Scotland reversed the image of the dogs gently soothing the pain of Lazarus with a depiction of dog-like demons angrily snarling at a terrified Dives in hell. Similar images also feature in illustrations of the *Ars Moriendi* (see Section 5 below).

The physical connection of the dogs to the poor man point to his untouchable status, and to one who was most likely excluded from communal life because of his diseased status. By contrast, in certain Ancient Near Eastern civilizations, dogs’ saliva was understood to have certain healing properties,²⁹ a detail not recounted by the biblical narrator in his description of the scene. This understanding is found in a painting by the Westphalian Master entitled the *Healing of Lazarus* (1400) in which five dogs surround a long-haired, half-naked Lazarus whose body is covered in red spots as he holds some clappers in his right hand as an indication of his diseased status while the dogs gather around to lick his sores with their healing saliva (Fig. 8). Meanwhile, underneath, the rich man is escorted by upright dog-like demons to the fiery flames of hell.

²⁸ Verheyden, *Dog. New Testament*, 1034.

²⁹ Hawkins, *Dog. Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, 1032–1033.

4. The Rich Man's Deathbed

Although the biblical narrator provides no details as to the cause of death of either character, it is implied that the poor man's death was induced by hunger, extreme poverty, and ill-health, and that the rich man's death possibly resulted from a disease arising out of his sumptuous feasting every day (v. 19). The biblical narrator who reports the death of each man provides no details as to how they died, where they died or who was present at their deathbeds. Sculptors, engravers, illuminators of medieval manuscripts, and later, artists and musicians elaborated on this gap by illustrating the deathbed scene of the rich man, depicting him on the point of death in a luxurious canopied bed surrounded by family, friends, a doctor, and members of the clergy. In music, too, Carissimi treated this non-biblical scene in *Historia Divitis – Dives Malus* where the demons at his deathbed are given a voice to torment the rich man with reminders of the crimes that he had supposedly committed during his lifetime in the hope that it would accelerate his death and subsequent descent into hell.

In this work, two narrators retell the biblical story as told by the biblical narrator (vv. 19–22) up to the point of the scene of the deathbed where Dives has a vision of a swarm of demons who accuse him of three crimes: (1) feeding the dogs and not the poor; (2) giving gold to harlots and nothing to the poor; and (3) his immeasurable greed which angered God to such a degree that he imposed on the rich man an eternal death sentence in hell. The demons tell the rich man that it is time for him to descend with them into the burning furnaces of hell, where his food will comprise of vipers and serpents; his wine, of pitch and sulphur; his bed, a bed of scorching iron, and his attire, clothes of purple flames. They tell him that his sights will be confined to that of horrendous devils, and his games, laughter, and amusements will be turned into tears, wails, and laments. As in Carissimi's other oratorio on this subject matter, the oratorio ends with a warning to those with wealth of the suffering that awaits if they fail to change their sinful ways.

While the biblical narrator omits to mention either man's family, their wives, and children if they had any, artists, sculptors, and engravers sometimes include what appears to be the rich man's wife in the deathbed scene. One such example features on the west wall of the south portal, below the arches on the right, of the Cluniac Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre in

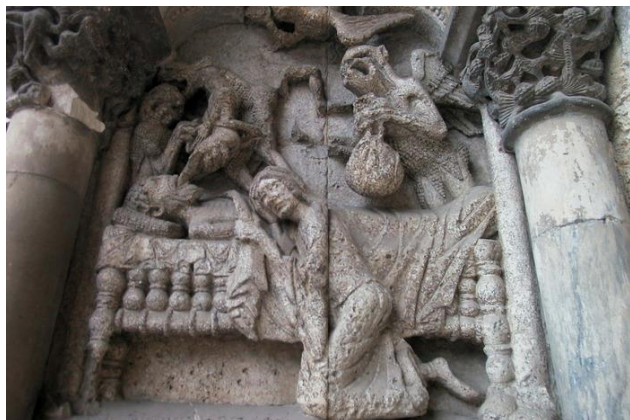


Fig. 9 Détail du portail sculpté de Moissac (1100, Cluniac Abbey of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, France).

Moissac, France (Fig. 9). Here the sculptor depicts her leaning across her husband's body in sorrow as demons lie in wait for his soul, which in the sculpture, as in other art forms, can be seen exiting from the rich man's mouth (see also Fig. 10). Another demon holds a moneybag which points to the rich man's sin of avarice (see also Fig. 15 and Fig. 16). To the left of this scene, not shown here, the sculptor illustrates Dives in hell, tormented by demons. Similar images of Dives' grieving wife can be found on capitals 7, east side, of the Benedictine monastery of Monreale Sicilia, Italy (completed 1200), and in miniatures of medieval manuscripts (see Fig. 10, bottom left).



Fig. 10 Eadwine psalter: detached leaf from the prefatory cycle, recto, scenes from the life of Christ and parable (ca. 1150, illumination on parchment, 40 x 29 cm).

This image of the rich man's deathbed scene also features in a painting entitled "Deathbed of the Rich Man, with a Devil Descending to Retrieve the Deceased's Soul" (ca. 1550–ca. 1574) by an anonymous painter who also includes the rich man's grieving wife kneeling at her husband's bedside. In this scene, the rich man is surrounded by other grieving family members, servants who tend him until his final hour, a doctor who takes his pulse, and a demon who clings upside down from the curtains of the canopied bed as he lies in wait to seize the rich man's soul at the moment of death. Also included in the background are scenes from the rich man's life, including the biblical scene of his feast, Lazarus confronted by a servant, and an image of a rich man counting his money at a table placed beside the rich man's deathbed which calls to mind his former life as a usurer, a profession not mentioned by the biblical narrator but one which was popular in art of this time, and which influenced paintings on the theme of Dives and Lazarus.

A similar description of Dives' fate is also found in another English broadside ballad, entitled *Saint Bernard's Vision: or, a brief Discourse (Dialogue-wise) between the Soul and Body of a Damned Man, newly deceased, / laying open the faults one upon other: With a Speech of the Devils in Hell*, 1681–1684.³⁰ Although the ballad is not a tale about Dives and Lazarus per se, Dives' name and fate are nonetheless mentioned. In addition, a woodblock image of the poor man Laza-

³⁰ <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35038/image>.

rus lying at the rich man's gate features above the title of the ballad.³¹ The Devil who is given a voice to sing tells the wicked man of his fate in hell in a similar fashion to the demons' description of hell in Carissimi's Latin oratorio cited above:

The Devil speaks.
Ho, are you come, whom we expected long?
Now we will make you sing another song,
Howling and yelling still shall be your note,
And moulted lead be poured down your throat.
Such horror we do on our servants load,
Now thou art worse then is the crawling toad,
Ten thousand torments thou shalt now abide,
When thou in flaming Sulphre shalt be fryd.

Thou art a Souldier of our camp enrould,
Never henceforth shalt thou the light behold;
The pains prepar'd for thee no tongue can tell,
Welcome, O welcome, to the pit of hell.³²

Seventeenth-century sermons on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus also reflect this type of fire and brimstone retelling of the biblical story which is encapsulated in art and music of this time. In a sermon entitled *Sighs from hell; or, The groans of the damned* (1680?),³³ Rev. Roger Hough outlined the torments of hell which sinners could expect, such as, having full sight of the evils of their earthly existence; having the guilt of their sinful ways engrained on their souls; being confronted with the knowledge of their rejection of Christ; seeing from afar their family and friends in the company of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and the Prophets in the Kingdom of Heaven; and being in the company of damned souls and devils who torture the wicked. Rev. Robert Johnson went a step further by referring to Dives as *Devillish Dives* in the title of a sermon delivered at Paul's Cross, London (1684).³⁴ There were twenty-two editions of this sermon which point to the popularity of the biblical story during the seventeenth century as the basis for fire and brimstone sermons.

Dives was still the subject of sermons in the mid-eighteenth century as exemplified in a sermon delivered in Dublin in 1753 by Rev. John Cennick.³⁵ The sermon refers to the rich man as "the rich glutton" and colourfully describes his reversal of fortunes in hell, where the pleasures of his earthly existence would be

³¹ A performance of this ballad is available at: <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31302/recording>. Although the tune named on the broadside is entitled *Flying Flame*, the singer on the recording sings it to the sixteenth-century tune *Fortune My Foe*, which originated in Ireland (Flood, 1916). This tune was also known as *The Hanging Tune* as it was frequently sung at executions.

³² <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31302/transcription#>.

³³ This sermon bears a similar title to that of John Bunyan's (1628–1688) exposition of Luke 16:19–31 entitled *A Few Sighs from Hell: or The Groans of the Damned Soul* (1568).

³⁴ Johnson, *Dives and Lazarus. Or Rather Devilish Dives*, 1684.

³⁵ Cennick, *Dives and Lazarus*, 1753.

transformed into instruments of tortures in hell. Many of the images from the Sermon feature also in Carissimi's oratorio *Historia Divitis*, and in the broadside ballads, *A Dialogue between Dives and Lazarus* and *Saint Bernard's Vision*:

But O! while his Brethren and Friends were bearing their once rich Brother with such splendour to the grave, his soul sunk down to Hell, *and in Hell he lift up his eyes being in torments, and saw Abraham afar off and Lazarus in his bosom.* Amazing change! His pleasures are turned to torments, his riches to eternal wants, his scarlet and purple robes to purple and scarlet flames of fire, his bowls of new wine to insatiable thirst, his music to howlings, his fine house to the bottomless pit, his brethren and merry company to Devils and wicked spirits. *He lifted up his eyes, but saw no more grandeur and delicate things; he should have opened them before, and have seen the things that made for his peace, but now they were hid from him,* he opened his eyes too late.

The theme of music at the rich man's banquet, which does not feature in the biblical narrator's account of the story, is one that often features in visual representations (see Fig. 1 and 2). Similarly, composers, ballad writers, and sermon writers reversed the image of the music-making at the rich man's banquet, which is not mentioned by the biblical narrator, to that of the demons' raucous music-making in hell.

David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690) depicted musical instruments as instruments of torture in his portrayal of demon musicians playing hell's music before a terrified Dives (Fig. 19). The lute, bagpipe, and shawm which feature in the painting are symbolic of the sexual immorality of the rich man³⁶ while the snarling dogs that terrify him in the Afterlife are a reversal of the gentle dogs who soothed Lazarus' burning pain on earth (see also Fig. 8).



Fig. 11 David Teniers the Younger, *The Rich Man being led to Hell* (ca. 1647, oil on oak, 48 x 69 cm).

³⁶ For a fuller treatment of the symbolism of musical instruments in paintings, see Dowling Long, 97–121.

5. The Influence of the *Ars Moriendi*

Interest among artists in the death of the usurer which features in Fig. 12 is a theme that derives from the pictorial tradition of the *Ars Moriendi* (“The Art of Dying”),³⁷ a manual that was in widespread use in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and which offered practical instructions to the laity on their preparations for a good death. It was published in a long version (1415) in Germany by an anonymous Dominican Friar, and later in a short version in the Netherlands (ca. 1450), both of which were translated into many languages and in many versions that lasted well into the eighteenth century.

Of interest here is the short version (ca. 1450) which was illustrated with eleven woodcut illustrations depicting the contest between angels and demons for the dying man’s soul. The illustrations show the five temptations that a person would most likely experience on their deathbed – unbelief, despair, impatience, pride, and avarice – and the five remedies to combat the temptations to ensure the person would achieve a happy death and eternal salvation.

In all five engravings illustrating the temptations, the dying man is assailed by grotesque demons, and in those illustrating the remedies, he is comforted by Christ and his angels. The final illustration (engraving No. 11: *Triumph over Temptation*; Fig. 13) shows a monk administering the last rites to the dying man in the presence of an image of Christ on the cross, St. Peter, Mary Magdalen, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John, nimbed saints, and a pack of angry demons who have lost the contest for the man’s soul which is received by an angel.³⁸

The fourth and fifth temptations of pride and avarice are of interest to the biblical story of the rich man and Lazarus, two of the sins which later interpreters would deem him guilty of having committed. The illustration of pride (engraving No. 7: *Temptation of Pride*; Fig. 14) features the dying man assailed by



Fig. 12 Unknown artist, Deathbed of the Rich Man, with a Devil Descending to Retrieve the Deceased’s Soul (ca. 1550–1574, oil on panel, 208 x 122 cm).

³⁷ Silver, Hieronymus Bosch, 239.

³⁸ The scrolls which represent the words of the demons include the following: *Animam amisimus* (“We have lost this soul”); *Furore consumor* (“I am consumed by fury”); *Heu insanio* (“Oh, how mad I am”); *Confusi sumus* (“We are in confusion”); *Spes nobis nulla* (“We have no hope left now”). Translations retrieved from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Weigel_11.JPG.

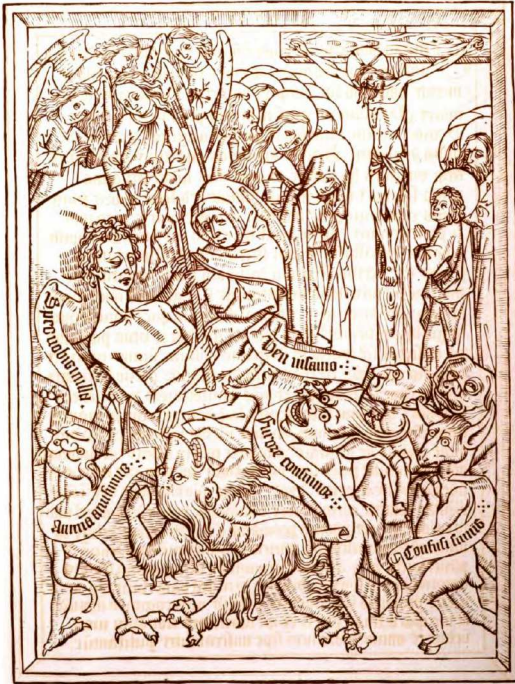


Fig. 13 Unknown artist, Triumph over Temptation from the *Ars Moriendi* (ca. 1450, blockbook with Latin banderoles, Engraving No. 11).



Fig. 14 Unknown artist, Temptation of Pride from the *Ars Moriendi* (ca. 1450, blockbook with Latin banderoles, Engraving No. 7).

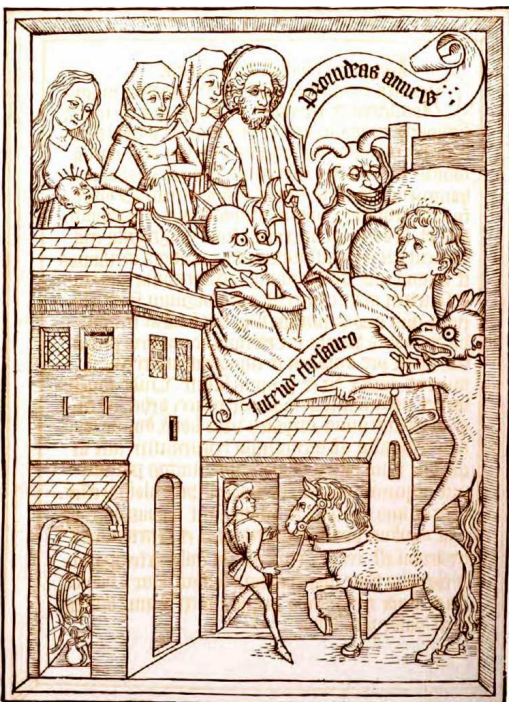


Fig. 15 Unknown artist, Temptation through Avarice from the *Ars Moriendi* (ca. 1450, blockbook with Latin banderoles, Engraving No. 9).

five demons, three of whom hold a crown, as they tempt him to commit the sin of pride on his deathbed with words of encouragement such as: *Gloriare* (“Be proud”), *Tu es firmus in fide* (“You are strong in faith”), *Coronam meruisti* (“You have earned the crown”), *Exaltate ipsum* (“Exalt himself”) and *In patientia perseverasti (perseverasti)* (“You have preserved in patience”). The illustrator also depicted God the Father, Christ, and Mary to the left of the bed, with three small children below them with hands joined in prayer to remind the dying man of the dangers of the sin of pride, the opposite of humility, which leads to a life without God.

The illustration of the fifth temptation (Engraving No. 9: *Temptation through Avarice*) shows the dying man in his bed tempted by the demons of avarice (Fig. 15). A demon at the top of the bed, to

the left of the dying man, bears a scroll with the words *Provideas amicis* (“Provide for your Friends”) as he points to a group of people – one man, three women and a child – possibly the rich man’s family and friends. Silver notes that this demon plays on the man’s suffering by claiming that the people present are only interested in his money.³⁹ A demon to the lower right of the dying man who bears a scroll with the words *Intende thesauro* (“Increase your material goods”) presents a vision of the man’s worldly possessions, depicted here on the left-hand side of the engraving – a house with a cellar containing four barrels of wine from which a servant fills a jug of wine from one barrel, and in the centre, a steed and its attendant groom. The demons tempt the dying man to indulge in the sin of avarice hoping that such thoughts and visions at the end of his life would distract him from thoughts of heaven.

Hieronymus Bosch conflated the above images of pride and avarice from the *Ars Moriendi* in *Death and the Miser* (ca. 1485/1490; Fig. 16), a panel that had originally formed part of the outside wing of a triptych.⁴⁰ In late medieval canon law, usury was regarded as a mortal sin,⁴¹ and one that often featured in religious art of this period, especially in art based on the biblical story of the rich man and Lazarus.

Although Bosch does not base his painting specifically on the biblical story, one cannot fail to see allusions to it in the way he treats the miser – another rich man – on his deathbed sitting upright and surrounded by demons who await his soul. An angel who makes a final attempt to save him points to Christ’s cross in the small window above the door, but to no avail as the miser gives in to the temptation of the toad-like demon, a symbol of the devil who offers him a bag of coins, which the miser is willing to take with his open right hand, all the while oblivious to the image of Christ to which the angel points. The inclusion of Christ’s Cross



Fig. 16 Hieronymus Bosch, *Death and the Miser* (ca. 1485 / 1490, oil on panel, 93 x 31 cm).

³⁹ Silver, Hieronymus Bosch, 240.

⁴⁰ Silver, Hieronymus Bosch, 240.

⁴¹ Silver, Hieronymus Bosch, 240–41.

and the angel are images which Bosch adopted from the *Ars Moriendi*.⁴² Death, who is personified as a shrouded corpse, enters the room through the door holding an arrow – a symbol of evil – which he points at the miser. The demon atop the bed canopy holds a lantern of fire, symbolizing the fires of hell, in the presence of other bat-and-rat-like demons who surround the treasure chest at the foot of the bed. Hand and Wolff note that the figure by the treasure chest seems to be a personification of the dying man who is presented as “evil and hypocritical,” as he puts coins into the chest with one hand and fingers a rosary with the other. They point out that the paper sealed with red wax which is held up by a demon to the left of the chest could be “a letter of indulgence, a mortgage, a paper of false legitimacy, or a promissory note,” and that it seems likely that it refers to the money-making activities of the miser who would have lent money at high rates of interest.⁴³ Another winged demon in monk’s clothing, to the front of the plate, highlights the miser’s wealth, symbolized here through the sumptuous clothing and trappings of nobility – the armoured helmet, shield, sword, and lance – all of which lie strewn on the ground. This image is another example of a *Memento mori* painting which was intended to encourage viewers to reflect on the dangers of wealth and earthly pleasures.

In a similar manner to Bosch, Heinrich Aldegrever (Fig. 17) and Abraham Bosse (Fig. 18) both illustrate the deathbed scene of Dives. Aldegrever includes a demon to the left of the engraving who plunders the rich man’s treasure chest at the foot of the bed.

As in illustrations of the *Ars Moriendi*, the dying man – the rich man – is surrounded by grieving family members and two men, one of whom administers the last rites to the rich man, while a funeral procession to the right foreshadows his death and lavish funeral.

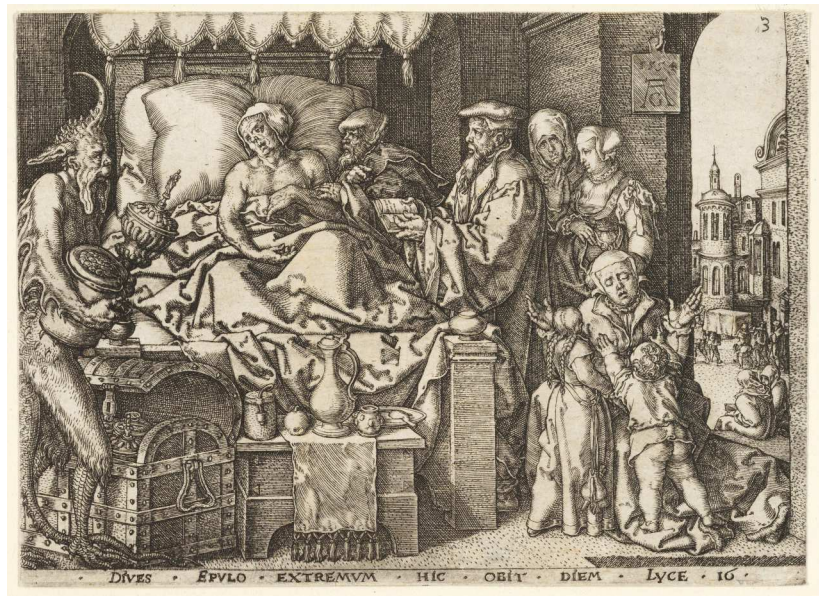


Fig. 17 Heinrich Aldegrever, The Rich Man on His Deathbed, from: The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (1554, Plate 3 from a series of five engravings, 8 x 10.9 cm).

⁴² Silver, Hieronymous Bosch, 242.

⁴³ Hand and Wolff, Early Netherlandish Paintings, 18.

The engraving (Fig. 18) by Abraham Bosse (1604–1676) also features a demon and the personification of death as a skeleton who appears from behind the curtains surrounding the rich man's bed as they await his death in the midst of grieving female family members, a servant, and a clergy man.

The poem below the engraving written in French tells how the rich man despairs on his deathbed when he sees thousands

of enormous monsters who torture him with their raucous sounds. It is only then that he realizes he is to be punished in the infernal flames for his lack of charity during his earthly life.

The presence of a skeleton in the engraving by Bosse indicates the presence of Death. Hans Holbein the Younger also illustrated the death of the usurer / *Der Rych man* in the Dance of Death (French: *danse macabre* / German: *Totentanz*) in one of forty-one woodcuts depicting the Dance of Death (1523–1525) from the woodblocks of Hans Lützelburger. The engraving (Fig. 19) takes as its theme the story of another rich man (Luke 12:20) whose money is stolen by Death, personified as a skeleton, before he steals the rich man's soul.

This series was widely imitated and featured in numerous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century woodcuts, and later, seventeenth-century *Memento mori* paintings as a reminder of the brevity of life, the futility of wealth and greed, and the importance of leading a good life secure a happy death and eternal happiness.

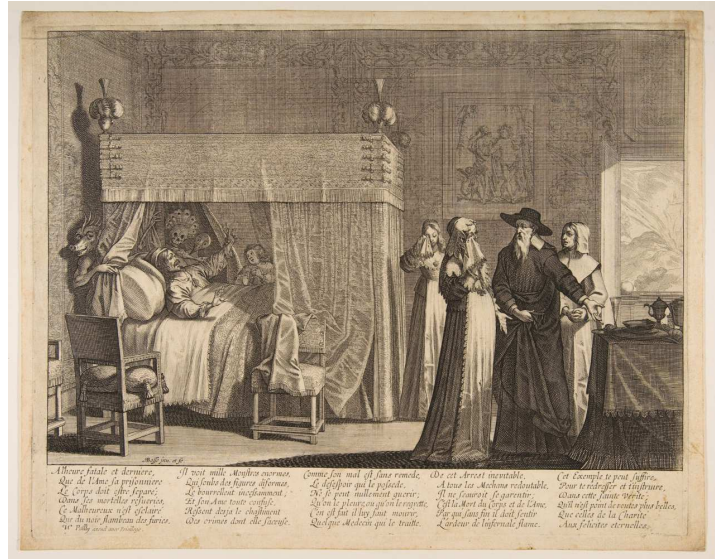


Fig. 18 Abraham Bosse, *The Death of the Rich Man*, from *La parabole du mauvais riche et de Lazare* (mid-17th century, etching, 27.3 × 34.6 cm).



Fig. 19 Hans Lützelburger after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Der Rych man*, from the *Dance of Death* (ca. 1526, woodcut on laid paper, 8.6 x 6.3 cm).

6. The Deaths of Lazarus and the Rich Man

The death of both men moves the biblical story into another realm, to their existence beyond the grave where in death's abode they find their fortunes reversed (v. 22). Medieval illustrators, librettists, ballad writers, hymn writers and sermon writers generally highlighted the second part of the story (vv. 27–31), with many contrasting the fortunes of both men before and after their arrival into the Afterlife.

Ant.
7.

I N pa-ra-dí-sum: dedúcant te Ange-li: in tu-o
advéntu suscí-pi-ant te Mártý-res, et perdúcant
te in ci-vi-tá-tem sanctam Je-rú-sa-lem. Cho-rus
Ange-ló-rum te su- scí-pi- at, et cum Lá-za-ro
quondam páupe-re æté-rnam hábe-as réqui-em.

Fig. 20 Antiphon for the funeral service *In paradisum deducant te angeli* – To paradise may angels guide you.

The biblical narrator recounts that when the poor man died, he was carried by angels to Abraham's bosom (v. 22a).⁴⁴ This event is recalled in the Gregorian antiphon, "*In paradisum*,"⁴⁵ which is sung / spoken at the end of a Requiem mass as the body leaves the church (Fig. 20). The second melodic phrase of the Gregorian antiphon – *Chorus angelorus te suscipiat, et cum Lazaro quondam paupere aeternam habeas requiem* – reaches a climax on "Lazarus." These words are ad-

addressed to the deceased in the hope that they, too, may enjoy eternal rest with Lazarus the poor man. The sublime setting of this antiphon by numerous composers, most notably Fauré⁴⁶ and Duruflé,⁴⁷ reflects the celestial music of heaven which Lazarus and others enjoy for all eternity as they rest in the Bosom of Abraham.

An image of Lazarus in Abraham's Bosom surrounded by a heavenly choir and orchestra (portative organ, lute and harp among other instruments) is depicted in Fig. 21 by an unknown artist, now housed in the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. To the right is an image of the rich man's mansion where up-

⁴⁴ For a fuller treatment of Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham, see O'Kane, *The Bosom of Abraham*, 485–518.

⁴⁵ A performance of the Gregorian chant is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S7F-N-Yd8dE>.

⁴⁶ A performance of *In paradisum* by Fauré is available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x7_zdkWfY4k.

⁴⁷ A performance of *In paradisum* by Duruflé is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q0DXO8lzARs>.

stairs he and his wife or his lady-friend (the relationship between the pair is ambiguous) are tended by servants in a luxurious banquet hall to the music of two musicians who play a drum and a flute on the balcony. On the ground floor is another scene of the poor man who is bearded and half-naked, and whose sores are licked by two dogs. Surrounded by friends and servants, the rich man points at Lazarus to direct him to leave his estate, while on the left, demons torture Dives who is chained and naked in hell. The inscription on the banderole above Lazarus' head reads: *Pater Abraham miserere mei* ("Father Abraham have pity on me"). Abraham's reply is also written on



Fig. 21 Unknown artist, Lazarus and the Rich Man (1515–1524, oil on panel, 93.5 x 74 cm).

another banderole below his hand: *Filii [sic] recordare quia recepisti bona* ("Son, remember that you have already received good"). The depiction of heavenly music also features in the *Healing of Lazarus* by the Westphalian Master (Fig. 8) where an angel orchestra, barely visible, serenades Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham.

7. The Rich Man's Burial in Hell

Immediately after the announcement of the poor man's death, readers of the Greek text are informed that the rich man also died and was buried (v. 22b), with some early Bible translations adding that the rich man was "buried in hell" (e.g. Wycliffe 1383; Tyndale 1526; Luther 1522; Douay-Rheims⁴⁸ 1582; 1610). The origins of this translation can be traced back to the Latin Vulgate, including many of the MSS. of the *Vetus Latina* which preceded this translation, when Jerome translated the Greek noun "Hades" as *infernus*, and attached the place name mentioned in v. 23 of the Greek text (*kai en tō hadē eparas tous ophthalmous autou* "And in Hades he lifted up his eyes") to v. 22, to read in Latin: *et*

⁴⁸ This translation is still retained in the Douay-Rheims Bible. See <https://www.drbo.org/chapter/49016.htm>.

sepultus est in inferno. This phrase was incorporated in the Gutenberg Bible (1455) – Jerome’s Latin Vulgate – and in the vernacular in early Protestant (Wycliffe 1382⁴⁹; Tyndale 1525 [fragment], 1526, revised 1534,⁵⁰ Luther 1522, 1530⁵¹) and Catholic translations of the biblical story (Douay-Rheims 1582; 1610⁵²). Here v. 22 is translated “was buried in hell” in English and “ynn die helle begraben” in German. Translators of the authorized versions of the Bible for the Established Church, on the other hand, such as the Great Bible⁵³ (1539), the Bishops’ Bible (1568;⁵⁴ revised 1572 and 1602), and the King James Bible (1611,⁵⁵ 1769) translated the Greek noun *Hades* as “hell” in v. 23 and followed the Greek text which states in v. 22 that the rich man was buried, without naming the location of burial in hell. The emphasis on hell in later translations, sermons, and visual and musical representations derive primarily from the Latin translation into the vernacular of the Greek noun *Hades* as “hell”, and the insertion of the phrase into v. 22: “the rich man was buried in hell”.

A good example of a depiction of this early translation – “he was buried in hell” – features in an engraving (Plate 4) by Heinrich Aldegrever (Fig. 22). Here a pack of winged demons carry the mortal remains of the rich man to his grave in hell. On the right, three other demons dig the rich man’s grave in preparation for the gruesome arrival of the rich man’s corpse. Unlike the soul of Lazarus which experiences eternal rest, the soul of Dives experiences eternal torture in the place where his earthly remains are also buried.



Fig. 22 Heinrich Aldegrever, The Rich Man Transported to Hell from: The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (1554, Plate 4 from a series of five engravings, 8 x 10.9 cm).

Similarly, in music, two serpents from the Child ballad (56B) instruct Diverus to rise up out of his grave and to follow them to hell, where in this location, he is placed on a serpent’s knee to see Lazarus in Abraham’s Bosom for all eternity.

⁴⁹ <https://textusreceptusbibles.com/Wycliffe/42/16>.
⁵⁰ <https://textusreceptusbibles.com/Tyndale/42/16>.
⁵¹ <https://bibles-online.net/flippingbook/1530/120/>.
⁵² <https://originaldouayrheims.com/luke16>.
⁵³ <https://textusreceptusbibles.com/Great/42/16>.
⁵⁴ <https://textusreceptusbibles.com/Bishops/42/16>.
⁵⁵ <https://textusreceptusbibles.com/Bishops/42/16>.

Rise up, rise up, brother Diverus,
 And come along with me,
 There is a place prepared in hell,
 For to sit upon a serpent's knee.

From the position of his isolated abyss in Hades, the narrator recounts the sight that the rich man beheld when he first raised his eyes to the upper level of Hades, a sight that was sure to increase his torment for all eternity: for in the far-off distance, he could see Lazarus, the poor man who once lay at the gate of his exquisite house now lying contently in the bosom of Abraham (v. 23b). Immediately, the rich man appeals to Abraham to send Lazarus to him so that he might dip the end of his finger in water and cool his tongue (v. 24), an action that might well have brought some temporary relief from the “scorching flames and parching heat.”⁵⁶ In the ensuing dialogue, Abraham explains to the rich man, whom he addresses as child, that his request cannot be fulfilled because first, the fortunes of both men have been reversed (v. 25); and second, a great chasm has been fixed to prevent the passage of anyone passing from one side to the other (v. 26). It is clear from this explanation that the rich man would remain in Hades, alone like a prisoner shackled in chains, as depicted here in a miniature from a Book of Hours (Fig. 23).



Fig. 23 Unknown artist, Dives in Hell. Detail of fol. 73r (Lazarus and poor, thirsty Dives). Book of Hours, Use of Rome (1475–1499).

From the late-fifteenth century, a focus on Dives in hell featured in miniatures of medieval Books of Hours as a *Memento mori*. The scene was often illustrated in full or as half-page miniatures on the opening page or on the inside of an historiated initial, such as the ‘D’ of *Dilexi (quoniam exaudiet Dominus)*, the first letter of first Latin word from Psalm 114 (Vulgate) which occurs at the beginning of Vespers as part of the Office of the Dead. The image of Dives tortured in hell also featured prominently in the Books of Hours of Kings and Queens e.g., King Henry IV of France,⁵⁷ Queen Isabella I of Spain,⁵⁸ and King Henry VIII.⁵⁹

Artists, engravers, and illuminators of medieval manuscripts also illustrated Dives in a Hell Mouth (Fig. 24, Fig. 25, and Fig. 26), also known as the Jaws of

⁵⁶ This phrase is taken from the poem *The Soul in Sorrow* by Anglo-Irish poet and clergyman Thomas Parnell (11 September 1679–24 October 1718).

⁵⁷ Feast of Dives, fol. 55, ca. 1510, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

⁵⁸ Isabella Breviary, Ms. 18851, fol. 252r, Parable of Dives and Lazarus.

⁵⁹ Office of the Dead: Matins: Feast of Dives; Dives in Hell (Ms. H. 8, fol. 134v).

Hell, in a motif that was in widespread use from the eleventh to the thirteenth century in scenes of the Last Judgement that feature on the porticos of cathedrals. Originating in the Anglo-Saxon period, the Hell Mouth depicts the fiery entrance to hell as the gaping jaws of the monster Leviathan (Job 40:25–41:26) incarcerate sinners for demons to torture as they please.



Fig. 24 Jean Bondol, Lazarus and Dives: in Hell Dives Sees Lazarus in Paradise; Dives Pointing at his Tongue (1372. Miniature).

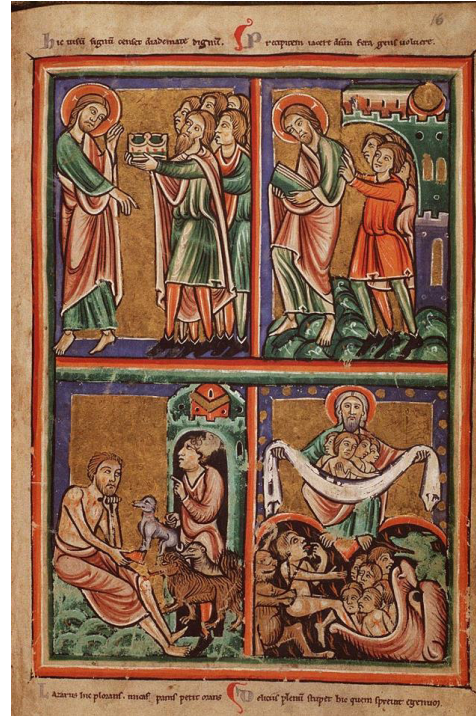


Fig. 25 Unknown illuminator, The Parable of Dives and Poor Lazarus: Lazarus in Abraham's Bosom, Dives in Hell (1200, Miniature).



Fig. 26 Crispijn van de Passe after a design by Maerten de Vos. Lazarus in de hemel en de rijke man in de hel, from the series: Gelijkenis van de rijke man en de arme Lazarus (1589–1611, engraving, 22.3 x 26 cm).

8. The Dialogue between the Rich Man and Abraham

Images of Lazarus in hell pointing to his tongue from v. 24 are numerous in paintings and sculptures, and here also in the final engraving by Heinrich Aldegrever (Fig. 27) where a hag-like demon pours some drops of pitch and sulphur from a jug onto the rich man's finger as he basks in hell's flames. In music of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, settings of the dialogue based on vv. 24–26 are re-enacted in motets entitled *Pater Abraham* in Latin and *Vater Abraham* in German.



Fig. 27 Heinrich Aldegrever, *The Rich Man in Hell, Seeing Lazarus Embraced by Abraham*, from: *The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (1554, Plate 5 from a series of five engravings, 8 x 10.7 cm).

Motets that treat the first part of the biblical story (vv. 19–23) are generally scored in two parts and entitled *Homo quidam erat dives / Pater Abraham* to reflect the division of story on earth and in the Afterlife. An early motet by Melchior Vulpius (ca. 1570–1615) whose text is inspired by Luke 16:19–26 is based on a translation of the biblical story by Erasmus. Unlike Jerome, Erasmus translated the Greek Hades and Latin *infernus* as *Tartarus* in the second (1519) and third (1522) editions of his Latin translation of the New Testament.⁶⁰ Tartarus, which is the lower part of Hades in Greek mythology where sinners are tortured, is the name of the place that features in the motet. Musically, the pain and suffering of the rich man moves listeners to feel the pain of Dives as he appeals to Abraham with requests to send Lazarus to ease his pain with a drop of water on his tongue, and to send Lazarus to warn his brothers to change their sinful ways to ensure they would not experience a similar fate (v. 27). Franco-Flemish composers Hubert Waelrant (ca. 1517–1595) and Orlando di Lassus (1532–1594)⁶¹ both composed settings of the dialogue by the same name in Latin, *Pater Abraham*, for six voices (SSATTB) published in *Sacrarum cantionum* (Antwerp, 1558, No. 1) and for five voices (SATTB) published in *Moduli quinque vocibus nunquam hactenus editi* (1571, No. 4) respectively. The setting by di Lassus paints the

⁶⁰ https://books.google.com.mx/books/download/Novum_Testamentum_Graece_et_Latine.pdf?id=yrJutfRbX8AC&hl=es&output=pdf&sig=ACfU3U0tOFn1qm1DjjvcYsVoTBxTwf-Khw.

⁶¹ A performance of the work is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ZKd1SD8Htk>.

flickering flames of hell's fires with melismas comprising ascending and descending semiquaver runs in each voices part on *flamma* ("flames"). Both settings reveal not only the pleas of the rich man to Abraham to relieve his pain but the severed relationship that now exists between Dives and Father Abraham, and by implication, Dives and God the Father.

In the seventeenth century, one of the leading German composers, Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) also composed a well-known setting of the dialogue between Dives and Lazarus entitled *Vater Abraham, erbarme dich mein* ("Dialogus divites Epulonis cum Abrahamo"; SWV 477, 1620), based on Luke 16:24–31,⁶² for five voices (SSATB), 2 violins, 2 flutes, and basso continuo. Schütz scored Abraham's voice for a tenor, the rich man's for a bass, two angels who are not included in the biblical story for two sopranos, and Lazarus who does not speak in the biblical story for an alto. Scored in eleven sections, the work opens with a Sinfonia that sets the mood for the ensuing dialogue which takes place in eight sections:

Section of Work	Biblical Character	Luke 16:24–31
I. Sinfonia (Instrumental)		
II. <i>Vater Abraham, erbarme dich mein</i>	Rich Man	v. 24
III. <i>Gedenke, Sohn, daß du dein Gutes</i>	Abraham	vv. 25–26
IV. <i>So bitt ich dich, Vater</i>	Rich Man	vv. 27–28
V. <i>Sie haben Moses</i>	Abraham	v. 29
VI. <i>[Nein,] Mein Vater Abraham</i>	Rich Man	v. 30
VII. <i>Hören sie Moses</i>	Abraham	v. 31
VIII. Ritornello (Instrumental)		
IX. <i>Sie haben Moses</i>	2 Angels and Lazarus	v. 29
X. Ritornello (Instrumental)		
XI. <i>Hören sie Moses</i>	2 Angels, Abraham, and Lazarus	v. 31

Notable features include the rich man's plea for mercy in section II, though the repetition of his call of Abraham "Vater Abraham" (v. 24) on six occasions (mm. 1–8); in section IV, when Dives calls Abraham "Vater" (v. 27) on four occasions (mm. 1–3); and in section VI, when he says "[Nein,] Mein Vater Abraham" (v. 30) on four more occasions (mm.1–3). By comparison, in the biblical story Dives only addresses Abraham once in each instance (Luke 16:24, 27, 30). The music therefore heightens the rich man's anguish as he begs Abraham to send Lazarus to provide him with some relief from the burning pain of hell's scorching flames.

In section II, Schütz highlights Dives' pain through the repetition of his words *Ich leide Pein* ("I am in great pain") through the inclusion of long note values on the word *Pein* ("pain") to remind listeners of a similar fate that they, too, can ex-

⁶² A performance of the work is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YELE2lrVJ7g>.

pect if they fail to change their sinful ways. The repetition of Abraham's name, as Dives begs for mercy, along with the repetition of Dives' words telling of his pain emphasizes the reversal of his fortune in the afterlife, now as the poor man in great pain.

As in the setting by di Lassus, this work is also noted for its virtuosic runs which paint hell's flickering flames, most notably in Dives' vocal line on *Flamme* and in the accompanying violin parts in section II and section IV, where the rich man pleads with Abraham to send Lazarus to his father's house to warn his brothers of the torture they are likely experience in the Afterlife.

With the exception of the broadside ballad, *The Dialogue of Dives and Lazarus*, and the Child ballad, *Dives and Lazarus*, the inclusion of Lazarus' voice in sections IX and XI is relatively uncommon given that his voice is usually silent in music to reflect his silence in the biblical story. In this work, however, Lazarus and the two angels merely reiterate *verbatim* Abraham's words to Dives from v. 29 and v. 31 of the biblical story, which reinforces their agreement and close relationship with Father Abraham.

As in other compositions of this period, Dives neither repents nor changes his ways. Similarly, in the final verse of the Child ballad, the rich man exclaims that if he were alive again, he would make peace so that the Devil would have no power over him. The rich man's motivation for making peace, therefore is directed inwards, towards himself, rather than outwards, towards his neighbour Lazarus:

Oh! Were I but alive again,
For the space of one-half hour,
I would make my peace and so secure,
That the Devil should have no power.

In music, there is no mercy shown to Dives and no prayer of petition on his behalf. Twentieth-century compositions based on Edith Sitwell's war poem *Still Falls the Rain* subtitled *The Raids 1940 Night and Dawn*⁶³ however, are the only ones that "appeal to Christ to have mercy on us all, including Dives and Lazarus: under the rain the sore and gold as one." This text, which commemorates the bombing in London during World War II, was set to music by Ina Boyle (for contralto and string quartet, 1948),⁶⁴ Benjamin Britten (*Canticle III*, Op.55, for tenor, horn, and piano, 1954), and Elizabeth MaConchy (for SATB, 1985).

Visual and musical representations including fire and brimstone sermons that depict Dives tortured by demons in the fiery furnaces of hell were intended to terrify viewers and listeners into practicing their Christian duty of caring for the poor. By contrast, in a painting entitled *Works of Mercy* (Fig. 28), an unknown Fle-

⁶³ <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.55714/page/n127/mode/2up>.

⁶⁴ A performance of this work is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vvPsa8Pk6eM>.

mish painter illustrated the charitable works that the rich man could have done but failed to do. Here, viewers are reminded of the scene of the banquet, which takes place in a large Dutch house as Lazarus lies naked and full of sores in the company of a dog who licks his sores (vv. 19–21). A skeleton personified as Death holds a flag in the upper-



Fig. 28 Unknown Flemish painter, Works of Mercy with Dives and Lazarus (ca. 1550, oil on wood, 60.6 x 97.5 cm).

most right-hand side of the painting which he points at the rich man to foreshadow his death. In the foreground, Lazarus features in three extra-biblical scenes alongside other poor men: to the left, where he shows his open wounds to a crowd of noblemen and to another poor man on crutches; in the centre where he is helped onto a cane bed after his leg has been bandaged, which evokes the image of Christ in the manger; and to the right, where he is treated with dignity on his deathbed under a tree to suggest the wood of the Cross, in the company of Mary and the Christ-child in her lap, a woman, possibly his wife, and some children.

Although the rich man has been relegated to the fiery flames of hell, seen to the far right of the painting, this heartening image shows the works of mercy in action that the rich man might have done. The Seven Corporal Works of Mercy – to feed the hungry; to give drink to the thirsty; to shelter the homeless; to visit the sick; to visit the imprisoned; to bury the dead; and to give alms to the poor – are found in Christ’s teaching in Mtt. 25:31–46. This teaching provides a model for the treatment of others as if they were Christ in disguise. It was a prominent theme in paintings of the seventeenth century by Caravaggio and Frans Francken II among others.⁶⁵

From the twelfth century, it was understood that Christ’s teaching (Mtt. 25:31–46) formed the criteria for divine judgement which determined whether a soul was righteous or unrighteous, and whether it was directed to the Bosom of Abraham or to the fiery flames of hell. In the light of this teaching, the failure of the rich man to fully comply with the criteria in relation to his obligations to care

⁶⁵ Caravaggio, The Seven Works of Mercy (1606/07, oil on canvas, 69 x 110 cm, Hermitage Museum). Frans Francken II, The Seven Works of Mercy (1606–1616, oil on panel, 50.2 x 89 cm, Manchester Art Gallery).

for the poor resulted in his sentence in hell. The reception of the biblical story in visual and musical representations reflects this pronouncement of judgement on Dives, which is not made by the biblical narrator.

9. Conclusion

Luke 16:19–31 presents a story with no happy ending for the rich man Dives, and its afterlife in visual and musical representations makes that abundantly clear. Artists, engravers, and illuminators of medieval manuscripts, along with composers, songwriters, librettists, and sermon-writers portray him as a sinner who deserved his punishment in hell for his inhumane treatment of the poor man Lazarus. In the many depictions of Dives in hell, artists, composers, and songwriters illustrate how the rich man failed in his duty to care for the poor man during his earthly life, and how, in the Afterlife, nothing had changed, since he still regarded Lazarus as his inferior. Despite reinforcing his condemnation to hell for all eternity, visual and musical representations based on this biblical story provide spectators and listeners with a reminder of the necessity to carry out acts of charity in keeping with Christ's teaching in Mtt. 25:31–46. This message has relevance for people in every century, including our own, on the need to make a positive contribution in a world rife with "man's inhumanity to man."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ This phrase is taken from the poem *Man was made to Mourn* (first published 1784) by the Scottish poet and lyricist Robert Burns (1759–1796), in: A. Cunningham (ed.), *The Complete Works of Robert Burns*, 1855, 95–96 (<https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/18500>).

Bibliography

- Anonymous, *A voice from heaven, to the youth of Great Britain Containing, a dialogue between Christ, youth, and the devil, shewing the woful state of young people, who fly religion, and pursue vice. Together with several examples out of the Holy Scriptures, relating to disobedient, scoffing, lying children, Sabbath breakers, &c. With our blessed Saviour's encouragement for little children to be good betime [sic]. Likewise a dialogue between miserable Dives, and happy Lazarus*, 1690 (Early English Books Online).
- Boorsch, S. / Orenstein, N.M., *The Print in the North: The Age of Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden*, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 54/4 (1997), 1–60.
- Broadwood, L.E. / Fuller Maitland, J.A. (ed.s), *English County Songs*, 1893, 102–103.
- Bunyan, J., *Sighs from Hell, or, The groans of a damned soul: discovering from the 16th of Luke the lamentable state of the damned: and may fitly serve as a warning-word to sinners both old and young, by faith in Christ to avoid the same place of torment: with a discovery of the usefulness of the Scriptures as our safe conduct for avoiding the torments of hell*, Belfast, 1700 (Early English Books Online).
- Cennick, J., *Dives and Lazarus. Being the substance of a discourse delivered in Dublin, in the year 1753 by John Cennick, 1754* (Eighteenth Century Collections Online).
- Chaucer, G., *The Complete Canterbury Tales*, trans. Frank Ernest Hil, 2010.
- Colusso, F., *Giacomo Carissimi: The Complete Oratorios*, liner notes for G. Carissimi, *The Complete Oratorios*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, cond. Flavio Colusso, released 28th January 2013, Brilliant Classics 94491, 9CD.
- Cust, L., *The Master E.S. and the Ars Moriendi. A Chapter in the History of Engraving During the XVth Century and Facsimile Reproductions of Engravings in the University Galleries at Oxford and in the British Museum*, 1898.
- Dearmer, P. / Vaughan Williams, R. (ed.s), *English Hymnal*, 1906.
- Dowling Long, S., *Musical Instruments in Biblical Art: Evaristo Baschenis's Still Life with Musical Instruments*, in: Martin O'Kane (ed.), *Bible, Art, Gallery (The Bible in the Modern World 21)*, 2011, 97–121.
- Erhman, B., *Heaven and Hell: A History of the Afterlife*, 2020.
- Feiss, H., *Art. Abraham's Bosom. Christianity in: Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception*, Vol. 1, 2009, 219–221.
- Fitzgerald, J.T., *Art. Lazarus*, in: *Bible Odyssey*, Society of Biblical Literature, 2023 <https://m.bibleodyssey.org/people/main-articles/lazarus/>.
- Fitzmyer, J.A., *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV: A New Translation with Introduction and Notes (Anchor Yale Bible 28A)*, 1985.
- Flood, W., *A History of Irish Music*, 1906.
- F.S.L., *Notes and Queries: Medium of Inter-Communication for Literary Men, Generals Readers, Etc. Notes and Queries* 4/3 (1864), 76.
- Graebe, M., *Gustav Holst, Songs of the West, and the English Folk Song Movement*. *Folk Music Journal* 10/1 (2011), 5–41.
- Hand, J.O. / Wolff, M., *Early Netherlandish Painting*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1986.
- Hawkins, R.K., *Art. Dog. Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, in: *Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception*, Vol. 6, 2013, 1032–1033.
- Hough, R. Rev., *Sighs from Hell: or The groans of the damned. Delivered in a sermon from the parable of Dives and Lazarus. Wherein is plainly set forth the miserable state of those that like Dives have their good things in this life, but after this life is ended go down to Hell, and there being in torment cry for a drop of water to cool their tongue. Being preached, and now made publique on purpose to awaken the carnal besotted sinners of England. Also a word of comfort to all the poor afflicted people of God, who in this life time receives evil things, but in the world to come joys unspeakable, and life everlasting*, 1680(?) (Early English Books Online).
- Husk, W.H., *Songs of the Nativity: Being Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern*, 1864, 94.
- Johnson, R., *Dives and Lazarus. Or, rather Devilish Dives. Delivered in a sermon at Paul's Cross; by R.J. preacher of the Word. Very necessary for these times and purposes; published for the greater comfort of those that taste the bitterness of affliction*, 1684 (Early English Books Online).

- Johnston, W., *The Posthumous Work of Dr. Thomas Parnell: Late Arch-Deacon of Clogher, Containing Poems, Moral and Divine: and Various Other Subjects*, 1758.
- O’Kane, M., *The Bosom of Abraham (Luke 16:22): Father Abraham in the Visual Imagination*, *BibInt* 15 (2007), 485–518.
- Shakespeare, W., *Henry IV, Part 1*.
- Shestack, A., *Some Preliminary Drawings for Engravings by Heinrich Aldegrever. Master Drawings* 8/2 (1970), 141–148 and 200–209.
- Silver, L., *Hieronymus Bosch*, 2006.
- Smither, H.E., *A History of the Oratorio, Vol. 2 (The Oratorio in the Baroque Era. Protestant Germany and England)*, 1977.
- Sittwell, E., *The Canticle of the Rose. Selected Poems 1920-1947, 1949*, 164–165.
- Sylvester, J., *A Garland of Christmas Carols*, 1861.
- Tilley, J., *Learning from Lazarus: The Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Art of Dying*, *Early Music History* 28 (2009), 139–184.
- Unger, M., *Handbook to Bach’s Sacred Cantatas*, 1996.
- Unger, M., *Online Annotated Score: <https://melvinunger.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/BWV-75-Aug-12-2021.pdf>*
- Verheyden, J., *Art. Dog. New Testament*, in: *Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception*, Vol. 6, 2013, 1034.
- Wilson, E.M., *Three Printed Ballad Texts from Birmingham. Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6/5 (1976), 339–345.

List of Music

- Anonymous, *Saint Bernard’s Vision (A brief Discourse Dialogue-wise) between the Soul and body of a Damned Man newly Deceased, laying open the faults one upon other: With a Speech of the Devils in Hell*, 1681–1684.
- Anonymous, *Dives and Lazarus, Christmas Folk Carol (Child ballad 56 and the Roud Folk Song Index 477)*, no date.
- Anonymous, *Gregorian antiphon, “In paradisum” from the Requiem Mass (Missa pro defunctis / Missa defunctorum)*, no date.
- Bach, J.S., *BWV 75 Die Elenden sollen essen (“The afflicted shall eat”)*, 1723.
- Bach, J.S., *BWV 20 O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort (“O Eternity; the sound of thunder”)*, 1724.
- Bach, J.S., *BWV 39 Brich dem Hunrigen dein Brot (“Break your bread to the hungry”)*, 1726.
- Boyle, I., (Selina) *Still Falls the Rain, for contralto and string quartet*, 1948.
- Britten, B., *Canticle III, Op.55, for tenor, horn and piano*, 1954.
- Carissimi, G., *Vanitas 1 – La vanité des hommes for SSATB soloists and SSATB chorus*, no date.
- Carissimi, G., *Historia Divitis – Dives Malus for STTB Soloists and SATB and SATB chorus*, no date.
- Holst, G., *Diverus and Lazarus, H137, for SATB chorus, ca. 1917*.
- Lassus, O. di, *Homo quidam erat dives/Pater Abraham*, 1571
- MaConchy, E., *Still Falls the Rain, for SATB*, 1985.
- Neale, J.M., *Dives and Lazarus, in: Mary Sackville Lawson, Collected Hymns, Sequences, and Carols of John Mason Neale*, 1914, 308.
- Schütz, H., *Vater Abraham, erbarme dich mein („Dialogus divites Epulonis cum Abrahamo“)*, *SWV 477, 1620*, in: *Heinrich Spitta (ed.), Sämtliche Werke, Band 18*, 1927.
- Vaughan Williams, R., *English Folk Song Suite*, 1923.
- Vaughan Williams, R., *Five Variants of Dives and Lazarus for String Orchestra and Harp*, 1939.
- Vaughan Williams, R., *Dives and Lazarus, for unaccompanied male voices (TTBB) in Nine Carols for Male Voices, No. 9*, 1941.
- Vulpius, M., *Homo quidam erat dives / Pater Abraham, for six voices (SSATTB), first published in: Canticum sacrarum prima pars, No. 6*, 1602.

List of Images

- Fig. 1 Heinrich Aldegrever, *The Rich Man at His Table*, from: *The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (1554, plate 1 from a series of five engravings, 8 x 11 cm). Gift of Henry Walters, 1917. Open access, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 2 *The Workshop of Domenico Fetti, The Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man* (1618/1628, oil on panel, 61.6 x 45.4 cm). Samuel H. Kress Collection. Open access, courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 3 Frans Francken I, *Den rike mannen och Lazarus* (n.d., oil on panel, 47 x 65 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Wikimedia Commons / © Erik Cornelius / available under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 4 Abraham Bosse, *The Banquet of the Rich Man*, from: *La Parabole du mauvais riche et de Lazare* (mid-to-late-17th century, etching, 26 x 32.7 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951. Open access, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 5 Mestre de Taüll, *Lazarus waiting at the door of Dives* (ca. 1093, fresco at Saint Climent de Taüll church, now at Barcelona Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 800 x 614). Wikimedia Commons, in the public domain (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 6 Abraham Bosse, *The Death of Lazarus*, from: *La Parabole du mauvais Riche et de Lazare* (mid-17th century, etching with engraving, 25.6 x 32.2 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951. Open access, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 7 Master of James IV of Scotland, *The Soul of Lazarus Being Carried to Abraham* (ca. 1510/1520, tempera colors, gold, and ink on parchment, 23.2 x 16.7 cm, Spinola Hours). Open access, courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, LA (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 8 Westphalian Master, *Healing of Lazarus* (ca.1400, oil and gold on wood panel, 43.5 x 37.8 cm). Open access, courtesy of the Barnes Foundation, PA (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 9 *Détail du portail sculpté de Moissac* (1100, Cluniac Abbey of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, France). Wikimedia Commons / photo by Gautier Poupeau (Paris, France) / available under Creative Commons 2.0 license (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 10 Eadwine psalter: detached leaf from the prefatory cycle, recto, scenes from the life of Christ and parable (ca. 1150, illumination on parchment, 40 x 29 cm). The Morgan Library and Museum, NY. Wikimedia Commons, in the public domain (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 11 David Teniers the Younger, *The Rich Man being led to Hell* (ca. 1647, oil on oak, 48 x 69 cm). Wikimedia Commons, in the public domain (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 12 Unknown artist, *Deathbed of the Rich Man, with a Devil Descending to Retrieve the Deceased's Soul* (ca. 1550–1574, oil on panel, 208 x 122 cm). Open access, courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 13 Unknown artist, *Triumph over Temptation from the Ars Moriendi* (ca. 1450, blockbook with Latin banderoles, Engraving No. 11). Wikimedia Commons, in the public domain (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 14 Unknown artist, *Temptation of Pride from the Ars Moriendi* (ca. 1450, blockbook with Latin banderoles, Engraving No. 7). Wikimedia Commons, in the public domain (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 15 Unknown artist, *Temptation through Avarice from the Ars Moriendi* (ca. 1450, blockbook with Latin banderoles, Engraving No. 9). Wikimedia Commons, in the public domain (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 16 Hieronymus Bosch, *Death and the Miser* (ca. 1485/1490, oil on panel, 93 x 31 cm). Samuel H. Kress Collection. Open access, courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 17 Heinrich Aldegrever, *The Rich Man on His Deathbed*, from: *The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (1554, Plate 3 from a series of five engravings, 8 x 10.9 cm). Gift of Henry Walters, 1917. Open access, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 18 Abraham Bosse, *The Death of the Rich Man*, from *La parabole du mauvais riche et de Lazare* (mid-17th century, etching, 27.3 x 34.6 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951. Open access, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (accessed 06.04.23).

- Fig. 19 Hans Lützelburger after Hans Holbein the Younger, Der Rych man, from the Dance of Death (ca. 1526, woodcut on laid paper, 8.6 x 6.3 cm). Rosenwald Collection. Open access, courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 20 Antiphon for the funeral service *In paradisum deducant te angeli* – To paradise may angels guide you (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 21 Unknown artist, Lazarus and the Rich Man (1515–1524, oil on panel, 93.5 x 74 cm). Photo Ruben de Heer. Open access, courtesy of the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 22 Heinrich Aldegrever, The Rich Man Transported to Hell from: The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (1554, Plate 4 from a series of five engravings, 8 x 10.9 cm). Gift of Henry Walters, 1917. Open access, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 23 Unknown artist, Dives in Hell. Detail of fol. 73r (Lazarus and poor, thirsty Dives). Book of Hours, Use of Rome (1475–1499). With permission, courtesy of Special Collections, UC Davis Library, CA (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 24 Jean Bondol, Lazarus and Dives: in Hell Dives Sees Lazarus in Paradise; Dives Pointing at his Tongue (1372, Miniature). Europeana, available under Creative Commons (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 25 Unknown illuminator, The Parable of Dives and Poor Lazarus: Lazarus in Abraham's Bosom, Dives in Hell (1200, Miniature). National Library of the Netherlands, Netherlands. Europeana, available under Creative Commons (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 26 Crispijn van de Passe after a design by Maerten de Vos. Lazarus in de hemel en de rijke man in de hel, from the series: *Gelijkenis van de rijke man en de arme Lazarus* (1589–1611, engraving, 22.3 x 26 cm). Waller Bequest. Open access, courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 27 Heinrich Aldegrever, The Rich Man in Hell, Seeing Lazarus Embraced by Abraham, from: The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (1554, Plate 5 from a series of five engravings, 8 x 10.7 cm). Gift of Henry Walters, 1917. Open access, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (accessed 06.04.23).
- Fig. 28 Unknown Flemish painter, Works of Mercy with Dives and Lazarus (ca. 1550, oil on wood, 60.6 x 97.5 cm). Courtesy of the Wellcome Collection, public domain (accessed 06.04.23).

Impressum

Herausgeber / Editors:

Prof. Dr. Brad Anderson, brad.anderson@dcu.ie

Prof. Dr. Régis Burnet, regis.burnet@uclouvain.be

Prof. Dr. Susanne Gillmayr-Bucher, s.gillmayr-bucher@ku-linz.at

Prof. Dr. Sara Kipfer, Sara.Kipfer@tu-dortmund.de

Prof. Dr. Klaus Koenen, koenen@arcor.de

Prof. Dr. Martin O’Kane, m.okane@tsd.ac.uk

Prof. Dr. Caroline Vander Stichele, C.H.C.M.VanderStichele@uvt.nl

„Bible in the Arts“ is a project of the German Bible Society.

„Die Bibel in der Kunst“ ist ein Projekt der Deutschen Bibelgesellschaft

Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft

Balinger Straße 31 A

70567 Stuttgart

Deutschland

www.bibelwissenschaft.de