HIERONYMUS BOSCH, PAINTER AND DRAUGHTSMAN *Catalogue Raisonné*



CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

HIERONYMUS BOSCH

Painter and Draughtsman

BOSCH RESEARCH AND CONSERVATION PROJECT

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Bosch online (web application with documentation on all the paintings) and *BoschDoc* (documents on Bosch and his oeuvre to 1800) can be accessed via the website Boschproject.org.

The Bosch Research and Conservation Project was established and completed as part of the preparations for the exhibition 'Hieronymus Bosch – Visions of Genius' at the Noordbrabants Museum in 's-Hertogenbosch, 13 February to 8 May 2016.
The exhibition and the research project are both part of the 'Jheronimus Bosch 500' event, organized to mark the five-hundredth anniversary of the artist's death.
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The Last Judgement, detail from the central panel [CAT 16B]. Stad Brugge, Groeningemuseum, Bruges

Endpapers
Visions of the Hereafter, detail from the reverse of the *Ascent of the Blessed* [CAT. 18E]. Palazzo Grimani, Venice

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Foreword and Acknowledgements

Hieronymus Bosch died in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1516 – half a millennium ago. This five-hundredth anniversary in 2016 has prompted a large-scale and critical examination of the painter's complete oeuvre. Some of his works have a pedigree that dates back a very long way indeed, the most complete being that of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*; the triptych is recorded in the palace of the Counts of Nassau in Brussels as early as 1517, and we can track its whereabouts more or less continuously from that moment through to the present. We do not know, however, when or for whom Bosch painted it – a situation that holds true for virtually all the distinctive Brabant master's paintings. All the same, the outlines of an oeuvre have emerged since the late nineteenth century in the shape of a body of works ascribed to Bosch on stylistic grounds. This nucleus crystallized in the course of the twentieth century into a fairly generally accepted corpus of some twenty-five paintings.

The founding principle for our 'Bosch Research and Conservation Project' (BRCP) was to scrutinize Bosch's reconstructed oeuvre as thoroughly and consistently as possible, using modern optical and imaging techniques. Supplementary archive research was also performed, and the style, iconography and meaning of Hieronymus Bosch's paintings and drawings were re-examined. The scholarly goal was to gain a better understanding of questions like: What is a Bosch? Which paintings and drawings are by his hand? What relationships exist within his oeuvre? How reliable are the attributions? What did pupils and assistants contribute?

From our base in 's-Hertogenbosch, the BRCP team set out to study all Bosch's paintings and drawings worldwide. The results of these efforts have now assumed tangible form in the anniversary year of 2016: a new monograph with catalogue raisonné; a supplementary volume with comprehensively detailed research reports of all the examined paintings; and a website with thousands of high-resolution images, innovatively presented and freely accessible to all (Boschproject.org). Meanwhile, the exhibition being held in parallel at the Noordbrabants Museum in 's-Hertogenbosch, features more works by Hieronymus Bosch than have ever been seen before in the Netherlands.

The collaboration of virtually all the museums that oversee works by Bosch was generous and welcoming: our team was unable to examine and/or document only two of the twenty-five paintings we consider autograph. A panel previously thought to be the work of a follower was recognized as an authentic Bosch, as was a magnificent drawing – one of the now twenty sheets in total that we attribute to the 's-Hertogenbosch master. No fewer than nine panels and triptychs by Bosch were restored by or in close consultation with the BRCP in the period 2013–15, while two more triptychs were restored to their former glory in Spain. As of 2016, therefore, almost half the autograph paintings by Hieronymus Bosch have been given back their original lustre thanks to the efforts and commitment of highly qualified restorers in Italy, Belgium, Spain, France, the Netherlands and the United States.

The Bosch Research and Conservation Project was proposed as a tentative, dream initiative in 2007; less than a decade later, we can present its substantive results. That we are able to do so is due in the first instance to the Mayor of 's-Hertogenbosch, Dr Ton Rombouts, who threw his weight behind the project. It all began with the support of the City of 's-Hertogenbosch and the Province of North Brabant, following which many other funds, foundations, public authorities and sponsors came on board. The Bosch Research and Conservation Project was set up as a collaborative venture between the Jheronimus Bosch 500 Foundation, the Noordbrabants Museum and Radboud University Nijmegen, following which the research itself could get under way. Backed by an academic committee and a foundation board – whose members are listed on page 5 – we established an interdisciplinary team, which began as a five-strong core that was subsequently extended to eight specialists, all of whom contributed their own specific expertise. We feel justifiably proud therefore in presenting ourselves as a team on the title page and of signing off on our work together. We can now look back with satisfaction at several years of intensive and fruitful collaboration.

All that remains is to express our hope that the results achieved so far will allow the remaining works to be examined and documented in exactly the same way: above all the two large triptychs,

the *Last Judgement* in Vienna and the *Garden of Earthly Delights* in Madrid, as well as *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* – the so-called 'tabletop' – also in Madrid. Research is never 'finished'.

The Bosch Research and Conservation Project is a long-term, complex initiative, which has come about with the help of many people. We are grateful to everyone for the assistance we have received in recent years. Our thanks are due in the first place, of course, to those who took the initiative: Mayor Ton Rombouts and Charles de Mooij, Director of the Noordbrabants Museum. They responded to Jos Koldeweij's proposal to thoroughly document, study and, where necessary, restore Hieronymus Bosch's oeuvre from a centre based in the artist's own city. The Jheronimus Bosch 500 Foundation – Ad 's-Gravesande, Paul van der Eerden and Lian Duif – then saw to it that the project could actually be implemented. Jos Koldeweij, Ron Spronk, Matthijs Ilsink and Luuk Hoogstede formulated the research goals and methodology; Robert G. Erdmann, assisted by Travis Sawyer, developed the digital infrastructure to enable all the visual material to be presented online using the latest techniques (Boschproject.org); Rik Klein Gotink provided the photography; Hanneke Nap and Daan Veldhuizen contributed their specific expertise to the success of this project. None of this would have been possible, however, without the financial foundations laid by various public authorities, institutions, foundations and sponsors, via the aforementioned Jheronimus Bosch 500 Foundation. Special thanks are due to the Gieskes-Strijbis Fund, which supported the research project very generously. The Getty Foundation took part through the 'Panel Paintings Initiative' in the restoration of the Venice triptychs and contributed to the development of the digital infrastructure. Queen's University gave Ron Spronk the scope to participate in the project, and the Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg (SRAL) did the same for Luuk Hoogstede.

Equally crucial to the project's success were the collaboration and extraordinary hospitality of all the participating museums. It is impossible to name everyone who helped us devise and perform our research, and to whom we owe our sincere gratitude. We are much indebted to them, especially:

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Note to the Reader

CATALOGUE NUMBERS

Catalogue numbers (cat.) in the text refer – depending on the context – to both text and illustration(s) in the relevant entry of the catalogue raisonné. Painted sides of triptychs and other composite works have been given an alphabetical suffix:

e.g. cat. 4A = (inside of) left wing of cat. 4
cat. 21B = central panel of cat. 21

ILLUSTRATIONS

References to all other illustrations are found in the margin. In the introductory section these are numbered per chapter. A decimal numbering system has been used for the catalogue raisonné comprising the catalogue number (before the point) and a serial number:

e.g. FIG 12 refers to figure 12 within the same chapter
> II : FIG 7 = see figure 7 in chapter II
24.10 = cat. 24, figure 10
> 24.10 = see cat. 24, figure 10.

CAPTIONS: CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

For details from paintings and drawings by Bosch, the catalogue number of the work in question (followed, in the case of a composite work, by a letter indicating the painted side) is included in square brackets:

e.g. 2.4 [CAT 2B] = detail from central panel of cat. 2.

IR infrared
IRP infrared photography, infrared photograph
IRR infrared reflectography, infrared reflectogram
RR [followed by serial number(s)] = Research report in BRCP, *Technical Studies*
UV ultraviolet
VIS (photograph taken in) visible light
XR X-radiography, X-radiograph

Preface

Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman arose from the work performed by the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP) in the period 2009–15. The project was, first and foremost, object-oriented: Bosch's entire oeuvre was examined in situ and documented to as great an extent as possible in a standardized, scientific manner.

We set out in this book our view of Hieronymus Bosch's oeuvre and his workshop, together with a catalogue raisonné of his paintings and drawings. The few paintings that the BRCP was not able to document or examine are also included. The research likewise took in the most important of those paintings that were long ascribed to Bosch or his workshop (and in some cases still are), but which do not, in our opinion, belong to that group. We explain here why we believe there are insufficient grounds for retaining the work within the oeuvre. The converse also applies: we have been able to add the fragment of a *Temptation of Saint Anthony* from Kansas City (cat. 3) to the group of autograph paintings.

The catalogue entries accompanying the paintings combine the documentation with observations on technique and condition in an art-historical text in which artistic practice and iconography are interwoven, and in which account is also taken of the work's provenance. The detailed technical data and observations relating to the paintings are set out in the equally richly illustrated counterpart to this book, *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman: Technical Studies* (referred to throughout this volume as BRCP, *Technical Studies*).

Drawings were an important part of Bosch's artistic practice and we attribute far more of them to the master than has been customary in recent literature: almost twice as many, in fact. Most of the sheets in question have been ascribed to Bosch at one time or another, but the *Infernal Landscape* (cat. 44) is attributed to him here for the first time.

The actual catalogue section is preceded by four essays addressing Bosch's biography, his artistic practice, the materials and techniques he used, and the conservation history and condition of his work.

Alongside its research, the BRCP set itself the goal of contributing to the enhanced conservation of Bosch's works. For that reason, the project facilitated the restoration of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych*, the *Hermit Saints Triptych* and the reverses of the *Visions of the Hereafter* panels in Venice (cat. 2, 8, 18), *Saint Jerome* in Ghent (cat. 1), the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (cat. 16) and *Saint Christopher* in Rotterdam (cat. 7). *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12), the *Ship of Fools* in Paris (cat. 19B) and the *Adoration of the Magi* in Philadelphia (cat. 25) were also restored in the run-up to the anniversary exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch. All these works are shown here in their restored state for the first time.

Ever since Bosch's era, the printed book has allowed written text to be supported with images. You will find the same here on a large scale and at a previously unattainable level of quality. Despite this, a great deal more BRCP material is available. To enable readers to view for themselves comparisons that are made in the text but could not be illustrated in the book, several links have been included to the Boschproject.org website (the L numbers in a number of footnotes), offering a bridge between the publication and the website as a research and verification tool. The research reports are available in full on the website, where interactive viewers have been provided to allow the BRCP's entire body of photographic documentation to be consulted. This allows you to zoom in even more or to view a particular detail that is not illustrated in the book. And what if, in the worst case, the website ceases to be available in ten, twenty or thirty years' time? Then we would still have the two books. *Scripta manent*.



CHAPTER I

Hieronymus Bosch c. 1450–1516

Some time around 1577, the following entry was made in the register of deaths of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch concerning the year 1516: 'Hieronimus Aquen[sis] alias Bosch, insignis pictor' – 'Jeroen van Aken, alias Bosch, famous painter'. With these words, it was recorded half a century after Hieronymus Bosch's death that the painter had been a noteworthy member of the elite local religious association and that, in addition to the surname 'Van Aken', he called himself 'Bosch', referring to his own place of birth and residence, rather than to his family's roots in Aachen.[1] 'Bosch' is a toponym: Hieronymus came from and lived in 's-Hertogenbosch (literally 'the Duke's Forest'), also known in Dutch as 'Den Bosch' and sometimes referred to in the English-language literature using the French name 'Bois-le-Duc'. The forename in the artist's signature was also a play on words, since 'Hieronymus' – the Latin version of 'Jerome' and of the Dutch 'Jeroen' – was thought at the time to have derived etymologically from 'sacred grove', making it a further allusion to the forest (see cat. 1). He was the only member of his family – which had come to 's-Hertogenbosch from Aachen by way of Nijmegen – to use the name 'Bosch'. Precisely when he began to do so is not known, but it might well have coincided with the moment in 1487–88 when he became a sworn member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady. He painted the panel with Saint John on Patmos, now in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, shortly afterwards (cat. 6) and, as far as we can tell, it was the first painting to which he proudly affixed the Latinized signature 'Jheronimus bosch'. Not only did the artisan-painter now belong to an urban elite familiar with Latin, he had also achieved high artistic status. The way he signed his name was entirely new: in clearly legible, calligraphed letters, which he henceforward placed systematically along the lower edge of his paintings – mostly in black, but twice in light yellow and once even in gold. Contemporary records in 's-Hertogenbosch refer to the painter as 'Bosch' on only one occasion, in an item dating from 1510 which, oddly enough, makes the same point twice in quick succession: 'die hem selver scrift Jheronimus bosch' ('who "writes" himself Jheronimus bosch'). If we take this at face value, it tells us that the artist signed using that name rather than that he was known by it locally.[2] A 1504 entry in the Burgundian accounts, meanwhile, refers to 'Jheronimus van Aeken dit Bosch' ('Jheronimus van Aken *called* Bosch'), suggesting that he *was* known as Bosch outside his native city.[3] FIG 2

Hieronymus Bosch, or more accurately Jeroen or Joen van Aken, belonged to a family of relatively minor painters, some of whose names we know, but none of their paintings. There is very little reference to their work in the archives either. Hieronymus's exceptional mind and immense talent enabled him to rise to prominence from this family in a place that, while a relatively prosperous commercial centre, nevertheless lacked a princely or ecclesiastical court, administrative bodies beyond the strictly local, or a noteworthy artistic tradition. The town of 's-Hertogenbosch, in what is now the Netherlands, was founded in



FIG 2 Bosch's signature on *Saint John on Patmos* [CAT 6A], presumably the first one in which he used the Latin version of his name.

FIG 1 Infernal scene: right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]

the late twelfth century by the Duke of Brabant (the *hertog* in the town's name). It was the northernmost of the duchy's four capital cities, the others being Leuven (Louvain), Brussels and Antwerp, all of which are now located in Belgium.

Origins and family

Hieronymus's grandfather, Jan van Aken, brought his family to 's-Hertogenbosch from Nijmegen in the Duchy of Guelders in around 1426.[4] 'Johannes die maelre' or 'Johannes the painter', as he is mostly referred to in local records, married a certain Katharina with whom he had five sons and probably a daughter. The couple enrolled as members of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 1430/31. From that year onwards, Jan received regular commissions from the brotherhood and also from another 's-Hertogenbosch institution, the charitable 'Tafel van de Heilige Geest' (Holy Ghost Table), which provided poor relief. In 1431/32, he designed *coevels* or chaperons for the brotherhood, hooded copes which continued to be worn for centuries by the sworn brothers – the association's elite inner core (see cat. 24).[5] Katharina died relatively early, in 1432, and Jan later remarried. He lived with his second wife, identified only as Christina, in Vughterstraat.[6] Four of Jan's five sons became painters: Thomas the eldest; Jan, who probably moved to Bruges; Goeswijn, who worked for the Brotherhood of Our Lady like his father and for other customers including the hospital; and Anthonius, father of Hieronymus Bosch. We have no information regarding the occupation of Hubertus, Jan's third son.[7] Anthonius and his wife Aleid van der Mynnen joined the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 1454/55, and he too received commissions from

FIG 6

> 24.13



FIG 3 *Saint Jerome* [CAT 1]

it. The couple had five children – two daughters and three sons, one of whom was Hieronymus.[8] In 1462, the family moved into a brick house, four metres wide and with a cellar, which Anthonius had purchased on the east side of the town's main square, the Markt. It was one of seven buildings there of similar size, which served as homes and workshops for better-off craftsmen.[9] Anthonius and Aleid's three sons followed in their father and grandfather's footsteps and became painters. The customers of the eldest brother, Goeswinus Anthoniusz, included St John's Church and the aforementioned Holy Ghost Table.[10] He joined the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 1495 and died around 1499.[11] His wife Katharina ('Goessens smaelders huysvrou') received a payment in 1499/1500 for a sculpture which he or his workshop had polychromed.[12] The couple's children, Johannes Goeswinusz and Anthonius Goeswinusz, also became artists, the first a painter and sculptor, the second a painter. The second son, Johannes Anthoniusz, likewise joined the Brotherhood of Our Lady and died in about 1499.[13] The third, Jheronimus Anthoniusz, known to posterity as Hieronymus Bosch, enrolled as an ordinary member of the brotherhood in 1486/87 and was subsequently admitted as a 'sworn member' of the organization's elite inner core in 1487/88. He died at the beginning of August 1516.

Following the death of Anthonius van Aken in 1478, the house on the east side of the market square passed to his eldest son, Goeswinus,[14] who will have lived there until his own death. It remained in the family's hands until 1523, and continued to be occupied by the Van Aken painters, who also had a workshop there.[15] Hieronymus was not born in the house, but lived in it from the age of about ten or twelve, when Anthonius van Aken and his family moved there. We do not know where Anthonius and Aleid van der Mynnen were



FIG 4 Saint Jerome, *Hermit Saints Triptych*, central panel [CAT 2B]



FIG 5 Saint Jerome, *Job Triptych*, right wing [CAT 23C]

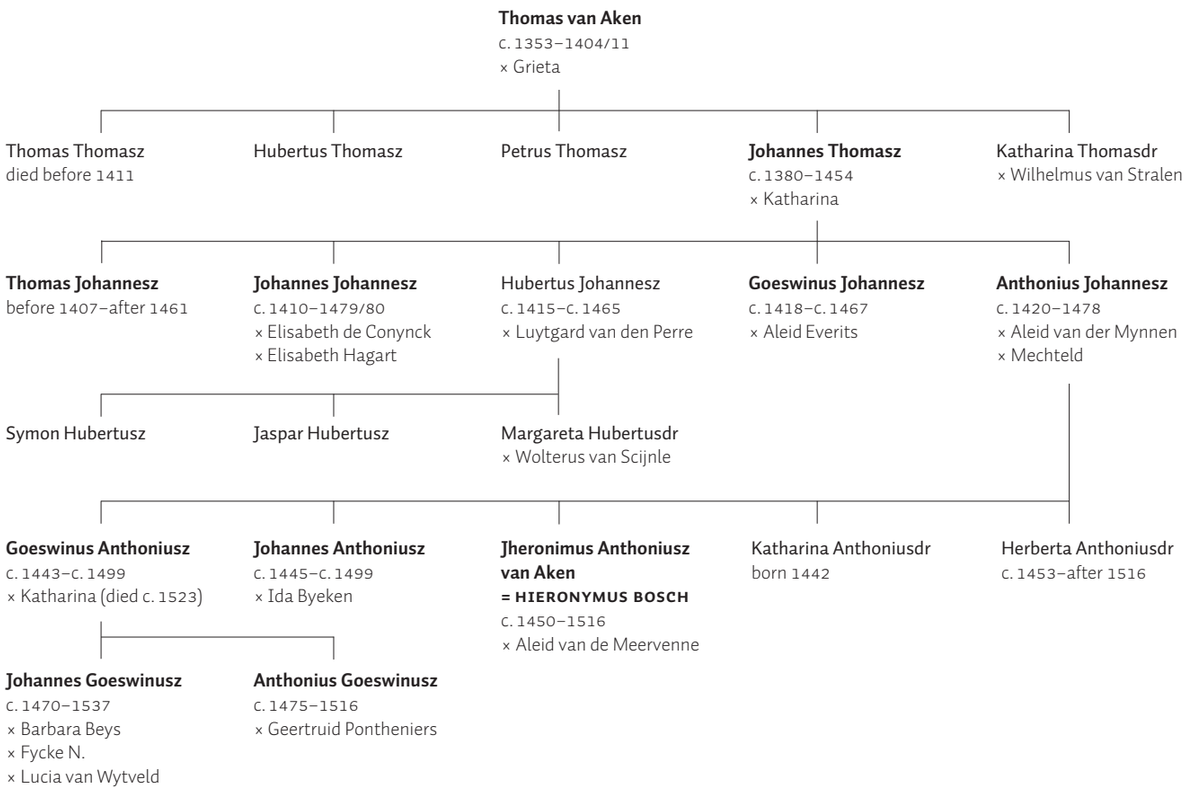


FIG 6 **The Van Aken family tree.** Names of family members recorded as painters are in bold type.

living when Hieronymus was born in, or shortly after, 1450.[16] The name they gave their third son was unusual and had not previously appeared in their family.[17] One of the earliest references to the celebrated painter makes a point of how his Latin name was turned into a more readily pronounceable Middle Dutch version: 'Jeronimus dictus Joen' ('Hieronymus called Joen').[18] The reference dates from 1474, when 'Anthonius die maelre' and his young son were involved in a financial matter. Anthonius appears in another financial document a few months earlier, accompanied by his four children, including 'Jheronimus'.[19] The painter would later sign his works exclusively with this Latin version of 'Jerome', the saint for whom he was named. Contemporary records refer to him variously as 'J[h]eronimus', 'Jeroen' (once), and more frequently as 'Joen'. The note cited earlier tells us that he was commonly known by the latter name ('dictus Joen'), but examples are also found where he is called 'Jonen'. The Latin version of his forename was, of course, the most formal. Educated clerks dutifully inflected it in written records to 'Jheronimi', when describing things that belonged to him, or 'Jheronimo', when a payment was made to him.[20]

His parents most likely named him for Saint Jerome – known in Dutch as 'Hiëronymus' and spelled locally as 'Jheronimus' – in response to recent religious developments. The popularity of the Church Father Jerome surged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, driven in the Low Countries primarily by the Devotio Moderna or Modern Devotion, a movement committed to spiritual regeneration, which included the Brethren of the Common Life. The latter adopted Jerome as their patron, for which reason they were also known as 'Hieronymites'. They founded a community in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1425. Somewhat later, an altar dedicated to Saint Jerome was installed at the city's St John's Church on 8 October 1459.[21] The iconographical theme of the penitent Jerome in the wilderness became extremely popular from the later fifteenth century onwards, as we also find in the work of Hierony-



FIG 7 Anonymous, *View of the Markt at 's-Hertogenbosch*, c. 1530. Het Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch. Bosch lived in 'Inden Salvatoer', the fifth house from the right in the detail.

mus Bosch himself (cat. 1, 2). Consequently, the Hieronymite house in 's-Hertogenbosch and the altar in St John's have frequently been cited as the original locations of the Ghent *Saint Jerome in Prayer* (cat. 1) and the Venice *Hermit Saints Triptych*, in which Jerome also takes centre stage (cat. 2). There is no concrete evidence, however, to identify the specific location or patron for which Bosch produced these paintings. FIGS 3–4

Residence and social position

Hieronymus and his two brothers are likely to have received their training from their father Anthonius and their uncles, all of whom worked on the same premises on the main square in 's-Hertogenbosch. There is no firm proof of this, however. Details of the length of apprenticeships, the relationship between masters and journeymen, the 'masterpiece' submitted to the guild on completion of training, and other similar matters have not survived for 's-Hertogenbosch in the second half of the fifteenth century. The artistic trades seem largely to have been incorporated in other guilds.[22] Hieronymus appears in notarial documents for the first time in 1474, on both 5 April and 26 July. On the first occasion, he was included with his father Anthonius, his sister Katharina and his two brothers Goeswinus and Johannes; on the second, with his father alone. Given this context, we cannot be certain as to Hieronymus's age, but he was still probably a minor.[23] As has been suggested, the two transactions might have been intended to release money so that Hieronymus could spend time away from 's-Hertogenbosch.[24] We have no information regarding travel or training elsewhere, but his name does not appear again in the local archives until June 1481. On this occasion, Hieronymus was acting on his own behalf for the first time, and is recorded as being married to Aleid van de Meervenne, the daughter of a fairly well-off family.[25] The marriage enabled him to move into a house called 'Inden Salvatoer' ('The Saviour', later FIG 7

known as 'Het Root Cruijs' or 'The Red Cross') on the north side of the main square, which his wife had inherited from her grandfather.[26] Well-to-do houses on this side of the Markt were interspersed with craftsmen's workshops, and their cellars and outhouses were often rented out for trade or as homes. Bosch lived in the house until his death, and his widow, Aleid, remained there for over six more years.[27] Aleid van de Meervenne was born in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1453, in a house close to the Markt, in which she also grew up.[28] Hieronymus and Aleid had probably known one another since they were children, although Aleid came from a somewhat better-off family of merchants, which accumulated a certain amount of real estate in the city and bailiwick of 's-Hertogenbosch.[29] The share of that property inherited by Aleid provided Bosch and his wife with a regular income. The couple never had children, and so when Aleid van de Meervenne died in 1522/23, the goods she had brought into the marriage reverted entirely to her family in the customary way.[30] Hieronymus regularly acted on Aleid's behalf in business matters, and there is nothing to suggest that he himself was particularly wealthy.[31] Aleid's possessions were, however, counted as part of his assets. The taxes – *zettingen* and *ruitergeld* – for which Bosch was liable[32] were high compared with those of other master craftsmen, suggesting that he was relatively prosperous. Within the population of 's-Hertogenbosch as a whole, however, his position was in line with that of well-to-do burghers and the more prosperous artisans.[33] Twelve of these tax assessments have survived from the period 1497/98 to 1512/13, showing that the level of Bosch's taxes fluctuated sharply, and did not follow the customary pattern. For the time being, the reasons for this remain wholly unclear. We should also bear in mind that the record of taxes paid in Bosch's name virtually every year does not prove that he was necessarily present in the town in person throughout that period: the assessments were drawn up in his name, but might equally well have been settled by his wife or an agent.[34]

FIG 8 Hieronymus Bosch, *Ecce Homo*, Frankfurt [CAT 11]





FIG 9 Workshop of Hieronymus Bosch, *Ecce Homo Triptych* (Boston), central panel [CAT 24B]

Hieronymus and Aleid continued to live in the house 'Inden Salvatoer', which boasted a frontage of almost five and a half metres, on the Markt.[35] On 1 December 1516, less than a half year after Bosch's death, the artist's heirs – his sister Herbertke and his nephews, the sculptor and painter Johannes and the painter Anthonius – declared that they had received from Aleid, his widow, all the household goods and possessions that Hieronymus had brought with him on marriage and had acquired subsequently.[36] It was evidently not deemed necessary to specify these any further, and there is no reference at all to any real estate. We can only conclude from this that Bosch did not have an artist's workshop at 'Inden Salvatoer', which would have housed a valuable stock of artist's tools, pigments and model drawings, *ricordi*, panels and finished or semi-finished paintings; unless, that is, all these things had been removed in the four months since Hieronymus's death and placed in the family workshop.[37]

Only a few archival references have survived concerning financial transactions in which Hieronymus Bosch was involved other than those in which he was acting on his wife's behalf, or those relating to the share he inherited in his parents' house, 'In Sint Thoenis'. He was assigned a substantial sum of money on two occasions: on 31 January 1492, five men – one of them a joiner – undertook to pay him 58 Rhenish florins at All Saints that year, while on 29 March 1515, two brothers promised to pay 68 florins the following Christmas.[38] It is not clear why they owed Hieronymus these sums and the names given in the document do not match those of any members of the social elite in 's-Hertogenbosch. A promised payment dating from 6 March 1494 might provide the explanation; five other men undertook on that occasion to pay Bosch 51 florins at All Saints in return for wood he

had sold them.[39] A little earlier, on 1 July 1493, his brother, the painter Goeswinus van Aken, had also sold 72 florins' worth of wood to 'Laurentius de Timmerman [the Carpenter]'.[40] It seems that the painters bought batches of timber, selected panels for their own use and sold the rest.[41]

Workshop and collaboration

We know for certain that Goeswinus and his sons Anthonius and Johannes – known familiarly as Goessen, Toon and Jan respectively – worked at the house 'In Sint Thoenis' ('Saint Anthony'), now number 29 on the Markt. This was, at any rate, the name given to the building from the 1520s onwards.[42] 's-Hertogenbosch was badly damaged by a huge fire in the summer of 1463, and so it might have been after repairing the house, purchased the previous year, that Anthonius, Goeswinus's father, placed it under the protection of his namesake saint. The architectural history of the row of houses shows that the Van Aken family's home and workshop must have been damaged in the fire, as the adjoining late-medieval roof trusses date from after 1463.[43] The fate of two altarpiece wings that were temporarily stored there indicate, however, that some of the building's contents were saved. In 1462, a carved altarpiece was moved from the brotherhood's chapel in St John's Church to the workshop of a sculptor and polychromist called Claes van Schoenhoven. The wings were meanwhile given to Anthonius van Aken to be painted,[44] for which he received an advance of 33 Rhenish florins. The fire in the town largely destroyed the wooden part of the altarpiece at Van Schoenhoven's workshop, but the wings were preserved. Anthonius van Aken had already laid down the preparatory ground layer, so the deans of the brotherhood decided to pay him 12 florins, while Anthonius promised on 17 August 1464 to refund the balance of 21 florins.[45] He later received 10 florins to paint the wings ('opt stoffeeren van den dueren'), after all, though evidently in a less elaborate fashion than initially intended. The matter was settled during the next accounting year: '*Item* for the collection of the wings of the burned altarpiece from Anthonius the painter and for placing these above the vault'.[46] The brotherhood used the space above the vaulted ceiling of its chapel at St John's for storage, and it was here that the superfluous wings were placed.[47] Many years later, in 1480/81, Anthonius's son Hieronymus bought the 'wings from the old altarpiece of Our Lady' from the brotherhood, no doubt with a view to recycling the panels for another painting.[48]

Hieronymus must have witnessed the burning of the town in June 1463 – a disaster that destroyed hundreds of homes and part of the town hall – at first hand. His parental home, 'In Sint Thoenis', continued to be used as a residence and workshop by his family of painters until the late fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth century. We know from property tax records that Hieronymus's brothers 'Goeswinus die Maelder' and 'Jan die Maelre', both lived there, as did Goeswinus's widow, Katharina, after her husband's death.[49] There is no mention of Bosch himself in connection with the house or workshop. At least four other artists are known to have lived and worked there in the early sixteenth century, after Goeswinus had died: 'Jan die maelre' (painter), Hieronymus's brother; Jan 'die beeldsnyder' (sculptor) and painter, and Thonys 'die maelre' (painter) – Goeswinus's two sons – as well as a certain Meeus, who is recorded 'inde Maelgerie'.[50] The latter reference, dating from 1511/12, is very interesting, as it refers explicitly to the painter's workshop. The question remains as to what extent Hieronymus continued to work there after he left the parental home around 1480 to live a few doors away at his wife's house on the Markt. Whatever the case, the different hands detected in the underdrawing and painting of the surviving panels that can be linked to Hieronymus Bosch tell us that close collaboration occurred at the workshop with a variety of draughtsmen and painters. The appearance of identical or very similar motifs and forms in paintings produced within his immediate circle suggests the same thing. A clear example can be found in the triptych commissioned by Peter van Os and Henrickxen van Langel (cat. 24), which was painted by different individuals active in Bosch's workshop. Any other origin is all but ruled out by the directness of the work's relationship with several autograph works by Bosch. There is just one explicit archival

reference to the effect that Hieronymus did not work alone: in 1503/04 the Brotherhood of Our Lady paid an amount to 'Jheronimus knechten schilder' ('Hieronymus's assistant painter'), for painting three small coats of arms.[51] Indirect evidence of workshop collaboration is more plentiful. In 1480/81 Jheronimus's brother Goeswinus was commissioned to paint the wings for the high altar of St John's Church; the work was to be delivered by 1 October 1482. We know from later sources that it was Hieronymus who painted the central panel of the altarpiece,[52] making the overall work a joint production of the two brothers. In 1511/12 and 1514/15, meanwhile, Hieronymus Bosch and his nephew Anthonius van Aken (Thonis 'die Maelre') were paid for embroidery designs they had produced for matching blue brocade vestments for the Brotherhood of Our Lady, from which we can deduce at the very least that they worked closely with one another. We might also conclude that this was a workshop commission, especially since – as a sworn brother – Hieronymus seems generally not to have charged the brotherhood for his own work.

The Brotherhood of Our Lady

Bosch enrolled as an ordinary member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady, a prestigious local religious association, under the name 'Jhi[er]onim[us] antonissoen van aken' in 1486/87. In the summer of 1488, he presented himself at the brotherhood's banquet as one of the new 'sworn members', having evidently been admitted in the meantime into the organization's elite inner core.[53] His status as a sworn brother was unusual in several respects: first of all, he had not been born into the upper echelons of 's-Hertogenbosch society, but came from a trade background, even if he had married 'above his station' to a daughter of a wealthy Brabant family. Membership of the brotherhood represented a major step up the social ladder, which he owed not to his financial position but to his personal development and his status as a painter. Bosch donated the customary amount of ten écus as his contribution to the first 'Swan Banquet' he attended. However, his name was initially overlooked in the account books and had to be added in the margin; 'Jeroen maeld[er]' was inserted almost immediately afterwards in the same pen and ink, yet it remains the case that errors of this kind are found virtually nowhere else in the brotherhood's supremely neat accounts. Equally noteworthy is the fact that he is not listed under his first name and surname, but with explicit reference to his profession. This was also the case in the same section of the accounts for 'Zymo[n] scoelmeest[er]' – the learned Symon van Couderborch, who had been appointed rector of the Latin school in 's-Hertogenbosch that year.[54] He too came from a more humble background, but was university educated and would also achieve considerable prosperity as a notary and municipal secretary.[55] As recently elected sworn brothers, Symon and Hieronymus contributed to the costs of the Swan Banquet, as did two newcomers from more well-to-do families. Three other sworn brothers paid ten écus each, as they had raised their social status in the meantime by marrying, becoming an alderman and being ordained as a priest, respectively.[56]

The sworn brothers more or less took turns to host a meal after meetings, either at the brotherhood's house on Hinthamerstraat or in their own homes. Hieronymus Bosch hosted three such banquets: in the summer of 1488, for instance, 'Jheronim[us] die scilder' (the painter) received his fellow brothers at his home. Guests from outside the brotherhood were also invited, including the steward of the King of the Romans and future Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian of Austria.[57] Bosch was the host again ten years later, this time for the Swan Banquet, which was a highlight of the group's annual cycle of activities. It was held in 1498–99 at the brotherhood's house, this time without any eminent guests. In the course of the banquet, the sworn brother Peter van Os donated ten écus to the association to mark his recent marriage to Henrickxen van Langel – daughter of Franco van Langel, who was Peter's predecessor as member of the brotherhood, as municipal secretary and as notary public.

The dishes included two swans – the delicacy to which the group owed its nickname of the 'Swan Brotherhood'. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the memorial triptych Peter van Os commissioned from Hieronymus Bosch's studio in around 1500 contains a discreet



FIG 10 *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, exterior [CAT 21D–E]

swan reference (cat. 24). The third and final banquet hosted by Hieronymus Bosch on 10 March 1510 – once again at his home – took place during Lent, and so no meat or dairy was served. The wine and the mass held before the banquet were funded by a bequest from a deceased former member, while the brotherhood contributed to the costs of the fish course and the other lenten dishes.[58] The statement of expenses for this banquet is the source mentioned earlier in which we read twice in short succession that the event was held at the home of Jeroen van Aken who 'writes himself Jheronimus Bosch'.

Death and requiem mass

Hieronymus Bosch died in early August 1516. The municipal chronicle referred in 1516 and 1517 to 'a dangerous disease, of which many died as if it were the plague'.[59] Bosch may have been one of the victims. His funeral was organized by the Brotherhood of Our Lady, as was the custom when a sworn brother died. The formal requiem mass was celebrated in the brotherhood's chapel on the north side of St John's Church, next to the choir. The expenses incurred by Bosch's funeral were set out neatly once again in the accounts. We are fortunate to have this information, as it was not strictly necessary for it to be recorded: the ceremony lay officially outside the brotherhood's accounts, since it was the deceased member's 'friends' – that is to say his fellow brothers – who traditionally paid for this final token of respect. 'For the funeral of Jeroen van Aken, painter, on 9 August, Mr Willem Hameker, dean, one and a half pence for singing the mass and another halfpenny for his presence; the deacon and subdeacon, a penny each; all the other priests, singers, sacristans, bearers, gravediggers, bell-ringer and organ-blower, a halfpenny each; the choristers a farthing [*oordje*] each; and the poor before the chapel, one farthing each; making 27 pence, which was paid by the other brothers, and so is cancelled out here.' The sworn brothers

actually collected a little more than this amount, leaving the brotherhood with a penny profit on the event.[60] Hieronymus was thus remembered with a sung mass officiated by three clergymen – the priest, deacon and subdeacon, no doubt clad in black mourning chasubles and dalmatics. The presence of fellow members of the brotherhood, relatives, friends and acquaintances will have helped make this a worthy final tribute. The poor who gathered before the screen separating the brotherhood's chapel from the rest of the church received a small amount of alms. We do not know where Bosch was buried, but it is likely to have been in the churchyard, which was directly accessible from the north transept of the church and was used for burials from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards. It was located immediately alongside the brotherhood's chapel.[61] Interment in the chapel itself and in the choir of the church only occurred in exceptional cases, and St John's was, moreover, still undergoing major building work at the time.[62] When Symon van Couderborch – the scholar who became a sworn brother the same year as Bosch – died ten years later, the alterations were further advanced, which meant he could be buried inside the church at a spot just in front of the brotherhood's chapel.[63]

Versatile artist

In keeping with tradition, the commissions that Bosch received consisted of much more than panel paintings alone. Like other late-medieval artists he painted all manner of objects, produced designs for items as varied as stained-glass windows, embroidery and brasswork, and even consulted on the work of other artists and craftsmen. The records of the Brotherhood of Our Lady have survived almost intact and – combined with other archive material from 's-Hertogenbosch and with Bosch's surviving oeuvre – help us reconstruct the diverse range of activities in which he engaged in the course of his professional life.

In October 1475, the brotherhood consulted 'the painter Anthonius [van Aken] and his sons' regarding design drawings submitted by Adriaen van Wesel from Utrecht for a new altarpiece for its chapel.[64] If Hieronymus was one of those sons, this would be his first documented appearance. Whatever the case, Bosch would be involved for some considerable time with the execution and gradual expansion of this Marian altarpiece in carved oak, which Adriaen van Wesel delivered in 1477, and for which Hieronymus painted the lower set of wings around 1489.[65] We know from an early seventeenth-century description that they showed 'the history of Abigail who goes with food and gifts as a supplicant to David, to seek his forgiveness for an insult, and Solomon honouring Bathsheba'.[66] Two extra upper wings were added in the years 1490–95, with images of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (cat. 5–6).[67] Bosch did all this work as a sworn brother, probably without financial reward. Van Wesel's carvings were not polychromed or decorated with gold leaf until the years 1508/09 to 1510/11; Bosch, together with Jan Heyns, the architect of St John's, advised on the work.[68] The polychromy was not done in the Van Aken family workshop or by Bosch himself, but in another local painter's workshop.[69]

The earliest painting by Hieronymus Bosch so far identified – known only from archival sources – is the central panel of a triptych that adorned the high altar of St John's Church until 1615. It showed 'the six-day creation of the world'.[70] Bosch must have painted it some time around 1480–82, as the churchwardens signed an agreement with his brother, Goeswinus, on 30 June 1481 to supply the wings by 1 October 1482.[71] The triptych was described in the following terms in the mid-sixteenth century: 'the altar here (which is displayed more or less in the middle of the choir) shows two sets of painted scenes. Frequent viewings are allowed of the marvellous colours applied to the wood, which encompass life-like, monstrous creatures from the underworld'.[72] In other words, this was a triptych that was mostly kept closed, but which was regularly opened so that its wonderful colours could be admired. Bosch's central panel was criticized following an official visitation in December 1615, when it had already been moved from the choir to the ambulatory, due to its profusion of naked figures; the church's administrators were ordered to have it removed from the building.[73] The wings were purchased by the city of 's-Hertogenbosch a year later, on



FIG 11 Donatrix Henrickxen van Langel with a deceased swaddled baby and Saint Catherine, *Ecce Homo Triptych* (Boston), interior of right wing [CAT 24C]

4 January 1617, and placed in the town hall.[74] What happened to them subsequently is not known.

A painting by Bosch depicting 'the Three Kings offering gifts' was still located in the Lady Chapel next to the tower on the west side of St John's Church in the early seventeenth century.[75] This 'taeffereel van den drie coningen', together with Bosch's wings for the brotherhood's altarpiece, were among the works of art and other precious items removed from St John's for safekeeping in September 1566, when they risked being damaged or destroyed by iconoclasts. The items were returned to the church once the danger had abated.[76] Although this is not documented, the painting, along with many other of the church's contents, is also likely to have been moved when Saint John's came under Protestant control in 1629, following Prince Frederick Henry's capture of 's-Hertogenbosch.

The recently vaulted and refurbished Gothic choir at St John's had been the venue in 1481 for the fourteenth chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which brought the Habsburger Maximilian of Austria to the town, accompanied by his immediate family and his court. Count Engelbert II of Nassau was among the knights who attended the meeting. The painted shields that were installed at the time in the choir of the church – one of which was hung upside down in a porch as a token of the knight's disgrace and punishment – were the inspiration for the prototype, probably painted by Bosch, of the *Cure of Folly* or *Stone Operation* (cat. 33). The surviving version in the Prado dates from the early sixteenth century and may have been painted in Bosch's workshop. The commission possibly came from Philip of Burgundy – Admiral of the Netherlands and later Bishop of Utrecht, who was admitted to the Order of the Golden Fleece in Brussels in 1501.

There is not much documentary evidence regarding the more decorative work done by Hieronymus Bosch, but we do know a little about it. In 1487, for instance, he painted 'a new cloth and a deer's antlers' for the 'Geefhuis' (Holy Ghost Table).[77] The latter item probably refers to a chandelier made of antlers combined with a wooden sculpture, which his grandfather Jan van Aken had also painted a century earlier. The expense was recorded at that time as 'the painting of a sculpture standing on the antlers and the antlers themselves'.[78]

By 1491/92, the board on which the names of current and former sworn brothers were listed was full, and so the brotherhood decided to have it enlarged. Bosch seems to have added some painted decoration and possibly also text to the refurbished name-board. Eighteen pence was paid 'aside from what Hieronymus did, for which he made no charge and wished to donate to the brotherhood'.[79]

The windows of the brotherhood's chapel in St John's Church were decorated with stained glass, some of it designed by Bosch.[80] In 1492/93, on the recommendation of the architect and engraver Alart Duhameel, the brotherhood contracted the local stained-glass maker Willem Lombart to produce new glass 'after the sketch that Joen the painter was to make for him'.[81] An early seventeenth-century description of the chapel refers to the 'most artful windows' ('artificiosissima vitra'), which showed the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Circumcision of Christ and the Assumption of the Virgin; these might therefore have included a design by Bosch.[82] 'Joennen den maelder' was also paid for helping the same Willem Lombart so that 'the aforesaid glass should be well made'; the brotherhood recorded a separate payment for the linen ('a few old bedsheets') on which 'Joen die maelder' drew the designs.[83] Once again, Bosch's work as such does not appear in the accounts.

The wealthy Antwerp cloth-dresser Peeter Scheyfve, who held prominent positions in both the guild and the city council, commissioned the *Adoration of the Magi Triptych*, now in the Prado, from Hieronymus Bosch in about 1495. Scheyfve himself is depicted in the inside of the left wing and his wife Agnes de Gramme on the right; the closed wings of the memorial triptych show the donor's son and father (cat. 9). As far as we know, this is the first work by Bosch to find its way to Antwerp. The successful merchant and master of the mint Joris Vezelaer (1493–1570) almost certainly brought an inherited painting of the Seven Deadly Sins by Bosch or from the Van Aken workshop with him when he moved to Antwerp in around 1515 (see cat. 34). The Spanish merchant Diego de Haro and his 's-Hertogenbosch-born wife Johanna Pijnappel belonged to the same Antwerp business and

political elite as Peeter Scheyfve and Agnes de Gramme. The couple owned the triptych with Saints Job, Anthony and Jerome from Bosch's workshop (cat. 23); it was given a memorial function in Antwerp in around 1520, with the arms of two married couples – De Haro–Pijnappel and Van der Voirt–Smaechs – painted on the closed wings.

Some time around 1500, Peter van Os, whom we mentioned earlier, had Bosch's workshop expand a slightly earlier *Ecce Homo* panel to make a triptych showing Van Os and his wife as donors. A few years later, Franco van Langel's large family was added to the closed wings (cat. 24). The Ecce Homo scene is a somewhat free variation on the composition that Bosch himself painted in the 1480s, now in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt (cat. 11). FIG 11 FIGS 8–9

We have already referred to the payment in 1503/04 to 'Hieronymus's assistant painter' for painting the arms of three notable and extremely wealthy members of the Brotherhood of Our Lady, which were hung from the balusters (possibly donated by them) in the screen of the brotherhood's chapel in St John's.[84] They probably consisted of small bronze shields like the one discovered in the floor of the chapel.[85]

War with the Duchy of Guelders meant that, with a few short interludes, Duke Philip the Fair of Burgundy spent the period from 9 September 1504 to the end of May 1505 in 's-Hertogenbosch.[86] He must have commissioned Bosch to paint a large *Last Judgement* almost immediately, as the ducal accounts for that September include a preliminary payment for the painting, which Philip ordered 'pour son tres noble plaisir'.[87] The Duke undoubtedly knew what he would get for his money; it is safe to assume that Bosch had already demonstrated on several occasions just how fanciful a *Last Judgement* by him could be, although Philip is sure to have ordered one more beautiful and certainly larger than any other Bosch painting. Sadly, the work has not survived, assuming of course that it was ever actually finished; as far as we can tell, no further payment was made in respect of it, nor is there any report of its completion or delivery. The only work of comparable size is the Vienna *Last Judgement*, which includes several still mysterious elements, such as the figure of a donor in the underdrawing and initial painting of the central panel, who did not make it into the finished work (cat. 17).[88] Dendrochronological analysis of the panels shows that the triptych could have been produced from as early as 1476.[89] Lucas Cranach the Elder copied it for an unknown patron around 1520–25.[90] We do not know of any other large-format, autograph Last Judgement by Bosch. The smaller *Last Judgement Triptych* in Bruges was painted > 17.14



FIG 12 Alart Duhameel, *The Last Judgement*, c. 1490. Engraving. The British Museum, London

by Bosch at the beginning of the sixteenth century (cat. 16); Alart Duhameel's engraving from around 1490 might have been inspired by another, now-lost original by Bosch. A sixteenth-century reversed copy of the print explicitly refers to him at any rate: 'Hiëronymus Bos inventor'.[91]

FIG 12

A few years before Philip the Fair gave Bosch his commission, Engelbert II or Henry III – both counts of Nassau-Breda and members of the elite of the Burgundian-Habsburg empire – almost certainly had Hieronymus Bosch paint the *Garden of Earthly Delights* for their palace in Brussels, which stood almost next door to that of the Dukes of Burgundy (cat. 21). Bosch also received commissions in this period from the senior Burgundian civil servant Hippolyte de Berthoz, who was employed at the court. He ordered a Saint Anthony triptych between 1498 and 1503, which was purchased after his death by Philip the Fair as a gift for his father, Maximilian of Austria (see cat. 4). The Vienna *Last Judgement Triptych* was also painted for De Berthoz during the same period, probably around 1503; it includes his patron saint Hippolytus in one of the closed wings (cat. 17). Both the *Saint Anthony Triptych* and the *Last Judgement Triptych* found their way in the seventeenth century to the Habsburgs' palace complex at Coudenberg in Brussels.

FIGS 1, 10

The payment by the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 1511/12 for an embroidery design has already been discussed.[92] It was stated in the notes that blue brocade ('blaeu gulden laken') and numerous pearls had been purchased for a chasuble (the choice of cloth naturally reflected the fact that blue was the colour of the Virgin Mary). A payment was then made to 'Hieronymus the painter as he created the design for the cross'.[93] This was followed by an amount to 'Walter the embroiderer for making the cross on the gold chasuble'.[94] Several years later, the same embroiderer – Wouter Janssen van Culemborch – was commissioned to provide two matching blue brocade dalmatics with embroidered edging (*boerde*) designed by the painter 'Anthonius Goessenssoen', who was Hieronymus Bosch's nephew.[95] In other words, the embroidery designs for this set of three matching robes were prepared by Hieronymus and his nephew Anthonius, suggesting that this was an order placed with the family workshop. It would also explain why Bosch was paid by the brotherhood on this occasion. Anthonius too worked for the Brotherhood of Our Lady quite regularly; when he died during the 1516 epidemic, his heirs had to pay death dues to the association, of which he had been an ordinary member. The accounts note that half the amount owing – fifteen pence – was repaid in respect of 'certain paintings he had previously made for this brotherhood'.[96]

Hieronymus Bosch produced a design for a brass chandelier in 1512/13. The Brotherhood of Our Lady had received a donation to be paid to 'Jheronimo den maelder' for 'the pattern he has made for the chandelier', assuming that Bosch actually wanted to be paid, given that he was a sworn member.[97] The cost does not appear in the accounts either, so this was probably Bosch's way of contributing to the project, which was funded by several of the brothers. The chandelier might have been cast by the brass-founder Aert van Tricht, who was based in Maastricht.[98] Later entries in the accounts indicate that it was a candleholder topped with a sculpture.[99] Aert van Tricht had made the large baptismal font for St John's Church in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1492; the figures supporting it are also reminiscent of Bosch's work, as is the case with other brasswork by Van Tricht. It is no longer possible to determine whether Bosch supplied designs for casting in Maastricht. Contacts of this kind did exist, as witnessed by the fact that in 1493/94, Alart Duhameel – the sculptor and architect of St John's and of the Chapel of the Brotherhood of Our Lady – had Aert van Tricht cast brass balusters in Maastricht after models made in 's-Hertogenbosch.[100]

The figure of Alart Duhameel, who was also a sculptor and engraver, brings us to another aspect of Bosch's oeuvre. Several of Duhameel's prints display a close relationship with Bosch's drawings and paintings, especially his *Last Judgement* engraving,[101] which seems to have drawn on Bosch's versions of the subject, such as those in Bruges and Vienna (cat. 16, 17). In Duhameel's print, however, the mass of fighting angels, monsters and demons produces a chaotic tangle, whereas Bosch was always able to maintain a sense of balance and transparency.[102] The fool below the fountain in another print by Duhameel, the decorative foliage in the same print and the fountain ornament with a twisted column (on which sits

FIG 12

an early Manneken Pis) are similar to all sorts of details in Bosch's painted oeuvre, but also once again to Van Tricht's brasswork.[103] Other engravings by Duhameel can likewise be linked with Bosch's work, including the *War Elephant* and *Saint Christopher*. Some of the prints are inscribed with the word *bossche*, indicating that Duhameel made them during the period in which he lived and worked in 's-Hertogenbosch. > 7.2

Patrons

If we take the whole of Bosch's known oeuvre and the available written sources, three groups of patrons emerge: the Church, the Burgundian-Habsburg court and the wealthy bourgeoisie. As we have seen already, his principal sources of religious commissions were St John's Church and the Brotherhood of Our Lady, both in his native town. There are three memorial paintings, meanwhile, that point towards a Dominican abbey church, namely the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt, the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston and the *Job Triptych* in Bruges (cat. 11, 24, 23). This might, of course, be coincidental, as the Dominicans were present at lots of locations within the emerging towns and their abbey churches offered space for bourgeois tombs over and above that provided by parish churches. There is, however, a noteworthy archival reference that suggests there was also a direct link between Bosch and the Friars Preachers; in return for the painting he made for the high altar of their abbey church, the Brussels Dominicans undertook to devote an annual mass to the artist's salvation. Correspondence dating from 1638 reveals that the abbey had recently sold Bosch's altarpiece.[104] Karel van Mander refers in his 1604 *Schilder-boeck*, moreover, to a painted wing by Bosch he had seen in a collection in Haarlem, which depicted a miracle from the life of Saint Dominic.[105]

Bosch's work was much admired in the final years of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century at the Burgundian-Habsburg court of Duke Philip the Fair and his immediate circle. His sister, Margaret of Austria, owned a medium-sized panel in 1516 showing Saint Anthony,[106] while his mother-in-law Isabella I of Castile (died 25 November 1504) had a panel with Mary of Egypt (Maria Aegyptiaca), signed *jeronimus* in black letters on the lower member of the gilt frame.[107] Bishop Philip of Burgundy, the youngest illegitimate child of Philip the Fair's great-grandfather, acquired a version of the *Cure of Folly* (see cat. 33) probably not long after 1501. Count Engelbert II of Nassau and his nephew Henry III of Nassau, in whose palace the *Garden of Earthly Delights* hung in 1517 (cat. 21), were members of the intimate court circle, as was Hippolyte de Berthoz, who may be linked with both the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 17) and the *Saint Anthony Triptych* (cat. 4), which Maximilian of Austria gave to his son Philip the Fair. The *Adoration of the Magi* triptych – 'made by Hieronymus Bosch' ('faict par Jeronimus Bossche') and confiscated by the Duke of Alva in Brussels in 1567 – had the Van Bronckhorst and Boshuysen family arms on the closed wings, and might have been painted for the knight Andries van Bronckhorst (c. 1478–c. 1548), who married Wendelmoed van Boshuysen in about 1520. If we can take that 'made by Hieronymus Bosch' at face value, the coats of arms must have been added to the existing triptych at a later date, as also occurred with the *Job Triptych* (cat. 23).[108] FIGS 1, 10

Bosch and his workshop also received commissions from the wealthy bourgeoisie – a commercial and craft elite that had risen to the higher echelons of society and public administration. This is evident from a number of surviving paintings done for patrons in 's-Hertogenbosch and Antwerp, such as the Prado *Adoration of the Magi*, the Boston *Ecce Homo*, the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* and the *Job Triptych* with 'Holy Man Job', Saint Anthony and Saint Jerome in Bruges (cat. 9, 24, 11, 23). Hieronymus Bosch himself was an example of this upward mobility on the part of prosperous artisans, although it owed more in his case to sociocultural factors than to his financial status.

'Maker of Devils'

Dozens of different prints after and in the spirit of Hieronymus Bosch were produced in the course of the sixteenth century, particularly in Antwerp. Together with the countless copies and imitations on panel and canvas that also poured out of the city, they testify to the artist's growing popularity and to the steadily increasing interest in the demonic and caricatural aspects of his work. All this prompted the Netherlands-based Italian Lodovico Guicciardini, who published a description of the Low Countries in 1567, to include Bosch among the 'excellent painters', whose work enjoyed wider currency thanks to the engravings made and distributed by Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp. Guicciardini refers in his book to 'Hieronymus Bosch of 's-Hertogenbosch, a much admired and marvellous creator of fantastic figures and bizarre things'. He mentioned him a second time too, when he praised Pieter Bruegel as a 'great follower of Hieronymus Bosch's artistry and imagination, for which reason he is called the second Hieronymus Bosch'.[109] Marcus van Vaernewijck, an alderman of Ghent, described Bosch around the same time as a 'maker of devils, as no one could match him when it came to painting demons'.[110] Admiration for Bosch, and the way that admiration evolved, is nicely illustrated in both text and image by the first and later editions of Dominicus Lampsonius's portraits of celebrated northern painters.[111] The first edition, published in 1572 with an engraved portrait by Cornelis Cort, shows 'Hieronymo Boschio' in front of a neutral background. In a later edition published four decades later, by contrast, the engraving has been reworked by Hendrick Hondius to include a glimpse of hell – the subject to which Bosch chiefly owed his fame – in the background. The painter and author Karel van Mander used a Dutch translation of it to round off the account of Bosch's life and work in his 1604 *Schilder-boeck*:[112]

FIG 13

FIG 14



FIG 13 Cornelis Cort, *Hieronymus Bosch*.
Engraving in Dominicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae Inferioris effigies*, Antwerp (Hieronymus Cock) 1572



FIG 14 Hendrick Hondius, *Hieronymus Bosch*.
Etching in Dominicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium, præcipué Germaniæ inferioris, effigies*, The Hague (Hendrick Hondius) 1610



FIG 15 *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, central panel [CAT 4B]

FIGS 1, 15

Hieronymus Bosch, what means your frightened face
And pale appearance? It seems as though you just
Saw all infernal spectres fly close around your ears.
I think that all the deepest rings of miserly Pluto
Were revealed, and the wide habitations of Hell
Opened to you – because you are so artful
In painting with your right hand depictions
Of all that the deepest bowels of Hell contain.

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1 'Aken' is Dutch for Aachen. Archief ILVB, inv. 49 fol. 34; Van Dijck 2001a, 107.

2 Archief ILVB, inv. 125 fol. 186r–v; Vink 2001a, 89.

3 Archiefs départementales du Nord, Lille, Série B 2185, fol. 230v. Dehaisnes 1881, 307; Gerlach 1988 (1967), 47; Van Dijck 2001a, 91; Koldeweij 2014, 401–02. See below.

4 Gorissen 1973, 1100–03, 1129–65; Van Dijck 2001a, 14–16; Vink 2001a, 88–89; Scholten 2014, 51.

5 Archief ILVB, inv. 118 fol. 9r; Vink 2001a, 50.

6 Van Dijck 2001a, 16–20.

7 Van Dijck 2001a, 23–30.

8 Van Dijck 2001a, 31–32.

9 The current building is at 29 Markt. Its name in 1569 was 'Inden Ryder'. Van Drunen 2006, 400; Van Drunen/Vink 1996, 352–53; indirectly also Van Dijck 2001a, 171, where a butcher and a pewterer are listed as neighbours.

10 Van Dijck 2001a, 30–31; Vink 2001a, 47.

11 Archief ILVB, inv. 122, fol. 330, payment of membership dues: 'Goessen de maelder A[n]thonis s'. Van Dijck 2001a wrongly states that this refers to death dues. Goessen was still liable for tax on the house 'St. Thoenis' on the Markt in 1496/97 and the years that followed. There is a reference on 30 June 1501 to the estate of 'Goeswinus de Maelre' (Goeswinus the painter) and on 29 December 1502 to Katharina, widow of the late Goeswinus van Aken, painter. Van Dijck 2001a, 180; Vink 2001a, 29.

12 Van Dijck (2001a, 31, 179) interprets this payment as evidence that she was a painter too, but there is no evidence of this whatsoever. Katharina died in 1526 as 'Goessen's widow'. Archief ILVB, inv. 128 fol. 52r.

13 Van Dijck 2001a, 31–32.

14 Some time around New Year 1481, Goessen bought the shares his brothers Jan and Hieronymus and his sister Herbertke had inherited in the house on the Markt, which made him the sole owner. There is no mention in this transaction of the other sister, Katharina (born 1442), who must either have died by this date or have entered a convent. Accompanied by a guardian, she had sold her sources of income in 1474. Stadsarchief, 's-Hertogenbosch, Bosch Protocol R 1243, fol. 243v, 5 April 1474 and fol. 286r, 26 July 1474. Van Dijck 2001a, 166; Van Drunen 2006, 482 n. 121; Vink 2001a, 89–90.

[15] Scholten 2014; Van Drunen 2006, 56–57; Van Dijck 2001a, 34; Vink 2001a, 29–31.

[16] The first time Hieronymus appears in a legal document on his own account, as an adult, is in a municipal record of 1481. In most regions at the time, one's legal majority was reached at the age of twenty-four. He appeared in two documents dating from 1474 with his father in one case and his father, brothers and sister in the other. This suggests that he was born after 1450 and before 1457. Vink 2001a, 89–90.

[17] Several members of later generations of the family were named after the celebrated painter: Jheronimus Jansz van Aken (1505–1578) and Jheronimus Gerardsz van Aken (1555–1596). Van Dijck 2001a, 82.

[18] Stadsarchief, 's-Hertogenbosch, Bosch Protocol R 1243, fol. 286r, 26 July 1474. Van Dijck 2001a, 166.

[19] Stadsarchief, 's-Hertogenbosch, Bosch Protocol R 1243, fol. 243v, 5 April 1474. Van Dijck 2001a, 166.

[20] Vink 2001a, 87–88.

[21] Van den Bichelaer 1998, 450 n. 639.

[22] Vink 2001a, 16.

[23] Gerlach 1967, 51; Van Dijck 2001a, 44, 166.

[24] Van Dijck 2001a, 42, 46, 72–74.

[25] Gerlach 1967, 52; Vink 2001a, 23; Van Dijck 2001a, 44–48.

[26] Van Dijck 2001a, 46.

[27] Van Dijck 2001a, 49.

[28] Mosmans 1947, 24; Van Dijck 2001a, 46–47.

[29] Mosmans 1947, 24–25, 76–77; Vink 2001a, 23.

[30] Van Dijck 2001a, 50; Vink 2001a, 90–91.

[31] Van Dijck 2001a, 48; Vink 2001a, 34–35, 90; Blondé and Vlieghe 1990 take the contrary view.

[32] *Zettingen* were one-off municipal taxes, which were levied when the city needed funds in the short term; *ruitergeld* was collected to finance the Burgundian cavalry in the war against Guelders. They were both calculated, albeit not according to the same formula, based on personal wealth (capital and real estate) and the rental value of the house. Vink 2001a, 26–27, 108–09.

[33] Vink 2001a, 34–35.

[34] Vink 2001a, 26–27, 107–09.

[35] For the name and ownership of the house, see Van Dijck 2001a, 46, 168; Van Drunen 2006, 209–10.

[36] 'al sulcken huysraet ende gueden'. Van Dijck 2001a, 31–34, 48–49, 185.

[37] Van Drunen (2006, 56), by contrast, assumes that Bosch had a workshop on the ground floor of the house.

[38] These were as follows in 1492: Baudewinus, son of Baudewinus Maes; Lambertus, son of Lamberti Arnts; Johannes Everits; Johannes Bauwens and Wilhelmus, son of Henricus van den Venne. In 1515 they were Laurentius and Theodericus, sons of Gerard Michiels. Van Dijck 2001a, 176, 184–85; Vink 2001a, 91.

[39] These were Johannes die Brouwer; Henricus, son of Wilhelmus Wouters; Bartholomeus Janssoen; Stephanus, son of Johannes van Herler and Godefridus, son of Willelmus Goyarts. Van Dijck 2001a, 177; Vink 2001a, 91.

[40] Van Dijck 2001a, 176.

[41] Only panels of the highest quality, made from Baltic oak, appear to have been used for the surviving paintings. See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[42] Stadsarchief, 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief Rijke Claren, no. 51, manualen, 1521/22, unfoliated, 'Inkomsten Renten'. Vink 2001a, 29; Vink 2001b, 21.

[43] A detailed account of the fire can be found in the chronicle of St Gertrude's Convent. Van Bavel, Kappelhof, Van der Velden and Verbeek 2001, ad 1463. Mosmans 1947 claimed, rather extraordinarily, that the fire did not reach Anthonius van Aken's house. The architectural historian Ronald Glaudemans has indicated that the roof trusses of the adjoining buildings date from after the fire. It has not been possible so far to inspect the house at 29 Markt (now called 'De kleine Winst'). Van Drunen 2006, 399–400.

[44] Hezenmans 1876, 270; Van Dijck 1973, 125–26; Van Dijck 2001a, 28–29, 158–59. There is a fair degree of confusion in the literature about the precise sequence of events concerning the altarpiece.

[45] Archief ILVB, inv. 119, fol. 260r. Gerlach 1967, 51, 59 n. 90; Mosmans 1947, 13; Van Dijck 2001a, 162–63; Vink 2001a, 79.

[46] 'Item vanden dueren der verborder taeffelen tot Thonis die Maelre te halen ende op dat wulfsel te setten …'. Archief ILVB, inv. 119, fol. 317v. Gerlach 1967, 51; Mosmans 1947, 13; Van Dijck 2001a, 163.

[47] The old chapel was replaced by the architect Alart Duhameel in the period 1470–90, so the altarpiece wings must have been moved somewhere else fairly quickly. Vink 2001a, 45; Peeters 1985, 206–09.

[48] 'doeren van onser liever vrouwen alde taeffel'. Archief ILVB, inv. 121, fol. 113v. Gerlach 1967, 52; Mosmans 1947, 13; Van Dijck 1973, 125–26; Van Dijck 2001a, 170.

[49] Van Drunen and Vink 1996, 352–53.

[50] Van Drunen 2006, 57, 400.

[51] Archief ILVB, inv. 124, fol. 190v. Van Dijck 2001a, 73, 180; Van Dijck 1973, 138; Hezenmans 1876, 350. The three donors belonged to the city's wealthiest elite; Schuttelaars 1998, 303 and 315.

[52] See below. Vink 2001a, 101–02; Koldeweij 2001a, 66–70.

[53] Archief ILVB, inv. 122, fol. 42v, 95r. Van Dijck 2001a, 172, 174; Vink 2001a, 94–98.

[54] Jan Heyns, architect of St John's Church, was likewise identified with reference to his profession when he was admitted as a sworn member in 1495/96. No other brothers with a similarly 'low' social background appear to have been accepted. Archief ILVB, inv. 123, fol. 8r. Vink 2001a, 96, 98.

[55] Symon van Couderborch was buried in the north transept in front of the Brotherhood of Our Lady's chapel in 1526. We can just about make out on his heavily abraded tombstone that he was depicted there with the insignia of the brotherhood pinned to the short right sleeve of his cloak. Van Oudheusden and Tummers 2010, III, 58–61 no. 293.

[56] The item cannot be interpreted as meaning that 'Jeroen' had recently become a 'maelder' (painter) and Symon a 'scoelmeester' (schoolmaster). Cf. Van den Bichelaer 1998, Appendix I no. 225; Van Dijck 2012, 226–27.

[57] Archief ILVB, inv. 122, fol. 126v. Van Dijck 2001a, 175; Vink 2001a, 97.

[58] Archief ILVB, inv. 125, fol. 186r–v. Van Dijck 2001a, 182; Vink 2001a, 97–98.

[59] 'een ververlycke siecte … daer mennich mensch af storff oft pestilencie geweest hadde'. Mosmans 1947, 36; Hermans 1846, 79; Van Dijck 2001a, 49.

[60] 'Ter lester exequie van Jeronimus van Aken maelder ixa Augusti heren Willem Hameker deken 1 1/2 st., want hy die misse gesongen heeft ende voer zyn presentie 1/2 st., diaken ende subdiaken elcken 1 st., allen anderen priesteren, sengheren, costeren, bastonieren, graftmekeren, beyerman, orgenblaeser, elcken 1/2 st., den choralen elcken 1 oert ende den armen voer tchoer elcken 1 d. tot iii st. toe, videlicet xxvii st. die de vrienden betaelt hebben, daerom hier niet'. Archief ILVB, inv. 126, fol. 119v, fol. 166v. Gerlach 1967, 57: the '1 d.' was omitted in the transcription. Van Dijck (2001a, 186) wrongly read *lid* (member) instead of '1 d.' for the poor.

[61] Van de Vrie and Janssen 1997, 131; Van de Vrie and Vink 1997, 227.

[62] Van Dijck 1973, 144, 466.

[63] See note 55 above.

[64] 'thonys den maelder ende syn zoenen'. Archief ILVB, inv. 120, fol. 208r–v. Gerlach 1967, 51; Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 34–44; Van Dijck 2001a, 167; Vink 2001a, 48–50, 100; Koldeweij 2001a, 70–80.

[65] The joiner Goyart Cuper delivered the wings that were 'to be painted' ('dieme[n] soude doen stofferen') in 1488/89. Bosch was recorded as the painter of the wings over half a century later, in 1545/46. Archief ILVB, inv. 122, fol. 128r; inv. 131, fol. 307v. Van Dijck 2001a, 96; Vink 2001a, 103–04.

[66] 'historiam Abigaelis quomodo Davidi supplex cum muneribus et commeatu offensam deprecata et Solomon Bersabeem obvius veneratus est.' Van Balen, Loeff and Everswijn 1608, fol. 10r–v; Gramaye 1610, 21; Mosmans 1947, 69; Gerlach 1967, 100, 103–04 n. 49; Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 37–38; Van Dijck 2001a, 119–20; Koldeweij 2001a, 66–68, 70.

[67] Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 70–78; Koldeweij 2003 (2002), 439–41.

[68] Archief ILVB, inv. 125, fol. 121v–22r. The overall sequence is discussed in Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980; Van Dijck 1973, 126–28; Van Dijck 2001a, 182; Vink 2001a, 101–06.

[69] Van Wesel agreed to supply the carving and the altarpiece case, with upper and lower sets of wings, for the price of 350 Rhenish florins; thirty years later, over 462 florins were paid for the polychromy of the carved figures. Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 35, 56, 70.

[70] 'opus Creationis Hexameron munndi'. Van Balen, Loeff and Everswijn 1608, fol. 10r–v; Gramaye 1610, 21; Schutjes 1873, 194; Mosmans 1947, 69; Gerlach 1967, 100, 103–04 n. 49; Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 37–38; Van Dijck 2001a, 119–20; Koldeweij 2001a, 66–68, 70.

[71] Van Dijck 2001a, 170; Vink 2001a, 101.

[72] Desmense 1995, 30–31.

[73] Gerlach 1988 (1967), 60, 62; Frenken 1963–64, 108.

[74] Bergé 1990, 441 and 606 n. 25; Van Zuijlen 1866, 1236–37.

[75] 'oblatio munerum Trium Regum'. Van Balen, Loeff and Everswijn 1608, fol. 10r–v; Gramaye 1610, 21; Schutjes 1873, 194–95; Mosmans 1947, 69; Gerlach 1967, 100, 103–04 n. 49; Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 37–38; Van Dijck 2001a, 119–20; Koldeweij 2001a, 66–68, 70.

[76] Van Zuijlen 1863b, 751; Schutjes 1873, 194; Gerlach 1988 (1967), 56.

[77] 'van enen nyeuwen clede ende van enen hertshoren te stofferen'. Stadsarchief, 's-Hertogenbosch, H.-Geesttafel, inv. 412, 1487–88; inv. 636, 1487-88; Van Dijck 2001a, 174; Vink 2001a, 102–03.

[78] 'van 1 beelde staende op ten hoeren ende van den hoeren te malen'. 's-Hertogenbosch, Stadsarchief, H.-Geesttafel, inv. 634, 1439/40; Van Dijck 2001a, 147; Vink 2001a, 102–03.

[79] 'boven dat Joen der op gemaict heeft, dair hy nyet af en nam en der voirs. scencken woude'. Archief ILVB, inv. 122, fol. 224r; Van Dijck 2001a, 175; Vink 2001a, 95, 106.

[80] Van Dijck 1973, 138–39; Koldeweij 1990a, 14; Vink 2001a, 106.

[81] 'nae den proeven dat Joen die maelder hem soude maken'. Archief ILVB, inv. 122, fol. 294r–95r. Gerlach 1967, 53–54; Van Dijck 2001a, 176–77; Vink 2001a, 106. Ester Vink's transcription has *proeven* (proofs) rather than *patroen* (pattern).

[82] Stadskroniek van Everswijn, Loeff and Van Balen, afschrift genootschap (photocopy Stadsarchief, 's-Hertogenbosch, 22); original now in the Rijksarchief 's-Hertogenbosch, aanwinsten 1889 nr. 63/68, 10. Van Dijck (1973, 139) cites more stained glass, including work by the Brussels craftsman Jan Duegens in 1492/93.

[83] 'tvoirscreven gelaes mucht wael wesen gemaeckt'. Archief ILVB, inv. 122, fol. 294r–95r. Gerlach 1967, 54; Van Dijck 2001a, 177.

[84] Archief ILVB, inv. 124, fol. 190v. Hezenmans 1876, 350; Van Dijck 1973, 138; Van Dijck 2001a, 180. The three donors belonged to the city's wealthiest elite; Schuttelaars 1998, 303, 315; Vink 2001a, 107.

[85] Koldeweij 1990a, 240 no. 145; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, no. 4.7.

[86] Van Heurn 1776–78, I, 408; Sasse van Ysselt 1910–14, III, 212; Koldeweij 1990a, 369–70; Van Lith-Droogleever Fortuyn, Sanders, Van Synghel 1997, 298–301; Fischer 2009, 92–93, 97. Fischer states, without citing the source, that Philip and Maximilian were also present together in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1499; Fischer 2009, 92.

[87] 'Septembre l'an xv^{c} quatre./ A Jeronimus Van aeken dit bosch paintre dem[eurant]/ au boisleduc La somme de trente six livres/ du[dict] pris En prest et paiement a bon compte/ Sur ce quil povoit et pourroit estre deu/ sur vng grant tableau de paincture de neuf/ pietz de hault et unze pietz de long Ou doit/ estre le Jugement de dieu assavoir paradis et/ Infer que icellui S[eigneu]r lui avoit ordonné faire po[ur]/ son tres noble plaisir Pour ce icy par sa quictan[ce]/ cy Rend[ue] lad[icte] somme de [–] xxxvj L[ivres].' It is also confirmed in the margin of this account item that payment had been made: 'Soit ce prest rabatu a la parpaye'. Lille, Archiefs départementales du Nord, Série B 2185, fol. 230v. Dehaisnes 1881, 307; Gerlach 1988 (1967), 47; Van Dijck 2001a, 91; Koldeweij 2014, 401–02.

[88] Koreny 2012, 138.

[89] Adjusted dating BRCP. Vermet (2001, 88) and Klein (2001, 124) posit from 1476–82. It is incorrectly suggested in Koldeweij 2014 (402 and 423) that dendrochronological analysis indicated a creation date in the early sixteenth century.

[90] Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978, 89–90 no. 99 (dated c. 1515); Heydenreich 2007, 311; Cranach Digital Archief, E_smbGG_563a-c, <http://www.lucascranach.org/digitalarchief.php> (accessed May 2015).

[91] Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Lehrs, GKK, 235–36; Bass and Wyckoff 2015, 130–35.

[92] Archief ILVB, inv. 125, fol. 295v. Gerlach 1967, 56; Van Dijck 2001a, 183; Vink 2001a, 110–11.

[93] 'Jeronimo die maelder want hy patroon van den cruce heeft gemaect'.

[94] 'Wouteren borduersticker voor tmaken vanden cruce op die gulden casufel'.

[95] Archief ILVB, inv. 126, fol. 81v. De Bodt 1990, 486; Van Dijck 2001a, 184.

[96] 'zeker schilderien die hij deser bruederschap voertijden gemaect heeft'. Archief ILVB, inv. 126, fol. 176v. Van Dijck 2001a, 185 (with incorrect folio number).

[97] 'het patroen vanden croenen twelcke hij gemaect heeft'. Archief ILVB, inv. 125, fol. 325r. Gerlach 1967, 56; Van Dijck 1973, 143; Van Dijck 2001a, 183; Vink 2001a, 57, 111.

[98] The brass-founder Aert van Tricht cast bronze balusters for St John's in 1493 and 1495/96 based on wooden models made by the architect, sculptor and engraver Alart Duhameel in 's-Hertogenbosch. Koldeweij 1981, 11. Duhameel also designed the enclosure around the miracle-working statue of the Virgin Mary in St John's, for which the same brass-founder was paid in 1493. Stadsarchief, 's-Hertogenbosch, collectie Mosmans no. 13 (note dated 16 March 1931). A century and a half later, in 1640/41, this 'enclosure from the Chapel of Our Lady' ('tuyn, die uut het L. Vrouwe choor beneden was') on the west side of the church, which weighed 2,800 pounds, was among the items melted down for the casting of new bells for St John's churchtower. Hezenmans 1866, 292; Sasse van Ysselt 1909.

[99] There is a reference in 1550/51 to 'a sculpture on the chandelier that was broken and had to be soldered' ('een beeldt op die croen gebroken ende weder laten zouderen'). This was apparently a regular occurrence, as another payment is recorded in June 1554, a few years later, to 'Jasper the brass-founder in Mechelen, for cleaning and repairing our metal chandelier and for replacing the missing parts' ('Iasparen de geelgieter van Mechelen van ons metalen croen schoen te maken ende repareren ende tgeene daer aen verlooren was weder an te maken'). Further cleaning was required in 1580/81, by which time the 'metal crown' ('metale croon'), like the other brasswork in the chapel, had become 'very black and dirty' ('seer swart ende onreijn'). Archief ILVB, Rekening, 1580/81.

[100] Archief ILVB, inv. 122, fol. 294r. Koldeweij 1981, 8–11; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 41–46.

[101] Lehrs 1894, no. 2; Lehrs, GKK, Duhameel, no. 2. Bass and Wyckoff 2015, 20–24, 130–35; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 70; Unverfehrt 1980, 241–42; Koldeweij 2001a, 44–47; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, nos. 5.1–5.13.

[102] Max J. Friedländer nevertheless believed that a drawing by Hieronymus Bosch served as model for the print. Friedländer ENP V 1969, 70.

[103] Lehrs, GKK, Duhameel, no. 8. Koldeweij 2001a, 44–47; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001 no. 5.2.

[104] Michael Ophovius (1570–1637), who joined the Dominican Order and was ordained Bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1626, tried in vain during the priorate of Petrus Dufay (1627–29) to acquire the altarpiece Bosch had painted for the Dominican abbey in Brussels. Archives Générales du Royaume/Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels, Archives Ecclésiast. en Brabant, 12029/2 (olim MS 21627), fol. 250v–51v. Frenken 1936–37, 62; Van Dijck 2001a, 123; Vandenbroeck 2002, 326–27.

[105] Van Mander 1604, fol. 216v: 'TLeven van Ieronimus Bos. … Te Haerlem ten huyse van Const-liefdighen Ioan Dietring, heb ick ghesien van hem verscheyden dinghen/ deuren met eenighe heylighen: onder ander/ daer eenighen Sanct Monick wesende/ met verscheyden Ketters disputerende/ doet alle hun boecken met oock zijnen legghen op het vyer/ en wiens Boeck niet verbrande/ die soude recht hebben/ ende des Sancts Boeck vlieght uyt het vyer/ dat seer aerdigh gheschildert was/ alsoo wel het branden des vyers/ als de roockende houten verbrandt en met de asschen becleedt wesende: den Sanct met zijnen gheselle seer statigh siende/ ende d'ander bootsighe vreemde tronien hebbende …' We have no further information regarding this panel and its authenticity cannot be verified. The subject is an unusual one, however, and Van Mander is categorical in his description. Pigler 1974, 431; Vandenbroeck 2002, 399.

[106] Le Glay 1839, 480; Gerlach 1988 (1967), 56; Van Dijck 2001a, 92; Vandenbroeck 2002, 177.

[107] Sánchez Cantón 1950, 183; Van Dijck 2001a, 59, 91; Vandenbroeck 2002, 324–25.

[108] De Jaeger family tree, https://www.genealogieonline.nl/en/genealogie-de-jaeger/I5799.php (accessed 26 April 2015). Gerlach 1978–79, 83–88; Van Dijck 2001a, 62–63, 100.

[109] In the original Italian version: 'Girolamo Cock inventore, & gran' divulgatore per via di stampa dell'opere di Girolamo Bosco, & d'altri eccelenti Pittori'; 'Girolamo bosco di Bolduc, inventore nobilissimo, & maraviglioso di cose fantastiche & bizarre'; 'Pietro Brueghel di Breda grande imitatore della scienza, & fantasie di Girolamo Bosco, onden n'ha anche acquistato il sopranome di secondo girolamo Bosco'. Guicciardini 1567, 98–99.

[110] 'duvelmakere, omdat zijne gelijcke niet uut en quam van duvelen te maken'. Van Vaernewijck ed. 1872, 156; Van Dijck 2001a, 100.

[111] Lampsonius 1572; Lampsonius 1610.

[112] Van Mander (Miedema) 1994–99, I, fol. 216v–17r. Lampsonius's text, printed under the engravings, reads as follows: 'HIERONIMO BOSCHIO PICTORI./ Quid sibi vult, Hironyme Boschi,/ Ille oculus tuus attonitus?/ Quid/ Pallor in ore? velut lemures si/ Spectra Erebi volitantia coram/ Aspiceres? Tibi Ditis avari/ Crediderim patuisse recessus/ Tartareasque domos tua quando/ Quicquid habet sinus imus Averni/ Tam potuit bene pingere dextra.' (Dis: Pluto, god of the underworld; Erebus: god of darkness; Tartarus: the underworld; Avernus: entrance to the underworld in Virgil's *Aeneid*).



CHAPTER II

What is a Bosch?

Value and valuation

Good art is rare, exclusive, expensive and desirable. To its owner, the work of art is something to enjoy, a token of piety, an aid to devotion, a symbol. Art is prestigious and, when offered as a gift, an effective means of buying favour. It is political too; and the more exclusive the art, the more political it can be.

The *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21) is just such a highly exclusive work. It is large, its subject matter bold, and its execution full of confidence. It is a painting that brims with ambition; a painting that cries out to be possessed. Prince William of Orange was confronted by this desirability when, on 20 January 1568, his property was confiscated by the Spanish general Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alva. William himself had already fled in the meantime to the German town of Dillenburg in Hessen, abandoning his possessions at the Hôtel de Nassau, his palace on Coudenberg in Brussels. The goods seized by Alva, whom King Philip II of Spain had recently appointed governor of the Low Countries, included 'ung grand tableau de Jeronimus Bosch', thought to have been the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The triptych had earlier passed from Henry III of Nassau to René of Chalon and then, in 1544, to William of Orange, who was able to enjoy the original work for almost a quarter of a century.

At the time, it was already recognized as a Bosch original, prompting Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, cardinal and counsellor of Philip II, to commission a copy of it in the form of a tapestry in 1566. The result was evidently a success, as the very same Duke of Alva promptly asked to borrow the copy to have his own tapestry made from it. Odet Viron, Granvelle's agent, seems to have been less than keen on this suggestion, replying to Alva that 'le principal est sur le prince d'Orange' and that it would be much better to make a copy after the original painting.[1]

Not that this let Granvelle off the hook (he clearly feared he would never see his tapestry again): after Alva had confiscated the original from William, he approached the cardinal again to demand the tapestry as well. The Spanish general wanted it all. All the same, Granvelle's fears proved ungrounded: once Alva had his copy, the first tapestry was returned. There must, incidentally, have been at least three tapestry copies of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* in that period, since another is listed in 1542 in the collection of King Francis I of France. This shows that Bosch's work, however unconventional it might have been, was admired in the very highest circles. More than that, it was thought worthy of being copied on the large scale of a tapestry – an extremely expensive art form. What mattered, moreover, was not just the image, but also the name of the artist responsible for the original artwork; it was noted in each case that the design was an invention of Hieronymus Bosch, even though the original *Garden of Earthly Delights* – the 'principal' referred to in the records – was not signed.

Similar appreciation is already found during Bosch's own life among the municipal and regional elites, and the highest echelons of the Burgundian realm, as witnessed by the various commissions Bosch received and from inventories listing paintings by him. The Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Fair, commissioned a *Last Judgement* from Bosch in 1504,[2] while the Counts of Nassau owned the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, which was hanging in their palace

FIG 1 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Lisbon) [CAT 4B]

in Brussels in 1517, the year after Bosch's death. Hippolyte de Berthoz, a senior official at the Burgundian court, owned a triptych with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, which his son Charles was obliged to sell to Philip the Fair; the latter presented it in turn to his father, the powerful Maximilian of Austria. De Berthoz was, moreover, the likely commissioner of the *Last Judgement* now in the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna (cat. 17). Bosch and his workshop received commissions from prominent burghers and prelates from the 1480s onwards.[3]

These orders were carried out either by Bosch himself, in collaboration with assistants, or in the workshop without the master's own input; we have very little idea of the circumstances that determined the respective approaches. Some works were signed with the (prestigious?) name 'Jheronimus bosch', others were not. At any rate, the signature does not appear to relate consistently to the status, chronology or autograph nature of the work. The *Garden of Earthly Delights* and the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 21, 17) are not signed, while the other surviving triptychs were all inscribed with the painter's name in the central panel (*Hermit Saints*, *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, *Saint Wilgefortis*, *Adoration of the Magi*, the Bruges *Last Judgement* and the *Haywain* [cat. 2, 4, 8, 9, 16 and 20]). *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6) – the wing of a larger, carved altarpiece – was also signed. All the other panels and former wings are unsigned, with the exception of *Saint Christopher* (cat. 7).

Original and autograph

Copies, imitations and forgeries too were sometimes – for obvious reasons – inscribed in Gothic letters with the painter's name. Felipe de Guevara already raised the issue in his *Comentarios de la pintura* around 1560: 'So are there countless paintings in this style that are falsely inscribed with the name of Hieronymus Bosch; they are paintings on which he would never have thought of laying a hand, but are made with limited talent and with smoke, that is to say by making them appear old by smoking them in a chimney.... but it is right to warn that among these imitators of Hieronymus Bosch, there is one who was his pupil and who, out of respect for his master, or to give his works a good name, inscribed the name Bosch on his paintings and not his own. And they are nevertheless paintings very much to be esteemed, and those who own such works ought to be aware of their value, as this painter emulated his master in terms of invention and morals, as he was more diligent and patient in his work than Bosch, and because his work did not deviate in style, elegance or colour from that of his master.'[4] De Guevara then cited as an example of such work – that is, signed imitations – a panel in the Escorial, which may be identified as *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (cat. 34). This intriguing panel which, according to Antonio Ponz's 1788 edition of De Guevara's text, was kept in Philip II's bedchamber at the Escorial, the room in which the king also died, does indeed raise questions about its authenticity: the execution of the underdrawing and of the painting differs from that of other works by Bosch and his immediate circle, as does the support, which is made of poplar. The signature on the painting does not prove, therefore, that it was done by Bosch himself. In which case, what does the signature mean? Does *The Seven Deadly Sins* come from the master's workshop? Is it a deliberate forgery? Or is it actually a homage to Bosch, referring to his inventiveness or to the genre of moralizing paintings in general? Whatever the case, autograph status and quality were evidently important to Felipe de Guevara and his contemporaries.

Versions and variations

Our efforts to answer the question 'what is a Bosch' are complicated by a phenomenon that goes unmentioned in the early art literature on Bosch – either in De Guevara or De Sigüenza in Spain, or in Karel van Mander in the Low Countries – namely that of versions and variations. There are indications that Bosch's workshop did not only produce 'originals' but

also replicas of those originals, no doubt to order and for commercial reasons. This means that not only products of the highest quality left the workshop, but also paintings of lesser quality. Although insufficient research has been performed so far into the earliest copies and imitations, and although we do not yet have sufficient insight into the functioning of Bosch's workshop, there are plenty of reasons for raising the issue here.

A good example is provided by the *Haywain*, of which two versions are currently known: the principal one in the Prado (cat. 20) and a copy in the Escorial. What the status of this copy is – where, when, by whom, for whom, and why it was produced – is not known. Both versions have been in the the Spanish royal collection for centuries, and were used to decorate the king's palaces. A now-famous archival source states that Mencía de Mendoza – the wealthy and powerful widow of Henry III of Nassau – instructed her Antwerp agent, the Spanish merchant Arnao del Plano, in 1539 to find her a version of Bosch's *Haywain*. Her own version had been lost, and she now wanted a new one.[5] Although this is not evidence in itself that copies of a successful composition were already being produced in Bosch's workshop, Mencía's request to ascertain whether other versions were available does not appear to have been particularly unusual. What is more, while the two autograph versions of the *Wayfarer* – on the *Haywain Triptych* and the version in Rotterdam (cat. 19A) – are not identical, their existence shows that Bosch had no qualms about producing different versions of the same theme.

> 20A–C
> 20.14–15

There are reasons to assume that this was also the case with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4). Two versions of the central panel of this triptych, one in Philadelphia and the other in São Paulo, include details which Bosch might once have painted, but which were overpainted before the work was completed.[6] We can infer from this that different versions of the subject were produced in Bosch's workshop. Whether or not these were all autograph and whether the versions of lesser quality in Philadelphia and São Paulo also came from the workshop remains to be seen.[7]

> 4.22, 4.23

The notion that different versions of a painting were made at a very early stage, actually in Bosch's workshop, is reinforced by the mysterious case of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 17). This painting – or at any rate its invention – must have been highly esteemed, judging by the extremely faithful copy that Lucas Cranach made after it. As far as we can tell at this point, the two triptychs do not appear to have coincided historically: Cranach painted his copy in around 1520–25, whereas he was in the Low Countries in 1508. There are indications that the version in Vienna was produced in Bosch's workshop for St Saviour's Church in Bruges. These circumstances might point towards an early second version, whether or not from Bosch's workshop, which was accessible to Cranach from the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

> 17.14

The surviving versions of a Crowning with Thorns represent a different scenario. The best-quality (unsigned) version is in the Escorial (cat. 27). The painting was attributed to Bosch for centuries but, in view of the dating of the oak panel, cannot be autograph.[8] A somewhat lesser-quality variation, painted on wood that is slightly older but still too recent for Bosch, is signed and serves as the central panel of a triptych in Valencia (cat. 28). The latter variation must have been highly esteemed, as it was installed in the sixteenth century in the Capilla de los Reyes in the Dominican abbey in Valencia near Mencía de Mendoza's grave.[9] Two other copies belong to the collection of the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid and to the Carmelite monastery in Salamanca.[10] The version now in the Escorial is straightforwardly described as the work of Bosch in the inventory of goods that Philip II donated to the monastery-palace in 1593: 'Another painting on panel in oil paint of the Crowning of Christ Our Lord with five torturers, painted in a circle and surrounded by various drolleries of *Hieronymo Bosco*; dark coloured with gilded and marbled frames; it is 2 *vara* [*vara* = almost 84 cm] and 1 *sesma* [one sixth of a *vara*] high and 2 *vara* and 2 *tercia* [*tercia* = almost 28 cm] long, which came together with that [painting].'[11]

Although the *Ecce Homo* in the Boston triptych (cat. 24) does not share the quality of the version in Frankfurt (cat. 11), we have to assume that the painting was done in Bosch's

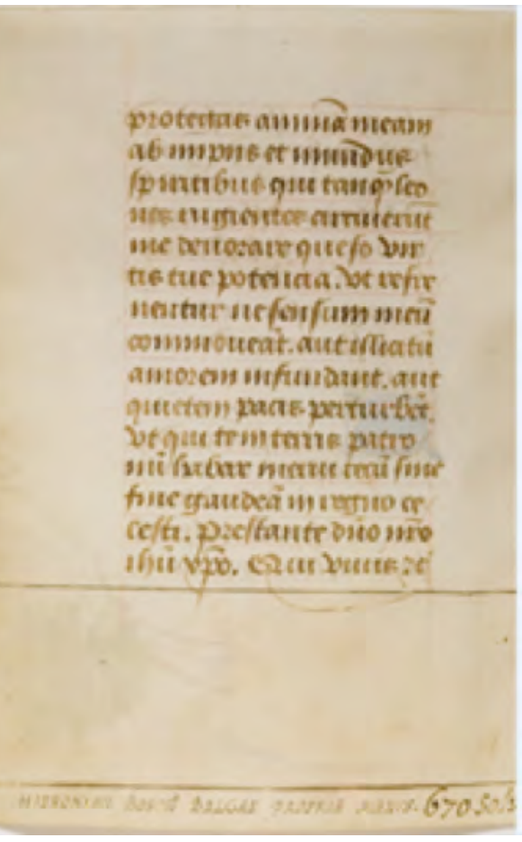


FIG 2 'HIERONIMI BOSCH BELGAE PROPRIA MANVS'. This erroneous caption in the *Hours of Philip of Cleves* (c. 1485) is an early example of the importance attached to the autograph status of a work of art. The caption itself probably dates from the second half of the 16th century. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, MS IV 40, fol. 122v

workshop and that one way or another, therefore, it is 'a Bosch'. The *Flood Panels* and the *Job Triptych* also lack the painterly qualities we find in Bosch's own works, and yet we still consider them to be workshop products (see cat. 22 and 23). The *Job Triptych*, the Boston triptych and the aforementioned Saint Anthony pictures all display close affinities with paintings that we consider autograph: in this case the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice (cat. 2) and *Saint Jerome* in Ghent (cat. 1). Although we currently label the *Flood Panels* and the *Job Triptych* as 'workshop of Bosch', we have to admit that we lack the data to determine whether this would also have been the case around 1500, that is to say in the period when the paintings were produced. Would the same qualitative distinction have been drawn then too?

It is a question that cannot be firmly answered. The extract from De Guevara suggests that he took a 'modern' view of attribution issues, yet his text is an exception: the vast majority of references to paintings do not distinguish between master and apprentice, original and copy, real and fake. Take this reference to a (copy of the?) *Garden of Earthly Delights* in the 'Sala de las Audiencias' at the Pardo Palace in an inventory from 1614–15:[12] 'A large painting by *Geronimo Bosque*, painted in oil paint on panel with its two half shutters, on one of them the Creation with Adam and Eve, in the middle the tumult of the world, and in the other half-shutter the punishments of hell, with its wooden frame in gold and black.' The version now in the Prado, which was described as 'principal' in William of Orange's collection in 1568, was located at that point in the 'Galería de la Infanta' at the Escorial. A copy of the left wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* is still kept at the Escorial today.[13] The fragment might be a survival of the variation once in the Pardo, but that is not certain.[14] The status of this copy has so far remained unclear. We are gradually coming to the conclusion that the painting in the Pardo must have been a (later) copy, as we know the original in the Prado. We cannot be certain, however, whether the Pardo version as a whole was identical to the Prado version (as is the case with the surviving panel), or whether Bosch's workshop supplied two versions, both of which were presented as the work of 'Bosch'.

It is stated only very occasionally in a description that a painting or drawing was made 'by his own hand'; an example is the model sheet with 'witches' (cat. 39) to which a later hand has added, ironically, that the drawing is by Bruegel (!) – 'de manu propria'. Similar additions are found in inventories too, suggesting that importance was indeed attached to the autograph status of art and to its attribution. This is also apparent, for instance, from the *Hours of Philip of Cleves* (c. 1485), which includes a margin decoration with wild men fighting a knight mounted on a seahorse; a text was inserted here, probably in the second half of the sixteenth century, reading 'HIERONIMI BOSCH BELGAE PROPRIA MANVS'.[15] FIG 2

Philip II's purchase of work by Bosch from Felipe de Guevara's collection in 1570 was accompanied by a description of a Haywain that refers explicitly to Bosch's authorship:[16] 'A panel/painting of 1 *vara* and 2 *tercia* in height, with two shutters, which is 3 *vara* wide when fully opened, and it is [a] Haywain, *Geronimo Bosco*, by his own hand.' The aforementioned 1614–15 inventory from the Pardo Palace only states explicitly in three of the seventeen cases relating to work by Bosch that the piece in question is a copy after that artist.[17] In most cases, the autograph status of the work is not stated and it seems first and foremost to be the invention that is being attributed to Bosch. Amounts are stated in a few rare instances, from which the value of a specific piece might be inferred. An example is the sale in 1505 of a 'Saint Anthony triptych by Bosch', which Philip the Fair purchased from Charles de Berthoz for just over 312 pounds (see cat. 4) – a reasonable, but by no means exorbitant sum.[18] The value placed on the triptych is chiefly apparent in this case from the efforts made to acquire it. The Portuguese humanist Damião de Góis (1502–1574) – secretary to the Portuguese merchant community in Antwerp from 1523 to 1545 – acquired a Crowning with Thorns and two other paintings by Bosch, probably during his period of residence in the Spanish Netherlands.[19] De Góis found himself in trouble with the Inquisition and declared in the course of his interrogation that he had paid a considerable sum for the *Crowning with Thorns* but that it was also worth a great deal because of 'the perfection, originality and the subject'.[20]

As we seek an answer to the question of what is 'a Bosch', the picture that emerges from all this is far from clear. On the one hand, paintings that have been viewed for centuries as works by Bosch turn out not to be, while on the other, there seems to be some justification for calling a painting a Bosch, even though we cannot detect his hand in it. Where arguments exist for considering a painting to be the product of Bosch's workshop, as is the case with the triptych in Boston, the *Job Triptych* or the *Flood Panels*, we take the view that these works belong in his catalogue raisonné. The immediate upshot of this is that – as far as the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP) is concerned – quality and stylistic homogeneity are not the only criteria determining whether or not a painting is a Bosch. The BRCP has focused in its research primarily on those paintings and drawings that are more or less generally attributed to Bosch, together with works for which there are reasons to suppose they were produced in his workshop, and works that display an obvious and significant affinity with paintings and drawings attributed to Bosch. In the case of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4) specialist photographic documentation (X-radiography and infrared) means that we have to ask ourselves once again, and in a different manner, what is 'a Bosch' and what status should be ascribed to different versions of a composition?

Left or right-handed?

In our view, an approach to the question of 'what is a Bosch' that focuses entirely on a search for Bosch's own hand in the work is too limited and, given the nature of late-medieval workshop practice, ultimately impossible. We regularly express our disagreement in this book, therefore, with the ideas set out by Fritz Koreny in his *Hieronymus Bosch, die Zeichnungen* (2012). The publication is valuable and lavish, yet Koreny's approach is too simplistic when it comes to the issues surrounding paintings. The certainty with which he answers the question of whether Bosch was right or left-handed and the conclusions he draws from it are especially problematic in our view. The question of Bosch's left or right-handedness arose from the observation that the underdrawing of the fragments of the *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 19) deviates from the way the rest of the paintings in the Bosch group were prepared. Koreny's argument may be summarized as follows: the preferred direction of the unusually extensive hatching in these panels is from upper left to lower right (or vice versa), which means that the underdrawing must have been done by a left-handed artist. Since Hieronymus Bosch appears from his drawings to have been right-handed, the underdrawing of the *Wayfarer Triptych* cannot therefore have been done by him. Koreny extrapolates this conclusion to the triptych as a whole, which he attributes to a left-handed assistant in Bosch's workshop.[21]

As far as it goes, Koreny's argument is logical and we too acknowledge the difference in appearance between the underdrawings in the *Wayfarer Triptych* and those in other paintings in the Bosch group. Our opinion differs, however, as to what conclusions ought to or may be drawn from these observations. First of all, the question of whether a drawing, underdrawing or painting has been done left or right-handedly cannot be answered as readily as Koreny suggests.[22] It is by no means certain, moreover, that the person who prepared the underdrawing was the same who did the painting. We also believe it is going too far, too fast to then assemble a group of paintings that ought to be ascribed to the putative left-handed master. In our view, the *Haywain* and the *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 20, 19) – the core of the group of paintings for which Koreny believes a left-handed workshop assistant of Bosch to have been responsible – should definitely be attributed to Bosch himself. The fact that the underdrawing of the fragments of the *Wayfarer Triptych* might have been done by another hand in no way diminishes this.

The comparative researcher

The composition of Hieronymus Bosch's oeuvre is based substantially on visual analysis of his drawings and paintings. This reflects the total lack of documented works, the attribution and dating of which have been securely established. We are therefore obliged to *choose* a starting point for the attribution of drawings and paintings. It also means that comparisons between paintings and drawings are crucially important to the composition of the oeuvre assembled on the basis of the selected starting point. Art historians have used stylistic analysis for the past hundred years to determine what is and what is not a Bosch, and visual analysis will remain the predominant tool in this regard until such time as arguments other than stylistic ones can be mobilized in questions of attribution.

Facilitating stylistic comparison is therefore extremely important. The experience and visual memory of art historians who have been able to study the works at first hand play a key role. 'The only true record for the connoisseur is the work of art itself,' Ivan Lermolieff (Giovanni Morelli, 1816–1891) commented in a dialogue in *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei*.[23] Where comparisons between paintings, between drawings, and between paintings and drawings play an important role in questions of attribution, it is vital that such comparisons are actually possible and can be made verifiably.

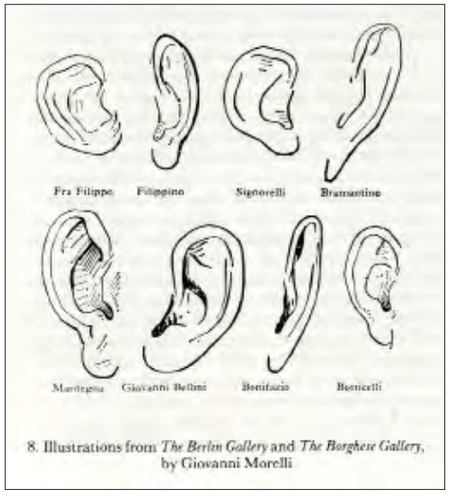
Morelli's drawn illustrations of the way different artists painted ears and ear-lobes were an early attempt to shape art history as a scientific discipline. While there is a lot to be said against his methodology, the pursuit of the most accurate possible visual illustration of images remains valuable.[24] If we claim that *Saint Jerome* and *Saint Christopher* (cat. 1 and 7) were painted by the same hand, macrophotographs of their respective ears might well be enlightening.[25] If these photographs were taken in the same conditions, the relative proportions are clear and account has been taken of differences in the state of preservation and the conservation history of the studied items, it ought to be possible to visualize the artist's 'individual hand' and open it up for discussion in a credible manner. It goes without saying that comparisons of this kind are inherently subjective and open to manipulation. It is important therefore not only to be able to look at the detail in question, but also at its immediate context; or at an entirely different detail from the same painting at the same magnification; or at a series of ears from other paintings.[26] The more comparisons that are possible, the greater the scope for a considered and detailed discussion of the studied objects and also for dismissing those comparisons if necessary. The possibilities in a printed book are, however, inherently limited, as the number of illustrations is not infinite.

FIG 3 FIG 4 FIG 5

The BRCP considers the possibility of describing objects in detail to be extremely important, which is why it set out in the period 2010–15 to study most of the paintings and drawings attributed to Bosch in depth (including examination with a stereo microscope) and to document them photographically using a standardized methodology.[27] The extensive photographic documentation produced in the course of the project has been made available online via a purpose-developed digital infrastructure.[28] Interactive viewers allow the documentation and analysis produced by the BRCP, together with existing and third-party documentation, to be freely consulted online. The effect of this has been hugely to expand the opportunities for art historians to compare works by Bosch using whichever imaging modality is most useful to them. Tools like the *curtain viewer* and *synchrone parallel viewer* mean that it has never been so easy to compare an infrared image with the paint layer applied over the underdrawing. Meanwhile, the degree to which it is possible to illustrate what was observed and the extent to which third parties can verify these observations and the conclusions drawn from them have increased by several orders of magnitude. Users can readily set up their own viewers too.[29] The online aspect of the BRCP's initiative is therefore an essential element of the research project. It is both the result of research and development and an instrument for future study. It might not, perhaps, answer the question 'what is a Bosch' once and for all, but it considerably expands the discursive scope in which to address the question.

FIG 6

FIG 3 **Ears as painted by Italian quattrocento artists.** Illustration from Ivan Lermolieff (Giovanni Morelli), *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei*, Leipzig 1890



8. Illustrations from *The Berlin Gallery* and *The Borghese Gallery*, by Giovanni Morelli

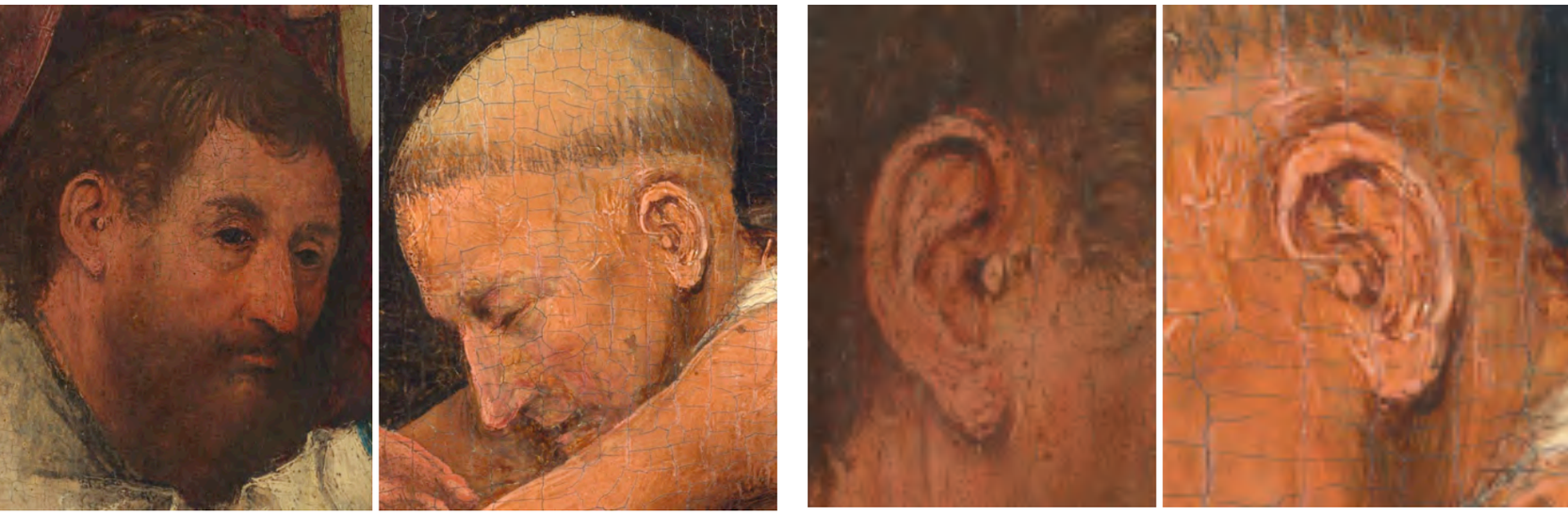


FIG 4a–d Ears: *Saint Christopher* [CAT 7] and *Saint Jerome* [CAT 1]



FIG 5a–p Ears

a CAT 21C
b CAT 29
c CAT 29
d CAT 1

e CAT 7
f CAT 7
g CAT 12A
h CAT 4D

i CAT 4B
j CAT 4B
k CAT 4B
l CAT 4C

m CAT 8B
n CAT 15
o CAT 19B
p CAT 4B



FIG 6a–b *Curtain viewer* and *synchrone parallel viewer* on the BRCP website: corresponding details from *Saint John the Baptist* [CAT 5] in visible light (VIS), infrared photography (IRP), infrared reflectography (IRR) and X-radiography (XR).

Touchstones

Detailed analysis and consideration of arguments lead to a decision as to whether a work should be viewed as a 'Hieronymus Bosch', 'Hieronymus Bosch and workshop', 'Workshop of' or 'Follower of'. When we refer solely to 'Workshop', the painting or drawing in question is closely related to Bosch, but there is no concrete evidence to support a direct link with the master himself. 'Follower' is applied to works with numerous 'Boschian' elements, but for which there are no grounds for placing the work in Hieronymus Bosch's workshop in 's-Hertogenbosch. In by far the majority of cases, we are dealing with works accompanied by a substantial historiography from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century onwards. It is always advisable, therefore, to take a fresh and critical look at the opinions expressed by earlier scholars, in conjunction with the new information that is now available. Archival and historical research also provides new data from time to time or casts new light on earlier thinking. In a number of other cases, this has led to a more rationally founded assignment to the 'Follower' group of works which – despite the doubts that have been expressed – continue to be presented as authentic paintings by Hieronymus Bosch: the vertical *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in the Prado, the *Last Judgement* fragment in Munich, the *Passion Triptych* in Valencia, the dispersed fragments of an *Adoration of the Magi*, and the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial. This group (cat. 26–32) also includes *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Ghent (cat. 29). This magnificent painting occupies a place of its own, since many art historians, and above all the public, viewed and continue to view it not only as a work by Hieronymus Bosch, but an archetypal one at that. It was declared to be an authentic Bosch around 1900 based on comparison with works that are themselves no longer considered authentic. It has assumed such a powerful aura, however, that it continues to serve as a touchstone and point of departure for Bosch's oeuvre.

The *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9) offers a valid point of reference from which to reconstruct Bosch's oeuvre. It is a painting of sublime quality, which has survived the passage of time exceptionally well and is still substantially original. The triptych is signed and includes patrons who can be precisely identified from their coats of arms and placed within an appropriate sociocultural context. *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6) and its highly probable pendant *Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 5) can also serve as foundations and touchstones for Bosch's reconstructed oeuvre. The panel in Berlin is signed and, like the one with the Baptist in the wilderness, can be firmly situated in 's-Hertogenbosch with an approximate date. The Boston triptych (cat. 24) is another important reference point, albeit for

different reasons. It can be placed in 's-Hertogenbosch based on the identification of the donors' portraits and their historical context. The iconography, composition, imagery and technique all suggest production in Bosch's workshop. At the same time, comparison with Bosch's assembled oeuvre shows that it is not an autograph work but must have been done by workshop assistants.

The point of departure for the drawings has to be approached differently. It is not enough simply to adopt the attribution of the three finest sheets, which have traditionally and universally been admired as autograph works by Bosch. Fortunately, there are additional pointers in the case of two of these: the *Tree-Man* and *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 35 and 37). The figure of the tree-man is clearly related to the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21), more specifically to the tree-man painted in the 'hell wing' of the triptych, which is securely included in Bosch's oeuvre. *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* is a semantically complex sheet, which can be directly connected with Bosch as an individual. These drawings are closely related in style and may be linked directly to the *Owl's Nest* (cat. 36). Taken together, this gives us three sheets that can then serve as a reliable point of departure for the reconstruction of the drawn oeuvre. It was possible in this way to attribute a previously unexhibited drawing in a private collection (cat. 44), which only came to light in 2003, not only to Hieronymus Bosch himself but also to the core group of his drawings. The hell scene seamlessly matches the creative drawing of non-existent creatures and situations that we find in Bosch's other drawings and also in the paintings. A new attribution like this drawing, with its fantastical demon, can only be justified if it is carefully framed and securely underpinned. This was possible through repeated examination of the sheet at first hand and comparison to the rest of the oeuvre using the digital infrastructure described above. The likelihood of further additions like this to Bosch's oeuvre may be extremely small, yet, as the 'discovery' of this drawing shows, it is not non-existent.

> PP 480–81: FIGS 3–4

A new Bosch?

The possibility that new works will yet be discovered applies even to paintings. The French government issued an export licence in 1989 for a panel belonging to a family in Normandy.[30] The painting, which shows a *Virgin and Child* and is signed 'Jheronimus·bosch' lower left, was auctioned in Switzerland, where it was purchased by a private collector.[31] The principal figures, the canopy over the throne and the lower zone of the panel in particular, were heavily overpainted. The Christ Child is plumper than was originally the case, while Mary's face was initially turned to the right. The painting was unfortunately not accessible for examination by the BRCP and so we cannot express an opinion as to where to situate this interesting work, which has been cleaned and restored in the meantime.[32] However, based on the documentation of the Centre de Recherche et de Restauration des Musées de France (C2RMF), we suspect that it was produced in close proximity to Hieronymus Bosch.[33] Dendrochronological analysis suggests that the panel could have been painted after 1494, but more likely after 1496.[34] Although the configuration of the enthroned Mother of God reflects the Southern Netherlandish tradition since Jan van Eyck,[35] the painting – if attributed to Bosch – cannot have been an early one. The two musician angels and numerous details seemingly point to Bosch's authorship. The throne on which Mary sits is traditional in form, but not in decoration: the little columns have been painted with slender birds flying off in all directions, just as we find in drawings and paintings by Bosch. The dots in lead-tin yellow immediately recall the decoration of the column drum in the central panel of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2). The capital of the column on the right is decorated with a man riding a hind, which is drawn in paint just as fluently and deftly as the detail from the same central panel of the man preparing to mount the unicorn. The other capital shows a man carrying a deer on his back. The black stone back of the throne immediately behind Mary's left arm features a painted relief of the Dance around the Golden Calf; the other side shows Moses receiving the

FIG 10 FIG 9 FIG 14a FIG 7





FIG 7a–b *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2B]; *Virgin and Child* (private collection) [detail of FIG 10]





FIG 8a–b *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4B]: VIS; *Virgin and Child* [FIG 10]: VIS (photo 1989)



FIG 9 Jan van Eyck, *'Lucca Madonna'*, 1436. Städel Museum, Frankfurt



FIG 10 Hieronymus Bosch (?), *Virgin and Child* (private collection): VIS (photo 1989)



FIG 11a–c *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4B]: IRR and VIS; *Virgin and Child* [FIG 10]: VIS (photo 1989)

Tablets of the Law. Together, they form a motif that must have been based on the same model as the detail in the central panel of the *Saint Anthony Triptych*; they are variations on a theme. The same goes for the figures carrying grapes who decorate the building in the right background and the equivalent scene in both the underdrawing and painting of the *Saint Anthony Triptych*. The cockerel in the right background is identical to the one in the *Saint Christopher* panel, while the porcupine-like creature has a counterpart in the Paradise wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Despite the overpainting, the undulating landscape in the left background with the fountain, trees and the walled city with the huge church tower and the windmill outside the walls, still form a good match with what we know from the Bosch group of paintings. The status of this panel will have to be determined by precise analysis using all the available examination methods, and by comparing the painting as a whole and its details with the oeuvre of Hieronymus Bosch.

FIG 8

FIG 11

FIG 12

Legibility

The legibility of the works depends largely on the condition in which the paintings have come down to us, and so also influences our answer to the question of 'what is a Bosch?'. In addition to the natural ageing of the painter's materials, the history of the works' restoration is of importance in this regard. A striking example is the condition of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* in Venice (cat. 8).[36] The painting was in poor condition, making it extremely difficult to assess and to compare with other works in the Bosch group. An extensive conservation treatment in 2013–15 was unable, of course, to reverse the paint losses, but it did free the painting from dirt, old varnish, overpainting and earlier, discoloured retouching. The treatment has given the painting back some of its original lustre and it is much easier now to compare it with works belonging to the Bosch group. The same applies to a whole series of paintings that have been restored in the run-up to 2016 – the five-hundredth anniversary of Bosch's death – the legibility of which has been significantly enhanced as a result. In addition to the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych*, they are the *Hermit Saints Triptych* and the *Visions of the Hereafter* (Venice; cat. 2 and 18), the *Last Judgement* (Bruges; cat. 16), *Saint Jerome* (Ghent; cat. 1), *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Vienna; cat. 12), *Saint Christopher* (Rotterdam; cat. 7), the *Haywain* (El Escorial, Patrimonio Nacional; fig. 20.14–15), the *Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid, Prado and Philadelphia; cat. 9 and 25), and the *Ship of Fools* (Paris, cat. 19B).

> IV : FIGS 36–37



FIG 12a–b *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21A]: VIS; *Virgin and Child* [FIG 10]: VIS (photo 1989)

The nature of a Bosch: form and content

A typical feature of Bosch's painted oeuvre is the powerful way it appeals to his viewers to contemplate the painted scene. The painter goes to great lengths to grab his beholders' attention, so that they will look at the painting for longer and meditate on its content. He is determined to create a link between viewer and subject matter. Bosch makes it personal, through the technique he uses on the one hand, and the imagery on the other. The paint layers – applied relatively swiftly and often thinly – and the impastoed details on top of sketched underdrawings give the paintings a spontaneous and direct feel. The artist's hand is identifiable, which has the effect of drawing the viewer into the creative process.[37] The latter is important: time and again we see Bosch searching for his final form, even after he has set down his preliminary design and applied his first strokes of paint. We frequently find alterations in both his underdrawings and paint layers – alterations that heighten the eloquence of the image. This must have been surprising and revolutionary, certainly in the period in which Bosch was active; the general tendency in early Netherlandish painting – and more widely in the so-called 'primitive' art of the fifteenth century – was to finish paintings to a high degree of perfection, making them as smooth as mirrors. The (paradoxical) effect of this perfection was to increase the distance between the viewer and the image. The painting offered a view of another world: it was a window onto a different reality, set in the past or in the future. Jan van Eyck created peerlessly lifelike paintings that offer a glimpse of an imagined reality. Bosch's approach, by contrast, was entirely different. He set out in his paintings and drawings to achieve a real connection with the viewer. Landscape, figures and objects are instantly recognizable, but are frequently represented in an alienating way; the scene appears familiar, yet more often than not turns out not to be. The aim is to sweep viewers up in the narrative; to have them recognize themselves in the image and empathize with it. Beholders of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37) are urged in a very direct way to observe the drawing carefully and thoughtfully, and Bosch frequently deployed the same technique in his paintings in order to draw viewers in and make them



FIG 13a–e *Visions of the Hereafter* [CAT 18A] *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21A]
Last Judgement (Vienna) [CAT 17A] *Saint John the Baptist* [CAT 5]
Job Triptych [CAT 23C]



FIG 14a–d *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2B], *Virgin and Child* [FIG 10, photo 1989], *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8B], *Haywain* [CAT 20C]



FIG 15 *Christ Child* [CAT 12B]

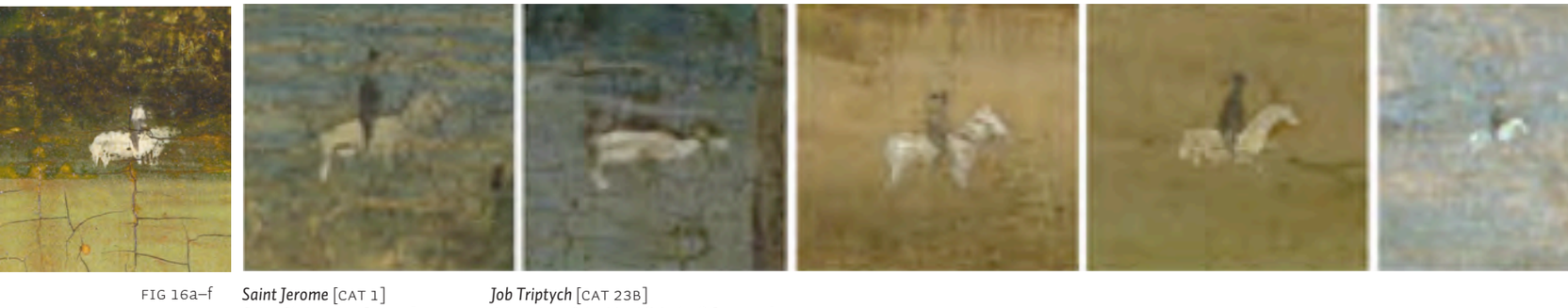


FIG 16a–f

Saint Jerome [CAT 1]
Saint Christopher [CAT 7]
Saint John on Patmos [CAT 6A]
Job Triptych [CAT 23B]
Adoration of the Magi (Madrid) [CAT 9A]
Last Judgement (Vienna) [CAT 17D]

look more intently. When we see the streaming and bloodshot eye of the messenger-bird in the *Saint Anthony Triptych* – skilfully painted wet-in-wet – we feel the bitter cold of an icy wind. And when we observe the hollow eyes of the dying man in *Death and the Miser*, we understand the pain, exhaustion, sleeplessness and mortal terror that confront him in his final moments. His eyes were painted very swiftly, with three brownish strokes, allowing the ground tone and the underdrawing to show through a little. The intensity of his gaze is heightened by the more opaque, flesh-coloured strokes around the eye-socket. Bosch used a similar technique for the dazed expression of the miser in the foreground and the fear in the eyes of the monk-like figure beneath the crucified Wilgefortis.

> 4.8
> 19.12–13
> 19.10

The fragility of the little boy with the walking frame on what was once the outside of a triptych wing is heightened by the open, visible brushstrokes with which Bosch painted him.[38] In this way, the form contributes to the content, considerably intensifying the story of Christ's childhood through to the Passion scene(s) in the open triptych. Bosch paints and 'draws in paint' narrative details, the constantly changing content of which lends perspective or adds depth to the main scene – gossamer-fine, rapid and confident. This relates to small, autonomous scenes that allude to antiquity, the Old Testament or the world of fable; to the groups of cavalrymen and foot-soldiers who advance across distant hilly landscapes; and to small anecdotal scenes or motifs that recur surprisingly frequently, such as the lone horseman on his white horse, always riding towards the right, and the lion devouring a deer.

FIG 15
FIGS 16, 13

Aura: renewed value and appreciation

Hieronymus Bosch's work is much easier at first sight to imitate and copy than that of predecessors and contemporaries like Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden or Gerard David, and this is indeed what occurred on a large scale in the sixteenth century. In many cases, the result amounted to little more than an incoherent and poorly executed collection of monstrosities and *diableries* – a phenomenon to which Felipe de Guevara (c. 1560) and José de Sigüenza (c. 1605) made early reference. In many cases, what distinguishes a work by Bosch from one by an imitator or, more generally, a follower, is the care with which it was conceived and the attention to detail. Almost without exception, copies of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon, for instance, or the *Adoration* in the Prado – and there are quite a few of them – have been simplified in one way or another.[39] We frequently find that only the central panel of the triptych was copied, and that the narrative details that constitute the richness and opulence of a Bosch painting have been omitted. In other cases, the iconography of a Temptation of Saint Anthony or a Last Judgement prompted the creation of a catalogue of devils and demons. The creatures are scattered about the panel in a manner reminiscent in some cases of the sheets of model drawings that Bosch too is known to have produced. The individual elements are isolated and fail to form a coherent whole. Pieter Bruegel the Elder is the only follower, in fact, whose work stands comparison with Bosch, in terms of both form and content. We find the same attention to detail and multiple layers of meaning in Bruegel, whom contemporaries were already calling the 'new Bosch', together with similarly well-tried subjects. The two masters from the Duchy of Brabant can perhaps be compared even more effectively in a subject like the Adoration of the Magi, than in images of monsters and demons, in which the form always seems to struggle for priority with the content.

The triptych that Bosch painted and signed around 1490–1500 for Peeter Scheyfve in Antwerp (cat. 9) must have been relatively accessible – to painters too – until it was shipped to Spain in the 1570s. The large number of copies and pastiches are persuasive evidence in this regard. In 1564 Bruegel painted an *Adoration of the Magi* in which he explicitly responded to Bosch's work for Scheyfve.[40] Compared with Bruegel's version, we are struck by how much emphasis Bosch placed on the world in which the dilapidated stable is located. Bruegel distils the scene, bringing the threat of Herod's army (depicted as contemporary foot-soldiers) right into the stable. The soldier in brown next to Joseph, who stares at the newborn Child

FIGS 17, 18

with bulging eyes, has taken the place of Bosch's Antichrist. Although the element of threat and hostility has been retained, Bruegel seems to have added a contemporary political allusion, where Bosch was far more interested in the cosmic struggle between good and evil. At the same time, Bruegel understood very well how Bosch had emphasized the Eucharistic aspect of the Epiphany by alluding to Christ's death on the cross (see cat. 9). Mary's right hand plays a crucial role in Bruegel; not only does she use it to introduce the Three Kings to Christ, she also directs the viewer's attention towards the Crucifixion by juxtaposing the crossbow of the soldier clad in brown with the gift offered by the first king. Bruegel's use of Michelangelo's Bruges Madonna for Christ's pose is, moreover, brilliant in this regard. In Michelangelo's sculpture, the lack of any further context makes the Child's pose first and foremost a dynamic representation of an everyday human scene: Mary accompanies and supports her little boy as he takes his first steps. Bruegel uses the same pose but has the Child seek the protection of his mother's lap, as he realizes what his future holds.

Bruegel must have been particularly impressed by the way Bosch represented the black king. In Bosch's *Adoration*, the figure provides a grandiose introduction to the scene by opening the image on the left side of the composition. The artistic touch of dressing him in snow-white robes that contrast with the colour of the man's skin is both simple and effective. It is not surprising that Bosch should have chosen to sign his painting in gold letters beneath the feet of this figure.[41] Bruegel's composition is more 'traditional' and less narrative. His protagonist is located at the centre and he has moved the black king to the right, where he closes off the scene. Bruegel simplified the king's robes, but compensated by giving him brilliant reddish-brown boots with gold spurs: he is a nobleman. Like Bosch, Bruegel placed his name under the black king. FIGS 19–20



FIG 17 Hieronymus Bosch, *Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid) [CAT 9B]



FIG 18 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1564. The National Gallery, London



FIG 19a–b and 20a–b **Bosch** [CAT 9B] **and Bruegel (London): black kings**

The way in which this work was painted shows even more clearly than the iconography and composition alone that Bruegel really studied Bosch carefully. One of the most fascinating elements of Bosch's *Adoration* is the care and detail with which he painted the Three Kings' headgear and gifts. He tended to execute narrative details like this swiftly and wet-in-wet with visible brushwork that emphasizes the facture. The oldest king's richly decorated silver headdress, for instance, is shown lying at Mary's feet. His helmet is set with precious stones, one of which is held up like a mirror by two little figures. Viewed close-up, we find that this element is purely suggestive, drawn in paint. Bruegel imitated this in the FIG 19b black king's gift, which consists of a censer in the form of a golden ship incorporating a nautilus shell. A tiny figure leans out of the shell to reach for a jewel; Bruegel, like Bosch, FIG 20b painted this detail rapidly, wet-in-wet and suggestively.

There are different ways to pay homage. King Francis I of France did so by having a copy of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* woven in wool and gold thread, raising it to the level of royal art and making it desirable to nobles like Granvelle and Alva. Bruegel did Bosch the honour of carefully studying his *Adoration* and then updating it in his treatment of the theme. Bosch was reborn in Bruegel, in whose *Adoration* the story of the revelation of Jesus as Christ was retold in a manner that reflected a fashionable, European Renaissance culture in which people were used to discussing art in terms of *imitatio* and *emulatio*.[42] The manner in which Bruegel emulated Bosch here is as intelligent as it is refined. Careful consideration of the homage in relation to its object offers a richer insight into both and – in Bosch's case – an enhanced understanding of what makes this Bosch a Bosch.

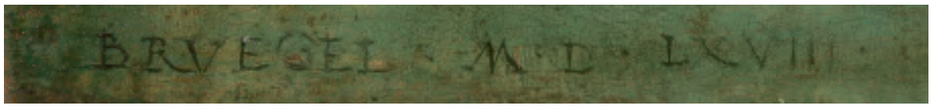
Signature

We can focus in a similar, comparative manner on the signature Hieronymus Bosch placed on certain of his paintings.[43] The use of a signature to identify the maker remained unusual in the Low Countries in the period around 1500.[44] Among his contemporaries and predecessors, only Jan van Eyck – who was active sixty years before Bosch – signed as frequently as he did.[45] Of the painters working in the period immediately after 1516, meanwhile, only Pieter Bruegel – just over sixty years after Bosch – consistently signed his work. Without wishing to draw too many conclusions from a comparison between the three signatures, it is noteworthy that Bosch signed his name in Gothic letters of the type in use at the time in the new art of book printing. He signed, in other words, in a manner that was at once idiosyncratic and generic. He consistently included his first name to avoid any misunderstand- FIG 21a ing as to which member of the workshop was responsible for the work in question. Yet he did so in international and prestigious Latin and using a typeface which, as already stated, was very similar to the Textura used at the time in printing. Another feature is the absence of any indication of the date. Since the name 'Bosch' is a toponym selected by the artist himself, we can only assume that he thought it important to state where the work came from. These features are all the more striking when we contrast them with Van Eyck and Bruegel's signatures. Van Eyck turned his signature into a fine art; he varied it considerably and excelled in *trompe-l'oeil* inscriptions that look like they were carved in wood, chiselled in stone or engraved in metal.[46] He often had the painting itself speak, as it were, by using the *me fecit* ('made me') formula – a touch that was perfectly in keeping with his desire for naturalism, as was the indication of the date on which he made the painting, often stated to a precise day. Bruegel systematically signed his work in Roman capitals, followed by a year FIG 21c in Roman numerals. Like Bosch, he confidently placed this signature like a caption within FIG 21b the painting. At the same time, it is an illustration – albeit with a touch of exaggeration – of the affinity and the difference between the 'Gothic Bosch' and the 'Renaissance Bruegel'.

The standard way in which Bosch sometimes signed his work made it easy to copy his signature, which thus appears to have happened considerably more often than with Van Eyck. Where Jan van Eyck's naturalism proved too difficult to imitate, with the result that he had few followers, Bosch bequeathed a 'brand' that was exploited by those who came after him – in some cases honestly, in others less so. For some reason, this did not occur



21a Bosch (*Adoration of the Magi*) [CAT 9]



21b Bruegel (*The Beggars*, 1568, Musée du Louvre, Paris)



21c Van Eyck (*Portrait of a Man* [*Self-Portrait*?], 1433, The National Gallery, London)

FIG 21a–c Signatures

[1] The tapestries woven after the *Garden of Earthly Delights* are dealt with by Kurz 1967; Vandenbroeck 2009, with references to earlier literature.

[2] It cannot be ruled out, though it is far from certain, that Bosch was the author of a painting in the estate of Isabella the Catholic (26 November 1504) – Philip the Fair's mother-in-law: a panel showing what was probably Mary of Egypt (Maria Aegyptiaca) was signed *jeronimus* on the frame. Sánchez Cantón, Vandenbroeck and Van Dijck believe that several other paintings in her collection were also by Bosch. Vandenbroeck 1987a, 167, 426 n. 1231; Van Dijck 2001a, 59, 68, 91; Vandenbroeck 2002, 177, 322, 324. The publication of sources in which this was first suggested is Sánchez Cantón 1950, 174, 182–84.

[3] See Chapter I, 'Hieronymus Bosch c. 1450–1516', p. 27.

[4] See translation pp. 576–77.

[5] 'y saber sy ay otro carro como el que se quebro de Geronimo Bosque'. Steppe 1967, 14 nn. 67–69.

[6] See cat. 4 and BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 4, RR 11–16.

[7] The panel in Philadelphia cannot be analysed dendrochronologically at this point, as the edge of the painting is not accessible. The panel in São Paulo could have been painted after 1505, although production after 1507 is statistically more probable; see Klein 2001, 126.

[8] Klein 2001, 128.

[9] The wood used for the *Crowning with Thorns* in Valencia could have been painted from 1517 onwards, that for the equivalent panel in the Escorial from 1527. See Klein 2003b, 5, and Klein 2001, 127 respectively.

[10] De Vrij 2012, 357–61. A fifth copy is thought to be privately owned. See De Vrij 2012, 361.

[11] 'Otra pintura a tabla al olio de la Coronación de Christo Nuestro Señor con cinco sayones, hecho la pintura a Redondo y a la redonda disparates diversos de Hieronymo Bosco, color obscura con molduras doradas y jaspeadas; tiene de alto dos baras y sesma y de largo dos baras y dos terçias, que vino con la antes desta.' Checa Cremades, Mancini and Vázquez Dueñas 2013, 401.

[12] 'Una tabla de Gero[ni]mo. bosque grande pintada al olio en tabla con sus dos medias puertas, en la una pintada la creaçion con adan y eba, en el medio el tráfago del mundo y en la otra media puerta las penas del ynfierno con su guraniçion de madera de oro y negro.' Silva Maroto 2000a, 28; Silva Maroto 2000b, 540–541 n. 35.

[13] The triptych wing is part of the Prado collection but is exhibited at the Escorial. The *Garden of Earthly Delights* now displayed at the Prado belongs to the Patrimonio Nacional collection.

[14] A copy after the central panel once belonged to the Count de Pomereu's collection in Paris, and later reportedly to a private collection in Brussels. It is not known whether the panel is still there. Isabel Mateo Gómez suggested that this copy was commissioned by Philip II, that it was done by Michiel Coxcie, and that it belonged with the left wing from the Prado collection; the early dendrochronological dating of that wing makes this hypothesis less likely, however. See Mateo Gómez 1967, 49–50; Silva Maroto 2000a, 29. The wood used for the left wing has an earliest possible felling date of 1447, making it the oldest in the entire Bosch group – older than that of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych in the Prado. See Klein 2001, 123, and BRCP, *Technical Studies*, 'Dendrochronology'. No dendrochronological data is known for the copy of the central panel.

[15] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS IV 40, fol. 132v–133r; fol. 41v has a similar attribution to Hugo van der Goes. Thanks to Lieve Watteeuw, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. Laloire 1904–06; Smeyers 1998, 446, 450; Koldeweij 2003 (2002), 443–44.

[16] 'Una tabla de vara y dos terçias de alto, con dos puertas, que abierto todo él tiene de ancho tres varas, y es Carro de Heno, Géronimo Bosco, de su propria mano'. Matilla Tascón 1988.

[17] Vandenbroeck 2001a, 55–57.

[18] Approximately 1200 pounds were paid for series of Golden Fleece panels – standard heraldic paintings containing a considerable amount of gold or silver leaf. Substantially larger sums were expended on woven fabrics, brocade, silk and so on. Veratelli 2013, passim.

[19] Engelenburg 1901, 195–96; Unverfehrt 1980, 19, 24, 116; Van Dijck 2001a, 93–94; Caetano 2014, 77. See also cat. 23, the *Job Triptych*.

[20] See cat. 14. Campbell 2014, 158, 161 n. 40; Unverfehrt 1980, 24; Feist Hirsch 1967, 48.

[21] Koreny 2012, 60, 63–68, 86–95.

[22] This is confirmed by consultation of several handwriting experts. Scientific research into this question is virtually non-existent. Simple tests with left and right-handed people indicate, however, that left-handed people sometimes hatch in the manner expected of right-handed people and vice versa. Moreover, drawing on paper is not the same as 'drawing' on a panel, whether or not the artist uses a mahlstick to do so. Systematic research is needed to obtain a better understanding of the possibility of identifying left and right-handedness in artists.

[23] Ivan Lermolieff, *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei. Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili in Rom*, Leipzig 1890, 32–33. The context in which the statement was made is amusing and says a great deal about the confidence that was placed in connoisseurship and the study of objects: '"Sagen Sie nur 'ganz und gar',' erwiderte ich ihm. "Das schriftliche Document jedoch", fuhr ich fort, "werden Sie hoffentlich doch gelten lassen?" "Nur ein wissenschaftlich gebildeter Kunstkenner", antwortete er, "ist in der Lage, ein schriftliches Document volkommen zu verwerthen; einem blossen Archivar, der von der Kunst nichts weiss, sowie auch dem Neuling in der Kunstwissenschaft hilft dasselbe nicht nur nichts, sondern es führt ihn in den meisten Fällen sogar auf Abwege." "Wie?" rief ich erstaunt aus, "sogar den Werth des von allen Kunsthistorikern so hochgehaltenen schriftlichen Documents wollen Sie in Zweifel ziehen?" "Das einzige wahre Document", antwortete er ganz ruhig, "bleibt am Ende für den Kunstkenner doch nur das Kunstwerk selbst. Dieser Ausspruch klingt allerdings sehr verwegen, ja arrogant, ist es aber durchaus nicht, wie ich dies an mehrfachen Biespielen Ihnen darzuthun trachten werde. Und in der That, wo wollen Sie etwa ein vertrauungsvolleres, in die Augen leuchtenderes Document finden, als in dem auf des Meisters Werke gesetzten Namen, einem Document, das wir in Italien 'cartellino' zu nennen pflegen?" "Nun ja", sagte ich, "wenn alle Bilder mit

via the family workshop in 's-Hertogenbosch: it evidently took a larger, more open market like that in Antwerp. This will have been the context in which an unknown artist around the mid-sixteenth century painted the faithful yet uninspired copy of the central panel of Bosch's *Adoration*, now in the Noordbrabants Museum in 's-Hertogenbosch. This too was a way of paying homage to Bosch: after all, reproductions intensify the aura of the original, but also steal it, and that makes them valuable. They do not need a signature.

Aufschriften versehen wären, dann wäre es wahrlich kein grosses Verdienst, Kunstkenner zu sein." "Auch hierin kann ich Ihnen nicht beipflichten", sagte der Italiener, und fuhr dann fort: "Wie in der guten alten Zeit, als noch die Pässe im Schwange waren, gerade die durchtriebensten Spitzbuben sich die regelmässigsten, untadelhaftesten 'Papiere' zu verschaffen und mit diesen 'schriftlichen Documenten' die Polizeiagenten zu täuschen wussten, geradeso wurden und werden noch immerfort die Kunsthistoriker und Galeriedirectoren durch schriftliche Documente und Cartellini an der Nase herumgeführt. Ich könnte Ihnen, mein Herr, Dutzende solcher falscher Cartellini ältern und neuern Datums anführen, die sich auf Bildern in weltberühmten Galerien vorfinden."' 'Das einzige wahre Document … bleibt am Ende für den Kunstkenner doch nur das Kunstwerk selbst'. Morelli 1892–93, I, 26–27.

[24] For a critical discussion of Morelli's method, see Wollheim 1973.

[25] See the website Boschproject.org, link L37.

[26] See the website Boschproject.org, link L38.

[27] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, 'Photography for the Bosch Research and Conservation Project'.

[28] See http://boschproject.org. See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, 'Image Processing for the Bosch Research and Conservation Project' by Robert G. Erdmann, who developed the digital infrastructure.

[29] Information on which object has been loaded in the viewer, the location within the object that is being viewed, and the modality is included in the URL, so that users can easily share and discuss it with others.

[30] Centre de Recherche et de Restauration des Musées de France (C2RMF), Paris/Versailles, dossier F 11528 and 11528A: 'La Vierge et l'Enfant, Bosch Van Aken Hieronimus (1450–1516), attribution douteuse'.

[31] Elsig 2001, 98; Vandenbroeck 2002, 327; Elsig 2004, 74–76; De Vrij 2012, 347–48 no. B.3.

[32] Jos Koldeweij and Matthijs Ilsink had a brief opportunity in 2002 to observe the painting, which had been cleaned and partially restored at that point.

[33] See the C2RMF documentation in Paris (Musée du Louvre) and Versailles.

[34] Klein 2001, 126.

[35] The *Virgin and Child* is comparable not only with the *Lucca Madonna* in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt, but also with the *Virgin with the Child Reading* (1433) in Melbourne and the Madonna in the painting with Canon Van der Paele (1436) in Bruges. The capitals on either side of the throne, decorated with finely painted typologies, are also relevant to the comparison with the *Van der Paele Madonna*.

[36] See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 8, RR 21–26.

[37] Swiftness of both imagination (*inventio*) and execution, together with a distinctive artist's hand, became more important aspects of artistic practice in the sixteenth century – a development seemingly anticipated by Bosch. A well-known example is that of Albrecht Dürer, who proudly declared – in the painting itself – that he had completed his *Christ among the Doctors* (1506) in just five days. He also declared that 'one man may sketch something with his pen on half a sheet of paper in one day, or may cut it into a tiny piece of wood with his little iron, and it turns out to be better and more artistic than another's big work at which its author labours with the utmost diligence for a whole year'. See Panofsky (1943) 1995, 283.

[38] This effect was heightened prior to the restoration in 2014–15 by non-original remnants of brown paint in the interstices of brushstrokes. See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 12, RR 9–10.

[39] De Vrij 2012, 378–97 (*Adoration*, 34 variations), 464–90 (*Saint Anthony*, 41 variations).

[40] Campbell 2014, 176–97; Sellink 2007, 196–97; Arasse 2013, 39–70.

[41] The damaged signature was incorrectly retouched in an earlier restoration to read 'Jheronnmis bosch'. See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 9, RR 134–139.

[42] For a fuller discussion of Bruegel's art in these terms, see Ilsink 2009 and 2015.

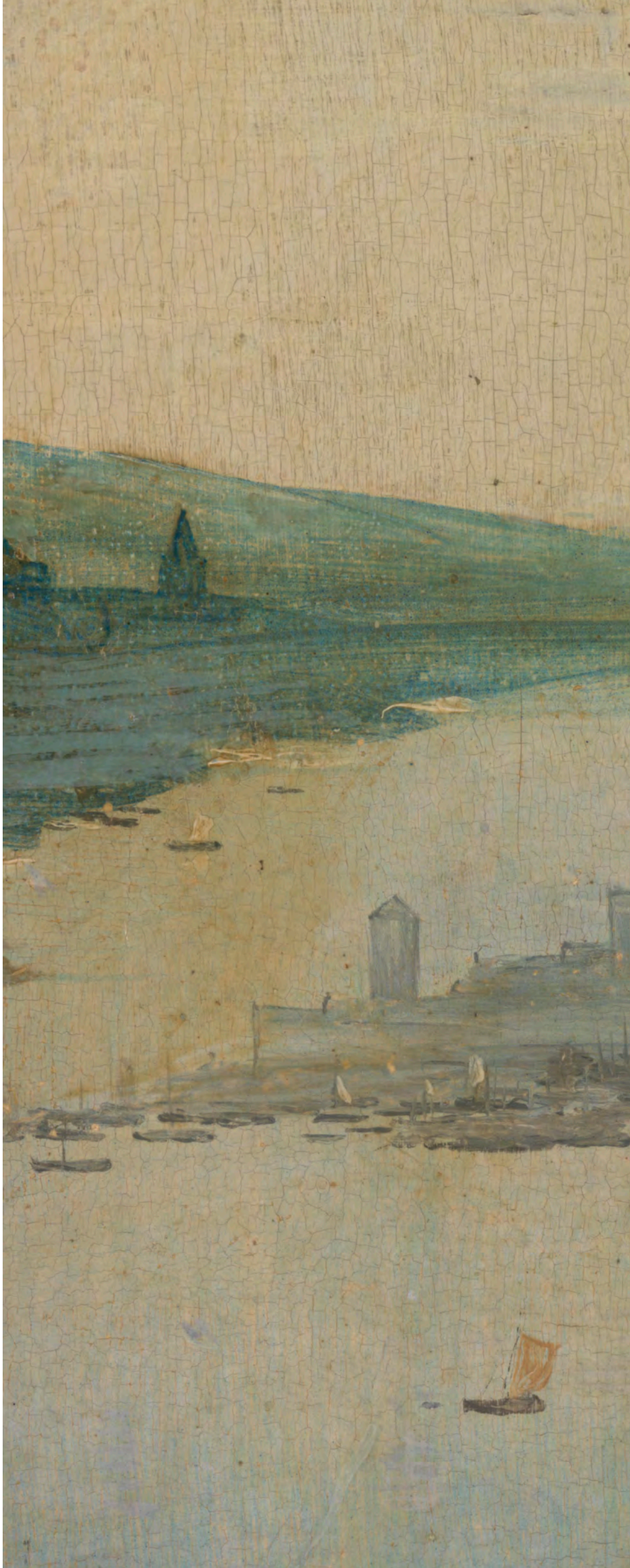
[43] Gerlach and Le Blanc 1988, 91–95.

[44] Burg 2007, 395–447.

[45] Only two of Hans Memling's surviving works are signed and dated (on the frame). Both were painted in 1479 for St John's Hospital in Bruges.

[46] Van Eyck mostly signed on the frame – the 'window' through which the scene is viewed. There are two instances where the signature was placed within the picture plane – '*Timotheus*' and the Arnolfini double portrait, both in the National Gallery in London. In both cases, however, it is applied in the form of 'graffiti' that forms part of the scene and hence contributes to its illusionism.

FIG 22 *Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid), right wing [CAT 9C]







CHAPTER III

Materials and Techniques

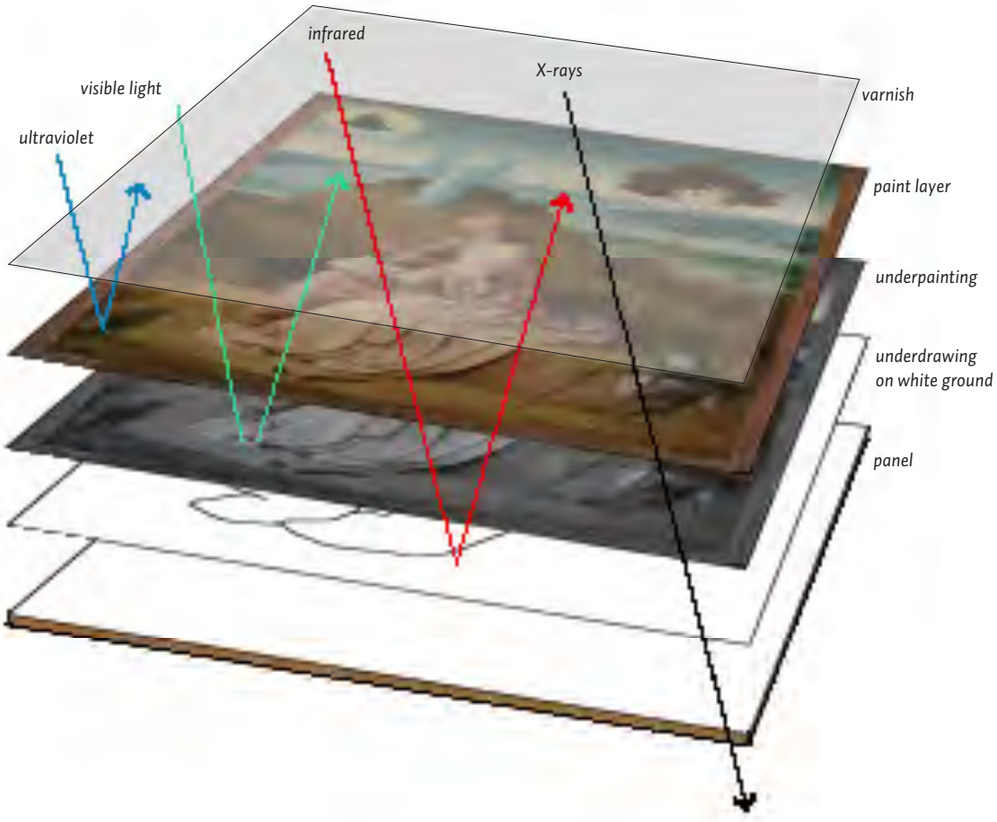
Introduction

The surviving records tell us frustratingly little about the material and technical aspects of the work of Hieronymus (Jheronimus) van Aken, whose toponymic surname 'Bosch' does not appear in a document until 1504. Like other painters of his time, Bosch did not only produce drawings and paintings: the archives also mention a painted wall hanging and a panel listing the names of sworn members of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch. There are also references to a stained-glass window designed by Bosch, an embroidered cross on a chasuble, and a chandelier.[1] The painter acted as a consultant too, advising for instance on the polychromy and gilding of the large Marian altarpiece for the Brotherhood's chapel.[2] In 1480/81, he purchased two old altarpiece wings from the Brotherhood, probably with a view to reusing them.[3] There are also indications that Bosch and his elder brother Goessen (Goeswinus) bought larger consignments of wood; what they did not use themselves was evidently sold on to joiners and carpenters.[4] The aforementioned design for a stained-glass window was done on old bedsheets (*slaeplakens*). When it comes to the painting materials used by Bosch, however, the archives can only offer information regarding some of his contemporaries.[5] Painters purchased their materials in 's-Hertogenbosch from local or travelling merchants, or had them brought in from elsewhere, such as Antwerp.[6]

The Van Aken family produced a strikingly large number of painters in successive generations.[7] Various commissions to artists in the family are documented, but like those relating to Bosch himself, none can be linked to surviving works. The archives offer only scraps of information concerning the organization of the family workshop itself. Given that the trade was passed down from generation to generation, we can assume that Hieronymus and Goessen were trained by their father, and that Anthonius van Aken himself learned the profession together with his three brothers from Jan van Aken, Bosch's grandfather. The family workshop in which Bosch learned to draw and paint was located from 1462 to 1523 in a house on the east side of the city's main square, at what is now 29 Markt.[8] Collaboration was the norm in the late-medieval workshop, especially when it came to larger or urgent commissions.[9] When the Brotherhood of Our Lady discussed the design of its large Marian altarpiece with the sculptor Adriaen van Wesel in 1475/76, Anthonius van Aken and his sons ('ende syn soenen') were also on hand.[10] The family workshop continued to operate after Anthonius died in 1478. Bosch begins to be referred to as painter in the documents from 1480 onwards. Unlike the other artists in his family, however, there are no clear references to him using the title of *meester* (master). Interestingly, the agreement drawn up in 1481 for the prompt delivery of the wings for the main altar at St John's Church was not made with Hieronymus, but with his brother Goessen.[11] > I : FIG 7

Following their marriage, which must have occurred before June 1481, Hieronymus Bosch and Aleid van de Meervenne moved into the house 'Inden Salvatoer' on the north side of the Markt, and Goessen became the owner of the house with the family workshop. We do not know whether Bosch set up a workshop in his new home or whether he continued to use his family's. The relatives are likely to have continued to collaborate closely, however, whether or not a second workshop was established nearby. They will have shared not

FIG 1 *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4E]



< FIG 2 Schematic overview of the layered structure of an early Netherlandish painting on panel

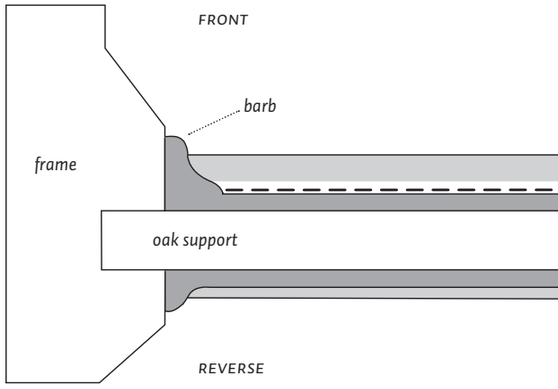


FIG 3 Schematic cross-section of the front and reverse of a panel in an engaged frame

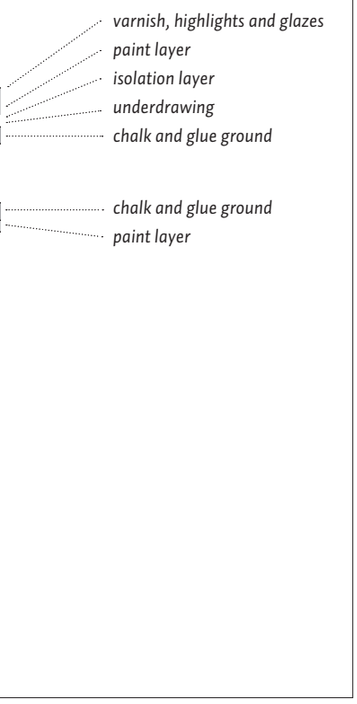
only commissions, materials and visual sources, but also assistants, journeymen and workspaces. Bosch had an assistant of his own in 1503/04, who was paid for painting three coats of arms.[12]

Karel van Mander's 1604 *Schilder-boeck* should also be considered as a potential source for Bosch's artistic methods and workshop practices, as the author focused in unusual detail on painting techniques. As Hessel Miedema rightly concluded, however, it seems highly likely that Van Mander based himself primarily on the techniques used by the many followers of Bosch who were active in the later sixteenth century, and might never have seen an autograph Bosch painting in person.[13]

That leaves us with the paintings themselves – the direct, physical result of the choice of specific materials and techniques, on the part of both the painter(s) and later restorers.[14] Technical examination sets out to provide a better understanding of these decisions made over the centuries. Early Netherlandish panel paintings are complex objects with a characteristic, layered structure. Each of these successive layers can contain important information for art historians and restorers, for which different, complementary research methods can be applied. The three sections of this chapter roughly follow the layered structure of the paintings. The lack of secure, documented attributions is, however, felt particularly acutely in this type of study, as it also means we cannot identify a group of technical features that can be securely described as characteristic of Bosch.

Supports and frames

Hieronymus Bosch did not differ from his contemporaries in terms of the materials used for his paintings on panel; his wooden supports too, for instance, were made from Baltic oak. The panel with *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* in the Prado (cat. 34) is made of poplar, but this might reflect its unusual function as a tabletop.[15] For their supports early Netherlandish painters almost exclusively used high-quality, fine-grained oak from



the dense oak forests in what is now Poland.[16] Bosch's oak supports were almost always made by panelmakers in the customary way using butt-joined and glued boards reinforced with dowels.[17] As usual, the boards were glued in the direction of their longest side – mostly vertical, therefore, in this group of paintings – to minimize the number of joins. The quarter-sawn (radially cut) wood was devoid of knots and the softer, young sapwood just beneath the bark was nearly always removed completely.[18]

Dendrochronology can be used in the case of oak to determine the earliest possible felling date of the original tree, which can be exceptionally important for attributions. It was established, for instance, that the *Marriage at Cana* in Rotterdam could not have been painted by Hieronymus Bosch, as the tree from which the support was made could not have been felled any earlier than 1553 – many years after Bosch's death in 1516.[19] It was similarly possible to establish for around thirty other panels by Bosch followers, including the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial (cat. 27), that they could only have been painted after 1516.[20] The results of dendrochronological analysis have to be used with caution, however, which is not always the case in the literature. The major problem in this regard is adjusting for the unknown number of sapwood rings that were removed when the panels were produced. Study of 174 living oaks in Poland shows that they have between a minimum of nine and a maximum of thirty-six sapwood rings, with a median of fifteen.[21] This weighted average is frequently adopted as a probable or even absolute value for the number of rings that must be added; of the 174 trees studied, however, eighty-one had a smaller number of sapwood rings. This can have major consequences, particularly for the attribution of later works. Both Fritz Koreny and Lorne Campbell, for instance, have suggested recently that the dendrochronological dating of the *Haywain* in the Prado (cat. 20) makes it improbable that the triptych was painted before 1516. Yet this certainly could have been the case.[22] The youngest measured growth ring in the triptych dates from 1499 which, taking account of the minimum number of nine sapwood rings gives an earliest possible felling date of 1508 and, with two years of seasoning and processing, an earliest possible creation date of 1510. Statistically speaking, however, a felling date in or after 1510 is more likely, as this covers 93 per cent of the possible numbers of sapwood rings, together with a creation date in or after 1512.[23] In the case of the *Haywain*, therefore, dendrochronological dating cannot be used as a firm argument against attribution to Hieronymus Bosch.

In recent decades, the wood biologist Peter Klein in particular has subjected many panels by Bosch and his followers to dendrochronological analysis.[24] Several more works have been added by our project, including the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9), the wings of the *Haywain* and the wings of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21), all in the Prado in Madrid. When all these data are placed in a table (see BRCP, *Technical Studies*, 'Dendrochronology'), there is an almost automatic tendency to view this sequence as a relative chronology for the overall oeuvre. This is however highly problematic: as emphasized above, dendrochronological dating can only be used as a *terminus post quem* – that is to say, as the earliest possible creation date – not as an actual date. The situation is further complicated by the fact that Bosch sometimes recycled older panels. We know, for instance, that he purchased the shutters of the old Marian altarpiece from the Brotherhood of Our Lady for 5 Rhenish florins and 8 pennies in 1480/81.[25] He might also have acquired the panels for the *Garden of Earthly Delights* in a similar way, for, with their most recent growth ring dating from 1455, they have an unusually early dendrochronological date.[26] There are indications that the workshop had an exceptionally large stock of wood available due to the trading by Goessen and Hieronymus referred to above. It is entirely possible that this resulted in a relatively large number of paintings with unusually early dendrochronological dates. The Escorial version of the *Haywain* was dated in this way to twelve years earlier than the triptych in the Prado (cat. 20), even though the latter is undoubtedly the original work after which the Escorial painting was copied.[27] The later cropping of panels can also distort the results obtained from dendrochronological dating. This is the case with *John the Baptist* in Madrid (cat. 5), for instance, where growth rings have disappeared on the sides.[28]

> 20.15



FIG 4 *Saint John on Patmos* [CAT 6A]: barb and unpainted edge



FIG 5 *Haywain* (Madrid) [CAT 20D]: closed left wing



FIG 6 Hubert and Jan van Eyck, *The Ghent Altarpiece* (closed). Sint-Baafskathedraal, Ghent

If the statistical similarities between the growth ring patterns are unusually strong, it can be concluded in some cases that different boards were sawn from the same tree, strengthening the connection between different works. This is the case, for example, with the four *Visions of the Hereafter* panels in Venice (cat. 18), the original presentation form of which is not known. When the growth ring patterns coincide exactly, it can be concluded that the panels were originally the front and back of the same panel, which was later split lengthwise. This is what occurred with the *Wayfarer* in Rotterdam (cat. 19A), for example, which originally functioned as the exterior wings of a triptych, the central panel of which has been lost. The *Ship of Fools* in Paris, together with the fragment in New Haven (cat. 19B), formed the inside of the left wing, and *Death and the Miser* in Washington (cat. 19C) was the right interior wing. The two wings were, therefore, sawn apart to create four separate paintings.[29]

Hieronymus Bosch, like his contemporaries, painted on panels with engaged frames. This type of frame consists of four members that fully enclose both the front and the back of the panel. There is not a single work for which the original engaged frame has survived fully intact, but those of two triptychs in the Prado in Madrid, the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9) and the *Haywain* (cat. 20), are still largely original.[30] Traces of the original paint have been detected in some cases on the edge of the frame, indicating that it is authentic. Even where the frames have been lost, traces often remain on the panel from which we can deduce how it was originally framed. This reflects the fact that the ground layer of chalk and glue was only applied and the panel actually painted after the frame had been fitted. Ungrounded and unpainted edges were therefore left around the sides of the panel, where

FIG 3



it was originally covered by the frame, together with 'barbs' or ridges of ground and paint where these layers ran up against the frame elements. If these ridges are present on all sides, we can conclude that the painting has retained its initial dimensions. It has been possible to establish in this way that the dimensions of several panels have been altered.[31] Another situation was found in the case of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Ghent (cat. 29), which our research indicates is not autograph. No barbs or unpainted edges were found on that painting, but the paint layer extending to the panel edges and the bevelling on the reverse go to show that this panel originally had a rabbeted rather than an engaged frame[32] – a type that only became customary in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. FIGS 3–5

A thin layer of glue was applied to the framed panel,[33] followed by a whitish ground which covered the colour and texture of the wood and served as a flat, light-reflecting and evenly moisture-absorbent base for the paint layers.[34] Anthonius van Aken was paid in 1463 for the 'whitening' (*witten*) of two altarpiece wings, showing that this dusty task was also done at times in the family workshop.[35] The chemical composition of the ground can provide an indication of the region in which the work was created. The ground, which could be applied in several layers, comprised a mixture of animal glue and local filler. In the case of panels painted in Spain, the filler was invariably gypsum (calcium sulphate, $CaSO_4$); north of the Alps, by contrast, chalk (calcium carbonate, $CaCO_3$) was used for this purpose.[36] Because the panel with *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* in the Prado (cat. 34) was painted on poplar, it has been suggested that it might have been made in Spain. Its ground layer contains chalk, however, which argues against this hypothesis.[37] Calcium carbonate does appear to have been used occasionally as a filler for ground layers in Portugal and Venice, and perhaps in other regions of Italy too.[38] Reinforcements between the panel and the ground layer have not been detected in the works attributed by us to Hieronymus Bosch and his workshop.[39]

Although the paintings would seem to fit perfectly within the established tradition in terms of their frames, that is not the case. This is because Bosch did something very unusual with the exteriors of his triptychs, by using them as a single, continuous picture plane. It was not uncommon in early Netherlandish painting to place images on the closed wings of triptychs and polyptychs in a continuous space. The space in which the Annunciation is set, for instance, on the closed wings of Hubert and Jan van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece (1432), runs across four separate panels with engaged frames.[40] Hans Memling, meanwhile, depicted figures on the outside of the triptychs of Jan Floreins (1479) and Adriaan Reins (1480), both in Bruges, in a continuous landscape punctuated by the upright frame members. The vertical members of engaged frames presented the painter with a practical problem, as they interrupt the picture plane in the middle not only visually, but also physically.[41] This is because the frames do not lie in the same plane as the panel but significantly higher and, moreover, there is a bevelled or rounded edge between the frame member and the panel. Van Eyck solved the problem brilliantly: he simultaneously emphasized and integrated the frame elements by giving them cast shadows. In so doing, he affirmed the reality that the frames are located physically in front of the image, while at the same time creating the impression that the viewer is looking between these frames at the painted space beyond. FIG 6

Bosch opted for radically different solutions to this problem. In the spectacular *Mass of Saint Gregory* – the semi-grisaille painting on the exterior wings of the Prado *Adoration* (cat. 9) – he simply ignored the presence of the vertical members of the frames in the middle of the picture plane. He made the highly unusual choice of painting the image straight across the two frame uprights. The centrally positioned Christ as Man of Sorrows from the Vision of Pope Gregory is not painted on the panel but on these vertical members, while the join between the frames of the two wings runs right through the figure. The join also runs through the crucified Christ in the Passion scene at the top, while Gregory's figure is continued onto the bevelled side of the frame member.[42] > 9.1

This solution was evidently not always satisfactory: in two later triptychs, for instance, the vertical frame members were not ignored on the exterior but were physically omit-

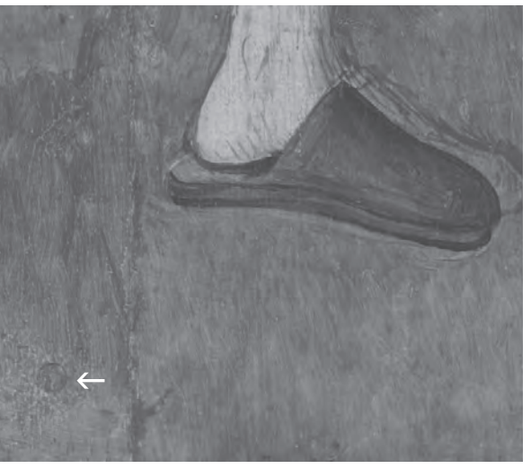


FIG 7 *Wayfarer* [CAT 19A]: IRP, detail showing dowel

ted, albeit in different ways. The first of these is found on the *Wayfarer* panel in Rotterdam (cat. 19A) which, as indicated above, was not originally a single panel but the exterior of two wings of a dismantled triptych, the elements of which were dispersed. Round holes were found on either side of the vertical join where the two parts were later glued together. These will have held wooden dowels used to attach an integrated or applied frame member on the inside of the wings.[43] This made it possible to paint the exterior wings with the *Wayfarer* as a single picture plane, not interrupted by frame elements. We may assume that these wings did have an engaged frame on the three other sides. A similar figure is painted on the exterior of the *Haywain* triptych in the Prado. The whole picture plane was used here too and not interrupted by frame members. The panels originally had engaged frames on all sides, but the two upright frame members that would have interrupted the centre of the picture plane of the closed wings were thinned until they lay in the same plane as the panels themselves.[44] The alteration made it necessary, however, to reinforce the fixing of these frame members to the panel on the outside of the wings. Wooden pins were inserted to this end in the frame members.[45] This unusual construction and differences in the rate of shrinkage of the wood of the panel and that of the frame have resulted in the slightly open join.

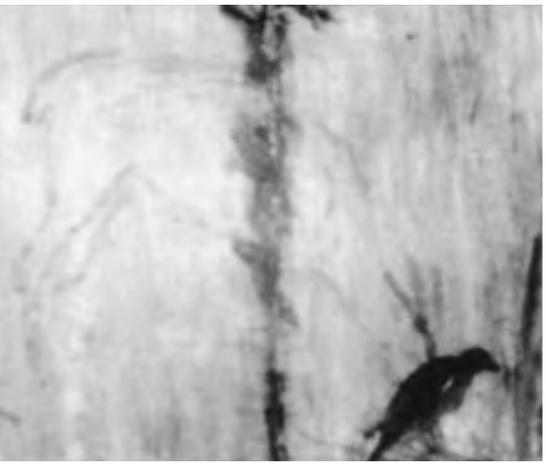
FIG 7

Underdrawings

Before beginning the painting process, early Netherlandish artists almost always drew on the light-coloured ground layer to prepare their composition. Bosch too, a draughtsman to the core, nearly always made use of an *underdrawing* of this kind.[46] Such preparatory drawings were typically executed in a dark material containing carbon, which could be applied both dry and wet. The underdrawing served important functions in the creative process, both practically and artistically. The drawn contours of the forms and folds served the painter as a guide, making it easier to apply the paint 'from back to front'. The modelling of the paint layers to be applied could also be prepared – with parallel and cross-hatching, for instance, to indicate the depth of the shadow areas. Working with an underdrawing also played a more general role in the rationalization of the production process, which became steadily more important as the open art market developed. It facilitated the division of labour within the workshop and the serial production of copies based on patterns. Substantially elaborated modelling in the underdrawing meant, moreover, that the paint could be applied in fewer and in thinner layers. A new composition could also be created, worked out or altered quickly and efficiently – much faster than in oil paint.[47]

Because carbon, unlike the light-coloured ground, absorbs infrared radiation, the drawings beneath the painted layer can be rendered partially visible using two separate and

FIG 8a–c *Haywain* [CAT 20A, Paradise wing]: IRR Garrido and Van Schoute, VIS and IRR BRCP







complementary techniques: infrared photography (IRP) and infrared reflectography (IRR). IRP has a lower spectral response than IRR, and most green and blue paint therefore remains impenetrable at this wavelength. Considerably better image quality and much higher resolutions can be achieved, by contrast, with IRP.[48] In both techniques, paint containing carbon absorbs infrared, which means that underdrawings beneath grey or black layers cannot be made visible. The black or otherwise dark underpainting that is found in some cases also absorbs infrared and so if these are underdrawn in a carbon-containing material, that underdrawing too remains invisible.[49]

Documentation using infrared also allows information from X-radiographs (XR) to be supplemented when determining the state of preservation of the works and identifying changes in the paint layer – something that has regularly delivered spectacular results for Bosch.[50] The equipment for IRR and for macrophotography in infrared and visible light has improved markedly in recent decades, and working with a professional photographer has also meant that maximum benefit could be gained from these improvements. The digital infrastructure designed especially for the BRCP has made it possible to compare the new, high-quality images very precisely. The BRCP represents an important methodological development, because for the first time a widely dispersed oeuvre has been documented in a standardized way, with the same equipment used under comparable conditions in each case.[51] The vast majority of the museums cooperated enthusiastically with the project.[52] The new images have proved especially important for the study of the underdrawings of the works in the Prado collection, as the spectral response of the IRR camera used by Garrido and Van Schoute was surprisingly limited (comparable with that of IRP). Blue and green paint was not penetrated, as can be seen in the case of a bird from the Paradise wing of the *Haywain Triptych*.[53] The BRCP re-examined and documented three important works from the Prado collection: the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9), the *Haywain* (cat. 20) and the *Cure of Folly* (cat. 33). The absence for the time being of high-quality infrared material for the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21) in particular naturally remains a significant hiatus in this study. FIG 8

Comparison of the underdrawing with the paint layer often results in a new understanding of the genesis of a painting and hence of the artist's creative process. A traditionally important aspect of this type of research consists of determining whether, and if so to what extent, the underdrawn form that has been revealed deviates from the painted form. Relatively minor shifts in outline can be highly significant in this regard, when distinguishing, for instance, between an original composition and a copy. The BRCP documentation of the Prado *Haywain*, for example, shows several adjustments between the underdrawn compositions and the final version in paint, implying that this composition was conceived here. No such changes whatsoever were found, by contrast, in the version of the *Haywain* in the Escorial, while the painted image follows that of the Prado triptych very closely. It must therefore be concluded that even though the Escorial painting was done on older wood,[54] it was copied after the Prado triptych and certainly not the other way round.[55] FIG 9 FIG 10

Such changes between the original design and the final composition can also be important iconographically, as in the case of *Death and the Miser* in Washington (cat. 19c), with its vision of a greedy old man face to face with the figure of Death. The dying man in the bed reaches out with his right arm for the bag held by a toad-like monster, while gazing with a seemingly restrained expression at the personification of Death appearing in the doorway. The painted scene is strikingly ambiguous, as it is unclear whether the demon is offering the bag to the man, or whether he has just taken it from him. The emphasis of this detail in the underdrawing, by contrast, is entirely different: in that case, the man clasps the bag with his right hand, while his left hand holds up a large and precious goblet, which was omitted in the painted version. The impression created in this case is that the man is trying to buy his way out of his impending death. His mouth was also depicted as open in the first instance, like the maw of the monster next to the bed, suggesting that the two are negotiating the possibility and price of such a transaction. In the painted composition, the battle has been fought and only the angel is shown with its mouth open, no doubt to plead on behalf of the dying man to Christ, who appears in the form of a crucifix. FIG 11a FIG 11b




FIG 9a–b *Haywain* (Madrid) [CAT 20B]: VIS and IRR



FIG 10a–b *Haywain* (Escorial) [FIG 20.15]: VIS and IRR

Smaller or subtler adjustments too can sometimes be iconographically significant. Christ's left hand in the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt (cat. 11), for example, crosses over his right hand in the underdrawing, but this has been reversed in the final, painted version. Leaving aside, for a moment, the risk of a circular argument, the fact that this alteration was made suggests that the position of the arms was considered important enough to change, and that the position of the hands must therefore also be explained iconographically.

In some instances, the underdrawing is also essential when it comes to identifying the painter's visual sources. The fine city view in the upper left of the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo*, for example, was not originally planned; the composition was closed off at first by a wall, in keeping with the visual tradition for this Passion episode in the later fifteenth century. A significant change was also found in the city view in the central panel of the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston (cat. 24): rather than the open square for the Carrying of the Cross that we see in the painting, a diagonally positioned bridge over a canal was initially drawn here, precisely like the one painted in the Frankfurt panel. In this case, therefore, the underdrawing provides a further argument for the creation of the triptych in Bosch's workshop.

> 11.9, 11.11–12

> 24.2

Changes of this nature are found so often in paintings generally held to belong to the core group of Hieronymus Bosch's oeuvre that we consider the presence of traces of the creative process as a *sine qua non* for attributions to Bosch. The underdrawings of the *Cure of Folly* in Madrid (cat. 33), the *Conjurer* in Saint-Germain-en-Laye (cat. 32) and *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Ghent (cat. 29) were all followed relatively closely in the paint layer. We therefore believe that these works were copied from existing examples, just like the *Haywain* in the Escorial, although in these three cases the *principaal* has not survived. This conclusion does not automatically mean, of course, that these copies cannot have been produced in Bosch's workshop, but rather that additional evidence would be required to demonstrate this.[56] Sufficient further arguments appear to be present in the case of *Christ Carrying the Cross* to conclude that this painting was not produced until considerably later; as noted above, for instance, the panel was originally painted right up to the edges and mounted in a rabbeted frame.[57]

FIG 12

> 20.15

Underdrawings in early Netherlandish paintings are often strikingly characteristic in terms of style and choice of material. Comparative stylistic studies of underdrawings can therefore play an essential role in the attribution of paintings, and the underdrawings of works by Bosch have chiefly been studied in the past with this aim in mind. This applies in particular to the studies of Roger Van Schoute, who published regularly on this subject over half a century, sometimes in collaboration with Hélène Verougstraete and Carmen



Garrido.[58] The works studied and published by these authors include the ones in the Prado. Other comparative studies were published by Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Jetske Sybesma Ironside and Fritz Koreny.[59] What links all these publications is that they point, without exception, to what is indeed the substantial diversity in style in the execution of this group of underdrawings. Some of the authors have compiled clusters of related paintings based on these differences. Van Schoute formed three groups in this way, and Sybesma Ironside five. In both cases, however, one of the created groups is a residual cluster consisting of underdrawings that show few if any mutual stylistic affinities.

Many of the previously published findings were confirmed by our research, while others can now be adjusted and supplemented. We also identify stylistic links in the underdrawings. By far the largest and clearest cluster relates to a number of paintings with one or more figures painted full-length in a landscape. The underdrawings were consistently done in these cases with a relatively large brush and a watery binding medium. Only sparing use of hatching is found here for modelling purposes, while a variety of adjustments made between the underdrawing and execution in paint provide evidence of a creative process





FIG 11a–b *Death and the Miser* [CAT 19C]: VIS and IRR





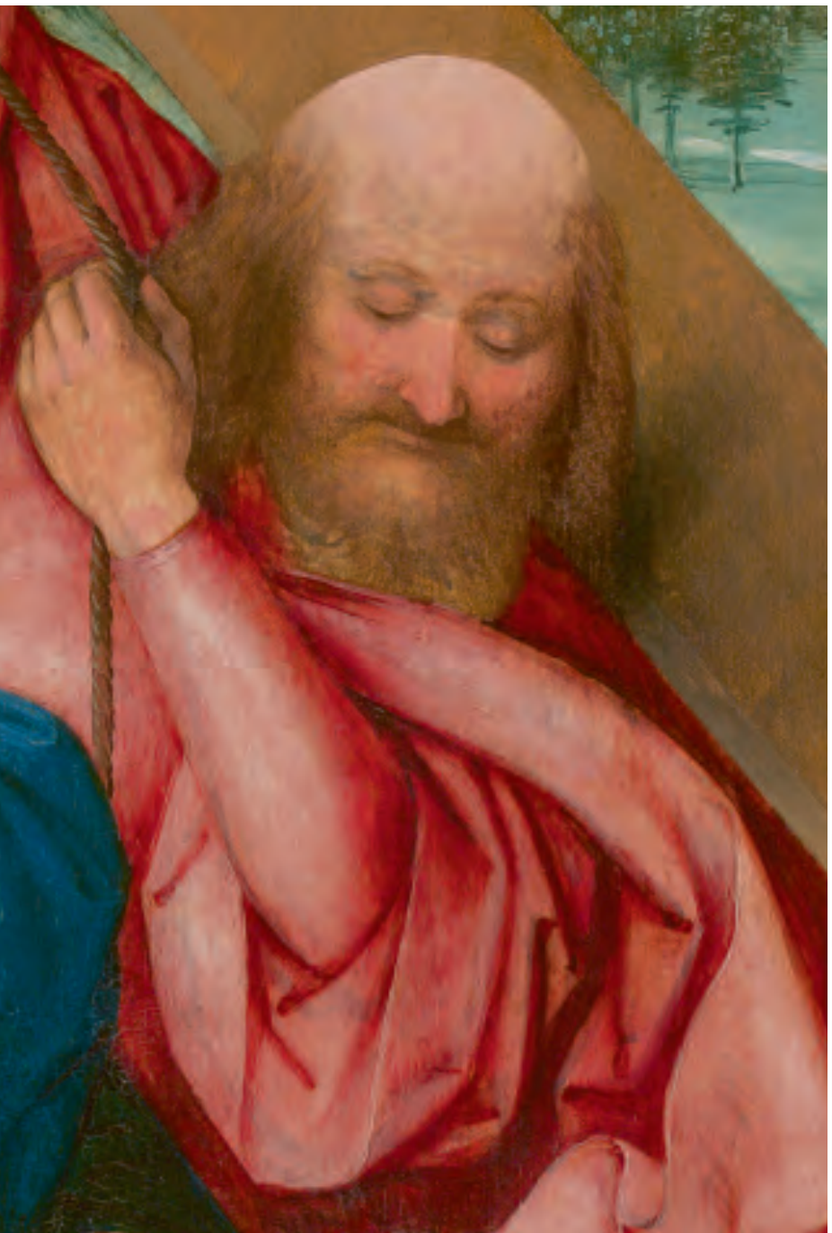
FIG 12a–b *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Ghent) [CAT 29]: VIS and IRR

that continued until the very final stages of production. These panels with stylistically similar underdrawings are generally viewed as belonging to Bosch's core oeuvre:[60] *Saint Jerome at Prayer* in Ghent (cat. 1); the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice (cat. 2); *John the Baptist* in Madrid (cat. 5); *Saint John on Patmos* in Berlin (cat. 6); *Saint Christopher* in Rotterdam (cat. 7); the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* in Venice (cat. 8); the *Adoration of the Magi* in Madrid (cat. 9); and *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (cat. 13). The *Crowning with Thorns* in London (cat. 14) – a composition with half-length figures – also belongs to this group. While it is a logical and almost automatic response by art historians to compile stylistic clusters of this nature, several methodological provisos ought to be expressed in this regard. One significant difference between the studies alluded to above is found in their respective conclusions. Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido consistently emphasized – albeit not always equally persuasively – that underdrawings differing markedly from one another can still have been done by one and the same hand, while Sybesma Ironside and Koreny divided up this group into different hands.[61] This fundamental difference in approach nevertheless conceals an important point in common, in that none of these studies addresses the possibility that different hands might have worked on a single painting, even though this was surely common practice in early Netherlandish workshops. Collaboration will have been the rule rather than the exception for the production of larger altarpieces in particular.[62]

FIG 13

The huge differences in style and materials of the underdrawings of the *Last Judgement* in Vienna (cat. 17) are particularly important in this regard. The triptych was probably painted on behalf of the Burgundian official Hippolyte de Berthoz, who was based in Bruges.[63] The

FIG 13a–b *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Escorial) [CAT 13]: VIS and IRR





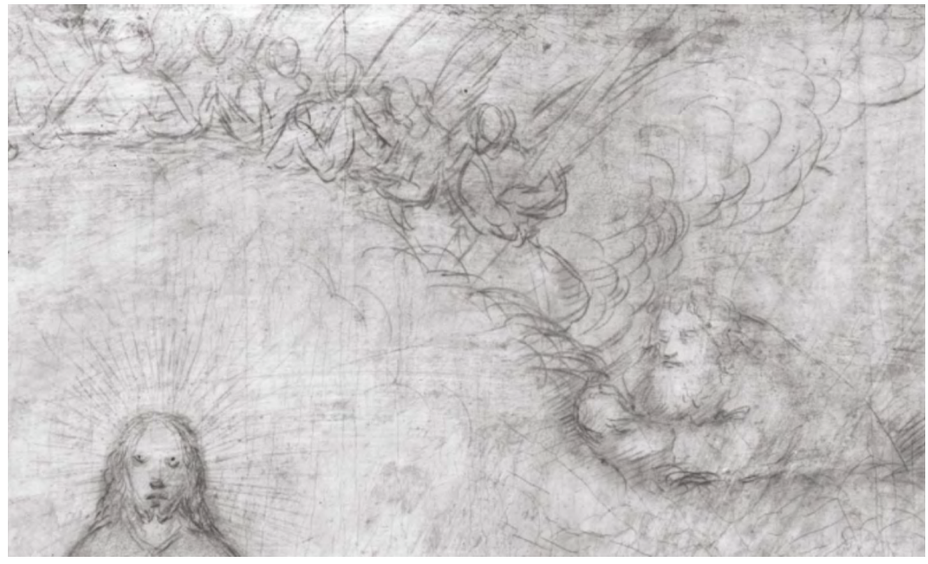


FIG 14 *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17B]: IRR



FIG 15 *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17B]: IRR

underdrawings of the grisailles on the closed wings, showing the Apostle James the Greater and Saint Hippolytus, were done in a large brush in a watery medium, and form a close stylistic match with the aforementioned cluster, even though many of the shadows were prepared here using broad, parallel lines, especially in the landscape.[64] The open wings and the central panel of the triptych, by contrast, present an entirely different approach. These compositions were worked out in a free and expressive underdrawing to a detailed and surprisingly advanced degree. The vigorous, sketchy style is characterized by repeated outlines and hatching that is precisely worked out and bends to follow the modelling of the figures. Deeper shadows were implemented using closely placed hatching in both long, straight lines and zigzags. The occasionally sharp turns in the lines no doubt reflect the execution in a dry material. As far as we can tell, this underdrawing cannot be compared with any other in a work by Bosch, including other highly detailed compositions. It seems eminently possible, therefore, that the compositions in the open triptych were set down by a different hand – perhaps by a particularly talented journeyman, an itinerant assistant who was only active in the workshop for a short time, or by a workshop assistant by whom no further work is known.

FIGS 14, 15

As many as three different hands were evidently responsible for the underdrawings in the triptych of the *Ecce Homo* in Boston (cat. 24): for the central panel, the interior wings and the exterior wings.[65] Of these three hands, two may be linked relatively straightforwardly with the preparation of other works in the group, but the underdrawing style on the exterior wings so far stands alone within the larger group. These and similar findings seem to confirm the suspicion that collaborators who might only have been active in the workshop for a short time could be set to work during all phases of production, including that of the underdrawing.[66] We ought to be cautious, however, about drawing conclusions of this nature, as the number of surviving paintings is only a fraction of what must once have been produced in the Van Aken/Bosch workshop.

The underdrawings of the *Wayfarer* in Rotterdam, the *Ship of Fools* in Paris, the fragment with *Gluttony and Lust* in New Haven and *Death and the Miser* in Washington (cat. 19A–C) have also been cited in the literature as a separate stylistic cluster.[67] The underdrawings – characterized by webs of parallel and cross-hatching, worked out to a surprisingly advanced degree with a medium-sized brush and applied in different directions – are indeed related very closely in stylistic terms. This does not come unexpected since, as was noted above, these panels did originally form the wings of the same triptych. This characteristic manner of underdrawing has yet to be detected in other works, and so it would seem more meaningful to view it as a one-off in Bosch's workshop rather than as another stylistic cluster.[68] It is even conceivable that this was some kind of experiment on Bosch's part, in which the modelling used in engravings was imitated in the underdrawing, so that it would contribute to the effect of the unusually thin paint layers. The idea that the underdrawings of these sawn-apart wings essentially stand alone within the group also creates a new context for the discussion of its supposedly left-handed execution – something claimed by various authors since 1962, including Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen, Frits Lugt, Micheline Sonkes, Jetske Sybesma Ironside and Fritz Koreny.[69] In our view, however, the left-handedness of these underdrawings is not unambiguous: the new documentation shows hatching in various directions. We believe it is still an open question whether the direction and lines of hatching in underdrawings may indeed be considered conclusive evidence – as has traditionally been the case for drawings on paper – of the left- or right-handedness on the maker's part. Underdrawings – unlike 'ordinary' drawings – were mostly done on a vertically mounted support, with possible use of a mahlstick.[70]

A related and problematic aspect of organizing underdrawings stylistically is that observations of this kind can only apply to the preparatory sketches, and not automatically to the rest of the painting as well. Given the division of labour within early Netherlandish painters' workshops, it is entirely possible, after all, that different hands worked on the same painting not only *alongside* but also *after* one another. In other words, we cannot simply assume that the underdrawing hand was, by definition, also responsible for applying the



FIG 16a–b *Last Judgement* (Bruges)
[CAT 16C]: VIS and IRR



FIG 17a–b *Ecce Homo Triptych* (Boston)
[CAT 24F]: VIS and IRR



paint layers. This is still by no means viewed as self-evident, as witnessed by the far-reaching conclusions that Fritz Koreny drew recently from the style of the underdrawing of a single detail from the *Haywain* in the Prado (cat. 20).[71]

Putting together clusters of this kind is an art rather than a science. It depends by definition on the stylistic variables for this group and so is bound to vary. The manner in which these variables are defined and applied is, moreover, significantly subjective. A first, dry underdrawing was detected, for instance, in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (cat. 13), which was used to set down the beginnings of the principal forms; it was later worked out in a watery medium with a relatively large brush. A similar first preparatory stage could not be determined – at least not with certainty – in the other works belonging to the cluster.[72] The presence or absence of a first underdrawing like this in a dry material might also serve as a criterion for compiling a group to which this important panel would be allocated on its own. To our mind, however, this would be an extremely illogical, not to say undesirable outcome, as the detectable underdrawing of the other works in the aforementioned group shows strong affinities with the wet underdrawing of this *Christ Carrying the Cross*. A similarly problematic criterion is the way the shadow areas in the underdrawing of the landscape behind the figure of James the Greater on the exterior of the left wing of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 17) are formed with broad, parallel lines in a watery medium. This leads in the first instance to the images in question being excluded from the group. However, as soon as we drop this characteristic as a criterion, the exterior of the wings actually fit back into the group without the slightest problem. Good arguments can be formulated, incidentally, for both choices, in which other variables too can be taken into account, such as the fact that the Vienna triptych is so much larger than the other works in the group or that we are dealing in this case with a grisaille and hence with a different type of painting. Taking everything into account, the similarities between the underdrawings once again appear to be much more important than the differences. And if we were to apply our stylistic criteria a little less strictly, other works too would suddenly fit into the cluster, such as the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (cat. 16), the *Flood Panels* in Rotterdam (cat. 22) and the *Job Triptych* in Bruges (cat. 23). Bosch appears, incidentally, to have had a greater personal involvement in the underdrawing of the two latter works than in their execution in paint.





FIG 18 *Ecce Homo* (Frankfurt) [CAT 11]: IRR

A final methodological proviso relates to a surprising new finding from our research. We found that many underdrawings were done in multiple stages – four or more successive ones in some cases. These different phases can be distinguished by variations

FIG 16



FIG 19 *Entombment of Christ* [CAT 54]

in the use of materials (paintbrush size, different tones of black and a variety of binding mediums).[73] At the same time, they appear to coincide in many cases with the nature of the underdrawn feature, which also helps identify it. The outlines and the most important folds, for instance, were often drawn in a different stage from the finer modelling. Although it remains difficult, and in some cases even impossible, to securely determine the sequence of the different stages based on current documentation methods, it is reasonable to assume that the outlines were done before the modelling. This unusual way of working might be indicative more of a fully-fledged draughtsman than of the traditional painter's approach to preparation. The phased underdrawings seem to have been used primarily to prepare more complex compositions with several different figures, including the larger triptychs we studied: the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4), the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9), the *Haywain* in the Prado (cat. 20), the central panel of the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (cat. 16), and the dispersed wings of the *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 19); but also smaller works like the *Adoration* in Philadelphia (cat. 25) and the one in New York (cat. 10), the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt (cat. 11) and the *Calvary* in Brussels (cat. 15).

The most important outlines and folds in the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* were prepared using a relatively large brush and a watery medium.[74] This method was used for most of the figures, including the donor family – which was later scraped away and overpainted – on the lower left and right, and for the wall with arched openings in the background, which was never painted (cat. 11). The same brush and watery binding medium also appear to have been used here locally for modelling, namely in the group around Christ. The modelling of the figures in the group of spectators, by contrast, was prepared with a finer brush and a less watery medium, with hatching placed relatively precisely and in different directions. Several folds – in the sleeve of the man with the gesticulating hands in the central foreground, for instance – were emphasized at a later stage using a similarly fine brush, but in a material that stands out darker in infrared light, and therefore appears to contain more carbon. The watery underdrawing applied with the relatively large brush shows close affinities once again in terms of style and choice of materials with those of other panels in the aforementioned group, while the later stages show no such similarities at all. FIG 18

The phased execution seems to point once more towards the possible involvement of several hands in the production of these works, although it is unclear for the time being whether, and if so to what extent, this was indeed systematically the case. Comparison with the *Entombment of Christ* – a Bosch drawing in London (cat. 54) – is extremely interesting in this regard. If we examine this stylistically coherent sheet in detail, we find evidence here too of a surprisingly similar, phased execution in at least three stages, in which washes and closely applied hatching with broad lines have been combined with more precise hatching set down with a finer brush.[75] A large pen-and-ink drawing like that of the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35) was also done in various stages and inks.[76] And if Bosch – the thoroughbred draughtsman – was in the habit of completing his drawings in phases, is he not likely to have done the same in his underdrawings? FIG 19

The possibility that a single hand might have been responsible for several or all the stages of the phased underdrawings does imply an exponential increase in the previously formulated stylistic criteria. We would have to expand the cluster, for instance, to include all the phased underdrawings that likewise display the characteristic preparation with a relatively large brush and a watery medium. Should we not, however, also open up the group to underdrawings that correspond stylistically with other stages in the phased works, such as modelling using relatively finer hatching? And if these works display other characteristics in turn, ought we not to apply those as well? Given this multiplication of criteria and, with it, the number of subjective decisions, clustering based on separate stages would not appear very helpful, and might even be counter-productive. However, the fact that various underdrawings of panels ascribed to Bosch display a markedly phased structure of this kind makes this feature in itself a new stylistic characteristic for the workshop, which can indeed be usefully applied for purposes of clustering and attribution.[77] A much

harder question is that of where the precise boundaries of workshop production lie. For the time being, it will often be very difficult or impossible to distinguish assistants from followers and copyists, particularly where compositions are repeated with few traces of a creative process.

The information from the study of the underdrawings fits well with the image of an artist with an exceptionally creative mind, for whom drawing and underdrawing were an integral and essential element of the creative process. Even if it turns out that Bosch had little or no input into the execution in paint of certain works, his hand can still be firmly detected in many cases, albeit beneath that of his assistants.

The paint layers

The pigments and binding media available to Bosch were relatively limited.[78] Like his contemporaries, he used lead white and bone or plant black, the blue pigments azurite and natural ultramarine,[79] and green copper pigments like verdigris and malachite.[80] There was vermilion and red lead for red, along with organic lakes such as madder lake or carmine, which he could also use to make purple.[81] Earth pigments offered a range of different brown and yellow tones, and sometimes red and green too, while for yellow highlights he employed lead-tin yellow. Bosch evidently used linseed oil as his main binding agent.[82] Like his contemporaries, he might also have used walnut oil locally, which yellowed less and was therefore better suited to painting white and blue areas.[83] Bosch was much less traditional when it came to his painting technique. As is the case with the underdrawings, the available literature reports striking variations in the layered structure of the painting, in the handling of the paint and the use of impasto. We also encountered differences of this nature, not only between different paintings, but also within a single work.

The early Netherlandish painting technique would change significantly in the course of the sixteenth century, and Bosch appears to have been an important forerunner of this process. Generally speaking, paintings were executed in fewer layers, and these paint layers also became thinner and more transparent, with the result that the underlying elements showed through more. This offers several significant advantages, as paintings can be produced in this way in a shorter time and using fewer materials. This development is often linked to the steady rise of the open art market: painters required to invest time and materials without a guaranteed buyer for their work will, it is argued, have wanted to keep the cost-price as low as possible. However, since the open art market in 's-Hertogenbosch did not develop until relatively late and paintings there in Bosch's time were mostly commissioned,[84] his faster way of working will have offered creative benefits to begin with. It made it easier for him to adapt his compositions as he worked – something he did surprisingly frequently and substantially.

Van Mander, in the passage in his *Schilder-boeck* (1604) on the life of Hieronymus Bosch, wrote as follows: 'He had a steady hand and a very adroit and subtle working manner, usually finishing his works in one layer which nevertheless remains bright without discoloration. Also, just like some other old masters, he used to draw his subjects onto the white of the panel, laying over that a transparent, flesh-coloured ground layer; he often allowed the ground to contribute to the effect of the picture.'[85] As noted earlier, it is highly questionable whether Van Mander is referring here to works by Bosch or by his followers; this is less relevant in the present instance, however, as it was just as important for the many followers to imitate Bosch's *technique* as it was his characteristic subjects and motifs. The phrase 'in one layer' ('ten eersten opdoen') refers to *alla prima* painting, in which a composition was laid down in a single layer, possibly wet-in-wet, with no preparatory *doodverf*, the underpainting in muted or 'dead' colouring.[86] Bosch did indeed frequently model his flesh tones not in the underpainting, as was customary, but on the surface of the paint, in a semi-transparent scumble applied over a thin, first transparent layer, as we can see, for instance, in the pink paint on a hand in a detail from *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial. FIG 20

This made it possible to work with fewer and thinner layers, resulting in a shorter drying time, higher productivity and lower costs. Van Mander's comment that Bosch's paintings remained beautiful ('seer schoon') needs to be viewed in the light of the poor reputation enjoyed by *alla prima* painting, which led not infrequently to problems of quality. Various painters' guilds had charters, therefore, that made the use of dead colouring compulsory to avoid discoloration and other problems. It was not until 1546, however, that the guild in 's-Hertogenbosch imposed a similar rule.[87]

It is not entirely clear what Van Mander meant by 'transparent, flesh-coloured ground layer' ('doorschijnigh carnatiachtigh primuersel'). Vandivere recently interpreted it as referring to a transparent, pigmented intermediate layer, applied over the entire surface.[88] A pigmented isolation layer has been detected on a number of paintings attributed to Bosch. The pigment used, however, is not flesh-coloured yet frequently white, but also brown or black or a combination of the two.[89] A thin layer of unpigmented linseed oil applied over the underdrawing was identified in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial.[90] Van Mander had to make do, however, without a microscope or paint samples; rather than a pigmented isolation layer, therefore, he may have been describing a local, relatively transparent initial paint layer, as we see between the middle and forefinger of the man next to Simon of
FIG 20a Cyrene. Van Mander's observation that Bosch 'often allowed the ground to contribute' ('liet oock dickwils de gronden mede wercken') is also important, as it tells us that these works were already noticeably transparent in the late sixteenth century. This is interesting, as certain colours become more transparent with age, and it is often extremely difficult to determine at this stage precisely how a painting will have appeared in the sixteenth century.[91]

In a number of works, the composition was prepared not only by means of an underdrawing, but also through incisions. These were used, for instance, in the grisaille on the back of *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6) and in the *Cure of Folly* (cat. 33) to indicate the edges of the circle to be painted. This was done before painting began by scratching the circular form in the ground layer using compasses of some kind. The point made by an instrument like this is visible in the nimbus of the Christ Child in *Saint Christopher* (cat. 7). Some incisions in this painting might have been made using the end of the paintbrush. Incisions in the wet paint found in several other panels were used to help define forms: in the *Christ Child* for instance on the exterior of the wing with *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12). The width of these incisions varies, indicating that they were made using
FIG 21 different instruments. Some of the lines are perfectly straight and will therefore have been drawn using a straight, hard object. Both straight and curved incisions were used on the outside of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9) to indicate the stone frame and the flat part of the altar. Incisions were also employed in two early works, the *Adoration* in New York (cat. 10) and the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt (cat. 11), to prepare stone walls, as later occurred with the floor of the platform in the central panel of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 4). A perspective system with a single vanishing point was used in the New York *Adoration*. The point is not located on the horizon, however, but beneath the two
FIG 22 little dancing figures in the landscape, precisely below the staff. The X-radiograph shows a white dot at that point and so we may assume that the perspective system was set up using a nail in the vanishing point, following which the hole was filled in before painting began. This way, the painter could use a string or a ruler to determine the correct perspective of parallel horizontal lines for the underdrawing and the incisions. Lines of this kind in the central panel of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon do not all meet precisely at a single vanishing point.

Gold leaf, which seems to have been on sale at a building on the Markt in 's-Hertogenbosch,[92] was traditionally applied before the actual painting began. It was detected in just a handful of works, in which it seems to have been applied systematically using the oil or mordant gilding technique. The many gilded details in the New York *Adoration* (cat. 10) stand out particularly. Only the three inscriptions and the rays of Christ's halo in the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt (cat. 11) were decorated with gold leaf. The material was also used in the

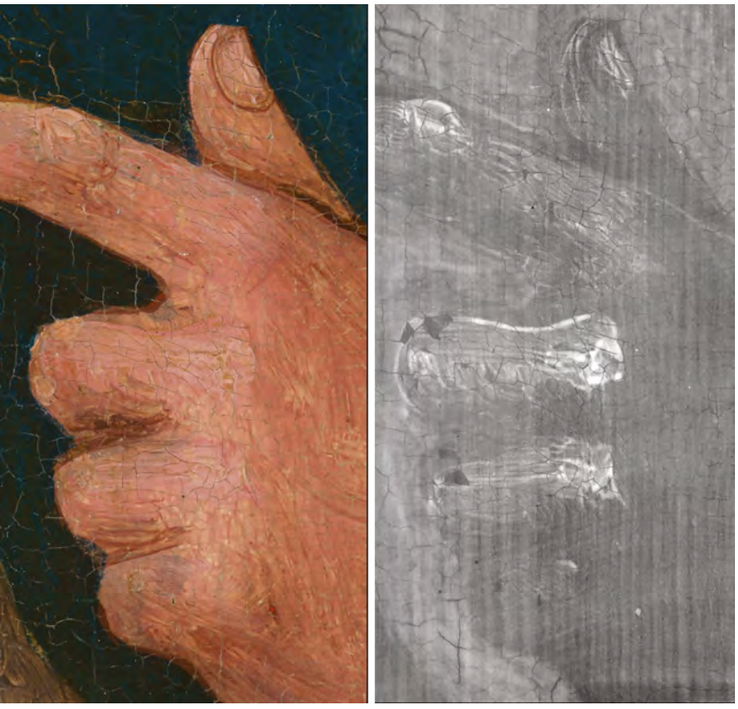


FIG 20a–b *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Escorial) [CAT 13]: VIS and XR



FIG 21 *Christ Child* [CAT 12B]: incisions

Madrid *Adoration* (cat. 9) for some smaller details and the signature, and for small accents in the Boston *Ecce Homo Triptych* (cat. 24) too.[93] A sticky layer containing oil was used as mordant, which – where this could be determined – was invariably pigmented. This is especially apparent where the gold leaf has largely abraded, as in the words spoken by Pontius Pilate in the Frankfurt panel: *Ecce Homo*, 'Behold the man'. The mordant also added relief to smaller, gilded forms, which will have been especially striking in flickering candlelight.[94] FIG 23

A great deal of attention was paid in the early Netherlandish painting tradition to preparing the composition. Careful and efficient planning was required if the artist was to be able to work from 'back to front' during painting. The background was laid down first, including the blue sky where appropriate. The underdrawing made it possible for forms set against the sky, such as figures or trees, to be left in reserve from it, which saved paint. Less paint was also needed later when these forms themselves were added, as there was no blue sky or other background to cover. Smaller details, by contrast – the figure's hair, for instance, or the branches and leaves of the tree – were painted over the edges of the reserved spaces, on top of the background. Bosch worked in precisely this way for a certain number of panels, including the *Calvary with Donor* in Brussels (cat. 15), in which the principal forms were left in reserve in the background, as revealed by the X-radiograph. Space was left blank from the sky for the cross, for instance, the buildings and the trees, which show all dark in the X-radiograph. The figures were also reserved in this way from the landscape. The building with the tower in the upper right, meanwhile, was not planned and was therefore painted over the already-completed sky. FIG 25A FIG 25B

In many more cases, however, this efficient way of working was clearly too rigid for Bosch's creative mind and he regularly made significant changes as he painted. The ageing of the paint layers means that these changes are now often visible to the naked eye. The landscape in *Saint Christopher* in Rotterdam (cat. 7), for instance, was drastically altered, and the large tree with its curious hermitage on the right was only added at the very last moment on top of an earlier, virtually finished background. Because the paint used for the

tree has become more transparent, the leaves of the original trees – which were positioned lower – can now be made out locally beneath the painted surface: in the trunk, for instance, and in the shelter above the hermitage. More frequently, however, changes of this kind can be seen more readily using infrared reflectography or X-radiography. Several examples can be given of alterations like this in the paint layer that are also extremely important in iconographical terms. In the central panel of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice (cat. 2), for instance, Saint Jerome embraces a strikingly large cross, which can also be made out in the X-radiograph, as the form was left in reserve from his red robe. This triptych is also extremely interesting in terms of its execution, as Bosch did not work from back to front here in the customary way, but actually did the opposite: he began by painting the central figures in each of the three panels, which, for a draughtsman *pur sang*, must have been a more organic approach.

Remarkably, the donors were overpainted in no fewer than four of Bosch's paintings – *John the Baptist* (cat. 5), the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8), the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt (cat. 11), and the *Calvary* (cat. 15). The donor of the *Last Judgement* in Vienna (cat. 17), meanwhile, was included in the underdrawing but never painted. We do not know in the case of the Frankfurt and Brussels panels whether the alterations were done in the workshop, but this does appear to have been the case with the overpainting of the donors in *John the Baptist* and *Saint Wilgefortis*. We can often reconstruct the original appearance of these paintings quite well using X-radiographs, IRR and microscopy, although this is no longer possible in the case of the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo*, where the paint was physically removed by scraping. Our study was able to shed more light on the numerous changes made during the painting of the central panel with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4), but it has so far not proved possible to deduce the exact original composition.

The structure of the paint layers can vary significantly for specific colours. Blue skies, for instance, were done in azurite and lead white and frequently shade from light blue on the horizon to dark blue at the upper edge of the painting, with the lighter elements containing a larger proportion of lead white. This paint was often applied relatively swiftly using a large, bristly brush in a variety of short, mostly vertical strokes applied in broad, horizontal zones. Horizontal brushstrokes are also used on occasion, as we find in the X-radiograph of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial. These can also be made out with the naked eye, as the sky was applied here in a single layer. In the *Saint Jerome* in Ghent (cat. 1) and the *Saint Christopher* in Rotterdam (cat. 7), the sky was applied in two layers and quite coarsely, while the skies in *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint John on Patmos* are painted more smoothly, with almost no individual brushstrokes visible.[95] We find a fourth variation in the open wings of the *Saint Anthony Triptych*, in which the underpainting has once again been applied relatively freely and roughly. The dark areas, by contrast, were done in a layer of grey paint that strongly absorbs infrared light. The flying fish, which was originally going to have two extra pectoral fins, was left in reserve from the base layer.

Looking at figure 28b, we are struck by how much grey and black paint Bosch used in this composition, not only in the underpainting for the sky, but also, for instance, in the water in the foreground and the middleground, and for certain buildings. He distinguished himself in this respect too from his fifteenth-century predecessors, who often avoided black, or used it only sparingly. Bosch employed a thin, grey, infrared-absorptive base layer for the brilliantly painted little figures who storm the tower in the upper right of the composition; he worked wet-in-wet with lead white, lead-tin yellow and a little red lake. The image was then finished off with a few final touches of white, yellow and black. Virtually no paint at all was used for the bridge itself, as a result of which the underdrawing of details that were never executed in paint are readily visible here with the naked eye. Taken together, it is a perfect display of efficiency, virtuosity and control, in which we see the 'draughtsman in paint' in his element.

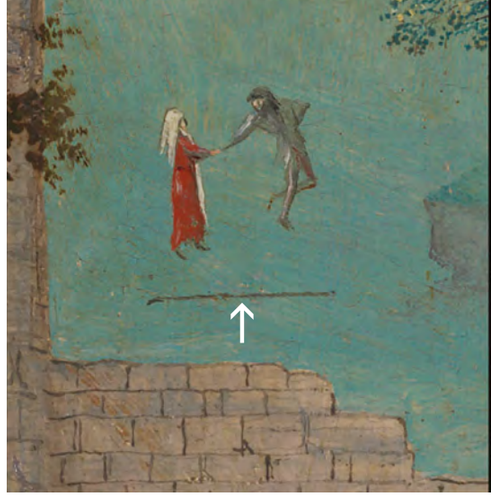
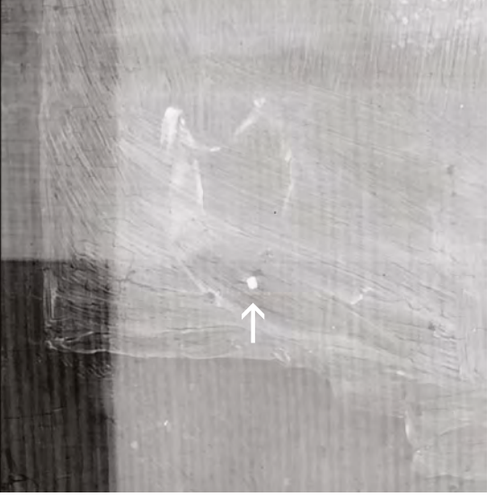


FIG 22a–b *Adoration of the Magi* (New York) [CAT 10]: VIS and XR



FIG 23 *Ecce Homo* (Frankfurt) [CAT 11]: mordant or oil gilding

FIG 24 *Ecce Homo* (Frankfurt) [CAT 11]: XR





Bosch frequently laid his forms down in a single, thin layer, therefore, on which he could then continue to work as he saw fit. This often produced striking results, especially in his faces, such as that of Simon of Cyrene in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (cat. 13), the flesh tints of which were applied in a thin, almost entirely transparent first paint layer, through which the underdrawing can be made out locally. The face was shaped further on top of this underlayer using a few rapid touches of white, pink, red and brown paint. Apart from the lead white, the impastoed pink paint is visible particularly clearly in the X-radiograph – in the cheekbone, for instance, the nostril and the corner of the lower lip. We can conclude, therefore, that this too is lead white with a little red lake mixed in. This manner of modelling on the surface was modern: early Netherlandish painters of the generations before Bosch achieved similar modelling using opaque paint in the underlying layer, over which they then laid a transparent glaze. Yet Bosch is not consistent in this respect either: local, ochre-coloured underpainting has been detected in two works – *Saint Jerome* in Ghent and *Saint Christopher*.

FIG 31a

FIG 31b

Bosch frequently used an underlayer for red lakes too. The organic pigments are not very opaque, making it difficult to achieve the required modelling, and so the lighter parts of forms to be painted with red lake – the lighter folds of red robes, for instance – were underpainted locally with an opaque paint containing lead white, while the darker parts were not. Further modelling was possible on the paint surface using short strokes of red lake applied at right angles to the direction of the folds – a technique that was evidently used primarily in earlier works; the same effect is obtained in later paintings by broader strokes of red lake applied in the direction of the fold, sometimes also mixed with black. There are various works in which lakes seem to have been applied with a rag rather than a brush. Bosch already prepared the light underlayer during the underdrawing phase using a striking yet efficient method: he frequently used hatching to indicate the shadows in drapery, which meant no underpainting containing lead white was actually needed in these locations. The impastoed, modelling underpainting and the relatively thin, smooth red lake resulted in striking differences in the texture of the paint. We should bear in mind, however, that the colour balance of the red lakes and the lead-white-containing underpainting has altered as the paint layers have aged, thus increasing the contrast between light and shade.[96]

FIG 29

FIG 34

We also find more texture in the paint surface where Bosch altered his compositions significantly at a later stage, requiring him to work on top of the existing layers. This explains why the unchanged elements of the open *Saint Anthony Triptych* (cat. 4) appear more smoothly painted than the central panel. Bosch was seemingly unconcerned about differences in texture like this or about the visibility of his brushwork. Individual strokes can often be readily distinguished – another respect in which he deviates from the early Netherlandish tradition. In some cases, he appears to use texture deliberately to add definition to his forms, particularly in hands and ears. Another typical use of texture in these paintings is found in the small, impastoed dots of paint – mostly pure lead white or lead-tin yellow – which Bosch used to structure the smooth forms of some of his fantastical botanical motifs.

FIG 32

FIG 35

It is striking how often and how brilliantly Bosch applied his paint wet-in-wet. It occasionally appears to have been a deliberate choice, for the technique also achieves an extra-realistic effect, as in the sap dripping from the hollow dead tree in the interior right wing of the *Saint Anthony Triptych*. More often, however, it seems first and foremost to have been a pragmatic method that enabled him to work swiftly and efficiently. The folds in the yellow tunic of the figure in the central panel of the *Haywain* (cat. 20), for instance, were not scratched into the wet lead-tin yellow with the end of the brush,[97] but were painted in using red lake mixed with a little lead white, which had the effect of pushing the yellow paint away. A similar effect was achieved in the red turban, but now with unmixed lead white. In the underside of this figure's right sleeve, we also find the contour line that was so typical of Bosch: it was applied here in brown paint as one of the very last details.

FIG 36

FIG 33

Conclusion

The observations set out above illustrate first and foremost the wide variation in working methods that we and others have identified in these paintings, of which the research reports in 'BRCP, *Technical Studies*' – the companion volume to this book – contain a more complete overview. The picture that emerges from the multiplicity of approaches in terms of frames, underdrawings and painting techniques is that of a painter who not only developed a visual language of his own, but who also applied very unusual working methods. He frequently deviated in this regard from existing early Netherlandish painting traditions, without establishing a new, rigid approach in their place. The substantial liberties Bosch systematically appears to have allowed himself run counter to our traditional image of the painter as a late-medieval craftsman. His painting technique also gives the impression of a unique creative mind – an 'artist' in the modern sense of the word.

However, any such conclusion would push and possibly even exceed the boundaries of scientific examination as part of the study of a technically varied body of work. If differences in the technical execution of a group of paintings are to be interpreted as a direct consequence of their production by a unique creative mind, the attribution of those works to that painter must be beyond any doubt. Otherwise we risk falling into circular arguments. As we know, it is precisely such a core group of paintings, whose attribution is supported by a documented commission, that is lacking for Bosch – something that also denies us a reliable chronology. An additional and for the time being unresolved issue here is that the role of the family workshop in the production of these works remains highly opaque, also



FIG 25a–b *Calvary with Donor* [CAT 15]: VIS and XR



FIG 26a–b *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Escorial) [CAT 13]: VIS and XR



FIG 27 *Saint Christopher* [CAT 7]



FIG 28a–b *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4C]: VIS and IRR



FIG 29 *Adoration of the Magi* (New York) [CAT 10]



FIG 30a–b *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4C]: VIS and IRR



FIG 31a–b *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Escorial) [CAT 13]: VIS and XR

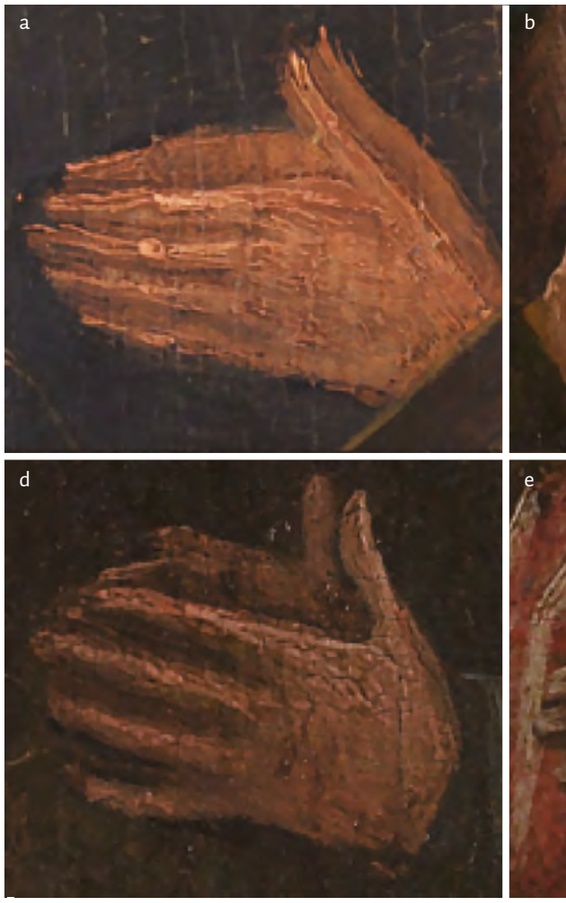


FIG 32a–f Hands

a CAT 1
b CAT 4B
c CAT 8B
d CAT 2C
e CAT 8B
f CAT 19B

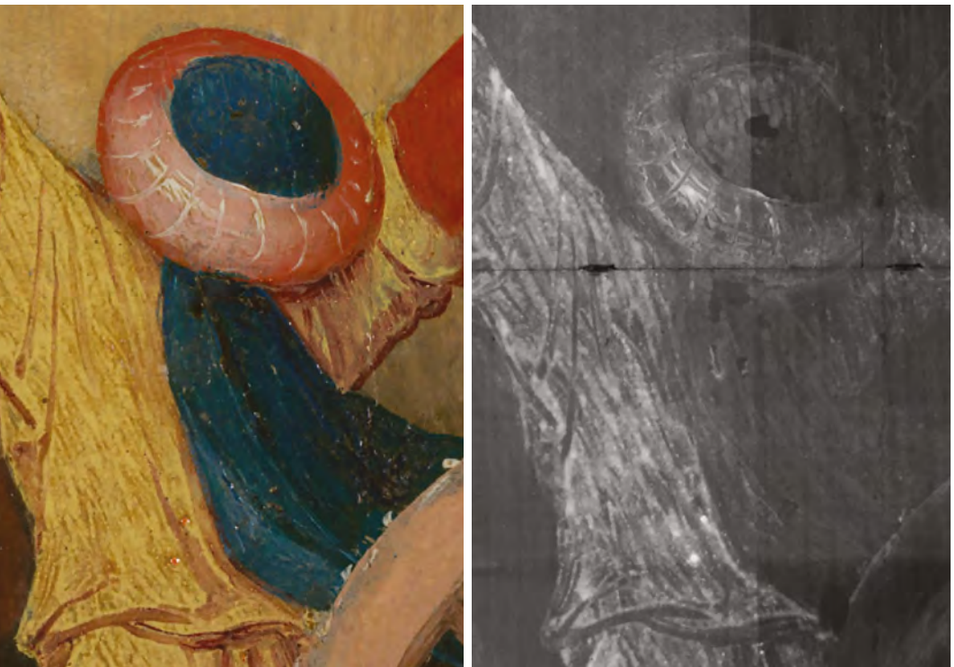


FIG 33a–b *Haywain* (Madrid) [CAT 20B]: VIS and XR

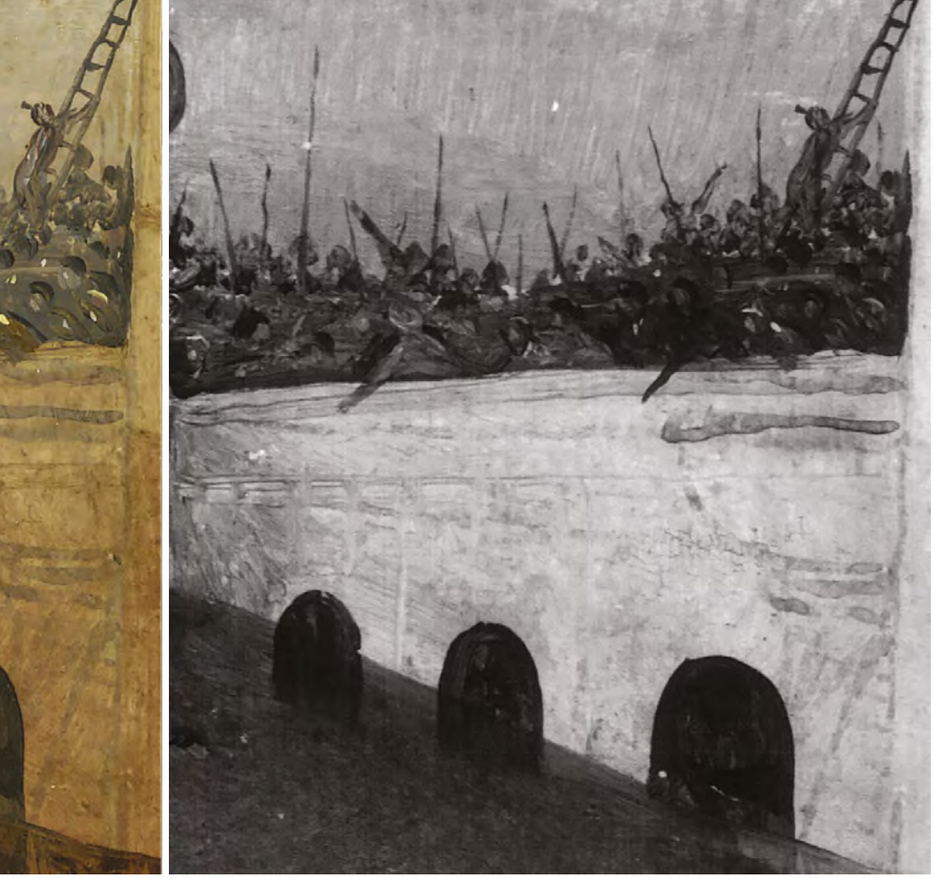










FIG 34a–c *Gluttony and Lust* [CAT 19B]: VIS, IRR and XR





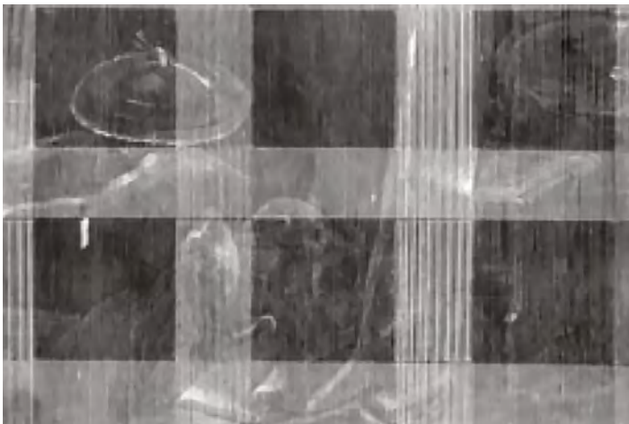




FIG 35 *Last Judgement* (Bruges) [CAT 16A]

after our study. It is reasonable to assume, however, that different painters belonging to the family collaborated at the workshop, and that these painters received the same or very similar training from the same teacher. One of the surprising findings of this study is that works of lesser quality, such as the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston (cat. 24), originated in the workshop too. This might also be the case with two versions of the central panel of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, in São Paulo and Philadelphia.[98] We hope that further research will shed additional light on the circumstances of these works' production, although it is possible that the hands of the different artists active in the workshop will never be clearly identified through technical examinations.



FIG 36 Saint *Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4C]

[1] These sources are discussed in Chapter I, 'Hieronymus Bosch, c. 1450–1516', pp. 13–31. See also Vink 2001a, 119–23.

[2] In 1508/09, see Chapter I, p. 23. See also Marijnissen 1987, 13, and Vink 2001a, 49, 71, 100.

[3] The central panel of that altarpiece was lost in a fire, probably the one that badly damaged the city in 1463. The two wings were commissioned from Anthonius van Aken, and were located in the family workshop at the time of the blaze. See Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 53, and Chapter I, p. 20. See also Vink 2001a, 79–80.

[4] See Chapter I, p. 19. See also Van Dijck 2001a, 176, 184–85; Vink 2001a, 91.

[5] Vink 2001a, 76–78.

[6] Vink 2001a, 53–55; 76–78. Merchants from 's-Hertogenbosch also sourced the raw materials for pigments – especially madder – in Bergen-op-Zoom. See Slootmans 1985, 409, 411, 417, 449, 454–55 and 457.

[7] See Chapter I, pp. 14–16. See also Van Dijck 2001a, passim; Vink 2001a, 79, 83–84.

[8] Cf. Van Dijck 2001a, 28; see also Chapter I, pp.16–18.

[9] Campbell 1979.

[10] See Chapter I, p. 23. See also Vink 2001a, 49.

[11] According to Jos Koldeweij, this relates to a version of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21). See Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 69–70.

[12] See Chapter I, pp. 20, 25. See also Vink 2001a, 107. It is possible that the reference to 'Jheronimus knechten schilder' actually refers to multiple assistants.

[13] Van Mander (Miedema) 1994–99, III, 55.

[14] See also Chapter IV, 'Conservation History and Appearance', pp. 82–107.

[15] Garrido and Van Schoute identified the wood variety as black poplar, *Populus nigra*. See Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 24, 41, 77. See also the entry for cat. 34. For painted tabletops, see Kremb 2013.

[16] See Klein 2003a. Klein (72, table 4) does not cite *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* as the exception to the rule, but four panels made respectively of limewood (*The Cardplayers* by a follower of Lucas van Leyden in Washington), pine (*Virgin and Child* by the Master of the Legend of Mary Magdalene [?] in Rotterdam and an *Adoration of the Magi* by Jan van Scorel in Chicago), and beech (*Dying Cleopatra*, attributed to Jan van Scorel in Amsterdam).

[17] Except in the central panel of the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9), the construction of which differs significantly. See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 9, RR 134–139. Cf. also Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 211. The two boards of the *Adoration of the Magi* in Philadelphia (cat. 25) were not glued with a butt joint but with a V-shaped tongue-and-groove.

[18] Sapwood was detected, however, in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (cat. 13; see BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 13, RR 89–90).

[19] Klein 2001, 129.

[20] Klein 2001, 128–30. See also the table in BRCP, *Technical Studies*, 'Dendrochronology'.

[21] Klein 2003a, 69, fig. 4b. Pascal Fraiture (KIK/IRPA, Brussels) and Ian Tyers use the minimum value of 6 sapwood rings, based on a more recent statistical study: K. Sohar, A. Vitas and A. Läänelaid, 'Sapwood estimates of pedunculate oak (*Quercus robur L.*) in eastern Baltic', *Dendrochronologia* 30 (2012), 49–56.

[22] See Campbell 2014, 139; Koreny 2012, 95.

[23] The present study systematically quotes both the earliest possible and the statistically more likely creation date. See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, 'Dendrochronology'.

[24] We are grateful to Peter Klein for his collaboration with the BRCP. Pascal Fraiture also shared results with us, for which we thank her. See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, 'Dendrochronology'.

[25] Van Dijck 2001a, 170. See also Chapter I, p. 19.

[26] Peter Klein performed the dendrochronological analysis of the wings for the BRCP on the X-ray films. The youngest growth ring in the central panel, 1449, had been published previously (Klein 2001, 123; Klein 2001a, 219). The copy of the Paradise wing in the Escorial has an even earlier dendrochronological dating, with a most recent growth ring from 1438.

[27] See the entry for cat. 20.

[28] See also Chapter IV, pp. 85–89 on the sawing of panels and other interventions that alter their dimensions.

[29] Lammertse, Roorda and Boersma 2003, 102–14; see also Chapter IV, pp. 88–89.

[30] The frame of the *Haywain* in the Escorial is wholly original, but the work in question was probably not produced in Bosch's workshop.

[31] See Chapter IV, pp. 85–89.

[32] This was only partially preserved during the most recent restoration, when new wooden strips were applied to the four damaged edges of the panel. X-radiographs made prior to this intervention show a panel painted up to the edges. Rabbeted frames replaced engaged frames as common method of framing in the second half of the sixteenth century. The earliest known example of a rabbeted frame (the central panel of Van Orley's *Last Judgement* in Antwerp) dates from 1518–25; see Verougstraete 2015, 68. We are grateful to Hélène Verougstraete for communicating her findings by email (6 February 2015) before her book was published. The second quarter of the sixteenth century was a period of transition, during which both methods were used side by side.

[33] The preliminary glue sizing is usually covered entirely by the ground and the paint layers, but a possible glue layer was observed in the *Ship of Fools* in Paris (see BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19B, RR 17–18).

[34] The ground was applied more thinly and finished less smoothly on the exterior wings of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 3), and the texture of the support remained partially visible.

[35] See Chapter I, p. 19. Archive ILVB, inv. 119, fol. 26or. Gerlach 1967, 51, 59 n. 90; Mosmans 1947, 13; Van Dijck 2001a, 162–63; Vink 2001a, 79.

[36] The use of calcium carbonate as a filler for the ground layer of Spanish panels is mentioned in the literature (e.g. in Zahira Véliz, 'Wooden Panels from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century in Spain', in Kathleen Dardes and Andrea Rothe (ed.), *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings*, Los Angeles 1995, 142; Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table; The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350–1500*, Columbia 1989, 53). However, all these references go back to the same erroneous source. The analytical laboratory at the Prado's restoration department has never detected calcium carbonate in a Spanish panel, nor has it ever been reported in a reliable publication. Calcium sulphate was always used for this purpose, even in coastal regions. We are grateful to Maite Jover de Celis for this information (email, 9 January 2015).

[37] Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 42; Parra Crego 2001, 230–31.

[38] The Évora Altarpiece, which was probably painted in Portugal, possibly has a double ground, with a layer of calcium carbonate over another layer of calcium sulphate. See Maryan Ainsworth and Catherine Metzger, 'The Évora Altarpiece, a Preliminary Report', in *The Quest for the Original* (Le Dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture XVI), Leuven 2009, 17. A chalk ground was also found in Giovanni Bellini's *Contarini Madonna* in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. We are grateful to Giulio Bono and Chiara Maida for this information.

[39] In the case of the *Last Judgement* fragment in Munich (cat. 30), strips of canvas were applied over the joins between the boards before priming; in that of *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* in the Prado (cat. 34), the joins were filled; see Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 79–80.

[40] Hubert and Jan van Eyck, *The Adoration of the Lamb* (the 'Ghent Altarpiece'), completed in 1432, Sint-Baafskathedraal, Ghent.

[41] This was not a problem for the wings of smaller triptychs, as integrated rather than engaged frames could be used, in which the frame and the panel consisted of a single piece of wood. There are no surviving panels by Bosch with this type of frame.

[42] The scene on the closed wings of the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston (cat. 24) was also painted across the elements of the frame. The *Creation of the World* – the grisaille on the closed wings of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* in Madrid (cat. 20) – might also have been painted across the frames in this way, but this can no longer be determined, as the original frames of the monumental triptych have not survived.

[43] Lammertse and Roorda Boersma 2003, 107. Their fig. 5 shows a hole of this kind during the restoration, before the inpainting. The holes can now be distinguished better in infrared.

[44] Observations made during the 2014–15 restoration of the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (cat. 16) suggest the same original construction.

[45] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 20, RR 97–102. Garrido and Van Schoute (2001, 214) wrongly described this engaged frame as an integrated frame, and the planed-down element as a narrow plank.

[46] In some grisaille paintings on the outside of triptych wings (e.g. cat. 5 and 12) the underdrawing could only be revealed locally. Of the works we examined, only the predella of the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston (cat. 24D) was not underdrawn, but that little panel was certainly not executed by Bosch. The other panels without underdrawing (the *Arrest of Christ* in the Rijksmuseum and the two versions of *Christ Before Pilate* in Princeton and Rotterdam) are not by Bosch either. See also cat. 28.

[47] For more on the functions of underdrawings, see Faries 2003.

[48] See BRCP, *Technical Studies* for the specifications of the equipment used by the BRCP to this end.

[49] See the exterior wings of the *Job Triptych* in Bruges (cat. 23), the exterior wings of the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (cat. 16), the *Visions of the Hereafter* in Venice (cat. 18), and the fragment of a *Last Judgement* in Munich (cat. 30). See also cat. 23 note 13.

[50] Dark paint is often transparent in X-radiographs, which means IRP and IRR offer a useful supplement to this documentation.

[51] See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*.

[52] Only the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna and the National Gallery in London refused permission for documentation of this kind, although we were allowed to examine the London panel. Moreover, the BRCP was not able to examine and document all the Bosch paintings in the Prado in Madrid.

[53] This relates to all the IRR documentation published in Garrido and Van Schoute 2000 and 2001. The specifications of the equipment were not provided, but the Hamamatsu Vidicon camera used for the analysis was probably not fitted with a daylight filter.

[54] The most recent growth ring of the Escorial *Haywain* dates from 1487, implying an earliest possible creation date of 1498 and statistically more likely 1500. The equivalent dates for the Prado *Haywain* are twelve years later.

[55] Cf. Campbell 2014, 139, 141.

[56] The dendrochronological dating of the *Cure of Folly* and the *Conjurer* is relatively early, so that the panels could in principle have been created in Bosch's workshop. The youngest growth rings of these works date from 1477 and 1485 respectively. This suggests an earliest possible creation date of 1488 for the *Cure of Folly* and 1496 for the *Conjurer*, although execution after 1490 and 1498 respectively is statistically more likely. Both panels were examined by Peter Klein; see Klein 2001a.

[57] The underdrawing of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Ghent (cat. 29) is not related to that of the grisailles of the triptych with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4), as proposed in Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 107.

[58] See, e.g., Van Schoute 1959; Van Schoute 1967; Garrido and Van Schoute 2001; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001. For a survey of published studies on Bosch underdrawings, see Spronk 2014.

[59] Filedt Kok 1972–73; Ironside 1973; Koreny 2002–03; Koreny 2012.

[60] The only exception is Koreny, who attributed *Saint Jerome* (cat. 1), the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2) and *Saint Wilgefortis* (cat. 8) to a left-handed pupil of Bosch. See Koreny 2012, 28.

[61] See, e.g., Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 107.

[62] Spronk 2011 was the first to raise this issue with regard to Bosch. According to Koreny, a left-handed pupil of Bosch did make a number of adjustments to two panels, but only after they were completed. See Koreny 2012, 54–57.

[63] Koldeweij 2014; see also the entry for cat. 17.

[64] Our observations in this essay are based on the illustrations in Trnek 2014, and the images shown during the presentation on which this publication is based. The BRCP did not obtain permission from the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna to examine and document this triptych.

[65] No underdrawing was detected in the predella. See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 24, RR 77–84.

[66] Underdrawings in two different styles have also been found in the *Crowning with Thorns* in London; see also the entry for cat. 14.

[67] See Reuterswärd 1970; Filedt Kok 1972–73; Ironside 1973; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001.

[68] Two possible but not entirely conclusive connections can be found in the underdrawing of the tondo with 'Death' in *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (cat. 34), and in the very last stage of the highly complex underdrawing of the central panel of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4), especially in the upper part of the ruined tower. This underdrawing style does not relate strongly to that of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12), as Ironside (1973, 87) suggested, nor with that of the angel in the Paradise wing of the *Haywain* (cat. 20), as Koreny claimed (2012, 89–95). See also the entry for cat. 20.

[69] Played down by Reuterswärd 1970, 163–64, and Filedt Kok 1972–73, 152–53. A survey of this discussion can be found in Spronk 2014, 392–93.

[70] This was suggested for these paintings in Reuterswärd 1970, and confirmed by Charlotte Caspers, who copied the *Wayfarer* in a historically informed manner on behalf of the Jheronimus Bosch Art Center in 's-Hertogenbosch.

[71] Koreny 2012, 89–95. See also the entry for cat. 20.

[72] It proved difficult or even impossible in some cases to detect the presence of these thin and frequently also very vague lines, which was therefore a regularly recurring subject of discussion for the researchers.

[73] Where successive phases were executed using the same materials, they are often harder, if not entirely impossible, to distinguish. For the purposes of this publication, therefore, we systematically use the minimum number of stages that can be determined with relative certainty. It is not always possible to distinguish different stages for the finer details in the underdrawing. The materials used for the underdrawing were not studied analytically, but the mutual visual differences, which were very marked in some cases in IRP/IRR and under the binocular microscope, suggest the use of inks as well as black paint.

[74] The architecture in the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* might also have been set down at first with thin, straight lines in a dry material, although these can now only be made out with great difficulty.

[75] See also 'Bosch as Draughtsman', pp. 484–85. The relationship between early Netherlandish drawings and underdrawings is explored by Ainsworth 1989 and Buck 2001a.

[76] See also 'Bosch as Draughtsman', pp. 484–85 and cat. 35.

[77] An example is *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12). Appropriate care ought to be applied in this regard too, as underdrawings in two phases have also been found in Petrus Christus, Hans Memling and Gerard David. For Christus, see Molly Faries, *Studying Underdrawings: Notes for the Cologne Workshop*, Bloomington (IN) 1991, 39. For Memling, see e.g. Ainsworth 1994 and Faries 1997; for David, see e.g. Ainsworth 1998. It is possible that more accurate documentation methods could detect even more stages in these and other paintings.

[78] Painters' materials documented for contemporaries in 's-Hertogenbosch can be found in Vink 2001a, 53–55 and 76–78.

[79] Natural ultramarine has so far been identified only in the Madrid *Adoration*. See Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 42, 115; Parra Crego 2001, 233. It also appears to have been used for a few smaller details in the Bruges *Last Judgement*; see BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 16, RR 69–74. The blue pigment smalt might also have been used; ibid., cat. 4, RR 11–16, and cat. 16, RR 69–74.

[80] See, e.g., Rossi-Manaresi and Tucci 1992; Limentani Virdis 1992; Garrido and Van Schoute 2001; Parra Crego 2001; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001; Lammertse and Roorda Boersma 2003; and Campbell 2014. Garrido and Van Schoute 2001 and Parra Crego 2001 also described the use of copper resinate glaze (verdigris dissolved in hot varnish), but Van Eikema Hommes 2004 (51–89) has shown that copper resinate was most likely not used for paintings on panel or canvas.

[81] Carmine is a generic name for two different red lakes made using dyes derived from scale insects. *Kermes vermilio* has been identified in the *Haywain* in the Prado; see Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 246. Polish cochineal was found in the Madrid *Adoration*; see Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 244.

[82] Campbell 2014. Garrido and Van Schoute 2001 and Parra Crego 2001 also describe the use of egg as a binding medium. Recent research by Marika Spring, presented during the *Van Eyck Studies Colloquium* (Brussels, 19–21 September 2012) has demonstrated that the presence of proteins in a binding medium is not sufficient to conclude that the binder does indeed contain egg. Earlier research (Higgitt, Spring and Saunders 2003) produced a similar result for the binding medium of lead-tin yellow, which was traditionally viewed as an emulsion of oil and egg.

[83] Linseed oil and walnut oil were both identified in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial. See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 13, RR 89–90.

[84] Vink 2001a, 45.

[85] Quoted from Van Mander (Miedema) 1994–99, I, 124 (fol. 216v).

[86] Dead colouring is the underpainting in muted colours, used primarily to prepare the composition and the modelling of the overlying forms. Cf. Campbell, Foister and Roy 1997, 43; Faries and Spronk 2003, 153; Van Hout 2010, 74–75.

[87] Miedema 1987. Rules of this kind were imposed significantly earlier in Antwerp (1470) and Rouen (1507); see Van Hout 2010, 74.

[88] This intermediate or isolation layer had a dual function, depending on its position within the layered structure. It could counteract the suction exerted on the binding medium of the oil paint by the porous chalk-and-glue ground, thus preventing the painting from turning matte, and it could also fix the underdrawing. Miedema (in Van Mander [Miedema] 1994–99, III, 125) translates *primuersel* as 'ground layer'. Vandivere (2013, 75–96) devoted a chapter of her dissertation to the subject, in which she interprets this layer as a 'pigmented oily intermediate layer'. It would probably be useful to reconsider the texts of the *Schilder-boeck* and the *Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst* in the light of an integrated art-theoretical, philological and technical approach.

[89] See, e.g., BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19A, 4, 15, 8, 10, 13, 9, 14, RR 8, 11–16, 19–20, 21–26, 55–56, 89–90, 134–39, 142–43.

[90] See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 13, RR 89–90.

[91] See also Chapter IV, pp. 91–96.

[92] The Brotherhood of Our Lady purchased gold leaf in 1508/09 from Jan Hermans van Bergen, who lived in a building on the Markt. See Vink 2001a, 53.

[93] It is possible that the gold leaf in the little fire lit by Joseph in the left wing of the Madrid *Adoration* was applied as water gilding.

[94] Mordant gilding was also used in several other paintings that might have been produced in Bosch's workshop, such as *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (cat. 34) and in the calligraphic border of the *Cure of Folly* (cat. 33). The fragment of the *Last Judgement* in Munich (cat. 30), which was painted by a follower, features shell gold – powdered gold applied with a binding medium, as used primarily in manuscript illumination.

[95] See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 1, 5, 6, 7, RR 2, 7, 47 and 51.

[96] See also Chapter IV, pp. 91–96.

[97] Cf. Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 152.

[98] See also the entry for cat. 4.



CHAPTER IV

Conservation History and Appearance

Introduction

The paintings of Hieronymus Bosch are now more than 500 years old. Those that have survived are by no means unmarked by the passage of time and by human intervention. In each case, therefore, we have to ask ourselves what we see; what precisely are we looking at? What has happened to these paintings in all that time? To what extent are we seeing the original pictures as intended by the artist? FIGS 1, 2a–b

When today's visitors to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna stand in front of *Christ Carrying the Cross* with the Christ Child with a walking frame on the reverse (cat. 12), few will realize that they are looking at a mere fragment of a triptych. The information leading to this conclusion is contained in the painting itself, but it takes an expert's eye to detect it and – often a conservator in consultation with art historians – to draw the right conclusions from it. FIGS 6, 7

The appearance of a picture may have been radically affected by the natural ageing of the materials that were used to make it; by the environmental conditions of its surroundings, including biodegradation of the organic materials; and by human intervention, for instance in the form of past restorations. Consequently, great care must be taken in interpreting both the images produced by the artist and his techniques, for the appearance of the works may be obscured in many ways. Conservators are trained to detect changes like this and hence to distinguish original material and its ageing from damage and later restoration. This is obviously important for any painting, but all the more so for Bosch's works, which are so packed with detail – a fact that in many cases also enables art historians to discover a deeper meaning. 'Bubo significans' – the significant owl – is the title of a publication by Bosch specialist Paul Vandenbroeck.[1] In it, he explores the extremely important role the owl plays in the universe of Hieronymus Bosch, who sometimes appears to have used the bird almost as a signature or a self-portrait.[2] One of the most appealing examples of this can be found in Bosch's *Saint Jerome* in Ghent (cat. 1), where a small owl looks out of the image at the beholder. In the Ghent picture we are not only looking at Bosch's namesake, but at the artist himself too; it is through his eyes that we see his patron saint. The game of looking, peeking, seeing and seeing through takes on an added dimension when we consider that the painting's restoration in 2014–15 revealed that the owl on the branch is actually being observed by a second owl from the darkness of what was previously just a black hole. FIG 3a–b

Things get more complicated when panels turn out to have been partially overpainted in the past, as in the case of the wings of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* in Venice (cat. 8), which initially included portraits of the donors. It has been suggested in the past that a Flemish merchant acquired the wings from Bosch's workshop after his death. He then supposedly added them to the painting of Saint Wilgefortis and shipped the ensemble to Venice as a triptych.[3] This hypothesis can be rejected based on the findings of X-ray analysis: the triptych has always been a triptych. But it nevertheless raised questions as to the authorship of the overpainting, which was done with great respect for the initial composition and also made use of it. Why such reverence for what Bosch had done previously? Was it because the

FIG 1 *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8B]: central panel during treatment (after cleaning, the application of an isolating varnish and filling)





FIG 2a–b The River to Hell, *Visions of the Hereafter* [CAT 18H]. Reverse: overall photograph and detail during treatment





FIG 3a–b *Saint Jerome at Prayer* [CAT 1]: before and after treatment



FIG 4 *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8C]

work was done in his workshop? Did Bosch himself carry out some or all of the overpainting? A dead man dangling from a noose has been painted entirely convincingly in the right wing with just a few strokes of the paintbrush. The manner of painting is readily comparable with work by Bosch, such as the grisailles on the back of *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6B). Does this mean that Bosch himself was responsible for this detail in the *Wilgefortis Triptych*? Whatever the case may be, it turned out to have been painted during the same phase as the overpainting of the donor portraits. FIG 4

These examples illustrate the need for intensive dialogue between art historians and conservators if we are to correctly understand and preserve works of art from the past. It is important, therefore, in a monograph about an artist like Bosch to focus on questions of the condition, the restoration and conservation history, and the current appearance of the paintings.

Published information on the condition and conservation history of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch is relatively scarce.[4] Hitherto the most prominent study has been *Bosch at the Museo del Prado: Technical Study* (2001) by Carmen Garrido and Roger Van Schoute. Roger Marijnissen also included information on the condition of most individual paintings in his 1987 monograph, *Bosch: The Complete Works*. Although for centuries Bosch's work has stimulated scholary discourse, a lack of insight into condition-related alterations has at times resulted in misinterpretation of not only the artist's painting technique but his intentions too. The systematic physical examination by the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP) of nearly all the paintings of the known core oeuvre has revealed – often for the first time – how extensive these alterations can be.

This essay roughly follows the structure of the research reports (RR) on the examined paintings as published in BRCP, *Technical Studies*, the present publication's companion volume.[5] The reports systematically address such issues as physical changes to the support, the influence of preparatory layers, and the consequences of the ageing of paints and varnishes, while it also includes notes on the effects of past and current treatments.



FIG 5 *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2]: cradled reverse and metal framing, before treatment



FIG 6 *Carrying of the Cross* and *Christ Child* (Vienna) [CAT 12]: schematic reconstruction of the triptych



FIG 7 *Carrying of the Cross* (Vienna) [CAT 12]: before treatment

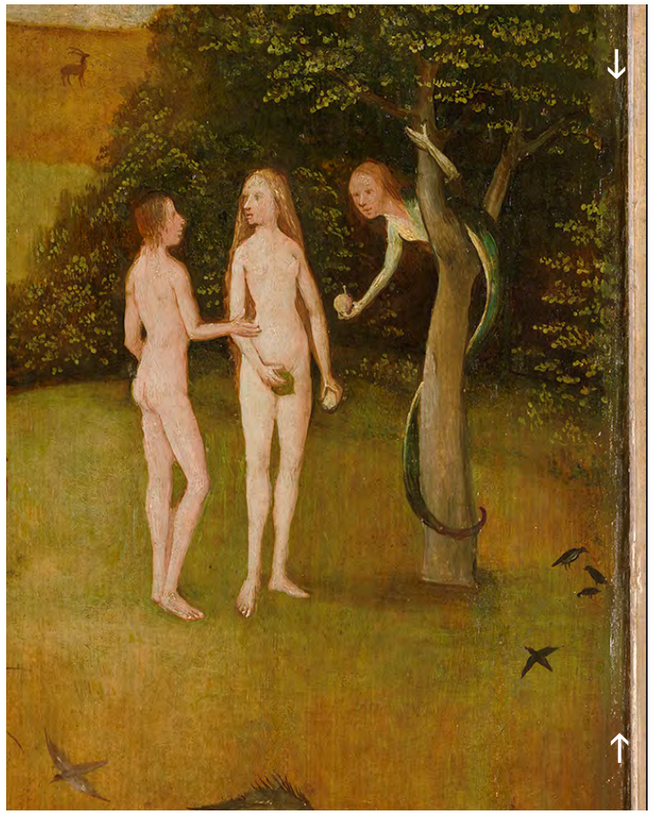


FIG 8 *The Haywain* (Madrid) [CAT 20A]



FIG 9 *Saint John the Baptist* [CAT 5]: under raking light

Supports and frames: changes in form and function

Even at first glance, most modern frames present Bosch's pictures differently from the way they would have appeared in their original frames. Some pictures are even displayed unframed, as for quite some time has been the case of the paintings in Venice (cat. 2, 8, and 18) and of the *Flood Panels* in Rotterdam (cat. 22). The often-preserved unpainted and ungrounded panel edges of Bosch's works indicate that his panels were originally set into engaged frames. Where those frames have survived, the natural shrinkage of the wooden panels within them has caused panel edges parallel to the wood grain to become exposed over time. This is visible, for example, in the *Job Triptych* in Bruges (cat. 23) and in the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston (cat. 24). In some panels the visibility of these ungrounded edges has been reduced through retouching, as in the *Haywain* and the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 20, 9) in Madrid, whose frames are largely original.[6] FIG 8

Bosch painted on panels made of excellent-quality Baltic oak.[7] Generally speaking, these supports have only limited woodworm damage, and just a few exit holes were observed in the paint surfaces.[8] Other signs of biodegradation, however, are visible in the form of brown-rot fungi in one of the *Visions of the Hereafter* panels in Venice (cat. 18) and in the Escorial *Haywain*, indicating extended exposure to high levels of humidity.

Since planks are typically quarter-sawn (also referred to as 'radially cut'), there are comparatively few issues with the stability of the support. Daily fluctuations in ambient temperature and relative humidity normally only result in minimal natural swelling and shrinkage of the wood. In-plane dimensional changes in the form of shrinkage may cause raised-paint issues, though, and natural out-of-plane movements may result in minor warping. In past structural treatments, in order to restore or preserve the flatness of the picture support, a warped panel reverse would often be thinned, flattened using moisture and/or pressure, and then reinforced with a rigid structure or cradle to maintain this form.[9] Cradling, now practically abandoned, became common practice in the nineteenth century, and over a dozen Bosch paintings have suffered this invasive treatment.[10] Peculiarly, the



FIG 10 *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2]. Schematic reconstruction of the original position of the wings; current additions outlined in red; before treatment

outsides of the wings of both triptychs in Venice, which were originally painted black and
FIG 5 may have had grisailles or other compositions, have also been thinned and cradled. In general, this type of intervention can produce cracks, splits or fractures in the panel. Over time, a dysfunctional or blocked cradle restricts the wood's natural dimensional changes and can cause additional cracks. Unsightly 'washboarding' may also occur, as seen in the undulat-
FIG 9 ing panel of *Saint John the Baptist* in Madrid (cat. 5).[11] This panel originally had a painted reverse, now lost, but was probably cut lengthwise in two separate paintings. All four edges of the *Saint John* panel were cropped before the cradle was applied. This explains why the painting is considerably smaller than its pendant, the *Saint John on Patmos* in Berlin (cat. 6), which has retained its original dimensions and is painted on both sides.

Double-sided paintings are usually better preserved, as the wooden support is 'sealed' by the layered buildup of ground, paint and varnish on both sides. This slows down moisture adsorption and desorption. It thus acts as a climate buffer and results in reduced panel deformation. Nevertheless, having two painted sides does not always protect a work from other types of change: one double-sided painting, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* with the *Christ Child* on its reverse in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (cat. 12), although structurally stable, has been altered fundamentally.[12] Originally the panel had a quarter-round arched
FIG 6 top and formed the left wing of a triptych. The arch-topped central panel as well as the right wing are presumed lost, but the remains of an original arched barb on the left wing indi-



FIG 11a–b *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2]: details of wings under raking light



FIG 12a–b *The Ship of Fools* [CAT 19B]: VIS and IRR, before treatment



cate the amount of cropping at the top. The minimum height of the original painted surface was about 80 centimetres, although this further depends on the amount of loss at the bottom. After cropping, a small, triangular piece of wood was added to the remaining arched section at the top, making the panel rectangular. The reverse with the *Christ Child* was bevelled, and the currently visible unpainted and ungrounded edges are not original. This was likely done to mimic original edges and reinforce the suggestion that this was a separate panel rather than the wing of a triptych. At some point, the entire reverse was overpainted brown, and wooden extension strips were added to the top and bottom, allowing more of the *Carrying of the Cross* to be visible when framed. FIG 7

Economic motives were probably the driving factor in the disassembly of the former *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 19). The two wings were originally painted on both sides but were sawn through the middle to separate the front and back, creating four panels. Subsequently, the interior left wing was cut into two parts. The top, representing the *Ship of Fools* (cat. 19B), is now in Paris, while the bottom fragment, the so-called *Allegory of Gluttony and Lust,* is now in New Haven, Connecticut (cat. 19B). The *Death and the Miser* panel, now in Washington DC, formed the interior right wing (cat. 19C). The two exterior sides of the wings were joined and then cut into the current octagonal form of the *Wayfarer* in Rotterdam (cat. 19A). From the moment the triptych was split into at least five paintings, each part has experienced a different condition history. Indeed, the central panel is probably FIG 12a



FIG 13 *Visions of the Hereafter* [CAT 18A]: cropped at the top

lost, and the appearance of the *Ship of Fools* has profoundly changed. Its entire background has been extensively overpainted and non-original foliage added around what was once a much smaller branch, the underdrawing of which indicates its original size. This information makes it easier to understand that the branch was tied to a mast, which has been misinterpreted as a tree by some scholars. The overpainted areas also include the hill in the right background and much of the dark blue-green in the lower part of the panel.[13] Such changes can thus influence iconographical interpretations as well. FIG 12a–b

Close examination has also led to a better understanding of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice, which originally had arched tops (cat. 2). The exteriors of the wings were thinned and cradled after the paintings were moved to Vienna in 1838. Possibly in 1895, the central panel and wings were cropped, and the latter made into rectangles with triangular inserts. The wings were cropped at the bottom too, and small wooden strips replaced the cropped sections to mimic unpainted edges. From this it can be surmised that the wings were originally positioned slightly higher in relation to the central panel.[14] FIG 11a–b FIG 10

Several other panels were also cropped. For instance, the *Saint Jerome in Prayer* in Ghent (cat. 1) was cut back somewhat at the top and bottom, but the composition does not appear to be lacking any significant elements. This is not the case for the *Visions of the Hereafter* panels in Venice (cat. 18), which were also cropped at the top and bottom. This reduction is especially evident in the *Paradise* scene, where one would expect to find a complete fountain at the top. Had the lost parts been preserved, they might have enabled us to determine the position of the four panels relative to each other and perhaps their original function. FIG 13

Changes in the function or a setting of a work of art most likely prompted or indirectly resulted in such interventions. An eighteenth-century painting of a Palazzo Ducale room in Venice shows one of the Venetian triptychs as three panels in a single frame, mounted on the wall.[15] This shows that the painting had already lost its function as a triptych with folding wings at that time, making the nineteenth-century thinning and cradling of all three panels (including, as mentioned above, the painted outside of the wings) slightly more comprehensible.

The conservation history of the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (cat. 16) provides another example of a drastic format change. In 1845, the triptych was documented not as three but as two separate panels, the wings having been joined together into an arched panel. In this ensemble, the *Hell* wing ended up as the left half, with *Paradise* on the right, reversing the original narrative sequence. The panels were presumably connected with two metal dowels, and two horizontally placed battens, applied to the locally planed reverses, severely damaged the grisaille painting. The combined grisaille composition on the outside of the wings was cropped by about two to three centimetres at the top and is currently also missing a vertical strip, about six to seven centimetres wide, in the centre.[16] The composition FIG 14



FIG 14 *The Last Judgment* (Bruges) [CAT 16D–E]: during treatment

of the grisailles presumably continued over the two wing panels without visual interference of a vertical framing element, which would have been present on its reverse, at the outermost sides of the open triptych. These framing elements were removed to allow the joined *Hell* and *Paradise* scenes to be displayed as one image. Although the triptych format was reconstructed between 1900 and 1906, the frame as it was then put together did not allow the wings to actually close over the central panel. This was corrected during the 2014–15 treatment, which restored the ensemble as a folding triptych. Such instances demonstrate that although the original construction of a painting was sometimes radically altered for commercial or other reasons as cited above, conservation concerns (either responding to issues or as preventive measures) also have led to a great number of structural interventions.

Preparing the panel for painting: effects of underlying layers

For works of this type, Bosch most likely began in his studio with a bare wooden support supplied by a panelmaker.[17] Traditionally, a water-based glue sizing was the first preparatory layer applied, followed by one or more coats of a chalk ground ($CaCO_3$) bound in animal glue. This preparation was of critical importance for the durability of a painting. The sizing sealed the panel and improved the bond with the ground. The composition and thickness of the ground determined its capacity to prevent the layer buildup from cracking when the panel underwent natural dimensional changes from ageing and environmental influences.[18] Furthermore, it improved the bond with the paint and could prevent uneven absorption of the paint medium, for which reason an oily isolating layer was often applied as well atop the chalk ground.

Since these preparatory layers were applied onto the assembled panel and frame together, later shrinkage of the panel within the frame exposed the barb, a ridge of ground and paint at the interface of the panel and frame. This raised section, often with paint, is prone to damage, especially when a non-original frame covers such ridges. In the case of *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the *Christ Child*, the arched barb was purposely scraped away in

FIGS 6, 7



FIG 15a–b *The Wayfarer* [CAT 19A]: VIS and XR

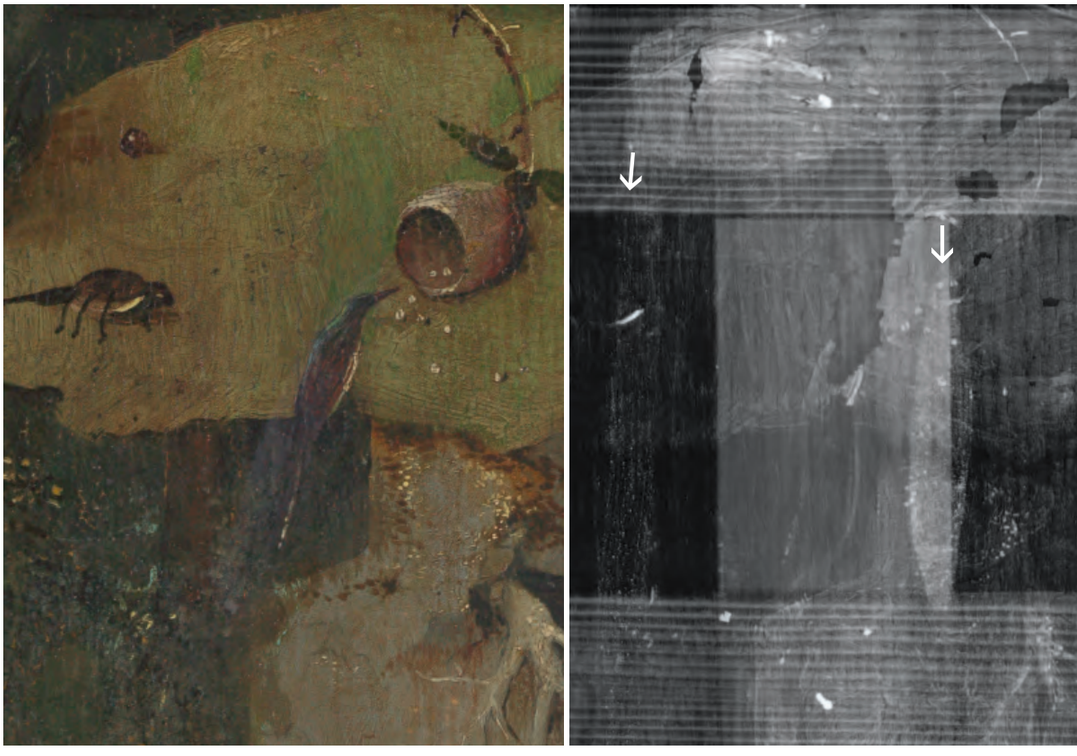


FIG 16a–b *Saint John the Baptist* [CAT 5]: VIS and XR



FIG 17 *The Wayfarer* [CAT 19A]: visible underdrawing

an attempt to conceal the panel's original format after the quarter-round arched top had been cropped. The condition of the barbs may thus indicate changes in framing and suggest whether or not the original dimensions of the painted surface have been preserved.

In addition to the vital role of the preparatory strata for the preservation of paint layers, it also plays a major part in the way the viewer perceives the work. Naturally, the light ground contributes to the distinct luminosity of the oil paints and especially of the glazes – an effect that in some cases has been enhanced by the application of a thin intermediate layer pigmented with lead white. In most paintings, the preparation was not meant to be directly visible, but the tone of the ground and/or intermediate layer is often discernible in visible light as it locally shimmers through thin paint layers. Partially, this appears to be a result of Bosch's working method, whereby he deliberately made use of the underlying tonality (for instance in the walls of the building in the *Wayfarer*, cat. 19A). However, increased transparency of the paint film through ageing has often resulted in an altered appearance and increased clarity of the underlying layers in many areas – an unintended effect causing, among other things, underdrawing to become more visible. Revisions in the underdrawing and differences between underdrawing and paint surface have especially become more visible this way, as in the underdrawn birds and foliage in the sky of the *Wayfarer*, which were omitted from the paint stage. FIG 17

Several impastoed and highly radio-opaque (X-ray absorbing) dabs of lead white were noted in the *Wayfarer*.[19] These correlate to small, local damages in the ground layer and probably served to quickly fill these lacunae. The damages must have occurred while the painting was in the artist's studio, as the holes also damaged the underdrawing, while the lead-white dabs/fills were applied before the actual painting started. Similar white touches have been detected in one other painting: the Escorial *Haywain* (see BRCP, *Technical Studies*, S1). Spread throughout its wing panels, many such impastoed patches appear to FIG 15a–b

cover irregularities in the ground layer. These brush-applied dabs were not worked into a smooth finish before the underdrawing was applied. These somewhat similar repairs might seem to place both panels in the same environment, although the BRCP observed no particularly skilled hand in the Escorial painting, which was copied after the *Haywain* in the Prado (cat. 20) and can also be dated to after Bosch's death.

In both *Saint John the Baptist* and the grisaille side of *Saint John on Patmos,* several local, vertically oriented features were observed in visible or raking light, and especially in X-radiographs. These enigmatic areas appear to have the shape of brushstrokes; see, for example, below the hand of the overpainted donor. They are characterized by a very coarse and unusually grainy texture, the granules of which are radio-opaque. This might relate to the presence of lead soaps, but the precise nature of these features remains unclear for the moment. Even so, the fact that they were not found in any other Bosch painting strengthens the interrelationship of these two panels.[20]

FIG 16

Paint layers and their appearance

The materials that Bosch used were carefully selected and skilfully employed, and the artist also built on the background of a family workshop spanning multiple generations. The ground utilized by Bosch has proved to be a reliable base for painting, as adhesion problems between the layers have seldom been observed. Bosch's paint materials are generally of high quality; for example, vermilion pigment usually appears to have been chosen above the less stable but cheaper red lead. Likewise, the master seems to have avoided the use of unstable yellow lake paints. In addition, like some of his contemporaries, he appears to have carefully chosen the oil binding mediums in accordance with the specifics required by the respective colours.[21] Because of such efforts, most deterioration effects are due to the natural ageing and instability of the paintings' components, and a variety of the issues described below frequently occur in other early Netherlandish panel paintings as well.

Sometimes at first sight, a network of cracks caused by the natural drying and ageing of the entire structure of the painting is visible on its surface. Ageing craquelure – a pattern of mechanical cracks in dried paint film and ground caused by stresses within the support – is a common feature in paintings and is present in all Bosch's works. Additionally, drying cracks – caused by drying and shrinkage of paint – are observed locally in many paintings. These are often found in areas where the artist used coarser azurite pigment with more oil-binding medium, and sometimes in sections with thick vermilion paint. Drying cracks have also formed in a few other areas, such as at the edges of the black floral motifs on the sleeve of the male donor in the interior left wing of the Prado's *Adoration of the Magi*. Youth cracks – drying cracks caused by applying medium-poor over medium-rich paint (as opposed to the painters' adage of 'fat-over-lean') – have rarely been observed in Bosch's works, substantiating his understanding of paint properties. However, in the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* in Venice (cat. 8), it appears that a fast-drying lead-white layer on top of a slower-drying vermilion accounts for the slightly broader youth cracks in the red robe of the martyr. Youth cracks are also present in the *Crowning with Thorns* in London (cat. 14), which goes to show that the red headpiece of the figure on the lower left was initially painted entirely with a slow-drying vermilion and then largely overpainted by the artist with lead white and red lake. Wide cracks that sometimes reveal the light ground are visible in the central panel of the Bruges *Last Judgement Triptych*. In the areas immediately around the fires in the background, the use of slow-drying red lake in the underlayer appears to have caused the youth cracks. The warm brown paint here and towards the left is also wrinkled, a possible indication that the artist used ample oil binder there that set unevenly. Also, adhesion problems in the area directly below the sphere may have contributed to the localized exposure of the blue underlayer. Such effects generally result in an irregular and discontinuous appearance of the paint surface. In the *Last Judgement,* especially, the originally smooth transition of the smoke – with a red-brown glow from the fire – to the light blue sky at the left is interrupted.

FIG 18

FIG 21



FIG 18 *The Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid) [CAT 9A]: detail of the donor's sleeve

In paintings by Bosch, the adhesion of both paint and ground generally appears good and, as mentioned above, panels painted on both sides are usually better preserved. Panel shrinkage has often led to issues of raised paint, though, mostly occurring along lines of craquelure. In the case of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych*, which had a blocked cradle and is unevenly warped, not only raised paint was observed but also cupping, tenting and blistering. The tenting paint has formed ridges that run parallel with the wood grain and resulted in a rippling of the paint surface in the affected areas. Flaking paint was only detected in a small number of the works, mostly in the Bruges *Last Judgement*. At the right edge of the closed right wing, extensive losses and remains of ground indicate an adhesion problem of unknown cause at the interface of ground and paint. The apparently

FIG 20

FIG 14



FIG 19 *Calvary with Donor* [CAT 15]



FIG 20 *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8B]: under raking light, before treatment

fragile, underbound paint of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* in Madrid (cat. 21) is also poorly adhered.[22] Relatively few areas of this triptych, particularly in the central panel and the closed right wing, have survived the centuries intact.

There are several other oil paint defects that have changed the way the viewer perceives the paintings. Countless minuscule holes or spots are often visible in the paint surfaces of the panels, as in Christ's face in the Brussels *Calvary with Donor*.[23] These are caused by metal-soap aggregates that can appear as small opaque points in X-radiographs (XR).[24] Expansion of the aggregates may cause them to protrude from the paint surface. This results in very small, raised spots, which together create a more granular surface texture that could mistakenly be interpreted as gritty paints used by the artist. Bright spots are

FIG 19



FIG 21 *The Last Judgment* (Bruges) [CAT 16B]: youth cracks in the central panel, before treatment



FIG 22 *Visions of the Hereafter* [CAT 18A]: decreased legibility in the *Garden of Eden*

visible where these protrusions are abraded. Complete loss of the aggregates results in tiny, craterlike holes that appear dark in XR. Over time, accumulation of dirt and varnish residues in them causes them to appear dark in visible light (VIS), and in infrared photography and reflectography (IR[R]) as well.[25] The dissolution and saponification process also leads to an increased translucency and, depending on the hue of the underlying layer, a visual colour change. In many cases, underdrawing and/or pentimenti have become more visible to the naked eye, too.

A general increase in transparency has occurred in all the paintings as a result of age-related changes in the oil binding medium.[26] With age, the refractive index of the drying oil increases and comes closer to the indices of the pigments. This reduces the reflection at the

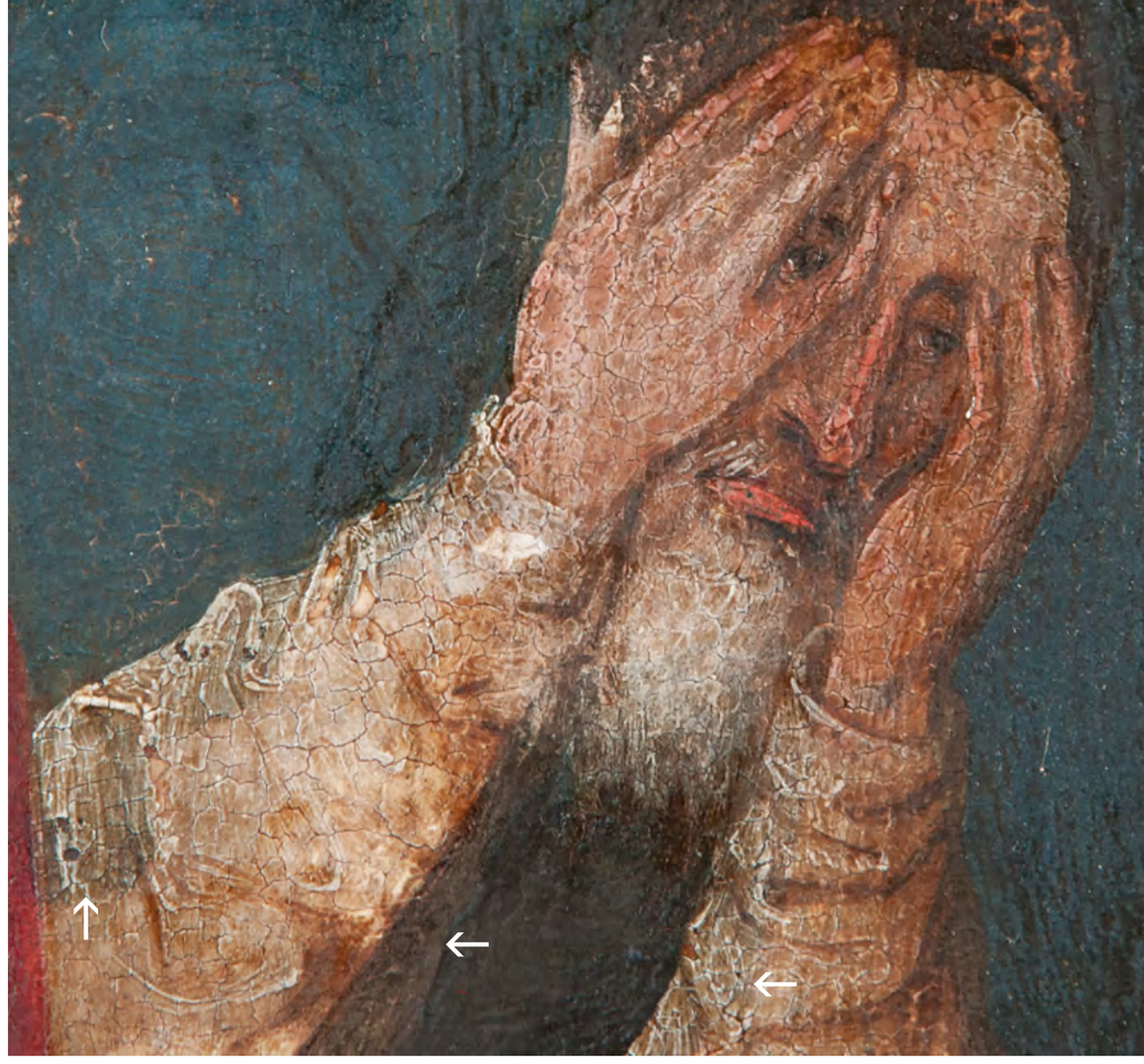


FIG 23 *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8B]: central panel during treatment; increased transparency of pentimenti

oil–pigment interface and consequently the opacity of the paint. The effect becomes more apparent in places where a darker underlayer is present (as in the *Visions of the Hereafter*, FIGS 22, 23 especially at the poorly legible figures on the left, but also in pentimenti or where paints are thinly applied (as in *The Wayfarer*, in which case the reduced opacity reveals extensive FIG 17 underdrawing). Natural ageing processes also have a disruptive effect, for instance on the thinly painted faces in the central panel of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych*. The thinner mid-tones in particular have become more transparent, resulting in a slight visual darkening. Consequently, this has reduced the contrast between mid-tones and shadows. The thicker-applied highlights, however, still have ample opacity, making them stand out more strongly. As a result, the original subtlety of the modelling of the faces is partially lost.

Colour change occurs in several ways and not exclusively in the colourants used for the paints.[27] Through drying and ageing, the oil medium itself yellows.[28] Since this yellowing is also a measure of the speed and extent of drying, the commonly used fast-drying linseed oil discolours more than walnut or poppyseed oil. The latter two also have a greater clarity and, despite setting slower, were frequently chosen by painters for whites and blues as these would be affected the most by the yellowness of the medium.[29] Bosch reportedly used walnut oil as a binding medium for specific paints in the Escorial *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 13).[30] It was detected in paint samples of blue clothing and sky, which consist of azurite, lead white and chalk pigments; in the whitish robe of Simon of Cyrene, consisting of lead white, chalk, and traces of carbon black and red earth; and also in the cool, grey paints of the landscape and the robe of Christ, consisting of lead white, chalk and carbon-black pigments. The lead white – perhaps not fortuitously – also acts as a drier in the paint mixture. The azurite, however, has an unfavourable effect, as it can yellow or brown the oil medium

around the pigment, thus darkening the paint.[31] Additionally, crusts can form, as appears to be the case in the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych*, where an abraded area in the sky reveals the original blue colour. The paints of the sky and other light blues in the Bosch paintings in the Prado are also composed of azurite and lead white, but these are reportedly bound in an emulsion of a drying oil and protein (mostly egg white and/or yolk), presumably also to reduce discoloration.[32] FIG 24

High oil absorption of certain pigments – mainly browns and blacks – may have induced additional darkening. This appears to have influenced the appearance of the grisaille side of the *Saint John on Patmos* panel in Berlin (cat. 6). Aside from having created a somewhat heightened contrast between the grisaille and its dark surrounding, the deepened hues of the background have affected many of the figures and animals painted wet-in-wet and with minimal materials atop this layer, as subtle tonal contrasts are now lost. The increased transparency of the lighter paints with which these small elements were executed further impedes their current visibility.[33] Such darkening may have also caused the poor visibility of the signature in the bottom right of the central panel of the Bruges *Last Judgement* (cat. 16), where *Jheronimus bosch* is much better visible in infrared. On the barrel bottom left, the four dragons are also more easily discerned in infrared. They were most likely painted with a green glaze that has completely discoloured to brown. The two dragons in the centre, which do not appear to have a light green underpainting, have become barely distinguishable from the background in visible light. Such discoloration, although not always disturbing for the legibility of the composition, is found in most of the green areas in Bosch's works. As a result of pigment–medium interactions, the oil binding medium of > 5.16, 5.17 FIG 25a–b

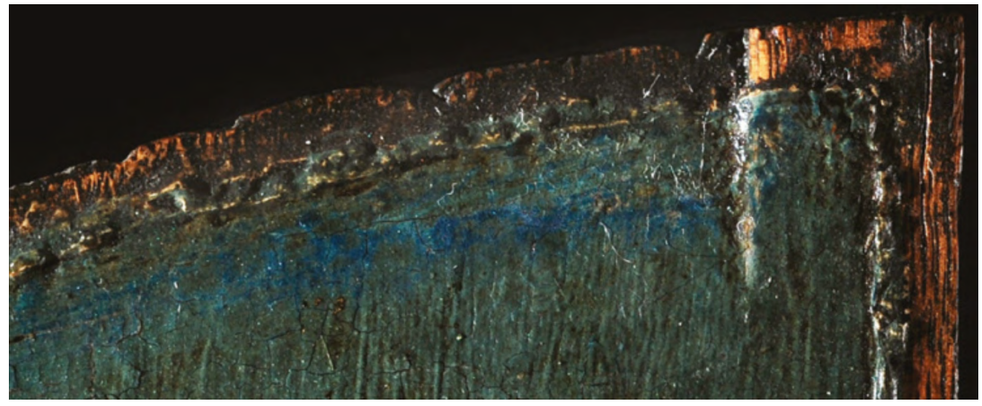


FIG 24 *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8C]: original blue colour revealed through abrasion



FIG 25a–b *The Last Judgment* (Bruges) [CAT 16B]: VIS and IRP

copper-green pigments has yellowed or browned. This is visible in the landscapes and foliage, for example, in the *Hermit Saints Triptych* and the Prado *Haywain*. Where copper-greens have been employed in medium-rich glazes, such as those in the figures' robes, more severe discoloration can occur at the paint surface.[34] The green pieces of clothing in the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* (cat. 10) all have a brown 'veil' that is especially visible where the glaze was applied on a lighter base. This natural discoloration may resemble highly yellowed varnish, which has caused its being misinterpreted as non-original in the past. Subsequent efforts to remove this material have considerably damaged the original paint surface, an unfortunate example of which is the entirely retouched green robe of the man leading the group in the Escorial *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 13), as well as the crown of thorns.

Bosch also used red glazes in most paintings, typically for fabric of mantles and robes. The natural, organic red lakes are prone to fading by photochemical (light-induced) degradation.[35] Analysis of Bosch's paintings in the Prado indicates that he primarily used kermes, but also Polish cochineal and pigments derived from madder root.[36] The latter two lakes were identified in the *Adoration of the Magi* and appear to have retained their colour better than the kermes lake used in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*.

Paint cross-sections appear to indicate that often red lake pigment may have been added to the lead-white-based undermodelling of areas with red glazes.[37] The low concentration of the lake pigment, and the strong internal light-reflecting properties of the lead white, will have significantly increased the fading of the red lake in this underlayer, resulting in a whiter appearance of the undermodelling. Bosch's characteristic technique of using a relatively light local undermodelling may have adversely affected the red glaze on top as well, as the bright base layer reflects more light, which increases fading of the sensitive lake above. Furthermore, since fading occurs mainly in the upper part of the paint layer, it is more pronounced where the glaze is applied thinly. In thick, pure applications, such as for shadows, the lower part of the layer is not faded and the overall colour appears unaffected. The original effect of a more gradual modelling is thus partly lost, and the increased brightness of the undermodelling further heightens the unintended contrast.

These effects are especially pronounced in the *Hermit Saints Triptych*, where fading of red glazes and increased transparency of the undermodelling have resulted in increased visibility of both the underdrawing and the initially much larger, partly painted figure of Saint Jerome. Heightened visibility of underlying layers probably also instigated the non-original pink overpainting of the considerably faded and dull, pinkish pennant in the *Ship of Fools* in Paris (cat. 19B). The garb of the figure climbing the mast must also have been redder once; the original tone is observable between his arms, where the glaze was applied more thickly. Fading led to the greater visibility of the hatched underdrawing there. This is also the case in the fragment in New Haven (cat. 19B), originally the bottom part of the *Ship of Fools* panel. Moreover, the bluish cloth at the bottom left of the fragment was originally more purplish because a red lake glaze was used in the final modelling, although abrasion appears to have played a role there as well. Such effects can also influence iconographical interpretations; the now-blue mantles of Christ in the *Ecce Homo* panels in Boston (cat. 24) and Frankfurt were originally purplish, as explicitly described in the Bible.[38]

FIG 26

FIG 12a

FIG 27

Yellow lakes suffer from light-induced degradation in a similar way to the red lakes, and generally have poorer colour fastness. Perhaps for that reason they do not appear to have been used in a noticeable manner in paintings by Bosch, with the exception of the yellow robe in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 11), which has indeed faded considerably. On the reverse of this panel, the red lake of the area outside the tondo with the Christ Child has also faded somewhat, although abrasion is a bigger issue there. The background must have been a deep red, but the abrasion of the red lake glaze layer has exposed the bright red vermilion underlayer to the atmosphere and direct light, which have probably accelerated the blackening of the vermilion and resulted in a partially darkened surface.[39] This degradation only appears in one other painting of those examined, the *Cure of Folly*, where the vermilion of the woman's purse is locally blackened. In the case of this (workshop?) copy, a red lake glaze was found below the vermilion but not on top. One must wonder, therefore,

FIG 28



FIG 26 *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2B]: increased visibility of the underdrawing, before treatment

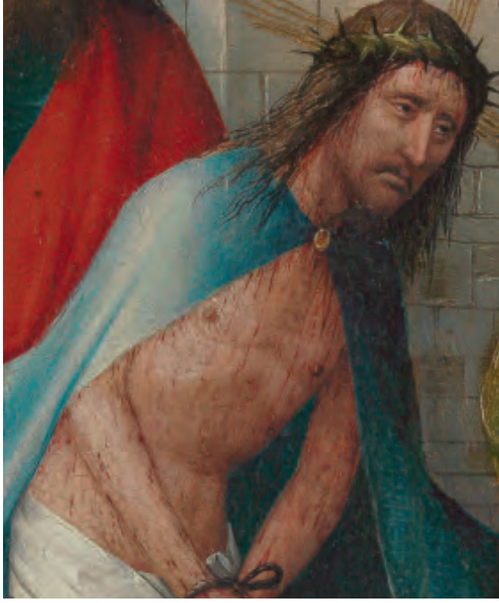
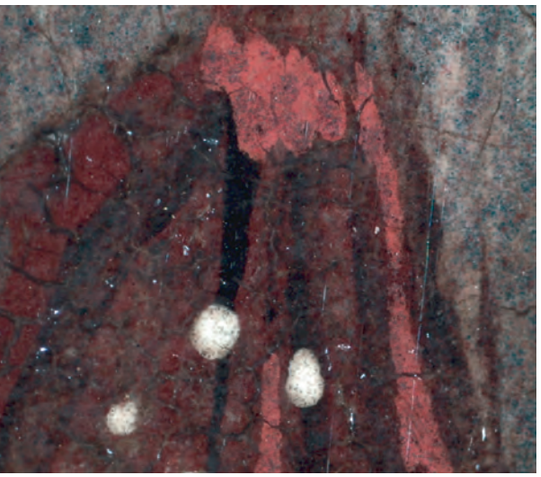


FIG 27 *Ecce Homo* (Frankfurt) [CAT 11]





<< FIG 28 *The Cure of Folly* [CAT 33]: micrograph

< FIG 29 *The Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid) [CAT 9E]: micrograph

FIG 30 *Saint Jerome* [CAT 1]

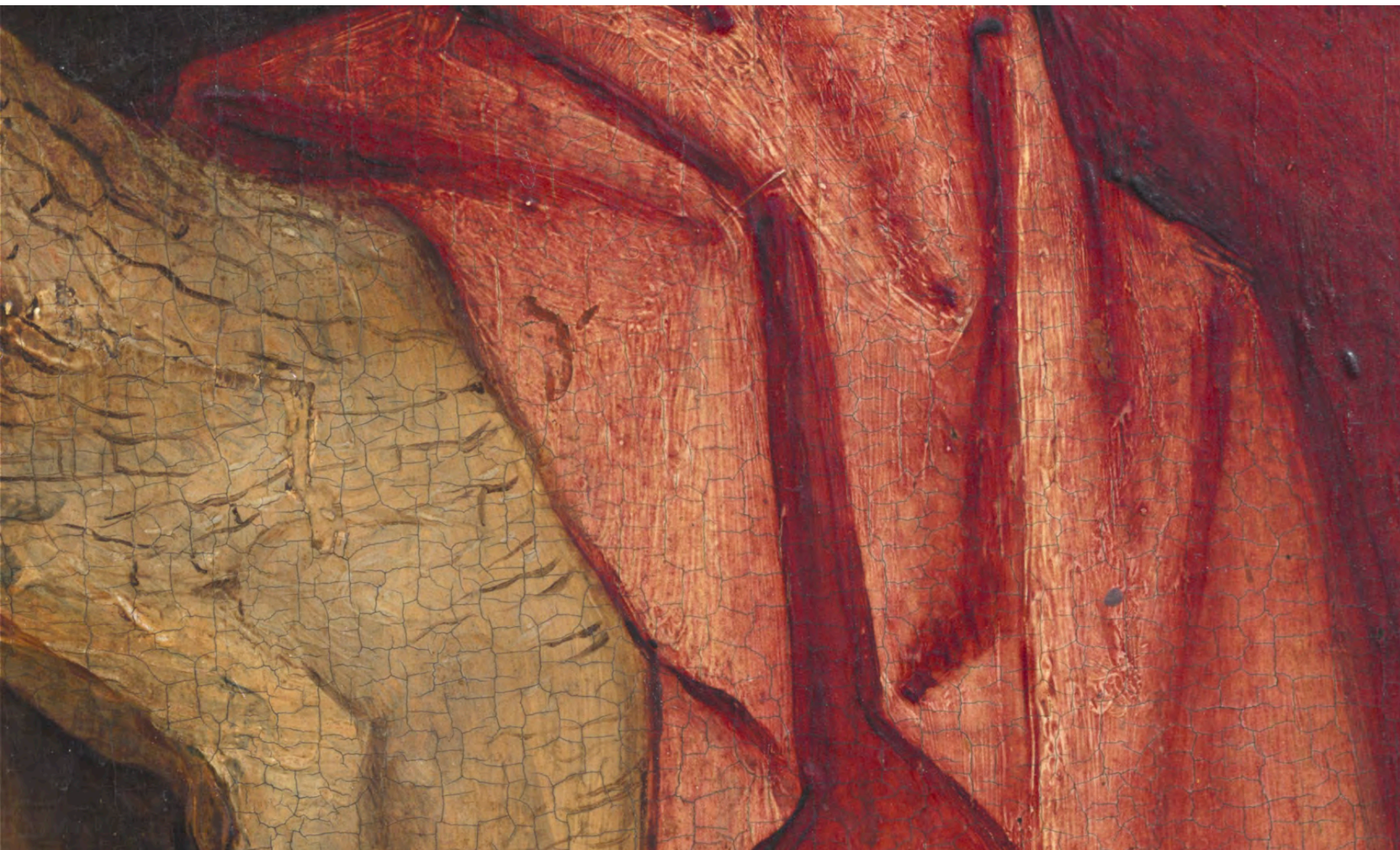




FIG 31 *Saint John the Baptist* [CAT 5]



FIG 32 *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4B]

whether red lake glazes, which appear to cover most opaque red areas in Bosch's paintings, were applied not only to create a richer colour or to aid in modelling, but also to 'seal' the vermilion. If so, Bosch was aware of this degradation process.[40]

Past conservation treatments and surface finish

Every surviving Bosch painting has been repeatedly cleaned and repaired in the past, as have nearly all early Netherlandish paintings. Over five centuries, these works have been exposed to many external threats, and materials have deteriorated, leading to a variety of conservation issues. In the past, painters and craftsmen 'washed' paintings and carried out repairs using harsh cleaning agents and methods that damaged the objects. Restoring art as a specialization only emerged in the eighteenth century.[41] Gradually, the available materials and methods to address conservation issues have improved, as well as understanding the consequences of using them. Ongoing dialogue on conservation ethics has also influenced treatment approaches. Especially in the last quarter of the twentieth century, the profession has grown from a craft into an academic discipline. Scientific research and technical examinations have helped to gain more insight into paintings' constituent parts and their ageing, enabling us better to understand pictures as artists intended them. The general aim of modern conservation treatments is to stabilize the works of art and remove non-original material that impedes their proper legibility, while respecting irreversible changes due to natural ageing.[42] Evidence of the painting's age thus needs to be maintained, yet this principle sometimes conflicts with the legibility of the image itself and the intentions of the artist.



FIG 34 *The Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid) [CAT 9D–E]: before treatment



FIG 33 *Visions of the Hereafter* [CAT 18F]: reverse of the *Garden of Eden* during treatment

All Bosch paintings that have come down to us are varnished, typically with an initially clear surface coating that was applied to saturate and protect the paint. Although little is known about early Netherlandish varnish compositions, egg white and oil-resin compounds were probably used, and from the later fifteenth century onwards, so were spirit or essential oil varnishes.[43] Original varnishes do not seem to have survived on the paint surface. However, several of Bosch's paintings underwent major contemporary alterations to the finished composition, and in between these paint layers, original varnish may have survived. Such resinous intermediate layers were observed in paint cross-sections of *Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 5)[44] and of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8),[45] in both of which large donor figures were overpainted.

Natural resin varnishes degrade and yellow as they age, which alters the colour perception (blues become greener, for example). Moreover, contrasts are reduced over time because dark paints appear lighter and less saturated and light paints appear darker, more yellowish, under a degraded varnish. This leads to a continuing cycle of removing degraded varnish and applying new coatings. In Bosch's paintings, old varnish residues left behind in the interstices of the paint have resulted in disfiguring dark spots. In some cases the discoloured residues interrupt the originally fluent modelling of skin tones, especially where brushstrokes are apparent in the texture of the paint. In earlier practice, tinted or pigmented varnishes were sometimes used to harmonize aged surfaces and to provide a 'historic'-looking finish.[46] Nonetheless, such a coating was only found in the Prado *Adoration of the Magi* – one of the best-preserved Bosch paintings – where the composition on the closed triptych appeared much browner. FIG 29

In the past, degraded varnishes were often removed with relatively harsh cleaning methods and materials such as alkalis, accounting for much of the abrasion and many of the losses currently seen on painted surfaces. In the case of the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt am Main (cat. 11), however, paint was intentionally removed. At some point, the donors and family members bottom left and right were scrubbed off, whereas the rest of the painted surface is well preserved. During the last treatment, previously hidden remnants of the two figural groups were emphasized again, resulting in their now-ghostly appearance. Cleaning agents may also have opened up craquelure, as these breaks in the paint film are more easily penetrated, and the cleaners may have undercut the paint. A misleading effect of abrasion can be found in translucent red clothing, where Bosch typically applied red lake paint onto a modelled, whitish base. The fairly stiff lead-white paint in the local undermodelling resulted in more impasto, with discernible brushstrokes. Later abrasion of the red lake on top exposed ridges of the underlying paint. The resulting bright, local striations may be misinterpreted as long or hatched highlights on top of large sections of red lake – a technique apparently not used by Bosch.

FIG 30

Elevated points in the paint surface of other works have been affected in a similar way. In the central panel of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 4), the severe abrasion at the plateau and several areas around it is presumably related to the multilayered paint buildup and the compositional changes in that area. For example, below the small dog with the red hood the foot of a figure that was painted out has become visible again in the bottom left of a detail. Abrasion also affects raised paint: at light-hued places where cupping occurs, the combined abrasion of the raised edges and the accumulation of dirt and varnish residues in the cupped centre produce unintended contrasts. Because these are on a near-microscopic scale, however, this spotty effect is not always disturbing to the naked eye. Raised paint areas have typically been consolidated and flattened, sometimes with the use of syringes to inject glue, as is evident from the often-dark needle holes in the paint surface of the *Adoration of the Magi* in New York. Other damages to the paint surface may be found, such as dents and scratches caused by poor handling or accidents, and abraded or damaged edges – especially at the barbs – occasioned by improper framing. In several cases, certain areas show signs of wear from specific types of use, such as the opening and closing of triptych wings.

FIG 32

> III : FIG 29

FIG 34

During earlier conservation treatments, most damages in Bosch's paintings were restored. Losses were filled and integrated, and damages retouched. Only in *After the Flood* and *After the Last Judgement* in Rotterdam (cat. 22) are strong deviations in the conservation approach apparent. In the most recent treatment of these works, between 1982 and 1985, variable manners of reintegration led to a striking imbalance in the visual perception of the four paint surfaces. *After the Flood* was filled and retouched to a higher level of finish than the more damaged *After the Last Judgement*. Moreover, their reverses were treated in a rather 'archaeological' manner, and large areas of bare wood were left visible. Only the contours of the roundels were completed through retouching. In general, many such retouchings have since discoloured and are clearly discernible now. This is especially the case for those done in oil paint.

Integrated retouching is essential in restoring the balance of Bosch's pictures. In several of his paintings restored in Italy and Spain, a typical retouching technique known as *rigatino* (or *tratteggio*, or a variant thereof) was used. This alternative to mimetic (or 'invisible') retouching consists of the layered application of thin, vertical brushstrokes which optically merge when seen from a distance. This technique can blend especially well with paintings done in tempera. For paintings done in oils, however, the numerous fine lines may result in an inappropriate and disturbingly vibrant effect. This is visible in a photograph of the uneven, whitish sky of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* that was taken before the 2013–15 treatment of the work.

FIG 31

FIG 36

The broad drying cracks and the youth cracks showing the often-lighter preparatory layer are generally considered to distract from the legibility of the picture. In a treatment of the Bruges *Last Judgement*, these cracks were partly toned by retouching, a conservation practice that is used in treatments of many early Netherlandish paintings.

FIG 21

Old retouchings often extend slightly beyond the borders of losses, but in some cases large parts of a picture have been overpainted, as in the *Ship of Fools* in Paris (cat. 19B). Another such example is the double-sided panel of the *Carrying of the Cross* and the *Christ Child* in Vienna (cat. 12). As mentioned above, the entire surface with the Christ Child was covered with a thick, brownish overpaint, presumably to create the impression that the *Carrying of the Cross* was an autonomous panel rather than merely a part of a disassembled triptych. This crude coating was removed in 1925, but many smaller remnants of the brown overpainting remained on the surface until the 2014–15 restoration. Because much of the original sky was cropped from the *Carrying of the Cross* when the support was made rectangular, a broad, blue overpainting of the entire upper background resulted in a much lower horizon. Extensive efforts were thus undertaken in the past, in structural work as well (see above), to increase the credibility of this new 'autonomous' panel. Large-scale overpaints are also still present in the *Saint Anthony Triptych* (cat. 4), where the brown outer fields of the grisaille panels are later additions that cover original stone imitation.[47] FIG 7

Brief notes on current conservation treatments

The examination of the paintings by the Bosch Research and Conservation Project and the ensuing commemorative Hieronymus Bosch exhibition in 2016 have directly inspired conservation treatments of the *Ship of Fools* in Paris (cat. 19B); the *Adoration of the Magi* in Philadelphia (cat. 25); the *Adoration of the Magi* in Madrid (cat. 9); the *Christ Child* and *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12); the *Saint Christopher* in Rotterdam (cat. 7); the *Saint Jerome* in Ghent (cat. 1); the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (cat. 16); and the *Hermit Saints Triptych*, the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych*, and the *Visions of the Hereafter* (cat. 2, 8 and 18) in Venice.[48] These treatments all promise greatly increased visibility of the original paint surfaces.

For the Venetian Bosch paintings, the benefits of restoration are evident in several ways. Presumably in an early treatment of the three paintings while they were in Venice before 1838, a transparent surface coating had been applied, onto which copious amounts of soot and dirt came to adhere over time. Degradation resulted in a greyish-brown layer that was soluble only with difficulty and was later partially removed, using harsh cleaning agents that severely damaged the paints. During the current treatment, that grimy surface layer has been successfully removed. Especially on the imitation-stone reverses of the *Visions of the Hereafter* panels, where the layer was thickest, its effect on the original painting is evident from photos taken during treatment. Removal of this layer revealed artistic images of what appears to be imperial red porphyry and green serpentine marble that can be appreciated for the first time in centuries. FIGS 2, 33

The triptych with the crucified martyr has also been so difficult to read in the past that the gender and identity of the saint had been interpreted in different ways.[49] The removal of dirt and degraded varnishes revealed remnants of a very subtle beard, which thus enabled the identification of the female martyr as Saint Wilgefortis. The work's cleaning and subsequent integration of the damages and application of varnish have gradually brought back the exceptional colour depth and contrast, attracting the viewer even from a distance. Up close, subtle textural differences and the fine, intensive detailing have become legible again. FIG 35a–b FIGS 1, 36, 37

The *Hermit Saints Triptych* and the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* were cradled in nineteenth-century Vienna, but both cradles were actively damaging the panel supports, as well as the ground and paint layers. Structural conservation treatments executed in 2013–15 have stabilized the panels and acted to preserve these important works.



FIG 35a–b *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8B]: the face of the martyr before and during treatment



FIG 36 *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8B]: before treatment

Conclusions

The present-day paintings can look radically different from when they left Bosch's studio. Changes in object form and function as a result of structural interventions have been identified, for example, in the disassembled former *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 19) and in the altered *Christ Child* and *Christ Carrying the Cross* panel (cat. 12). Recognizing and properly interpreting alterations is essential to determine the original function, and sometimes also the meaning of a painting, such as the *Ship of Fools* (cat. 19B).

The variety and extent of certain conservation issues within an oeuvre could be taken as an indication of the painter's knowledge and experience of natural ageing effects and proper painting techniques. Hieronymus Bosch, like other master painters of his time, seems to have been well aware of such issues, as his careful selection of materials and his skilled use of them demonstrates. For example, youth cracks from lean over fat paint application have rarely been observed in his paintings, and drying cracks are relatively limited. Although Bosch largely circumvented the problem of unstable colourants by using mostly



FIG 37 *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8B]: after treatment

high-quality pigments, his rare use of costly ultramarine is noteworthy. Most deterioration, therefore, has been the inevitable consequence of natural ageing in art materials, and not the result of how they were applied. In any case, the decades of experience gained through the family workshop must have been of great use to him.

Two characteristics of his painting technique, however, did create their own problems. In the Berlin grisaille (cat. 6B), light figures were painted subtly with minimal material, wet-in-wet atop the dark border. The latter gradually darkened, whereas the light paint increased in transparency, with its thinnest areas becoming nearly indistinguishable from the border. Similarly, Bosch's custom of using a lead-white-based undermodelling for areas with red lake, which enabled him to work faster, also caused fading problems and locally increased contrasts.

Understanding ageing effects is also of importance when 'reading' or interpreting a painting. Sometimes grainy, textured areas are the result of metal-soap formation and not intended by the artist. This process, as well as changes in paints' refractive indices, have given rise to increased transparency and a greater visibility of underlying layers. The artist's use of semitransparent paints and his thin paint applications did nothing to reduce this effect. The discoloration of copper-containing paints has frequently resulted in greener skies and browner landscapes. For green glazes, the brown discoloration has often been misinterpreted in the past, and their subsequent removal sometimes brought about complete loss of original paint.

Many treatments in the past have had adverse effects, either directly or over time. Undesirable effects include abrasion from harsh cleaning methods and materials used, as well as incorrect or inappropriate retouchings and overpaintings. The former is especially problematic in Bosch's paintings, as the paint layers were frequently applied so thinly that in some cases not much remained after such interventions. Abrasions may also lead to misleading effects when it comes to interpreting technique, layer buildup and the visible image. The quality and condition of the varnish layer, too, including residues from older layers, has a great impact on the legibility of the picture. It is not always obvious when an original paint surface is obscured by later additions. Modern treatments of the paintings are therefore aimed not only at a better state of physical conservation but also at achieving a properly legible image. By honouring these goals, conservators can help answer such questions as those in the long dispute – 1733 at least, but now finally settled – on the identity of the Venetian triptych's martyr, Saint Wilgefortis (cat. 8).

We have to realize time and again that paintings have not come down to us as they originally appeared. They are usually presented as if undamaged to allow legibility of the image, but they have all the same undergone all kinds of unavoidable and often irreversible ageing changes, accidental damage and human interventions. Recognizing the effects of ageing and former treatments on a painting is not often straightforward, even for the trained and experienced eye, but it is essential to better our understanding of the artist's techniques and intentions.

[1] Vandenbroeck 1985.

[2] Ilsink 2009, 29–90.

[3] Aikema 2001.

[4] See the 'Previous research and additional documentation available' sections in the research reports (RR) in BRCP, *Technical Studies*. These also include other unpublished information, such as conservation reports.

[5] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*.

[6] In some cases gaps are visible between the panel edges and the frames. In one such instance – *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21) – wooden strips have been added to both sides of the central panel to close the gaps, even though the work is housed in a modern frame.

[7] Klein 2001; see also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques', pp. 56–57.

[8] Sapwood, which is more prone to woodworm attack, is only present in the Escorial's *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 13; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, RR 89–90). *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (deattributed) in the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid is painted on a poplar panel, but the choice of wood could be linked to the work's function as a tabletop (see also cat. 34).

[9] A cradle typically consists of one set of wooden battens glued parallel to the wood grain of the panel reverse, and another set of battens (the 'runners') positioned crosswise to the grain within slots in the first set. This type of cradle, in theory allowing in-plane but not out-of-plane panel movements, was invented in France around 1770. Bergeon et al. 1998, 269.

[10] The central panel reverse of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 4) was also considerably thinned, but it was reinforced with cross-battens only.

[11] Sections of the panel reverse that are covered by cradle members respond more slowly than the exposed areas to changes in relative humidity. Over time these different absorption zones can result in an undulating or 'washboard' effect in the panel. Panel undulation as a result of the cradle is also visible in the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2) and *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8), both in Venice, and to a lesser extent in the *Saint Jerome* (cat. 1) and the *Saint Christopher* (cat. 7). The slight undulation in the central panel of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* (cat. 4) is caused by restrictive battens applied to the panel reverse.

[12] See further on this, BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 12, RR 9–10: 'Altered dimensions'; Hoogstede 2014.

[13] The *Ship of Fools* drawing (cat. 56), also in the Louvre, probably gives an accurate impression of the painting's appearance without the overpainting.

[14] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat.2, RR 27–31, 40; Hoogstede 2016.

[15] Gabriele Bella, *Interior of the Sala dei Tre Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci*, after 1779–before 1792, Pinacoteca Querini Stampalia, Venice. See further, cat. 2.

[16] Sizes proposed by paintings conservator Griet Steyaert during the restoration committee meeting in Bruges, 28 August 2015.

[17] See Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques', pp. 56–57.

[18] Stols-Witlox 2014, 67–68.

[19] This was previously noted and published in Lammertse and Roorda Boersma 2003, 117: 'Under the paint surface thick white short brushstrokes can be detected. Their exact meaning is not clear … They appear to be indications for the composition. It is remarkable that the same kind of brushstrokes can be seen in the *Haywain-triptych*.'

[20] See cat. 5–6, where the original function of the two panels is hypothesized.

[21] The binding mediums used by Bosch are discussed in Parra Crego 2004 (unpublished report); Parra Crego 2001, 234. For those used by his contemporaries, see Billinge et al. 1997, 40–41.

[22] It has been suggested that high environmental humidity levels caused this during the painting's stay in the Escorial monastery, but such issues were not discovered in the other paintings of that provenance. See Silva Maroto 2000a, 109, 111.

[23] Such holes should not be confused with the more grouped needle holes of consolidation treatments using a syringe to inject glue, such as those noted in the New York *Adoration of the Magi* (see Chapter III, fig. 29).

[24] Such metal-soap aggregates can form from pigment–medium interaction (saponification and recrystallization) that may occur in the presence of free fatty acids in oil binding mediums and reactive metal ions in pigments (in Bosch's paintings, predominantly lead white and Type I lead-tin yellow). The size of these aggregates can vary – larger protrusions up to three millimetres have been documented in the *Calvary with Donor*. For an overview of this degradation process and further references, see Van Loon, Noble and Burnstock 2012, 227–31.

[25] When this effect is evident in all areas of the painting and not just in specific paint layers, the intermediate layer is a likely source, such as the lead-white-pigmented isolation layer in the *Calvary with Donor*.

[26] Commonly used walnut and linseed oils have a refractive index of approx. 1.48, while pigments have an index roughly between 1.5 and 2.8. Nicolaus 1999, 265.

[27] An excellent overview of oil-bound pigment degradation is presented in Van Loon, Noble and Burnstock 2012, Table 9.1, 218–23.

[28] The drying of oil occurs through chemical reaction – oxidative polymerization – rather than solvent evaporation, and co-oxidation reactions of contaminants in the oil are the likely cause of its yellowing. Linolenic acid content, added driers and increased temperature do not appear to affect the yellowing. Mallégol, Lemaire and Gardette 2001.

[29] Billinge et al. 1997, 40–41.

[30] Parra Crego 2004 (unpublished report).

[31] The reaction between copper ions in azurite and fatty acids in the oil may turn blue skies greenish. Gunn et al. 2002.

[32] Parra Crego 2001, 234. It must be cautioned that the presence of metal-soap aggregates in paints such as lead-tin yellow may result in a false positive for the identification of protein when analysed with gas chromatography–mass spectrometry (GC–MS). Higgitt, Spring and Saunders 2003.

[33] They are now better revealed in infrared or when studied up close. This has led some scholars to believe that the panel could not have functioned as an upper wing of an altarpiece, because it was thought to be too far away for the background detailing to be visible (see also cat. 6).

[34] Since 1914, such glazes have been described as copper resinate, but the use of such a resinous glaze in paintings is doubtful. More likely, over time verdigris pigment has dissolved in the oil medium, resulting in the translucent, deep green glazes visible now. Van Eikema Hommes 2004, 51–89.

[35] The permanence depends on the dyestuff (and its extraction method) and is influenced by a variety of factors – mainly the substrate onto which the lake is precipitated, the medium in which it is bound, and the white content (Saunders and Kirby 1994).

[36] Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 42; Parra Crego 2001, 234.

[37] Parra Crego 2001, 234, 244, 245 fig. 31, 246, 248. A cross-section taken during the 2013–15 restoration of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* in Venice also shows the presence of red lake pigment particles in the lead-white undermodelling.

[38] Mark 15:17, 20; John 19:2, 5.

[39] Superficial grey-black deposits can form as a result of natural, light-induced (photo-electrochemical) degradation of vermilion. This process is catalysed by chloride, which in a secondary reaction with the black matter can also form white deposits. See also Keune 2005, 93–112.

[40] Although the Tuscan painter Cennino Cennini, in his *Libro dell'Arte* (between 1390 and 1435), cautioned painters about the blackening of vermilion on exposure to air, a northern European source like the *De Mayerne Manuscript* (1620–46) only refers to this phenomenon indirectly. See Van Eikema Hommes 2004, 30 and 36.

[41] Bomford 2012, Table 9.1.

[42] For professional guidelines and codes of ethics, see, for example, the website www.ecco-eu.org of the European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organisations.

[43] Phenix and Townsend 2012, Table 9.1.

[44] Fuster Sabater 1995, 12.

[45] A number of cross-sections have been taken in the course of the research and treatment of the painting (2013–15).

[46] Von der Goltz et al. 2012, 635–36.

[47] In places, the overpainted stone imitation is exposed (see, e.g., 11MICGBM004) and appears to resemble the faux marbling on the copy in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts in Brussels (no. 3032).

[48] The conservation treatments of the Rotterdam *Saint Christopher*; the Bruges *Last Judgement*; the Ghent *Saint Jerome*; and the Venice *Hermit Saints Triptych*, *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych*, and *Visions of the Hereafter* are directly supported by the BRCP. The structural conservation work of the Venetian panels has been supported by a grant from The Getty Foundation as part of its Panel Paintings Initiative. The aesthetic treatment of the *Visions of the Hereafter* panels has been limited to the sides with imitation stone, as their other sides were restored relatively recently, between 2007 and 2008 (see also RR 32–39). The *Haywain Triptych* in the Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (a copy of the Prado *Haywain Triptych*) is also currently being restored.

[49] See cat. 8.



CATA

LOGUE RAISONNÉ



1 *Saint Jerome at Prayer*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1485–95

Oil on oak panel, 80 × 60.7 cm
Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, 1908–H

BRCP examination and documentation data: Ghent, 22–24 November 2010; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 1, RR 2; //Boschproject.org no. 1.

Condition
The panel is cropped at top and bottom. The barbs and unpainted edges at both sides indicate that the painting originally had an engaged frame. The panel reverse has been thinned considerably and cradled, although two small areas of the original reverse, underneath the transferred wax seals, have survived. Losses are concentrated along the two joins and the crack at bottom centre, but ground and paint layers are generally stable and in good condition. The paint surface is abraded in places, especially at impastoed paint tops and the sky. Light paints have increased in transparency, for example in the tree at upper left, and copper-green lakes have turned brown. The degraded varnish, discoloured retouchings and partly overpainted background hills and sky cause a reduced legibility of the generally well-preserved original paint surface. Conservation issues were addressed in the 2015 full treatment of the painting.

Provenance
French private collection (Colbert family seal) (*ad causas* seal of the town of Merville, Nord–Pas-de-Calais); English private collection (?); 1908 Ghent: purchased at auction, Galerie Fiévez, 11 April 1908, by Mr Peypers, Antwerp; from his collection to the Vrienden van het Museum van Gent, and donated by this museum friends' society to the museum through the art dealer E. De Coninck, Brussels, and Georges Hulin de Loo, Ghent.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 1, RR 2; Fischer 2013, 23, 240–41; Falkenburg 2012, 85–105; Koreny 2012, 28, 95; Van Waadenoijen 2007, 92–96; Silver 2006, 218–20; Klein 2001, 124; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 22, 88, 173; Ruppel 1988, 4–12; Marijnissen 1987, 388–93; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 32; Friedländer 1927, 98, 151.

Analysis
Bosch's *Saint Jerome at Prayer* is an intimate and personal image of the saint for whom the artist was named. The hermit-cardinal lies prostrate in an inhospitable landscape, with nothing but discipline and religious devotion to shield him from distractions and sinister urges. For the time being, Jerome has won this inner struggle and is able – pure and unsullied – to focus his full attention on the crucifix he embraces fervently in his arms. The wilderness into which Jerome has withdrawn not only illustrates a passage from his *vita*, it also refers to the saint's name, which is translated in the *Passionael* – a popular Middle Dutch version of Jacopo de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* ('Golden Legend') – as 'sacred grove' or 'holy wood' (*heilig bosch*). The fact that the artist chose the same toponym (*bosch*) as his professional surname seems, therefore, to allude to more than just the city of 's-Hertogenbosch where he lived and worked.

SAINT JEROME

Saint Jerome stretches out on the ground in an ominous landscape, praying with utter absorption to Christ. He embraces the crucifix with both arms, his hands clasped together, and his eyes closed. Jerome is positioned at the centre of this panel – one of Bosch's greatest achievements.[1] The painter has carefully arranged a series of visual elements around the hermit, which refer to both his worldly and his spiritual life.

Jerome was born in Stridon, Dalmatia, around 345 CE. Following a classical education and a career in the Church in Rome, he decided to withdraw into the Syrian desert. He wrote vividly of this period of isolation and penitence in one of his letters to Eustochium – a pious woman who had sought his spiritual guidance. The same passage is quoted in the *Legenda aurea*, and must also have inspired Bosch as he painted this panel: 'Now, although in my fear of hell I had consigned myself to this prison, where I had no companions but scorpions and wild beasts, I often found myself amid bevies of girls. My face was pale and my frame chilled with fasting. I do not blush to avow my abject misery; rather I lament that I am not now what once I was. I remember how I often cried aloud all night till the break of day and ceased not from beating my breast till tranquillity returned at the chiding of the Lord.'[2]

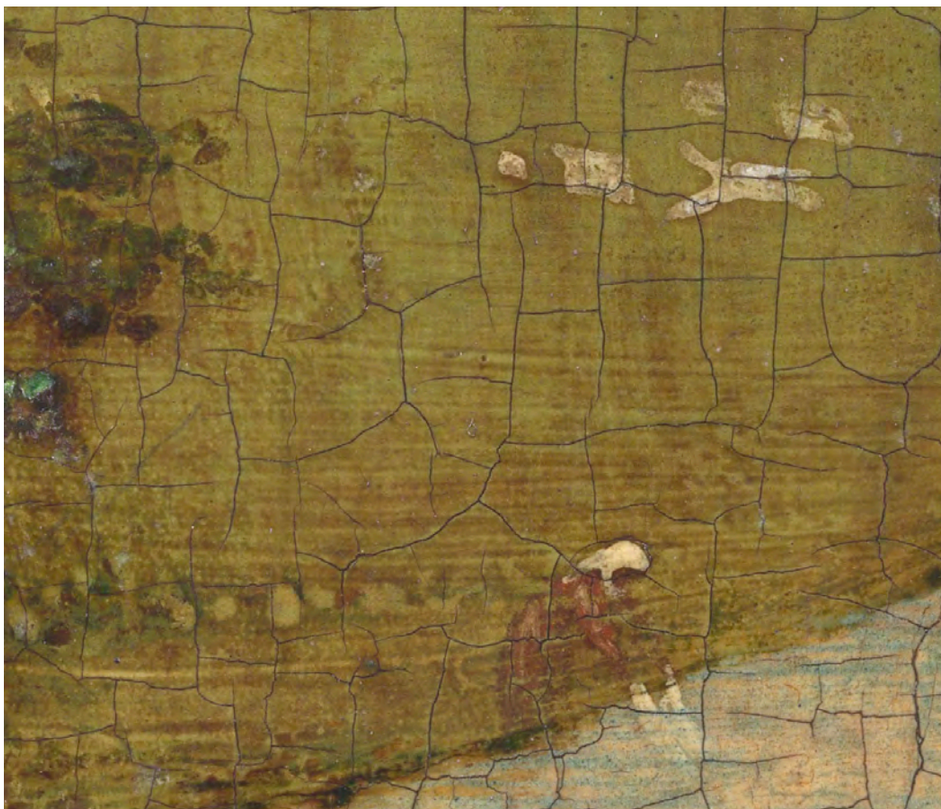
The rock with which he has just chastised himself lies nearby. Jerome meditates on the physical torments suffered by Christ, while wrestling with his own earthly desires. His resemblance to the Saviour – also visually to some extent – cleanses him of the blemish represented by his physical urges.[3] The idea of purification is alluded to in the background as well, where a woman washes her clothes in the river; they are the same immaculate white as Jerome's robe and Christ's loincloth. The saint's red cassock is draped over a hollow tree 1.1 1.2

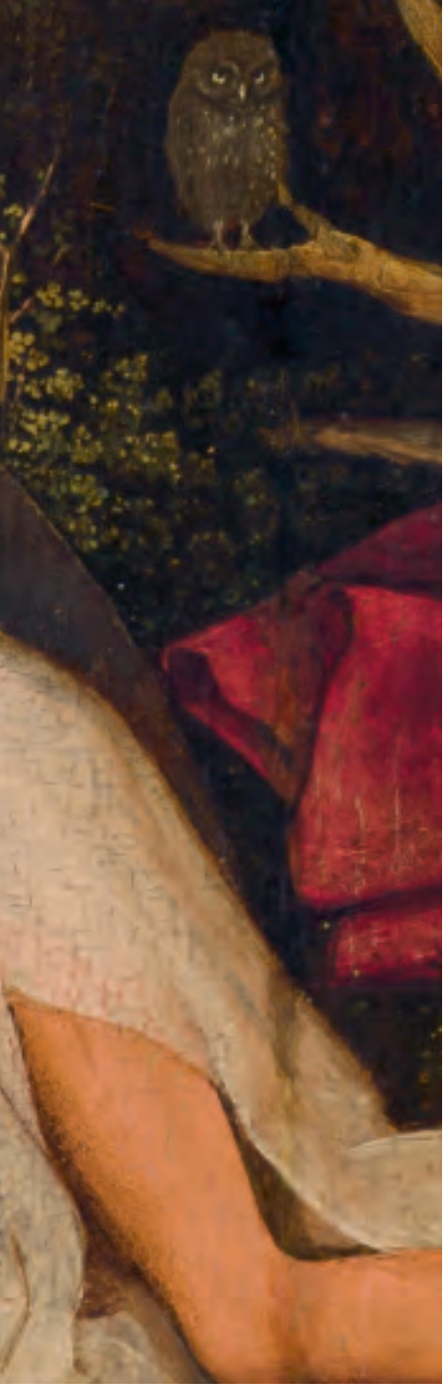


1

1.1 In prayer

1.2 Washing and bleaching





trunk and his cardinal's hat lies on the ground nearby. Both attributes recall the time he spent in Rome at the age of twenty-nine as secretary to the pope. The idea of Jerome as a cardinal, even though no such rank existed in his era, probably derived in the mid-fourteenth century from Johannes Andreae's *Hieronymianus*, following which it rapidly established itself more widely. From the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, therefore, Jerome – who enjoyed great prestige throughout the Middle Ages as a Church Father and Bible translator – was frequently depicted not only as a scholar in his study, but also as a cardinal.[4]

A closed book lies between the cassock and the cardinal's hat or *galero*. According to tradition, Jerome took his library with him into the wilderness and some compositions therefore show him reading in the open air. In this case, the book is an attribute alluding to his learning and to the many years he spent on his Vulgate translation, which he began at a monastery in Bethlehem after spending four years in the wilderness.[5] The lion on the left of the scene recalls his period in Bethlehem. Jerome extracted a thorn from its paw, following which the now-tame animal became his faithful companion.[6] 1.3

The lion, cardinal's hat, book, rock and crucifix are all standard attributes in images of the penitent Saint Jerome praying in the wilderness – a type that originated around 1400 in northern Italy and became immensely popular in the fifteenth century. The emergence of this iconography might reflect the foundation of several Hieronymite orders in the second half of the fourteenth century. Asceticism and penance were central to their religious life, alongside devotion to the Passion of Christ.[7]

Jerome's popularity in the Low Countries increased sharply in the fifteenth century under the influence of the Devotio Moderna. The Brethren of the Common Life adopted him as their patron, and founded Hieronymite houses,[8] including one in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1425.[9] Images of the penitent Jerome begin to appear in the Low Countries too from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. The type might have been introduced by Rogier van der Weyden, following his time in Rome and his visit to Ferrara. Jerome was especially important in Ferraran humanist circles at the court of Lionello d'Este, and he was also the patron saint of the Gesuati.[10] Whatever their origins, images of Saint Jerome in the wilderness had grown so numerous in Italy by the second half of the fifteenth century that the new iconography arrived in northern Europe via several routes simultaneously. It was also disseminated, for instance, through woodcuts in Bibles and editions of the *Legenda aurea*.[11] Late-medieval images of Saint Jerome in the wilderness almost always show him kneeling, with his eyes fixed on the crucified Christ and beating himself on the chest with 1.4



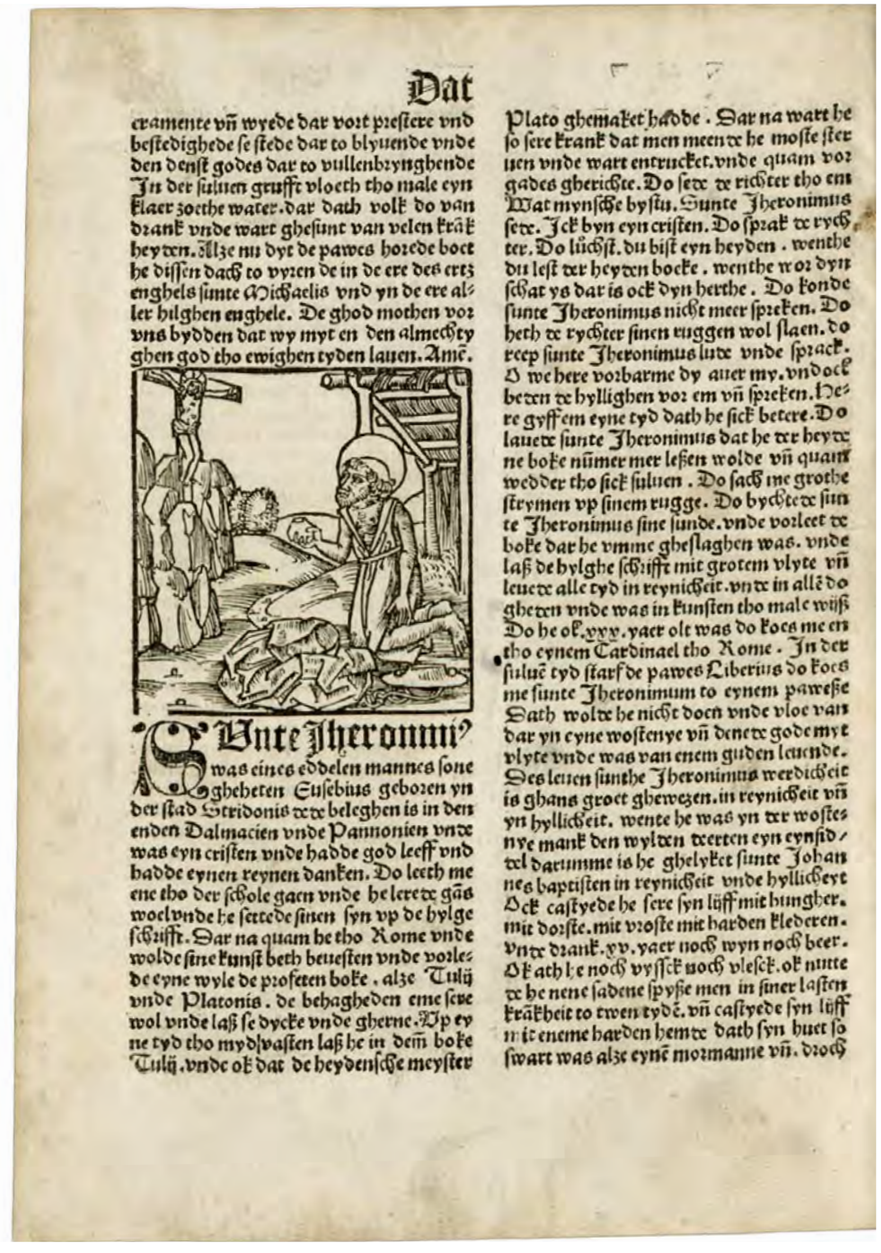


1.3 The lion, Jerome's attribute

a rock. Bosch's treatment of the theme in the Ghent painting deviates from this visual tradition; here the moment of physical mortification has passed, and the focus has shifted from the external to the internal. Sinful thoughts have been banished, creating the space for meditation, prayer and submission; Jerome, his eyes closed, summons up the image of
1.4 Christ before his 'inner eye'.[12] The late-medieval viewer could imagine the saint poring over Christ's body in his thoughts in remembrance of his suffering. The crucifix aided this exercise, which became a widespread meditative technique under the influence of the Devotio Moderna.[13] The image of Saint Jerome exhorts the worshipper to close his or her eyes to all worldly temptations. In this particular instance, the crucifix might even be interpreted as the physical manifestation of a vision, as Bosch only added it to the composition at a very late stage of the painting process; it was not included in the underdrawing and was only painted after the background and the figure of Saint Jerome had already been completed.



1.5 Sleeping fox



Dat
cramente vñ wyede dar vort prestere vnd
bestedighede se stede dar to blyuende vnde
den denst godes dar to vullenbrynghende
Jn der suluen gruffft vloeth tho male eyn
klaer zoethe water. dar dath volk do van
dranck vnde wart ghesunt van velen krãk
heyten. Alze nu dyt de pawes horede boet
he dissen dach to vyren de in de ere des ertz
enghels sunte Michaelis vnd yn de ere al-
ler hilghen enghele. De ghod mothen vor
vns bydden dat wy myt en den almechty
ghen god tho ewighen tyden lauen. Amẽ.

Vnte Jheronimi

Was eines eddelen mannes sone
gheheten Eusebius geboren yn
der stad Stridonis tzte beleghen is in den
enden Dalmacien vnde Pannonien vnte
was eyn cristen vnde hadde god leeff vnd
hadde eynen reynen danken. Do leeth me
ene tho der schole gaen vnde he lerete gũs
woel vnde he settede sinen syn vp de hylge
schufft. Dar na quam he tho Rome vnde
wolde sine kunst beth beuesten vnde vorle-
de eyne wyle de proseten boke. alze Tulij
vnde Platonis. de behagheden eme seer
wol vnde laß se dycke vnde gherne. Vp ey
ne tyd tho mydwasten laß he in dem boke
Tulij. vnde ok dat de heydensche meyster
Plato ghemaket hadde. Dar na wart he
so sere krank dat men meende he moste ster
uen vnde wart entrucket. vnde quam vor
gades gherichte. Do sede te richter tho em
Wat mynsche bystu. Sunte Jheronimus
sede. Jck byn eyn cristen. Do spraek te rych
ter. Do lũchst. du bist eyn heyden. wenthe
dy lest ter heyden boecke. wenthe wor dyn
schat ys dar is ock dyn herthe. Do konde
sunte Jheronimus nicht meer spreken. Do
heth te rychter sinen ruggen wol slaen. do
reep sunte Jheronimus lude vnde spraek.
O we here vorbarme dy auer my. vndock
beden te hylighen vor em vñ spreken. He-
re gyff em eyne tyd dath he sick betere. Do
lauete sunte Jheronimus dat he ter heyde
ne boke nũmer mer lesen wolde vñ quam
wedder tho sick suluen. Do sach me grothe
strymen vp sinem rugge. Do bychte te sun
te Jheronimus sine sunde. vnde vorleet te
boke dar he vmme gheslaghen was. vnde
laß de hylghe schifft mit grotem vlyte vñ
leuete alle tyd in reynicheit. vnte in allẽ do
gheten vnde was in kunsten tho male wiss
Do he ok. xxv. yaer olt was do koes me en
tho eynem Cardinael tho Rome. Jn der
suluẽ tyd starf de pawes Liberius do koes
me sunte Jheronimum to eynem pawese
Dath wolde he nicht doen vnde vloe van
dar yn eyne woestenye vñ denete gode myt
vlyte vnde was van enem giuden leuende.
Des leuen sunthe Jheronimus werdicheit
is ghans groet ghewezen. in reynicheit vñ
yn hyllicheit. wente he was yn ter woste-
nye mank den wylden teerten eyn eynsid-
tel darumme is he ghelyket sunte Johan
nes baptisten in reynicheit vnde hyllicheyt
Ock castyede he sere syn lyff mit hunger.
mit dorste. mit vroste mit harden klederen.
Vnte dranck. yv. yaer noch wyn noch beer.
Ok ath he noch vysck noch vlesck. ok nutte
te he nene sadene spyse men in siner lasten
krãkheit to twen tyden. vñ castyede syn lyff
mit eneme harden hemde dath syn huet so
swart was alze eynẽ mormanne vñ. droch

1.4 Jacobus de Voragine, *Das duytsche Passionael (Legenda aurea)*, Lübeck (Steffen Arndes) 1507: Repenting Saint Jerome. Woodcut. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich



1.6



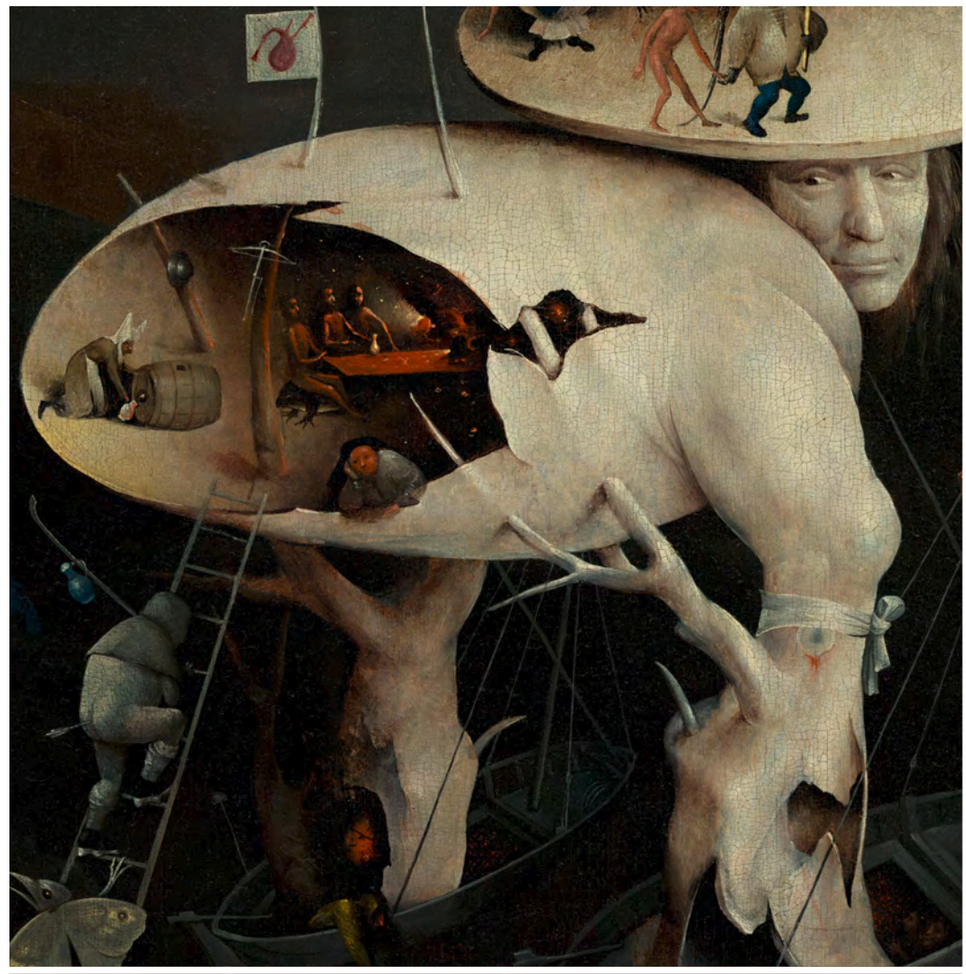
NATURE AND LANDSCAPE

Hermits were a favourite theme of Bosch's and lent themselves perfectly to nature scenes.[14] The wildness of Jerome's surroundings in the Ghent panel is emphasized by the contrast with the brightly lit, peaceful and cultivated landscape, complete with bleaching fields, in the background. 'I used to dread my very cell as though it knew my thoughts; and, stern and angry with myself, I used to make my way alone into the desert,' Jerome wrote in his aforementioned letter to Eustochium. 'Wherever I saw hollow valleys, craggy mountains, steep cliffs, there I made my oratory, there the house of correction for my unhappy flesh.'[15] The strange rock formation with its thorny plants where he has sought shelter is, indeed, a less than reassuring abode. Other elements too in the scene have a sinister and admonitory character, such as the mauled remains of a cockerel in the lower left, which evidently got a little too close to the innocent-looking fox sleeping nearby; or the large, hollow tree trunk with an owl on one of its branches, gazing steadily at the viewer. Precisely the same elements are found in a different context, but to similar effect, in the drawing *The Wood Has*

1.6

1.5

1.7



1.9





1.8



1.10

Living trees:
1.7 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]
1.8 *Tree-Man* [CAT 35]
1.9–10 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* [CAT 4A–B]



1.11 *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4C]

Ears, The Field Has Eyes, which comes close to the essence of Bosch's artistic practice (cat. 37).[16] Dead branches and withered trees regularly appear in his work, mostly with a negative connotation. They even come to life on occasion and are given a face, as in the anthropomorphic trees in the *Tree-Man* drawing, in the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* 1.7–10 and in the panels of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 35, 21, 4). Temptation appears in the right wing of the latter work in the guise of a naked woman peering out from the 1.11 trunk of a dead tree. A thick red and white liquid, painted wet-in-wet and unmistakably alluding to bodily fluids, oozes from the surface of the wood, which the woman touches with her hand.

Jerome is surrounded in the Ghent panel by dead branches and withered tree trunks, yet the saint embraces the wooden cross, which was linked in the Middle Ages with the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden. Jerome himself made a similar analogy in one of his letters to Pope Damasus: 'This is the peace through which we are reconciled with God, for we are reconciled to him by the Lord Jesus, who redeemed our sins and obliterated the evidence that testified against us and threatened us with death by nailing it to the cross, and who openly humiliated governments and powers when he triumphed over them on the tree.'[17] Dead trees appear regularly in images of the penitent Jerome from the late fifteenth century onwards.[18] In some cases, the connection with the crucifix is represented very explicitly, as the cross is fixed to a dead tree or placed directly in front of it. That is the case in the central panel of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2), in which a green branch grows from the stump as a symbol of new life through Christ's death on the cross.

HOLY WOOD

It is safe to assume that Hieronymus Bosch felt a special affinity with Saint Jerome, his namesake. The account of Jerome's life in the *Legenda aurea* begins with an explanation of the different meanings of his name: 'Hieronymus dicitur a gerar, quod est sanctum, et nemus, quasi sanctum nemus.'[19] Jerome (Hieronymus in Latin) can be read, Jacobus de Voragine tells the reader, as 'sacred grove' or 'holy wood'. Johannes Andreae repeats this etymology almost verbatim in his *Hieronymianus*,[20] a Middle Dutch translation of which states: 'Iheronimus es gheseit van ierar Dats heylich. Ende nemus dats bosch. Want hi was een heylich bosch.'[21] The rendering of *nemus* here as *bosch* clearly appealed to the painter, as it meant the professional surname he had adopted referred both to his forename and to the city in which he lived.[22]

It was not only his first name that enabled Bosch to identify with Jerome; in his letters, the future saint had demonstrated a keen ability to pillory the misconduct of people at every level of society, from the common folk to the clergy. It was this aspect that appealed to Erasmus, who admired Saint Jerome's erudition and piety, and who published and commented on his letters in 1516.[23] Margaret Sullivan has shown how Christian humanists like Erasmus drew on the classical genre of satire, and how Jerome's adaptation of the genre to the Christian context served to link the satirists of antiquity with the humanist authors of the late fifteenth century. In Sullivan's view, Bosch's visual satires belong to this same tradition.[24] Jerome's moralism and his religious commitment combined to make him a worthy model for Bosch, whose work depicts sinful and immoral behaviour while simultaneously expressing profound religious devotion.

The way Bosch poses Jerome in the Ghent panel, embracing the crucifix, is rare in images of this saint; it is reminiscent of the iconography associated with Mary Magdalene, for whom a similarly intimate position was reserved in Crucifixion scenes,[25] in which she is often shown throwing her arms passionately around the base of the cross.[26] Jerome actually compares himself with Mary Magdalene in his letter to Eustochium, where he describes how he found himself at Christ's feet while doing penance. 'My face was pale and my frame chilled with fasting; yet my mind was burning with desire, and the fires of lust kept bubbling up before me when my flesh was as good as dead. Helpless, I cast myself at the feet of Jesus, I watered them with my tears, I wiped them with my hair.'[27]

1.12



Jerome's intimate relationship with Christ forms the essence of Bosch's panel, which is precisely what distinguishes the work from other images of the penitent saint. The latter's own allusion to Mary Magdalene – who, according to ecclesiastical tradition, had repented her immoral behaviour – is an apt one for his famous letter to Eustochium, of which the central theme is chastity. The letter, which Jerome himself described as a 'little book' (*libellus*), is sometimes given the subtitle *De virginitate servanda* because of the advice it offers Eustochium on preserving her virginity.[28] Drawing on his own experiences in the wilderness, Jerome seeks to persuade her of the importance of both mental and physical purity. The central panel of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice (cat. 2) shows that Bosch was aware of Jerome's ideal of celibacy; it features a number of details that symbolize chastity, including the depiction of the deuterocanonical figure of Judith and the taming of the unicorn. The Ghent painting differs from the Venice triptych, however, in that the emphasis here is not so much on Jerome's personal struggle, but on repentance and forgiveness. It is precisely this that fosters Jerome's intimate position with respect to Christ. Bosch shows the viewer of the panel a way to escape a corrupt world.

[1] Koreny recently challenged the panel's attribution to Bosch (Koreny 2012, 28). We see no justification for this, however. The style of the underdrawing too is entirely consistent with that of several other generally accepted paintings.

[2] Letter to Eustochium (no. 22), Tazelaar 2008, I, 118 (English translation: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001022.htm). *Passionael. Somerstuc* 1482, fol. 204v–06v.

[3] For Jerome's imitation of Christ, see Ruppel 1988.

[4] Wiebel 1988, 5.

[5] Jerome (c. 340–420) translated the Old Testament (excluding the Psalms), the Apocrypha (excluding Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch and First and Second Maccabees) and the New Testament for Pope Damasus I (366–383).

[6] The little circles we now detect in both the lion and elsewhere in the painting were not intended by the artist, but resulted from the ageing of the paint film.

[7] Meiss 1976; Ridderbos 1984, 63–88; Rice 1985, 76–83; Russo 1987, 201–51.

[8] Smithuis 1996, 19.

[9] Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 22.

[10] The saint is shown doing penance in the background of the small panel with Saint Jerome and the lion (c. 1450) in Detroit. For the significance of Saint Jerome in Ferrara, see Barstow 2000, 165.

[11] The Middle Dutch Bible published by Steffen Arndes in Lübeck in 1494, for instance, and the Latin Bible published in Nuremberg in 1501 by Anton Koberger. Editions of the *Passionael* with a woodcut of the penitent Saint Jerome were printed in 1488 by Anton Koberger (in German) and in 1492 by Steffen Arndes (in Low German). Gerard Leeu published the *Psalterium Sancti Hieronymi* in Antwerp in 1492, with an image of the penitent Saint Jerome. See also the notes on Saint Jerome in cat. 2.

[12] This expression can be found verbatim in medieval texts, including 'The Four Extremes', in which readers are also exhorted to picture the terrors of hell in order to shield themselves from future sin. See also Falkenburg 2012 on *insien* and *uutsien*.

[13] This meditation technique and the worshipper's relationship with devotional objects are dealt with by Rudy 2000, 128–29.

[14] See Friedmann 1980 for a discussion of the flora and fauna in images of Saint Jerome.

[15] Letter to Eustochium (no. 22), Tazelaar 2008, I, 118.

[16] Ilsink 2009, 34ff.

[17] 'Pax vero qua reconciliati Deo sumus, habentes propitiatorem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui donavit nobis delictanostra; et delevit chirographum mortis, quod erat contra nos, affigens illud cruci: et principatus et potestates fecit ostentui, triumphans eas in ligno.' Letter to Damasus (no. 21). Donahue Kuretsky 1974, 573.

[18] Donahue Kuretsky 1974.

[19] All the (Latin) editions of the *Legenda aurea* consulted by the author begin the account of Saint Jerome's life with an explanation of the meaning of his name. This element is omitted in the printed editions (in Middle Dutch) of the *Passionael* referred to for this study.

[20] 'Hieronymus a hiera quod est sanctum, et nemus, quasi sanctum nemus.' Johannes Andreae, *Hieronymianus*, Cologne (Conrad Winters) 1482, fol. 12.

[21] Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 904, fol. 10v; MS 529, fol. 212v. Reynaert 1996, 69; Marijnissen 2000, 40.

[22] Ilsink 2009 further explores the Bosch/'s-Hertogenbosch association, extending it to include *boos* ('evil') and the owl as a bird of the forest (*bosvogel*).

[23] See Bietenholz 1989 on Erasmus and Saint Jerome.

[24] Sullivan 2008, 121–28.

[25] Barstow 2000, 177.

[26] See, for instance, the closed wings of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9).

[27] Letter to Eustochium (no. 22), Tazelaar 2008, I, 118.

[28] Tazelaar 2008, I, 112. The letter was published as a booklet in Nuremberg in 1493.

2 *Hermit Saints Triptych*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1495–1505

Oil on oak panel, left wing 85.4 × 29.2 cm; central panel 85.7 × 60 cm; right wing 85.7 × 28.9 cm
Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
Signed central panel, lower right: *Jheronimŭs bosch*

BRCP examination and documentation data: Venice, 14–25 November 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 2, RR 27–31, 40; //Boschproject.org no. 2.

Condition
Originally the wings were painted on both sides and the triptych had arched tops. The triptych was cropped, including the two bottom edges of the wings, which were slightly lowered relative to the central panel. The non-original rectangular format was achieved with wooden inserts and the panel reverses were thinned and cradled. This has produced undulating surfaces and some panel cracks. Overall paint and ground are well adhered, but the surface is quite abraded and locally severely worn. Copper-green paint has discoloured, resulting in a browner appearance of the landscape. Red lakes have faded and light paints have increased in transparency, resulting in the shimmering through of the underlying composition, mainly in the central panel with the significantly altered saint. The disturbing *rigatino*-style retouchings, the greyish surface layer, and the poor varnish resulted in an uneven appearance of the paint surface. Conservation issues were addressed in the 2014–15 full treatment of the painting.

Provenance
Before 1733–1838 Venice, Palazzo Ducale; 1838–1919 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; 1919–2011 Venice, Palazzo Ducale; since 2011 Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 2, RR 27–31, 40; Fischer 2013, 40, 179–80, 183, 249–50; Koreny 2012, 28, 95, 230; Silver 2006, 211–18; Klein 2001, 125; Laemers 2001, 77–85; Aikema 2001, 25–31; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 22, 88; Limentani Virdis 1992, 92–101; Marijnissen 1987, 210–13; Unverfehrt 1980, 25; Tolnay 1965, I, 268–72; II, 366–67; Von Baldass 1943, 33–34, 35, 69, 70, 86–87, 243–44; Friedländer 1927, 84, 95, 151.

Analysis
In what was once a triptych with an arched top, Bosch uses the early Christian saints Anthony, Jerome and Giles (Aegidius) to express the struggle for chastity and renunciation of the world. The emphasis here – more so than in Bosch's other painting of Saint Jerome, now in Ghent (cat. 1) – is on strife and penance. Jerome has not only withdrawn from the world, he has explicitly sought out the remains of a pagan culture in which to confront it and to be bolstered in his faith.



Hermit Saints Triptych during restoration

2A



2B



2C

FORM AND COMPOSITION

Three saints, unperturbed by the world around them, kneel in pious meditation in a landscape running across all three panels. They are immediately identifiable from their respective attributes: Jerome has his cardinal's robe and hat; Anthony is surrounded by demons and tempted by a naked woman; and Giles is pierced with an arrow and accompanied by a hind.

The three separate panels originally belonged to a triptych with an arched top, corresponding in form with the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8) – also present in Venice for many years – and with the Bruges *Last Judgement* (cat. 16). The first firm reference to the *Hermit Saints Triptych* dates from a 1733 description of the paintings in the Doge's Palace, where it hung in a corridor. It is listed there as a three-part painting with a Saint Jerome and two other saints.[1] The next time it is recorded, in 1771, it was displayed with the *Wilgefortis Triptych* in a much more prestigious location, the Sala dei Tre Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci.[2] It is likely that the *Hermit Saints Triptych* had already been dismantled by that time and remounted as three separate panels in a single large frame.[3] This was probably done shortly before 1740 – well before the two triptychs were taken to Vienna in 1838.[4] During their time in Vienna between 1838 and 1919, the three *Hermit Saints* panels were thinned significantly and cradled, resulting in the loss of any painting there might have been on



2.1 [CAT 2B]



2.2 XR [CAT 2B]

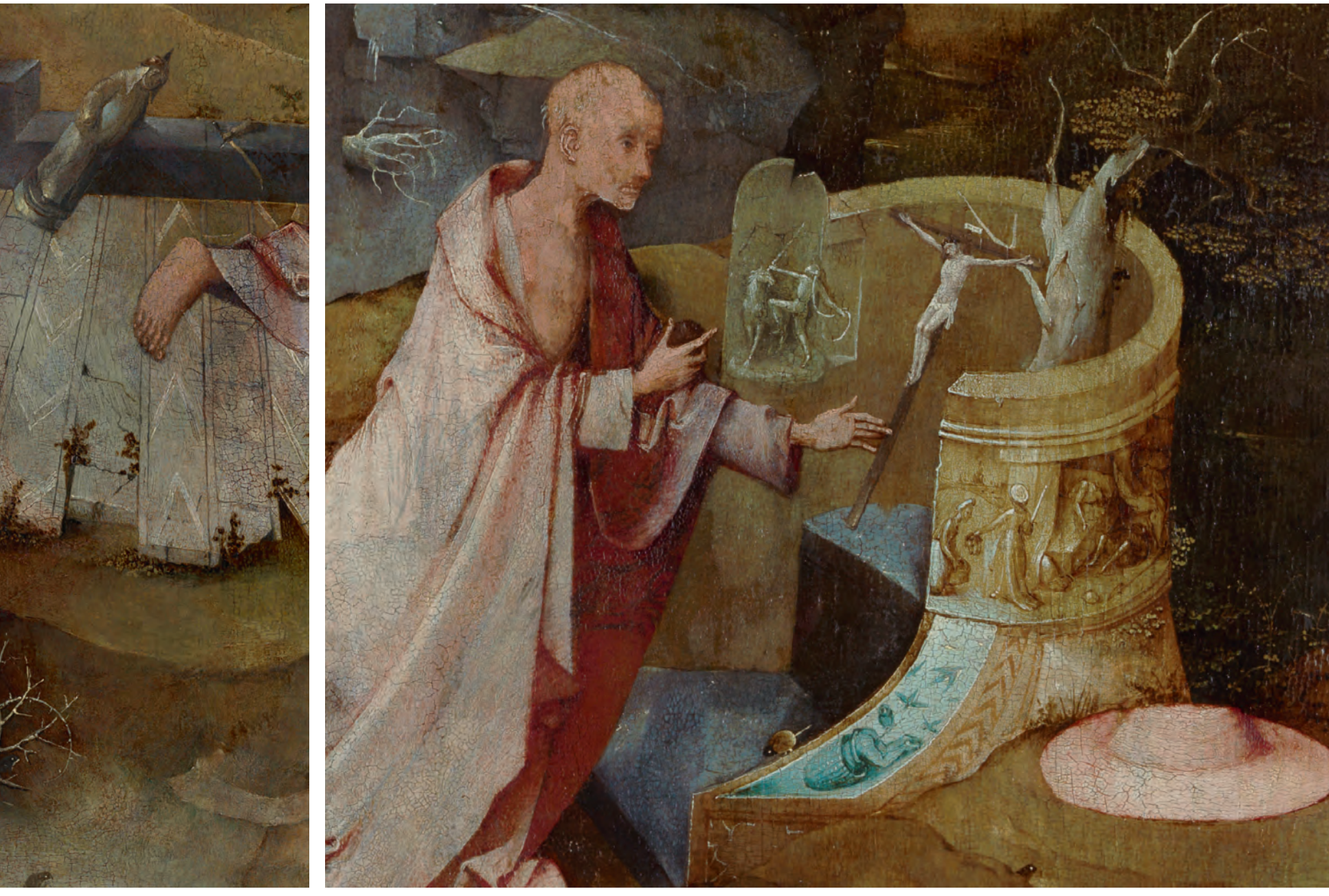


2.3 Idol [CAT 2B]

the panel reverses.[5] They were subsequently cropped and expanded, probably in 1895, to obtain the current rectangular shape.[6] The latter operation had far-reaching consequences for the ensemble. Not only were all three panels cropped at the top, but the wings were cut down slightly at the bottom edge too. Even before these changes, however, the final painting differed significantly from the version that was initially planned and prepared; the saints themselves and sections of the background were substantially altered in the course of painting.[7] Anthony, for instance, seems to have been positioned lower down in the original configuration of the left wing, and a larger jug was left in reserve where we now see a brown patch in the lower left of the canvas of what was originally a red tent cloth.

The figure of Saint Jerome in the central panel was originally sketched and painted not only a little lower down, but also considerably larger; this version of the saint was ultimately overpainted with a smaller one and the background too was substantially altered. The changes are comparable with those undergone by the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 4), in which the artist, on further reflection, significantly reduced the size of the relatively large, partially completed figure of the saint.

The underdrawing of the central panel of the Venetian triptych is similar in style to those of the other panels. The figure of Jerome as originally sketched seems to be clutching the long beam of a cross with both hands. Since this form was left in reserve in his much larger robe, it can also be made out clearly in the X-radiograph in which the space left 2.2



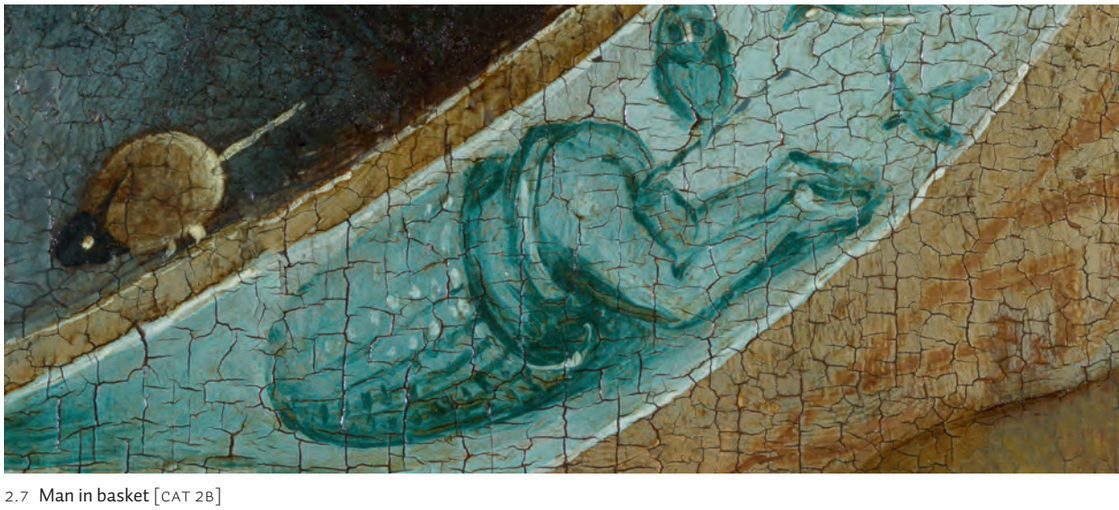
2.4 Saint Jerome [CAT 2B]

2.6 Judith and Holofernes [CAT 2B]

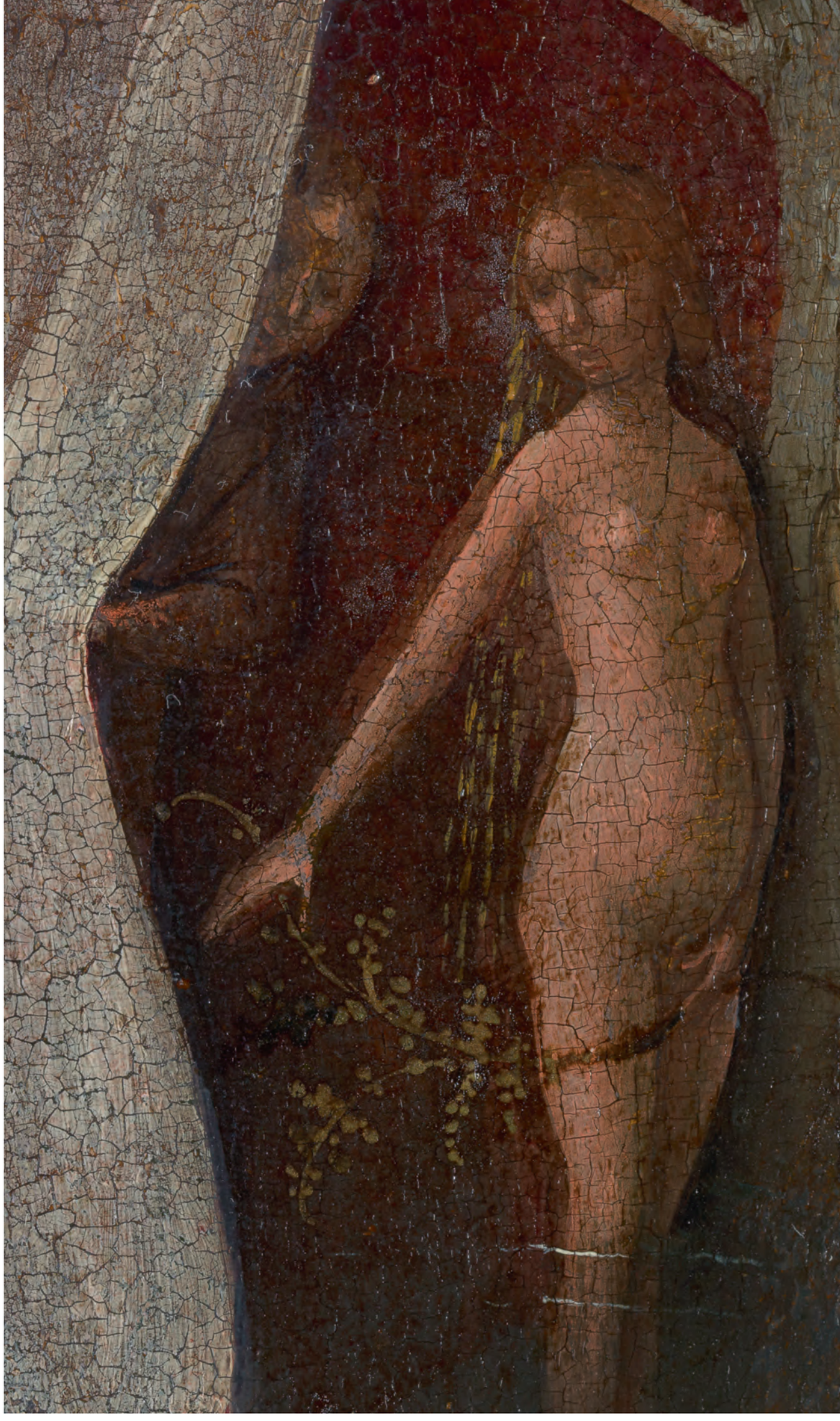


2.5 Unicorn [CAT 2B]





2.7 Man in basket [CAT 2B]



2.8 Saint Anthony's temptress [CAT 2A]







2.9 *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2C]
2.10 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21A]
2.11 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* [CAT 4C]

for the cross-beam can likewise still be made out around the much smaller painted crucifix. This would have been iconographically unique, although it does recall the painting in Ghent (cat. 1), in which Jerome embraces a small crucifix.

Saint Giles was considerably larger and shown kneeling in the first painted version of the right wing, in which he also had a book, which was prepared towards the saint's right. His hermitage was originally a structure with walls and a larger window in the back wall, with a door next to it. This was subsequently altered to the cave we see now – a more appropriate dwelling for an anchorite.

ASCETICISM

The final composition shows Jerome kneeling in desolate surroundings. The ruin in which he is placed consists of a rising stretch of wall, remnants of a floor and a vaulted cellar. His red cardinal's hat lies in front of him to the right. The lion, viewed from the back, is painted in the far left background, standing at the water's edge. It is hardly conspicuous, but the animal's tail leaves no room for doubt that this is the beast that became Jerome's companion after the saint removed a splinter from its paw. Immediately behind the kneeling hermit, the statue of a pagan divinity tumbles from the truncated column on which it was presumably standing. The tottering idol, which has already lost the arm with which it
2.3 once wielded a sword, heightens the sense of Jerome's resolution. A praying man, almost a mirror image of Saint Jerome, is painted on the lower part of the pseudo-antique column. The motif beneath him alludes to Christ's crown of thorns, while above him is the sky with sun, moon and stars. The scene recalls Christ's Agony in the Garden, but in this pagan setting it is no doubt intended to represent its antithesis.[8] Jerome holds a stone in
2.4 his right hand, with which he beats his chest in self-chastisement. His left hand touches the crucifix standing on the throne-like structure, which the cross turns into a kind of altar. Several areas of paint loss to the left of the throne have been restored in a neutral colour, complicating the interpretation of the magnificently painted relief of the man who is about
2.5 to mount the famously untameable unicorn. The story of Judith and Holofernes is painted
2.6 in monochrome on the outside of the throne; the yellowish-brown paint has been applied with great skill, wet-in-wet, with highlights in lead white mixed with blue. The decapitated body of Holofernes lies inside a tent on a camp bed, next to which a guard continues to sleep soundly. Judith emerges from the tent, a sword raised in her right hand and the severed head in her left, which she will place in the basket held by her maidservant (Judith 13:6–10). The two scenes depicted on the throne – Judith, the biblical heroine who saved her city while preserving her honour; and the unicorn, which according to legend could only be tamed by a virgin – undoubtedly allude to Jerome's ideal of chastity and to his struggle to conquer his sinful thoughts (see also cat. 1). The scene that appears beneath the one with Judith and Holofernes is very different and is intended as a contrast with the virtuous
2.7 Old Testament figure. A man, naked from the waist down, has crawled into a basket. A stick inserted into his backside serves as a perch for a decoy bird – probably the tiniest owl in Bosch's entire oeuvre.

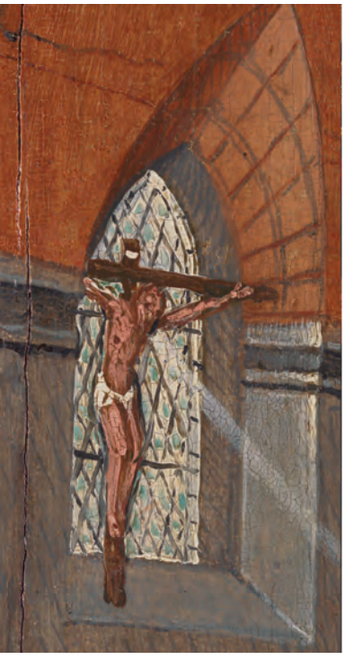
In his prologue to the Book of Judith, Jerome explicitly presented the Jewish heroine as a model of chastity to be emulated.[9] The Church Father's influence as both an ascetic and a Bible translator grew immensely towards the end of the fifteenth century, by which time his prologues to sixteen Old and New Testament books were being included in many new editions of the Bible.[10] Several versions exist in which Jerome's authorial role is emphasized both visually and in the text: in the Bible published in Nuremberg in 1501, for instance, and in the Lübeck edition of 1494.[11] A large illustration at the front of the latter, Low German, Bible shows the saint working on his translation, and again in the background as a penitent. What is more, each of Jerome's prologues in this Lübeck edition is accompanied by a woodcut of him in his study, emphasizing his work as a translator and scholar. In the *Hermit Saints Triptych*, by contrast, the book that is the most important attribute of this scholarly status is found in the underdrawing below the cardinal's hat, but was not included in

the final painting. Rather than his intellectual powers, therefore, what brings Jerome into such direct contact here with Christ and the redemption he offers is primarily his senses: the physical pain in his chest, the gaze he fixes on the crucifix, and the tentative way he touches the cross.

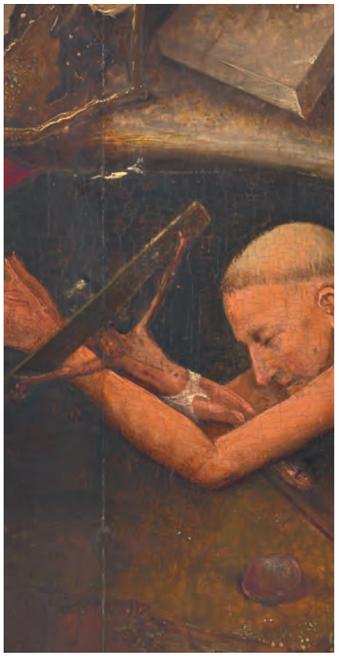
Saints Anthony and Giles, like Jerome, have withdrawn from society to devote their lives to God. Anthony is shown in the left wing, surrounded by a horde of relatively harmless-looking little monsters. The real temptation confronting him takes the form of a naked woman bathing – the personification of the lustful thoughts which Jerome sought to banish.[12] Saint Anthony closes his eyes to worldly desire and does not succumb to the illusions conjured up by the devil. Giles, meanwhile, appears in the right wing at a desk or table on which lie a book and a scroll.[13] He has been struck in the chest by an arrow intended for a hind that God had sent to him, and which provided him with milk from time to time. The deer herself lies unscathed at Giles's feet. Another, almost invisible little owl has been painted behind him. The male figure peering through a window into the dark cave where the saint stands in prayer is probably the king who, following in the trail of his huntsmen, discovered the wounded hermit. According to the *Passionael*, he was 'coninck Kaerle' – Charles Martel, the Frankish 'mayor of the palace'. Charles offered the hermit medical assistance, but Giles refused, going so far as to ask God 'that he might never be healed as long as he lived'.[14] Like Jerome, Giles willingly endured physical pain, though not as a form of penance, but because 'virtue is perfected in sickness'.[15] 2.8

The book on the lectern is no doubt a Bible or a prayerbook. The lettering on the scroll is written in black with certain words picked out in red; this might refer to an important document mentioned at a later point in Giles's *vita*, namely the letter that an angel supposedly placed on the altar of the monastery Giles founded. It described a sin committed by Charles Martel that was so grave the mayor of the palace dared not confess it; yet it would nevertheless be forgiven if Giles were to hear the confession. Absolution was only possible, in other words, through the intermediary of the extraordinarily pious Giles who, like Saints Anthony and Jerome in the other panels, had achieved a state of physical and spiritual purity.

2.12 *Death and the Miser* [CAT 19C]
2.13 *Saint Jerome* [CAT 1]
2.14 *Calvary* [CAT 15]
2.15 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* [CAT 4B]
2.16 *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2B]



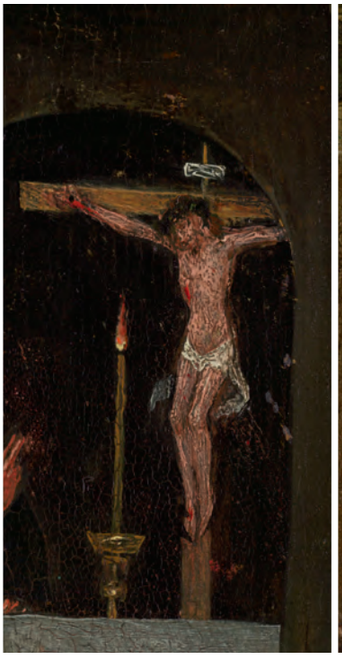
2.12



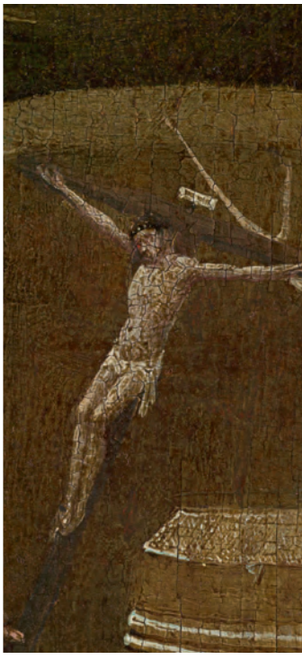
2.13



2.14



2.15



2.16



2.17 [CAT 2B]

DETAILS

The three panels of the triptych contain a number of details that also appear in other works by Bosch in a virtually identical or at least strongly related form, suggesting that drawn or painted models were kept in his studio and were used whenever convenient. There is a porcupine with antlers, for instance, on the hill above Saint Giles's cave, of which similar specimens appear in the Paradise wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and in the right wing
2.9–11 of the *Saint Anthony Triptych*. The great tit hanging upside down from a branch behind Giles is also found (reversed) in the tree in the *Wayfarer* in Rotterdam and on a branch of the tree stump in *Saint Jerome* in Ghent; it also appears – somewhat larger and more detailed, this time – in the central panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21), just above the couple in the mussel shell. Giles's head strongly resembles that of the Jerome figure in the central panel of the Ghent painting and the monk leaning forward in the central panel of the *Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 1 and 8).[16] The body of the nude woman appearing to Saint Anthony, meanwhile, is virtually identical (although reversed) to that of the woman standing on the roof of the building on the left of the central panel of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 17). In Saint Jerome's T-shaped crucifix, lastly, the *titulus* at the top is fixed to a narrow protruding batten. We find precisely the same unusual construction in the crucifix embraced by Jerome in the Ghent panel, in the cross of the Brussels *Crucifixion*, and in the crucifix to
2.13–16 which Saint Anthony prays in the central panel of the Lisbon triptych.[17]

[1] '… un altro simile pure in trè comparti con un San Girolamo, e due altri Santi …' Zanetti 1733, 109.

[2] '… Sono sei compartimenti. Nei primi v'è S. Girolamo nel mezzo ed altri Santi dai lati. …' Zanetti 1771, 491.

[3] Ludwig (1901, IV) also described the triptych as three separate panels in a single frame, based on the *Prospetto A* – the inventory prepared in Venice in 1837: 'Tavola con cornice d'oro'.

[4] Ludwig (1901, IV; source: *Codex misc. Des Archivio di Stato*, incorporating 'Inventario dell'incomparabile tesoro delle Pitture [Magistrato del Sal]. Aug. Schaeffer, Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses') quoted in 1899 the precise description of no. 651 from the (then) forthcoming museum catalogue, which makes no reference to painted panel backs. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, 'Briefwisseling voor 1945', letter dated 11 July 1899.

[5] See also the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8).

[6] For more information, see BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 2, RR 27–31, 40. The dimensions after cropping are recorded for the first time in a note dating from 1895: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Evidenzbuch für die Restaurierungen* (1885ff), Post no. 616: Dep. I Nr. 39 [nb = 40] / Evidenzbuch 185 / Neuaufn.: 651 / alte Bezeichnung: 25 / Bosch / 'Martyrium des heiligen Antonius'. These measurements are also given in Schaeffer's letter, 11 July 1899 (see note 4 above): 'Mittelbild 83,5 × 61 cm. Jedes Flügelbild 83,5 × 29 cm.'

[7] A detailed description of these changes can be found in BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 2, RR 27–31, 40.

[8] Mark 14:35–36, 39; Matthew 26:39–40, 42; Luke 22:41–44. If Bosch had intended to show Christ here in the Garden of Gethsemane, he would have made the scene more recognizable by adding the cup from which Jesus did not wish to drink. Cf. the closed wings of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 4).

[9] 'Nemet to iuw iudith de wedewen een bilde der kuscheyt.' *Biblia*, Lübeck 1494.

[10] The 1477 *Biblia Latina* published by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg, for example, or the 1483 *Biblia Germanica*.

[11] *Biblia cum Concordantiis Veteris et Novi Testamenti; Sanctus Hieronymus interpres Biblie*, Nuremberg (Anton Koberger) 1501. The title page has a woodcut showing Saint Jerome doing penance in the desert and also working in his study. *De Biblie mit vlitigher achtinghe: recht na deme latine in dudesck auerghesettet. Mit vorluchtinghe vnde glose: des hoch-ghelerden Postillatoers Nicolai de lyra Unde anderer velen hillighen doctoren*, Lübeck (Steffen Arndes) 1494.

[12] In his letter to Eustochium (no. 22), Jerome wrote of how he had seen dancing girls during his seclusion in the desert: 'I thought nevertheless that I was among the pleasures and the dancing of the girls of Rome' (English translation: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001022.htm). Anton Koberger also published the letter as a booklet in 1494.

[13] *Passionael Somerstuc* 1482, fol. 175–76v.

[14] 'dat hi nymmermeer also langhe als hi levede mochte ghenesen'.

[15] 'die doghet volmaect wort in cranche'.

[16] See the website Boschproject.org, link L19.

[17] The V-pattern in the floor tiles also resembles the Lisbon painting. It has almost entirely disappeared in that work, but it can still be made out clearly in the copy in Brussels. See Stroo et al. 2001, 101.

2.18 [CAT 2A]



3 *The Temptation of Saint Anthony (fragment)*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1500–10

Oil on oak panel, 38.6 × 25.1 cm
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 35–22

BRCP research and documentation data:
Kansas City, 28–29 September 2015; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 3, RR 155–56; //Boschproject.org no. 3.[1]

Condition
The small panel (a fragment) has been cropped all the way around, and the back has been thinned and cradled. There are various cracks in the panel, but the adhesion of the ground and paint layers appears to be good. The painting is significantly abraded, especially in the foreground, and there are substantial paint losses around the cracks and in the upper right. Other areas are better preserved, but the work has been heavily retouched, limiting its legibility.

Provenance
1920 Ehrich Galleries, New York; 1927 Arnold Seligmann, Rey and Co.; Durlacher Brothers, New York; 1935 purchased from Durlacher by the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 3, RR 155–56; De Vrij 2012, 533–34; Dunbar 2005, 191–98; Elsig 2004, 134; Unverfehrt 1980, 256; Chailley 1978, 206; Cinotti 1966, no. 41; Tolnay 1965, II, 385; Barr 1936, 247.

Analysis
This painting has hitherto been attributed to the workshop or a follower of Bosch. We believe it was done by the master himself, a view based on both the painting style and comparisons with other works by him: in particular, the Kansas City fragment is related to the left wing of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice (cat. 2A).

Burton Dunbar discusses the fragment with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in a thoughtful and lucidly structured text in the 2005 catalogue of the early German and Netherlandish paintings in the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.[2] In his view, the present condition of the painting makes it impossible to compare this panel stylistically with other work by Bosch and followers. Dunbar described the painting as 'disjointed' and stated that it lacks the fluid rhythm of authentic paintings. He shares the view of Mia Cinotti, who categorized the painting as a workshop product.[3] Molly Faries, who examined the painting using infrared reflectography in preparation for the Nelson-Atkins museum catalogue, concluded that the underdrawing – done in brush in a very watery medium – is not atypical for this period or group of paintings. Nevertheless, she found too little evidence to allow her to compare it with the other underdrawings by Hieronymus Bosch known to her at that time.[4]

The fact that the underdrawing runs all the way to the edge of the panel is a strong indication that this is a fragment of a larger whole. The absence of barbs or unpainted edges offers further support for the hypothesis that the panel has been cropped on all sides. Dunbar's argument that the lack of a fluid rhythm in the composition rules out an attribution to Bosch ceases to apply as a result: it is, after all, difficult to draw that kind of conclusion based merely on a fragment. The panel's fragmentary character in itself makes the composition appear somewhat disjointed and unbalanced, and so these characteristics cannot be an argument against attribution to Bosch. Consequently, Dunbar's iconographical objection is no more persuasive either. The author notes that the demon-queen, who plays a prominent role in the Saint Anthony scenes in Venice (cat. 2) and Lisbon (cat. 4), is absent in Kansas City, which he takes as evidence of an imperfect understanding of Anthony's iconography and hence as another argument against attribution to Bosch.[5] Once again, however, given that this is a fragment, we do not know what is missing. The inclusion of the woman in order to entice sinful thoughts or behaviour is not, moreover, an absolute prerequisite in the saint's iconography.

Nor does the dating of the wood on which the triptych was painted preclude its attribution to Bosch. The most recent growth ring dates from 1471, which means the panel could have been painted from 1482 onwards, and more probably from 1484.[6]

Still, it is entirely understandable that art historians have so far hesitated to attribute the fragment to the master himself. The degree of abrasion and the numerous areas of over-



3



3.1 Retouched features

painting make it hard to judge the picture, while large parts of the landscape have been
3.1 retouched, as have significant elements like the saint's face and beard. The work as a whole has lost some of its depth due to damage and overpainting, the composition has become less coherent, and the painter's hand is hard to discern.

Gerd Unverfehrt suggested a date of around 1510–20 for this fragment, which he ascribed to the 'Master of the Water-scooping Anthony'.[7] He also attributes the left wing of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2) to that anonymous artist. Dunbar objects to this: he thinks the Venetian triptych is too good not to attribute to Bosch, but he does agree with Unverfehrt's proposed dating.

In our view, the Kansas City fragment ought to be considered an autograph Bosch.[8] We propose a date around 1500–10, roughly the same period to which the *Hermit Saints Triptych* and the Lisbon *Temptation of Saint Anthony* are dated. Our attribution to Bosch is based primarily on the comparison between the original parts of the paint layer and the underdrawing and the rest of the artist's oeuvre, most notably the *Hermit Saints Triptych* and the *Saint Anthony Triptych*. This was made possible by the extensive documentation the BRCP produced for this painting and virtually the whole corpus of Bosch's work.

The now considerably more complete registration of the underdrawing reinforces the picture previously sketched by Molly Faries. The figure of Saint Anthony was prepared in a relatively thick brush and a watery medium. Not only the saint's head, but also the jug he



3.2 IRR



3.3–6 Underdrawing in a relatively thick brush and a watery medium: VIS and IRR

3.2, 3.3–6

is using to scoop water and the stick with the roast fowl, the bread and the sausage seem to have been underdrawn. No underdrawing could be revealed for the monsters in the lower zone of the composition, which are painted on top of the green landscape. However, where it was possible to make the underdrawing visible, it seamlessly matches those belonging to the group we associate with Bosch. We repeatedly find a relatively thick brush in a watery medium – in *Saint Jerome* (cat. 1), for instance, the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2), *Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 5), *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6), *Saint Christopher* (cat. 7), the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9) and *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (cat. 13). The underdrawing has an exploratory character and does not appear to have been made after an existing model.[9] We also find that the underdrawn composition was not followed precisely during the painting of the Kansas City fragment, any more than in the other listed works.

Having established that the support no longer argues against attribution to Bosch and that the underdrawing actively points in his direction, we have to assess the paint layer. Can we discern Bosch's hand in it? And if so, what arguments and comparisons support this

attribution? There are numerous motifs that reappear in similar form in other paintings and drawings by Bosch. Strictly speaking, of course, this does not tell us anything about the autograph status of the fragment. A more important observation is that the manner in which this type of motif has been painted also matches. Bosch was a brilliant and efficient painter, but very much his own man too. His painting technique was not geared to achieving a high degree of finish or naturalism: what mattered more was the suggestion he evoked as he painted.[10] Virtuosity is of prime importance, especially in terms of creativity and speed. He mostly allowed his brushwork to remain visible.

The characteristic way Bosch has painted Anthony's staff here is found in several other places too. Where possible, he set it down with no more than two more or less parallel lines – a brownish-black one on the right and a white one on the left, with the ground layer used between them. This technique – rapid, efficient and effective – is found in very similar



3.7–9 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Kansas City) [CAT 3], *Christ Child* (Vienna) [CAT 12B] and *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]



3.10–11 *Temptation of Saint Anthony*: Kansas City [CAT 3] and Lisbon [CAT 4C]

form in the walking frame and toy windmill of the Christ Child on the reverse of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12B) and a triangle-like instrument in the Hell wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21C). 3.7–9

The strange creatures at the bottom were not left in reserve from the background but were painted on top of the green landscape instead. This required them to be more opaque and they do indeed look a little flatter (due in part to abrasion); this somewhat coarse and thick way of painting is, however, seen in precisely the same form in countless other places in Bosch's work. We find not only the same manner elsewhere, but the same motifs too. The little funnel-man also appears in the right wing of the Bruges *Last Judgement* (cat. 16C),[11] while monstrous spoonbills often feature in Bosch's work, including the *Saint Anthony Triptych* (cat. 4A), the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21C) and the left wing of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2A). 3.12–15

The black hood of the monster with the fox's head near the left edge is decorated in a refined and characteristic manner with opaque white dots, just like the undefinable piece of clothing worn by a similar creature in the right wing of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon. 3.10–11 The fox's head gazing out from beneath a headdress appears repeatedly in the central panel of the Bruges *Last Judgement*, where a woman scooping water almost functions as a pendant for the Saint Anthony figure.[12] The pig's trotter lying on the floating tabletop is another recurring motif; it is used in various ways: sticking out from the front of the *Wayfarer's* jacket in Rotterdam (cat. 19A), as a hanging sign in the fragment in Yale (cat. 19B), an amulet in the drawing of 'witches' in the Louvre (cat. 39), and thrust into a jug in the right wing of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon.[13] The turtle in the right foreground is very similar to the one set down in the underdrawing of the Lisbon triptych but not actually painted, and the landed fishes struggling to breathe in Kansas City and Lisbon are also highly comparable, despite the difference in scale. 3.16–17[14]

Taking everything together, this fragment is most comparable with the left wing of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2A) – not just iconographically, but also in terms of painting style and condition. We find the same water-scooping Anthony, surrounded by a group of creatures who seem intended more to impress the viewer than to tempt and harass the saint. Although the condition of neither painting is optimum, we are in no doubt that both were painted by the same hand.

Spoonbills:
3.12 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Kansas City) [CAT 3]
3.13 *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2A]
3.14 *Saint Anthony Triptych* (Lisbon) [CAT 4A]
3.15 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]

1 John Twilley, Art Conservation Scientist, Mellon Scientific Advisor, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, took a series of micrographs of the painting on 29 September 2015. Scott Heffley, Senior Conservator of Paintings, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, took an X-radiograph. These too can be found at Boschproject.org.

2 Dunbar 2005, 197.

3 Cinotti 1969, 104 no. 41.

4 Molly Faries, *Provisional Entry*, 18 September 1990, *Provisional Outline for Appendix*, 29 July 1991, Conservation Files 35–22, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City; Dunbar 2005, 191.

5 Dunbar 2005, 196–97.

6 Peter Klein, report 24 March 2003; see also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, 'Dendrochronology'.

7 Unverfehrt 1980, 160–62, 256.

8 We are grateful to Rob Bergmans, who drew our attention to the painting.

9 The opposite seems to be the case, however, with the *Cure of Folly* (cat. 33) and the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial (cat. 27) and in Valencia (cat. 28), in which the underdrawing was done in a dry medium, with little sense of searching for the right form. The *Haywain* in the Escorial (see cat. 19 and BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. S1, RR 103–08) is a striking example in this regard.

10 Compare the way he painted the little fire on the spoonbill's head with the corresponding flames on the reverse of *Saint John on Patmos*, and in the *Hermit Saints Triptych* and the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. See the website Boschproject.org, link L43.

11 See the website Boschproject.org, link L39, for a comparison of 'funnel-men'.

12 See L40 for a comparison of these water-scoopers.

13 See L41 for a comparison of these pigs' feet.

14 See L42 for a comparison of these 'turtles'.





3.12–13





3.14–15





3.16–17 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Kansas City) [CAT 3] and *Saint Anthony Triptych* (Lisbon) [CAT 4B]

4 *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1500–1510

Oil on oak panel, left wing 144.8 × 66.5 cm, central panel 145.1 × 132.8 cm, right wing 144.8 × 66.7 cm
Signed central panel, lower right: *Jheronimus bosch*
Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1498

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Lisbon, 4–13 September 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 4, RR 11–16; //Boschproject.org no. 4.

Condition
The wings appear to have retained their original dimensions and are stable, with their interiors being better preserved. The central panel reverse was thinned considerably and the added horizontal battens have resulted in panel deformations. No recent cracks have been noted in the triptych, but some of the old cracks are slightly open. The ground and paint layers have relatively few losses but there is slight abrasion overall. The central panel is severely abraded at the plateau and around it, probably relating to the multi-layered build-up and changes there. Thin paint application and increased transparency have also led to a greater visibility of underlying layers. The brown outer fields of the two grisailles are later additions, which cover an original stone imitation here. Abrasions, discoloured retouching (mostly on joins), and highly yellowed old varnish residues cause a reduced legibility of the relatively well-preserved original paint surface.

Provenance
This is probably the triptych that Charles de Berthoz inherited from his mother, the widow of Hippolyte de Berthoz, and then sold in October 1505 to Duke Philip the Fair; the latter presented it to his father, Emperor Maximilian of Austria; it appears in the will dated 16 September 1613 of Maximilian's grandson, George of Austria, in which it was bequeathed to Archduke Albert of Austria; entered the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon in 1872.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 4, RR 11–16; Fischer 2013, 51, 65–72, 246–47; Koreny 2012, 28, 60, 226–29; Van Waadenoijen 2007, 70–92; Silver 2006, 220–34; Van Waadenoijen 2003, 16–21; Klein 2001, 126; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 90–91, 168–69; Massing 1994, 108–27; Massing 1991, 141–51; Cuttler 1991, 133–40; Marijnissen 1987, 15, 154–209; Unverfehrt 1980, 19, 23, 27, 79–82, 97–98, 182–86; Bax 1979; Lievens-De Waegh 1973/74, 152–75; Tolnay 1965, I, 27–29, 134–35; II, 356–59; Vieira Santos 1958, 19–24; Cuttler 1957, 109–26; Bax 1949, 3–134; Knuttel 1937, 64–82; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 34; Friedländer 1927, 84, 95–97, 149; Friedländer 1921, 80, 192; Gossart 1907, 106–208.

Analysis
The *Temptation of Saint Anthony* is one of the highlights in Bosch's oeuvre. Imaging techniques like X-radiography and infrared photography have proved extremely valuable in the attempt to reconstruct Bosch's artistic and iconographical pursuit of the triptych's final form and content. Bosch probably painted the triptych around 1500 for Hippolyte de Berthoz, a senior official at the Burgundian court.

CONCEPT AND IMPACT

The *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon is widely considered to be the most important and most original of the more than forty known versions of this theme.[1] Saint Anthony, the painting's principal figure, finds himself in the eye of a demonic storm. Calm and unaffected, but with flushed cheeks, he gazes amiably at the viewer and makes a sign of benediction. Anthony's blessing is echoed by that of Christ, who shines out in the dark space to the rear of the ruined building before which the saint kneels. The torments surrounding him are numerous and terrible, yet the battle seems to have been fought already and the outcome decided. Thanks to Christ's death on the cross, Satan will not prevail over humanity. Remembrance of this fact, highlighted by the crucifix on the 'altar' in the painting, is Anthony's greatest support and consolation during his struggle. The viewer is reminded of this, not only by the image of the saint and the crucifix in the central panel, but also by the relationship between this panel and the wings, on the backs of which we see the Arrest of Christ and Christ Carrying the Cross. The Passion scenes on the closed triptych combine with the episodes showing Saint Anthony's battle with evil in the open wings, to shape the context in which the hermit's triumph is made possible. The temptation of Saint Anthony is an example of both the constancy of the believer and of God's mercy,[2] the two elements which together ensure the triumph of good over evil, the salvation of the soul and the victory of life over death.

4.3

José de Sigüenza (1544–1606), a Hieronymite monk at the Escorial, wrote in the following terms about Bosch's images of Saint Anthony:

> Sometimes he painted Temptations of Saint Anthony (this is the second type of painting), as this was a subject in which he could show strange effects. On the one



4.1 [CAT 4B]



4D



4E



4A



4B



4C




hieronimus bosch







> hand, one sees the holy prince of the hermits with a serene, devout, contemplative and calm face, and a soul filled with peace; on the other, the countless fantasies and monsters created by the enemy to confuse, worry and disturb this mild soul and steadfast love. To this end, he conceived animals, wild beasts, chimeras, monsters, fires, corpses, cries, threats, serpents, lions, dragons and terrifying birds of so many varieties, that it is admirable how he was able to give shape to so many ideas. And all this to show that for a soul aided by God's grace and which pursues a similar path at his hand – even though in his imagination and with his inward and outward eyes he represents the enemy (which can lead to laughter or vain delight, or to other excessive emotions) – who shall not be able to cast him down or deflect him from his intention. He made so many variations on this subject and on this idea, and with so many new inventions, that I find it admirable how he was able to conceive so much; it makes me pause to consider my own wretchedness and weakness, and shows me how far removed I am from this perfection. For I am disturbed and agitated by such simple troubles and trifles, and I then miss my cell, the silence, the solitude, and I even lose my patience. In the case of this saint, all the ingenuity of the devil and hell was not enough to cast him down. And the Lord is so equipped to succour me, just like him, if only I throw myself valiantly into the fray.[3]

The quoted passage offers an enlightening insight into the earliest surviving reception of Bosch's *Temptation of Saint Anthony*. What makes de Sigüenza's commentary so remarkable is the way the author interprets the triptych on at least three levels. He discusses why, as an artist, Bosch was interested in creating images of Anthony's temptations, concluding that it was because it gave him the opportunity for artistic invention.[4] The anchorite's adversity provided Bosch with a source of inspiration that allowed him to return to the theme repeatedly. De Sigüenza then explains the painting's iconography, before turning to the third level, namely the work's effect upon him as a Christian. The appearance of the painting, he writes, helped him to realize that no matter how distracted he might be by all manner of things, the Lord was there to save him.

De Sigüenza must have based his commentary on a variation on the Lisbon triptych, but that makes no difference to his analysis. He also tells us, significantly, that Bosch painted this theme on several different occasions. It is not clear, however, whether this refers to different compositions showing the temptation of Saint Anthony, variations on the same composition or a combination of the two. Close analysis of the Lisbon painting suggests that Bosch's workshop produced several variations in addition to the superlative prototype now in Portugal. A great many imitations and copies, both full and partial, were clearly painted as well.[5]

CLOSED

The closed left wing shows the Arrest of Christ at the still moment just before dawn. The darkness is lit by a small crescent moon, while the first signs of daylight can be made out behind the church tower on the left edge. The silence into which Christ has withdrawn with his disciples is shattered by the arrival of a band of yelling, hooting and gesticulating soldiers, who take him prisoner and lead him away.[6] The cup that Christ cannot avoid can be made out on a hill in the background, where two disciples look on in shame as their master is arrested.[7] Judas slips away in the left foreground, the money he has received for his betrayal hanging in a purse on his back. Peter, who had joined Christ in the olive grove, is shown in the foreground with his sword drawn, ready to slice off the ear of the high priest's servant.[8] 4.4

The monochrome of the grisaille is alleviated here and there by subtly rendered flames comprising a few touches of yellow, orange and red: a burning candle in an overturned lantern in the foreground and three flaming torches carried by soldiers and onlookers. No noteworthy alterations have been detected between the underdrawing and the markedly linear painting. Physical analysis clearly shows, however, that the successive stages of production

are often difficult to distinguish in the closed wings, which were painted strikingly quickly. Bosch made frequent and highly efficient use here of the underlying creamy-grey paint layer as a uniform midtone for both scenes; he probably used the same dark material for
4.5 the underlying sketch and the painted contour lines as well. The forms were laid down systematically in thin, almost ethereal, semitransparent paint layers in different shades of grey, and were then worked out with white highlights and a few outlines in a deeper black. These grisailles, done almost entirely wet-in-wet, show once more that Bosch was a brilliant draughtsman in paint, able to achieve maximum effect with minimum means.

The Carrying of the Cross is depicted on the closed right wing in virtually the same
4.6 technique. The scene is set in a rocky terrain, the ominous nature of which is heightened by the traces of previous executions. Before the distant landscape in the background, a tall pole rises against the grey sky, from which a sheep or large lamb has been hung by its back legs – apparently even animals are executed here.[9] Christ struggles, half kneeling, beneath the heavy cross he has to carry to Golgotha, assisted by Simon of Cyrene. He turns his head to Veronica, who kneels before him holding out the cloth with which she will mop the blood and sweat from his face. Three children watch Christ's progress from a mound to the left of the rocky terrain. Jesus is followed by a father with two children, giving the disturbing impression of the execution as a popular entertainment. The two thieves who are due to be crucified at the same time as Christ are positioned nearer to the viewer, where they
4.7 are addressed by figures dressed in monks' habits. The body of a previously executed man has been dumped callously in the foreground. The linear painting of this scene once again follows directly from the sketched underdrawing, with a number of adjustments that have a marked impact on the composition, without significantly affecting the iconography.[10] There are no colour highlights at all in this grisaille, which is set on a grey morning.



4.4 Dawn [CAT 4D]



4.5 Arrest of Christ [CAT 4D]



4.6 Carrying of the Cross [CAT 4E]



4.7 One of the thieves addressed by a 'monk' [CAT 4E]

OPEN

The open triptych was also painted rapidly and often wet-in-wet, but is finished in more detail than the scenes on the closed wings. It is devoted entirely to Saint Anthony Abbot, who refuses to be tempted by demonic tricks and enticements. The saint is shown four times – surrounded by all manner of hellish figures on the ground and in the air – in a landscape that runs across the three pictorial fields. Several sources for the saint's life were available in Bosch's time, all of which derived from the *Vita Sancti Antonii*, written in 357 by Saint Athanasius (295–373), Bishop of Alexandria, and from the *Collationes patrum in scetica eremo* by the monk and theologian John Cassian (c. 360–435). An account of Anthony's life based on these sources was included in the sixth century in the collection of hagiographies called the *Vitae sanctorum patrum, sive Vitas patrum* or *Vitae Patrum* for short.[11] This Latin text was widely disseminated, and is certain to have been available in 's-Hertogenbosch too.[12] A Middle Dutch translation was published in 1490 by Peter van Os in Zwolle, with the title *vader boeck* ('Book of the Fathers').[13] The life of Saint Anthony also featured in the *Legenda aurea*, thirteen Middle Dutch editions of which appeared following Gerard Leeu's first publication of the *Passionael* in Gouda in 1478.[14] The four scenes in the triptych showing Anthony beset by Satan correspond most closely with the principal demonic threats described in the *vader boeck*.

The scene in the left wing, in which Anthony is helped across a bridge by two monks and a layman, forms a visual rhyme with the figure of Christ on the closed shutters. The *vader boeck* and the *Passionael* both tell how the hermit was severely abused by demons and thrown out of the cave to which he had withdrawn. A friend took him into his house and treated his injuries. Having recovered, Anthony wanted to return to his cave to devote



himself to God in solitude.[15] The natural setting in which the saint finds himself seems enchanted; it is anthropomorphic and freezing cold in the foreground, while ships founder in the background, set ablaze by the heat. The landscape is populated by demonic, unnatural creatures, including the unforgettable 'mail bird' in the foreground, which skates up, its eyes streaming from the icy cold.[16] The figure of the tree-man in the background tells us that the very landscape is unnatural, providing a space for behaviour that is all too human, yet cannot bear the light of day.[17] 4.24 4.8

Anthony is depicted again high in the air, his hands clasped together and leaning backwards on the belly of a winged, toad-like monster. The saint is dressed in the customary if anachronistic manner in the robes of the Antonine Order – a wide, black cloak decorated with a large tau cross over a grey habit.[18] The scene is a visual translation of a passage in the *Passionael*, which describes how the saint was tormented by demons: 'They hurled him into the air, and they hurled him down again, almost killing him.'[19] We then see a half-dead Anthony being helped across the bridge by his friends. The lay figure with the blue headdress on Anthony's left is intriguing; his individualized features have tempted quite a few authors to identify him as a self-portrait of Bosch. While there is no further evidence to support such a claim, the figure has an interesting effect, in that he draws the viewer more closely into the scene. He is comparable in this respect to Simon of Cyrene, who helps Christ to carry his cross, as illustrated in the closed right wing. 4.25 4.9–10

The painting follows the underdrawing here quite faithfully. Unlike those of the grisailles in the closed wings, the underdrawings in the open triptych use parallel and cross-hatching to help prepare the modelling. The principal forms were sketched with a medium-sized brush, before being worked out with a somewhat finer brush – a method we also find in several other works. The central panel of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* is an explosion of creativity; the underdrawing includes numerous figures that were never painted, while a significant proportion of those that *were* finished were subsequently painted over with completely different figures. After Anthony's demonic tormentors had



4.8 The 'mail bird' [CAT 4A]



4.9–10 Anthony being helped across the bridge by his friends: VIS and IRR [CAT 4A]

left him for dead, he withdrew once more into solitude. Bosch places him, small and kneeling, in an old ruin, surrounded by demons in the most fantastic forms. The *vader boeck* and the *Passionael* tell us that the monsters returned in great numbers 'in all manner of animal shapes'.[20] They created such a commotion that Anthony feared the building would collapse around him, but the hermit stood firm and did not allow their threats to shake his faith. Seeing this, God decided that Anthony should not suffer any further torment. He sent 'a wondrously beautiful light, which drove away the demons and all their infernal darkness'. When Anthony asked God where he had been while the hermit was being tortured, 'the divine voice [answered] from the light' that he wanted to see how strong Anthony's faith was.[21] Bosch visualizes this idea through the Christ figure by the altar in the ruin and the powerful beam of light that falls through the window on the left.[22]

The three scenes to the right of Saint Anthony on the exterior of the ruined tower add an Old Testament angle to the saint's *vita*. Together, they depict the Jewish people's arduous journey to the Promised Land. They can be read as a typology or prefiguration of the suffering that Christ had to endure prior to his death and resurrection, and by extension of the hardship and torments suffered by Saint Anthony. The scene at the top shows the Dance around the Golden Calf, while Moses receives the Tablets of the Law from God (Exodus 31:18, 32:1–6). Below it we see a group of Jews sacrificing animals to a simian idol, enthroned on a column drum; these are most likely the Israelites who fell into idolatry under Gideon and again after his death (Judges 8:27 and 33). The scene at the bottom shows two men carrying a gigantic bunch of grapes – two of the scouts Moses sent on ahead and who returned with tales of the land that 'does flow with milk and honey.... But the people

4.11–12

4.26



4.11–12 Scenes on the ruined tower: VIS and IRR



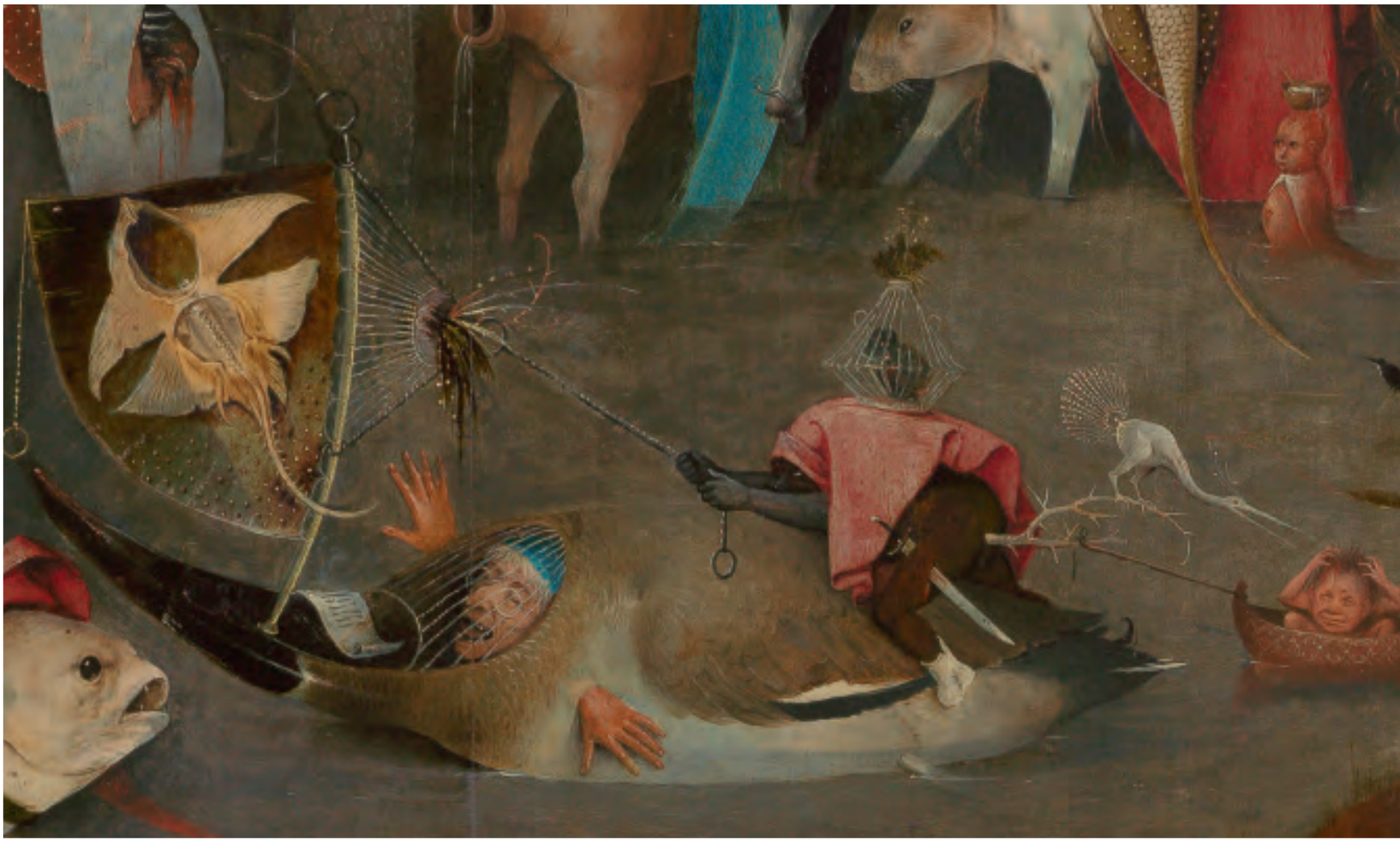
4.13 Anthony and his temptress [CAT 4C]



who live there are powerful, and the cities are fortified and very large' (Numbers 13:23–27). The decorative edge beneath the grape-carriers shows a hunting scene: a hunter blows his horn and hurries after his dog as it pursues a hare that glances back over its shoulder. This image too derives from an earlier tradition, as shown by the equivalent scene in a margin decoration from the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, Utrecht, of about 1435–40.[23]

Patience, constancy, faith and trust are the virtues that guide Anthony safely through the devil's trickery. The best-known of the temptations he endured – an attractive woman – is shown in the right wing. The attempted seduction by 'a beautiful queen' ('ene schone conigine') is the most minutely described of all the enticements recounted in the *vader boeck*.[24] No matter how disturbing and provocative Anthony's immediate surroundings, the saint looks with only half an eye at the naked woman in the hollow of the tree, who wears nothing but a transparent gauze held over her loins. Anthony points to his would-be seducer, but so unobtrusively that we almost doubt he is really doing so. The 4.13
hermit seems slightly amused by the knots into which Satan is tying himself in his efforts to tempt him away from the straight and narrow. Calm and unruffled, he lets things take their course.

Many of the details painted around the principal scenes in the three panels seem to refer to other episodes from the life of Saint Anthony as recounted in the *vader boeck*, without representing them literally. The book describes with a plethora of examples how Anthony resisted all the threats and temptations thrown at him. The little group of monsters dressed as priests next to the stone plateau on which the saint kneels in the central panel, seem 4.2
to represent the pagan priests who came to Anthony in the desert clutching their books



4.14 **'Fish-boat'** [CAT 4B]





4.15–16 VIS and IRR [CAT 4B]

to debate matters of faith.[25] The blazing church, beset with demons, meanwhile, is something Anthony saw in a vision that prophesied trouble ahead for the Christian faith and its institutions.[26] The two fantastic fishing boats in the water in the foreground, with the male figure behind bars, presumably refer to the episode in which Anthony saves a man pos-
4.14 sessed by the devil on a ship laden with merchandise. 'Then said Anthony that he smelled something bad. To which they [the monks accompanying him] replied that there were fish on the boat. But Anthony said that that was not the smell. Then a possessed man, who had crept aboard stealthily, cried out, after which Anthony bade the devil to leave him. Upon which the man was released.'[27]

CHANGES

The central panel has an interesting genesis, which can be partially revealed with the assis-
4.15–21 tance of X-radiography and infrared reflectography (IRR). Previously painted and drawn figures and compositional elements can be found beneath the paint layer of the current painting that differ sharply from what is now visible. Numerous changes can be detected in the core of the scene with the kneeling Saint Anthony, in both the preparatory drawing and earlier painted motifs. Some of the dramatic alterations have already been published, but we can now discuss these observations more precisely and add to them significantly. The changes in question are exceptionally difficult to read, as certain sections were revised twice in paint and the new forms were likewise drawn first. It is even more challenging, if not impossible at this point, to determine the precise order in which the adjustments were made and which ones were done during the same stage. The most important of the detected alterations are described below.

Anthony was initially drawn much larger and upright, his upper body bent over to the right. His head was located immediately above its current position, in the place where the
4.15–16 woman with the exuberant white headdress can now be seen. The back of Anthony's dark habit can be readily traced in the IRR through the round table and beyond the edge of the





4.17–18 XR and VIS [CAT 4B]

4.19 'Fish-boat' [CAT 4B]

4.20 XR









4.21 IRR

4.22 Follower/Workshop (?) of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (detail). Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia

current stone plateau. Anthony stood on the bank of a river and there was also another scene at first beneath the ruined tower with the altar and the figure of Christ. A red, tent-like form was initially painted here, containing four figures, which can still be clearly dis-
4.17–18 tinguished in the X-radiograph. We can also make out the top of a column there, rising above the tent and left blank in the passage of sky. The group of demonic figures behind and to the left of the round table was also drastically altered. The monsters as initially painted were replaced in a subsequent phase by more human-seeming demons of roughly the same size as the final figure of the saint. This creates a much stronger sense that Anthony is swallowed up by the threats surrounding him; they encroach on him much more closely, making his triumph over his tormentors all the greater. The painting technique seems to deviate here in places from that in the wings. This is not surprising, however, as the underlying painted composition appears largely to have been finished, obliging the artist to lay down the alterations in thick, opaque paint. For the same reason, we find the more familiar painting technique, in which Bosch generally used thinner, more transparent paint, in those zones where the painting was not altered. The underdrawing method used in this case is entirely comparable with that on the inside of the wings. In the underdrawing for



4.23 Follower/Workshop (?) of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*. Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, São Paulo



4.24 [CAT 4B] Disaster

the new elements, by contrast, such as the area of shadow at the top of the tower, the hatching seems to have been applied more heavily and densely – presumably because it was laid down over an already dark background.

The X-radiograph shows that a little man was painted in an earlier phase in the 'fish-boat', in which he blows a trumpet with his backside. A bird (a finch or a tit) can be seen above him, and above that a human arm holding a fish by the tail. None of these figures can be made out in the present painting by the naked eye, but the little man and a bird *are* depicted, curiously enough, in the smaller version of the central panel in the Barnes Foundation in Philadelphia.[28] If we compare this detail with the X-radiograph and the IRR of the Lisbon painting, it is clear that the long, curved tail of the fish, the yawning monkey, and the bird in the spherical cage, were initially painted or prepared here too. None of these little figures appears again in any other copies of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, in which we invariably find the solution developed in the Lisbon work.[29] The question then is how the artist who produced the painting in the Barnes Foundation came to know about this part of the composition. Was this version painted in – or in the immediate vicinity of – Bosch's workshop?[30] Or did a version of the painting exist from which this detail was copied? A copy of the central panel in São Paulo seems to support the latter possibility,[31] as it contains details that can be seen in the painting in Philadelphia but not in the triptych in Lisbon, while the detail with the 'fish-boat' is configured as in Lisbon.[32] Whatever the case, these are strong indications that Bosch's workshop delivered more than one version of this composition, as de Sigüenza already noted. We need to adjust our picture of how that workshop operated. We already knew, for instance, from the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston (cat. 24) that Bosch's workshop did more than just supply paintings of the very highest quality, a conclusion that is confirmed and fleshed out further by the *Job Triptych* (cat. 23) and the so-called *Flood Panels* (cat. 22). Meanwhile, we can only infer from the verso of a drawing like *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37) that assistants were active in Bosch's workshop who were considerably less talented than the master.

4.19–21

4.22

4.23

PROVENANCE

It was believed until recently that the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* had belonged to the Portuguese humanist Damião de Góis, who supposedly acquired it in Antwerp between 1523 and 1545.[33] In 2012 however, Joaquim Oliveira Caetano, curator of paintings at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, argued persuasively that the triptych was not exhibited in Lisbon until 1872 and that there is no information as to its prior whereabouts. It cannot be ruled out that the work was in Spain shortly before that date.[34]

The triptych is probably mentioned in descriptions dating from 1505 and 1613, from which the patron who commissioned it can be identified. In October 1505, Charles de Berthoz – alderman of the Liberty or Franc of Bruges – was paid the substantial sum of 312 pounds, 10 pence '… for a large painting on wood, richly executed in oil paint, of the life of Saint Anthony, to which several other episodes have been added, in both the two wings and elsewhere, which the King has had purchased from him …'.[35] Although there is no mention of a painter, it has long been supposed that this might refer to a triptych by Hieronymus Bosch.[36] Later descriptions show that this is indeed the case. The 'king' who ordered the purchase was none other than Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, who had succeeded his late mother-in-law Isabella as King of Castile in November 1504. Philip was in Bruges towards the end of December 1505, where he purchased the triptych in order, according to the item in the accounts, 'to present it to the King, his father [Maximilian]'.[37] Charles de Berthoz evidently sold the altarpiece from his mother's estate, as a somewhat later account entry refers to 'the widow of the late Master Hippolyte de Berthoz'.[38] The latter, who died in July 1503, was a senior financial officer at the Burgundian court.[39] It is not known where or how he came into possession of the triptych, but it is entirely possible that he himself commissioned it from Hieronymus Bosch, who almost certainly painted the *Last Judgement Triptych* now in the museum of the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna (cat. 17) for him in 1502–03.[40]

The *Temptation of Saint Anthony* must have passed via Maximilian (1459–1519) to his illegitimate son, George of Austria (1505–1557).[41] George – whose mother was Maximilian's lover, Margaret of Edelsheim – grew up with the future Charles V and Ferdinand I at the court of Margaret of Austria in Mechelen. He went on in turn to father a natural, but legitimate son, who was also known as George of Austria (and as Georgius d'Autriche, Georgius ab Austria and Georgius Austrius).[42] George Junior was appointed dean of St Peter's Church in Leuven and chancellor of the city's university on 2 April 1557; following his death in Brussels on 20 April 1619, he was buried in front of the high altar of St Peter's in Leuven. The Flemish historian and jurist Valerius Andreas (Walter Driessen) described him, taking his cue from Justus Lipsius, as 'Maximiliani I Imp. ex filio nepos' – grandson of Emperor Maximilian.[43] The younger George of Austria drew up his will on 16 September 1613.[44] In it, he specified that his triptych by Hieronymus Bosch was to go, along with several other items, to Archduke Albert (1559–1621).[45]

Albert of Austria will have been glad to accept this legacy, and might even have lobbied for it himself, given his interest in both contemporary masters and earlier painting. In his obituary for the Archduke, published in 1622, Aubertus Miraeus makes explicit reference to Albert's admiration for 'Hieronymo Boschio', as well as for Rogier van der Weyden, Quinten Metsys, Albrecht Dürer, Lucas van Leyden, Hans Holbein and Frans Floris.[46] He is likely to have inherited a number of works from his brother and predecessor, Archduke Ernest of Austria (1553–1595), although no details of this are available. Ernest's estate included some ten works attributed to Bosch: a 'Stone Operation' with several figures, a Saint Christopher, a scene referring to the time of Noah, a Crucifixion, three fantasies 'in einem Buch' and three large scenes 'auff Leinwath' (on canvas).[47] What became of these works is not known. Nor do we have any subsequent information about the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* or virtually any of the other works from Archduke Albert's collection, some of which will have been destroyed by fire in Brussels in 1731, while others will already have been moved elsewhere.[48]



4.25 Anthony 'hurled into the air' by a toad-like monster [CAT 4A]

The high price paid for the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* to the Burgundian-Bruges official Charles de Berthoz, allied with the fact that the work was presented as a royal gift and later became a prized element in several major collections, supports the hypothesis that this might well be the triptych discussed here, which has been in the Portuguese capital since 1872. The dating of the wood of the central panel indicates that the Lisbon triptych could have been painted from 1497 onwards;[49] combined with the identification of Hippolyte de Berthoz as patron, this suggests a date of around 1500 – that is, after 1497 and before Hippolyte's death in mid-1503.[50]



[1] Unverfehrt 1980, 79–82, 261, 272–73, 286–87; De Vrij 2012, 465–90.

[2] Van Waadenoijen 2007, 92.

[3] De Sigüenza 1605, 838. See pp. 578–82 for the English translation of de Sigüenza's text on Bosch, together with a transcription of the Spanish source.

[4] Note the connection between the terms 'invention' (*invencio* in Spanish, from the Latin *inventio*) and 'discovery' (*descubierto*); the Spanish monk and scholar uses them both to describe Bosch's creativity.

[5] Unverfehrt 1980, 79–82, 261, 272–73, 286–87.

[6] This appears to be the *ductio Christi* – 'the taking of Christ'. Marrow 1979, 98–99.

[7] Matthew 26:39.

[8] Matthew 26:51.

[9] A judicial practice that continued until the seventeenth century, based on Exodus 21:28: 'If a bull gores a man or woman to death, the bull is to be stoned to death, and its meat must not be eaten.' Dinzelbacher 2002.

[10] All the figures in the foreground of the Carrying of the Cross were drawn larger than they appear in the final painting.

[11] Sauser 1973; Stroo and Syfer-d'Olne 2001, 99–100.

[12] There was a manuscript from around 1450 in the Gregoriushuis (Saint Gregory House) – the monastery in 's-Hertogenbosch of the Brethren of the Common Life – and a copy in the Wilhelmite convent of the *Vitae Patrum*, published by Anton Koberger (Nuremberg 1478), now in the library of Amsterdam University, UB XXV C 25; the *Vita Sancti Antonij* can be found in this on fol. 24–39v. See Heijting 1980, 295; Fischer 2009, 309; Fischer 2013, 65.

[13] *Dit boeck is ghenomet dat vader boeck*, Zwolle (Peter van Os) 1490 (copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague); the life of Saint Anthony ('leven des heylighen vaders anthonij') is on fol. 5v–29v.

[14] *Passionael. Winterstuc*, Gouda (Gerard Leeu) 1478 (copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague); the life of Saint Anthony is on fol. 163–72. Also consulted for comparison purposes: *Passionael. Winterstuc*, Delft (Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer), 1482 (copy in Ghent University Library); 'Die legende van sinte anthonius abt ende monick', fol. 144v–58.

[15] *vader boeck* 1490, fol. 7v; *Passionael Winterstuc* 1478, fol. 166v; *Passionael Winterstuc* 1482, fol. 147v.

[16] Letters to dignitaries were not always delivered by hand, but sometimes using an instrument in which the letter was gripped to avoid direct contact between the messenger and the recipient. The device was known as a *postvogel* ('post bird'). An example is shown in a woodcut in the *Weisskunig* (1514–16). See TIB 11, 132. Albrecht Dürer holds one in his self-portrait in the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* (1508). See Klauner 1979, 61 n. 9. A more recent surviving example of the device in the former Post- und Telegraphmuseum (now Technisches Museum) in Vienna is shaped like a bird's head, in which the letter was inserted in the beak. See *Führer des Post- und Telegraphmuseums Wien*, 1959, 6; Von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld s.a., 7–8. With thanks to Dr Veit Didczuneit, Berlin.

[17] Van Waadenoijen 2007, 81–82, referring to Bax 1948, 23.

[18] Cf. Van Waadenoijen 2007, 76.

[19] 'Sij worpen up in die lucht. Si worpen weder neder. Also dat si hem bi na doot ghebrocht hadden.' *Passionael Winterstuc* 1478, fol. 166v; *Passionael Winterstuc* 1482, fol. 147v.

[20] 'in alrehande dyeren ghelijckenissen'.

[21] 'een wonderlick schoon lichte ende dat verdreef die duvelen ende alle hare duysternissen' and 'die godlijke stemme uut den lichte'. *vader boeck* 1490, fol. 8; equivalent passage in the *Passionael Winterstuc* 1478, fol. 166v; *Passionael Winterstuc* 1482, fol. 147v.

[22] There is no technical reason to suppose that the Christ figure was only added to the scene in the tower in the third instance; the altar, the crucifix, the standing Christ and the beam of light were prepared and painted as an ensemble. This contrary to Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 17, 21 n. 51.

[23] Dückers and Priem 2009, 262–63 no. 60 (Eberhard König).

[24] *vader boeck* 1490, fol. 20v–25v.

[25] *vader boeck* 1490, fol. 27–28v.

[26] *vader boeck* 1490, fol. 19v–20; *Passionael Winterstuc* 1478, fol. 168; *Passionael Winterstuc* 1482, fol. 148v.

[27] 'een schip onder mit comenscap gheladen. Doe sprac anthonius hi roock enen quaden roock. Doe spraken si [de monniken die bij hem waren] daer legghen vissche onder in den schepe. Doe sprac hi Dat en is alsulcken roock niet. Ende alrehant doe ryep een beseten mensche die heymelicken in den (den) schepe was ghecomen. Ende doe gheboot anthonius den duvel dat hi uutvaren soude. Ende doe wert die mensche verlost.' *vader boeck* 1490, fol. 15.

[28] Follower/workshop (?) of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, oil on panel, 69.9 × 51.8 cm. Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia, inv. BF 962.

[29] Unverfehrt 1980, 79–82, 261, 272–73, 286–87; De Vrij 2012, 465–90.

[30] Friedländer (ANM XIV 1937, 99–100; ENP V 1969, 71–72) suggested as early as 1937 that the panel in Philadelphia is an autograph repetition, while according to Lievens-De Waegh 1973/74 it actually dates from before the Lisbon triptych. Unverfehrt (1980, 79–84, no. 46) concluded in turn that it concerns a copy by a follower, which was then adopted generally.

[31] Follower/workshop (?) of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, oil on panel, 126 × 99 cm, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, inv. 179P. See Hitner 2007.

[32] See, for instance, the creature on the platter held up by the figure on the right behind the demon with the pig's snout and the owl on its head. Another figure appears in this place in both the painting in São Paulo and the one in Philadelphia.

[33] Marijnissen 1987, 154 n. 267.

[34] Caetano 2014.

[35] '… pour une grande table de platte paincture faicte a huille de lhistoire saint anthoine, avec pluiseurs autres histoires y adjoustees tant a deux feulletz de lad[icte] table que ailleurs richement f[ai]ctes que le Roy a fait prendre et acheter de lui …'. Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, Série B 2191 fol. 389r/v.

[36] Dehaisnes (1881, 311), Onghena (1959, 31–32), Koldeweij (1990a, 370), Van Dijck (2001, 92) and Fischer (2009, 99 and 2014, 246–47) even consider it possible, without offering further evidence, that this refers to Bosch's *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon.

[37] '… pour Icelle pr[ese]nter en don depar lui au Roy son père …'

[38] Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, Série B 2191 fol. 225: a messenger was sent to Bruges in September 1505 with letters for 'le scoutette de bruges' (the chief magistrate of Bruges) concerning a 'tableau de la vesve de feu maistre ypolite de berthoz'. This painting must be the triptych paid for a few weeks later.

[39] Koldeweij 2014, 414–18.

[40] Ibid., 418–23.

[41] George of Austria was Bishop of Brixen from 1525/26 and of Valencia from 1538; he was appointed coadjutor (assistant bishop) of the Prince-Bishopric of Liège in 1543 and then Prince Bishop from 1544 until his death. See Steeno and Biesbrouck 2007, 34–35.

[42] George Junior is described as 'd'une certaine jeune fille libre'. Steeno and Biesbrouck 2012, 218–19, 234.

[43] Andreas 1650, 59–60. Papy 2000, 306 n. 293.

[44] Rijksarchief Leuven, Archieven van de Universiteit Leuven (1426–1797), Inventaris H. De Vocht, no. 1464. Steeno and Biesbrouck 2012, 218.

[45] 'Noch laet ick aen Onsen genadigen Heere Alberto Eertshertoch van Oistenryck, Hertoch van Bourgoignen, Brabant, etc., … een schilderye van Saint Anthonis temptatie van Jeronimo Bossch met twee sluytende deuren, ende deselve deuren zyn oyck geschildert van Jeronimo Bossch.' Geudens 1890, 8–9; De Maeyer 1955, 54; Huys, Paredes and Van Sprang 2014, 176.

[46] Miraeus 1622, 98. De Maeyer 1955, 51, 366–67 doc. 184.

[47] De Maeyer 1955, 53, 259–61 doc. 1; Allart 2006, 245–50; Huys, Paredes and Van Sprang 2014, 170.

[48] De Maeyer 1955, 57–58, and, for example, 387 doc. 222 on a consignment of carpets, maps and paintings sent to Spain in 1628.

[49] The youngest growth ring of the central panel dates from 1484, see Klein 2001, 126. Allowing for a minimum of nine rings of removed sapwood, plus two years for drying and transport, the earliest possible date of production is 1495. Production after 1497 is, however, statistically more likely.

[50] Verschelde 1863, 69–70; Van den Bergen-Pantens 2001, 17; Koldeweij 2014, 414.

5 *Saint John the Baptist*

Hieronymus Bosch
1490–95

Oil on oak panel, 48.5 × 40.5 cm
Museo Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, 8155

BRCP examination and documentation data: Madrid, 20–23 February 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 5, RR 47–48; //Boschproject.org no. 5.

Condition
All four sides of the panel were cropped. The original reverse has not been preserved as it has been thinned and cradled. The dysfunctional cradle has resulted in panel deformations and raised-paint issues. There are many smaller and larger losses spread over the paint surface and at the join, which have mostly been filled and retouched. The paint surface is only slightly abraded overall. Overall the visibility of the original surface is good.

Provenance
Probably Sint-Janskerk, 's-Hertogenbosch, chapel of the Brotherhood of Our Lady; 1920–47 Don José Lázaro Galdiano; since 1948 Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano; 1936–49 loaned to Museum Boymans, Rotterdam.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 5, RR 47–48; Fischer 2013, 28, 241–42; Weemans 2012, 134–35; Koreny 2012, 28, 54, 57–58; Silver 2006, 198–208; Klein 2001, 124; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 103–19; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 72–78, 88, 94–95, 97; Fuster Sabater 1996, 77–86; Clark 1994, 3–19; Marijnissen 1987, 394–97; Graziani 1983, 379; Unverfehrt 1980, 27, 31, 35, 104, 109, 150, 203; Gibson 1973, 134–35, 154, 157, 159; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 87; Tolnay 1965, I, 272; II, 367–68; Von Baldass 1959, 44, 61, 239; Von Baldass 1943, 32–33, 62, 68, 69, 86, 243; Devoghelaere 1936, 312–18, 372–74; Friedländer 1927, 151; Mayer 1919/20, 244.



5

6 *Saint John on Patmos / Passion Scenes*

Hieronymus Bosch
1490–95

Oil on oak panel, 63 × 43.2 cm
Signed lower right: *Jheronimus bosch* [damaged]
Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, 1647A

BRCP examination and documentation data BRCP: Berlin, 21–23 March 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 6, RR 51–52; //Boschproject.org no. 6.

Condition
The panel has been almost completely preserved and the painting is stable. There are several small losses. The side with Saint John also has some larger restored losses, mainly in the area of the signature and the lower sky. The paint surfaces are only slightly abraded overall. Numerous residues of non-original surface layers result in the uneven and 'dirty' appearance of the paint surface with Saint John. On the reverse, ageing effects have resulted in a somewhat greater contrast between the grisaille and the dark surrounding area.

Provenance
Probably Sint-Janskerk, 's-Hertogenbosch, chapel of the Brotherhood of Our Lady; Stansted Hall, William Fuller Maitland; 1907 Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 6, RR 51–52; Fischer 2013, 28–32, 241–42; Koreny 2012, 28, 54, 57, 66, 137; Silver 2006, 198–208; Klein 2001, 125; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 107, 110; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 72–78, 88, 94–95, 97, 178; Bock 1996, 21; Marijnissen 1987, 284–87; Unverfehrt 1980, 27, 29, 31, 34–36, 104, 138, 160, 179; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 87; Tolnay 1965, I, 255; II, 365–66; Von Baldass 1943, 32–33, 60, 68, 69, 71, 243; Friedländer 1927, 84, 98–99, 151.

Analysis
Stylistic, physical and iconographical considerations, supported by dendrochronological data and combined with archival material, lead to the conclusion that *Saint John the Baptist* (Madrid) and *Saint John on Patmos* (Berlin) once belonged to an extended sculptural and painted ensemble, which formed the altarpiece of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in Saint John's Church in 's-Hertogenbosch. *Saint John on Patmos* was painted in the early 1490s and appears to be the earliest painting signed by Bosch. The two Saint John panels are key elements therefore in the reconstruction of Bosch's oeuvre.



6A

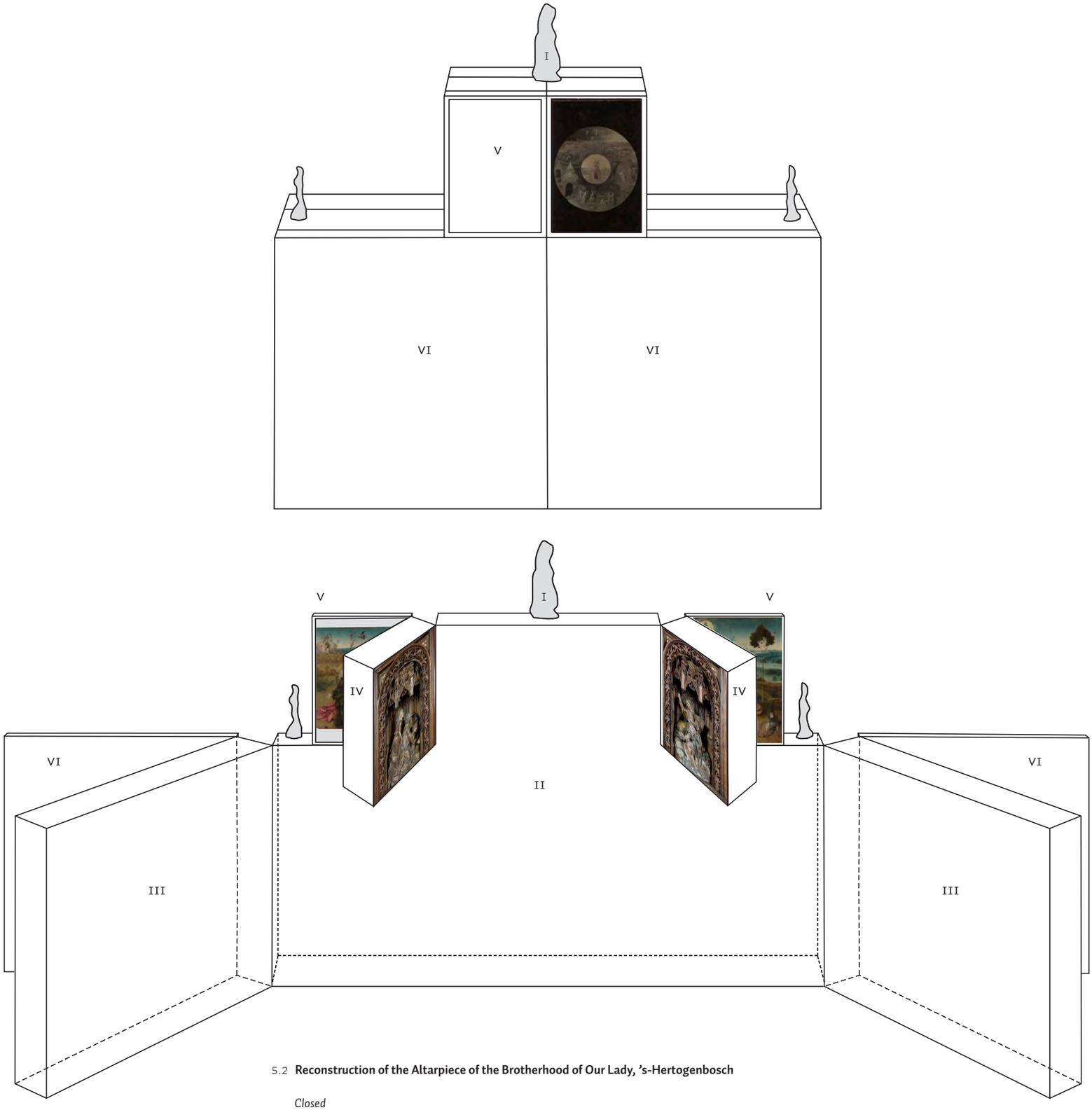


6B



5.1





5.2 **Reconstruction of the Altarpiece of the Brotherhood of Our Lady, 's-Hertogenbosch**

Closed

V Hieronymus Bosch, grisailles [CAT 6B]
VI Exterior large wings, painted by Gillis Panhedel, 1521–22 [lost]

Open

I Statue of the Virgin, 14th or 15th century [lost]
II Case with wood carvings by Adriaen van Wesel, 1476–77 [a few fragments survive]
III Interior large wings with wood carvings by Adriaen van Wesel, 1476–77 [lost]
IV Upper small wings, interior: wood carvings by Adriaen van Wesel, 1476–77 [FIG 5.3]
V Exterior small wings: Hieronymus Bosch, 1488–89;
– right wing (closed): *Passion Scenes* [CAT 6B]; (open) *Saint John on Patmos* [CAT 6A]
– left wing (closed): [Childhood of Christ? lost]; (open) *Saint John the Baptist* [CAT 5]
VI Exterior large wings, painted by Gillis Panhedel, 1521–22 [lost]

THE ALTARPIECE OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF OUR LADY

The accounts of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch for 1545/46 refer to 'the painted doors of the altarpiece of Our Lady, done by Master Jeronimus'.[1] The panel in Berlin showing *Saint John on Patmos* and the one in Madrid with *Saint John the Baptist* can almost certainly be identified as two of the wings that Bosch painted for the large altarpiece in the brotherhood's chapel in Saint John's Church in 's-Hertogenbosch.[2] The precious carved and painted polyptych was gradually completed in the period 1475/76–1522/23.[3] In its final form, it had two pairs of double wings.[4] According to a Latin chronicle dating from around 1550, 'A two-fold image can be seen there on the altar. For on working days, one picture is visible, which is so artful … On feast days the golden story is shown.'[5] The Utrecht sculptor Adriaen van Wesel made the carved altarpiece, which was then polychromed and gilded in 's-Hertogenbosch, where extra pairs of wings were added to both the wide, lower section, and the narrower section at the top. This process can be followed quite closely in the brotherhood's account books.[6] 5.2, 5.3

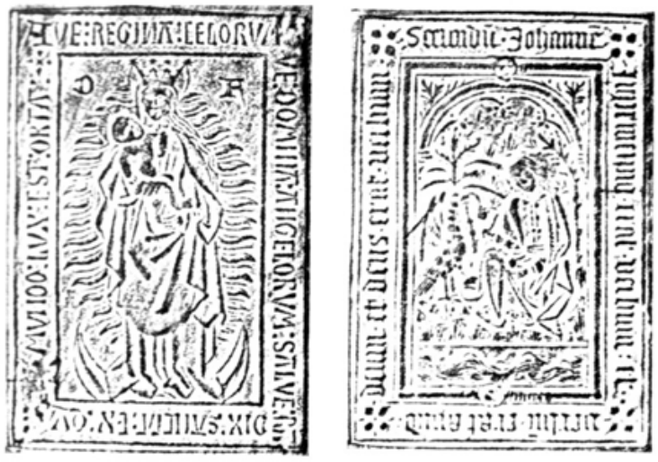
The Virgin Mary, patron saint of the Brotherhood of Our Lady, was the altarpiece's principal subject. The Adoration of the Christ Child provided the central theme, while the scenes from the life of the Virgin will no doubt have been accompanied by painted Old Testament typologies on the outside of the now-lost lower wings. The *Vision of Emperor Augustus* and the apocalyptic vision of *Saint John on Patmos* in the carved upper wings were oriented primarily towards an earlier Marian statue that stood at the top of the altarpiece. This Madonna was carried in an annual procession and was central to the brotherhood's worship.[7] It was always visible, regardless of whether the carved and painted altarpiece wings were open or closed. When the polyptych was fully opened, Van Wesel's carved figures of the apostle John and Emperor Augustus in the upper wings looked up towards the Mother of God who was positioned high above them and served as the object of both their visions at once. Saint John's vision on Patmos provided the brotherhood with an ideal devotional combination of the apostle and evangelist – the patron saint of Saint John's Church 5.2 (I)



5.3 Adriaen van Wesel, *The Vision of Emperor Augustus* and *Saint John on Patmos*, 1476–77.
Two wings from the Altarpiece of the Brotherhood of Our Lady [FIG 5.2 IV]. Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch



5.4 Pelican [CAT 6B]



5.5 *The 'Woman in the Sun'* and *Saint John on Patmos*. Die-stamps of the 's-Hertogenbosch friary, embossed leather from a binding. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce Bindings, Series C, no. 33

and hence also of 's-Hertogenbosch – and the Virgin Mary, its own patron saint. Mary was, moreover, the object of the most important popular cult at Saint John's, albeit centred on another, miracle-working statue. For the same reason, the brotherhood commissioned the local book printer Laurens Hayen in 1518/19 to insert a woodcut of Saint John on Patmos looking up at the 'Woman in the Sun' (also recognizable as the Virgin Mary with the Christ
5.6 Child) in a Latin book of indulgences.[8] Saint John's vision of the Apocalypse was thus a key
5.5 visual image for the Brotherhood of Our Lady.[9]

The large altarpiece was removed for safekeeping in 1566 during an outbreak of iconoclastic violence. Its various parts were then cleaned by the painter Dirck Janssoen and his assistant before the work was reinstalled: 'The paintings from the altarpiece, with all the scenes … [were] cleaned and washed, and the damage filled with paint.'[10] This was done at the Brotherhood of Our Lady's house, where the altarpiece is also likely to have been stored



5.6 *Saint John on Patmos* from a booklet of indulgences belonging to the Brotherhood of Our Lady. 's-Hertogenbosch (Laurens Hayen) 1518/19. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/ Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels





5.8 Martin Schongauer, *Saint John on Patmos*, c. 1475–80. Engraving



5.9 Israhel van Meckenem, *Saint John on Patmos*, c. 1480. Engraving



5.10 **IRR** [CAT 6A]



5.11 [CAT 6A]

5.7 [CAT 6A]

after it was removed from St John's Church once more in 1629 when the building came under Protestant control. What happened next is not known, but in the course of the nineteenth century, parts of the altarpiece turned up at various places in Brabant, but also in British collections. The altarpiece cases with the carved Saint John on Patmos and Emperor Augustus groups are the only elements still owned by the Brotherhood of Our Lady.

PAINTED PANELS

The panels with *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint John on Patmos* painted by Hieronymus Bosch have long been considered pendants.[11] The question was whether they originally belonged to a diptych, a triptych or to a larger altarpiece still. The scene with the Evangelist in Berlin has preserved its original dimensions (63 × 43.2 cm). The slightly smaller panel with the Baptist in Madrid (48.5 × 40.5 cm) has been cropped on all sides. The semi-grisaille on the back of the Berlin panel points towards an original function as the hinged wing of a diptych, triptych or polyptych. No traces of painting have survived on the back of the panel in Madrid, which has been thinned severely, suggesting that it was split to separate the front and the back; the *Wayfarer*, the *Ship of Fools* and *Death and the Miser* (cat. 19) were subjected to a similar procedure.[12] The compositions of the two scenes are oriented so firmly to the left and right respectively, albeit with no mutual connection, that the possibility of them having once formed a diptych, as suggested earlier, is untenable.[13] There must have been a certain amount of space between the two panels. Moreover, the focus in *Saint John on Patmos* is firmly towards the upper left. The Berlin panel forms a precise match, both iconographically and in terms of its dimensions, with the upper right wing of the brotherhood's altarpiece. This means that the scene with Saint John on Patmos appeared in the altarpiece twice – the painting by Bosch and the carving by Van Wesel – and that the connection with the statue of the Virgin Mary positioned in the middle of the ensemble was almost always maintained.[14] We do not know which scenes were painted on the backs of the wings supplied by Adriaen van Wesel.

John the Baptist is an excellent pendant for Saint John on Patmos in this Marian altarpiece. Not only were the feasts of the two Saint Johns celebrated with almost equal pomp at St John's Church (dedicated to the Evangelist), the inclusion of John the Baptist, who preached the coming of Christ the Redeemer, is also an appropriate link in the altarpiece as a whole between the Old and New Testament.

In 1488/89, the accounts of the Brotherhood of Our Lady contain an order for two wings, which were to be painted for the altarpiece ('twee doren … die men soude doen stofferen'). The price of seven Rhenish florins suggests a fairly substantial job, from which it is reasonable to conclude that these were the larger, lower wings rather than the considerably smaller upper set. A payment was made in 1521/22 for two *borders* (panels), which were painted by Gillis Panhedel (also called Gielis vanden Bossche) from Brussels.[15] These are likely to have been panels that were mounted on the back of the large wings, also hinged, made by Adriaen van Wesel.[16] The wings were cleaned and varnished in 1545/46: '*Item* cleaning and varnishing the painted wings of the altarpiece that stands on the altar of Our Lady, which were painted by Master *Jeronimus*. And also the inside of the wings painted by Gielis vanden Bossche residing in Brussels.'[17] A municipal chronicle written in 1608 and printed in 1610 adds that the wings were painted with Old Testament Marian typologies by Hieronymus Bosch.[18] Interestingly, although all the costs incurred for the altarpiece are systematically recorded in the brotherhood's accounts, no reference is made to Bosch's activities. Nor is anything recorded regarding the construction or the painting of the upper part of the altarpiece; either the costs were paid by individual members of the brotherhood, or Bosch made no charge.

DATING

Dendrochronological dating of *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint John on Patmos* shows that the panels may have been painted as of 1476 and 1491 respectively. The Madrid panel has been cropped on all four sides, which means that growth rings are missing there. The relationship between the two images, in terms of both style and use of materials, is so strong that the paintings are likely to have been produced at more or less the same time.[19] Hieronymus was admitted to the brotherhood's elite inner core in 1487–88 and accepted as a sworn brother.[20] Perhaps he showed his gratitude and paid tribute to the Virgin Mary at the same time by painting the already-purchased panels for the lower set of wings, followed a few years later by the upper set too. He signed the Berlin panel bottom right in Gothic letters using the Latinized version of his name. As far as we can tell, this was the first time that Jeroen (Joen) van Aken used the signature 'Jheronimus Bosch', squarely presenting himself as a learned and self-assured artist. Very few painters signed their works quite so emphatically and, in doing so, the talented craftsman highlighted the huge step he had taken up the social ladder when he was admitted to the inner core of the Brotherhood of Our Lady. He owed that status to his own exceptional artistry, to which he might actually have alluded here by incorporating a self-portrait in the monster painted above his signature. If so, he found a creative way to insert a demonic *portrait historié* of himself in a panel that does full justice to his immense artistic qualities. Together with the panel showing John the Baptist and the refined grisaille painting on the back, Bosch displays his skills here on a scale so minutely detailed that it is hard at times to make out with the naked eye: a demonstration of his ability, yet doubtlessly intended above all in praise of God.

SOURCES OF INSPIRATION: SCHONGAUER AND VAN MECKENEM

The two panels are closely related in both the fluid brushstrokes with which the underdrawing is laid down and their mode of painting. It is evident from the underdrawing of the Berlin panel that Bosch was familiar with the engravings of *Saint John on Patmos* by both Martin Schongauer (c. 1450–1491) and Israhel van Meckenem (c. 1440/45–1503).[21] Max Dvořák pointed out the striking similarities between Schongauer and Bosch's renditions of *Saint John on Patmos* as early as 1924 and these are even more noteworthy when we take account of the underdrawing of the painting.[22] Both Schongauer's engraving and the underdrawing of Bosch's panel, for instance, show Saint John with his head raised significantly higher than in the finished painting. The saint's foot and the landscape in the left foreground are also similar in the print and the underdrawing, but not in the painted version. The same goes for Israhel van Meckenem's engraving, in which moreover the eagle is in the same place as in Bosch's panel. Van Meckenem and Bosch both place the Woman in the Sun – conflated with the Virgin and Child – on the crescent moon and show her sitting, whereas Schongauer has her standing. Bosch's painting is by no means a slavish copy: there are too many differences and too much effort has been made in the underdrawing to position the pictorial elements correctly. He is likely to have drawn inspiration from Schongauer and Van Meckenem's printed and hence widely available images, as also appears to be the case for the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt (cat. 11); nevertheless Bosch's composition differs fundamentally from these models, as he has placed the Evangelist in an imposing and convincing landscape, which he has rendered with considerable care (while apparently indifferent to the fact that Patmos is an island). The naturalism with which Bosch painted the landscape around Saint John offers an excellent stage (literally so, given the presence of the hill) for the angel – an invention of the painter, inspired by but not directly borrowed from the text of Revelations – who points towards the Woman in the Sun. The realism of the landscape heightens the wondrous nature of the scene while simultaneously presenting the vision in a compelling way to the late fifteenth-century viewer.

5.8, 5.9

5.7, 5.10

DONOR PORTRAIT

The alterations in the panel with Saint John the Baptist are more substantial. The underdrawing – where it can be detected at any rate – was followed in paint fairly closely. However, the large, fanciful, thistle-like plant and the green bush behind which John stretches
5.12–13 out conceal the figure of a male donor, kneeling in prayer. He was hidden behind the vegetation relatively soon after being painted, presumably because he was no longer wanted. A thin layer of varnish between the donor figure and the plants painted over him suggests that some time – a few months at least – must have passed between their respective execution, but it is no longer possible to determine precisely how long.[23] The high quality and the nature of the overpainting, perfectly in keeping with Hieronymus Bosch's imagery, indicate firmly that the adjustments were made in Bosch's workshop, possibly by the master himself.

It is hard to estimate the age of the overpainted donor, but he might have been the local dignitary Jan van Vladeracken (c. 1450–1532), who paid for the large set of lower wings in 1488/89. He was an alderman in 's-Hertogenbosch for many years and became a sworn member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 1475; he was dean of the brotherhood in 1503/04, as he had been in 1487/88, the year in which Bosch was admitted as a sworn member. The donor, kneeling before his name saint John the Baptist, is directly comparable with Petrus van Os on the inside of the left wing of the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston (cat. 24); they wear similar brimless hats and tabards trimmed with fur. Bosch and Jan van Vladeracken must have known each other well; both had houses on the north side of the Markt, and Van Vladeracken was one of the hosts of the Swan Banquet in 1487–88, when Bosch was accepted as a sworn brother.[24] Whatever the identity of the kneeling donor, his conspicuous presence





5.12–13 Overpainted donor portrait: VIS and IRR [CAT 5]

was evidently surplus to requirements and he was painted out shortly afterwards. Perhaps he died without heirs who could have taken over the commission. Nor is it hard to imagine that the inclusion of a single donor's portrait in a sizeable altarpiece developed over many years through the efforts of a large number of brothers was felt to be inappropriate.[25] The ensemble – which ultimately took almost half a century to complete – was, after all, the collective possession and focus of devotion of the Brotherhood of Our Lady as a whole.

John the Baptist lies pensively in a landscape that represents the wilderness into which he withdrew as a prophet. It seems peaceful enough, yet we see a bear in the background devouring a deer and another shaking a tree. John rests his head on his left hand and holds 5.1
the fabric of his red robe in his right, with which he simultaneously points towards the lamb lying in front of him. The little animal is his principal attribute, based on the words he spoke on baptizing Christ in the River Jordan: 'Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world!' (John 1:29). All that has yet to come, however, and the prophet also points here beyond the lamb and towards the scenes in the carved altarpiece below him, all of which are focused on the Nativity of Christ. In this way, Bosch presents the two Johns in their visionary role – the Baptist pointing to the advent of the Redeemer and the Evangelist on Patmos setting out his prophecy of the end of the world in the Book of Revelation. Bosch has painted a small bird of prey on the ground in front of the Evangelist, representing his eagle attribute, together with a pen-case and ink pot at his feet, and behind him an insect-like demon with a human head. The monster's belly and right wing are pierced with arrows; it holds its little arms up helplessly in the air, and a small fire smoulders on its head. The world behind him seems Christian, as a wooden cross has been raised next to the road winding between the hills. The angel, rendered in shades of blue, who has appeared to John, points to the apparition of the 'woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars' (Revelation 12:1). Further weight is added to the prophecy by a blazing ship on the sea, dotted with sails, that lies beneath the visionary woman and behind the hill on which the angel stands: 'But woe to the earth and the sea, for the devil has come down to you with great wrath' (12:12).

PASSION SCENES

The reverse of the panel with *Saint John on Patmos* is painted in semi-grisaille. It shows 6B, 5.17
the story of Christ's Passion in an illuminated circle surrounded by hellish darkness. The essence of Christ's advent – self-sacrifice and charity – is symbolized at the centre of the circle by a heroic, oversized pelican feeding its young with its own blood. Although Bosch 5.4
often painted birds very naturalistically, he plainly had to rely here on a visual tradition in which pelicans tend to look more like large birds of prey. An example can be found in an engraving produced by Bosch's contemporary, Israhel van Meckenem, to whom we have 5.14
already referred, and who worked in Bocholt, a hundred kilometres east of 's-Hertogenbosch.[26] The pelican's nest is located on top of a tall rock rising out of the sea, beyond which we see a distant landscape beneath a brightly lit sky, with a horizon line leaning steeply to the right. A fire blazes at the foot of the rock, lending extra emphasis and balance to the roundel. The central image also forms a visual rhyme with the other side of the panel, in which the salvation of humanity through the Son of God is, of course, also the essence of Saint John's apocalyptic visions. John sits in front of a steep hill in an almost identical view of land and water with a city in the distance; behind him we see a demon with burning flames on his head and the angel on the hill pointing to the brightly lit Woman in the Sun, in the form once again of the Virgin and the Christ Child.

The Passion of Christ is set out in eight scenes incorporating a number of interesting details: Agony in the Garden; the Kiss of Judas; Christ before Pilate; the Flagellation; the Crowning with Thorns; Christ Carrying the Cross; the Crucifixion; and the Entombment. The prayer in the garden of Gethsemane is presented in the manner described in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, with Jesus shown praying to his father at a distance from the apostles Peter, James and John (Matthew 16:36–39; Mark 14:32–35). Judas, who



5.14 Israhel van Meckenem, *Pelican*, c. 1480–90. Engraving

has betrayed him, can be seen approaching with a group of soldiers. The apostle John is depicted on his own; he sits with his back to Christ and has fallen asleep, while James and Peter sit together, Peter's sword lying on the ground in front of him. In the next scene, he uses the weapon to cut off the ear of the high priest's servant, who has dropped his lantern in the struggle. It lies there near the servant's feet, but damage to the paint surface makes it difficult to identify. In the third scene, Christ is brought before the Roman governor, Pilate, who holds a judge's staff in his right hand. Next to him stands his wife who, according to Matthew, asked her husband not to find Christ guilty (Matthew 27:19). Bosch turned to John's Gospel for the next two scenes, in which Christ is flogged and then crowned with thorns (19:1–2). The dome of the building in which the Flagellation is set is almost identical to that of the tower in the right wing of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8). Christ Carrying the Cross, meanwhile, focuses on the moment when Simon of Cyrene intervenes to help Jesus. The sky behind the three crucified men on Mount Golgotha, lastly, shades from very dark to an ominous twilight; this allows Christ and the penitent thief to stand out brightly against the dark background, while the 'bad thief' could be rendered as a near-silhouette (Luke 23:39–43). 5.18

The *Passion Scenes* – painted largely in shades of brown around the central allegory of Christ's self-sacrifice – are surrounded by deep darkness, in which Bosch has painted all

5.15 Israhel van Meckenem, *John the Baptist with Evangelist symbols and Doctors of the Church*, c. 1480–90. Engraving





5.16 **IRR** [CAT 6B]



5.17 *Passion Scenes* [CAT 6B]



5.18 Mount Golgotha [CAT 6B]

sorts of barely visible, disproportional figures in dark tones, surrounded by foliage and flower petals. A bat-like monster hangs from a crossbow below the upper right corner, where a helmet has also been painted; above these we make out a harp and a little human figure, pierced with an arrow, in a cocoon; and below them a gigantic fish with a gaping mouth, from which a flock of birds flies out. A bell hangs directly above the crucified Christ; a flying fish moves towards the left, with a little figure bent upside-down, which appears again in reverse in the right wing of the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (cat. 16). In that work, the figure has a jousting lance inserted in its backside, whereas here the remains of a long white pole are still visible. A relatively large, helmeted figure approaches from below in the upper left corner carrying a long ladder over his shoulder. He is attacked by another naked man brandishing a sword. In the lower left corner, a large bird pecks at a dead fish, while another bird flies up. An animal resembling a pig is placed in the extreme corner, from where it looks outwards. A giant dog to the right growls menacingly at three deer loitering peacefully on a riverbank. While not identical, the bad dog is directly comparable with the ones in the *Wayfarer* panel and the closed wings of the *Haywain* in the Prado (cat. 19 and 20). In the latter triptych, a bird flutters down just in front of the dog,



similar to the one above the dog in the Berlin panel. A winged knight riding a fish hurries up on the right, armed with a jousting lance from which a tankard is suspended. A similar knight can be seen high in the air in the interior of the left wing of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 4). He advances towards a figure with a bare backside creeping out of the water and into the wood. A sword, evidently belonging to the knight, lies before the fish to the left. The lower right corner contains a winged, insect-like monster below a tankard with a blossom branch. Above this is a monster resembling a cross between a centipede and a hare, and higher up still, lastly, we make out a cannon on a two-wheeled carriage, as we also find in the right wing of the Bruges *Last Judgement* (cat. 16). The overall effect is that of a chaotic mass in deep darkness, in the midst of which Christ brings salvation. All these little figures were executed using an extremely curious, yet simultaneously rapid and efficient painting technique. The basic forms were applied by pressing a small amount of paint into a still wet, dark background with a paintbrush. The figures were then finished by means of a few expertly placed highlights. Because of this method and the ageing of the paint layers, they can often be made out more clearly using infrared reflectography than in visible light.[27] 5.16

As the pendant to this semi-grisaille, the reverse of the John the Baptist panel must have had a corresponding composition. It is impossible to reconstruct the themes depicted there with any certainty, but the Passion cycle and the theme of self-sacrifice in the right wing indicate that it is likely to have focused on the childhood and ministry of Christ, lighting up once again out of the unearthly darkness. When the wings were closed, the two images alongside one another would have seemed like a pair of eyes regarding the viewer. The intention was perhaps to exhort beholders to pay extra attention to these scenes, while also reminding them that they themselves were constantly observed by God.[28] The prints of Israhel van Meckenem (after Master E.S.) offer an interesting point of comparison once again as we seek potential sources of inspiration for this composition. We find the same structure, for instance, in an engraving thought to be the design for a paten.[29] John the Baptist features at the centre in a landscape surrounded by a circle of evangelists' symbols and Church Fathers framed by decorative trails. A talented follower – possibly even a pupil or assistant of Hieronymus Bosch – developed this idea further and more explicitly in *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* in the Prado in Madrid (cat. 34). That panel shows the risen Christ in the pupil of a giant eye, around which are depicted the sins of humanity, together with references to death and judgement on the Last Day.

5.15

[1] 'die geschilderde deuren van der tafelen staende op Onser liever Vrouwen autair geschildert by meester Jeronimus'. Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 71; Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, Register 131, 1545/46, fol. 307v.

[2] First suggested in exhib. cat. Rotterdam 2001, 70–78 (Koldeweij) and 94–95 (Vermet). The reconstruction was accepted by Elsig (2004, 65–68, 121), Buzzati (2005, 110–14, who wrongly attributed it to Baldass), Silver (2006, 131–35) and Fischer (2009, 90 and 2013, 26–28, 241), but rejected by Koreny (2012, 55, 57), Van Waadenoijen (2007, 64 n. 153), Hoffman (2008), Büttner (2012, 21–26), Campbell (2014, 138) and De Vrij (2012, 410).

[3] Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 34–97. The final addition – a new tabernacle for the statue of the Madonna (probably fourteenth-century) at the top of the altarpiece – was made as late as 1547/48.

[4] Altarpieces with two pairs of double wings were as prestigious as they were exceptional. The known Flemish and Brabant examples all date from between around 1490 and 1530. See Périer-D'Ieteren 2014.

[5] Desmense 1995, 29–30: 'Istud continet altare duplicem formam. Diebus enim profestis picturam repraesentat adeo artificiosam, … Festis diebus fabula praesentatur aurea.'

[6] Published in Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, appendices 1 and 2, 54–76; Koldeweij 2001a, 70–78; Koldeweij 2003 (2002), 439–40, 460.

[7] The statue of the Virgin Mary is depicted in the brotherhood's fourteenth-century seal, whereabouts unknown (until 1987, 's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap). Koldeweij 1985a, 131–32, 157 no. 7.

[8] Koldeweij 1990a, 212 no. 128; Koldeweij 2001a, 34, 76.

[9] The scene also featured in a sculpture in the brotherhood's chapel, as shown by a 1516/17 account entry, in which provost Jan Monicx reported the expenditure of two florins: 'Willem the painter for the polychromy of Our Lady in the Sun beneath the organ and Saint John on Patmos' ('Willem die maelder te stofferen ons lieve vrouwe inde zonne onder die orgelen ende st. jan in pathmos'). See Koldeweij 2001a, 76; Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, Register 126 fol. 181. In the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, the Brethren of the Common Life at the Domus Fratrum Sancti Gregorii (Saint Gregory's House) in 's-Hertogenbosch, blocked an image of Our Lady in the Sun on the front board, and one of Saint John on Patmos on the rear board of a book bound in leather, probably for the Brotherhood of Our Lady (Verheyden 1940–42). In 1599, a sworn member of the brotherhood, Everaert Everaerts van de Water, bequeathed 'his picture in which Saint John on Patmos is painted' ('zijnn taffereel, daer St. Jan in Pathmos geschildert is') – a work regarding which we have no further information. 'Testament van Everard van de Water', *Taxandria* 13 (1906), 27; Koldeweij 2001a, 76; Van Dijck 2012, 826–27.

[10] '… die scilderije vander tafelen vanden altaer met alle die tofferelen … gesuijvert, gewassen ende tgheene daer aen gecheyndt was met verwe gevult'. Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, Register 135, 1567/68, fol. 176v; Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 74.

[11] Baldass suggested in 1943 (32–33, 243) that these were the left and right wings of a small altarpiece. By 1959, however, in the second edition of his monograph (Von Baldass 1959, 44, 239), he had changed his mind, writing instead that the panels originally functioned as a diptych, of which only three sides were painted. A configuration of this kind is only found, however, in 'stationary' diptychs, where one of the two wings was fixed to the wall, which meant the back did not have to be painted; diptychs of this type are, however, considerably larger than these panels. Fuster Sabater (1996, 77–86) concurred with the triptych reconstruction.

[12] The panel has been thinned so severely that this cannot have been done simply with a view to cradling. See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 6, RR 51–52.

[13] Von Baldass 1959, 44, 239.

[14] The maximum dimensions of the cases (86.7 × 61.6 cm) imply that the original frame elements of the panels were 9–10 cm wide, with a slightly wider member at the bottom.

[15] Koldeweij 2001a, 71–74; Koldeweij 2003 (2002), 460; Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 63; Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, Register 122, 1488/89, fol. 128. Notities pater Gerlach (Noordbrabants Genootschap, 's-Hertogenbosch); Vink 2001a, 103; Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, Register 127, 1521/22, fol. 159v. Notities pater Gerlach (Noordbrabants Genootschap, 's-Hertogenbosch); Mosmans 1947, 37; also summarized by Van Dijck 1973, 243; Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 70; Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, Register 127, 1522/23, fol. 216v, 223v.

[16] The two surviving upper wings also have moulded frames on the back, which must once have held painted panels.

[17] 'Item doen wasschen ende vernissen die geschilderde deuren van der tafelen staende op Onser liever Vrouwen autair geschildert by meester Jeronimus. Ende des gelycken oyck die dueren bynnen geschildert by gielis vanden Bossche tot Bruessel wonende.' See Koldeweij 1980, 71; Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, Register 46 fol. 307v.

[18] Halsema-Kubes, Lemmens and De Werd 1980, 75; Gramaye 1610, 21; Van Balen, Loeff and Everswijn 1608, fol. 10r/v.

[19] The works are extremely closely related in material terms; see BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 5, RR 47–48 and cat. 6, RR 51–52.

[20] Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, Register 122, 1487/88, fol. 95.

[21] Martin Schongauer, *Saint John on Patmos*, c. 1475–80, engraving, 160 × 114 mm, HG, Schongauer, no. 60. Israhel van Meckenem, *Saint John on Patmos*, c. 1480, engraving, 182 × 138 mm, HG, Meckenem, no. 364. Van Meckenem's print is a reversed copy after an engraving by Master E.S.

[22] Dvořák 1924, 178 n. 1.

[23] Koreny (2012, 32–33, 58, 86–89) suggests that the plant was done by the 'painter of the Haywain triptych in the Prado'.

[24] Koldeweij 2001a, 77; Van Dijck 2012, 799–800; Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, Register 122, 1487/88, fol. 95.

[25] Büttner 2012, 26.

[26] HG, Meckenem, no. 434.

[27] For further information, see BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 6, RR 51–52.

[28] Fischer (2013, 31–32, 242) goes so far as to give this grisaille a new title of its own: 'The Eye of God with Scenes from the Passion'.

[29] HG, Meckenem, no. 361.

7 *Saint Christopher*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1490–1500

Oil on oak panel, 113.7 × 71.6 cm
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, St. 26
Signed lower left: *Jheronimus bosch*

BRCP examination and documentation data: Rotterdam, 23–26 May 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 7, RR 7; //Boschproject.org no. 7.

Condition
The presence of barbs on all edges indicates that the dimensions of the painted surface were preserved. Although the panel reverse has been thinned and cradled, slight original bevelling is still present at the top and bottom edges. In the corner near the abraded signature a small, triangular section of the panel was replaced. The cradle is blocked, and caused undulation of the panel as well as some cracks at the bottom, one of which is large. The minor, restored losses are concentrated there and along the three joins. Ground and paint layers are well adhered. The paint surface is significantly abraded, as can be seen in the thin green glaze on the foreground water, and locally severely worn. The paint has become more transparent over time, which has resulted in increased visibility of underlying layers, for example in the tree at right. Extensive overpainting and the uneven varnish resulted in the reduced legibility of the original paint surface. Conservation issues were addressed in the 2015 full treatment of the painting.

Provenance
1931 Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer (noted by M.J. Friedländer); 1935–40 Haarlem, Franz W. Koenigs, loaned to Museum Boymans, Rotterdam; 1940–41 Daniel George van Beuningen; 1941 donated to Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 7, RR 7; Fischer 2013, 57, 59, 244; Koreny 2012, 28, 57; Silver 2006, 197–98; Klein 2001, 125; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 88, 95; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 103–19; cat. Rotterdam 1994, 84–89; Marijnissen 1987, 402–09; Bax 1979, 305–10; Tolnay 1965, I, 278–81; II, 368–69; Von Baldass 1943, 34–35, 70, 244; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 35; Friedländer 1927, 98.

Analysis
The signed painting of Saint Christopher carrying the Christ Child is a characteristic example of Hieronymus Bosch's working method. The image was prepared with a meticulous underdrawing as a fairly traditional scene. This was then altered and added to during the painting process, to create a more typically Boschian end product. The jug used as a dwelling in the tree on the right and the tiny hermits emphasize Christopher's immense stature, and hence the might of the Christ Child he carries. The bleeding fish, meanwhile, symbolizes the crucifixion and identifies Christ as the true focus of this panel.

CHRISTOPHER

Christopher was an unusual saint. His feast day was removed from the official Church calendar following the Second Vatican Council in 1969 and it is not certain that he ever existed. He is traditionally said to have been a giant who carried Christ across a river: 'Christophorus', his Latin name, literally means 'Christ-bearer'. All the same, Christopher was an immensely popular saint in the period around 1500, prompting Erasmus to mock the veneration of the legendary ferryman in his *Praise of Folly* (1511):

> But there's no doubt [says Folly] that those folk are all men of my kidney who delight in miracles and fictitious marvels, whether hearing or telling about them. They can never have enough of such tales when there are any wonders to relate about ghosts, spectres, phantoms, and the dead, and all the countless miracles there are of this kind. The further these are from truth, the more eagerly they are believed and the more agreeably they titillate the ear. Such things not only serve remarkably well for whiling away a tedious hour but can also be profitable, especially for preachers and demagogues. Closely related to them are the people who've adopted the foolish but pleasurable belief that if they see some carving or painting of that towering Polyphemus, Christopher, they're sure not to die that day.[1]

Images of Saint Christopher, both carved and painted, were frequently displayed in the fifteenth century in churches and other public places where travellers could see them;[2] they were believed to have apotropaic power – the ability to ward off evil. Bosch's contemporary and fellow townsman Alart Duhameel – a printmaker and the architect of St John's Church – produced a small engraving in 's-Hertogenbosch that includes most of the ghouls and monsters mentioned by Erasmus.[3] It shows Saint Christopher wading through the water with Christ – clutching a remarkably large orb – on his shoulders. The saint is surrounded

7.2



7



7.1

and menaced by a large number of weird creatures, including an immense lobster that has sunk its claw into his right calf. The banderole at the top contains a Latin verse stressing the print's function as an amulet: 'Saint Christopher, many are your salutary powers; those who see you in the morning smile in the evening.'[4] The word *bosche* on a pennant in the upper left indicates that the print was made in 's-Hertogenbosch.

The way Duhameel presents the saint contrasts sharply with Bosch's treatment, even though both images must have been produced in the same town at more or less the same time, probably in the first half of the 1490s. Interestingly, Duhameel's print is considerably more 'Boschian' than Bosch's own painting, because of the fanciful creatures it contains. Bosch places the emphasis elsewhere, on the figure of Christ and its meaning. 7.2, 7.3

Christopher wades through a ford in the ostensibly peaceful surroundings of an expansive river landscape. Compared with the Christ-bearer, the figure with his dog at the water's side is minuscule,[5] telling us that this Christ Child too must be enormous, not to mention the fish that dangles from Christopher's staff. It is far easier to distinguish here between the principal and secondary elements than it is in Duhameel's print.

SOURCES

The legend of Saint Christopher as Bosch and his contemporaries knew it can be found in various fifteenth-century sources. The *Passionael* – the Middle Dutch version of the much older *Legenda aurea* ('Golden Legend'), compiled in the second half of the thirteenth century by the northern Italian monk Jacopo de Voragine – was the most widely disseminated. It tells how Christopher wanted to work for the most powerful master and so made his way from one prince to another. Having offered his services to the devil, he discovered that even he was afraid of Christ, who must therefore be mightier still. Christopher subsequently joined a community of hermits, one of whom instructed him in the Christian faith.[6] Seeing his size and strength, the hermit put him to work carrying people over the river: 'because you

7.2 Alart Duhameel, *Saint Christopher*. Engraving



7.3





are large in build and strong of limb, go and dwell by the river and carry the people across'.[7] Christopher accepted the task and settled at the river. In Bosch's painting he wades through the water supported by a large staff, which he grips with both hands. A monk – possibly the hermit from the legend – stands on the riverbank, where he is about to fill a jug with water. A much larger jug hangs in the tree behind him, where it is apparently being used as a dwelling by several hermits. One of them hides in the neck of the jug, where he busies himself with a lantern that will serve Christopher as a beacon when he crosses back over the water.

One day, Christopher heard a child calling and hurried to the other side of the river to pick it up; when he got there, however, there was no one to be seen. The same thing happened again; only on the third occasion did he discover 'a child sitting there on the riverbank, who asked Christopher to carry him across'. Christopher lifted the child to his shoulders, took his staff in his hand, and began to cross the river. As the water grew deeper, the child grew heavier and heavier. Christopher risked drowning and only reached the other side with the greatest of difficulty. He asked himself aloud what had just happened, to which the child replied: 'Don't be surprised, Christopher. You were not only carrying the whole world on your shoulders, but also he who made the world. For I am Christ, whom you serve with this work.'[8]

SYMBOLISM

Bosch's painting is set before that moment occurs. Christopher carries the Christ Child, whose identity he does not yet know but who is clearly identifiable to the viewer from the halo around his head and the right hand raised in blessing; his left hand grasps a slender crosier. The miraculous nature of the scene is apparent from the hefty staff on which Christopher supports himself; new twigs with leaves have sprouted at the bottom of the shaft, just above the water, and also above the saint's head. We read in the *Passionael* that Jesus instructed Christopher to plant his staff in the ground next to his house, where it would sprout the following day as proof that it had indeed been Christ whom he carried over the river. The Child then vanished. The next morning Christopher rose and found that his staff 'had leaves like a palm tree, and dates growing on it'.[9] Bax, and more recently De Bruyn, have noted that an alternative tradition existed alongside this version of the story; it is alluded to in a fourteenth-century German devotional poem which states that the staff began to bud during the crossing of the river.[10]

The world around the two central figures seems peaceful, due primarily to the unruffled water of the river in the distance and of the ford through which the saint is wading. On closer examination, however, we also notice several ominous elements. On the far bank of the river, in the distance behind Saint Christopher, a dragon looms up from a ruined castle, while a naked man – disturbed while bathing – takes to his heels in fright. A monstrous flying fish, meanwhile, has been painted in the lower left corner just behind the saint, and beneath it a black crow on the rigging of a broken mast protruding from the water. Further back, just beyond the ford, we see a hunter who has shot a bear and is stringing it up from a tree. His crossbow lies on the ground next to him. The bear has been hit square in its heart; 7.4
the bolt sticks out of its chest and blood drips over its fur in a scene that should undoubtedly be read as an execution.[11] The exterior of the right wing of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 4) includes a hanged lamb in the background of Christ Carrying the Cross, referring to the unjust condemnation of the Lamb of God. The dead bear here, by contrast, should be interpreted in the opposite way, namely as a victory over evil.

The jug in the large tree on the right of the panel is a hermitage. Although it is one of the most striking elements in the overall scene, it did not initially feature in it. The tree, along with the bushes on the riverbank to Christopher's rear, was only painted after the background was finished. A little chapel hangs from the tree trunk on the left, surmounted with a cross. There is a dung heap beneath it, near which two hens scratch around. A dead fox has been hung by its hind legs on the other side of the trunk, as a further symbol of the defeat of evil.

7.4 Hunter and bear

The large fish dangling from Christopher's staff has a much more prominent place in the image. It is, to say the least, an unusual detail in the saint's iconography.[12] Given the presence of Jesus, it certainly cannot be dismissed as an anecdotal touch.[13] The fish has been a common symbol of Christ and Christianity since the faith's earliest days, based on the reading of the Greek word *ichthus* ('fish') as an acronym of 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour'.[14] For that reason, the bloody fish Bosch has painted hanging from the staff ought to be read as a metaphor for the crucified Christ. The fish was initially placed closer to the staff, but was then redone with greater emphasis to underline its importance. While not obvious to us nowadays, it was entirely possible in the period around 1500 to interpret the staff as an allusion to Christ's wooden cross. A passage in the early fifteenth-century *Spieghel der Menscheliker Behoudenisse* (i.e. the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* or *Mirror of Human Salvation*), for instance, refers to the traveller's staff as the cross on which Christ died.[15] Another text, dating from about 1500, explicitly describes such a stick as 'the cross of our Lord'.[16] What Bosch shows us in this image of Christopher carrying Christ – and with him the weight of the world – across the water, is that the giant can only do so with the support of his faith, represented by his staff. The inclusion of the dead fish emphasizes Christ's role as Redeemer. It is worth noting in this regard that, unlike Duhameel's print, Bosch does not show Christ with an orb (symbol of a ruler) but with a subtly rendered crosier.

DATING

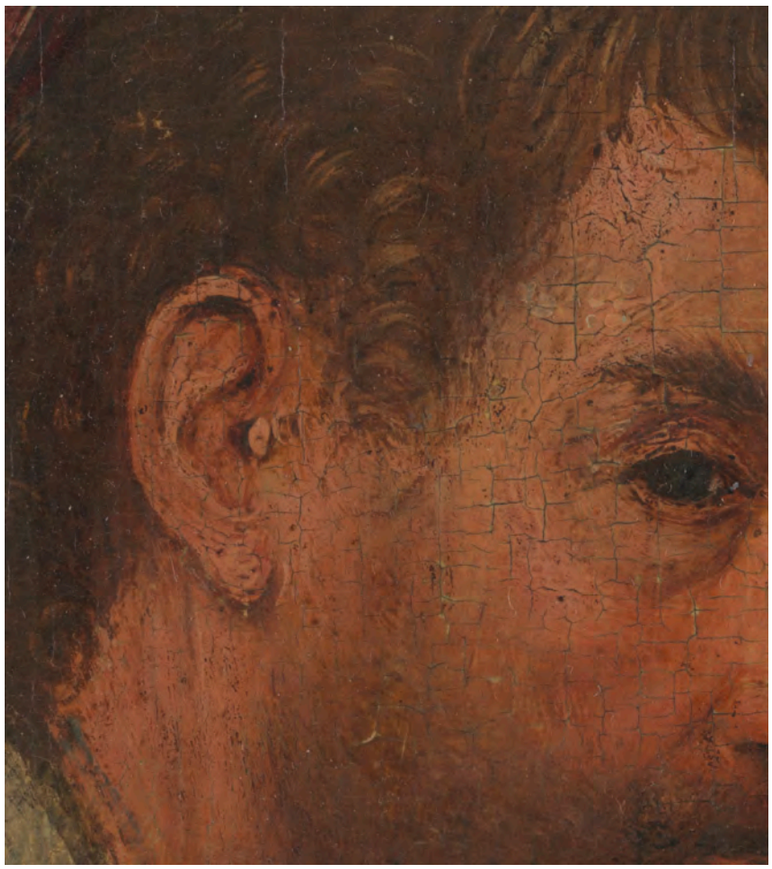
Dendrochronological dating of the Saint Christopher panel shows that it could have been painted from 1490 onwards. Comparison with other works by Hieronymus Bosch also suggests a date in the 1490s. The painting fits neatly into Bosch's oeuvre in terms of its preparation and execution. As noted above, the artist overpainted a virtually finished, more tradi-

7.5 IRR *Saint Christopher* [CAT 7]

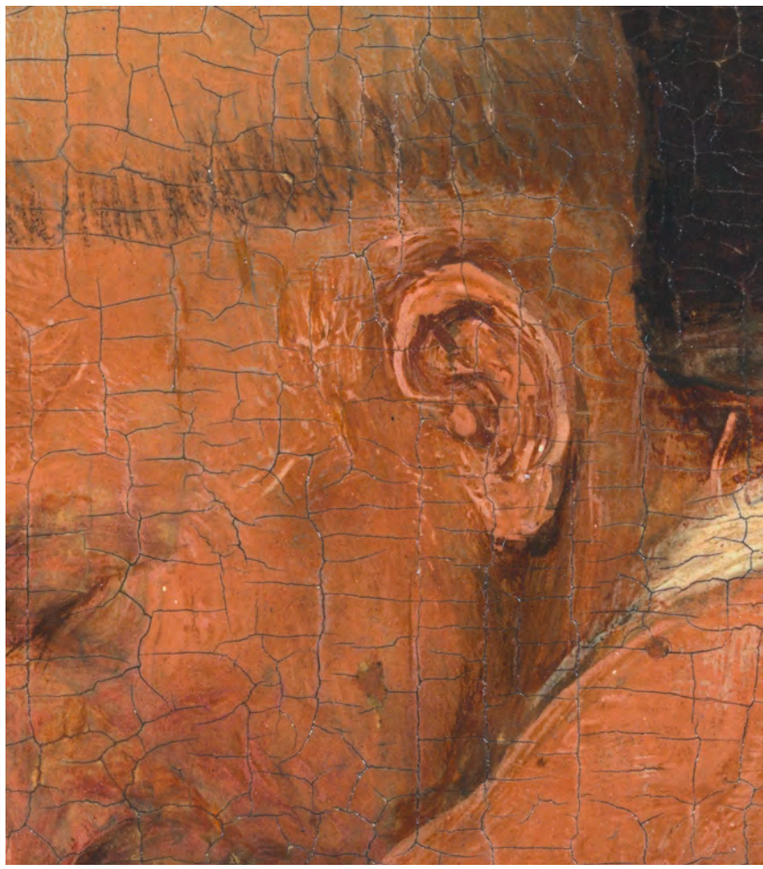
7.6 IRR *Saint Jerome* [CAT 1]

7.7 IRR *Saint John the Baptist* [CAT 5]

7.8 IRR *Saint John on Patmos* [CAT 6]



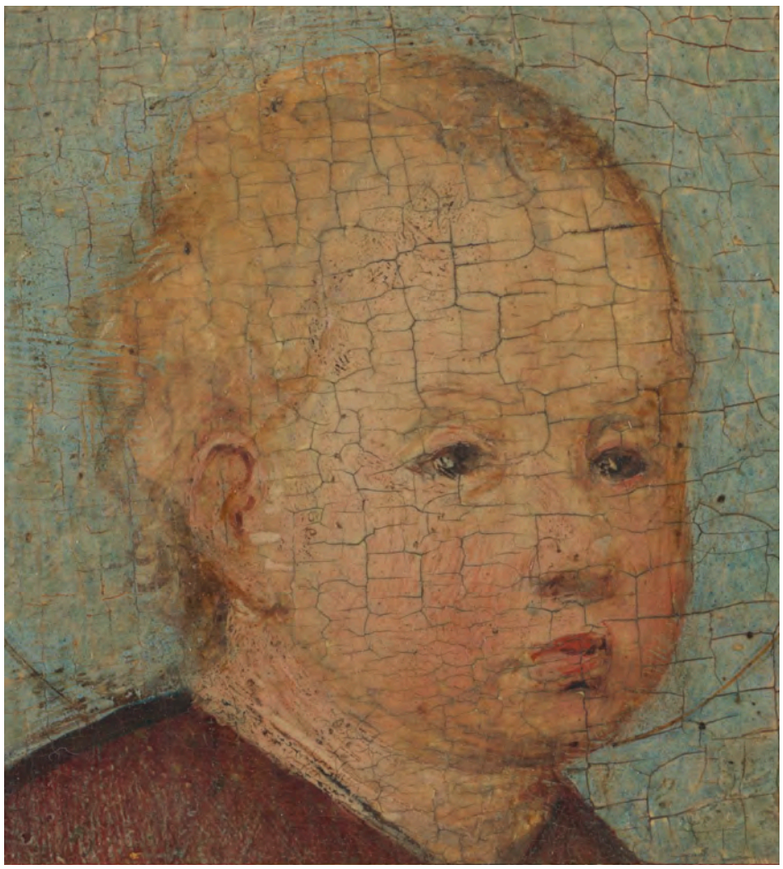
7.9 *Saint Christopher* [CAT 7]



7.10 *Saint Jerome* [CAT 1]

tional composition to include scenes like the hanged bear, the hermitage, the flying fish and the sunken ship. This must have been done during the painting process, as the long branch with the little figure in the upper right was added while the paint of the water was still wet. Similarly, only the patch of land in the bottom right corner was initially planned: the patches bottom left and centre were painted on top of the water, and the signature was then added. The latter is very similar to the signature on *Saint John on Patmos* in Berlin (cat. 6). The preparatory underdrawing is closely related to that of other saints' images, including *Saint Jerome*, *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 1, 5 and 6).[17] The ear of the Rotterdam Saint Christopher, meanwhile, is virtually identical to that of Saint Jerome in Ghent. Although Christ is represented in a far less linear way in this painting than he is on the back of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12), he is unmistakably the same child. Lastly, Bosch used the same study for the pose and figure of Saint Christopher as he did for his Saint James the Greater on the closed wings of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 17). The parallel is an interesting one: the first of these saints is the protector of all travellers, while the second watches over pilgrims, especially those to Santiago de Compostela.

7.1
5.11
7.5–8
7.9–10
7.11–12



7.11 Christ Child, *Saint Christopher* [CAT 7]



7.12 Christ Child, *Carrying of the Cross* (Vienna) [CAT 12B]

[1] Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Praise of Folly*, translated by Betty Radice, London 1993, 62–63.

[2] Bittmann 2003.

[3] Lehrs, GKK, 238–39.

[4] 'Cristofore s(anc)te virtutes sunt tibi tante Qui te de mane videt nocturno tempore Ridet.'

[5] The *Passionael* states that he was 'oversized in build and terrible in appearance, and was twelve cubits [roughly six metres] tall' ('alte groet van maecsel ende vreselic van aensichte, ende hi was xij cubitus lanc').

[6] *Passionael Somerstuc* 1482, fol. 110–12v.

[7] 'om dattu groot biste van maecsele ende starc van leden wilstu daer sitten biden ryviere ende alle luden over draghen'.

[8] Original quotes in this paragraph: 'daer een kijnedekijn sitten opten oever vander ryvieren, ende het bat cristoffel dat hij hem over woude draghen'; 'Cristoffel nam dat kijnt op sijn scouderen ende nam sinen stoc in sijn hant ende stacse in dye ryviere om over te gaen'; 'Cristoffel en verwonder di niet want du en haddes nyet alleyn op die alle die werelt, mer du heves oeck op dijn scouderen ghedraghen den ghenen die die werelt maecte want ic ben xps die du in desen wercken dienes.'

[9] 'bladeren hadde, als een palmboem, ende hi hadde dadelen daer op'.

[10] Bax 1948, 231–35; Bax 1979, 307; De Bruyn 2005, 30–31.

[11] Dinzelbacher 2002.

[12] As far as we can tell, it is unique.

[13] De Bruyn 2005, 31.

[14] *ΙΧΘΥΣ – Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ.*

[15] British Library, London, Add. 11575, ch. 29, fol. 76 col. b; *Spieghel* ed. 1998; De Bruyn 2001, 271–72.

[16] 'dat is dat cruys ons Heren'. Sigmaringen, Hofbibliothek, hs. 49 fol. 118r–19v: 'Hoe dat wi te Roem sellen gaen'. Koldeweij 2000, 229; Miedema 2003, 408–09.

[17] See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

8 *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1495–1505

Oil on oak panel, left wing 105.2 × 27.5 cm, central panel 105.2 × 62.7 cm, right wing 104.7 × 27.9 cm
Signed central panel, lower left: *Jheronimus bosch*
Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Venice, 14–25 November 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 8, RR 21–26; //Boschproject.org no. 8.

Condition
The triptych panels have retained their original format, but their reverses were thinned and cradled. A possible remnant of a red bole suggests that the (now-lost) original, engaged frame was gilded. The panel surfaces are undulating and some old woodworm damage as well as several cracks were observed. Despite a history of raised paint issues, the layers are generally well adhered. The painting is severely abraded and there are many restored losses. Given, moreover, that red lakes have faded and light paints have increased in transparency, most red clothing has lost its original finish. The overpainted donors and other alterations have become more visible over time. Disturbing retouchings, the greyish surface layer and poor varnish result in an uneven appearance of the painting. Conservation issues were addressed in the 2013–15 full treatment of the painting.

Provenance
Before 1664–1838 Venice, Palazzo Ducale; 1838–1919 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; 1919–2011 Venice, Palazzo Ducale; since 2011 Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 8, RR 21–26; Fischer 2013, 179–84, 251–52; Koreny 2012, 28, 95; Limentani Virdis 2010, 232–42; Silver 2006, 208–11; Aikema 2001, 25–31; Klein 2001, 126; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 171–72; Limentani Virdis 1992, 86–91; Marijnissen 1987, 15, 260–69; Campbell 1981, 467–73; Slatkes 1975, 335–45; Tolnay 1965, I, 274–77; II, 368–69; Bax 1961; Von Baldass 1959, 42; Von Baldass 1943, 31–32, 35, 60, 68, 69–70, 71, 97, 242; Gessler 1938, 134–37; Gessler 1937; Friedländer 1934, 84, 98, 151; Friedländer 1921, 80, 192.

Analysis
The triptych showing Saint Wilgefortis has been in Venice for over 350 years. However, there are no unambiguous sources documenting the painting's presence in the city from the sixteenth century onwards. The Bosch Research and Conservation Project has shown that the triptych was conceived as an ensemble from the outset, and that any dispute as to the identity of the crucified female martyr can be ruled out. It has also become clear that the triptych is of excellent quality and deserves to be placed unequivocally in Bosch's core oeuvre.



8A

THE TRIPTYCH

The restoration performed in 2013–15 has given back to the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* its legibility and rich colour, along with some of its earlier lustre. The figure groups and the landscape have regained much of their original depth and plasticity. Greater clarity has also been achieved regarding the creation of the triptych, whose wings were overpainted at an early stage (most likely before it left the workshop) while respecting and utilizing the original composition. The profusion and intensity of the reds in the central panel are even more striking now than they were before restoration. Most of the red garments have a red base, followed by a modelling layer, mostly of lead white, and finally a red lake glaze. This bright red base is not found in most other paintings by Bosch. The painting thus appears to have been constructed very deliberately to use colour to seize the viewer's attention. Only when approached more closely and viewed more attentively does the work gradually reveal its details, depth and finesse.

The earliest description of the triptych of a crucified female martyr is that of Marco Boschini in 1664: '… another painting in three parts, in which one sees the martyrdom of a female saint on the cross, with many figures, and one in particular that has fallen unconscious to the ground, supported by others; it was painted by *Girolamo Basi*'.[1] At that time the triptych hung in a corridor in the Doge's Palace in Venice. It was mentioned again when a new edition of the guide was published in 1664, including several comments on the previous description: '… a painting in three parts with the martyrdom of a crowned male saint,



8B



8C

not of a female saint, [and] not by Girolamo Bassi, but by *Girolamo Bolch*, as may be seen written in white German [Gothic] letters'.[2] The author of this quotation, Antonio Maria Zanetti, thus believed he was seeing a male saint. His nephew and namesake, Antonio Maria Zanetti il Giovane, returned to the subject of the triptych in the Doge's Palace in a later publication of 1771. The martyr's gender was less clear to him, causing him to write that this was 'a male or a female saint'.[3] He transcribed the signature as *Jeronimus Bosch*, leaving out the first *h*: Italians were anything but used to reading Gothic script.

The younger Zanetti also noted that the two works by *Girolamo Bosch da Bolduch* (that is, 'from Bois-le-Duc' – French for 's-Hertogenbosch) in the Doge's Palace comprised a total of six panels. Both triptychs – this one and the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2) – were probably displayed at the time in a way that concealed the reverses of their wings, as these are not mentioned in any of the sources, prompting the question of whether they might have been lost at an early stage. In 1740 the *Wilgefortis Triptych* was in the Sala dei Tre Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci.[4] It was still recorded there in 1837, before being sent to Vienna a year later.[5] If the paintings – presumably grisailles – on the closed wings had not disappeared already, they were certainly removed between 1838 and 1919, when the backs of all the panels were cradled.[6]

As we have seen, the three Venetian authors did not know the identity of the crucified figure and differed as to the saint's gender. The feminine physique was decisive for Boschini, while the elder Zanetti probably focused more on the facial hair, which must have been more clearly visible at the time. It was confirmed during the thorough restoration performed in 2013–15 that the martyr did indeed have a beard originally. This is an important observation, as it not only explains the hesitation expressed by the younger Zanetti, it also concludes a debate triggered in 1937 by the Flemish folklorist Jozef Gessler,[7] who was the first to suggest that the crucified young woman was the martyr Wilgefortis. This saint was venerated throughout northern Europe in the late Middle Ages, where she was also known by the name 'Uncumber' in a variety of forms and spellings. Gessler's view contradicted the received opinion that this was the relatively unknown Saint Julia, whose cult was chiefly located in the Brescia region of Italy. Hermann Dollmayr had confidently proposed this identification in 1898, when the triptych was still in Vienna, and his conclusion had been widely adopted by subsequent authorities.[8] It was even cited as one of the principal arguments in favour of a presumed visit to Italy by Bosch – a hypothesis that continues to crop up regularly, but which as yet remains unproven.[9]

8.1

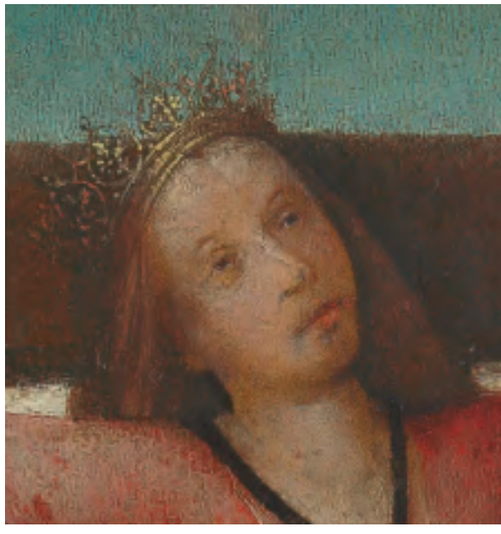
Bosch gave the crucified virgin a light beard, as did Hans Memling in the Wilgefortis figure on the closed left wing of his 1480 *Triptych* of *Adriaan Reins* in St John's Hospital in Bruges.[10] The martyr remained an attractive young princess, despite the facial hair, but the miraculous beard spared her having to marry a non-Christian.[11] Her heathen father responded furiously and had her crucified in the manner of Jesus Christ, whom she refused to renounce.

8.2

Bosch turned this crucifixion scene into a complex figure study, with considerable drama. The T-shaped cross to which Wilgefortis is bound has been positioned at the centre of the painting, where it towers above two groups of men, one on either side. The pair of finely dressed individuals in the right-hand foreground seem to be responsible for her condemnation and execution. The figures behind them look on, while one man points an accusing finger at the victim. The group on this side of the cross recalls images of the baying crowd in Ecce Homo scenes. The figures on the left create a very different impression; these bystanders seem to have come to their senses and to have realized the gravity of the crucifixion.[12] Together, they are reminiscent of depictions of the Conversion of Saul. The man at the front falls backwards in a faint and is caught by two monks. The mi-parti-coloured hose worn by this figure includes a little embroidered owl sitting on a bare branch, no doubt intended as a symbol of evil.[13] Bosch decorated this garment with expensive embroidery incorporating a large number of pearls, telling us that this is an important and wealthy personage.[14] His fine cloak is fastened with a pin on which another bird can be seen.[15]

8.3

8.1 Saint Wilgefortis or Uncumber [CAT 8B]





8.2 Hans Memling, Saint Wilgefortis. Detail of *Triptych of Adriaan Reins*. Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges



8.3 Little owl on the hose of the fainted man [CAT 8B]



8.4 [CAT 8B]

DONORS

The vast landscape beyond the crucified martyr contains a church on the right and originally ran continuously into both wings, providing a background for two male donors. These were overpainted centuries ago, but can be made out clearly in X-ray and infrared images of the painting.[16] The two men kneel, their hands clasped together, and observe the scene in the central panel; they are positioned just above the low wall, which was already present in this preliminary composition. Each wears a wide-sleeved cloak with a brown fur collar, and a hat with a turned-up brim. The figure in the left wing wears a dark-blue toga and a reddish shirt. His counterpart on the right has a very dark cloak worn over a green, long-sleeved shirt, on top of which the artist laid a transparent layer of reddish-brown paint to create the effect of shot silk. The straight neckline of his shirt was decorated with an embroidered pattern.[17] We do not have sufficient evidence at this point to identify these donors or to place them in their sociocultural context. There is no reason, however, to suppose that they are Italians, as has been claimed repeatedly on the grounds of their costume.[18] 8A, 8C 8.5, 8.6

The wings were painted in at least three phases. In the first of these, the donors were placed in landscapes, with a large expanse of sky, which was rendered more consistently across all the panels. Adjustments were then made and the painting was completed in the second phase. The final phase included the overpainting of the donors, in the course of which substantial alterations were made to the landscapes; parts of the central panel were also painted over.[19]

During the second phase, the donor in the left wing was given a hat, the one worn by the donor on the right was adjusted, and their shoulders were made squarer. It was probably during this phase too that the neck of the martyr in the central panel was altered. The landscape near the donor's head in the right wing was adjusted, the initially higher coastline was lowered and the whale and the sinking ships were added. The warship and the fanciful architecture – the foremost tower is topped with an owl-like structure – were not left in reserve in the preparatory layer and might also have originated during the second phase.[20] 8.7

Saint Anthony was added to the left wing during the final phase, now against the background of a burning city, to which end most of the panel was overpainted. The whole of the



8.5 XR



8.6 IRR of the donors during restoration [CAT 8A, 8C]

hollow tree to the left of the central panel was added, with its branches and foliage painted over the sky. Several green sections of landscape were painted brown, probably to make the transition to the dark, overpainted left wing less abrupt. The clouds in the central panel and the right wing, of which little now remains, are also likely to have been done during the third phase. The whole of the zone containing the donor in the right wing was painted over, from the parapet to the whale. The two large figures that have been added presumably relate to the scene in the central panel. The donors were painted over while respecting and exploiting the original composition. The cloak of the donor in the left wing, for instance, was substantially recycled in the one worn by Saint Anthony. What is more, the execution of the overpainting is closely related to the first and second painting phases. The skilfully rendered detail of the hanged man on the far right actually belongs to the final phase.[21] The overpainting is thus likely to have been done in Bosch's workshop as well, even though the

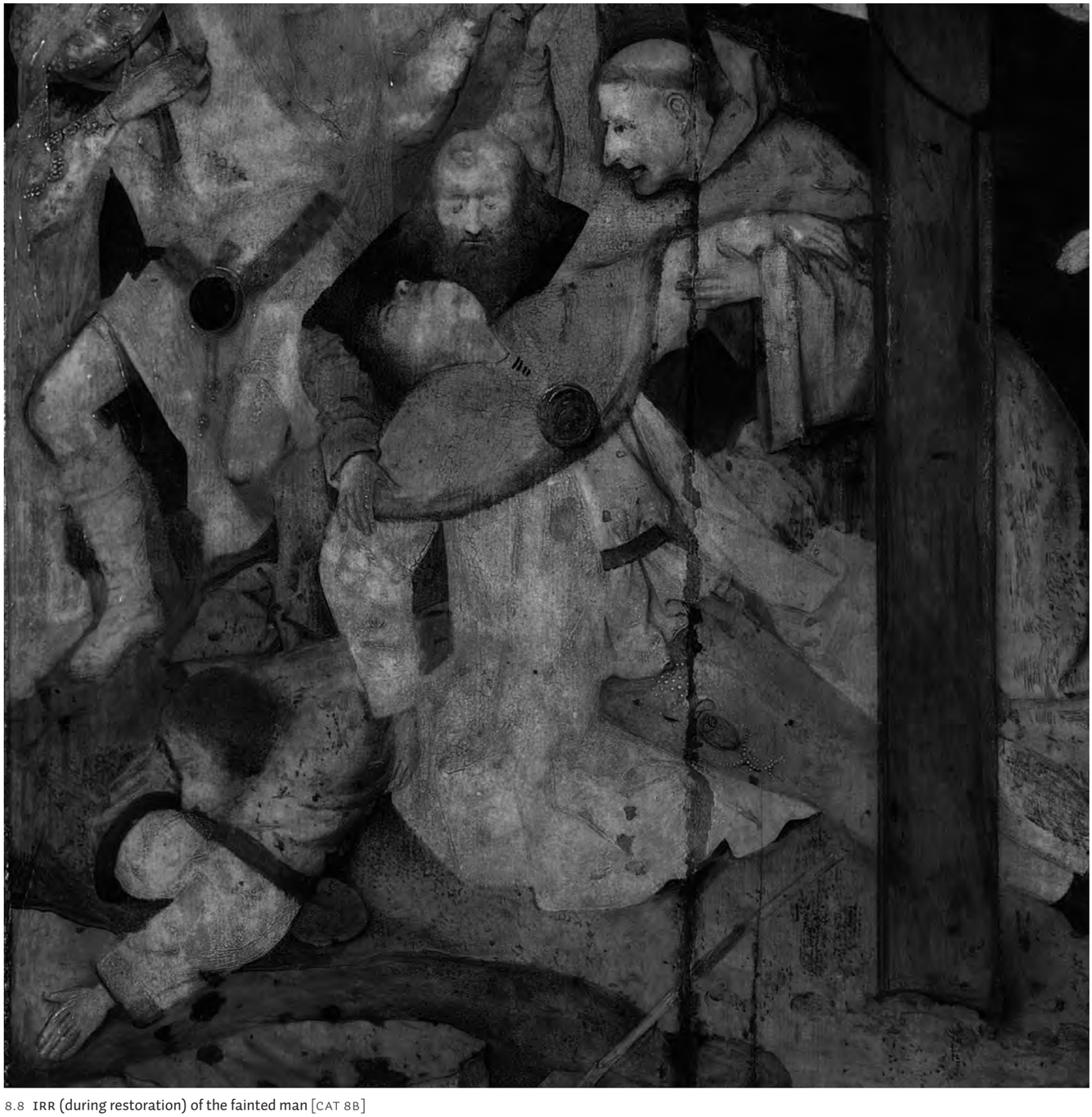


8.7 Tower topped with an owl-like structure [CAT 8C]

execution feels a little cruder. The central panel has generally been painted more precisely than the overpainted wings, with a defter touch and greater virtuosity. The elements are larger yet more refined, as we see in the two men in the right foreground. 8.9 [CAT 8B]

Apparently, the donors were overpainted shortly after they had been included in the composition. It is not inconceivable that both men deceased before the triptych was completed and that the painter had to find another destination for the work. According to a 's-Hertogenbosch chronicle of 1496, around the time the triptych was painted, the city was affected by an outbreak of the 'Spanish' pox, also known as 'Job's disease'.[22]

Because of the poor condition of the triptych and the overpainting, it was only possible to reveal fragments of the underdrawing. Where the latter could be documented – in the cloak of the swooning figure at the foot of the cross, for instance – it closely matches the style and method found in the underdrawing of other paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. 8.8, 8.9



8.8 IRR (during restoration) of the fainted man [CAT 8B]





8.10 Fleeing the fire [CAT 8A]

DATING AND PROVENANCE

Dendrochronological dating of the central panel indicates that the triptych was definitely produced after 1491, and most probably after 1493. The triptych's original destination is not known. Saint Wilgefortis was venerated in many places in Brabant and Flanders,[23] with her most important shrine – said traditionally to be her burial place – located in Steenbergen in the west of Brabant. There was also an altar dedicated to the female martyr in St John's in 's-Hertogenbosch. A local chronicle stated around 1550 that an image of *Oncummera barbata* – 'Uncumber with a beard' – could be seen on the altar,[24] a reference that has been seized on to identify St John's Church as the original home of the Venice triptych. Elsewhere, however, the author of the chronicle names Hieronymus Bosch explicitly (see cat. 5 and 6) and he would undoubtedly have done so here too if relevant. For the time being therefore, the identity of the two donors, the location for which the triptych was made, and the reason why it was reworked so soon after completion cannot be determined.

The triptych found its way to Venice at a relatively early date, together with two other triptychs of almost identical form and size, the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2) and the Bruges *Last Judgement* (cat. 16). *Saint Wilgefortis* and the *Hermit Saints* remained there, while the *Last Judgement* later returned to the Southern Netherlands by way of the Balearic Islands.



[1] '… un'altro quadro in tre comparti, ove si vede il martirio d'una Santa in Croce, con molte figure, & in particolare uno in terra caduto in fuenimento, sostenuto da diversi: & è dipinto da Girolamo Basi'. Boschini 1664, *Sestier di S. Marco*, 24; Boschini 1674, *Sestier di S. Marco*, 19.

[2] '… e poi vi mette un quadro in trè comparti col martirio di un Santo coronato non d'una Santa, non di Girolamo Bassi, ma di Girolamo Bolch, come vedesi scritto in lettere Tedesche bianche …'. Zanetti 1733, 110.

[3] 'Sono sei compartimenti. … Nei secondi la crocefissione d'un Santo o Santa martire. V'è in esti il nome del Pittore scritto così appunto: *Jeronimus Bosch*'. Zanetti 1771, 491.

[4] Ludwig 1901, II, IV, with as source: *Codex misc. Des Archivio di Stato*, containing the 'Inventario dell'incomparabile tesoro delle Pitture (Magistrato del Sal)'. One of the three Bosch triptychs in Venice (either *Saint Wilgefortis* or the *Hermit Saints Triptych*, which also had an arched top originally) is included in a view of the interior of the Sala dei Tre Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci by Gabriele Bella (1730–1799) in the Pinacoteca Querini Stampalia, Venice. We can see from this painting that the triptych was mounted as three separate panels next to one another in a single large gold frame.

[5] Ludwig 1901, IV.

[6] See also cat. 2, the *Hermit Saints Triptych*. Aug. Schaeffer ('Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses') quoted in 1899 the precise description of no. 653 from the museum catalogue, which makes no reference to painted reverses. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, 'Briefwisseling voor 1945', letter 11 July 1899.

[7] Gessler 1937, 171–73; Gessler 1938, 134–37.

[8] Dollmayr (1898, 289–90), followed immediately by von Frimmel (1899, 462 no. 653). Bax (1961) provides a good historiographical overview.

[9] Slatkes 1975; recently raised again as a point of discussion by Hitchins 2014, 164–68.

[10] Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges, inv. 0000.SJ0177.I.

[11] The legend and iconography of Wilgefortis/Uncumber are dealt with by Gessler 1937; Gessler 1938; Bax 1961, 30–36; Gerlach 1966; Weckwerth 1974.

[12] A seventeenth-century German *vita* of Wilgefortis, which is believed to derive from an earlier hagiography, states that while on the cross, the saint converted up to 5,000 people to Christianity. Bax 1961, 32.

[13] Ilsink 2009; Vandenbroeck 1985.

[14] This fashion, which arose in the early fifteenth century and disappeared again around its end, is known from both visual and written sources. Van Buren and Wieck 2011, 208–11, 307, 373.

[15] The detail cannot be securely identified, but it might be a phoenix.

[16] This was observed during restoration in Venice as early as 1950–51 (XR and IR photographs) and a study carried out at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam in 1958 (IR photographs). Moschini 1952, 79, 81 n. 2; Von Baldass 1959, 42, no. 102, 103; Bax 1961, 7, 14, 38, 44–45, pls. IV, V, XIV, XV (where erroneously an XR is shown rather than an IR photograph). New XR images made after the removal of the cradle and new IR images taken after the painting was cleaned in 2013–15 allow us to view the donors much more clearly.

[17] Observed using a binocular microscope. There was ample opportunity for this during the examination and restoration of the painting.

[18] Bax 1961, 44–45; Slatkes 1975.

[19] Analysis of paint samples revealed a resinous layer – possibly varnish – between the donor figures and the overpainting.

[20] Bosch even painted the birds that are flying towards the owl-like structure. Cf. the corresponding detail on the reverse of *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6), the building to the left of the pelican. In that case, the association with the owl is not developed, though.

[21] The painting of this figure is very similar to that of the reverse of *Saint John on Patmos* and the closed wings of the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 6 and 9). See the website Boschproject.org, link L20.

[22] Van Bavel et al. 2002, 59.

[23] Wichmans 1632, 597–99; Knippenberg 1968, 40–44.

[24] Desmense 1995, 27.

9 *The Adoration of the Magi*

Hieronymus Bosch
1490–1500

Oil on oak panel, left wing 138 × 29.2 cm, central panel 138 × 72 cm, right wing 138 × 33 cm
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P02048
Signed lower left: *Jheronimus bosch*

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Madrid, 1–5 September 2014; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 9, RR 134–139; //Boschproject.org no. 9.

Condition
The engaged frames and hinges are original, with the exception of some sections of the frame of the central panel. The gilding of the frames is largely covered with bronze overpainting. The planks have never been separated, but the two joins in the central panel are partly open and unstable. They were later reinforced with oakum that was glued to the reverse. Shrinkage partly exposed the panel's unpainted edges (now largely overpainted) and led to slight surface rippling. The painting is well preserved, except for the upper right of the left wing grisaille, the foreground landscape and the sky in the open left wing, and the sky in the open right wing. Most damages were restored but many retouchings have discoloured. The original paint is in very good condition, but the highly yellowed and pigmented varnishes largely obscure its visibility. Dark residues in paint interstices and damages to the surface interrupt the fluent modelling of skin tones. The treatment of the painting in 2015–16 addressed several of the conservation issues.

Provenance
Commissioned between 1491 and 1498, probably around 1495, by Peeter Scheyfve and his wife Agnes (Agneese) de Gramme from Antwerp; in 1574 sent to the Escorial by Philip II of Spain. Moved from the Escorial to the Prado on 13 April 1839.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 9, RR 134–139; Fischer 2013, 40, 43–44, 243–44; Acres 2013, 165–70; Koreny 2012, 35–57; Koerner 2010, 63–81; Van Waadenoijen 2007, 48–64; Higgs Strickland 2007, 11–35; Falkenburg 2007, 178–206; Silver 2006, 164–77; Duquenne 2004, 1–19; Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 96–119; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 156–59; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 106–08, 111–12, 117; Pinson 1996, 159–75; Marijnissen 1987, 234–59; Garrido and Van Schoute 1985, 59–77; Unverfehrt 1980, 82–85, 103–10, 123–25; Tolnay 1965, I, 42–44, 295–305; II, 371–73; Brand Philip 1953, 267–93; Von Baldass 1943, 39–41, 247–48; Friedländer 1927, 84, 89–91, 144; Friedländer 1921, 74–76; Gossart 1907, 47, 288.

Analysis
The theme of the *Adoration of the Magi Triptych* is the revelation of Christ as humanity's redeemer. The central panel shows the adoration of the new-born Christ Child by the Three Magi. The closed memorial triptych presents the Mass of Saint Gregory – a scene that emphasizes the constant presence of Christ. The wings depict three generations of the donor's family. The wealthy Antwerp burgher Peeter Scheyfve is shown in the open triptych with his wife and their patron saints, while his father and his son appear on the closed wings. Unusually, the two latter figures are rendered realistically in colour as worshippers who are actually present at the miracle presented in grisaille. The identification of these individuals enables us to date the triptych to between 1491 and 1498, and more probably to around 1495.

CLOSED

9D–E The closed triptych has a semi-grisaille representation of the Mass of Saint Gregory – the manifestation of Christ during the celebration of the Eucharist by Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540–604). Christ is represented as the Man of Sorrows, rising from his tomb and surrounded by nine angels and seven scenes from the Passion. Gregory's Mass developed as a theme in the late fourteenth century and was extremely popular in the second half of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth.[1] When the triptych is opened, the greyish-brown monochrome shades give way to an expansive, brightly lit landscape beneath a blue sky:
9A–C a colourful group of people is depicted in the foreground over the full width of the three panels. The principal figure, the infant Christ born a few days earlier, appears just to the right of centre in the middle panel. The Magi are positioned before him, with the male and female donor kneeling on either side. The presence of the Redeemer is the key element of the scenes in both the open and the closed triptych; from his first incarnation to his crucifixion and resurrection, and henceforth for all eternity (José de Sigüenza referred in this regard to the mysteries of our salvation). At the same time, however, both scenes allude to the threat of doubt and disbelief.

The triptych is one of Bosch's best-preserved works and forms an exceptionally well-conceived ensemble. The Mass of Saint Gregory on the closed wings is painted as a continuous
9.1–2 scene that even runs over the engaged frame in the middle. The visionary episode has a second, *trompe-l'oeil* frame painted around it in light grey, just inside the slightly darker grey physical frame. Within the scene itself, Bosch plays elegantly with the fluid boundary between reality and vision. He has incorporated two male figures – painted realistically and in colour – who kneel in prayer at Pope Gregory's Mass, forming a link as it were between the beholder and the depicted event. The older and the younger man thus witness



9D 9E



9A 9B 9C

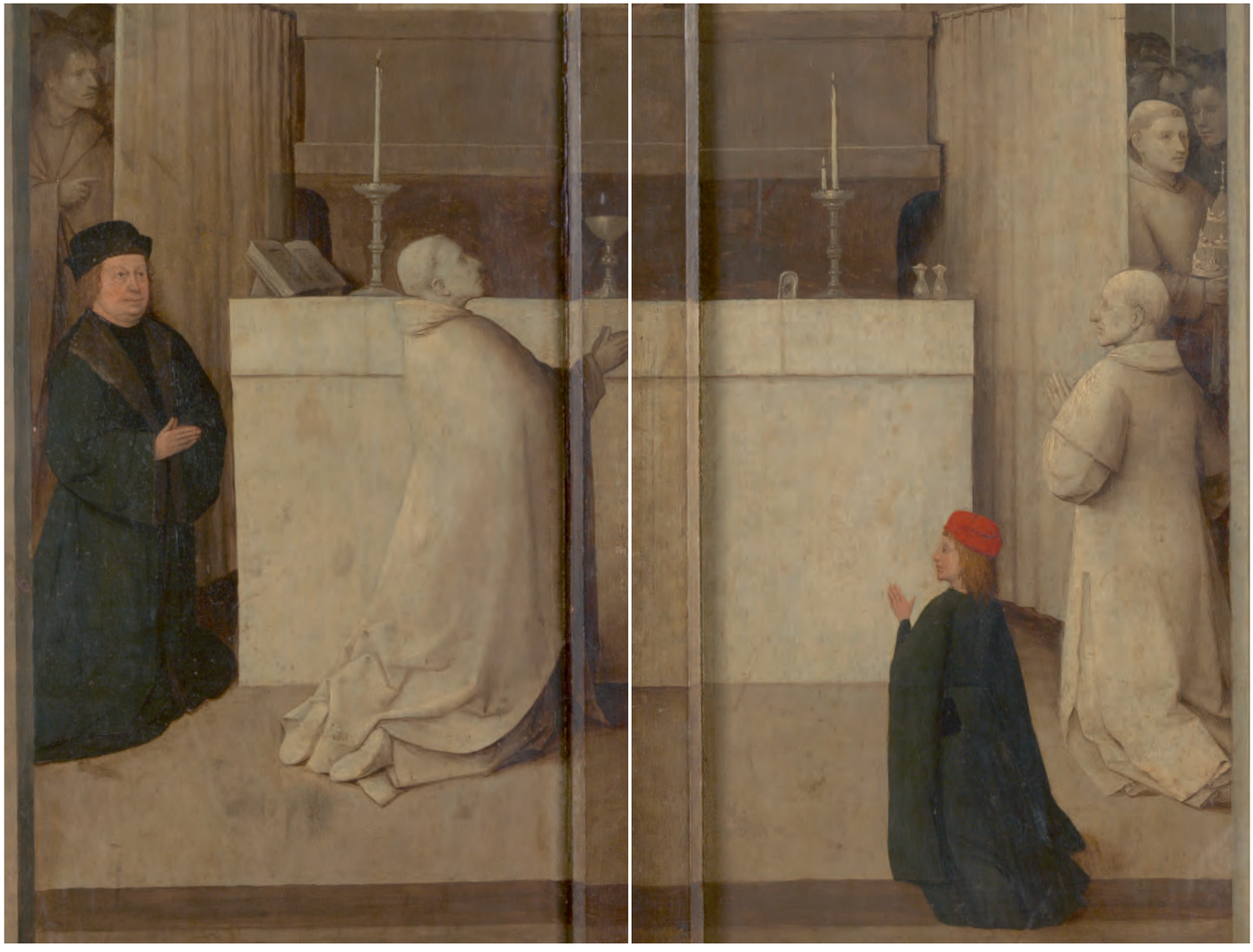


the miracle at first hand. While Gregory was celebrating Mass one day, a member of the congregation questioned the reality of the transubstantiation. Gregory responded by praying for a miracle, upon which Christ appeared to them all to prove the truth of the Catholic doctrine that the bread and the wine are literally transformed into his flesh and blood during the celebration of the Eucharist.[2] The pope kneels before the altar, on which we see liturgical vessels, a pax tablet, an open Gospel or missal, and candlesticks with burning candles. The papal retinue crowds into the space to the rear on either side of the altar and the *cortinae* or altar curtains. Clerics hold his tiara and crosier on the right. A retable stands above the altar, of which the sarcophagus from which Christ rises seems to be part. The viewer sees both the apparition of Christ and the crowd of people gathered on either side of the altar, but do the bystanders see the risen Christ too? The altar curtains appear to screen off the central event, although the pointing figure on the far left emphasizes that something extraordinary is going on. The curtains were only added at the last moment on top of the already-finished background (but before the figures were painted), no doubt to add greater visual weight to the central element of the scene. At the same time, the *cortinae* refer to the concept of concealing and revealing, and so also form a link with the Epiphany scene in the open triptych. A rectangular predella was also painted in the first version of the altar, before being turned into the wide console beneath the sarcophagus. The alteration places greater emphasis on the latter and creates space for the body of the risen Christ. Christ is an almost querulous figure, dressed only in the loincloth, his head with the crown of thorns



9.3 [CAT 9B]

9.2 Mass of Saint Gregory with donors from the Scheyfve family [CAT 9D–E]



9.1 Christ as Man of Sorrows and Passion scenes [CAT 9D–E]




hieronymus bosch







9.5 IRR of the second king [CAT 9B]



9.6 The Antichrist between two kings [CAT 9B]

bowed slightly over his right shoulder. The wounds in his side and in his left hand are the only marks on an otherwise intact body. The way Christ places his left hand over the right here is unusual.[3]

9.1

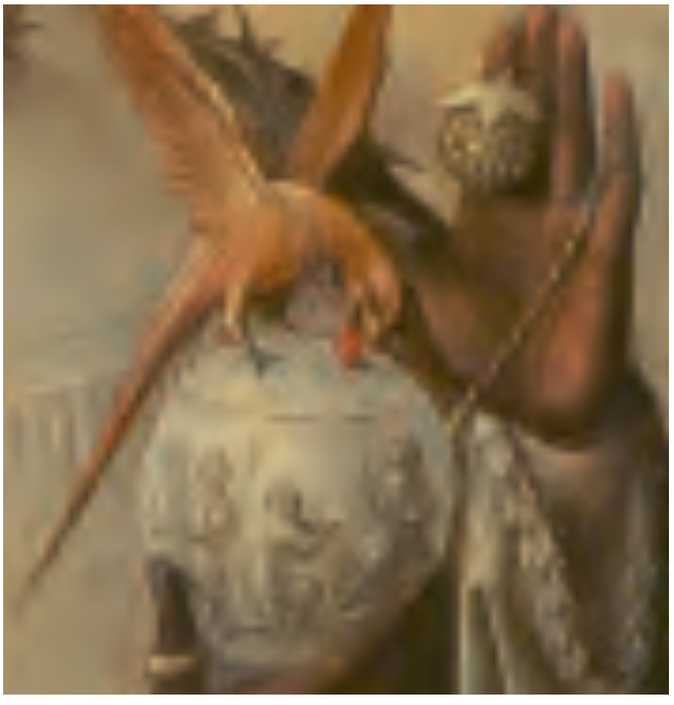
Christ's shadow falls on the lighter central part of the altarpiece, which somewhat resembles a gravestone. The outside edge of this painting within a painting, the shape of which broadly matches that of the closed triptych, shows the Passion of Christ in seven scenes, from the Agony in the Garden to the Crucifixion.[4] Bottom left, we see Jesus praying in the garden: 'My Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not what I want but what you want.' The apostles Peter, John and James are with him, but have fallen asleep (Matthew 26:36–46). The scene depicted opposite shows the Arrest of Christ,[5] with the Flagellation immediately above it. Level with this on the left we see Jesus being brought before Pilate, who sits on his judge's throne holding his judicial staff. His wife whispers to him: 'Have nothing to do with that innocent man, for today I have suffered a great deal because of a dream about him' (Matthew 27:11–25). Moving up a level, Christ is crowned with thorns. Opposite this on the right-hand side we see him carrying his cross to Golgotha, assisted by Simon of Cyrene. The cycle is topped with a Crucifixion scene which – like the figure of Christ appearing to Pope Gregory – is painted entirely on the frame of the triptych. In the three uppermost scenes, what appears to be a painted narrative on the altarpiece merges with the 'reality' of the events depicted in the same space that contains Gregory and the other figures. The crucified Christ with the grieving bystanders and above



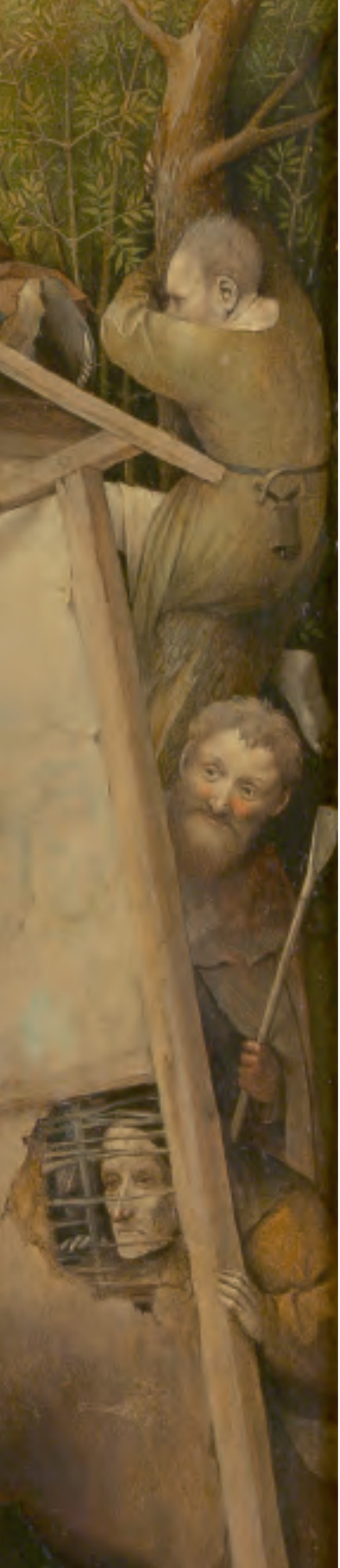
9.7 Sacrifice of Abraham [CAT 9B]



9.8 Protective helmet of the Antichrist's headgear (rotated 180 degrees) [CAT 9B]



9.9 Phoenix standing on the incense-holder of the black king [CAT 9B]



all the setting with the dramatic episodes on and around Mount Golgotha are represented as reality: the sky has turned black, an angel flies down, and a demon surrounded by black
9.1 birds carries off the soul of the remorseful Judas, who has hanged himself. The cross of the penitent Good Thief has already been raised to the right of Christ, and the condemned man sits at its foot awaiting execution. The cross intended for the impenitent Bad Thief is still being brought up on the other side, as is the criminal himself.

Beholding the Redeemer caused the Good Thief to repent, just as Christ's appearance during the Mass of Saint Gregory caused the doubters to rediscover their faith. The two contemporary male figures included in the scene with Saint Gregory observe at close quarters how Christ's manifestation proved his true presence – a fact confirmed to viewers of the triptych by the pointing man behind the *cortina* on the left.

OPEN

The open triptych conveys the same message. Mary shows the new-born Saviour to the Three Wise Men who, full of conviction, have followed the star we see shining above the stable. The ominous figure of the Antichrist also appears, however, in the stable doorway,
9.6 dressed as a fourth king.[6] His malevolence is emphasized by the owl perched high above him in the hayloft, which gazes down unsettlingly, a dead mouse in its claw. The landscape in the background of the central panel contains exotic, identifiably non-Christian armies preparing to confront one another, while further away still, we see the statue of a man
9.18 standing on top of a column, who points to yet another group of horsemen. A standard protrudes above him, topped with a crescent moon, referring once again to heathendom. A group of people dance with abandon in the background of the left wing, while in the one on the right, a couple are attacked by wild animals.

Minutely painted details emphasize the charged nature of the scene. The gift offered by the oldest of the Three Kings lies at Mary's feet. It resembles a medieval table decoration in precious metalwork set with pearls, and shows Abraham being restrained by an angel just
9.7 as he is about to sacrifice his son Isaac – a prefiguration of Christ's death on the cross. The red cloth that has caught on Abraham's sword, the angel's wing and Isaac's bundle of sticks, once again highlights the importance of revelation or epiphany in this painting (*epiphaneia* is Greek for 'appearance' or 'manifestation'). What is revealed here is not only the splendour of the king's present, but also the link between the birth of Jesus (which prompted the gift) and the necessity of his death on the cross to redeem humanity from original sin. The bittersweet nature of the scene as a whole is echoed in this detail, where we notice that the precious gift rests on the back of toads.

The short steel cape or bevor worn by the second king, who brings the Christ Child a gift of myrrh on a silver platter, is decorated with an image of the Queen of Sheba offering gifts to King Solomon (1 Kings 10:1–13) – a prefiguration of the Adoration of the Magi. The lower border depicts the offering made by Manoah and his wife after God announced the birth of their son Samson, who would free the Jewish people from the Philistines (Judges 13:19–23); a prefiguration this time of the Nativity of Christ. The third king, the youngest, holds a spherical gift, which must contain frankincense and which is decorated with the figures of Abner kneeling before King David to add the northern tribes of Israel to the kingdom of Judah (2 Samuel 3:10). This too is a typological reference to the Adoration of the Magi.[7] A
9.9 phoenix stands on top of the incense-holder, gripping a piece of red fruit or a grain of frankincense in its beak. An almost identical bird can be seen in the central panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*.[8] In this case, the phoenix is an allusion to the Resurrection – Christ's sacrifice of his life and subsequent raising from the dead.

The figure in the stable doorway, dressed as a fourth king, has a face and neck tanned by the sun. The red cloak draped loosely around him emphasizes the paleness of his body, which is partly veiled in gauze. Cloak and veil are normally concealing elements, but here they serve to reveal the man's sickly and disfigured body. A crystal sheath with gold fastenings has been slid over a nasty wound in his lower right leg. He also wears a gold bracelet

9.10 Shepherds [CAT 9B]



9.11 IRR: shepherds [CAT 9B]

around his right upper arm, attached by a chain to the protective helmet – held in his left hand – that fits over his strange, round headgear. The latter is circled by a crown of thorns and topped with another crystal tube, set in gold, from which sprouts a delicate blue flower, identifiable as speedwell. Because of its colour, the latter was associated with the Virgin Mary and alluded symbolically to the Salvation. The weird crown worn by this 'fourth king' thus refers to the Nativity, the Passion and Christ's redemption of humanity. The outer helmet (possibly in chased silver) seems at first sight – not least because of its colour scheme – to belong to the second king; however, its shape and the opening to accommodate the crystal tube with the flower, clearly show that this is not the case.[9] The virginal white birds on the helmet's lower edge are harassed by the little men placed above them. One of them gets a nasty peck from a long, pointed beak; the figure on the far right wearing a Jewish-style hat tries to filch one of the precious stones. The questionable identity of the 'fourth king' is heightened by the pearl ring that pierces his thigh. Bosch subtly arranged a series of disquieting details like this to enable viewers to deduce the identity of this mysterious figure, who enters the scene from the stable, for themselves. He is the Antichrist – a 'revelation' that forms a pendant to the painting's central epiphany: the revelation of Jesus Christ. The Feast of the Epiphany (6 January) centres on the recognition and acknowledgement of 'Christ in Jesus', whose sacrifice is required to complete the story of the salvation and the redemption of humanity. Without sin there can be no redemption, and without Christ's death on the cross, there can be no resurrection. Viewed in this light, the 'fourth king' is a negative element that must be present if the positive is to be realized.[10] The importance of the Antichrist figure placed full height against the dark interior of the stable was developed during the painting process; another standing figure was initially drawn here – an old man leaning on a staff.

9.8

9.6

The stable takes the form of a typical Brabant *hoekboerderij* – a farmhouse type with a distinctive concave corner. Bosch deliberately painted it in this dilapidated, not to say structurally impossible, manner. A shepherd lies on the roof next to a shepherdess with a bagpipe. Four other shepherds are depicted behind the stable; one of them climbs into the stump of a dead ash tree, which sprouts fresh young branches at the bottom with the characteristic compound leaf – a withered tree from which new life springs. Two other shepherds observe the scene through a hole in the wall, while a fourth peers round the edge. Bosch's constantly evolving creative process is illustrated by the way he painted the

9.12





9.11 six shepherds. Only a few of them were prepared in the underdrawing and even they were repositioned during painting. The couple on the stable roof were not drawn in advance but were added in phases: the figure with the bagpipe was painted first, in a space left blank in the thatching, while the figure to the rear with the shepherd's staff was added much later, after the roof had been completed. Alterations like this are clear proof that the central panel of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado served as the prototype for the numerous copies of this composition. The style and method of underdrawing in the open triptych seamlessly match those of other paintings in the core group.[11]

WINGS AND DONORS

The elderly Joseph sits on an upturned basket in the middle ground of the left wing. He is drying pieces of cloth over a wood fire beneath an improvised awning in the ruins of a large house. Bosch used a shred of gold leaf here as the base layer to add lustre to the flames. Light falls from the doorway at the back of the ruin to the left, even though the space glimpsed
9.13 through it is utterly black. The Gothic doorway is decorated with sculptures. A toad-like figure performs a handstand on top of the pointed arch. The unidentifiable remains of a statue stand on the console on the left, while on the right we see a prophet whose pointed hat tells us he is Jewish. He points backwards with one hand into the darkness and forwards with the other at Joseph and the Adoration of the Magi in the central panel. His gesture seems to be emphasized by the dancing figures on either side of the doorway. In this way, the prophet makes the link between the 'darkness' of the Old Testament and the mystery of the Salvation – the central theme of the triptych, which is reiterated in other details, including the aforementioned typologies. The scene depicted on the hem of the cloak worn by the black king's page, showing a large, monstrous fish on legs devouring a smaller fish, ought probably to be interpreted in the same sense.[12]

The donors are shown in the foreground of the wings, accompanied by their respective patron saints. They appear in the same plane as the Adoration in the central panel, making them present, as it were, in the principal scene. The coat of arms of the man in the left wing was identified as early as 1893 as that of the Scheyfve family from Antwerp. Xavier Duquenne refined that information by naming the couple as the Antwerp dignitaries Peeter Scheyfve and Agneese de Gramme.[13] Scheyfve was a cloth-dresser who rose to become the dean and elder of the Antwerp weavers' corporation, and also served as a steward and city alderman.[14] Having grown rich, he purchased the seigniory of Niel, to the south of Antwerp, a year before his death.[15] His patron saint, the Apostle Peter, stands behind him
9.16–17 protectively; the Scheyfve family arms are depicted by the edge of the panel,[16] below their
9.14 motto 'een voer al' ('one for all') in gold letters. Agneese de Gramme, whom Peeter Scheyfve married following the death of his first wife in or shortly before 1491, kneels in the right wing. Agneese did not have any children and she died between 1496 and 1498. Saint Agnes,
9.15 her name saint, is shown full-length behind her, together with the de Gramme family arms – a fleur-de-lis on a silver shield. The arms were prepared slightly smaller at first, the position indicated by means of an incision. Agnes can be identified by the lamb lying a little way off in the landscape. Surprisingly, although it is her principal attribute, the lamb was not originally planned and was painted on top of the green and grey base layer of the background, followed by the foliage. It is almost identical to the lamb in the panel with John the Baptist in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid, which was also painted over the finished background (cat. 5).[17] Peeter Scheyfve and his wife are both dressed entirely in black, apart from Agneese's bright-red underskirt. Their sleeves are trimmed with the same expensive
> IV : FIG 18 black damask we see in the man's shirt. This is undoubtedly a reference to his profession as cloth-dresser, in which he was evidently very successful.



9.13 Joseph [CAT 9A]

DATING AND COMMISSION

A dendrochronological analysis has recently been performed on this triptych too: it could have been made from 1472 onwards, but a date after 1474 would be more probable statistically.[18] The painting itself ought to be dated somewhat later, given the identity of the depicted couple, namely between 1491 and 1498. There is no evidence to suggest that it was painted for the altar of the Antwerp weavers' corporation in the Church of Our Lady, where the guild's patron saint, Severus, was venerated.[19] It was more likely intended as a memorial work for display near the Scheyfve family's graves, possibly on an altar in a chapel of their own. Duquenne tentatively identified the realistically presented men in the Mass of Saint Gregory scene as the still young Jan Scheyfve, Peeter Scheyfve's son from his first 9.2
marriage to Barbele van Woelputte, and his uncle Jan Scheyfve, or – more likely – his stepgrandfather Peeter de Gramme. In making this identification, Duquenne assumed that the two were only added later, some time around 1507.[20] However, since both figures form an integral part of the paint structure, they must actually be a young man and an older gentleman who had some direct personal relevance to the donor, Peeter Scheyfve, at the time the triptych was painted. Duquenne reconstructed Peeter Scheyfve's family tree very precisely and this, combined with the aforementioned analysis, leads to a single plausible alterna-



9.14 Coat of arms Peeter Scheyfve [CAT 9A]



9.15 Coat of arms Agneese de Gramme [CAT 9C]



9.16 Alderman's seal stamp of Peeter Scheyfve, 1500. FelixArchief, Antwerp, Zegels en Matrijzen, 459



9.17 Peeter Scheyfve's coat of arms in *'Segels Bewaert wordende in de secretarije der Stadt Antwerpen'*, mid-17th century. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, MS 19.447, fol. 6r

tive: the older man will be Claus (Nicolaas) Scheyfve, Peeter's father, while the young man is indeed most likely his son Jan. Nicolaas Scheyfve died in, or just before, 1495. In view of his son's age, he must certainly have been around sixty years old. His eldest grandson, Jan, was still a minor in 1506. He married in 1509 and will have been aged under ten in 1495. The younger Jan Scheyfve died in 1548.[21] It might have been Claus Scheyfve's death that prompted the commission for the memorial triptych. To summarize, then, the open triptych shows Peeter Scheyfve as donor with his wife Agneese de Gramme, while the contemporary figures in the closed wings are probably Peeter's father Claus Scheyfve and his son Jan. Taken together, the triptych's various panels – dedicated as a memorial around 1495 – thus commemorate three generations of the Scheyfve family. We find the same thing, along with a number of other details, in Hieronymus Bosch's workshop five years later in the triptych of Petrus van Os and Henrickxen van Langel (cat. 24).

9.18 [CAT 9B]



[1] Westfehling 1982, passim.

[2] The ninth-century *Vita Sti Gregorii Magni* by John the Deacon (Johannes Hymonides) recounts that a woman who had baked the bread for Mass burst out laughing when Gregory, the celebrant, presented it during the service as the body of Christ. The pope asked for a sign and a bloody finger appeared on the piece of unleavened bread. This miracle tale was adopted by the *Legenda aurea* and was the seed from which the later version grew in which Christ appears to Gregory as the Man of Sorrows. Westfehling 1982, 17–18.

[3] This motif was originally drawn the same way in the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo*, but is different in the final painting (cat. 11).

[4] Bosch also appears to have worked several numerological symbols into his Mass: three burning candles on the altar, which are probably a deliberate allusion to the Holy Trinity; nine angels, which might refer to the celestial hierarchy of the nine angelic orders; and seven scenes representing the Passion and Christ's death on the cross.

[5] Christ is shown here, as the pendant of the centrally positioned Man of Sorrows and in a more iconographically conventional way, with his right hand placed over his left, as we also see in the *Crowning with Thorns* in London (cat. 14), and the Ecce Homo scenes in Frankfurt (cat. 11) and Boston (cat. 24).

[6] Brand Philip 1953; Higgs Strickland 2007.

[7] The blockbook of the *Biblia Pauperum*, East Middle German, c. 1455, for instance, shows the *Adoration of the Magi* with Solomon and the Queen of Sheba on one side, and David and Abner on the other. Heidelberg, University Library Cod. Pal. germ. 438, fol. 112v.

[8] Cf. also the *Adoration of the Magi* in New York (cat. 10).

[9] An ornate helmet-shaped crown was drawn on the ground in front of the king in the middle, but was never painted (see the website Boschproject.org, link L16). His steel cape was also different at first, in both the underdrawing and the preliminary painted version.

[10] There was another spectator in the darkness behind the fourth king, who belonged to the group gathered in the stable. The man was painted out completely to place even greater emphasis on the Antichrist, but can still be made out in the IRR. See the website Boschproject.org, link L17.

[11] The grisaille on the closed wings was painted without any preparatory underdrawing.

[12] Ilsink 2015, 5.

[13] Hymans 1893, 234; Vandenbroeck 2002, 176, 314 (source not stated); Duquenne 2004; Duquenne 2009.

[14] Peeter Scheyfve became guild steward in 1495 and alderman in 1500. Wouters 2000–01, 125, 146. He was one of three stewards named in the years 1502–04, along with his father-in-law Peeter de Gramme, who served in 1495 and again in 1501–05. Stewards were appointed for three-year terms. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, MS 19447, fol. 86v–87.

[15] Wouters 2000–01, 146–47; Duquenne 2004; see also Prims 1933, 247 no. 30.

[16] Bands a) in vert (green) three argent (silver) animals' heads in argent, b) gules (red) with overhanging collars or drops of blood from the animals' heads in a). Shield roofed with silver helmet with mantling of gules, vert and silver, and a wreath of gules and argent; the crest a silver animal's head with a pair of wings in gules and vert.

[17] See the website Boschproject.org, link L18.

[18] Peter Klein examined the panels in 2014 on behalf of the BRCP. The most recent growth ring dates from 1461.

[19] Prims 1939, 30.

[20] Duquenne 2004, 17, after Marijnissen 1987, 240, with reference to Carmen Garrido, Museo del Prado. Koreny 2012, 53–54, 56–57 argues on the one hand that both men were planned from the outset and on the other – following Duquenne's example – that they were not added until around 1507 by the 'Maler des Prado-Heuwagens'. We see no evidence in support of the latter idea. See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 9, RR 134–139.

[21] Duquenne 2004, 4–5. This Jan Scheyfve served as an Antwerp alderman in 1516/17, 1518/19 and 1519/20. Wouters 2000–01, 146–47, 165, 200–201 no. 104.



9.19 [CAT 9B]



10 *The Adoration of the Magi*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1470–80

Oil on oak panel, 71.1 x 56.7 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1913, 13.26

BRCP examination and documentation data:
New York, 16–17 April 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 10, RR 55–56; //Boschproject.org no. 10.

Condition
The panel is slightly cropped on all sides and three strips of wood were added to its thinned reverse, after which it was cradled and coated with a thick layer of wax. The panel undulates slightly and has an old crack in the upper right. Adhesion of both paint and ground appears good, and previously raised paint issues have been consolidated locally using a syringe to inject glue. Numerous other tiny holes are the result of metal soap aggregate formation. There are many restored losses of differing size in the painting, the largest being close to the bottom edge and the lower left edge, especially in the lower part of Joseph's green robe. Abrasion locally severely damaged the paint, for example in the pinkish highlights in the face of the magus at the back. The varnish has an even appearance and the painting is properly legible.

Provenance
From 1903 Friedrich Lippmann, Berlin; 1912 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acquired from the Friedrich Lippmann collection, auction Rudolph Lepke, Berlin, 26–27 November 1912, no. 38).

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 10, RR 55–56; Fischer 2013, 264; Koreny 2012, 264; Silver 2006, 155; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 218, 221 no. 8.1, 225; exhib. cat. New York 1998, 36, 66, 74, 258–59; Unverfehrt 1980, 123–25, 249; Tolnay 1965, II, 383; Von Baldass 1943, 38–39; Tolnay 1937, 103; Friedländer 1927, 88–90, 143; Burroughs 1913, 130–33; Glück 1904, 182.

Analysis
The *Adoration of the Magi* was attributed to Hieronymus Bosch at the beginning of the twentieth century. Doubt was cast on this identification from the 1930s onwards, but the painting has once again been considered autograph since 2001. The rather laboured central perspective and the varying quality of the different elements suggest that this is a relatively early painting by Bosch. The fairly copious use of gold leaf is also something we do not find in any other of his works. The scene is traditional and straightforward in its iconography.



10.1

THE THREE KINGS

This is an unusual dog for Bosch. We normally find unassuming mutts in his paintings, but not here; this is a noble-looking hound, which must belong to one of the Three Wise Men who have come to pay tribute to the new-born Christ. He sits perkily in the foreground, waiting obediently for the end of the ceremony. The dog was planned from the outset, as he can already be found in the underdrawing, but he is also isolated, employed to fill a space that would otherwise be quite empty. He resembles a sticker applied to a picture made of disconnected elements. Putting it in these terms does this charming painting a disservice, yet it does capture something of its naivety. The New York *Adoration* is as light as its counterpart in the Prado (cat. 8) is serious and carefully conceived. 10.1

The episode depicted in this early painting by Bosch is the visit of the Three Kings who have come to present their gifts to the Christ Child, as described in Matthew 2:9–11.[1] The *Passionael* – the Middle Dutch version of the *Legenda aurea* – adds all manner of details to Matthew's barebones account of Christ's birth, several of which became part of the iconographic tradition.[2] It recounts for instance that Joseph, Jesus's foster father, took an ox to Bethlehem to sell and a donkey on which the heavily pregnant Mary could ride. The ox and the ass are shown to the left of the ruined building. Shepherds and a flock of sheep can be seen in the background, while two more shepherds lean through the window opening on the right to warm their hands over a fire. The centre of the composition is occupied by the Virgin and Child, who receive the adoration of the Kings, known as Caspar, Balthasar and Melchior. The gifts they offer as a tribute to the new-born king are represented in the painting as gold objects decorated with pearls. The three men are identifiable as kings from their crowns and their expensive clothes. Their oldest member kneels and offers a gift of gold in the form of an exotic pitcher on a large dish. The rearmost king, dressed in a turban and brocade, holds a Gothic ciborium in the shape of a tower in both hands. It will be filled with myrrh, given that this is what the equivalent figure offers in the *Adoration of the Magi Triptych* in the Prado. The black king, the youngest of the three, holds a spherical ciborium in his right hand. The bird on the lid is a phoenix, a legendary creature said to feed on



10

incense, indicating that this is a gift of frankincense. The gilded bird is part of the precious metalwork, unlike the live one we find in the Prado *Adoration*, which takes a red grain from another spherical container (cat. 9B). According to myth the phoenix also filled its nest with incense before bursting into flame and rising from the ashes. This self-sacrifice and resurrection explain why the phoenix is a symbol of Christ in the *Physiologus* (a collection of didactic animal tales), in bestiaries and the wider visual tradition.[3] As in the two other Adorations (cat. 9 and 24) and in keeping with tradition,[4] the Three Kings also represent the three ages of man and the three then-known continents. It was customary from around the mid-fifteenth century to depict one of the kings, usually the youngest, as a black man, and Bosch did likewise in his various renditions of the theme. In each case, the black king is dressed in flamboyant white robes, and the other two in red and green respectively. Joseph, the Infant Christ's elderly stepfather, kneels to Mary's right in this painting – a prominent position that he does not get to keep in the two other versions. He is placed further back in the Philadelphia panel (cat. 25), while in the Prado *Adoration* he has been banished to the left wing, where he sits drying pieces of cloth over a fire in the background.

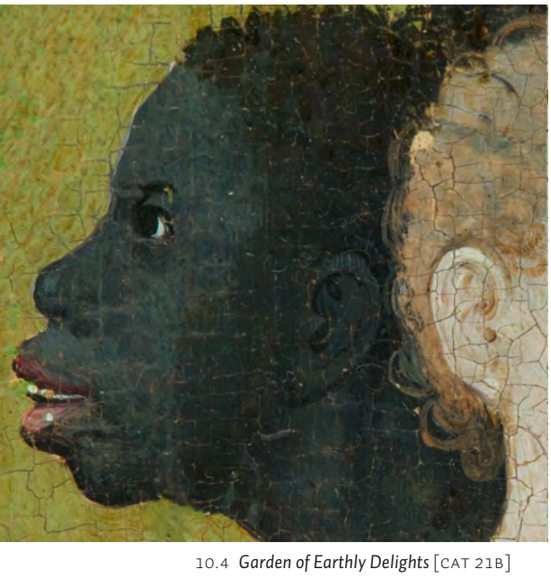
The way the ox and the ass are rendered at the bottom of the fortified tower is a striking detail; the ox is shown kneeling and seems to observe the scene sideways. All we see of the donkey are its hindquarters: it has turned away from the central event. The detail is prob-



10.2 *Adoration* (New York) [CAT 10]



10.3 *Adoration* (Philadelphia) [CAT 25]



10.4 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21B]



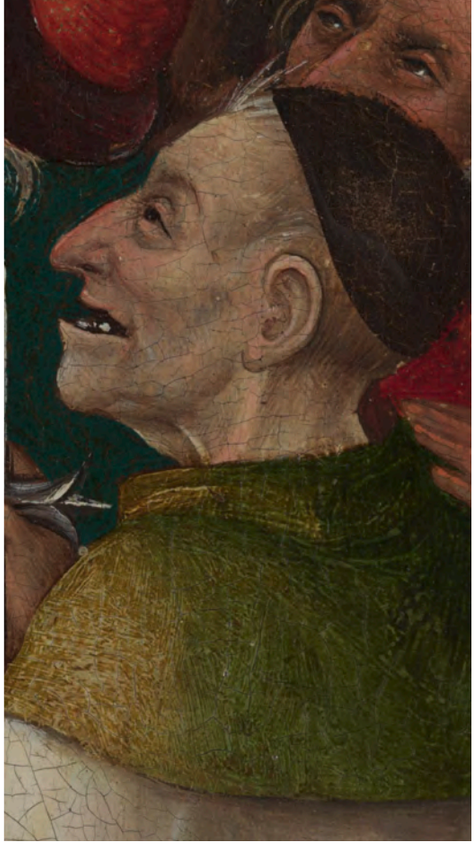
10.5 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21B]



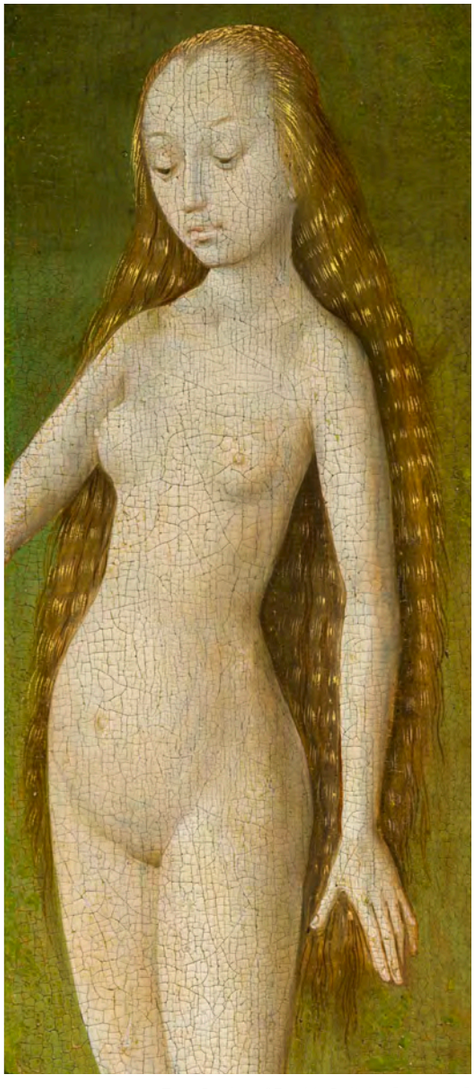
10.6 *Adoration* (New York) [CAT 10]



10.8 *Adoration* (New York) [CAT 10]



10.7 *Ecce Homo* (Frankfurt) [CAT 11]



10.9 Eve, *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21A]

ably intended playfully. The New Testament does not mention the two animals, but the Old Testament does. The Prophet Isaiah describes how God, incensed by a rebellion on the part of his people, declared that 'The ox knows its master, the donkey its owner's manger, but Israel does not know, my people do not understand' (Isaiah 1:3). From the early third century onwards, the passage was linked with the Nativity and the animals began to appear in the visual tradition; the ox – considered a clean animal – represents those who follow God's word, and the unclean donkey those who turn away from him.

COMPARISONS

The general structure of the painting in New York is related to the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt, which has roughly the same dimensions (cat. 11). The central perspective, accentuated by the many walls, plays an important part in both cases in the suggestion of depth. Several figures in this relatively early work, in which mordant gilding has been used to a greater extent than in any other painting by Bosch,[5] correspond closely with types from elsewhere in his oeuvre. The position of the kneeling king's head and upper body closely resemble those of the standing man with the short green cape in the right foreground of the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo*. Various authors have noted the similarity between the face of the rearmost king and that of Herod. The striking profile, head and curly hair of the black king are also found in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21), in the shape of the black youth in the right foreground and the young man shown pointing on the left of the central axis. There is a striking resemblance between Mary's face and slightly wavy hair and those of Eve in the left wing, and also the young woman sitting to the left of the black youth in the central panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Her features are also very similar to those of Mary in the Brussels *Calvary* (cat. 15). The background, consisting of trees and copses, the outlines of a city in the distance, and the body of water upper right with the couple followed by a little dog on the bridge, is related to the background landscape of the Prado *Adoration of the Magi Triptych* (cat. 9). We also find a similar couple in the Brussels *Calvary* and in *St Jerome* in Ghent (cat. 1). The Prado *Adoration* also features similar groups of finely painted horsemen advancing from behind the hills towards the foreground action; they are comparable in turn with the groups of horsemen and other figures in the drawing from a private collection (cat. 44) and those in the Hell wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*.

10.6–7 10.2–5 10.8–9 10.11 10.15–18

The *Adoration* discussed here is also very similar to the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* in terms of the phased execution of the underdrawing. Many of the contour lines, for instance, were set down with a relatively large brush and a watery medium in strikingly fluent and expressive lines. Where these are located close to one another, the drawing resembles a wash; examples can be found in the round corner elements on either side of the ruined building's back wall. The modelling and shadows were prepared, by contrast, with precise parallel hatching done with smaller brushes. The skin tones were prepared using a small brush, while the underdrawing for the larger folds in the drapery was done primarily with a medium brush.[6] Variations in the darkness of the lines observed under infrared light suggest that different materials were used, as is also the case in Frankfurt.[7]

10.10–11

On the other hand, several noteworthy differences can be identified compared to other works by Bosch. The golden gifts, for instance, are rendered very differently here from the precisely painted objects brought by the kings in the Prado *Adoration*. The confident lines we find, for instance, in the protective helmet held by the 'fourth king' in the Madrid triptych are less in evidence here. The angels who stretch a cloth over the roofless building are less detailed and seem heavier and more static than those in, say, the *Ascent of the Blessed* in Venice (cat. 18B). Despite the differences, the way the paint is handled in these angels does not differ essentially from that in *Death and the Miser* or the *Haywain* (cat. 19C and 20B). As in many other Bosch paintings, we find details here that were drawn as it were in the paint; the subtly rendered black damask elements in the black king's costume, for instance, the gauze tied around the kneeling king's waist as a belt, and the stripped skeleton in the background. The fact that the panel includes elements that can be linked unmistakably with

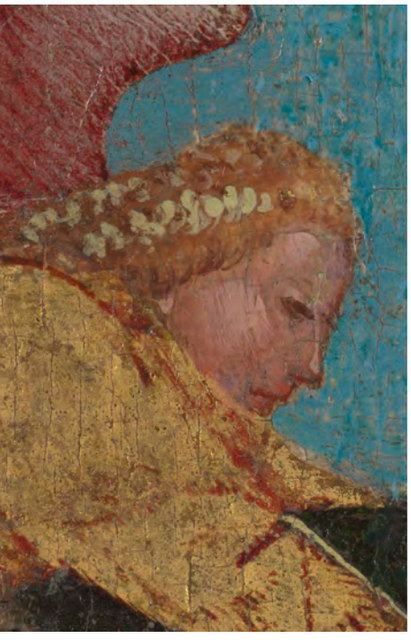
10.12–14 10.11



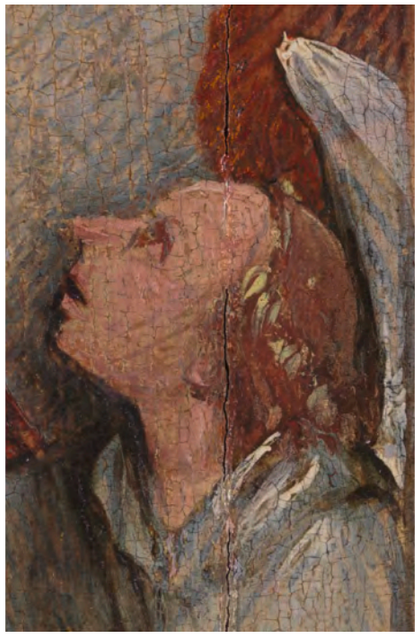
10.10 IRR right-hand column



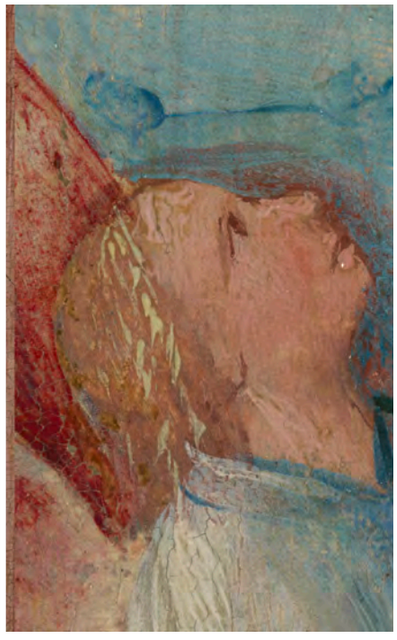
10.11 Shepherds in the landscape



10.12 *Adoration* (New York) [CAT 10]



10.13 *Death and the Miser* [CAT 19C]



10.14 *Haywain* [CAT 20B]



Bosch, such as the brilliantly painted background, makes the differences in quality all the more noteworthy. Perhaps Bosch did not work on the panel alone, and the less well-painted elements can be ascribed to a workshop assistant; or, more likely, what we see here is a young, still developing artist at work. The application of the paint is also very precise, with fine, controlled strokes. These were laid down in various directions, but generally in a linear fashion. The thin lines are often short and resemble hatching, as in the red lake in the elderly king's robe; we find this unusual technique in the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* in particular, but rarely in the later works. > III:FIG 29

Although the painting broadly follows the underdrawing, several changes are apparent between the preparatory sketch and the execution in paint, and further adjustments were made after that stage too. The architecture in particular was altered considerably: the artist evidently struggled with the perspective. The solution he found was to apply a central perspective with a vanishing point by means of light incisions in the preliminary paint layer; he then corrected a number of elements, such as the lower edge of the awning. The low wall on the right was not originally planned, and the head of the oldest king was originally turned more towards Mary. The head of the rearmost shepherd in the window frame on the right was painted larger than initially planned over the section of wall, which was already finished. An angel was originally painted in the high window in the tower on the left, with the ox and ass at the bottom; it looked down from there at the events below but was entirely overpainted and replaced with a dove.[8] Two angels originally held the green cloth on the



10.15 *Adoration* (New York) [CAT 10]



10.16 *Adoration* (Madrid) [CAT 9B]



10.17 *Saint Jerome* [CAT 1]



10.18 *Calvary* [CAT 15]

left as they do on the right, but the rearmost figure was subsequently painted out. The leftmost angel on the tower was not prepared. A dark niche containing one of Bosch's characteristic owls was added beneath the slate-tiled awning lower down on the wall on the left.

Dendrochronological dating of the panel shows it could have been painted from 1470 onwards, slightly earlier than the dating of the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo*, which could have been done from 1472. It would seem that on stylistic grounds, too, the painting should be placed early in Bosch's career.

The *Adoration* was viewed as an authentic work by Bosch since its first publication in 1904 and also at the time it was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in 1912.[9] Doubt was then cast on the attribution by Charles de Tolnay in 1937, following which the painting was long considered to be a pastiche dating from around 1550. The consensus shifted again when the work was shown in Rotterdam in 2001, where it could be compared directly with the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo*; it was accepted once again at this point as an autograph Bosch[10] – a conclusion that has now been confirmed by the research performed by the BRCP.

1 In his Middle Dutch translation of the Gospels, the *Nieuwe Testament van de Moderne Devotie* (late 14th century), Johan Scutken described the visit of the Three Kings according to Matthew as follows: '... ende siet, die siet, die sterne, die si ghesien hadden in Oestlant, ghinc voer hem al tot si quamen ende ghinc staen recht boven daer dat kijnt was. Doe se die sterne saghen, worden si seer verblijt in groter vrouden ende ghinghen int huus ende oploken hore scatte ende offerden hem gaven: golt, wierooc ende mirre.' De Bruin 1979, 2.

2 *Passionael. Winter- ende somerstuc*, Gouda (Gerard Leeu) 1478 (copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague), fol. 131r–33v (Nativity), fol. 152v–55v (Magi).

3 White 1960, 125–28; Mermier 1990, 69–87.

4 Weis 1968.

5 See cat. 11, note 2; see also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 10 and 11, RR 55–56 and 49–50.

6 See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

7 See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 11, RR 49–50.

8 The angel, dressed in red and with golden blonde hair, can be seen clearly in photographs taken before 2001, prior to the most recent restoration. Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 39–40. The precise copy in Rotterdam produced in the mid-sixteenth century shows the dove against the background of an entirely dark interior. Lammertse 1994, 122–25 no. 23.

9 Glück 1904, 182; Cohen 1910, 387–88 no. 5; Burroughs 1913; Lafond 1914, 39; Friedländer 1916, 74; Von Baldass 1917, 177–79; Friedländer 1927, 88–90.

10 The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Collection Online: / /www.metmuseum.org/ collection/ the-collection-online/ search/435724?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=bosch&pos=1 (entry dated 2012; accessed June 2015).

11 *Ecce Homo*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1475–85

Oil on oak panel, 71.4 × 61 cm
Inscribed upper left: *ecce homo*; middle: *Crucifige eu*[m]; lower left: *Salva nos Xp*[ist]*e r*[e]*de*[m]*ptor*
Städel Museum, Eigentum des Städelschen Museums-Vereins e.V., Frankfurt am Main, 1577

BRCP examination and documentation data: Frankfurt, 19–20 March 201; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 11, RR 49–50; //Boschproject.org no. 11.

Condition
The panel reverse was thinned and cradled and the bottom edge was cropped somewhat. Predominantly smaller restored paint losses are concentrated along the joins, mainly the left one. The paint is preserved well, but the donors and family members were removed in the past. During the last treatment, remnants of these figures were emphasized. Despite yellowed varnish residues and darker areas appearing slightly matte, the legibility of the original paint surface remains good.

Provenance
Before 1889 Della Faille family, Antwerp/Ghent; 1889 Ghent, Baron de Crombrugge-Pycke; 1889–1902 Ghent, Louis Maeterlinck; 1902–17 Berlin, Richard von Kaufmann; since 1917 Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt am Main.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 11, RR 49–50; Fischer 2013, 32–39, 242; Koreny 2012, 28, 29, 57, 62, 65, 74, 85, 137, 150–54, 200, 206, 226, 272; Silver 2006, 147–50; Klein 2001, 123; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 110; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 31, 88, 93, 94, 96, 101, 162, 164, 172; Sander 1993b, 68–71, 197 no. 24; Sander 1993a, 28–45; Cuttler 1991, 133–40; Marijnissen 1987, 368–77; Unverfehrt 1980, 26, 31, 36, 90, 121, 135, 137–38, 208, 214; Tolnay 1965, I, 81–85; II, 341; Von Baldass 1943, 45, 60, 63, 66, 250; Friedländer 1934, 91–92, 146; Friedländer 1921, 79, 192; Gossart 1907, 285–86; Friedländer 1903, 66–91, 147–75; Hulin de Loo 1902, 36; Maeterlinck 1900, 68–74; Hymans 1889, 416–27.

Analysis
Bosch's *Ecce Homo* is a traditional religious theme, painted as a memorial for the parents of a Dominican monk. The artist used a number of unconventional details to draw out the meaning of the scene. Although it is broad daylight, one of the bystanders still holds a burning torch, alluding to the haste with which Christ has been tried and condemned and to the crowd's complicity. The painting encourages the viewer to reflect on all this in the context of a memorial to its donors. Despite its apparent simplicity, the work – probably done early in Bosch's career – is ingeniously constructed and skilfully and confidently executed.

ECCE HOMO – 'BEHOLD THE MAN'

The *Ecce Homo* in the Städel Museum and the *Garden of Earthly Delights* in the Prado in Madrid (cat. 21) are the only surviving autograph paintings by Hieronymus Bosch to include pieces of text other than the artist's signature. They are inscribed in both cases in Gothic letters or *littera textualis*,[1] which Bosch also invariably used for his signature. The texts in this image of Pilate showing Christ to the Jewish people consist of three statements that emphasize the interaction between the three parties around the tortured Christ. Pontius Pilate, the Roman prefect, points to Jesus with the words 'Ecce homo' ('Behold the man'). The crowd of people looking up at him call out 'Crucifige eum' ('Crucify him'). The monk in the left foreground, kneeling in front of his brothers and behind the male donor, recites the prayer 'Salva nos Christe redemptor' ('Christ, Redeemer, save us'). The lettering was done using oil gilding – gold leaf on mordant – as were the rays of the cross nimbus behind Christ's head and the slender judge's staff held by Pilate. On the whole, Bosch only sparingly used gold leaf.[2]

The Ecce Homo scene is described in all four Gospels (Matthew 27:11–26, Mark 15:2–15, Luke 23:2–7, John 18:28–19:16), but the words 'Ecce homo' as such are only spoken by Pilate in that of Saint John (19:5–6), and so it was this version that Bosch took as his source. The feeling that the painter preferred the Gospel of John – to whom St John's Church in 's-Hertogenbosch was dedicated – to those of the other Evangelists, is also suggested by his treatment of *Christ Crowned with Thorns* in London (cat. 14).

Ecce Homo scenes were customarily presented in enclosed spaces, but Bosch does something new in this rendition of the theme; he opens it up and incorporates a view of a city, referring in the process to a tradition developed by Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden. Their influence has also been detected in the tiny figures of the couple on the bridge, whose backs are turned to the principal action and who seem oblivious to the commotion going on nearby.[3] The same goes for the beggar further along the bridge, and the two men on the right behind the wall of the quayside. The figures glimpsed in the distance on the



11



11.1 Torch





11.2–3 Israhel van Meckenem, *The Arrest of Christ*, c. 1480. Engraving

public square, fringed with buildings, have no idea what is going on either. Aside from this uncomfortable contrast, Bosch has composed the overall scene very cautiously by his standards, allowing himself little in the way of creative extravagance. All the same, it is not difficult to spot several typical touches: details like the familiar little owl, for instance, shown here high up in a niche in the wall, or the burning torch carried by one of the bystanders, can readily be found elsewhere in Bosch's oeuvre. This torch, incidentally, is one of the most noteworthy elements, given that the scene is set in daylight and with a clear sky. It emphasizes the haste with which Christ was arrested (at daybreak) and sentenced, thereby heightening the sense of injustice at these summary proceedings. A virtually identical flambeau can be seen in a print by Israhel van Meckenem of the *Arrest of Christ* from the same Passion cycle as the *Ecce Homo* print on which Bosch based his composition (see below). Once we become aware of it, the simple inclusion of the man with the torch is enough to tell us what time of day it is and why the square in the background is so quiet: we are still in the cool of the early morning. Christ was hurriedly condemned to death to head off an uprising by his followers.

11.1

11.2–3

Christ, wearing the crown of thorns, is not positioned centrally, yet he is unmistakably the principal figure of the overall composition. He has been flogged and his body is covered with wounds; blood has even run from his head onto the cloak placed about his shoulders. The fabric is now a surprising blue colour, as the original red lake is largely abraded, although it can still be made out in the pores of the light-blue paint. The cloak was originally more purple in colour, as stated in the Bible (Mark 15:17, 20; John 19:2, 5). The agony of the scene is stressed by the droplets of blood on the ground and in particular by the bloody print left by Christ's right foot. Another crowd has gathered on the public square in the right background beneath a red flag with a tiny crescent moon, hanging from a fortified

11.4



11.4 Christ's bloody footprint



11.5 **The bloody figure of Christ was overpainted in the early twentieth century.** Reproduction in Pfister 1922, pl. 22

gatehouse. The square is otherwise ominously quiet and deserted, in sharp contrast with the agitated men who jostle in the right foreground. Their facial expressions and the menacing way they brandish their weapons tell us that their intentions are far from good. The large shield with the mysterious, toad-like creature emphasizes their malevolence.

The *Ecce Homo* was included in the famous exhibition of 'Les Primitifs flamands et l'art ancien' in Bruges in 1902, following which it was purchased by the Berlin art collector Richard von Kaufmann (1849–1908). He evidently found the bloody figure of Christ too explicit, as he had it painted over with a light-coloured ankle-length robe with long sleeves. The overpainting was removed in 1917 when the Städel acquired the work. 11.5

DONOR FAMILY

The painting as originally executed had a donor family right at the front, which was largely scraped away and overpainted at an early stage. An X-ray photograph of the panel made in the 1930s revealed these figures, which had been concealed beneath dark patches in the wall in the left foreground. When the panel was restored in 1983, it was decided to remove the old overpainting and to restore the balance of the original composition.[4] This resulted in the painting's current state, in which the large donor family can be made out in the ghostly figures in the foreground. Identifiable traces were left visible and some additional retouching was carried out. The male family members appear in the lower left, which corresponds with the 'heraldic right'. The donor is shown with one of his sons, both of them kneeling and with their hands clasped in prayer. The son's habit identifies him as a Dominican. Six boys – smaller and standing – are included behind them. The female members of the family appear on the heraldic left. The donor's wife, also kneeling, has virtually disappeared, but six girls can be made out behind her, some on their knees, others standing. Traces of the underdrawing can still be distinguished in what remains of the two groups, from which we can infer that the donor family was planned from the outset. An interesting adjustment between the underdrawing stage and the first version of the painting can be detected in the female donor; the man dressed in white with the short green cape originally wore a sword, which disappeared behind the woman's bowed and covered head. The shape of the sketched sword matches the one painted at the same angle, but without underdrawing, of the man in red who stands a step further back, slightly to the right. 11.7–8

DATING

Dendrochronological dating shows that the panel could have been painted from 1472 onwards.[5] This tallies with the prevailing stylistic consensus that the work was done relatively early in Bosch's career, between 1475 and 1490.[6] The use of gold leaf for the lettering and the absence of atmospheric perspective in the view of the city are consistent with an early date, as is the fact that the composition was originally closed off by a wall in the right background (see below). The execution is fairly precise, with brushwork that is controlled rather than dynamic. The strokes were laid down in various directions, although generally in a linear fashion. The panel is likely to have been painted in the 1480s, possibly just after the *Adoration of the Magi* in New York (cat. 10) of around 1480, and before the Prado triptych with the *Adoration of the Magi*, commissioned by Peeter Scheyfve (cat. 9), which must have been done in the 1490s. The *Ecce Homo Triptych* of Peter van Os in Boston (cat. 24), whose central panel is closely related to the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* in both composition and style, was probably produced in Bosch's workshop no earlier than 1500, whereas the precise copy in the Mariënwater monastery (Koudewater) near 's-Hertogenbosch cannot – given its dendrochronological dating – have been produced until after around 1524, well after Bosch's death in 1516.[7] The texts were omitted in the latter version as, naturally, was the donor family. This freed up the blank wall in the left foreground which, following the example of an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem,[8] was given a window with a round arch and bars, through which a prisoner watches the crowd calling for Christ to be crucified. The repeated 11.11

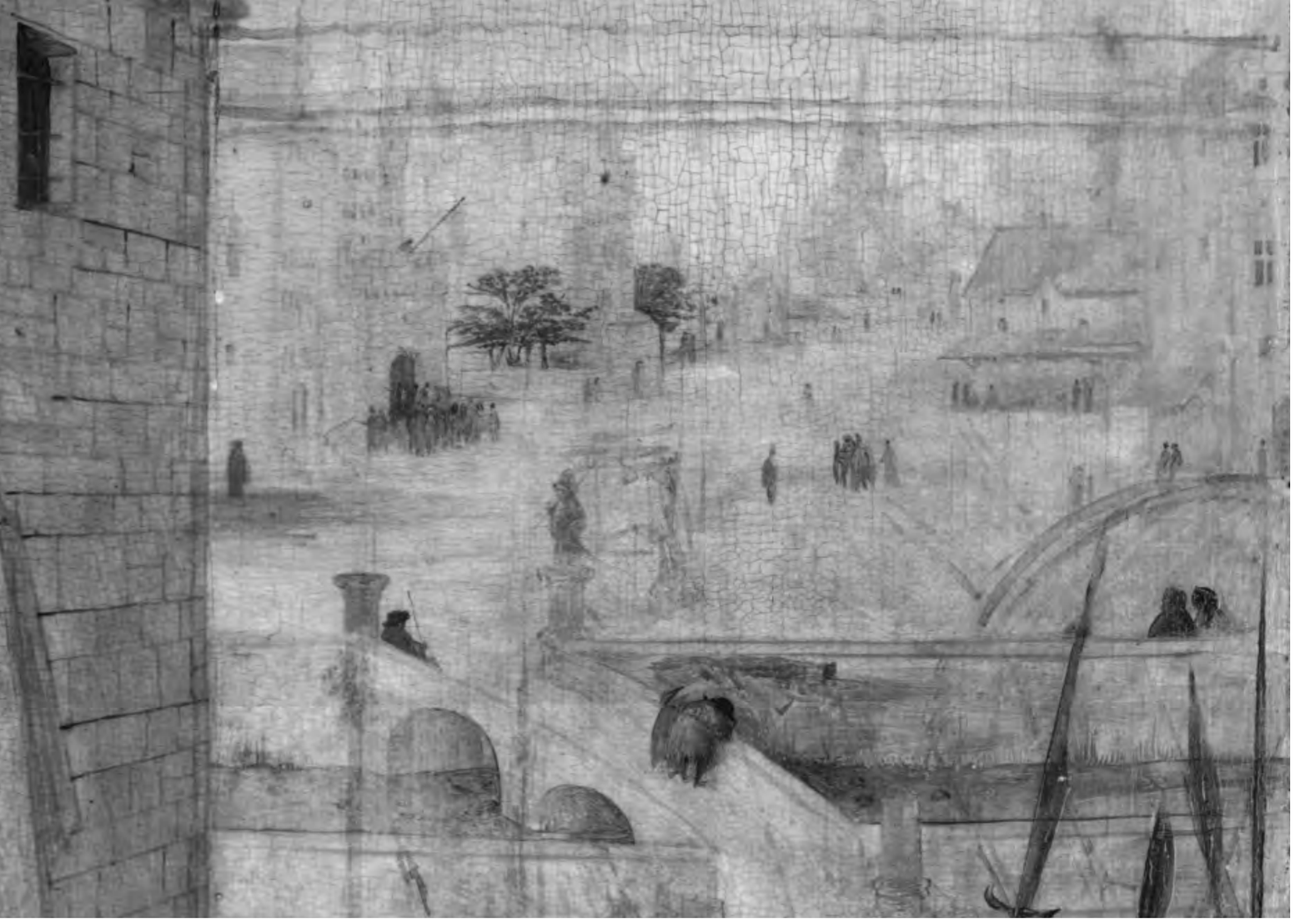
11.6



11.7–8 Female members of the donor family: VIS and IRR







11.9 IRR: the underdrawing was done in three or four phases.



11.10 *Entombment* [CAT 54]

patterns in the gold brocade in the robe worn by the man nearest the foreground, on the other hand, were accurately copied; they comprise a bird in a vine and a relatively large fleur de lis – motifs that also feature in precisely the same way in the *Ecce Homo* panel of the Peter van Os triptych (cat. 24).

MEMORIAL PAINTING

The *Ecce Homo* panel with the donor family was undoubtedly painted as a memorial. The positioning of the family suggests that it was intended as a single panel, without wings. The surviving traces are insufficient to offer any clue as to the family's identification and other evidence is similarly lacking. It is significant, however, that the man dressed as a Dominican – presumably the eldest son – was given a very prominent position. In addition, the *Ecce Homo Triptych* commissioned by Peter van Os, the central scene of which was undoubtedly based on the Frankfurt painting, was also probably installed in the first instance as a memorial in the Dominican church in 's-Hertogenbosch. The Dominican abbey had a large number of graves in the churchyard, in the church itself and in the cloister. The latter was reserved for the Dominicans themselves, and the choir of the church for prominent individuals. Numerous lay people were also buried elsewhere in the church.[9] The *Ecce Homo* from the Städel might have served as a memorial in the same church, marking the tomb of a family whose eldest son had entered the monastery and risen to a high position. This would explain the prominent place he was given in the painting. If the Dominican abbey in 's-Hertogenbosch was indeed the original destination of Bosch's *Ecce Homo* panel, it would at any rate have been readily accessible until the late 1520s as the model for the copy painted for the Brigittine monastery of Mariënwater.

UNDERDRAWING

Infrared examination of the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* produced several surprising results. The
11.9 detailed underdrawing was done in three or four phases, with striking differences between them. The most important forms were laid down using a relatively broad brush with a freedom and openness typical of Bosch's style.[10] The modelling was then worked up with a finer brush, using parallel hatching in thin, sometimes long lines, applied in zones that are delimited fairly precisely. Several drapery folds were then emphasized further with a brush
11.8 during a final phase, using short, darker (in the IRR) hatched lines.[11] The hatching itself varies surprisingly in terms of both direction and thickness. The combination of stylistic variations and an underdrawing done in several phases has been attributed in the past to execution by several different hands; however, the evidence for this is not persuasive.[12] A very similar approach is found in the drawing of the *Entombment* in the British Museum
11.10 in London (cat. 54), and phased underdrawings also occur in several other paintings.[13]

The cityscape in the upper right was not originally planned. Bosch initially prepared an enclosed setting with no view into the distance. Three solid horizontal lines running to
11.9 the right from the eaves of the palace/court building, most likely marked the top of a wall.[14] The round arches sketched on the right-hand side, just above the wall along the canal, are a significant hint that the baying crowd was originally going to be placed before a loggia or arcade, or in front of an arched opening in the wall.[15] The overall effect of this would have been much flatter and more theatrical, in keeping with the visual tradition for the Ecce Homo theme in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, in which two densely packed groups face one another in front of a closed background. Two engravings offer good examples of this configuration: the aforementioned *Ecce Homo* by Israhel van Meckenem, and the one by Martin Schongauer from his Passion series, dating from around 1480, which
11.11, 11.12 achieved a wide circulation very quickly.[16] We also know of a second *Ecce Homo* by Israhel van Meckenem, in which the scene is presented frontally, with a closed background on
11.13 either side. In the second state of that engraving, Christ's body has also been covered with bleeding wounds, comparable with those in Bosch's panel in Frankfurt.[17] The similarities



11.11 Israhel van Meckenem, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1480.
Engraving



11.12 Martin Schongauer, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1475–80.
Engraving



11.13 Israhel van Meckenem, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1480.
Engraving

between Schongauer's engraving and the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* have been pointed out in the literature fairly regularly.[18] Although the panel is not, of course, a direct copy of the print, the figure of Christ, bent forwards with his hands crossed[19] and with unusually long feet, does form a close match with the print; his clothing is likewise very similar. The latter aspect is important, as the combination of the open cloak over a body otherwise clad only in a loincloth, is somewhat unconventional. Christ is also depicted this way in the Peter van Os triptych in Boston (cat. 24). The gesticulating hands, with their strikingly long fingers, in the underdrawing of the *Ecce Homo* also seem to reflect the engraving, in which the motif is presented even more emphatically. Bosch must have been familiar with these prints and it is tempting to think that the unusual hatching style in the underdrawing might have been prompted by the engravers' frequent use of hatching in different directions.



11.14

[1] The closed wings of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* contain an explanatory inscription along the upper edge, where two short sentences spoken by the Creator are set out in paint (cat. 21). The motto of Peeter Scheyfve, placed above his coat of arms in the left wing of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9) is not intended as a text explaining the content of the painted scene.

[2] Mordant gilding is, however, used widely in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (cat. 10). It was also utilized in the left wing of the Prado *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9) for the motto *een voor al* ('one for all') and in the central panel for the signature and the star at the top (which was later overpainted). Gold leaf was incorporated very subtly in the little fire lit by Joseph in the left wing of that painting, but the precise technique used to apply it could not be securely determined. Mordant gilding is likewise found in the Boston *Ecce Homo Triptych* by Bosch's workshop (cat. 24) and in paintings by the workshop or followers, such as *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (cat. 34) and in the calligraphy around the *Cure of Folly* (cat. 33), both in the Prado.

[3] Fischer 2013, 32–34, 242.

[4] Sander 1993a, 33–34; Sander 1993b, 70. It is not known when the overpainting should be dated; it might have been done in the seventeenth century after the panel had lost its memorial function.

[5] The most recent growth ring dates from 1459. (Analysis of the plank on the far left did not produce a date.) Allowing for a minimum of nine rings of removed sapwood, plus two years for transport and drying, the earliest possible painting date is 1470. Production after 1472 is, however, statistically more likely.

[6] A summary of the literature can be found in Sander 1993a, 32. Sander himself proposed a slightly later date of around 1500; see Sander 1993a, 42.

[7] Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-4252, oil on panel, 73 × 54.5 cm, on long-term loan to the Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, Uden. The most recent growth ring dates from 1511. Allowing for a minimum of nine rings of removed sapwood, plus two years for transport and drying, the earliest possible creation date is 1522. Production after 1524 is, however, statistically more likely. See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 52, RR 111–112.

[8] Israhel van Meckenem, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1480, engraving, 212 × 147 mm. The engraving is part of a Passion cycle produced around 1480. See HG, Meckenem, no. 148. See also Schnack 1979, 13; Riether 2006, 211, 218.

[9] Meijer 1908; Wolfs 1984, 90–91. The chronicle of the Dominican abbey in 's-Hertogenbosch lists many individuals and families who might be worth researching in more detail in this regard. Written sources containing information about memorial paintings are rare. The abbey chronicle only includes one explicit reference to the dedication of a painted triptych. In her will of 8 September 1511 Catharina vander Staeck, the widow of Henrick Proeninck van Deventer, knight of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, left provision for a triptych to be placed on the altar of the Holy Sepulchre and 'in cujus januis suam maritique effigies voluit esse depictas' (she wanted her portrait and that of her husband to be included in the wings). Meijer 1908, 146–49.

[10] See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[11] There are signs that the composition was begun using a dry medium, but this could not be determined with certainty; see further BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 11, RR 49–50.



11.15

[12] According to Ironside (1973, 113–17), the underdrawing was done by two different painters, one left-handed, the other right-handed. Sander (1993a, 40) likewise noted that parallel hatched lines run from both lower left to upper right and from upper left to lower right, but he hedges his bets by stating this between inverted commas: '… Nebeneinander von "links-" und "rechtshändig" ausgeführten Schraffuren'.

[13] See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[14] A similar wall in this location can also be seen in the *Ecce Homo* in the closed right wing of the *Saint George Altarpiece* by the Master of the Legend of Saint George from around 1460. See Zehnder 1990, 252 no. 118; Sander 1993a, 42.

[15] Cf. Fischer 2013, 242.

[16] HG, Schongauer, no. 25. See also Landau and Parshall 1994, 50–63.

[17] HG, Meckenem, no. 637. This is a plate by an anonymous Dutch engraver, which Van Meckenem worked on further.

[18] See Sander 1993a, 35 n. 36; Fischer 2013, 242.

[19] Christ's left hand crosses his right in the underdrawing of the *Ecce Homo*; this is reversed, however, in the painted version. In that case, and in the engraving, the right hand crosses the left, as it does in the later Boston *Ecce Homo* (cat. 24).

12 *Christ Carrying the Cross / Christ Child*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1490–1510

Oil on oak panel, 59.7 × 32 cm
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, GG-6429

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Vienna, 16–17 June 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 12, RR 9–10; //Boschproject.org no. 12.

Condition
This panel, which is painted on both sides, must have functioned as the left wing of a triptych. Its original quarter-round arched top was cropped off, and so was a strip at the bottom. A triangular insert at the top right corner of *Christ Carrying the Cross* and strips at the bottom and top were added to give the panel its current rectangular format. The ground and paint layers appear overall relatively stable but several larger restored losses are present in the *Christ Carrying the Cross*, especially in the open space between the two main figure groups and in the far background, where the landscape and the sky were at some point overpainted with blue. The side with the *Christ Child* was once completely overpainted in brown, many remnants of which remained before the 2014–15 full treatment that addressed the conservation issues. The varnish too was in poor condition, which further affected the visibility of the paint surface. The area around the tondo with the grisaille was probably painted in a deeper red originally, as most of the red glaze appears abraded.

Provenance
English art trade; art dealer Frederik Muller & Cie, Amsterdam, January 1923; art dealer J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam, January 1923; since 1923 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 12, RR 9–10; Fischer 2013, 245–46; Koreny 2012, 28, 406; Silver 2006, 189–93; Marijnissen 1987, 271–74; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 31; Friedländer 1927, 92, 147; Vogelsang 1923.

Analysis
The panel with the *Christ Child* on one side and *Christ Carrying the Cross* on the other, is the cropped left wing of a dismantled and otherwise lost triptych, the principal theme of which is likely to have been a Crucifixion. *Christ Carrying the Cross* will have been the left wing, while the right wing might have featured an Entombment scene. The painting of the *Christ Child* on the back of the left wing will have been matched in the other closed wing by an image of John the Baptist as toddler. Christ's baptism by John in the River Jordan marked the beginning of his public ministry, which culminated in the Passion cycle, including the Carrying of the Cross and the Crucifixion. The two thiefs who were crucified on either side of Jesus are shown in the foreground. They stand, as it were, between the viewer and the Redeemer, stressing the idea of good and evil, acknowledgement of one's sins and the possibility of forgiveness.



12.1 Reconstruction of the triptych

THE WAY OF THE CROSS

A detail in the right upper corner of the Vienna *Christ Carrying the Cross* directs our attention to how much has been lost in the course of five hundred years. The beginning of a curve in the panel clearly shows that this is the left wing of a triptych that must originally have been of similar shape and size to the Venice triptychs and the Bruges *Last Judgement* (cat. 2, 8 and 16).[1] *Christ Carrying the Cross* was situated on the inside of the left wing of a triptych and was probably accompanied by a Crucifixion scene in the central panel and an Entombment or Resurrection of Christ in the right wing.[2] The back of the Vienna panel, and hence the other side of the altarpiece wing, viewed when the triptych was closed, has a semi-grisaille image of the Christ Child with a walking frame and windmill toy set in a tondo against a red background. The outside of the lost right wing will no doubt have been structured in the same way, with the young John the Baptist as Christ's likely counterpart, as is also the case in an engraving of around 1475 by Israhel van Meckenem.[3] 12.1 12.2

The unsteady child is located precisely where Jesus is placed on the other side of the panel, struggling to bear the weight of the cross. This is clearly visible in the X-radiograph, which makes it look as though the toddler is already carrying his cross – albeit in reverse. It is an eerie photographic effect, yet one that immediately highlights for us a fundamental aspect of Christian iconography, namely that Christ's destiny was fixed from the very beginning of his life. This was a familiar notion in Bosch's time, as shown by fifteenth-century New Year prints, in which the Christ Child is shown standing in front of the cross or even holding it in his hands.[4] In other words, Bosch placed the child – an image of the young Christ – very deliberately in this position. The touching images on the closed triptych of Jesus and the young John the Baptist will have served to introduce the open painting, which showed the Son of God's self-sacrifice on behalf of humanity.[5] 12.4 12.3

The authors of the four Gospels have very little to say about the 'way of the cross' – Christ's journey from the palace where Pontius Pilate delivered his sentence to the execution site



12A



12B Reverse



12.2 Israhel van Meckenem, *Christ and John the Baptist as Playing Children*, c. 1475. Engraving. The British Museum, London

at Golgotha (the 'Place or Mountain of the Skull'). According to Luke, Matthew and Mark, the Romans ordered a man called Simon of Cyrene to carry Christ's cross.[6] John, by contrast, insists that Christ carried it himself.[7] Luke adds that a large crowd, including women, accompanied him to Golgotha. Bosch shows Christ, carrying his cross over his left shoulder, about to arrive at the place of execution. A group of more than twenty people – some of them armed and rather exotically dressed – walk with Christ from left to right. Jesus himself is placed centrally in the middleground of the panel. A man dressed in white leads the way; the rope over his shoulder is fastened around Christ's waist to urge him forwards. The other end of the rope is tied in a loop and is used to beat him by the conspicuously placed man, shown head on, who stands immediately next to him. The two thiefs due to be executed at the same time are shown in the foreground. They too have been led to Golgotha tied to a long rope. A T-shaped cross lies on the ground in the lower left corner, while the other cross has already been raised.



12.3 Master of the Nuremberg Passion, *The Christ Child with Instruments of the Passion*, c. 1445–55. Engraving (lost). Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden



12.4 XR: the Christ Child 'carrying the cross'

Christ is dressed in a long, deep-blue robe. Two spiked blocks hanging from a cord around his waist make it nigh-impossible for him to walk. His left foot steps on the block lying on the ground, while the sharp nails in the other block strike his right heel.[8] The same motif is found in Bosch's *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial, as is the balding man who goads him on with the rope (cat. 13).[9] The version of the scene in the Escorial clearly shows Simon of Cyrene helping Christ to carry the cross. In the Vienna panel, by contrast, no one shares the burden: Christ has to bear his cross alone. Bosch might have based himself here, as he often did, on the Gospel of John,[10] in which case the man in the chaperon walking behind Christ, his right hand on the shaft of the cross, might not be intended as Simon of Cyrene. Simon was not, after all, mentioned in John's Gospel, which emphasizes instead that Christ struggled with the cross alone. Nor is the figure distinguishable by his costume from the executioners or the agitated crowd, although we do notice that his footwear is conspicuously protected by a civilized patten, while Christ goes barefoot. The man – Simon of Cyrene or otherwise – is, therefore, somewhat ambiguous; he points Christ out to the viewer with his left hand, yet he is certainly not using his right hand to help him carry the cross.[11] The underdrawing, in which the man's hand reaches further around the shaft, reveals that Bosch heightened this ambiguity deliberately, no doubt to encourage viewers to ask themselves what they would have done in his place. The soldier in the green robe who walks in front of the man in the chaperon clearly rests his armoured hand on the cross, forming a visual rhyme with the hand of the man behind him and emphasizing the question as to the status of these figures and their complicity with the rest of the lynch mob. The idea that Bosch is urging his viewers to reflect on questions of this kind is supported by the inclusion of several figures in the composition who are less caught up in the central action. This is

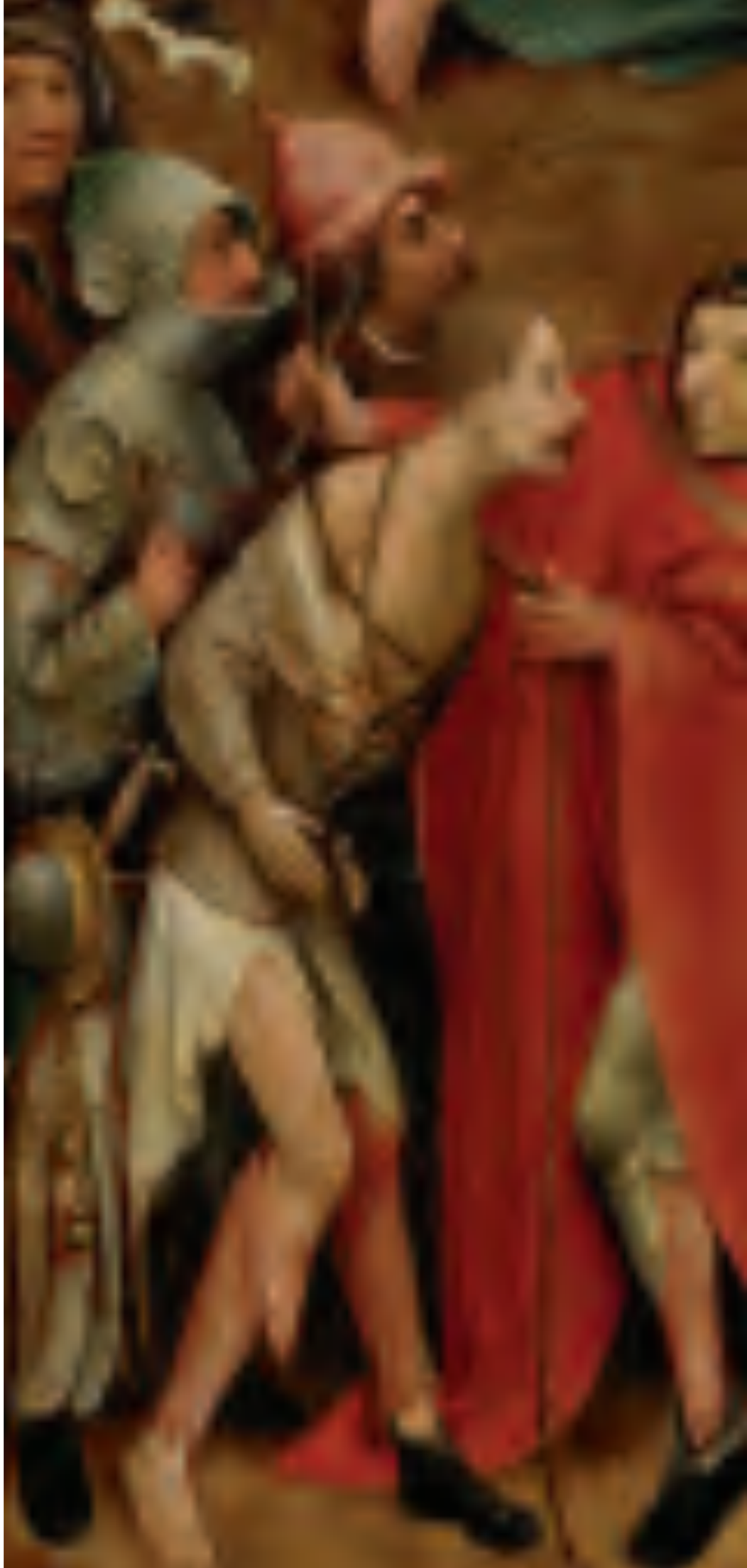
12.17

12.5–6





12.5–6 Simon of Cyrene?: VIS and IRR [CAT 12A]



12.7





12.8–11 Figures acting as intermediaries between the viewer and the painted scene [CAT 12A]

particularly the case with the figure on the lower left edge, who looks out of the painting and makes eye contact with the viewer.[12] He and the red-clad executioner in the foreground, who also looks right at us, serve as intermediaries between ourselves and the painted scene and create a sense of communication.[13] There are at least two other figures in the crowd who observe the events in which they have been swept up a little more dispassionately. 12.8–11

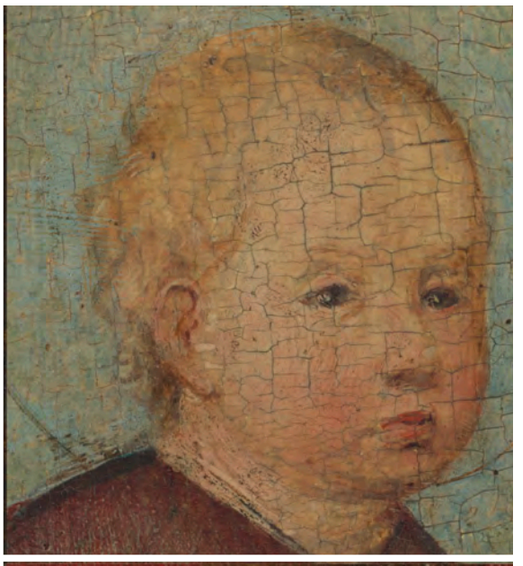
The prominent presence of the two thieves in the foreground – comparable with *Christ Carrying the Cross* on the closed right wing of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4) – is significant in this regard; though they are criminals, the pair are ordinary mortals like us. Their end is near and the question arises as to whether there is any prospect of forgiveness for their crimes, which depends in turn on the extent of their remorse. 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do', Jesus will say later. According to Christian tradition, Jesus was crucified with a 'good' or penitent thief on one side and a 'bad' one, who showed no remorse, on the other. The Good Thief was traditionally placed on Christ's right side, and the Bad Thief on the 'sinister' left side. Bosch does the same: the cross of the penitent thief has already been raised, while the condemned man, kneeling and with his hands clasped together, is comforted by a priest. The viewer is guided into the scene along with the Bad Thief and the two figures immediately behind him. The eye is then drawn from the impenitent criminal to the penitent one, and via the latter's cross up towards Christ carrying his cross and the now-lost central panel. In this way, the two thieves determine the angle from which the beholder views Christ. Bosch often used this pictorial strategy to introduce his viewers to the principal action and to encourage them to reflect on it. He does something similar in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (cat. 13), this time using the figure of Simon of Cyrene.[14]

UNDERDRAWING

The underdrawing of *Christ Carrying the Cross* is noteworthy for the systematic way it was laid down in phases using brushes of varying size along with apparently different pigments and media. This distinctive technique is also found in the underdrawing of other paintings by Bosch with numerous figures and complex compositions.[15] Each of the different stages has its own stylistic characteristics in those other works, just as they do here. We can see, for instance, that the outlines have mostly been drawn with a medium-size brush in fluid, confident lines. The same brush was also employed to prepare the modelling by means of short, parallel hatching in different directions. Bosch used a relatively large brush and a watery medium for another type of underdrawing, as in the yellow tunic of the man in the helmet behind the executioner with the rope. For some details, the hatching was done with a material that absorbs more carbon, giving it a darker appearance in the IRR, as in the executioner in the red robe. The underdrawing of this figure also features another technique that was evidently typical of Bosch; the painting was prepared here in a distinctive way using red lake. In the lighter parts, the relatively transparent lake was laid over a thin layer of lead white; as we might expect, however, this underlayer is not used in the shadow areas of the red lake, as we can see in the X-radiograph. In this case, the hatching in the underdrawing indicates where the light underlayer was *not* to be placed. 12.6

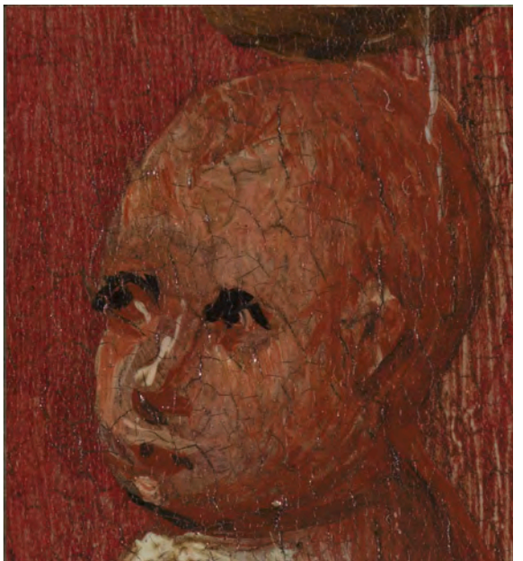
The *Christ Child* was executed with great skill almost entirely wet-in-wet, and with virtually no underdrawing whatsoever. The head shows obvious similarities with that of Christ in *Saint Christopher* (cat. 7) and the *Adoration of the Magi* in New York (cat. 10), as well as with the head of a child in the central panel of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 4). The paint layer is strikingly thin and transparent in several places and efficient use has been made of the underlying cream-coloured base layer, as in the child's face. The lead white in the broadly laid-down lighter parts has actually been applied thickly, creating a striking contrast. The 12.12–15 12.16





12.12 *Christ Child* [CAT 12B]
12.13 *Saint Christopher* [CAT 7]





12.14 *Adoration* (New York) [CAT 10]
12.15 *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4B]

effect has been intensified by the ageing of the paint and its increased transparency. The grey background has been used as a base colour between highlight and shadow to paint the walking frame. The paint layers in *Christ Carrying the Cross* also vary quite markedly in thickness, but little use is made there of the underlayers and no coloured base layer was found. The large amount of vermilion and the powerful colour contrasts stand out, while the use of a yellowish lake (for a figure in the upper right) is exceptional. There is virtually no wet-in-wet painting, which means *Christ Carrying the Cross* is less impressive in quality than the *Christ Child*. Furthermore, given that the refinement and quality of detail in *Christ Carrying the Cross* are also somewhat less striking than in those of many other paintings, it is likely that Bosch's workshop might have had some hand in it. Thanks to the recent treatment the work has regained much of its original lustre.

Dendrochronological dating has so far not proved possible. Dating on stylistic grounds is difficult, but in view of the cited similarities with other works by Bosch, the panel ought probably to be placed in the period 1490–1500, or perhaps a little later.

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1 See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 12, RR 9–10; Hoogstede 2014, 371–85.

2 Marijnissen 1987, 271.

3 Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, exhibition supplement no. 18.5; Fischer 2013, 58–59.

4 Heitz 1900, 17–18, 21, pls. 1–7, 16.

5 Cf. Acres 2013, 76.

6 Luke 23:26, Matthew 27:32, Mark 15:21.

7 John 19:17.

8 See Marrow 1979, 171–89, 223–48, especially 181.

9 The interpretation suggested by Fischer (2013, 245) that this is Peter is unsupported and untenable.

10 John the Evangelist was the patron saint of both St John's Church in 's-Hertogenbosch and the city itself. He was also held in high esteem by the Brotherhood of Our Lady. See cat. 5–6.

11 Ilsink and Koldeweij 2011, 18–21.

12 The question arises as to whether this might be a portrait, possibly of the artist or the patron. Figures of this kind crop up regularly in Netherlandish art around 1500, in the work of Hans Memling for instance (*Saint John Altarpiece*, Bruges) and even more so in that of a slightly younger artist like Joos van Cleve. See Scailliérez 2011.

13 See the website Boschproject.org, link L27.

14 Compare the *Calvary with Donor* (cat. 15), *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 4) and *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9), in which mediating figures also play an important role in guiding the viewer's attention towards Christ.

15 See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.



12.16 [CAT 12B]







12.17 [CAT 12A]

13 *Christ Carrying the Cross*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1495–1505

Oil on oak panel, 142.8 × 104.3 cm
Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Patrimonio Nacional, 10014739

BRCP examination and documentation data:
El Escorial, 22–25 April 2013; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 13, RR 89–90; //Boschproject.org no. 13.

Condition
The panel has largely retained its original dimensions, while its partly thinned reverse has always been unpainted. The bottom part of the rightmost join is open and there are several indentations along the middle join. The painting is stable. Large parts are in good condition, but in areas of green clothing, the landscape bottom left, and the brown-yellow hill on the right the paint is almost completely lost. These areas and most of the smaller losses have been filled and retouched in vertical strokes, using a *rigatino* technique. The red lakes have faded somewhat and areas of light paint appear to have increased in transparency. Locally the abrasion, matte areas and large repainted areas distract slightly from the otherwise good visibility of the original paint surface.

Provenance
Transferred to the Escorial in 1574 on the order of King Philip II of Spain.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 13, RR 89–90; Fischer 2013, 44, 51, 54–55, 244–45; Koreny 2012, 28, 29, 57, 229, 342; Vandenbroeck 2002, 320; Klein 2001, 126; Vandenbroeck 2001, 50; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 108; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 96; Rutgers 2001; Marijnissen 1987, 280; Unverfehrt 1980, 27, 131, 143–44; Cohen 1975, no. 6; Gibson 1972–73, 83–93; Tolnay 1965, II, 371; Lozoya and Perez Sanchez 1963, 92; Von Baldass 1959, 245; Combe 1946, no. 17; Friedländer 1927, 93, 147; Lafond 1914, 43; Justi 1889, 124.

Analysis
Christ Carrying the Cross is almost a metre and a half in height, making it Bosch's most monumental devotional painting we know. It was presented to the Escorial by Philip II as early as 1574. The work's original destination is not known. Meditation on Christ's execution (emphasized by the unusual shape of the cross) and the theme of the imitation of Christ (highlighted here by the prominent position given to Simon of Cyrene) play an essential part in this painting. Its attribution is not disputed, while its execution is most readily comparable with images of saints such as *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 5–6), and with the *Crowning with Thorns* in London (cat. 14).

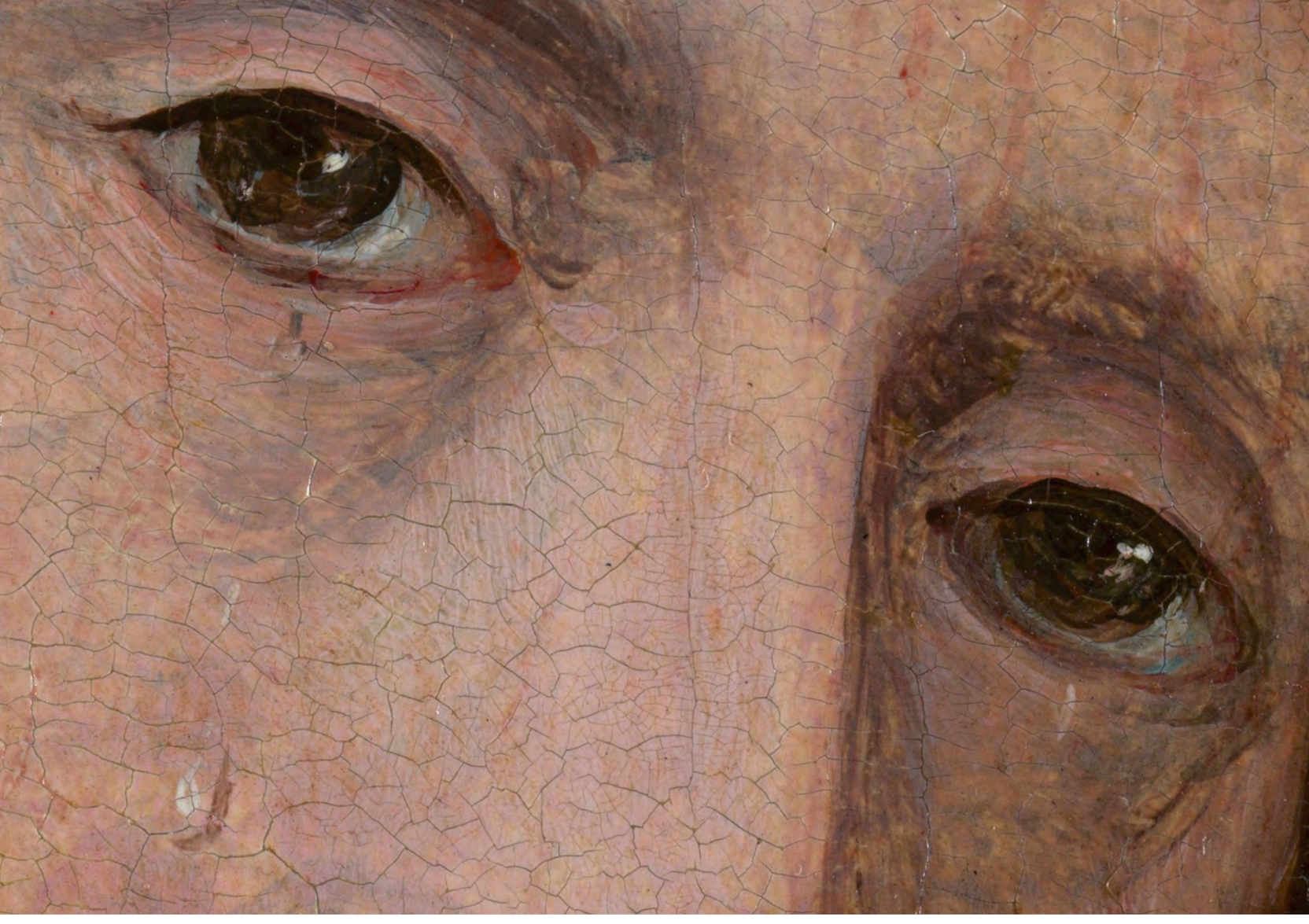
SOURCES

13.1 The dignified and resigned figure of Christ, seemingly impassive, carries his cross to Golgotha, where he is to be executed. A single tear runs down his cheek. The moments of resistance, unease and despair in the Garden of Gethsemane are now behind him. He will be seized with doubt one final time on the cross, calling out to his father in bewilderment to ask why he has forsaken him. The moment during the carrying of the cross that Bosch has chosen to depict in this painting – and above all the manner of its depiction – means that little emphasis is placed on the physical pain Jesus suffered during his earlier flogging and crowning with thorns, or on the agonizing death he is about to endure.[1] That pain is 13.19 nevertheless alluded to by the traces of blood on his head, where the thorns cut deeply into 13.2 his flesh. His feet too have been wounded by the spiked wooden blocks tied to his legs. Jesus is about to take a step forward, which will place the combined weight of his body and the cross onto his right leg. The nails driven through the block are about to pierce the sole of his foot, just as they have punctured his right heel; Simon of Cyrene's sharing of the burden will do little to help in this respect. These heartrending details do not appear, of course, in the New Testament, but were drawn instead from late-medieval devotional texts. The two spiked blocks are described, for instance, in the *Fasciculus mirre*, which was published in numerous Middle Dutch editions from 1504 onwards: 'And they tied two rectangular boards to him, into which sharp nails were driven, so that with each step they struck his shins.'[2]

The Gospels do not mention the trumpeter either, but the figure does occur in late-medieval texts in which the story of the Passion is embroidered with all sorts of anecdotal and symbolic details. *Die passie Jhesu* – a devotional text written around 1500, which circulated in the sixteenth century – has the following to say, for instance, regarding Christ carrying the cross: 'They led Our Lord out to the sound of trumpets and fanfares, as was the custom there with condemned men.'[3] Another Middle Dutch account of the episode adds the detail that Jesus was accompanied by 'the great trumpet of death, which was only blown



13



13.1 Christ's tears

when someone was led to their execution'.[4] Christ was brought to the place of execution to the sound of trumpets, just as, according to the Old Testament, animals were driven to slaughter or sacrifice.[5] The question then is whether the inclusion of one or more trumpeters in scenes like this had its origins in this analogy with similar Old Testament scenes, or whether it was a reflection of late-medieval customs. Perhaps both parallels played a part: on the one hand, the carrying of the cross was depicted as an event with an immediate contemporary relevance, while on the other, the Old Testament was believed to contain numerous prefigurations of Christ's life and death.

These are details that only strike us when we view the painting attentively and reflect on what we see. Although the Carrying of the Cross was an extremely popular theme in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century iconography, the episode is only mentioned briefly and succinctly in the Gospels. According to Matthew (27:32): 'As they went out, they came upon a man from Cyrene [Libya] named Simon; they compelled this man to carry his cross. And when they came to a place called Golgotha (which means Place of a Skull), they offered him wine to drink, mixed with gall.' Mark (15:21) also has Simon of Cyrene carrying the cross, whereas John (19:17) states firmly that Jesus himself bore it: 'So they took Jesus; and carrying the cross by himself, he went out to what is called The Place of the Skull, which in Hebrew is called Golgotha.' Bosch chose to base his *Christ Carrying the Cross* primarily on the Gospel of Luke, which writes explicitly (23:26): 'they laid the cross on him [Simon], and made him carry it behind Jesus'. This has almost always been interpreted as meaning that Simon of Cyrene was forced to help Jesus carry the cross, not to carry it in his place.

One very striking visual element in Bosch's painting is indeed the prominent position occupied on the left of the scene by Simon of Cyrene – dressed, unusually, entirely in white.[6] This was noted as early as 1574, when the painting was transferred to the Escorial on Philip II's order: 'a panel with Christ, our Lord, carrying the cross, with Simon of Cyrene dressed in white and other figures, done by *Gerónimo Bosqui*'.[7] In his 1605 account of the works by Bosch in the Escorial, the monk José de Sigüenza noted that *Christ Carrying the Cross* shows the malevolent, cruel and furious faces of the Pharisees and scribes, who would not rest until Jesus had been killed.[8] Further weight is placed on Simon by the way the bearded old man in blue places his right hand round his shoulder and points to him with his left – a gesture that makes Simon the scene's most important figure after Christ. Bosch 13.3
places the focus here on an ordinary man: Simon was, after all, a chance passer-by who was trying to enter Jerusalem just as the procession leading Christ away left the city. The flow of movement in the panel from left to right begins with Simon, who follows Christ and carries the cross with him. Simon provides the viewer with a link between the world of the meditating worshipper and Jesus Christ, the essence of his or her faith.

Popular devotional texts like Ludolph of Saxony's *Tboeck vanden leven ons heeren Ihesu Christi* ('The Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ'; 1374) and Thomas a Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* ('Imitation of Christ'; before 1441) – both of which were widely disseminated and frequently reprinted around 1500 – encouraged readers to meditate on the life and passion of Christ and to imitate his example in order to bring them closer to him.[9] Ludolph, for instance, describes in detail how Christ's last, sleepless night left him so weak that he collapsed under the weight of the cross and that a bystander called Simon, a heathen who had converted to the Jewish law, was forced by the soldiers to carry his cross with him. Much of the chapter is given over to moralizing and contemplative passages telling the reader how to meditate on and empathize with the text. It is stressed towards the end, for example, that the way Jesus allowed himself to be led to his death as meekly as a lamb should inspire the reader to obey God's commandments and that the individual's own will should be subordinated to that of

13.2 Spiked wooden block



13.3 Simon of Cyrene



his or her superiors. A link was also made, lastly, with the author's own times, in which the Church organized processions dedicated to the cross, to ward off danger and to reflect on the Passion of Christ. To a significant extent, these and other texts on the suffering of Christ were intended to arouse compassion, so that the reader would truly empathize with Jesus.[10] A great deal of attention was likewise devoted to Mary, the mother obliged to witness the sacrifice of her son, but who despite everything never loses her dignity. Stressing the relationship between the mother and her son highlighted the humanity of both. Bosch too was mindful of this aspect, which is why he paints the Virgin in the middleground, where she
13.6–7 is supported in her grief by Saint John.

'Seeing is believing' is the watchword here as it was in many of the texts and images linked to the Devotio Moderna movement.[11] One thing these texts and images have in common is the way they use intermediate figures to draw the viewer and reader into the central action. Mary and Simon of Cyrene function this way in *Christ Carrying the Cross*. The figure who leads the procession in Bosch's treatment of the theme in the Escorial plays a similar role; he and Christ are the only ones whose gaze is directed towards the viewer. The pow-
13.19 erful and expressive execution of this figure's head is a high point of Bosch's work. The figure of Simon of Cyrene (a representative of the people picked out at random to lend a hand) encourages viewers to deny themselves, to pick up their cross and to follow Christ (Luke 9:23). Bosch seems to use the figure to ask us very directly who we are and what we would do in the situation he depicts.[12] Would we, like Simon, take up Christ's cross? Would we follow Jesus or persecute him? The simple, somewhat coarse and perhaps even slightly foolish appearance of the person at the head of the group makes us realize that those who persecuted Christ were not monsters but the most ordinary of citizens – people just like us. The emphasis that this places on the worshipper's individual responsibility is something that recurs frequently in Bosch. The viewer is allowed very little space here *not* to ponder such questions, as the procession of monumental, full-length figures fills the entire width of the picture plane.



13.4 Martin Schongauer, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1470–82. Engraving. The British Museum, London



13.5 Israhel van Meckenem, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1475–85. Engraving. The British Museum, London



13.6–7 Saint John and the Virgin Mary: VIS and IRR

This pictorial strategy recalls the engravings from Martin Schongauer's Passion cycle, two prints from which (*The Arrest of Christ* and *Christ Carrying the Cross*) seem to have provided Bosch with inspiration for the figure leading the procession on the far right. He must have seen a print by Israhel van Meckenem as well, in whose engraving of the same subject we also find a soldier immediately behind Christ who is about to whip him with the rope to urge him on.[13] A fluttering pennant and raised trumpet in the upper left corner add to the dynamism of the crowd that drives Christ to Golgotha. The position of the little group with the grieving Mary supported by Saint John, placed surprisingly deep in the landscape, is also similar in Van Meckenem's print and Bosch's painting. The primary difference compared to Van Meckenem and Schongauer's engravings is that Bosch achieves a strong rightward movement in his painting, for which the kneeling Mary immediately above Christ's head forms a small but essential counterweight. The unusual shape of the cross – depicted in a similar way in the tondo with the Passion cycle on the back of *Saint John on Patmos* in Berlin (cat. 5B) and in the background of the Boston *Ecce Homo* (cat. 24) – contributes strongly to this dynamic thrust. Simon lifts the upright of the cross, causing the horizontal beam at the top to form an acute angle on one side and an obtuse angle on the other. How ought we to interpret this detail? Is Christ carrying an unstable cross, to symbolize his ultimate victory over it? The cross in the Escorial panel seems too solid and heavy for that. On the other hand, it is not tenable to argue that Bosch was incapable of painting a 'correct' tau cross: he did so in both *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12) and in his rendition of the same theme on the closed wings of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 4). Another possibility is that he used foreshortening to take account of the original location of the painting; once again, however, this idea is not supported by the corresponding details in the Lisbon and Boston paintings. The distortion is too strong, moreover, and not in keeping with the other pictorial elements in

13.4 13.5 13.8

the large Escorial panel. None of these suggestions adequately explains a striking visual detail which, whatever else it does, certainly focuses the viewer's attention on the cross. It encourages reflection on the theme depicted by the painting, which must in itself have been the artist's primary objective. Viewed in those terms, the way Bosch presents Christ's cross is effective. A seemingly casual detail in the background, high up on top of one of the buildings in Jerusalem, offers a hint; the T-shaped cross that stands out there against the
13.9 blue sky echoes the one borne by Christ.

The Escorial *Christ Carrying the Cross* is probably the least studied of all Bosch's paintings. This is understandable to some extent, as the image is relatively uncomplicated and contains none of the peculiar creatures that made Bosch so famous. On the other hand, the limited attention paid to the work is surprising, given its monumentality and the fact that it dramatically illustrates a fundamental theme in Christian doctrine. And besides, the



13.8 *Ecce Homo* (Boston) [CAT 24B]

execution of the painting allows it to be linked fairly readily with other important works in the Bosch group, drawings as well as paintings.

UNDERDRAWING

The underdrawing was done in at least two phases, in the first of which the composition was prepared with thin, refined lines in a dry material. The composition was then underdrawn more comprehensively during a second phase, with a relatively large brush and an unusual, watery medium. The contours were laid down with sketchy but confident lines that serve
13.10 primarily to indicate the placement of the figures. Shadow effects were also prepared here and there. The underdrawn composition was followed fairly closely for the most part in the final painted version, although several more substantial changes have been detected, along with adjustments to certain details. The man in the green robe in the left middleground, for instance, was initially drawn more frontally and with a beard. The rope used to whip Jesus did not end in a knot at first but in a loop, and the man wielding it was not originally bald. John, who supports the Virgin Mary in the background, initially knelt next to her, making
13.6–7 him share her grief rather than consoling her. The pennant, sticks and trumpet were not



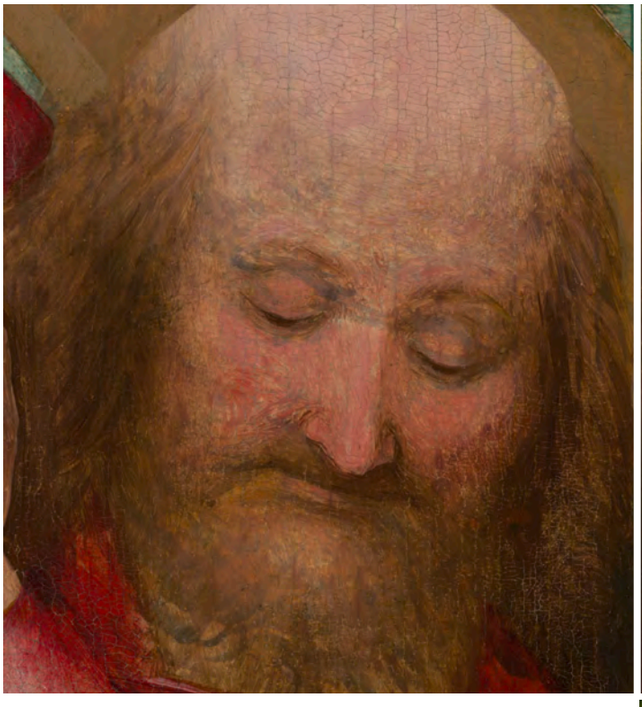
13.9 T-shaped cross on one of the roofs of Jerusalem

prepared in the underdrawing. The IRR documentation also shows that black paint was frequently mixed with the red lakes.[14] The style and function of the underdrawing are very similar to those of paintings like the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9), *Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 5), *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6), *Saint Christopher* (cat. 7), *Saint Jerome* (cat. 1), the *Crowning with Thorns* (cat. 14), the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2) and the closed wings of the Vienna *Last Judgement* with Saint James and Saint Hippolytus (cat. 17).

In artistic terms, we are struck here, as we are in many other paintings in the group, by the speed, efficiency and focus with which Bosch worked. The eyes of the principal figures, 13.13–14 for instance, are worked out to a much greater extent than those of the secondary figures. Several striking connections can be made, moreover, with other works in the group, suggesting the existence of study drawings. The face of the man whipping Christ with the rope 13.11–12 is very similar, for instance, to that of *Saint John the Baptist* in Madrid, and the same type was also used as the figure at the centre of the group below the right arm of the crucified Saint

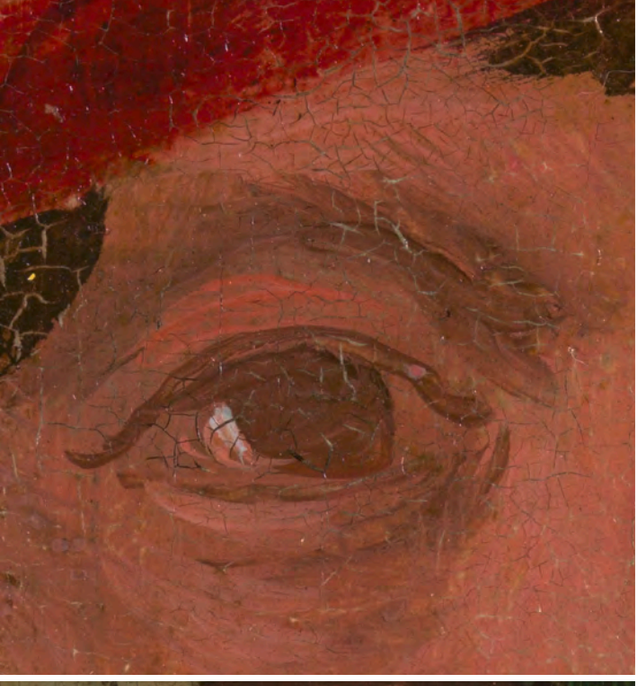


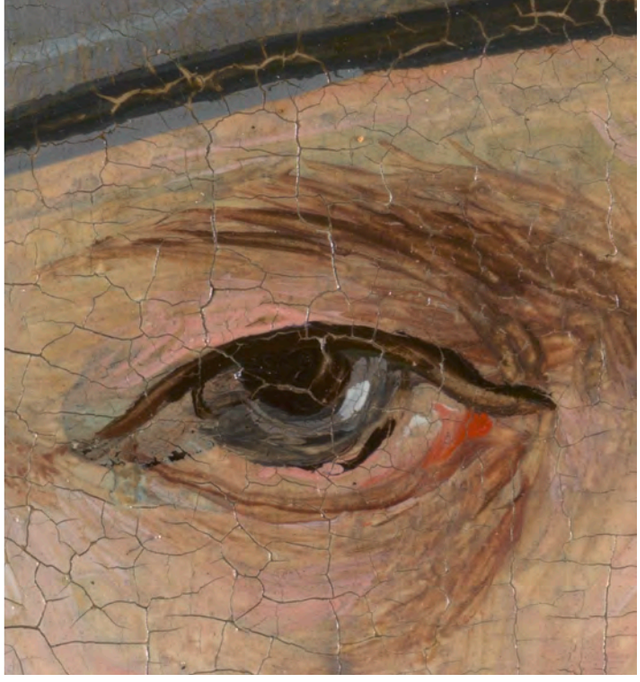
13.10 IRR [CAT 13]



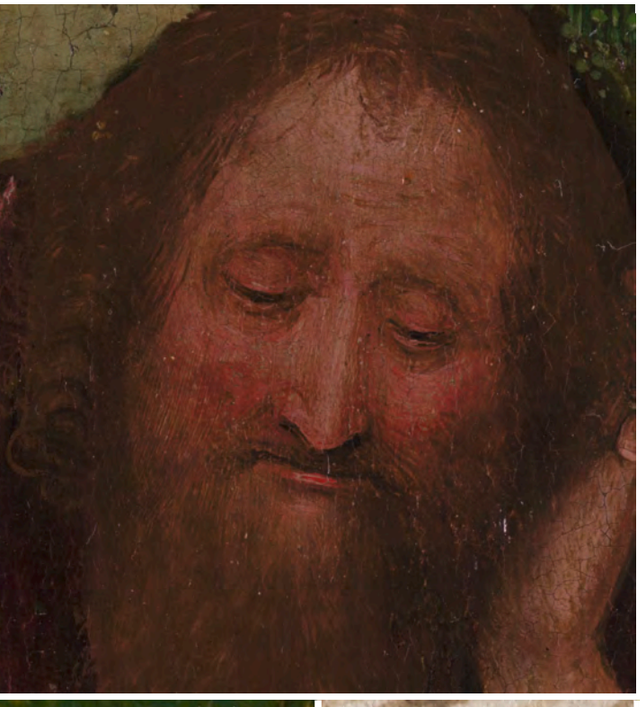
13.11–12 Tormentor [CAT 13] and *John the Baptist* [CAT 5]

Wilgefortis (cat. 8), and as the executioner who drives Christ forward in the much smaller *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12). The whip in the Vienna painting ends in a loop, just like its equivalent in the underdrawing of the Escorial panel. The stumbling, bent-over figure of Christ also corresponds closely with its much smaller equivalent in the Vienna painting: even the way he clutches the horizontal beam of the cross is identical, and we find the two spiked blocks there too, which would actually have made it impossible for him to walk. The rope tied around Christ's waist is used the same way in both compositions: the man at the head of the procession leads him forward with one end, while the other end serves as a whip. Saint John's face is rendered more sketchily, as it is smaller and located further in the background. The way the eyes, nose, mouth and the shadow under the lower lip are indicated is very similar to how the features of the angel were painted in *Saint John on* 13.15–18 *Patmos*, but also the faces of the figures in the middleground of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21). A more surprising correspondence exists between the face of Saint John in *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the figures inside the body of the *Tree-Man* in the Vienna drawing



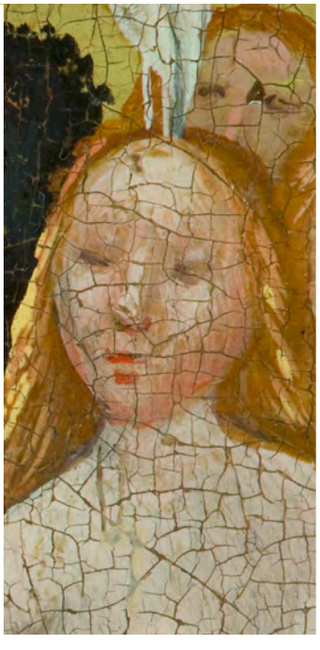


13.13–14 Eyes of the tormentors far left and far right [CAT 13]











13.15–18 Sketchy heads:
Christ Carrying the Cross [CAT 13]
Tree-Man [CAT 35]
Garden of Earthly Delights [CAT 21B]
Ten Spectators [CAT 49]



(cat. 35). The slender tree framing the picture plane on the right, lastly, has been painted in a manner similar to how the tree on the left of the Vienna sheet is rendered.[15]

In other words, this *Christ Carrying the Cross* can be readily linked with a number of other paintings from the Bosch group, in terms of both its underdrawing and final execution. The works in question are primarily the aforementioned saints' images, but also the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and the *Adoration of the Magi* in Madrid (cat. 9). Other examples are the London *Crowning with Thorns* (cat. 14) and the drawing of the *Tree-Man*. The idea that Bosch was, in a very real sense, a 'draughtsman in paint' may be illustrated, finally, by a comparison between Saint John in the painting and one of the bystanders in a drawing in the Morgan Library.

13.15, 13.18

1 This contrasts, for instance, with the emphasis placed on Christ's physical suffering in Bosch's *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt. Although painted on a different scale, the crowns of thorns in the two paintings are very similar in execution.

2 'Ende twee viercante borden daer scherpe prickelkens in geslagen waren, bonden si aen hem, als wanneer hi voort ginc die sloegen beneden aen zijn schenen.' *Fasciculus mirre. Dit is een sonderlinge devote materie van die passie onse heren Jhesus Christi*, Antwerp (Willem Vorsterman) 1504–44, and numerous later editions. Marrow 1979, 180–81.

3 'Sij leijden Onsen Lieven Heer uut met basuijnen ende met gescal, als daer gewoenliken was dat men dede den verdoemden menschen.' Marrow 1979, 321, after *Die passie Jhesu*, c. 1500, copy c. 1575, Provinciaal Museum, Hasselt, unnumbered.

4 '… die grote trompette des doots, diemen niet anders en sloch dan alsmen yemant totter doot waert leijde.' Marrow 1979, 159–60, 321, after a Passion treatise of c. 1500, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, MS 75 H 46, and a copy of c. 1570: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, MS IV 115.

5 See Marrow 1979 (153–61) for the symbolic interpretation of trumpeters in Passion scenes.

6 Simon of Cyrene is also dressed in white in the scene with Christ Carrying the Cross in the background of the Boston *Ecce Homo* (cat. 24).

7 Checa Cremades, Mancini and Vázquez Dueñas 2013, 212: '*Entrega Primera*, p. 210, "capitulo de vicario": "Una tabla en que esta pintado Cristo Nuestro Señor con la cruz a cuestas con Simon Cyreneo vestido de blanco y otras figuras de mano de Geronimo Bosqui, que tiene seys pies de alto y de ancho quarto y tres quartas."'

8 De Sigüenza 1605, 838. See 'Literary Sources', p. 579.

9 Ludolph of Saxony, *Tboeck vanden leven ons heeren Ihesu Christi*, published in Antwerp (Gerard Leeu) 1487; in Delft (Christiaan Snellaert) 1488; and in Zwolle (Pieter van Os) 1499. Chapter 152 deals with Christ Carrying the Cross. Thomas a Kempis, *Imitatio Christi: Dit is een schoon boecxken ende es geheten (Qui sequitur me) ende metten anderen drien boecxkens*, printed around 1500 in Leiden, Antwerp and other cities.

10 See, for example, *Liden ende Passie Ons Heren Jesu Christi*, Gouda (Gerard Leeu) 1477; reprinted repeatedly.

11 Pleij 2007, 236–38; Veelenturf 2000; Caron 1984.

12 Cf. *De navolging van Christus* (Van Kempen, transl. Wijdeveld 1995 [2001]), 106–11.

13 HG, Meckenem, 149. Cf. Fischer 2013, 44, 54.

14 For further information, see BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 13, RR 89–90.

15 Compare also the little tree on the right of the *Owl's Nest* in Rotterdam (cat. 36) and the tree in *Saint John on Patmos* in Berlin (cat. 6).

13.19

14 *The Crowning with Thorns*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1490–1500

Oil on oak panel, 73.8 x 59 cm
The National Gallery, London, 4744

Not documented by the BRCP.[1]
BRCP examination data: London, 24–25 November 2014; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 14, RR 142–143; //Boschproject.org no. 14.

Condition
The panel was slightly cropped on all sides, as well as thinned and cradled. There is an old, stable crack in the top centre, left of which paint is damaged from something that dripped down, extending onto the gauntlet. Adhesion of both paint and ground is very good, with minimal losses. Several scratches stand out, as the retouching has discoloured, and some pentimenti are visible. Red lakes have faded somewhat and the sleeve in the bottom left was more purplish originally. The increase in transparency of light paints has resulted in underlayers shimmering through, for instance in the garment of Christ where the initial composition is visible, but the legibility of the painting is reasonably good.

Provenance
Prior to 1882 Hollingworth Magniac, Colworth Park (Bedfordshire); 1882–92 C. Magniac, auction London, 2 July 1892; purchased by R. Crawshay, Rome; 1933 Galleria Sangiori, Rome; purchased in 1934 by the National Gallery, London.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 14, RR 142–143; Campbell 2014, 144–61; Fischer 2013, 39, 242–43; Koreny 2012, 28, 34, 35; Spronk 2011; Silver 2006, 329–32; Klein 2001, 124; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 88, 96–97, 164; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 113–15; Marijnissen 1987, 352–55, 378; Davies 1968, 12; Tolnay 1965, I, 307; II, 375; Von Baldass 1943, 44, 70, 72, 249; Conway 1921, 344.

Analysis
The London *Crowning with Thorns* is presented in the manner described in John's Gospel, which recounts how a crown made of thorn branches was placed on Christ's head. Only after that was a royal purple cloak hung about his shoulders, a sequence that enabled Bosch to create a powerful contrast between the white-clad Christ and the colourful band of torturers surrounding him. As he painted, the artist made quite a few changes from the situation in the underdrawing; the elderly tormentor lower left, for instance, originally made a mocking gesture with his left hand. The crown of thorns has been woven from two carefully selected types of thorn, which further heightens the painting's symbolic meaning. An image of Saint Christopher was originally planned for the panel, but was later entirely ignored. A close-up representation of large, half-length figures as we see in this *Crowning with Thorns* was still unusual in northern European painting in the final quarter of the fifteenth century.

ACCORDING TO JOHN

John's Gospel describes the flogging and mockery of Christ very briefly: 'Then Pilate took Jesus and had him flogged. And the soldiers wove a crown of thorns and put it on his head, and they dressed him in a purple robe. They kept coming up to him, saying, "Hail, King of the Jews!" and striking him on the face' (John 19:1–3). This episode from the Passion story also occurs, of course, in the three other Gospels. There is one noteworthy difference, however: only John describes how the crown of thorns was pressed onto Christ's head first, with the purple 'royal robe' draped around him afterwards. The *Crowning with Thorns* in the National Gallery closely follows John's text rather than those of Luke, Matthew or Mark. At the moment of his 'coronation', Jesus wears only a thin, white linen robe. This was evidently a deliberate choice on the painter's part, as we can see in the underdrawing – now visible to the naked eye – that a cloak, fastened with a pin, was originally drawn in fluid lines, but was never painted. There will have been both substantive and aesthetic reasons for this change of mind between the initial design and final execution. It might have been requested by the patron, for instance, after seeing the underdrawing on the panel. It is safe to assume that people at the time read, quoted and knew biblical texts very literally and precisely. Saint John the Evangelist was the patron of the principal church in 's-Hertogenbosch and was held in high regard by the Brotherhood of Our Lady (see cat. 5–6). It was logical, therefore, to take his Gospel as the starting point. In aesthetic terms, meanwhile, excluding the purple cloak meant that Christ in his virtually white robe could be surrounded by torturers in dark and strongly contrasting costumes.

14.1, 14.2

THE TORMENTORS

The older man lower left, with his sharply drawn features and prominent nose, is clearly intended as a Jew; he places his right hand on Christ's clasped hands, while grinning up at him. His blue robe was originally more purple, and the chaperon entirely vermilion.[2]



14





This was partly overpainted with lead white and then red lake, on which a crescent moon is placed as an embroidered exotic motif; in the underdrawing he was given a helmet-like headdress. Originally his left hand (now grasping a short staff) was raised, and he pointed towards his mouth with his extended forefinger, in an insulting gesture.[3]

The man shown upper left plays the most important role: he is about to place the crown of thorns on Jesus's head with his armoured glove. We also notice the precisely rendered arrow inserted through his turban. Its shape is specific and significant: this is a crossbow bolt with a square head, as used particularly for hunting.[4] The crown of thorns is carefully composed of two types of thorn branch, twisted together, which must have been intended symbolically. The branch with the long and sharp thorns is undoubtedly a Christ's Thorn (*Ziziphus spina-christi*) – a thornbush or tree found in various regions including the Holy Land. Branches were brought back by Western pilgrims in the belief that Christ's crown of thorns had been woven from it.[5] A rose-branch, with its typical curved thorns, is twined around the *spina-christi*. In the Christian context, the rose was primarily a symbol of the Virgin Mary and through her of the advent of the Redeemer. The beauty of the flower and plant's thorny stems are inextricably linked with one another as a symbol of love and pain. The link is made in a line from the responsory during the Feast of the Nativity of Mary. 'Sicut spina rosam genuit Iudea Mariam' – 'As the thorn brought forth the rose, so did Judea bring forth Mary.'[6]

In the underdrawing, the torturer in the upper right only held Christ with his left hand. The painter moved this hand – which now grasps a staff – further towards the edge of the panel. The staff in the underdrawing is a weapon with murderous spikes. The right hand of this figure, which rests on Christ's right shoulder, was painted over the green robe of the other tormentor and Jesus's white robe.[7] The gesture is almost solicitous and contrasts cruelly with the man's occupation. He wears a spiked leather collar around his neck to protect him from attack, as does the dog that threatens the traveller on the closed wings of the *Haywain* (cat. 20) and in the *Wayfarer* panel in Rotterdam (cat. 19A). Christ's tyrants were regularly compared with aggressive dogs, both visually and in writing.[8]

The man shown lower right wears a chaperon, the colour of which matches that of the sleeves protruding from beneath his red outer garment. His nose is smaller in the underdrawing and, as Lorne Campbell rightly notes, he seemingly wishes to rip Christ's robe in two with his hands.[9] The figure of Jesus was also adjusted during the painting process compared to the underdrawing. His hands, for instance, were positioned lower down in the preparatory sketch, almost at the bottom edge of the panel. Moving them to a slightly higher position meant that the lower left figure could touch them in what is the only contact with Christ's skin made by his tormentors. The gesture (both Bosch's adjustment and the action of the torturer) emphasizes the importance of hands in this composition: there are no fewer than seven of them in the centre of the composition, one above the other.

CLOSE-UP

A more understated, almost frozen image results from the changes made during the painting process with respect to the underdrawing. Christ's calm and serenity are all the more striking when we consider the four torturers. His white, extremely simple robe gives the impression – more so now than will have been the case originally – of having been set down entirely in dead colour. It makes his friendly face even more eloquent; he is pure and inviolate. 'Truly this man was God's Son', the centurion will say as he guards Christ on the cross, but not until Jesus has been first mocked, humiliated and put to death. It is noticeable that the officers' facial expressions are rendered without too strong an element of caricature. Do they know already what only dawned on the centurion after the sentence had been carried out? The painting in London is a serene devotional panel more than a dramatic Crowning with Thorns of the kind we find in a Passion cycle.

The confrontational close-up and large-scale presentation of half-length figures is both striking and innovative; it was hitherto still found only rarely in painting north of the

Alps.[10] The close-up composition was more common, by contrast, in religious printmaking by the likes of Martin Schongauer and Israhel van Meckenem.[11] The same effect is used in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Ghent, which was once widely attributed to Bosch. It results there, by contrast, in a more dramatic image (cat. 29).[12] Similar half-length figure compositions are also found in other Passion scenes that probably draw on examples by Hieronymus Bosch, such as the *Arrest of Christ* in the Rijksmuseum, *Christ Before Pilate* in Princeton, and the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial (cat. 27).

The London panel was initially intended, incidentally, for an image of Saint Christopher carrying the Christ Child on his shoulders rather than a Crowning with Thorns. The painting of the sky for that earlier composition was actually begun. In his recent catalogue of the National Gallery collection, Campbell discusses only the detail of the naked Christ Child. The little figure was laid down in great detail using an unusually fine brush, while the rest of the underdrawing was done with a relatively large brush and in a watery medium that can be readily linked with underdrawings elsewhere in the Bosch group.[13] Campbell believes that Bosch was probably responsible for the underdrawing of the Saint Christopher figure too; this seems unlikely, however, since no other underdrawing has so far been found within Bosch's oeuvre that closely resembles it.[14] Given that the two compositions were done within a short space of time, the panel offers important evidence for the idea that several artists made underdrawings in Bosch's workshop.[15]

DATE

Dendrochronological dating of the support gives 1468 as the most recent heartwood ring, suggesting 1477 as the earliest possible felling date and a production of the painting after 1481.[16] We assume a creation date between 1490 and 1500 based on stylistic similarities with the Prado *Adoration* and *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial.

The London *Crowning with Thorns* has been linked with a painting of the same subject done by Bosch according to early accounts. It was owned by the Portuguese humanist Damião de Góis, who was the secretary of the Portuguese merchants' community in Antwerp from 1523 to 1545. De Góis (1502–1574) undoubtedly acquired the painting, together with two other works by Hieronymus Bosch, during his time living in the Low Countries.[17] By his own account, he paid a considerable sum for this work by Bosch, which was worth a great deal because of 'the perfection, originality and the subject'.[18] De Góis declared, moreover, during his trial by the Inquisition in 1571–72 that he had presented the *Crowning with Thorns* – 'an altarpiece with doors' – to the Church of Santa Maria da Várzea in his native village of Alenquer, where he also wished to be buried.[19] It is not impossible that the painting in the National Gallery – said to have been acquired in Spain in the nineteenth century – was once the central panel of de Góis's triptych; this is far from certain, however, given the painting's format, which is relatively small and narrow for such a panel.[20]

[1] The BRCP was given permission to examine the painting in situ and out of its frame, but not to document it. The documentation in visible light, IRP, IRR and XR discussed and reproduced here was obtained in the National Gallery's studios and differs from the BRCP's standard procedures.

[2] See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 14, RR 142–143.

[3] A similar gesture is shown in two engravings by Martin Schongauer of around 1475–80: *Crowning with Thorns* (Bartsch 13; HG XLIX, 23) and *Ecce Homo* (Bartsch 15; HG XLIX, 25). See our fig. 11.12. See for the dating Shestack 1967, 51–52.

[4] Blackmore 1971, 194, 196. Directly comparable example: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.1597). Breiding 2013, 122–23 no. 45e.

[5] Dafni, Levy and Lev 2005, 1:8.

[6] Timmers 1947, 512–15, especially no. 1142.

[7] According to Lorne Campbell, this right hand is not underdrawn, although this seems to be the case in the published IRR. Campbell, however, argues that this is the underdrawing of Christ's hair. Campbell 2014, 146 fig. 1, 149.

[8] Marrow 1979, 36–40.

[9] Campbell 2014, 149.

[10] Cf. Ringbom 1965, 155–70. Bosch also used the close-up technique in the drawing of the *Owl's Nest* (cat. 36).

[11] See, for example, Martin Schongauer's *Man of Sorrows with the Virgin Mary and Saint John* (Bartsch 69), which dates according to Shestack (1969, XI) from shortly after 1470.

[12] It is interesting to note that the two paintings – *Crowning with Thorns* in London and *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Ghent – match precisely in height.

[13] See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[14] Campbell 2014, 148, 157, and fig. 3.

[15] When the outlines of the crossbow bolt upper left were scratched in, the underlying layer of paint for the sky in the Saint Christopher scene was still wet. We may conclude from this that the two compositions were created in quick succession and in the same workshop. See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques', and Spronk 2011, passim.

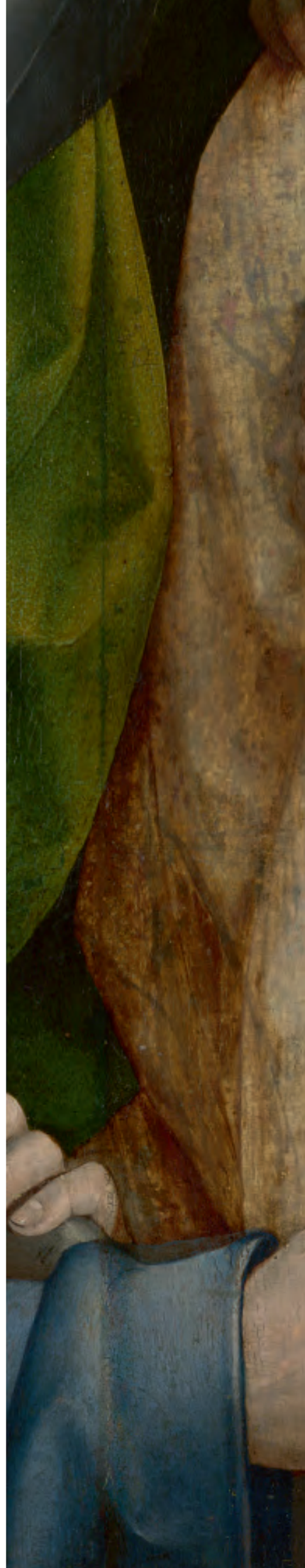
[16] Allowing for a minimum of nine rings of removed sapwood, plus two years for transport and drying, the earliest possible creation date is 1479. Production after 1481 is, however, statistically much more likely.

[17] Engelenburg 1901, 195–96; Unverfehrt 1980, 19, 24, 116; Van Dijck 2001a, 93–94; Caetano 2014, 77. See also the *Job Triptych* (cat. 23).

[18] Campbell 2014, 158, 161 n. 40; Unverfehrt 1980, 24; Feist Hirsch 1967, 48.

[19] Caetano 2014, 77.

[20] The work in question might also have been a *Crowning with Thorns* by an early follower of Bosch, such as the one in the Escorial (cat. 27) or one of the other versions of the composition in Madrid (Museo Lázaro Galdiano, inv. 3047) or Segovia (Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, inv. 12). Vandenbroeck 2002, 317–18. It is clear from Mencía de Mendoza's triptych in Valencia that this *Crowning with Thorns*, painted in a tondo, served as the central panel of a triptych. Unverfehrt (1980, 19, 24, 26) believes that the version in the Escorial is the one previously owned by Damião de Góis.



14.2



15 *Calvary with Donor*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1490–1500

Oil on oak panel, 74.8 × 61 cm
Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels, 6639

BRCP examination and documentation data: Brussels, 5–6 October 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 15, RR 19–20; //Boschproject.org no. 15.

Condition
The panel reverse is original except for the buttons applied onto the join, a rectangular block and a replaced corner at the upper left, and strips of wood that replaced the severely worm-eaten lower edge. The panel could originally have been about 0.5 cm longer at the bottom, but the other edges are original. In a past treatment the sky was likely extended to the non-original incised line (now restored). Woodworm tunnelling has severely damaged and weakened the support and four cracks were observed, two of which appear unstable. Ground and paint are adhered well, but severe lead soap aggregate formation throughout has resulted in numerous pinpoint losses, for example in Christ's face. Large restored losses are mainly present at the join and the cracks. The paint surface is somewhat abraded overall but reasonably legible.

Provenance
1886 Fétis collection, Brussels; auctioned 1909; 1926 Brussels, Franchomme-Van Halteren; purchased by the museum from that collection in 1952.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 15, RR 19–20; Fischer 2013, 19–21, 240; Koreny 2012, 28, 388; Silver 2006, 147; Stroo et al. 2001, 70–83; Marijnissen 1987, 346–48; Tolnay 1965, I, 20, 286–89; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 32; Friedländer 1927, 94–95, 148.

Analysis
The Brussels *Calvary with Donor* is unusually simple and sober for an image of the crucified Christ. Bosch deliberately presented the theme this way to optimize its contemplative effect. The (unidentified) donor and the viewer are invited to focus on Christ's sacrifice on the cross and the ensuing redemption of humanity. The landscape is bleak and the people walking away indifferent, while scraps of bone and a dead tree allude to the transience of life. At the same time, the Apostle Peter presents the donor to Saint John and the Virgin Mary, who will intercede in turn with Christ to plead for his salvation. Although the marked stylization of this unsigned panel is not evidence in itself of an early date in Bosch's oeuvre, it was painted by him in the late fifteenth century.



15.1 Gerard David, *Crucifixion*, c. 1495–1500. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.157)

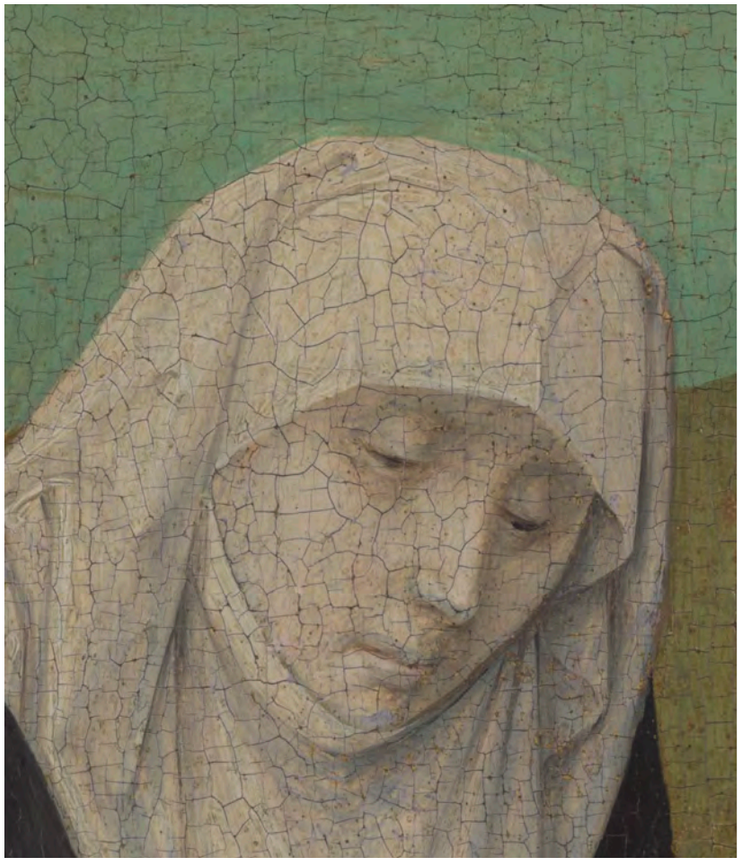
LUCID AND SERENE

While Bosch's painted oeuvre may firmly be described as Christocentric, the Brussels *Calvary with Donor* is his only surviving painting with the Crucifixion as its subject. The viewer's relationship with Christ is frequently an indirect one in many of Bosch's paintings; this is the case, for instance, in images of saints like Jerome (cat. 1) and Anthony (cat. 4), but also in the *Haywain* (cat. 20) and even the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21). Not so, however, in the Brussels painting, in which the crucified Christ forms the central point of a highly lucid and serene composition. The donor kneeling at the foot of the cross to the right also calls very subtly for the viewer's attention, in what is undoubtedly an expression of his personal devotion to Christ. The figures of Peter, John and Mary, along with the empty landscape and the view of the city pushed into the background, are all conceived in such a way as to place the focus on the kneeling man, the crucified Christ and the relationship between the two. 15.13

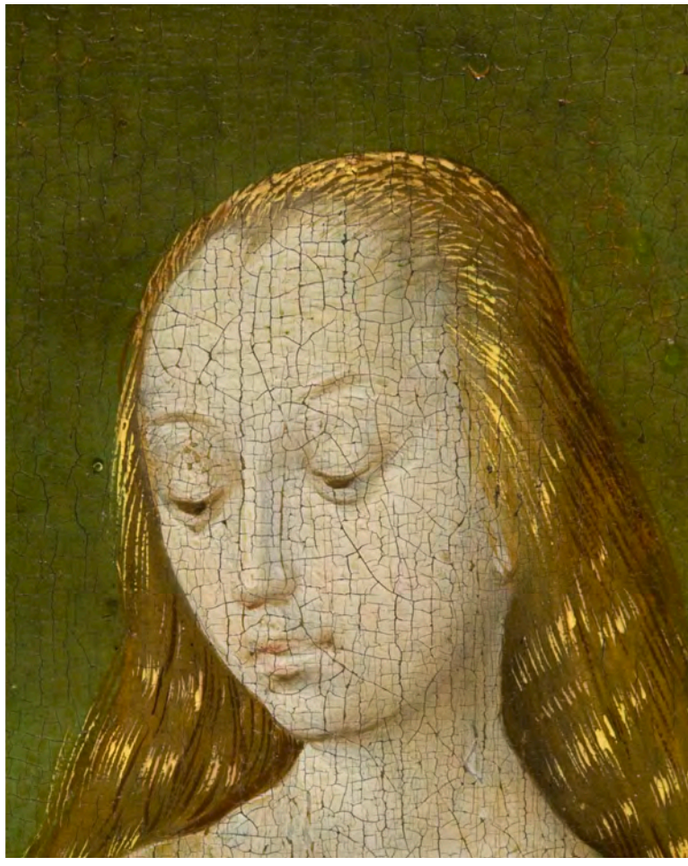
The *Calvary with Donor* is viewed almost unanimously in the Bosch literature as an autograph work. It fits neatly into the painterly tradition of the second half of the fifteenth century in the Low Countries, and is related to Calvary scenes by the likes of Rogier van der Weyden and Bosch's contemporary Gerard David. The choices Bosch made here 15.1 are highlighted by a brief comparison with David's *Crucifixion* in New York, which was produced at more or less the same time.[1] David follows Van der Weyden's example by encouraging the viewer to empathize with the Virgin Mary; Bosch, by contrast, strips the landscape back and simplifies it until it resembles the sandy area to the south of 's-Hertogenbosch. David treats the scene as a historical event by giving a prominent position to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and by allowing a direct relationship between John and Mary Magdalene on the one hand and Christ on the other, which he achieves through the direction of their respective gazes. The city in the background of Bosch's painting has a much more Brabantine feel, down to the windmill outside the city walls. Most striking, perhaps, is the fact that no one in Bosch's painting – unlike David's – is looking at Christ or tending to him. This applies to the figures gathered beneath the



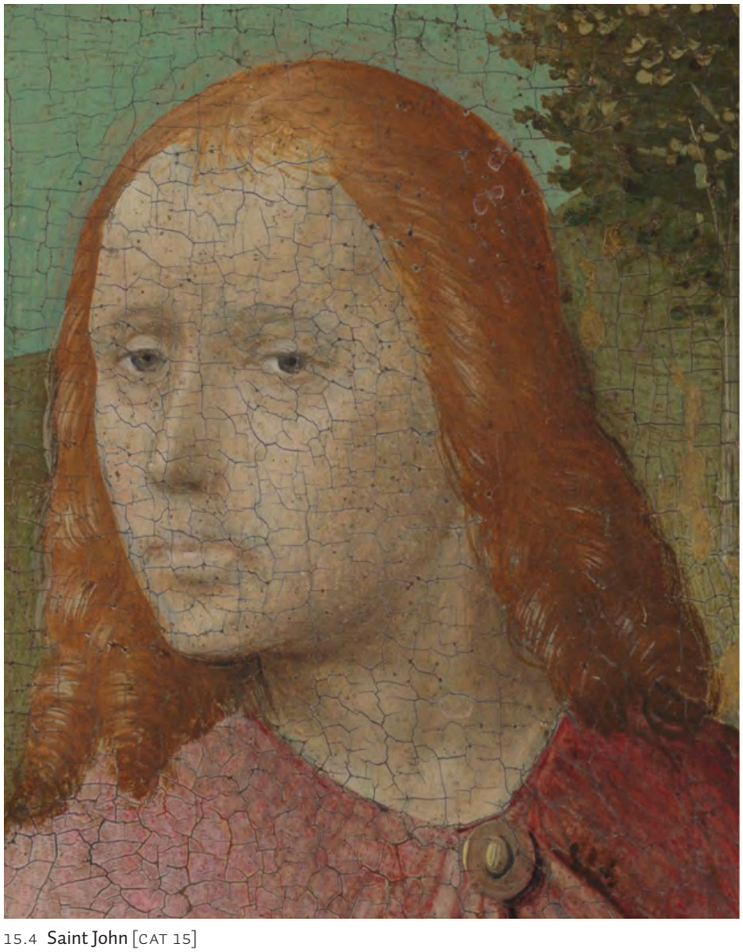
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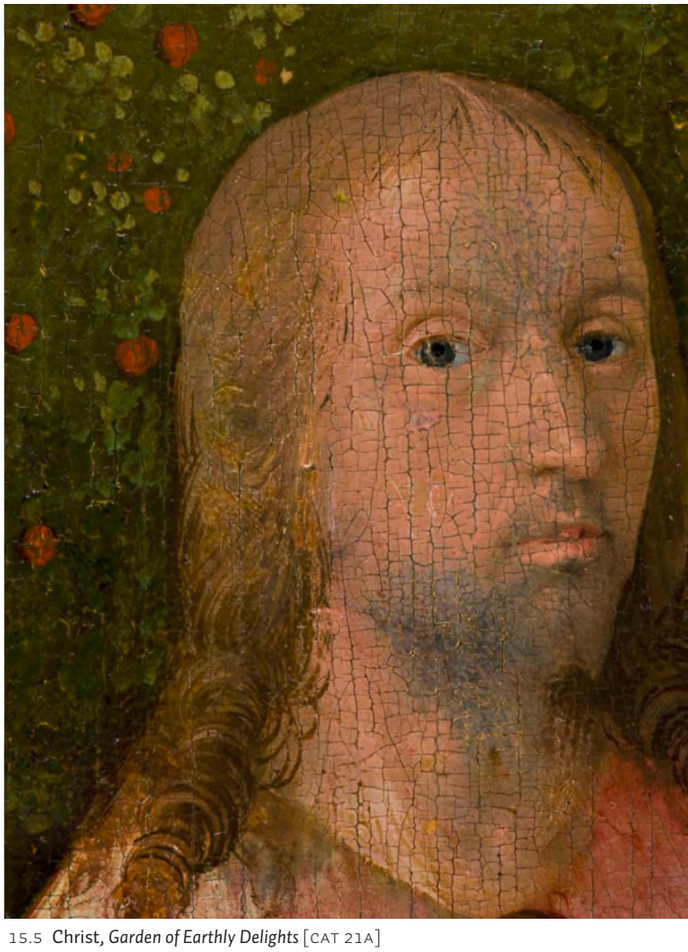
15.2 Virgin Mary [CAT 15]



15.3 Eve, *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21A]



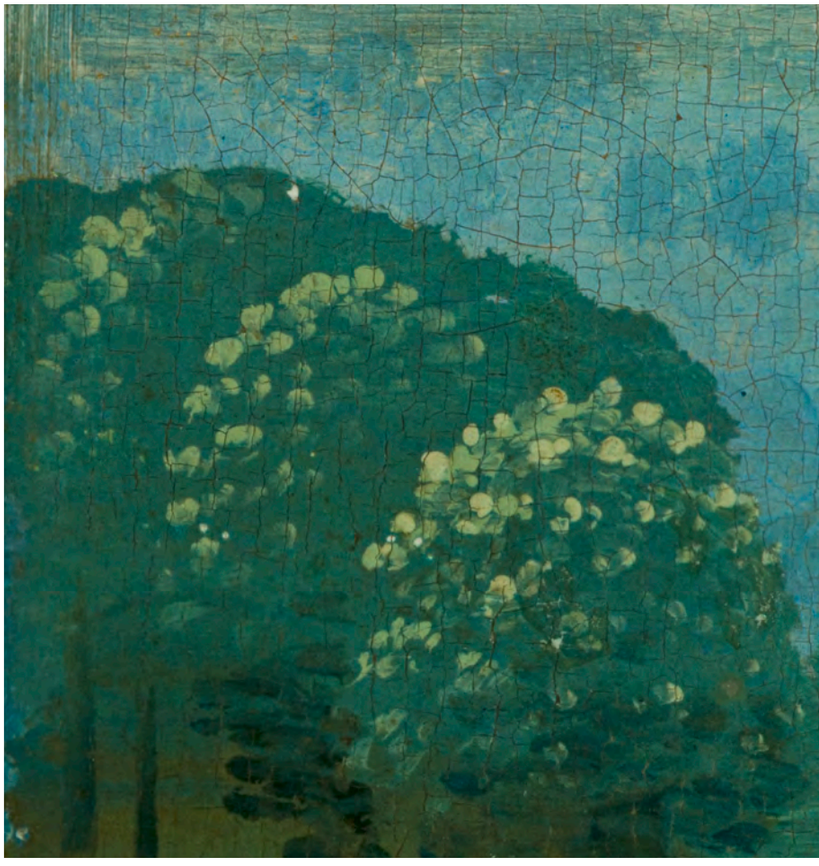
15.4 Saint John [CAT 15]



15.5 Christ, *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21A]



15.6 Trees [CAT 15]



15.7 Trees, *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21B]

cross, but also to those in the background, all of whom seem indifferent to or unaware of the Crucifixion as they make their way towards the city.

PARALLELS

Several stylistic similarities can be identified between this panel and other works by Bosch, most notably the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21). The features of Saint John and the Virgin Mary in the Brussels painting, for instance, resemble those of Christ and Eve in the left wing of the Prado triptych,[2] and the painting of the background is also similar. This is particularly apparent in the way the trees have been painted, with broader, dark-green brushstrokes at the base and semi-circular crowns with fluidly applied green and light-green to yellowish highlights in the foliage, and also in the construction of the rolling landscape in varying shades of green. The way the trees are painted is also related to *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (cat. 13). The post mill on a rise outside the city walls, meanwhile, is virtually identical to the one in the central panel of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9). There is also a somewhat hidden, yet unmistakable parallel with the small Calvary scene at the top of the closed *Adoration*; the poses of both the Virgin and Jesus are very similar in the two panels, and Christ's loincloth is virtually identical too, even though the grisaille painting in Madrid was executed on a far smaller scale than the Brussels painting.[3] 15.2–5 15.6–7 15.10–11 15.8–9

The style of the underdrawing, laid down in successive phases, fits in well with other works in the group.[4] The main outlines were set down first – in the landscape as well – with a medium-size brush in a relatively watery medium. The modelling was then prepared fairly precisely with small, parallel hatched lines applied with a finer brush and following the direction of the form. The deepest shadows were subsequently emphasized using a larger brush; these thicker, closely spaced lines resemble a wash in certain places, including Saint John's robe lower right. The donor is harder to distinguish in the underdrawing than



15.8–9 Crucified Christ: *Calvary* [CAT 15] and *Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid) [CAT 9D–E]

the other figures, due primarily to the black cloak he is wearing and the damage to his face. It is clear, however, from the hands and legs in particular, that this figure too was prepared in the underdrawing. The artist made virtually no changes in the final painting compared to the underdrawing.

The iconography of the painting is clear: the Virgin Mary, who wears a blue robe beneath her grey (mourning) cloak, grieves over the crucified Christ. She is consoled by the Apostle John, whom we recognize from his long hair, youthful appearance and the book under his arm. The two of them stand on Christ's right, traditionally the most important side.[5] The painting's donor is shown kneeling to Christ's left (the viewer's right), together with what is no doubt his patron saint, the Apostle Peter. The latter is depicted in the traditional way as an older, balding man, with a short beard and holding a bunch of keys. Peter presents the donor to John, who recommends him in turn to Mary and to the viewer. None of the three holy figures looks up at Christ on the cross. Most puzzling of all is the donor's gaze: what is he looking at? Perhaps we are meant to infer that his gaze is directed inwardly, that he is primarily viewing the scene in his mind's eye.

DATING AND DONOR

The conventional and deceptively simple character of this painting has prompted a number of authors to give it an early date. Dendrochronological analysis has shown that the panel could have been painted from 1477 onwards, and most likely two years after that date.[6] An early date cannot, therefore, be ruled out. On the other hand, the execution of the painting differs quite markedly from the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* (cat. 11) and the New York *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 10) – two works that are indeed believed to date from relatively early in Bosch's career. The stylistic affinities with the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial and the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 21, 13 and 9) rather seem to suggest a date in the 1490s.

Despite the panel's simplicity, it raises a number of awkward questions regarding the figure of the donor. Most notably, why is he dressed this way? The striking red and black striped hose, combined with the cloak, sword and headgear, ought to be enough to determine the man's social position. It has been suggested, though without offering the slightest supporting evidence or comparative material, that he is the 's-Hertogenbosch municipal secretary or a prominent member of a guild or society.[7] Cyriel Stroo noted that hoses of this kind were popular in the late fifteenth century as an alternative to the older mi-parti-coloured type and were worn chiefly, though not exclusively, by servants or subordinates, such as courtiers and pages.[8] However, none of the examples that Stroo cites in this regard match the costume of the donor figure, despite the fact that this combination of colours and the meticulously painted staggering of the stripes provide what ought to be an important clue. Although in earlier times conspicuously striped clothes often had a negative connotation, and could even suggest an executioner in this context, they actually became fashionable among the social elite in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[9] Although it is not impossible that the choice of clothes was purely personal, it seems more likely that the man's eye-catching hose had something to do with his status or position. The sword hanging from his belt could mean that he held some kind of military post.[10] The fact that he is not wearing spurs tells us he is not a nobleman, while the presence of the Apostle Peter makes it likely that his first name was Peter, Pieter or some other variation. Sadly, it has proved impossible so far to identify the donor, or even his social position.



15.10 The Virgin and Saint John [CAT 15]



15.11 The Virgin and Saint John, *Adoration* (Madrid) [CAT 9D]

CONTEMPLATION

The subject of this *Calvary with Donor* might be traditional, but the way it is executed is certainly not. The contemplative, stately, almost aloof character of the painting is particularly intriguing. The cool shades of blue, green and brown used in the background lend the scene a sense of desolation. Even though most of the trees are in blossom, it is the withered trunk behind Saint Peter and slightly to his right that best sums up the mood of the painting for the viewer – an effect heightened by the bones scattered around the central scene, the birds we see just above the donor's head, and the bird sitting on a tree-stump to the left of the Virgin Mary, which consists entirely of strokes of black paint. Pursuit of simplicity – in everyday life, but very much in a spiritual sense as well – enables the donor figure to focus as effectively as possible on Jesus and on his personal devotion to him.

15.12

The subject of this painting is not, therefore, the physical or emotional suffering of Christ or those around him; it is far more concerned with themes of remembrance, contemplation and reflection. Christ's presence in the life of the unidentified donor is more important than the donor's 'physical' presence at a historical event. The image of the crucified Christ, accompanied by Saint John and the Virgin Mary as intercessors, functions here for the donor as an aid to meditation. This aid (it is useful to view the painting in this context as a tool) must have been intended in the first instance to serve the historical donor as he viewed the panel; the donor contemplating himself, in other words, as a painted figure at the foot of the cross.[11] The painted donor no longer seems to need any such aid to meditation. He 'sees' the key event in Christian doctrine so vividly that it seems to him that he is actually present. The painting presents an ideal image of the donor's meditative practice and reminds him of it, while simultaneously memorializing the donor himself as an exemplary Christian. This is a work intended to set an example to others.[12] The viewer is invited to pray for the salvation of the man in the painting, who is likely to have been buried close to the original destination of this Calvary image.



15.12



[1] Ainsworth 1998, 121–24. Comparison of the two paintings is not meant to suggest that Bosch took David's work as a source of contrast and inspiration, it is merely intended to highlight the artistic and iconographical choices that Bosch made in his *Calvary*.

[2] Silver 2006, 147.

[3] It was discovered during the restoration of the Brussels panel in 1966–67 that the donor had been partially overpainted, most likely with the figure of Mary Magdalene, who was shown with her arms wrapped around the base of the cross, in the same way as on the outside of the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych in the Prado. This addition was subsequently removed at an unknown date. See also Stroo et al. 2001, 76.

[4] See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[5] John and Mary also stand to the crucified Christ's right in the tiny Calvary scene on the back of *Saint John on Patmos* in Berlin (cat. 6); in that case, however, John firmly directs her and the viewer's attention towards Jesus on the cross.

[6] Stroo et al. 2001, 72. See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[7] Gerlach 1975, 90; Marijnissen 1987, 348, respectively. No dress code of any kind is known for 's-Hertogenbosch.

[8] Stroo et al. 2001, 77.

[9] Pastoureau 1991, 60–73; Klemittilä 2006, 109–56; Van Buren and Wieck 2011, 270–72.

[10] Friedländer (1927, 35) describes the donor as 'einen ganz jungen Ritter'.

[11] This was a widely used pictorial format in fifteenth-century Netherlandish art, of which Jan van Eyck's *Madonna of Chancellor Rolin* (1435) is probably the best-known example. See Belting 2010, 125–34.

[12] This principle has been confirmed scientifically in recent decades by the discovery of 'mirror neurons'. See, for example, V.S. Ramachandran, 'Mirror neurons and imitation learning as the driving force behind "the great leap forward" in human evolution': http://edge.org/3rd_culture/ramachandran/ramachandran_p1.html; Marco Iacoboni, *Mirroring People – The New Science of How We Connect With Others*, New York 2008.



15.13



16 *The Last Judgement*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1495–1505

Oil on oak panel, left wing 99.5 x 28.8 cm, central panel 99.2 x 60.5 cm, right wing 99.5 x 28.6 cm
Signed central panel, lower right: *Jheronimus bosch*
Stad Brugge, Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 0000GRO.0208.I

BRCP examination and documentation data: Bruges, 2–6 June 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 16, RR 69–74; //Boschproject.org no. 16.

Condition
The triptych originally had an engaged frame. The composition continued across the closed triptych, where a vertical strip of about six to seven centimetres wide appears to be missing in the centre. The central panel is mostly original. It has a reglued corner tip, two cracks and a slightly open join that has never been separated. In the past, the wings were joined together and cropped by circa two centimetres at the top. Two horizontal bars were attached to the reverses, severely damaging the grisailles. Besides severe paint damage at drip marks, the right edge of the closed right wing shows extensive flaking. The opened triptych is largely intact. There are some larger losses at the left edge of the central panel, and local abrasion and youth cracks in the brown smoke in the background. Green lakes have discoloured brown and several lighter paints have increased in transparency. Conservation issues, such as the degraded varnish, were addressed in the 2014–15 full treatment of the painting.

Provenance
Most likely owned by Cardinal Domenico Grimani, Venice, as early as c. 1520; probably listed in 1528 in the inventory of the collection of his nephew, Marino Grimani; late eighteenth or early nineteenth century Cardinal Antonio Despuig y Dameto, Rome – Palma de Mallorca; 11 July 1900 auction Paris (Hôtel Drouot), no. 4; 8 May 1906 sale of Emile Gavet's estate, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), no. 2, purchased by or via Ducrey art dealers, Paris; 1907 Seligmann art dealers, Paris; purchased by Minister August Beernaert and donated in 1907 to the City of Bruges; since then in the Groeningemuseum.

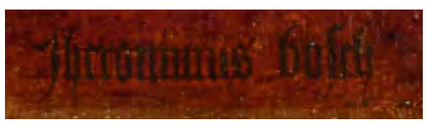
Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 16, RR 69–74; Fischer 2013, 264–65; Martens 2013, 191–207; Koreny 2012, 110, 326–27; Silver 2006, 357–59; Janssens de Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos 1981, 68–84, 168–84; Unverfehrt 1980, 240–41; De Vos 1979, 87–89; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 85; Tolnay 1965, I, 188–201; II, 383–84; Pauwels 1960, 52–53; Janssens de Bisthoven and Parmentier 1951, 3–12; Friedländer 1927, 100, 148.

Analysis
The *Last Judgement* in Bruges was restored in 2014–15, revealing once again the triptych's superb quality. Variations on many of its details are found in other works from the Bosch group. The underdrawing displays the painter's typical, exploratory work method. There are so many affinities between the painting of this work and Bosch's technique in other panels we ascribe to his core oeuvre that we include the Bruges *Last Judgement* in that group. It is interesting in iconographic terms that the figure of God the Father that was originally planned in the left wing was not actually painted. This transformed the work from a triptych comprising three discrete scenes to one with a single large image of Judgement Day, which extends over all three panels and intensifies their Christocentric character. The *Last Judgement* scene is introduced by the grisaille image of the *Crowning with Thorns* on the closed wings.

PROVENANCE

16.2 Some time around 1527, Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo (c. 1480–1548) painted a panel with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*.[1] He incorporated several details borrowed directly from the *Last Judgement* that has been in Bruges since 1907. These details, which are are found in no other paintings, are reproduced so precisely in terms of form and colour that Savoldo must have worked from the Bruges triptych rather than from a variation on it or from drawings, prints or *ricordi*.[2] Savoldo was active in Venice from around 1520 until his death in 1548, and so it makes sense that it was there that he saw the *Last Judgement* and copied details from it. Didier Martens suggested recently that the triptych can indeed be traced to Venice in that period.[3] 'A Flemish painting with two wings, the Judgement of Christ' ('uno quadro con due sportelli fiandrese iudecio di christo') is recorded in the possession of Paola Grimani in 1528. This triptych probably remained in Venice until the death in 1546 of her brother, Cardinal Marino Grimani, who was its actual owner. The cardinal's impressive art collection was inherited by their brother Giovanni. The paintings must have remained in the latter's house for a while following his death in 1592, but were later dispersed.[4] Marino Grimani probably acquired the triptych as a bequest from his uncle, the famous Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461–1523), owner of various works by Bosch; the latter are not described with sufficient precision, however, to be securely identified with the triptychs and the Afterlife panels kept in Venice today (cat. 2, 8 and 18).[5] Among these works, the triptychs with the Hermit Saints and with Saint Wilgefortis display striking affinities with the *Last Judgement*, and originally had virtually the same form and dimensions. The three triptychs thus form

16.1 [CAT 16B]





16D 16E



16A



16B



16C



16.2 Girolamo Savoldo, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, c. 1527. Timken Museum of Art, San Diego

Savoldo: Temptation of Saint Anthony / Bosch: Last Judgement, Bruges: corresponding details

Central panel Bruges [CAT 16B]

– rat-like creature with long ears and red cloak (reversed)

– bird-like creature with red hood; cage on human head

– bottom right: millstones with funnel-like top operated by humans, simple (Bosch) and richly decorated (Savoldo)

– woman drawing water

– above the woman drawing water: knot of demons behind a large metal shield with central pike

Right wing Bruges [CAT 16C]

– beaked monster devouring a man; yellow wing tips; the wings are closer to those in central panel Bruges

– small hooded demon reading a book



16.3 Paradise fountain [CAT 16A]



16.4 Herri met de Bles, Paradise fountain, detail of *Paradise*, 1541–50. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

16.5 [CAT 16B]


Hieronimus Bosch

a separate group within Bosch's known oeuvre, and their early presence in Venice suggests the possibility of a common origin, with Domenico Grimani as their owner around 1520. What is more, if Herri met de Bles did indeed base the 'Fountain of Paradise' he painted in the mid-sixteenth century directly on the left wing of Bosch's triptych (as seems more than likely), this would be one more piece of evidence that that Southern Netherlandish painter spent time in Italy.[6]

16.3, 16.4

16.6 *Crowning with Thorns* [CAT 16D]

The *Last Judgement* was acquired in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century by the prelate and count of Montenegro Antonio Despuig y Dameto (1745–1813).[7] Following his death, it ended up in the private museum in the palace of the counts of Montenegro in the centre of Palma de Mallorca. It was sold by Despuig's heirs at auction in Paris on 11 July 1900, and was subsequently offered for sale again in the same city six years later.[8] Didier Martens reconstructed this provenance based on a description of the triptych in the 1845 catalogue of the museum in Palma de Mallorca.[9] The triptych had been split up at the time and was displayed as two paintings. The central panel was listed as '111. El infierno (Tabla gótica semicircular)' and the wings as '123. El infierno y el mundo (Tabla gótica semicircular)'. It was auctioned in this form in 1900,[10] but the panels were then reassembled as a triptych in 1906; they were probably mounted at that point in the moulded neo-Gothic frame that was replaced following the 2015 restoration. The triptych was loaned in this configuration for the 'Toison d'Or' exhibition held in Bruges in 1907, following which it was purchased for the city's municipal museums. The grisaille painting on the backs of the wings was entirely ignored when the two panels were mounted in a single frame. They were joined using two horizontal planks that were glued and nailed to the back, with the result that the painting in that location was lost. The painted reverses of the wings were again ignored when the three panels were reunited as a triptych, after which the fully opened triptych could only be displayed flat against the wall. It was not even possible to close the altarpiece completely. This was not remedied until the 2015 restoration, when the panels were reframed. Justice has also been done, moreover, to the grisaille painting, which is essential to the meaning of the *Last Judgement* as a whole.

16.8 Hell [CAT 16C]

IMAGERY

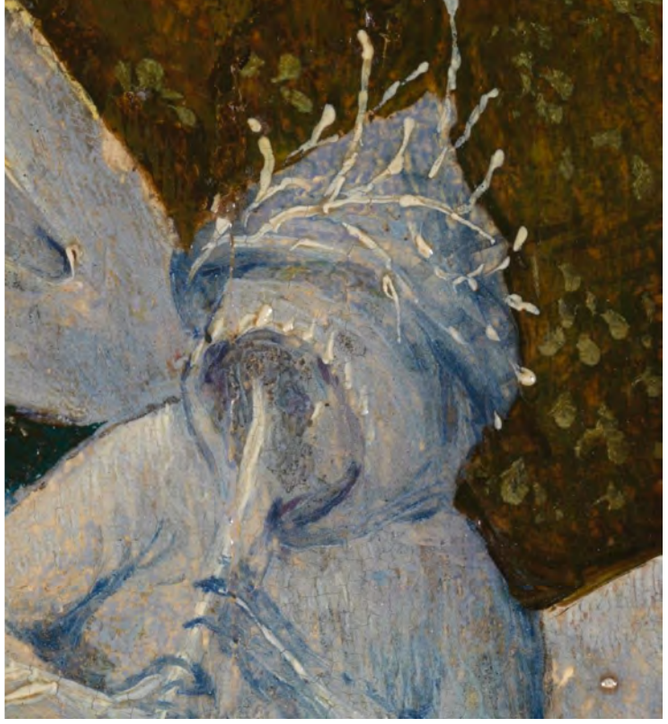
Both wings of the closed triptych contain a single large scene against a virtually black background within an originally green contour line now discoloured to brown, which follows the arched top of the triptych. The now almost black surface around it was a very dark green. The grisaille shows the *Crowning with Thorns*. The shutters were probably framed in such a way that the images on the outside fitted closely together, as we find in the *Haywain* in the Prado and in some other triptychs (cat. 20).[11] Christ is shown sitting, surrounded by six guards. The balding man who places the crown of thorns on his head strongly resembles the centrally placed figure of the Escorial *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 13). Like his counterpart in *Crowning with Thorns* in London (cat. 14), the torturer grasps the crown in an armoured glove. The figure in front of him with a round shield on his back is wearing unusual headgear camouflaged with branches, similar to the one worn by the demonic musician on top of the haywain in the Prado triptych. The *Crowning with Thorns* as an image of Christ's self-sacrifice and the mocking presentation of him as a king form the prelude to the open triptych. Here we see Christ again, now in his role of humanity's judge. He is pictured in a circle of bright blue sky where, small but optically dominant, he forms the absolute focus of the image as a whole. The contrast is theatrical; the closed triptych shows a dark, grisaille painting with large figures; when opened, it displays a brightly coloured scene, twice as large, populated with small figures and glowing with the flames of hell and damnation, yet also with a luminous paradise wing at Christ's right hand.

16.10 Hell [CAT 16C]

16.6, 16.7

The concentration on the figure of Christ explains the structure of the open triptych. This was initially conceived as a narrative sequence, as we often find in Bosch's triptychs: the Garden of Eden on the left and hell on the right, with a scene between them that links this beginning and this end in various different ways. This is what we find, for instance, in





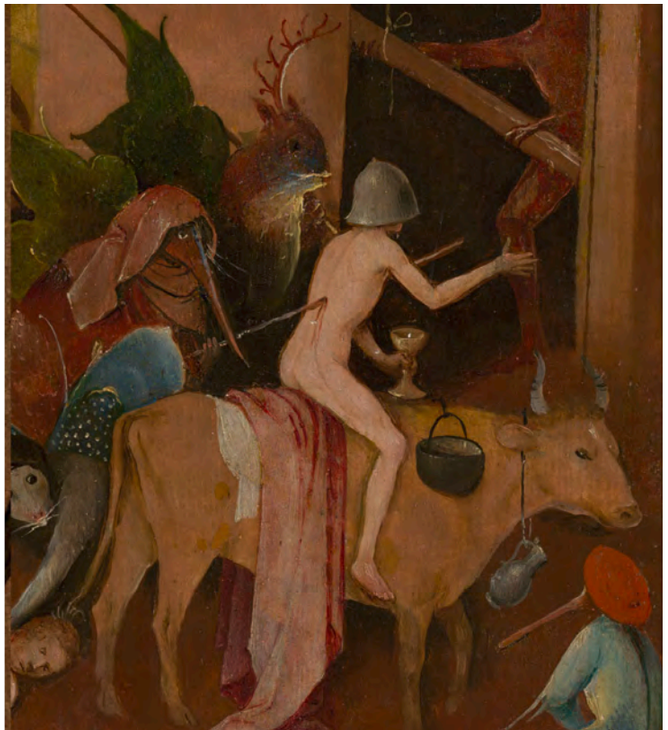
16.7 *Haywain* [CAT 20B]





16.9 *Haywain* [CAT 20C]





16.11 *Haywain* [CAT 20C]

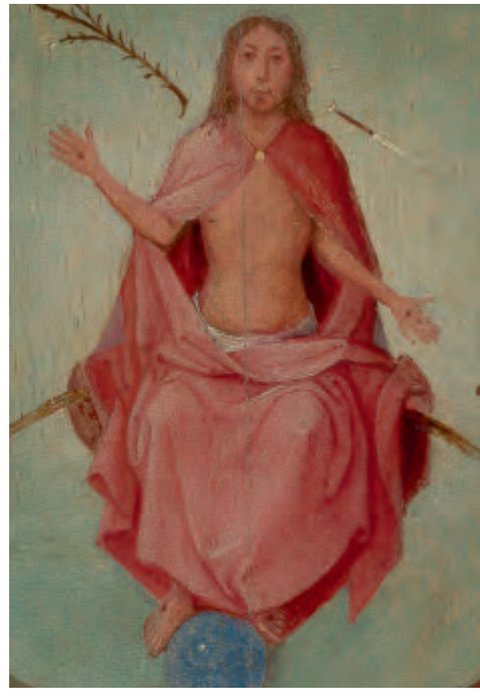
the *Haywain*, the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and the Vienna *Last Judgement* triptychs (cat. 20, 21 and 17). Infrared photography and reflectography reveal that a Paradise scene referring to the first days of Creation was also planned for the left wing of the Bruges *Last Judgement*. This is still visible to the naked eye. Beneath painted clouds, God the Father can be made out in the underdrawing in the same form as he takes in the *Haywain* and the Vienna *Last Judgement*, with several angels to the right of him. In the Bruges *Last Judgement*, by contrast, Bosch decided to drop this design while still at the underdrawing stage and sketched a paradisaical setting instead around the tall fountain-tower. The latter was originally painted on a little island surrounded by a lake. The people swimming and bathing there are only drawn. Slightly below the fountain, on the extreme left of the panel, where we now see a stand of trees, a sitting figure was painted, dressed in red, with what might have been a smaller angel to the right of it. The angels in the sky carry barely visible souls to the point of
16.12–13 light in the grey clouds that were painted over the underdrawn God the Father.



16.12–13 VIS and IRR [CAT 16A]

GENESIS

The finished version of the scene differs in numerous respects from the underdrawing in the open wings and the first painted version: sketched details were not painted, and many of the elements that were painted were not initially planned or were themselves later adjusted. The underdrawing in the central panel, by contrast, was followed surprisingly closely in the preliminary paint layer. Perhaps a preliminary study was made for this more complex composition, but not for the wings. Substantial changes in the paint layer have been detected in the wings, primarily in the background. Several painted details in the foreground of the central panel were also altered, including a naked man posed acrobatically before the jib of the clog-shaped sailing boat, who was completely painted out. The central panel also differs somewhat in the style of its underdrawing. The underdrawing of the open wings, particularly that of the outlines, was laid down freely and expressively with a medium brush in a watery medium; these lines are mostly short and are likewise often
16.14–15 intermittent.[12] Such lines were also used in the central panel, but the forms of the more complex composition are worked out there to a greater extent, while the modelling and shadow effects are prepared to a greater degree using parallel hatching, with the exception of the figures in the uppermost zone. Several of the details here were, moreover, underdrawn with a larger brush and in a relatively watery medium, as in the large dead hollow tree on the right. In other words, the underdrawing of the central panel was done in several stages. Different brushes and underdrawing media also appear to have been used in the wings for details that were not included in the painting stage; this is apparent in the lower left of the Paradise wing and in the figure bent forwards in front of the large tower in the right wing.[13] The compositions were systematically developed therefore even during the actual application of the paint layers – an exploratory way of working that was typical of Bosch and his workshop. The quality of execution is very high throughout the triptych in terms of foreshortening and the rendering of materials and reflections, while the brush-
16.18–19 work in many details is downright brilliant. The image seems highly detailed, even though a great many elements, including faces, are actually rendered quite sketchily.



16.14–15 VIS and IRP [CAT 16B]

CONNECTIONS

The overall triptych with the *Crowning with Thorns* in grisaille on the closed shutters and the colourful *Last Judgement* on the inside matches the workshop practice of Hieronymus Bosch in terms of technique, conception, imagery and the way compositional and iconographic adjustments were made. Similar pictorial elements are also found in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the *Last Judgement Triptych* in Vienna, the *Haywain* in Madrid and the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 21, 17, 20 and 4). The affinities between the Bruges *Last Judgement* and other works by Bosch is both striking and remarkably structural. Janssens de Bisthoven already noted this in the various editions of the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands*.[14]



The central panel contains motifs drawn primarily from the equivalent panel of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 17). Christ sitting in judgement is almost identical, albeit done by another hand. In Bruges, however, he is flanked by two groups of male saints – fourteen in total, while the Vienna panel depicts the Apostles, John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary as intercessors. The instrument of torture consisting of two millstones stood on edge, to which two souls are tethered and which grind a third soul in a dish as they rotate, is placed in front of a large green jug in Bruges and on top of it in Vienna. Both panels have a head-and-feet figure with a cap in the extreme foreground on the left and a somewhat obscene, fleshy creature further towards the middle. A similarly oversized knife with the same cutler's mark is used as an instrument of torture.[15] One of the curious war machines – which features in both Judgement scenes – consists of a relatively large round shield, with a long, thin skewer sticking out from the middle; in Bruges it is a kind of fishing rod, in Vienna more of a double boathook. Two more anecdotal torture scenes feature, lastly, in both panels. A monstrous creature roasts a soul on a spit, basting it with a long wooden ladle. Two other souls have been hung high up in the chimney where they are smoked like hams. Further in the background, there is a demonic smithy with several souls cowering behind the furnace as the smith lays one of their number on the anvil and beats him with a large hammer.

17.1

16.16–17

16.5

Several elements from the central panel in Bruges also appear in the Hell wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Demons and souls walk or dance around a gigantic bagpipe on a large disc; the instrument originally had a long bourdon like its counterpart in Bruges. An equally colossal lantern offers space for a group of partygoers in one case and a band of soldiers in the other. The Hell scene in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* includes a soul trapped with outstretched arms and legs in an oversized harp, the strings of which run straight through his body; the equivalent figure in the Bruges panel has been hung up there in the same pose. The human soul whose punishment is to be used as the clapper of a large bell appears once in the Bruges painting, while the one in Madrid has two smaller bells with souls as clappers. Both panels, lastly, have a round hole in the ground lower right, in which we make out damned souls in the darkness.

There are only two details that reappear almost literally in the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4). The panther running away in the tent on the left of the Bruges panel corresponds with the same animal under the table in the left foreground of the right



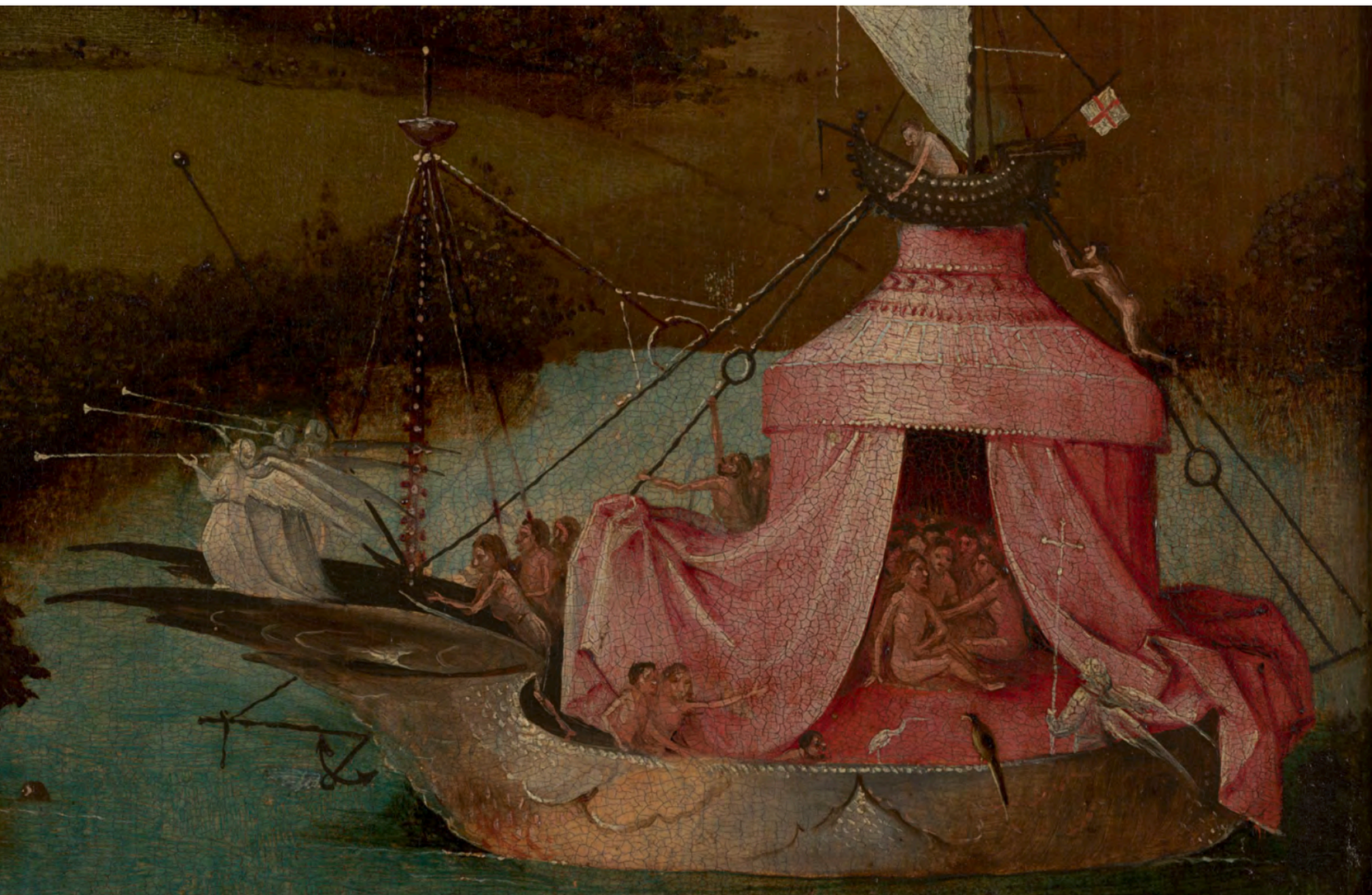


16.16 *Last Judgement* (Bruges) [CAT 16B]



16.17 *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17B]





16.18

wing in Lisbon, while the open basket containing a little monster in one case and a bunch of flowers in the other, appears in both panels.

The details identified by Janssens de Bisthoven in the central panel in Bruges and in full or partial copies, particularly of the Vienna *Last Judgement*, are not so relevant here.[16] What is exceptionally interesting, by contrast, is the similarity in a number of details with a privately owned drawing (not known to Janssens de Bisthoven), which Fritz Koreny attributed for that reason to an assistant of the 'Master of the Bruges Last Judgement', and



16.20 Cornelis Cort (?) and Hieronymus Cock ('HIERONYMVS BOS INVENTOR'), *Judgement Day*, c. 1560–70. Engraving. The British Museum, London

which is ascribed in the present book without any hesitation to Hieronymus Bosch himself (cat. 44). The most important details in this regard are the human clapper in the bell, the souls sat astride the edge of the knife-blade, the monstrous animal vomiting into a cooking pot, the waterwheel used as an instrument of torture, the disc with protruding teeth and the dancing souls, and the lantern occupied by other souls.

The right wing of the Bruges *Last Judgement* does not feature any details that correspond with the panels mentioned above, but there are two elements that recur directly and exclusively in the Hell wing of the *Haywain* (cat. 20).[17] The large fortified tower, which is finished in the Bruges painting, is still being constructed in the *Haywain*. There, it is approached by an ox, over which a cloth has been draped that hangs down to the ground, and which is ridden by a soldier pierced by a long skewer and holding a looted chalice in his left hand. The beast with its sinful rider also advances towards the tower in the Bruges Hell wing. In this case, the soldier has been run through with a sword. In the underdrawing of the *Haywain*

16.8–11

16.19

scene, the body lying behind the ox, which looks like it is actually being dragged along by it, has likewise been pierced by a sword.[18]

The left, Paradise wing of the Bruges triptych does not contain any elements found in any other surviving work by Hieronymus Bosch, but there are some that feature in an engraving of around 1560–70 attributed to Cornelis Cort after a triptych with scenes of Judgement Day, Heaven and Hell. It is stated on the print that the theme is an invention of
16.20 Hieronymus Bosch,[19] but the engraving is undoubtedly a pastiche. The bottom half of the left wing displays clear similarities with the Bruges Paradise scene. The little group with the angel playing the harp with three souls in the right foreground, the ship crewed by angels and souls a little further back in the paradise garden, and – somewhat more freely – the fountain in the left foreground, can only have been inspired by the triptych wing in Bruges, a variation on it or a *ricordo*. It cannot be a coincidence that Cornelis Cort spent time in Venice in 1566–67.

DATE AND ATTRIBUTION

Based on the similarities with various works by Bosch and in view of the shift in conception whereby the open triptych became a large Last Judgement scene rather than the usual narrative sequence over three panels, Hieronymus Bosch is likely to have painted the triptych at a relatively late date, although a slightly earlier one might also be possible. The most recent annual growth ring of the wood is from 1469, which means the triptych could have been painted from 1480 onwards or, more likely, after 1482.[20]

This conclusion brings us back to the cataloguing of the central panel and combined wings in 1845, when the triptych was ascribed to Hieronymus Bosch. This remained the case until Louis Maeterlinck attributed it to Herri met de Bles in 1908.[21] Max J. Friedländer reassigned the painting to Bosch in 1927, but other authorities failed to follow his example and continued to view the triptych as originating from the workshop, circle or a follower of Bosch. The consensus shifted in 1959 on the rediscovery of the grisaille painting on the shutters, following which many concluded that the triptych was at least partially an autograph work by Hieronymus Bosch. Gerd Unverfehrt listed it in his authoritative 1980 study as the work of a pupil of Bosch, and dated it to around 1510.[22] Since then the various attributions have existed alongside one another.[23]

Based on the new BRCP documentation of both the underdrawings and the painting process, and on our improved understanding of the triptych thanks to its conservation and restoration in 2014–15, we conclude that it must be attributed to Hieronymus Bosch himself, as the authentic signature likewise insists.

[1] Timken Museum of Art, San Diego (CA), The Putnam Collection. Oil on panel, 69.5 x 119.7 cm. *Timken Museum of Art: European Works of Art, American Paintings and Russian Icons in the Putnam Foundation Collection*, San Diego 1994, 53–57, no. 8; Brown 1999, 444–45, no. 116.

[2] This relates to at least seven elements – more than hitherto recognized. Jacobsen 1974, 534; Brown 1999, 444; Martens 2013, 203.

[3] Martens 2013, 199–203. We are grateful to Didier Martens for providing us with the original French text of his article.

[4] Brown 1999, 434; Perry 1978, 219–20, 223.

[5] See Brown 1999, 432–35; Aikema 2001, 25–26. It is unlikely that Marcantonio Michiel was referring to one or more of these triptychs in his 1521 description of Cardinal Domenico Grimani's paintings: not only would he have had to mistake panels for canvases, he would also have had to describe the subjects incorrectly. Michiel (Morelli) 1800, 77, 221; Mussi and Williamson 1903, 119; Von Frimmel 1888, 102–03. Michiel described Bosch's works in the following terms: 'La tela del inferno cun la gran diversità de monstri fo de mano de Hieronimo Bosch; La tela delle sogni fo de man de l'istesso; La tela della fortuna con el ceto che ingiotte Giona fu de man de l'istesso' ('The inferno canvas with a great variety of monsters was the work of Hieronymus Bosch; the canvas with the dream scene was by the same hand; the canvas of fortune with the whale which swallowed up Jonah was by the same hand').

[6] Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-780. It is generally assumed that Herri met de Bles borrowed this directly from the Bruges *Last Judgement*. Boeke 1974, 76; Serck 1990, 171, 175, 180, 185; Unverfehrt 1980, 150, 279 no. 119; Weemans 2013, 67–68; Bakker 2015, 123–24, 132 n. 44. To infer from this, however, that the Bruges *Last Judgement* was intended for a church in Antwerp, where Bles was based, is a circular argument. A discussion of a possible visit to Italy by Bles can be found in Limentani Virdis 2001; Weemans 2013, 8.

[7] Probably during his time in Rome between 1785 and 1792, when Despuig was attached to the Sacra Rota Romana. Martens 2013, 204–05.

[8] Sale 'Collection de feu M. Emile Gavet', Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 8 May 1906, no. 2 and pl. 2 (copy in The Hague, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, with buyer's notes and price: Ducrey, 2550). The illustration shows the triptych freestanding, without the frame that had recently been fitted.

[9] Martens 2013, 199: Joaquín María Bover de Roselló, *Noticia histórico-artística de los Museos del Eminentísimo Señor Cardenal Despuig existentes en Mallorca*, 1845, no. 111, 123.

[10] *Catalogue de tableaux anciens des XV^ème^, XVI^ème^, XVII^ème^ et XVIII^ème^ siècles …, marbres antiques, le tout provenant de la Collection du cardinal Despuig …*, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 11 July 1900, 4 no. 4 (copy in Philadelphia Museum of Art, with note on the price: '1750 francs').

[11] See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[12] Similar broken lines were used in the underdrawing of the Christ Child in the scene beneath the *Crowning with Thorns* in London (cat. 14), although this was done with a much smaller brush. See Campbell 2014, 148 fig. 3.

[13] Phased underdrawings like this are also found in several other, relatively complex compositions in the group; see also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[14] Janssens de Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos 1981, 77–80.

[15] The mark is a capital 'M'. A knife has been excavated in 's-Hertogenbosch with precisely the same mark stamped on the left side of the blade. There are two heavier versions of a knife with the same mark in the Hell wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, Exhibition Supplement, 235 no. 19.33.

[16] Janssens de Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos 1981, 79.

[17] See the website Boschproject.org, link L35 and L36.

[18] See the website Boschproject.org, link L34.

[19] Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp. Also noted by Martens 2013, 202–03. For the print and the associated literature, see Bass and Wyckoff 2015, 136–39. Cornelis Cort was active in Venice in 1566–67, where he worked for Titian, among others. Michiel Snyders republished the engraving in Antwerp some time around 1600: Cagol 2015, 128–31, 134–35.

[20] Klein 2001a, 124. Only the central panel was analysed.

[21] For a detailed historiographic overview, see Janssens de Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos 1983, 75–76.

[22] Unverfehrt 1980, 240–41 no. 3.

[23] The triptych was listed on the occasion of the Rotterdam exhibition in 2001 as the work of Hieronymus Bosch and his workshop; Silver 2006 views it as a workshop piece and De Vrij 2012 as autograph; Fischer 2013 attributes it to the workshop or to a former workshop assistant; Koreny, lastly, identifies the painter as the anonymous 'Master of the Bruges Last Judgement' – a workshop assistant of Bosch. Exhib. cat. Rotterdam 2001, 116, 121–31, 144; Silver 2006, 357–59; De Vrij 2012, 222, 253–54, 363–65 no. B.6; Koreny 2012, 108–10; Fischer 2013, 264–65 no. 26.

17 *The Last Judgement*

Hieronymus Bosch and Workshop
c. 1500–05

Oil on oak panel, left wing 163 x 60 cm, central panel 163 x 127 cm, right wing 163 x 60 cm
Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, GG-579–GG-581

The BRCP was not granted permission to examine and document the painting in situ; //Boschproject.org no. 17.

Condition
Since the BRCP was not allowed to study the work in the collection, we have to rely on earlier statements by colleagues. Margarethe Poch-Kalous: 'The altarpiece is undoubtedly not well preserved and has already been reworked in the sixteenth century and again in the seventeenth, to the extent that the original artist's hand is not easily recognized in places.'[1] Roger H. Marijnissen: 'The central panel lost about four centimetres. … We know of several restorations, the last of which took place in 1954. The areas with thick, severely cracked impasto – particularly in the left wing – are totally out of character with Bosch's painting technique and must be viewed as overpainting from a later period. The present frame dates from 1877.'[2]

Provenance
Probably commissioned by the Bruges-based Burgundian Hippolyte de Berthoz in the early sixteenth century; 1659 Vienna, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–1662); Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705); imperial collections, Vienna; late eighteenth century Count Lamberg-Sprinzenstein; donated by him in 1822 to the Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna.

Literature
Koldeweij 2014, 400–33; Trnek 2014; Fischer 2013, 157–70, 188, 250–51; Koreny 2012, 28–29; Silver 2006, 300–03, 337–48; Silver 2001, 626–50; Michaelis 1989, 115–32; Trnek 1988; Marijnissen 1987, 214–18; Bax 1983; Lambrechts-Gey 1982, 7–28; Poch-Kalous 1972, 200–03; Poch-Kalous 1967; Münz 1954, 7–14; Friedländer 1927, 99–100, 148; Eigenberger 1927, 47–51; Glück 1895, 195–96.

Analysis
The Vienna *Last Judgement* is the second-largest triptych in the Bosch group after the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. It is now clear that the saint on the reverse of the right wing, who has been taken for Saint Bavo for over a century, is actually Hippolytus. This identification suggests in turn that the triptych might have been commissioned by Hippolyte de Berthoz, a senior official at the Burgundian court. Numerous questions regarding the genesis of the painting, its patron, original destination and authorship nevertheless remain. It is clear, however, that both the underdrawing and the painting of the exterior wings fit in seamlessly with Bosch's other works. The underdrawing and painting of the open triptych, by contrast, differ so much from the remaining oeuvre that in this case substantial workshop involvement must be assumed.

IMAGERY

17B, 17.1 Christ, surrounded by the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist and the twelve Apostles, sits on his judge's throne on a double rainbow. He looks out over a creation engulfed in the hell of Judgement Day. Demons and monsters spread chaos and misery over the earth, which seems to have been delivered up entirely to evil. If we look carefully, however, we can still find a way out. Christ's actual and final judgement of humanity occupies only a small proportion of the central panel: in the background, at Christ's right hand, the souls of the 17.2 righteous are borne up by angels towards a brightly lit opening in the clouds. At his left hand, the souls of the damned fall literally into a sea of fire, or are dragged downwards by demons. The origin of these 'black angels' is shown in the left wing, which depicts the Garden of Eden. The battle between the loyal and the rebel angels rages in the sky, mark- 17.3 ing the origin of the evil by which human beings will be tempted. The creation of the first humans is shown in the foreground, with the Fall of Man and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise in the middleground. The right wing contains an image of Hell, of which we already had a foretaste in the central panel. Here, however, it is too late to repent: the 17.4 only way the damned souls can go is even deeper into hell. The open triptych therefore tells the story of humanity, from the first beginnings until the very end – from alpha to omega.

The backs of the wings depict two carefully selected patron saints, who no doubt refer 17D–E to the donor of the altarpiece and its original destination. By including them, the patron honoured the respective saints and invoked them as guides and intercessors on his behalf. The same also applied to any worshipper who sought the assistance of these saints through their images, and so there is also a link in this sense between the grisaille figures on the closed triptych and the altarpiece's principal *Last Judgement* theme.



17D



17E



17A



17B



17C



17.1







PROVENANCE

17.2 Blessed souls carried by angels [CAT 17B, upper left]

The *Last Judgement* in Vienna entered the Akademie der bildenden Künste in 1822 as a bequest of Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (died 26 June 1822). The Count had acquired it in the late eighteenth century, possibly in 1787, from the imperial collections, in which it had been placed by Emperor Leopold (1640–1705). Leopold had acquired the triptych in turn from the estate of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–1662) – governor of the Southern Netherlands from 1647 to 1656. Leopold Wilhelm resided at Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, where he assembled a large collection of art.[3] Bosch's *Last Judgement* probably belonged to that collection too, but it is not known how the archduke came to own it. The triptych is first recorded in an inventory of the archducal collection in Vienna that was kept from 1659: 'Another altarpiece with two wings in oil paint on wood, showing the Last Judgement with Hell below, in which the Seven Deadly Sins are punished. In a flat gilded frame, 8 *Span* 6 *Finger* high by 7 *Span* 1 *Finger* wide. Original by Hieronimo Bosz.'[4]

The triptych in the Akademie in Vienna has been identified since the late nineteenth century – albeit not unanimously and with varying degrees of persuasiveness – as a Last Judgement with Paradise and Hell commissioned by Philip the Fair. War with the Duchy of Guelders meant that, with a few short interludes, Philip spent the period from 9 September 1504 to the end of May 1505 in 's-Hertogenbosch.[5] He must have given Hieronymus Bosch the commission almost immediately, as the ducal accounts include a preliminary payment in September 1504 for the painting, which Philip had ordered 'pour son tres noble plaisir'.[6] Philip ordered a 'grant tableau' that was to be more beautiful and



17.3 Fall of the Rebel Angels [CAT 17A]



17.4 Hell [CAT 17C]

certainly larger than any other work by Bosch.[7] Sadly, Philip the Fair's painting has not survived, assuming of course that it was ever actually finished; as far as we can tell, no further payment was made in respect of it, nor is there any report of its completion or delivery. The account item from the Lille archives was first published in 1860 by the Belgian historian and archivist Alexandre Pinchart.[8] His compatriot, the art historian Henri Hymans, cautiously linked the payment with the Vienna *Last Judgement* in his 1884/85 book on Karel van Mander: 'peut-être … commandé par Philippe le Beau en 1504'.[9] His suggestion has since been followed with great regularity, even though the dimensions listed in the archive document certainly do not match those of the triptych in Vienna. The iconographic identification of the saints on the exterior wings as James the Greater and Bavo was another significant argument in favour of such an identification, which has been discussed at length recently by, for instance, Laurinda Dixon (2003), Frédéric Elsig (2004), Stefan Fischer (2009), Marc Rudolf de Vrij (2012) and Stefan Fischer (2013).[10] The argument here is, however, a circular one. Because the *Last Judgement Triptych* was supposedly commissioned by Philip the Fair, James and Bavo were interpreted as referring to Spain and to the Burgundian Netherlands, the territories that together formed his realm, which was then cited in turn as a reason for identifying the triptych as the one commissioned by Philip. The idea that these were the patron saints of the Netherlands and Spain respectively then led several authors to detect the features of the still young Duke Philip the Fair in the figure of Saint Bavo, providing yet another argument for identifying the Vienna triptych with the work Philip commissioned in 1504.[11]

It is not Bavo who is depicted here, however, but another saint. Besides, the dimensions of the triptych in Vienna are nowhere near those of the painting referred to in the archive

document. As for the supposed *portrait historié* of Philip the Fair, lastly, this too is highly contested. The arguments for linking the Vienna *Last Judgement* with the 1504 commission by Philip the Fair do not therefore stand up.

NOT BAVO BUT HIPPOLYTUS

The earliest publications on the *Last Judgement* do not specify who was shown on the closed shutters. Gustav Friedrich Waagen wrote in 1866: 'On the reverses of the wings, in grisaille, a pilgrim and a saint giving alms to the poor.' Theodor von Frimmel, writing in 1899, cited the 1659 inventory item, which merely referred to 'two wings in oil paint on wood'. Von Frimmel mentioned the closed triptych again in the 1901 museum catalogue, where he states: 'On the exterior of the wings, grisaille paintings of saints.'[12] The Austrian art historian Ludwig von Baldass wrote in 1917 in a publication on the chronology of Hieronymus Bosch's works that the *Last Judgement* in Vienna must be a smaller copy of the painting that Philip the Fair ordered from Bosch in 1504. He identified the saints as James and Bavo,[13] taking his cue from his colleague and compatriot Gustav Glück, who was the first to suggest this identification in 1904. Glück identified James and Bavo as the patron saints of Spain and the Burgundian Netherlands respectively, suggesting that the coats of arms, which were left blank in the Vienna copy, contained the arms of Burgundy and Castile in Philip the Fair's original.[14] It was Glück, therefore, who interpreted the charming young man as Bavo in 1904, more or less *en passant* and without offering any further evidence. He probably based his identification on the status granted to Bavo in a woodcut by Hans Leonhard Beck (Augsburg 1480–1542), which states that he was the patron saint of Ghent and Flanders. This was not added, however, until the 1799 edition. The 1518 edition simply describes the figure as: 'Von Sant Bavo, furst von hasbania'.[15] It is highly unlikely, however, given the early sixteenth-century political context, that Philip the Fair and his father Maximilian of Austria would have accepted the patron saint of the most recalcitrant and rebellious city in the Low Countries as the personification of that territory as a whole. It is not conceivable that Bavo could have been used as the patron saint for the whole of the Burgundian Netherlands with James the Greater as the equivalent in his capacity as protector of the Spanish territories. We therefore have to reject the identification of the figure in Bosch's *Last Judgement Triptych* as Bavo – an interpretation which had been generally accepted since Glück.

Bosch painted a young, male saint with aristocratic, probably individualized features, on the back of the right wing. Several beggars sit and kneel in front of and behind him. There is a falcon on his gauntleted left hand, while he reaches with his other hand into a conspicuous purse on his belt. His gold spurs stand out in the context of this grisaille. The falcon is the most specific attribute; at least ten male saints were depicted with this hunting bird in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[16] None of them, however, are shown with the beggars who are presented here so prominently, and who have further counterparts in the shape of two crippled paupers in the background of the Saint James panel. The iconography of four of these saints – Bavo, Theobald, Julian and Hippolytus – is very similar and in some cases identical.[17] Images of them – certainly late-medieval ones – are, moreover, exceedingly rare. It seems, however, that Bavo is not presented anywhere in the manner of the saint with the falcon in Bosch's *Last Judgement* and that this must in fact be Saint Hippolytus.[18]



17.5 **Beggars** [CAT 17E]

The *Legenda aurea* and its Middle Dutch translation, the *Passionael*, states that Hippolytus was a Roman soldier charged with guarding Saint Lawrence, who converted him to Christianity. Following his trial, Lawrence was given three days to gather the Church's treasures and hand them over to the emperor, once again with Hippolytus as his guard. The two agreed to bring a group of cripples and blind people together and to present them to the emperor as the Church's true treasure. Hippolytus arranged Lawrence's funeral after he was tortured and executed for his faith; he too was then revealed to be a Christian and was put to death in turn. Just as Saint Lawrence was sometimes shown ringed by these 'treasures' of the Church, the destitute figures who surround Hippolytus here will have



17.6–7 **Anonymous (Brussels), *Saint Hippolytus Triptych*, c. 1490, closed and open.** Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Walter M. Cabot Fund, inv. 63.660

17.8–9 **Dirk Bouts and Hugo van der Goes, *Saint Hippolytus Triptych*, c. 1470–75 and 1475–79, open and closed.** Museum van de Sint-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges









been intended as a reference to the passage in question.[19] The representation of Saint Hippolytus as a standing, fairly young nobleman with the falcon as his attribute can be found in a small series of images of the saint, three of which are directly relevant as a parallel for his depiction in the Vienna *Last Judgement*. The earliest of these is the Hippolytus featured in a triptych commissioned by Alessandro Sforza in Milan, which was probably made around 1450–60 in Rogier van der Weyden's workshop in Brussels. This figure too has often been identified as Saint Bavo in the past.[20] The two other images of Saint Hippolytus were painted later in the fifteenth century for the senior Burgundian official Hippolyte de Berthoz on the outside of two triptychs dedicated to his namesake saint by Dirk Bouts and Hugo van der Goes in the 1470s and by an anonymous Brussels master in the 1490s.[21] 17.6–7, 17.8–9

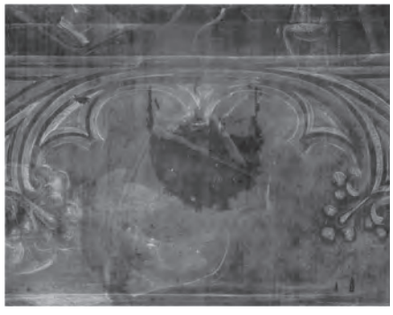




17.10 Coat of arms painted by Van der Goes, c. 1475–80 [detail 17.9]



17.11 Coat of arms added at the behest of Charles de Berthoz, 1503–08 [detail 17.9]



17.12 XR [CAT 17C]

HIPPOLYTE DE BERTHOZ

Hippolyte de Berthoz came from the small town of Poligny in Burgundy and held a leading position at the Burgundian court for many years, first under Charles the Bold, and following the Duke's death, under Margaret of York, Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian of Austria and finally Philip the Fair. He settled in Bruges, where he was married in 1465, and died in the summer of 1503 a long way from the Low Countries.[22] He will have been about sixty-five at the time. A funeral service was held for him at St Saviour's Church in Bruges, although his remains were not present. He and his widow had been major benefactors of St Saviour's, which was their parish church.

Their son, Charles de Berthoz, donated the *Saint Hippolytus Triptych* by Dirk Bouts and Hugo van der Goes to one of the chapels in the church following his parents' death.[23] Some time between 1503 and 1508, Charles de Berthoz had two panels added to this little triptych showing his own patron saint and that of his wife. The two saints are represented as painted statues in a niche with a pointed arch, above a closed rectangular compartment with Gothic tracery, in which a race or tournament shield with the donors' arms hangs diagonally from a strap. This is interesting, because as far as we know the only previous occasion on which this was done was by Bosch, on the backs of the wings of the *Last Judgement*, although no arms were added there.[24] The painter hired by Charles de Berthoz evidently drew on an example therefore that was both relevant and readily accessible in Bruges. The precise circumstances are, however, more complex. An X-radiograph of the right wing of the Vienna *Last Judgement* reveals another shield – upright and rounded at the bottom – beneath the one we see today. The shape and heraldic arrangement of this earlier shield match those of Hippolyte de Berthoz below the figure of Saint Hippolytus in the triptych by Bouts and Van der Goes.[25] In the first instance, therefore, Bosch placed a shield under his Hippolytus of precisely the same type as in the Bouts/Van der Goes triptych, before later altering it to create the ore dynamic form in the Gothic niche. This was then adopted in the extension to the Bouts/Van der Goes triptych. The latter occurred between 1503 and 1508, and may thus be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for the exterior wings of the *Last Judgement* in Vienna.

17.9

17.12

The identification of the saint as Hippolytus rather than Bavo, combined with the form and arrangement of the (overpainted) coats of arms in the wings, put us on the trail of Hippolyte de Berthoz as the probable patron rather than Philip the Fair. De Berthoz also owned a valuable *Saint Anthony Triptych* by Bosch, indicating that he knew and appreciated the artist's work (cat. 4). Hippolytus is not a common saint and he also appears in the two Hippolytus triptychs produced in the third quarter of the fifteenth century for Hippolyte de Berthoz. He is even depicted almost identically in the triptych in Boston, which was probably painted around the same time as Bosch's triptych.

17.6–7

If we wish to explain the presence of Saint Hippolytus in the *Last Judgement Triptych* by identifying him as De Berthoz's namesake (rather than as a reference to the painting's original destination in a chapel of or church of Saint Hippolytus, say), we also need to explain the presence of Saint James the Greater.[26] De Berthoz might have commissioned the *Last Judgement* for St Saviour's Church in Bruges. It was the parish church of Hippolyte de Berthoz and his family, and both he and they made repeated donations to it, including the *Saint Hippolytus Triptych* by Dirk Bouts and Hugo van der Goes. His requiem was held there too. The Chapel of Saint James was located on the south side of the tower on the west side of the church. It was founded around 1360 and was remodelled and refurbished on successive occasions. The chapel was converted into the churchwarden's room in the mid-eighteenth century, at which point the altar was one of the objects removed.[27] Further research is needed into the history of the chapel and the precise position of the altar to determine whether this might provide an explanation for the noticeably asymmetric rendering of the architecture in the closed triptych. The fact that the Chapel of Saint James was located on the extreme west side of the church would have made it the perfect spot for a large image of the Last Judgement – a theme that was traditionally represented in precisely that position.

17D–E



17.13 Hieronymus Bosch: *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17B]



17.14 Lucas Cranach after Hieronymus Bosch, *Last Judgement* (detail), c. 1520–25.
Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

If St Saviour's in Bruges was indeed the triptych's original destination, the question remains as to whether it was ever actually installed. No sixteenth-century written source has yet been found that refers to the painting. A number of important questions remain, moreover, with regard to it. Was the overpainted coat of arms really intended to be that of Hippolyte de Berthoz? And if he was the painting's patron, how do we explain the presence of a donor figure in the underdrawing of the central panel? Was this going to be De Berthoz until it was decided at a somewhat later stage to refer to his patronage through his namesake saint on the closed shutters instead? Were the shields on the exterior wings left blank because of a change in the commission?

17.16

The matter becomes even more complex when we take account of the fact that the German painter Lucas Cranach made an exceptionally faithful copy after Bosch's painting around 1520–25. Although Cranach might have been in the Low Countries in 1508, Gunnar Heydenreich has demonstrated that the copy, which is now in Berlin, could not have been painted before 1520.[28] How could Cranach have made such a detailed copy without having the original at hand? Heydenreich proposes that he worked from a detailed colour study. However, aside from the fact that no similar studies or exact copies have survived, a study of this kind would necessarily have been so detailed as to make this explanation unlikely.

17.15 [CAT 17B]





17.16 IRR donor [CAT 17B]



17.17 IRR [CAT 17B]

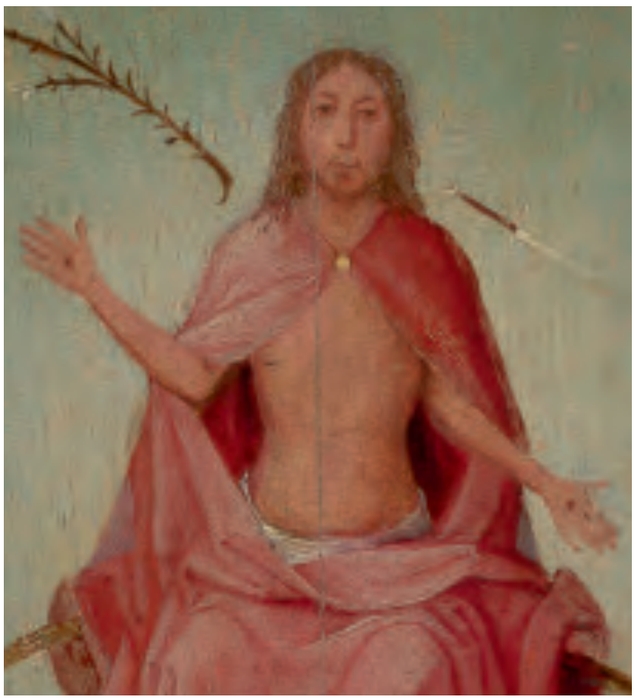
Any such colour study would need to indicate, for instance, how Bosch varied between red, white and yellow in the flames of the fires we see breaking out all over the painting. 17.13, 17.14
Cranach painstakingly copied abstract details like these too. The only conclusion in our view is that the copy was made in the immediate vicinity of either the original, now in Vienna, or a replica of it.

DIFFERENT HANDS

Apart from the triptych's patron and original destination, questions remain as to its execution. There are significant differences between the three panels in terms of both the underdrawing and the paint layer. Comparing the painting of the open triptych to that of other works attributed to Bosch is, moreover, highly problematic. The underdrawings of the grisailles, done with a relatively large brush and in a watery medium, can be readily linked stylistically to other paintings in the group, and their attribution to Bosch is indisputable.[29] The inside of the wings, by contrast, and the central panel present an entirely different picture. The compositions here were worked out in a free and expressive underdrawing in a dry material to an advanced and even detailed degree. This was done in a vigorous, sketchy style characterized by repeated outlines and hatching that is precisely worked out and bends to follow the modelling of the figures. Deeper shadows are executed with closely placed hatching in long, straight lines and also with zig-zag lines. Since this way of drawing 17.17
has yet to be found in any other work by Bosch, it is questionable whether the underdrawing here was done by him. This does not diminish the fact, however, that it is a very original underdrawing, in which forms were developed and not copied. Doubts were also raised occasionally in the past regarding Bosch's authorship.[30] All the same, it is somewhat reluctantly and uneasily that we conclude that Bosch left such a large and ambitious image as the overall composition of the open triptych to an assistant. The question then arises as to the authorship of the painting of the central panel and interior wings. This too is not easy to answer; the paint layer, like the underdrawing, is hard to link with other examples from the Bosch group. Although the iconography as a whole and a number of individual motifs



17.18 *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17B]



17.19 *Last Judgement* (Bruges) [CAT 16B]



17.20 *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17B]

and figures reflect Bosch's imagery very closely, their execution does not, even though the quality of the painting in many places is excellent. 17.15, 17.23

The glazes – now partially discoloured and abraded – in the central panel are noteworthy: in the building on the left, for instance, and the roof of the war machine on the right. Many of the robes, moreover, especially the ones with red lake, are more gently modelled, with subtle and more even transitions between light and dark passages. There is greater emphasis on shiny effects, also in the figures in the foreground, including the shoulder of the man on the red cloak in the central panel. The creature in front of him to the left has turned out relatively squat, as has the monster a little higher up with the pan. The red robe is structured differently again, with highlights applied with short hatching on the red lake – a technique not observed anywhere else in Bosch. The highlights on the millstone in the middle of the panel are a little more comparable perhaps with the red fruit of the Paradise wing of the Bruges *Last Judgement*, but the figures of Christ and the Apostles and angels in the central panel in Bruges deviate significantly once again from their counterparts in the Vienna *Last Judgement*. 17.15

It is also interesting to compare the way the painter of the Vienna *Last Judgement* has rendered the spikes on the horizontal disc and the way this was done in the Bruges *Last Judgement* and in the drawing of the Tree-Man (cat. 35). Bosch's triptych and drawing do not display the same concern for light, dark and shade and hence the suggestion of three-dimensionality that we find in the painter of the Vienna triptych. It is important, of course, to take account of the scale of the details here; this might help to explain the difference in appearance. 17.18–19, 17.20–22

As stated already, the exploratory underdrawing rules out the possibility that the Vienna triptych is a copy. In addition to this, changes were made during the painting process with respect to both the underdrawing and the preliminary paint layer and zones left in reserve. This too illustrates the creative process and the freedom with which the painter worked. The portrait of the donor, which is included in the underdrawing in the lower left corner of the central panel, was not ultimately painted either. The thorough knowledge of Bosch's formal language, as well as the similarities between a variety of pictorial elements and the





17.21 *Last Judgement* (Bruges) [CAT 16B]



17.22 *Tree-Man* [CAT 35]

artist's other work, together with exterior wings painted by Bosch himself, suggest that the triptych as a whole was produced in his workshop.[31]

Dendrochronological dating of the three panels results in an earliest possible creation date of 1476, with execution after 1478 more likely. In stylistic terms, the exterior wings seemingly correspond with work we assume to have been done in the 1490s. It is not clear, however, whether the saints' figures marked the end or the beginning of the painting process. It is entirely possible that the painting of the open triptych was done after 1500. If we link the empty coats of arms beneath Saint James and Saint Hippolytus with events in the life of Hippolyte de Berthoz as the likely patron, we arrive at a date around 1503, the year of De Berthoz's death.

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1 'Die Altartafel ist ohne Zweifel nicht gut erhalten und wurde schon im 16. und dann im 17. Jahrhundert überarbeitet, so dass schon die originale Handschrift nicht mehr überall deutlich erkennbar ist.' Poch-Kalous 1967, 25.

2 Marijnissen 1987, 214.

3 Bax 1983, 12–13; see regarding Leopold Wilhelm's collection the exhibition catalogue *Sammellust; Die Galerie Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms*, Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2014.

4 'Noch ein Altarstuckh mitt zweyen Flüglen von Öhlfarb auff Holcz, warin das jüngste Gericht unndt darunder die Höll, in welcher die septem peccata mortalia gestrafft werden. In einer glatt vergulden Ramen, hoch 8 Span 6 Finger und 7 Span 1 Finger brait. Original von Hieronimo Bosz.' Berger 1883, CXLI no. 248; Bax 1983, 13.

5 Van Heurn 1776–78, I, 408; Sasse van Ysselt 1910–14, III, 212; Koldeweij 1990b, 369–70; Van Lith-Droogleever Fortuyn, Sanders and Van Synghel 1997, 298–301; Fischer 2009, 92–93, 97. Fischer states, without citing the source, that Philip and Maximilian were also present together in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1499; Fischer 2009, 92.

6 Archives départementales du Nord, Lille, Register B 2185, fol. 230v: 'Septembre l'an xv^{c} quatre. A Jeronimus Van aeken dit bosch paintre dem[eurant]/ au boisleduc La somme de trente six livres/ du[dict] pris En prest et paiement a bon compte/ Sur ce quil povoit et pourroit estre deu/ sur ung grant tableau de paincture de neuf/ pietz de hault et unze pietz de long Ou doit/ estre le Jugement de dieu assavoir paradis et/ Infer que icellui S[eigneu]r lui avoit ordonné faire po[ur]/ son tres noble plaisir Pour ce icy par sa quictan[ce]/ cy Rend[ue] lad[icte] somme de [–] xxxvj L[ivres].' It is also confirmed in the margin of this account item that payment had been made: 'Soit ce prest rabatu a la parpaye'. See also Dehaisnes 1881, 307; Van Dijck 2001a, 91.

[7] 'A panel nine feet high and eleven feet wide'. One 's-Hertogenbosch foot measured 28.7 cm; the equivalent measure elsewhere could be anything up to and beyond 30 cm. Assuming that one foot was approximately 28 cm, that would make the *Last Judgement* approximately 252 cm high and 308 cm wide.

[8] Pinchart 1860–61, I, 268.

[9] Hymans 1884–85, I, 174.

[10] Dixon 2003, 293–94; Elsig 2004, 77, 81; Fischer 2009, 91–97; De Vrij 2012, 375; Fischer 2013, 157–58, 251. See also Bax 1983, 317–21.

[11] Bax 1983, 317–20; Dixon 2003, 290–94; Fischer 2013, 161, 251.

[12] 'Auf der Rückseiten der Flügel, Grau in Grau, ein Pilger und ein Heiliger, welcher den Armen Almosen reicht'; 'zweyen Flügeln von Öhlfarb auff Holcz'; 'Aussen auf den Flügeln Graumalereien mit Heiligenfiguren.' Waagen 1866, 243–44, no. 220–23; Von Frimmel 1899, 150, 212; Von Frimmel 1901, 43, 150–51.

[13] Von Baldass 1917, 189.

[14] Glück 1904, 181.

[15] Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531), *Images de Saints et Saintes issus de la famille de l'Empereur Maximilien I*, Vienna (F.X. Stöckl) 1799 (Images de Saints et Saintes 14): *Saint Bavon ou S. Baf, patron de Gand en Frandres* [sic], *et de Harlem en Hollande* (woodcut by Hans Leonhard Beck, Augsburg 1480–1542). The iconography here is totally different too: the print shows the miracle of a pilgrim run over by a cart. Exhibition catalogue Haarlem 1948, 7, 12 no. 32; Reinhardt 2002, 231.

[16] Adauctus, Agigulfus, Bavo, Gengulphus, Gorgonius, Hieron, Hippolytus, Julian, Theobald, Tryphon.

[17] For the sake of completeness, we ought to mention a fifth saint, Julian the Hospitaller, who was depicted as a nobleman with sword and falcon twice in Sicily in the second half of the fifteenth century and once in Rome in the sixteenth century. Boberg 1974, col. 234.

[18] Koldeweij 2014, 404–08. Karaskova-Hesry 2014 also reached the conclusion independently that this is not Bavo but Hippolytus.

[19] *Passionael. Somerstuc*, Delft (Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer) 1482 (copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague), fol. 137. The account of Lawrence's life and miracles (fol. 136–42) is followed by that of Hippolytus (fol. 142–43v).

[20] Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels, inv. 2407. Swaen 1926, 28–32; Stroo and Syfer-d'Olne 1996, 130–51; De Vos 1999, 137–38; Campbell 2009, 118; Koldeweij 2014, 410, 412. Generally identified as Bavo (?), although Saint Julian has also been suggested. Lorne Campbell (in Bücken and Steyaert 2013, 110–11 no. 5) recently identified this saint as 'Hippolytus (?)' based on the iconographic affinities with the saint on the outside of the Hippolytus triptychs in Bruges and Boston.

[21] Bruges, Sint-Salvatorskathedraal: Devliegher 1979, 169–72; Van den Bergen-Pantens 2001; Goetghebeur 2001; Martens 2005, 73–74; Périer-D'Ieteren 2005, 344–57. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 63.660 Walter M. Cabot Fund: Held 1973; Murphy 1985, 97; Martens 2000; Martens 2005, 74; Steyaert 2013, 250.

[22] Bartier 1955, 299–301; Bartier 1970, 163; Gilliodts-Van Severen 1876, 389, 437; Jean 1992, 146, 194, 204, 284–85; Robins 1976–77, Annexe 1–17; Van den Bergen-Pantens 2001, 13–17; Dewitte 2012, 203–05; Koldeweij 2014, 414–23.

[23] Koldeweij 2014, 414, 417.

[24] What is important here is the combination of a saint's figure with a niche with tracery below, in which the shield hangs. This was followed shortly afterwards by the triptych wings – ascribed to Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen – of Dirk Willemsz van Rietwijk (died 1516), a canon in Egmond (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam). Veelenturf 2014, 219–21.

[25] Koldeweij 2014, 420.

[26] The Oude Kerk in Delft, for instance, was dedicated to Saint Hippolytus.

[27] Devliegher 1981, 38, 114–16; De Clercq 1994.

[28] Heydenreich 2007, 311.

[29] These observations are based on the illustrations in Fischer 2013, Trnek 2014, and the images shown during Renate Trnek's presentation in September 2012 in 's-Hertogenbosch, on which her publication is based. See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[30] Including Von Baldass 1917, 189; De Tolnay 1965, 359–60 no. 19. See also Unverfehrt 1980, 78.

[31] The attribution of the Vienna *Last Judgement* to Bosch has been the subject of debate for some considerable time. Roger Van Schoute and Monique Verboomen noted in this regard: 'La qualité de l'œuvre est médiocre. … La mauvaise qualité de ce triptyque fait douter de l'exécution par Bosch au stade de la couleur.' Van Schoute and Verboomen 2000, 158, 163. The inventory drawn up in Vienna in 1659 ascribes the triptych to 'Hieronimusz Bosz', while later inventories suggest that the painter's name was 'forgotten'. 1758 'Sammet-Prüghel' (= Jan Breughel); 1800 'Brügel'; 1822 'Breughel Peter oder Höllen Breughel'. The triptych is then firmly ascribed to Bosch once more in the nineteenth-century literature. Gustav Glück proposed Jan Mandijn as the painter in 1895, while in 1898, Dollmayr suggested the 'Monogrammist M', whom he identified as Jan Mostaert. Although these attributions – based on the maker's mark 'M' on the knife-blade – found little backing, the authorship of Hieronymus Bosch himself was both firmly advocated and persistently doubted. In 1960 Robert Delevoy extended the list of Bosch imitators to include the name of 'Peeter Huys, le plus brillant disciple de Jérôme Bosch'. Glück 1895, 196–97; Dollmayr 1898, 299; Glück 1904, 178–81; Delevoy 1960, 110; Unverfehrt 1980, 78; Bax 1983, 12–16; De Vrij 2012, 372–75.



17.23 [CAT 17B]



18 *Visions of the Hereafter*

A–B The Road to Heaven:
The Garden of Eden | The Ascent of the Blessed

C–D The Road to Hell:
The Fall of the Damned | The River to Hell

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1505–15

Oil on oak panel, *Garden of Eden* 88.5 x 39.8 cm; *Ascent of the Blessed* 88.8 x 39.9 cm; *Fall of the Damned* 88.8 x 39.6 cm; *River to Hell* 88.8 x 39.6 cm
Museo di Palazzo Grimani, Venice, 184

BRCP examination and documentation data: Venice (Palazzo Grimani), 14–25 November 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 18, RR 32–39; //Boschproject.org no. 18.

Condition
The original configuration of the ensemble to which the four panels belonged is unknown. All panels have been cropped at the top and bottom and show minor woodworm damage. On the reverse of *Fall of the Damned*, the red imitation porphyry is almost completely lost and the wood is affected by brown-rot fungi. Non-original bevelling has heavily damaged the edges of the other three stone imitations. There are several cracks and all four joins have a thin wooden inlay. Overall the surface is quite abraded and has multiple losses of differing size, but the panels are stable. The fronts were restored in 2007, but much of a greyish surface layer remains as only the *Garden of Eden* was thoroughly cleaned. The non-original materials were removed from the reverses in the 2015 treatment, uncovering the imitation stone.

Provenance
Before 1664–1885 Palazzo Ducale, Venice; c. 1885 Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice; c. 1935 Palazzo Ducale, Venice; since 2010 Palazzo Grimani.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 18, RR 32–39; Fischer 2013, 179–80, 184, 254; Koreny 2012, 28; Sgarbi 2010, 19–39; Silver 2006, 348–57; Aikema 2001, 25–31; Klein 2001, 124; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 88, 95, 187; Aikema and Brown 1999, 432–35; Limentani Virdis 1992, 79–85; Marijnissen 1987, 300–04; Tolnay 1965, I, 110, 111; II, 353–54; Von Baldass 1943, 66–67, 234–35; Friedländer 1927, 149; Friedländer 1921, 81, 192.

Analysis
Unusually for Bosch, the four *Afterlife Panels* are all painted on a uniformly black base layer, which required the artist to use an entirely different technique. The light elements were done using thicker layers of paint, while the black base tone could show through for the dark elements. The panels were probably in Venice as early as the 1520s. All four were originally framed separately, but we do not know what purpose these relatively narrow wings served. Two of the panels refer to the souls of the damned, which are condemned to hell, while the other two show blessed souls being received into heaven. The backs are painted in a surprisingly abstract way, which was probably intended to imitate red porphyry and green serpentine marble.



18B

HEAVEN AND HELL

The series of four visionary paintings customarily identified as the 'Afterlife Panels' comprise two negative images – the *Fall of the Damned* and the *River to Hell* – and two positive ones – the *Garden of Eden* and the *Ascent of the Blessed*. All four are decorated on the back with non-figurative painting – red, green, red, green respectively – which suggests imperial red porphyry and green serpentine marble. The original arrangement and function of the panels, which have been cropped a little at the top and bottom, is not known. They evidently deal, however, with the sorting of humanity on Judgement Day, following which the souls of the damned disappear into hell and those of the blessed ascend to heaven. The panels must therefore have flanked some kind of Last Judgement scene or a reference to Christ's advent on earth and his Second Coming at the end of the world. One possibility is that they were intended for the kind of carved rectangular altarpieces that were popular in Brabant in the early sixteenth century, the wings of which consisted of two framed panels connected by hinges.[1] Based on the dimensions of the *Afterlife Panels*, this would mean an altarpiece case measuring about 200 centimetres across. The Hell wing would then have been on the far right from the viewer's point of view and the panel with the souls of the righteous ascending to heaven on the far left. When closed, the red exteriors would have been positioned next to one another, flanked by the green panel backs on the outside. In reality, however, the wings of larger altarpieces invariably have figurative images painted on both sides, because the ensemble was still the central focus of the altar in its church or



18E–H



18A



18C



18D

chapel, even during periods and days when the shutters were closed. The abstract paintings on the backs of the *Afterlife Panels* cannot have functioned in this way, which makes it unlikely that they were used as altarpiece wings.[2] They are more likely to have been the shutters for a niche in a wall or some other object, such as a relic cabinet, astronomical clock and oralogium, or tabernacle.[3] In that case, they will not have been arranged in pairs next to one another, but with one above the other, to close off a space almost two metres high and one metre wide.[4] When the shutters were opened, they revealed the paths to heaven and to hell of the blessed and the damned respectively.

LOCATION AND DATE

The pedigree of the four panels stretches back a long way, and can now be reconstructed more clearly than has hitherto been attempted. In 1521, the Venetian Marcantonio Michiel (1484–1552) saw three paintings at the home of Cardinal Domenico Grimani, which he reported as being works by Bosch:[5] 'The inferno canvas with a great variety of monsters was the work of Hieronymus Bosch; The canvas with the dream scene was by the same hand; The canvas of Fortune with the whale which swallowed up Jonah was by the same hand.' These descriptions are somewhat problematic. Later sources indicate that the first two paintings refer to Bosch's Hell and Heaven panels, while the third relates to a panel attributable to Joachim Patinir or Herri met de Bles ('Civetta'), or one of their respective followers.[6] It is generally stated that Michiel was careless by wrongly describing all three of them as 'canvases'.[7] This probably was indeed the case. The *Afterlife Panels* are, after all, recorded in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century descriptions by Boschini and Zanetti Senior and Junior as being in the Doge's Palace, albeit attributed to Herri met de Bles, whose work they discuss in terms far more appropriate to Bosch's oeuvre.[8] The Hell and Heaven panels were probably displayed at Cardinal Grimani's house in pairs, which is why Marcantonio Michiel recorded them as two paintings rather than four.[9] They are thought to have passed into the ownership of the Venetian state together with other works of art from Domenico Grimani's estate.[10] Marco Boschini noted in his 1664 guide that a corridor leading to one of the principal rooms in the Doge's Palace included fifteen paintings on panel by 'Civetta', featuring a variety of monsters, dreams, visions and strange scenes.[11] The paintings in the same corridor were described again in 1733 by Antonio Maria Zanetti in a revised edition of the aforementioned guide. The earlier listing was now made more precise: the paintings included 'four with monsters and sorcery'.[12] A later edition of 1771 by his nephew and namesake Antonio Maria Zanetti *il Giovane* describes the 'four, elongated panels' a little more precisely still, together with their putative maker – 'Civetta' or Herri met de Bles. The four panels, together with the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2) and the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8) had evidently been moved in the meantime to the prestigious Sala dei Tre Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci.[13] The two triptychs were located in Vienna from 1838 to 1919, but the *Afterlife Panels* remained at the Doge's Palace. They were moved from there to the Accademia around 1885, as reported by the *Kunstchronik* of February 1886.[14]

This was the earliest publication to attribute the *Afterlife Panels* to Hieronymus Bosch. Cesare Levi described them in 1900, giving their earlier origin as the 'Tribunale Capi Consiglio X' in the Doge's Palace: 'no. 182 *Bosch* – Dannati; no. 184 *Bosch* – Scene in paradiso'.[15] Ludwig von Baldass also recorded seeing the four panels at the Accademia in 1917, as did Friedländer in 1927.[16] The *Afterlife Panels* were back in the Doge's Palace from around the mid-1930s.[17] Friedländer (1927) considered them to be autograph, while von Baldass (1943) gave them an early date in Bosch's oeuvre. Tolnay (1937), by contrast, considered that they were done during Bosch's period, but were certainly not by him.[18]

Dendrochronological study of the *Afterlife Panels* shows that they could have been painted from 1484 onwards, although execution after 1486 is statistically more likely. The wood of the panels comes in part from the same trees, which further confirms the original connection between the paintings. The presence of barbs and unpainted edges, together



18.1–2 Ascent of the Blessed: VIS and IRR [CAT 18A]

with the dimensions of the individual boards show that the four panels were originally mounted in engaged frames.[19] The iconography, style and painting technique likewise show unambiguously that the four panels were produced as a single coherent whole.

BLACK

The *Afterlife Panels* are unusual in that an even layer of black paint was laid down over the prepared ground, with the various scenes then painted on top of it. This seems to have been done with only a minimal underdrawing in blue-grey paint, in so far as there is any underdrawing at all.[20] The black base layer also required the artist to employ a different technique, in which the lighter elements had to be set down more thickly, while the darker parts could simply allow the preparatory layer to show through. As the paint has aged, however, light paints containing lead white have become more transparent, as we see in the figures, for instance.[21] This has adversely affected the contrasts between light and shadow, and has been further exacerbated by the wear suffered by the paint surface. Because of their technique, the *Afterlife Panels* would seem to occupy a place of their own within the Bosch group.[22] They also stand out for the unusual technique employed on the panel backs. We have to wonder, therefore, whether this might not have been a commission with an excep-

tional status, comparable with the small group of extremely precious black illuminated parchment books produced in Flanders in the third quarter of the fifteenth century for the Burgundian court.[23] Changes to the composition and pentimenti are only visible to a limited extent, with the exception of the Paradise wing, in which the hill with the fountain originally had a different shape. The form of this hill, the base of the fountain and a pair of deer, one lying down, still partially visible, and the other standing, create a somewhat distorted image due to the not very successful retouching of several larger areas of paint loss.

The *Afterlife Panels* have a carefully conceived composition, which generates a powerful dynamic within the paintings; the way they are arranged relative to one another creates a strong contrast between the positive movement towards heaven and the negative fall into the fires of hell. The two extremes are formed by the tunnel of light upper left and the river to hell lower right. The tunnel exerts an immense optical attraction, demanding all the viewer's attention. If we concentrate on the divine light in the distance, we see that the souls of the blessed are welcomed there by an angel, barely visible on the 'other side of the light', who has been painted wet-in-wet in lead white. The angel forms a blissful contrast with the artfully foreshortened sinner shown leaning backwards in the lower right corner of the infernal river, where a demon is cutting his throat. Our eyes are led here almost imperceptibly by the obliquely flowing river, which carries the damned off to hell.

18.1–2

18.3

18.3 Hell [CAT 18D]





18.5–6 *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4C, 4B]



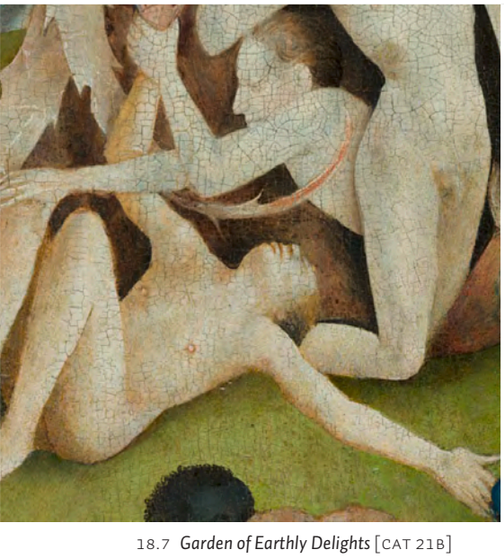
18.4 *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17B]



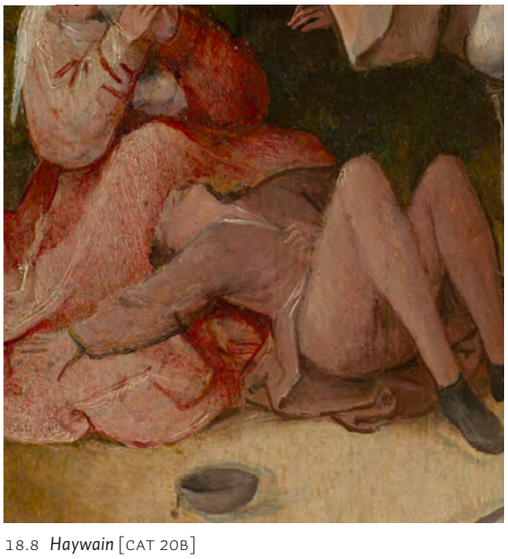
PARALLELS

Bosch must have referred here to models and *ricordi* from his workshop, as there are many details that display strong affinities with figures in his other paintings. The artfully rendered figure lying on its back is also found in the *Saint Anthony Triptych* (cat. 4), the *Haywain Triptych* (cat. 20) and the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21), where we likewise find the demons from the two Hell panels. The hindquarters of the monster creeping away on the right edge of the Hell panel also appear in the *Haywain*, the *Saint Anthony Triptych* and the Bruges *Last Judgement* (cat. 16). A lion devours a deer in the background of the Paradise panel, as it does in the Vienna *Last Judgement*, in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, and in the Saint Jerome panel of the *Job Triptych* (cat. 17, 21, 23). The naked woman in the Paradise panel is based on the same model as Eve in the *Haywain*. Several of the 'souls' and angels

18.4–8
18.9–14



18.7 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21B]



18.8 *Haywain* [CAT 20B]

18.15–18

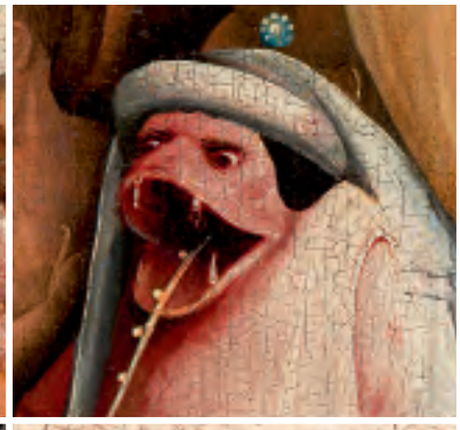
correspond with figures from the panel with *Death and the Miser* (cat. 19C) and the aforementioned triptychs in Vienna, Bruges and Lisbon. The angel in the left foreground of the Garden of Eden panel who tends to two people is similar to the one in *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6). The bird with a rat's head appearing in the Hell panel and beneath the bridge in the left wing of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* is not identical, but springs from the same imagination. We would also point out, lastly, the finely rendered angel, leaning back as it ascends, directly below the tunnel of light, which is based on the same model as the fainting man beneath the cross of Saint Wilgefortis (cat. 8).

In view of all these links with other work by Hieronymus Bosch and taking account of the other arguments cited here, we conclude that the *Visions of the Hereafter* panels were painted fairly late (although earlier creation is also possible based on the dendrochronological dating), and so propose a date in the period around 1505–15.

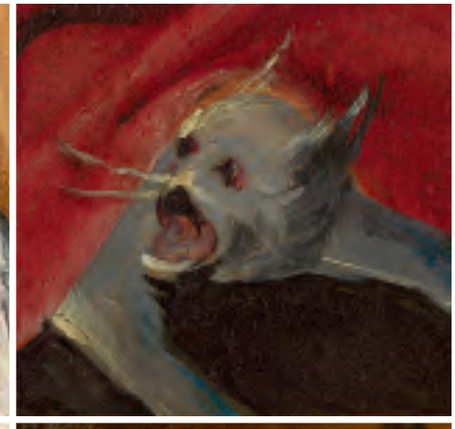
18.9 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]

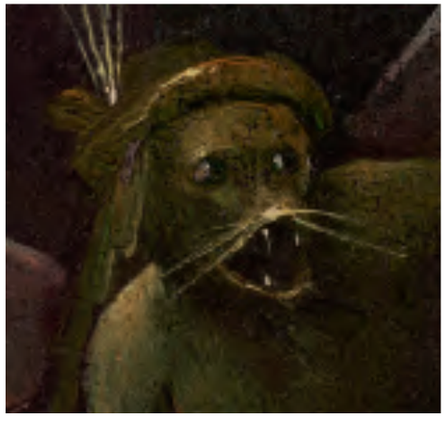


18.10 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]

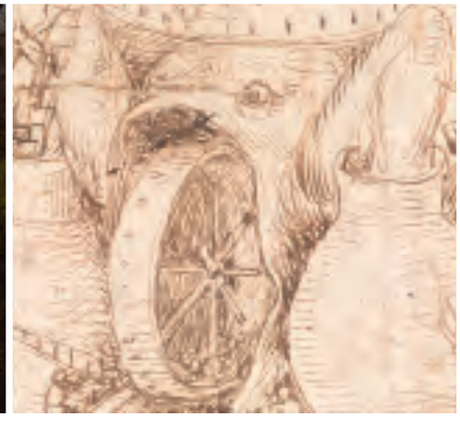


18.11 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* [CAT 4C]





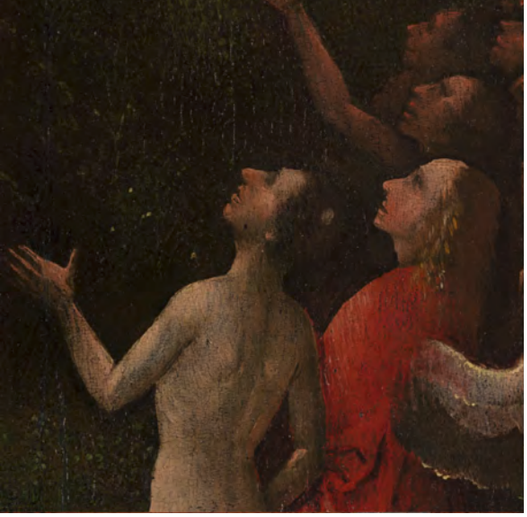
18.12 Hell [CAT 18D]

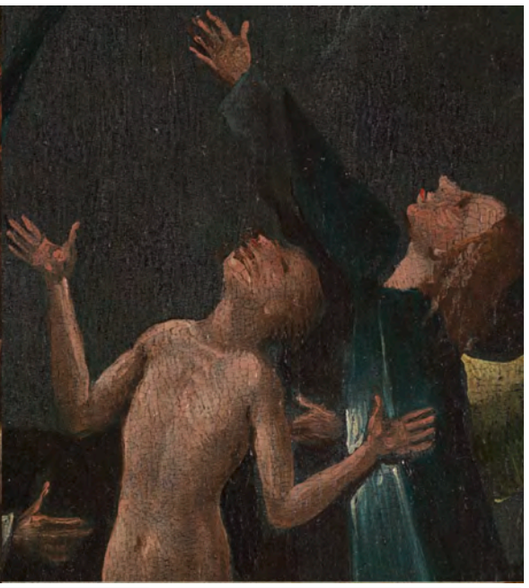


18.13 *Infernal Landscape* [CAT 44]

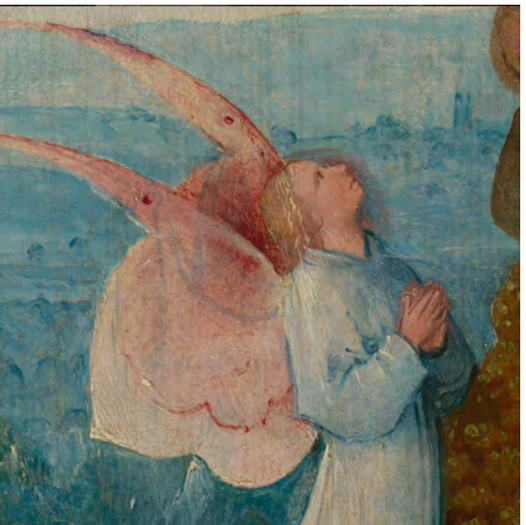


18.14 *Haywain* [CAT 20C]









18.15 Garden of Eden [CAT 18B]
18.16 Ascent of the Blessed [CAT 18A]
18.17 *Death and the Miser* [CAT 19C]
18.18 *Haywain* [CAT 20B]

[1] For altarpieces of this kind, see Périer-D'Ieteren 1983, 106; De Boodt 2004, I, 98–100. Suggested by Von Baldass 1943, 234–35; Combe 1946, 82; Unverfehrt 1980, 206.

[2] Small triptychs and diptychs often have shutters with non-figurative painting on the exterior. An interesting parallel is provided in this respect by a small triptych by Jan Provoost with one green marbled shutter and one red: *Madonna and Saints*, Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. MJF IX, no. 21 (on loan from the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. A2570).

[3] There was a late-fifteenth- or early-sixteenth-century tabernacle with figurative paintings on the interior wings at St Leonard's Church in Zoutleeuw until 1983; following its theft, the shutters were later returned: Engelen 1993, 24–25. See also Kroesen 2004, 105–38.

[4] Tolnay (1965; 1984 edition, 30, 352–53 no. 15–16) also suggested an arrangement one above the other.

[5] 'La tela dell' Inferno con la gran diversità de monstri fu de mano de Ieronimo Bosch (135). La tela delli Sogni fu de man de l'istesso. La tela della fortuna con el ceto che inghiotte Giona fu de man de l'istesso'. Morelli provided some information about Bosch in note 135, in which he stated that two of the painter's works were in the Doge's Palace. Michiel (ed. Morelli) 1800, 77, 221; Mussi and Williamson 1903, 118–19 (who assume that the 'canvases' by Bosch have been lost).

[6] *Jonah Thrown Overboard*, oil on panel, 22.5 x 32.5 cm. Attribution by M.J. Friedländer supplemented by Reindert Falkenburg. Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague: www.rkd.nl/en/explore/images/52211 (accessed July 2015).

[7] Campbell 1981, 473. There is a problem here, however. Of all the identifiable canvases or 'tela' mentioned by Michiel, not a single one is actually painted on panel. Cf. Michiel (ed. Morelli) 1800, passim, and Mussi and Williamson 1903, passim.

[8] Campbell 1981, 472.

[9] De Vrij 2012, 288–90, 461–64 no. B.23, who states incorrectly that Michiel described them as 'framed'.

[10] Gallo 1952; Campbell 1981, 472–73; Aikema and Brown 1999, 432–35 no. 111 (Beverly Louise Brown); Aikema 2001, 25–31.

[11] '...Passiamo nel Transito, che ci conduce alla Sala dell'Eccelso Conseglio de X. che ivi vederemo quindeci quadretti in tavola di mano del Civetta, con varie Chimere, sogni, visioni, e bizzarie, che insegnano al capriccio nuove invenzioni.' Boschini 1664, 23–24; Boschini 1674, 18–19.

[12] 'Nel transito, che conduce alla Sala dell'Eccelso Conseglio de' Dieci. ... e quattro con chimere, e stregozzi dello Civetta. ...'. Zanetti 1733, 109.

[13] 'Enrico di Bles Boemo, detto il Civetta. Vi sono di questa mano *Nella stanza degli Eccellentissimi Capi del Consiglio de' Dieci alcuni pezzi*. Quattro in forme bislunghe stanno sulla parete alla destra del tribunale.' Zanetti Junior states in an added footnote that the other paintings remained, but he did not believe that they were by Herri met de Bles, as indicated by his uncle taking his cue from Boschini: 'Questi quadri con altri erano altrevolte nell andito per cui si passa dalla Sala delle quatro porte al Consiglio de' Dieci. O a restano quivi varii paesi di maniera Fiamminga; ma non mostrano d'essere dello Civetta, come accena il Boschini.' Zanetti 1771, 491.

[14] 'Sammlungen und Ausstellungen', *Kunstchronik* 21 (1885–86), 298: 'An Neuerwerbungen der Akademie zu Venedig sind in den letzten Jahren einige bedeutende Werke zu verzeichnen: ... daneben auch ein vierteiliger Altar van H. Bosch, das jüngste Gericht darstellend.'

[15] Levi 1900, 203.

[16] Von Baldass 1917, 178, 180. The panels were then mounted at least in pairs and possibly all four together in a narrow, ornamental frame; see Von Baldass 1917, 180 fig. 2; Pfister 1922, figs. 7–8. Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague: BD/ - ONS/Photo-Archive M.J. Friedländer (no. 0000111436).

[17] See Tolnay 1937, 92; Von Baldass 1943, 234–35; Combe 1946, 22–23, 82 no. 39.

[18] Tolnay 1937, 31, 92 no. 15–16.

[19] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 18, RR 32–39; Klein 2001, 124.

[20] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 18, RR 32–39.

[21] Ibid. and Chapter IV, 'Conservation History and Appearance'.

[22] However, a black underlayer is also used in the Bruges *Last Judgement* (cat. 16) as the base for the grisaille painting on the closed triptych, while traces of black paint over a preparatory layer have been found in the exterior wings of the two Venetian triptychs. The exterior wings of the *Job Triptych* (cat. 23) also have a black base layer. The even later *Last Judgement* fragment in Munich (cat. 30) is the only work with a polychrome figurative image on top of a largely black ground layer.

[23] Smeyers 1998, 371.

19

Wayfarer Triptych

A *The Wayfarer*
B *The Ship of Fools | Gluttony and Lust* (fragment from the *Ship of Fools*)
C *Death and the Miser*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1500–10

Analysis
The *Wayfarer Triptych* owes its name to the tondo in Rotterdam, which was demonstrated in around 2000 to consist of two exterior triptych wings combined and reduced in size to form an octagonal painting. The interior wings with *Death and the Miser* (now in Washington) on the one hand and the *Ship of Fools* (Paris) and the *Gluttony and Lust* on the other, were separated from their exteriors. The four paintings were already seen as connected in the 1960s for a variety of reasons, including the strikingly detailed underdrawings. These were attributed to a left-handed master and, since Bosch was assumed to be right-handed, it was concluded that the dismantled triptych must be the work of an assistant. This only applied to the underdrawing, however, and it is far from certain whether this was done by a left- or a right-handed artist anyway; it was certainly Hieronymus Bosch who painted the triptych. The subject of the lost central panel is not known. The wayfarer on the closed shutters introduced the moral theme, while the interior tracked the course of human life. The left wing shows human beings indulging in sinful pleasures, while the right wing focuses on how they continue to hesitate between good and evil even in the final moments of life.

19A The Wayfarer

Oil on oak panel, 71.3 x 70.7 cm
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1079

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Rotterdam, 23–26 May 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19A, RR 8; //Boschproject.org no. 19A.

Condition
The *Wayfarer* consists of the two exterior wings of a now-disassembled triptych. These were later joined into a single painting (resulting in a 0.5 cm compositional gap in the middle), subsequently cropped into its current octagonal format and extensively cradled. The panel has a few small, old woodworm holes and is deformed slightly. There are some old, short panel cracks, but overall the ground and paint layers adhere well and appear relatively stable. There are only small losses, the smallest of which unrestored, and slight overall abrasion. The thin paints have become more transparent and have significantly increased visibility of the ground, underdrawing and lower paint layers. Residues of thin, dark overpaint remain in interstices of the paint, on top of old varnish, for instance in the sky. This, and local blanching, slightly reduces the excellent legibility of the original paint surface.

Provenance
Theodor Schiff, Paris; 1904–30 Albert Figdor, Vienna, auctioned Berlin 29/30 September 1930; 1930–31 J. Goudstikker art dealers, Amsterdam; purchased in 1931 by Museum Boymans, Rotterdam.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19A, RR 8; Fischer 2013, 39, 191–92, 255; Koreny 2012, 28, 236; Silver 2006, 252–60; Hartau 2005, 305–38; Pinson 2005, 57–84; Lammertse and Roorda Boersma 2003, 102–18; De Bruyn 2001, 132–43; Klein 2001, 121–22, 125; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 62–64, 88, 220 no. 6.1; cat. Rotterdam 1994, 90–95; Marijnissen 1987, 15, 410–15, 465; Tolnay 1965, I, 282; II, 369–70; Von Baldass 1943, 17–18, 73, 91, 232; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 34–35; Friedländer 1927, 102, 152; Friedländer 1921, 80, 192; Gossart 1907, 290; Glück 1904, 174–84.

19B The Ship of Fools

Oil on oak panel, 58.1 x 32.8 cm
Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures, Paris, RF 2218

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Paris, 3–4 October 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19B, RR 17–18; //Boschproject.org no. 19B.

Condition
The panel originally functioned as the top section of the interior of the left wing of the *Wayfarer Triptych*. Strips of wood were added at the top, left and right sides – the latter being painted – after which a plywood backing and a cradle were applied. The join is slightly open and there are multiple old, partially open panel cracks, but the adhesion of paint and ground is good and the limited losses, mainly in the bottom right, have been restored. The red lakes have faded considerably and lighter paints have become more transparent. The figure group is well preserved, but the entire background is severely abraded and has been extensively retouched and overpainted, including the sky, the extended foliage around the small branch with the owl, the hill and the water. The poor condition of the varnish furthermore impedes proper visibility of the original paint surface. Conservation issues were addressed during the 2015 full treatment of the painting.

Provenance
1914–18 Camille Benoit, Paris; donated to the Musée du Louvre, Paris, in 1918; loaned to the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam 1927–30.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19B, RR 17–18; Fischer 2013, 191–92, 252; Koreny 2012, 60–61, 63, 89, 236–41; Silver 2006, 243–52; Colenbrander 2003, 25–28; Hartau 2003, 33–38; Metzger 2003, 39–44; Klein 2001, 121, 125; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 86, 88, 220 no. 6.1; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 107–08; Marijnissen 1987, 310–18, 323; Unverfehrt 1980, 26, 44–45, 78–79; Tolnay 1965, I, 92–93; II, 346–48; Adhémar 1962, 20–32; Von Baldass 1943, 16, 42, 70, 82–83, 88, 231; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 33; Friedländer 1927, 152; Friedländer 1921, 192; Demonts 1919, 1–20; Lafond 1914, 79–80.



19A





19B



19C

19B Gluttony and Lust
(fragment of the *Ship of Fools*)

Oil on oak panel, 34.9 x 30.6 cm
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 1959.15.22, Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz

BRCP examination and documentation data: New Haven, 24 September 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19B, RR 75–76; //Boschproject.org no. 19B.

Condition
This panel originally functioned as the lower section of the interior of the left wing of the disassembled triptych. Strips of wood were added on the left and right sides and then painted. A wooden backing and a cradle were then applied and there are local panel deformations. Previous issues with raised paint have resulted in many losses and the surface is severely abraded overall. Red lakes have faded (e.g. the cloth in the bottom left used to be purplish) and green lakes have discoloured brown (e.g. the landscape and the robe of the man in the tent). Numerous unrestored damages resulted in a patchy appearance, but the saturation of the original paint surface is relatively good overall.

Provenance
Clay collection, London; 11 May 1928 auctioned by Christie's, London; purchased by Brau; 1932 Kunsthaus Malmedé, Cologne, loaned in 1936 to Museum Boymans, Rotterdam; c. 1940 Katz collection, Dieren; 1940–45 ?; Silbermann collection, New York; until 1957 Louis M. Rabinowitz, Long Island; donated in 1959 by Hannah D. Rabinowitz to Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19B, RR 75–76; Fischer 2013, 192, 256; Koreny 2012, 28, 236; Silver 2006, 243–52; Colenbrander 2003, 26; Hartau 2003, 33–38; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 86, 88, 139, 220 no. 6.1; Matheson 2001, 134, 156; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 103–19; Marijnissen 1987, 310–15, 323; Tolnay 1965, I, 94; II, 348; Von Baldass 1943, 22, 70, 83, 235; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 33; Rietstap 1884, 172.

19C Death and the Miser

Oil on oak panel, 94.3 x 32.4 cm
National Gallery of Art, Washington. Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1952.5.33

BRCP examination and documentation data: Washington, 12–13 April 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19C, RR 53–54; //Boschproject.org no. 19C.

Condition
Death and the Miser originally functioned as the interior of the right wing of the *Wayfarer Triptych*. Wooden strips were added to all sides and a triangular insert was used to replace the top left corner, after which a plywood backing and a cradle were applied. The panel join is slightly open and there are many old cracks. Adhesion of paint and ground is fairly good, although slightly tenting paint is apparent throughout. There are small restored losses in predominantly the bottom part of the panel and a larger damage below the money bag and in the lower part of the red bed curtain on the right side of the panel. The paint surface is somewhat abraded overall. Increased transparency of lighter paints and the fading of red lake paints have resulted in a greater visibility of the underdrawing. Apart from multiple small distracting spots, the legibility of the painting is good.

Provenance
1826 private collection, England (possibly in or near Arundel, Sussex); 1932–51 Baron Joseph van der Elst, Brussels/Biot; purchased in 1951 by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York; donated in 1952 to the National Gallery of Art.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19C, RR 53–54; Fischer 2013, 191–92, 256–57; Koreny 2012, 60–61, 63, 89, 242–43; Silver 2006, 239–43; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 86, 88, 220 no. 6.1; Marijnissen 1987, 320–24; Unverfehrt 1980, 26, 44–45, 78–79; Tolnay 1965, I, 25; II, 347; Von Baldass 1943, 22–23, 236; Friedländer ANM XIV 1937, 101.

TRIPTYCH

19A–C

From the 1960s onwards, a number of art historians began to suggest for a variety of reasons (technical, stylistic and morphological) that the *Ship of Fools*, the fragment in New Haven, *Death and the Miser* and the *Wayfarer* originally belonged together. It subsequently became clear during the preparations for the Bosch commemorative exhibition in Rotterdam in 2001 that all these works had been painted on wood from the same tree.[1] Precise comparison of the structure of the wood used for the respective paintings has since demonstrated that the *Wayfarer* originally formed the exterior of the wings of a triptych, the left interior of which contained the *Ship of Fools* above the fragment now in New Haven, and the right interior wing *Death and the Miser*.[2] In other words, the *Ship of Fools* and the fragment from it in the Yale University Art Gallery are the interior of the left half of the *Wayfarer*; and *Death and the Miser* the reverse of the right half. The *Wayfarer* was given its octagonal shape at some later date, only after the front of the panel was separated from the back. It is not clear when the two sides were sawn apart. Nor do we know the subject of the image in the central panel, which appears to have been lost. Several principal themes have been suggested (Haywain, Last Judgement, Marriage at Cana), but in the absence of documentary evidence, this can be no more than conjecture.[3] In the absence of the central panel, the surviving elements have to be considered in context with one another.

Together, the three scenes in these panels form an image addressing the course of human life. Human beings act and make choices. They often misbehave and choose wrongly. The question here seems ultimately to be what choice will they make in the course of their lives in the face of death? Will they succeed in turning to God and letting go of their urge for material things? Will the sinner – for that is what the human being is, by definition – repent or not? The answer to that question is crucial, because nothing less is at stake than the salvation of his or her soul. This being so, it might make most sense that the central

panel was a Last Judgement, although an *exemplum virtutis* such as an elevating scene from the life of a saint would also fit. Even an episode from the Passion of Christ, such as the Carrying of the Cross or the Crucifixion, is not beyond the bounds of possibility. Bosch's work is fundamentally Christocentric, and he constantly reminds the viewer of his paintings of the message that Christ, who died on the cross for humanity's sins, offers the only hope of salvation.

WAYFARER, PILGRIM, PRODIGAL SON, EVERYMAN

The *Wayfarer* – the painting that once adorned the closed shutters of the triptych – is somewhat confusing in its current form. Not only did its two halves form the wings of a triptych, which opened precisely where the traveller's backpack is fastened, the doors were also rectangular in shape, rather than octagonal as they are now, which makes a significant difference. We have to conclude, therefore, that the tondo containing the painting of the wayfarer – placed in a reddish-brown painted frame with two thin contour lines – was set against a brown background that extended considerably further around the tondo. A reconstruction of this original state shows that the effect would have been that of a mirror on a wall. The association of the wayfarer scene with the image in a mirror is extremely important:[4] it means that Bosch wanted to stress that everyone who looked at this traveller saw – or ought to see – him or herself. 19A 19.1

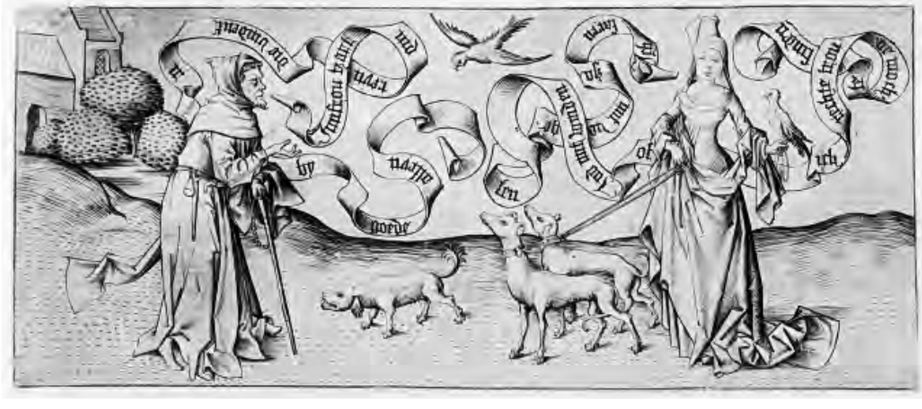
The iconography of the *Wayfarer* is unusual and striking. The figure must have fascinated Bosch, however, as he painted him again later and larger on the closed wings of the exterior of the *Haywain Triptych* (cat. 20). Eric De Bruyn demonstrated in a comprehensive study that the figure of the wayfarer ought to be viewed in Bosch as a penitent sinner making his way, for better or worse, through life.[5] He is a pilgrim journeying through existence. All the same, it is significant that Bosch's wayfarer is not identified as a pilgrim as such. The equivalent figure in the famous and popular *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine* by Guillaume



19.1 IRP showing frame of tondo [CAT 19A]

Deguileville (1330–31), which is frequently cited in this regard, is invariably illustrated with a pilgrim's staff, bag and hat.[6] The principal figure in a German woodcut from this period, which for formal and substantive reasons forms a useful point of comparison with the themes of the *Wayfarer Triptych*, is also recognizable as a 'life pilgrim'.[7] The traveller crosses a wooden bridge with a pack on his back, a pilgrim's staff under his arm and a pilgrim's badge on his hat. The devil tugs at his jacket, while Death waits ahead of him, bow and arrow at the ready. A grave has been dug beneath the bridge for the body of a dead pilgrim. The Tablets of the Law, surmounted with a crucifix and accompanied by an angel, stand on a column on top of the bridge. The scene is set in a tondo surrounded by four figurative scenes (Holy Trinity, Last Judgement, Hell, Salvation), which are accompanied in turn by angels who speak the appropriate texts and state what the pilgrim has to do.[8] The image as a whole is intended to suggest a mirror hanging from a cord with a banderole that contains a text spoken by the Holy Trinity: 'We three are one God and lord over all races. Therefore, pilgrim, look in the mirror of understanding. When are you coming? Where are you? For whom do you live, I ask. Where do you want to go? Where will you shun for eternity?'

The fact that Bosch chose not to depict the traveller as a pilgrim does not mean he is not one, but it does make the figure less clear-cut. It is understandable, therefore, that this wayfarer has also been variously described in the art-historical literature as the 'Prodigal Son', the 'Pedlar' and 'Everyman'. The theme of the repentant sinner and that of the Prodigal Son do not rule one another out, though – one is the extension of the other. The detail with the pigs at a trough in front of the inn towards which the wayfarer looks back is so striking that it is hard to believe a viewer in Bosch's time could have seen it without immediately thinking of the familiar parable (Luke 15:11–32).[9] The fact that the man has a pack on his back argues against his identification as the Prodigal Son, but it does not make him a pedlar either, which is why the more neutral term 'wayfarer' has been used here.[10] *Homo viator*, the travelling man, might be an even more neutral and universal description for him. Calling the wayfarer 'Everyman' would also seem apt, with the proviso that – like 'Prodigal Son' – it risks reducing the figure to the illustration of a text.[11] As an 'everyman' with a lower-case 'e', by contrast, he makes this painting a mirror, just as the *Everyman* text itself does. The full title of *Elckerlijc* – in translation of the Middle Dutch version of *Everyman* – reads: 'The Mirror of Everyman's Salvation. How every man is summoned to give reckoning to God.' Text and painting are linked by the notion that at the end of each human life, a balance sheet must be drawn up and an accounting given to God. However, where *Everyman/Elckerlijc* is a morality tale with an extremely clear progression from sin and repentance to salvation, the situation in Bosch remains unspecified. The outcome of the wayfarer's life is unclear; we cannot say with any certainty whether he has truly repented. It looks like he is passing an inn with loose women. This gives the impression that he is leaving that world behind him, yet it is far from obvious where he is headed.[12] What is plain is that life's road is beset with temptations and dangers, and that it does not leave those who travel it unscathed.



19.2 Israhel van Meckenem, *The Quest for Faith*, c. 1490–1500. Engraving. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett



19.3 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Misanthropist*, 1568. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

There is a striking similarity between the aggressive dog in the painting and the animal in an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem.[13] On closer examination, we find that the theme 19.2
of the print also offers interesting comparative material for the painting. The print shows a meeting between a young noblewoman hunting for 'true fidelity' (*echte trouw*) and a clergyman, speaking from experience, who tells her she will only find it in God (*goede*). The dog – traditionally a symbol of fidelity – is far from well-disposed towards the man, making it an ironic illustration of his point.[14] Earthly existence is (frequently) a vale of tears, and the theme of *contemptus mundi* (contempt for the world) plays a part here. Pieter Bruegel's *Misanthropist* (1568), who complains 'Om dat de werelt is soe ongetru/ Daer om gha ic in den ru' ('Because the world is perfidious/ I am going into mourning'), is a late but magnificent illustration of this theme. Where the tondo functions in Bosch as a mirror intended to 19.3
encourage reflection and self-improvement, Bruegel's tondo offers a window onto a ridiculous world. This subtle, yet fundamental difference helps us understand both paintings more acutely.

The *Wayfarer* is an image that evokes associations with different texts, themes and images, without it being entirely clear how that image ought to be interpreted. Ambiguity and uncertainty are recurring features of Bosch's art, with the result that a compelling appeal is made to the judgement of the viewer: it is he or she, after all, who has to choose which way to go. The image is made personal and sets the viewer thinking. Bosch's paintings were not made for lazy beholders; they are tools, in the sense that their viewers – people making their way haltingly through life like pilgrims – have to use them to improve themselves.



19.4





SHIP OF FOOLS, MAY BOAT, BLUE BOAT, SINT-REYNUUT

When the triptych opens, the mirror 'breaks' and its contents – or rather the view it offers of them – are shown inside. We will begin with what was once the left wing, with its boatload of merrymakers, surrounded by drunkards and lovers. These are people in the flush of their lives, concerned with neither God nor his commandments. They have given themselves over to eating, drinking, swimming and lovemaking, and their most pressing concern seems to be the pie balanced on the head of one of the swimmers, which they are eager to get onto dry land in one piece. Death still seems a long way away. None of the figures realizes what Sebastian Brant declared in the prologue to his *Stultifera Navis* (*Ship of Fools*, 1497), namely that 'In the ship, we are separated but three fingers' breadth from death.'[15]

19.5–6

Brant's *Ship of Fools* must have been an important inspiration for Bosch's boatload of carousers. Brant describes his encyclopaedic collection of prints and verses on human folly as a mirror in which everyone can (or ought to) recognize themselves:

They who at writings like to sneer
Or are with reading not afflicted
May see themselves herewith depicted
And thus discover who they are,
Their faults, to whom they're similar.
For fools a mirror it shall be,
Where each his counterfeit may see.
His proper value each would know,
The glass of fools the truth may show.

Who sees his image on the page
May learn to deem himself no sage,
Nor shrink his nothingness to see,
Since none who lives from fault is free;
And who could honestly have sworn
That cap and bells he's never worn?
Who'er his foolishness decries
Alone deserves to rank as wise.[16]



19.6 Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, 1494, fol. t.iiii

Bosch set out to achieve something similar with the *Wayfarer Triptych* and with the *Ship of Fools* as part of it, namely the cultivation of self-knowledge on the part of the viewer through contemplating and reflecting on the painted themes. The relationship between the respective panels gives further direction to this hermeneutic process. Knowing, for instance, that the right wing of the triptych consisted of *Death and the Miser* undeniably shapes the way we look at both the *Ship of Fools* and the *Wayfarer*. *Memento mori*, remember that you must die, is the message of this triptych. Consideration of the significance and scope of this idea, as illustrated in ostensibly everyday scenes, has resulted in a painting that confronts its viewers with themselves and with the moral choices they must make in the course of their lives.

The changes made to the painting over more than half a millennium make it considerably harder to read. Apart from the disappearance of the central panel and the splitting of the fronts of the wings from the backs, the *Ship of Fools* has been subjected to overpainting. This is somewhat offset by the stroke of fortune that a workshop *ricordo* has survived, which provides a good impression of the painting's original composition (cat. 56). The mountain that closes off the image on the right edge is a later addition which, judging by the drawing, was painted over a view of a city. It is logical to suppose that this overpainting occurred at the point when the panel was presented as an autonomous painting and no longer as the wing of a triptych. The foliage of the branch tied to the mast was considerably enlarged at that point too, as was that of the branch in the boat, slightly to the right. The water on which the vessel floats was significantly overpainted as well.[17] These adjustments largely cancel out the instability of the little boat, which is a fundamental theme of the painting.[18]

Sebastian Brant explains why he chose a *ship* of fools in his prologue. He says that the world is represented as a sea or lake in the Bible, and nothing in that world is permanent or sure: the whole of earthly existence is unstable.[19]

19.7

The *Haywain* tapestry in the Patrimonio Nacional's collection, made after a painting by Bosch, is illustrative in this respect. It shows a globe bobbing on the water, in which there is a cart laden with hay that is coveted by all humanity. The cross in the upper right corner makes it a *globus cruciger* – the cross-bearing orb of God's Creation. This tipped-over cross, surrounded by angels (are they lamenting?) tells us that the world is out of kilter. It could



19.7 After Hieronymus Bosch, *Haywain* tapestry, 1550–70 (design before 1542). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

hardly be otherwise, given that it is adrift on a sea full of monstrous fish.[20] Demons try to grab human figures out of the orb to load them onto a little boat.

The rudderless and unstable quality of Bosch's *Ship of Fools* becomes all the more obvious when we try to make out how the vessel is constructed; the mast is held up by two stays, the right one of which is tied to the tree-branch on which the fool is sitting. The branch appears in turn to have been placed loosely in the boat. It is also unclear which way the boat is travelling; it seems to be sailing into the wind, as the bow is painted on the right and the pennant is blowing to the left. The vessel is not, therefore, making any headway; to emphasize the absurdity of the situation, one of the crew grips a large spoon as a rudder (or is it an oar?), but does so at the bow end.[21] We also wonder, lastly, how much longer it will be before the swell causes the tabletop with the plate, the cherries and the cup to tip over, and the fool bobbing along on a barrel in the foreground to slide off into the water.

19.21 All these goings-on are observed by an owl from a branch lashed to the mast.[22] The branch in the mast and the one in the boat on which the jester is sitting evoke a phenomenon that we do not find in Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*, but which does appear repeatedly in contemporary illustrations of calendars in Books of Hours. 'May boats', as they are



19.8 *May*, calendar miniature, *Hours of Joanna of Castile*, 1486–1506. British Library, London, MS 18852, fol. 5v–6r

known, carry courting couples who sing and play music, enjoy the beginning of spring and make themselves giddy with amorous thoughts.[23] There is a fine example in the Book of Hours that Joanna of Castile, wife of Duke Philip the Fair, commissioned from a Bruges workshop between 1486 and 1506.[24] The prayers set out in the manuscript are preceded by a calendar of saints' days and other church festivities. The months of the year are accompanied by illustrations of the activities associated with the relevant season. The month of May is decorated with a miniature showing three people making music in a little boat decorated with budding branches. The boat flies a pennant from its bow, while a fool perches on the stern playing the bagpipes. The illustration on the opposite page shows a kneeling man making a proposal to a young lady, while the rest of the miniature is suggestively devoted

19.8



19.9 Johannes Galle (originally published by Hieronymus Cock, 1559), Pieter van der Heyden (engraver), *Die Blau Schuyte*, c. 1600. Engraving

to hunting. The illustrations show that the link between music, love, folly, spring and May boats was a relatively common one. The boat decorated with branches and the musicians we find in Bosch's *Ship of Fools* mean we need to take this aspect into account when interpreting the painting, which also shows someone playing the lute. In the May boat image, the lute no doubt represents the harmony of the music itself and between the lady who plays the instrument and her lover. The nun and the monk in the *Ship of Fools* also sing along to the strains of the lute – less mellifluously, we imagine – but here the allusion can only be to indecency. The branches in Bosch's little ship consist of wood that is considerably older than we normally find in May boats. The revellers it carries are likewise well past their youth and a lot closer to death. That they themselves fail to realize this or else choose to disregard it is what makes them fools.

The image Bosch creates with the *Ship of Fools* – as with the *Wayfarer* – combines different and complementary iconographies. It will have been obvious to a sixteenth-century viewer where this ship, which lacks a rudder and could not actually exist, is heading. A reprint of a sixteenth-century engraving which, according to an inscription, was made after an invention by Bosch, states above the image where a boat like this, full of good-for-nothings, is
19.9 headed. The boat is named the *Blau Schuyte* ('blue barge'), referring to a tradition of world-turned-upside-down festivities and literature; as if that were not enough, inscriptions in Latin, French and Dutch specify that the boat is heading *ad perditionem* (to perdition).[25]

Many viewers of the *Ship of Fools* will also have made the association, lastly, with the story of the satirical 'Sint Reynuut' and his boat. Reynuut – a contraction of the words *rein uit*, meaning wholly empty – is a fictional saint, the patron of all those whose drunkenness leaves them destitute. His shrine is located on the island of the same name, to which he sails on his ship the *Quat Regement* (Bad Government). The drunkards in Bosch's painting are certainly devoted to this saint. Sebastian Brant pithily sums up the moral of all these images in his *Ship of Fools*: 'Who takes his place on the ship of fools sails laughing and singing to hell.'[26]

DEATH, HOLDING ON, LETTING GO

'Who dieth well, his grave's the best/ The sinner's death is never blest' is another fine couplet from Brant's *Ship of Fools*.[27] It offers a nice introduction to the dilemma facing the prot-
19.10 agonist of the right wing of the *Wayfarer Triptych*. A man sits up in bed, looking into the eyes of Death, who appears from behind the door. Death points an oversized arrow directly at him. It is time. The final hour has come. The question now is whether the dying man will grasp the bag held out to him by a demon from beneath the curtain of the bed. The answer to this question will determine the man's fate: is it to be heaven or hell? An angel behind him tries to draw his attention to the image of a crucifix that appears in the window in the upper left corner. The rays of light that enter the room via the crucified Christ do not (yet) extend, however, as far as the dying man. The struggle between the angel and the devil, who has positioned himself on the canopy of the bed in the hope that the man will make the wrong choice, has not been settled. The wing encourages us to think about what we would do in the face of death: hold on or let go. The little demon in the foreground looks out of the
19.20 picture plane, making contact with the viewer and leading him or her into the image. Its pose, with its head resting on one hand, is a common gesture of contemplation that we also find, for instance, in *John the Baptist* (cat. 5).

It is clear from the action going on between the thoughtful demon and the scene in the bed that we cannot have faith in the happy outcome of the struggle between good and evil. The elderly man we see there leans on a walking stick as he drops money into a sack. The moneybag and the chest in which it is kept are surrounded by three demons. Although the man wears a rosary, his money is not blessed. We cannot say for certain whether this is the same man who is also shown dying in his bed; he might also be a more emblematic image of avarice, intended to emphasize that too strong a desire for earthly goods helps pave the road to hell. Whatever the case, the figure in green serves to amplify the tension evoked by the dilemma facing the man in the bed.



19.10 [CAT 19C]





19.11 **IRR** [CAT 19C]

19.12 *Man on his deathbed*, Office of the Dead, *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, **c. 1435–40.** The Morgan Library and Museum, New York, MS M 917, p. 180





19.13 The temptation of avarice. *Ars Moriendi* – 'The Art of Dying', Zwolle (Peter van Os) 1491. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 171 E 29



19.14 An angel advises the dying man not to 'hanker after earthly goods'. *Ars Moriendi* – 'The Art of Dying', Zwolle (Peter van Os) 1491. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 171 E 29

We find a similar composition in an amusing illuminated page in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, in the margin of which a young man is depicted rummaging in a money-chest. 19.12 The same youth appears in the main miniature at the deathbed of what is probably his father. He seems to be allowing his finely-dressed friend to talk him into taking an advance on his inheritance. The combination of the money-chest in the margin and its relationship to the principal scene has a striking, though somewhat enigmatic similarity to Bosch's *Death and the Miser*; it is hardly likely, after all, that Bosch ever saw this exclusive manuscript, which was made for the Duchess of Guelders, probably in Utrecht, over half a century before he produced his painting. On the other hand, this is not a common juxtaposition of motifs.[28]

The combination of the well-filled money-chest and the approach of death does not feature in what was probably another important source for Bosch in this case, namely the illustrations in the *Ars moriendi*, a treatise on the 'Art of Dying'. The book was printed frequently in the Low Countries and the neighbouring regions at the end of the fifteenth century, and was available in both Latin and vernacular editions.[29] Its purpose was to help people prepare for a 'virtuous death', to which end it included eleven full-page woodcut illustrations, each showing a man on his deathbed. He is tempted by the devil five times, with an angel coming to his rescue on each occasion. The third temptation is that of avarice, in which the devil tries to tempt the dying man to cling to his worldly possessions and attributes and to give them to his family and friends rather than the Church.[30] The illustration accompanying this enticement shows the dying man surrounded by a group of friends and in possession of a well-stocked house and a fine horse. Three demons stand 19.13 at his bedside, whispering: 'Take care of your friends' ('Versiet dijne vrenden') and 'Think of your earthly wealth' ('Ghedencket uu grote guet'). In the next woodcut in the sequence, two angels stand by the man's bed, with a crucifix, the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist and saints in the background. One of the angels places a sheet protectively around the shoulders of a man and woman, telling them 'Think not of your friends.' The other turns to the dying man, to whom he says 'Hanker not after earthly goods.' A demon shrinks away in 19.14 the lower right corner, muttering 'What shall I do to you?'

Bosch's artistic challenge was to express the dying man's dilemma in a single image rather than a series of illustrations. He places greater responsibility than the *Ars moriendi* does, moreover, on the man himself.[31] It is up to him to choose. The choice between moneybag and crucifix has not yet been made: Bosch leaves the viewer with a cliff-hanger. It is evident from the painting's underdrawing that the artist initially had a simpler image in mind. The man's hand was originally clamped around the moneybag, and he also held a 19.11 costly jar in his left hand. The painter evidently decided that this solution was too one-dimensional, as he ultimately omitted the jar, while the dying man in the painting has not yet grabbed the bag. This makes the miser slightly less miserly, while introducing an element of suspense to the struggle for the man's salvation. In the earlier configuration, the demon looking down from the canopy of the bed would have got its way, and the dying man's soul would have been lost. In the current form of the painting, by contrast, there is still some hope for the man in the bed. The decision has yet to be taken.

CENTRAL PANEL

Looking back at *Death and the Miser*, the *Ship of Fools* and the *Wayfarer*, and at the relationship between these elements of a triptych, the question remains as to whether there is any point in speculating about the iconography of the central panel. Until more specific evidence emerges in this regard, every proposal has to remain speculative. Johannes Hartau, followed by Stefan Fischer, proposed a *Marriage at Cana* as the central panel.[32] This would have placed an *exemplum* – a positive example of faith in God – at the centre. In this case, the iconography of the central panel would however be a long way removed from the wings. Jos Koldeweij proposed a Last Judgement or a vision of the Apocalypse as the central theme.[33] The wings would then show the behaviour of human beings during

their lifetimes, for which they will be called to account on Judgement Day. A third variation is offered by Bosch's surviving work, namely an image of a haywain in the central panel, as Herman Colenbrander has suggested.[34] The Christological element would then be formed by the manifestation of the Redeemer in the middle, high above the cart laden with hay. The *Haywain Triptych* (cat. 20) has a wayfarer on its closed shutters that corresponds significantly with the one in Rotterdam. The poverty of the traveller is linked in that case to the urge for earthly goods in the central panel, while the overall image is flanked by scenes showing the emergence of evil during the Fall of the Rebel Angels and a Hell scene, in which evil reigns.

In itself, a variation on the Haywain would be a plausible subject for the central panel of the *Wayfarer Triptych*. The human longing for earthly pleasures and wealth and the need to renounce such tendencies in the face of death form a tightly-knit iconographic programme. The main difference between the wayfarer in Rotterdam and the one in Madrid is the way they are framed. As indicated above, the scene with the Rotterdam wayfarer is presented as a mirror, while the one in Madrid occupies the entire surface of the panel. In this way, a compositional unity is created in the Madrid *Haywain Triptych* between the exterior of the wings, in which the wayfarer journeys through the world, and the central panel, in which the haycart is drawn through a similar 'world landscape'. It is entirely plausible that a similar unity existed between the closed shutters and the central panel of the *Wayfarer Triptych*. A comparable unity of form and also of content is obtained if we were to imagine a central panel with a haycart enclosed within an orb, as we see in the aforementioned tapestry in the Patrimonio Nacional collection.[35] The link between this composition and the *Ship of Fools* has already been noted, but the dominant tondo shape would also form a perfect match with the Rotterdam *Wayfarer*. The allegorical character of the wayfarer tondo would, to continue with this thought-experiment, then be extended into the central image with the haywain. The viewer begins by seeing his or her reflection in the wayfarer, and in the second instance recognizes the violence and folly of the world as a whole. If we look closely, we see Death – 19.15 complete with arrow – already at work here. This figure does not appear in the *Haywain* in the Prado, but would form a logical link with *Death and the Miser* in the right wing.[36]



19.15 Death at work. Detail of the *Haywain* tapestry [FIG 19.7]

It should be emphasized that this proposed reconstruction is also hypothetical and lacks any further evidence. Perhaps it is no more than coincidence that two works by Bosch are mentioned in the collection of Thomas Howard (1585–1646), Earl of Arundel, 'a small picture' and a 'Hay Cart'.[37] The sketchbook from which a drawing after *Death and the Miser* comes, attributed to William Henry Brooke (1772–1860), also comes from the Arundel circle.[38]

ATTRIBUTION

The underdrawing of the fragments of the *Wayfarer Triptych* has prompted debate regarding the painting's authorship since the late 1960s. Writing in the 1968 catalogue of early Netherlandish drawings in the Louvre, Frits Lugt noted with regard to the drawing of *Death and the Miser* (cat. 57) that 'it is curious that the hatching in the drawing was done with the 19.20 right hand, while the opposite is the case in the painting'.[39] As for the *Ship of Fools* (cat. 56), he wrote that – as with *Death and the Miser* – the drawing was done with the right hand, as with all Bosch's drawings, while the underdrawing on the panel was done with the left 19.16–17 hand.[40] So it was that the question of whether Bosch was left- or right-handed first made its appearance in the art-historical literature. Jetske Sybesma Ironside was the first to systematically investigate the problem of Bosch's left- or right-handedness in her thesis on the artist's underdrawings (1973; published in 1974).[41] She concluded that Bosch was left-handed. Ironside based her reconstruction of Bosch's oeuvre on the paintings that were later shown to have formed the *Wayfarer Triptych*.[42] The assumption that Bosch was left-handed relies on the direction of the hatching in the underdrawing of this group of paintings. It is supposedly possible to determine from the preferred direction of hatching whether it was done by a left-handed or a right-handed artist. A left-handed draughtsman mostly (and unconsciously) draws hatching from upper left to lower right (or vice versa), while a right-handed

one does so mainly from upper right to lower left (or vice versa).[43] The implication of Bosch's supposed left-handedness is, according to Ironside, that he could not have been responsible for drawings like the *Tree-Man*, the *Owl's Nest* and *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 35–37). Fritz Koreny, by contrast, takes the corpus of drawings as his starting point, of which the *Tree-Man* is the cornerstone. He believes that Bosch was right-handed, which leads him to conclude that Bosch cannot have been the person who made the underdrawing of the *Wayfarer Triptych*. Although he does not say so explicitly, Koreny assumes that the underdrawing and the painting were done by the same artist, causing him to attribute the *Wayfarer Triptych* as a whole to a left-handed workshop assistant of Bosch.[44]

Whatever the case, the issue gives rise to three key questions. We have to ask ourselves, first of all, whether the distinction between left- and right-handedness in drawings and underdrawings can be made in such a simple and clear-cut way. The second question relates to whether we should suppose that underdrawing and painting were always done by one and the same hand. And the third question is whether it is actually possible to determine left- or right-handedness in a painting. In other words: if it were determined that the underdrawing of a painting was done by a different artist from the one responsible for the underdrawing of other paintings by Bosch, does that mean the painting cannot be deemed autograph? This prompts the further question as to what it is we are attributing – paintings, underdrawings or both?

It is not set in stone, in our view, that underdrawing and painting have to be done by the same artist. They are two phases in the production process and can be readily separated from one another. When we attribute a painting to Bosch it is the painting process that clinches the matter, not the underdrawing. This in no way diminishes the importance of studying underdrawings in order to achieve a fuller understanding of workshop practice.

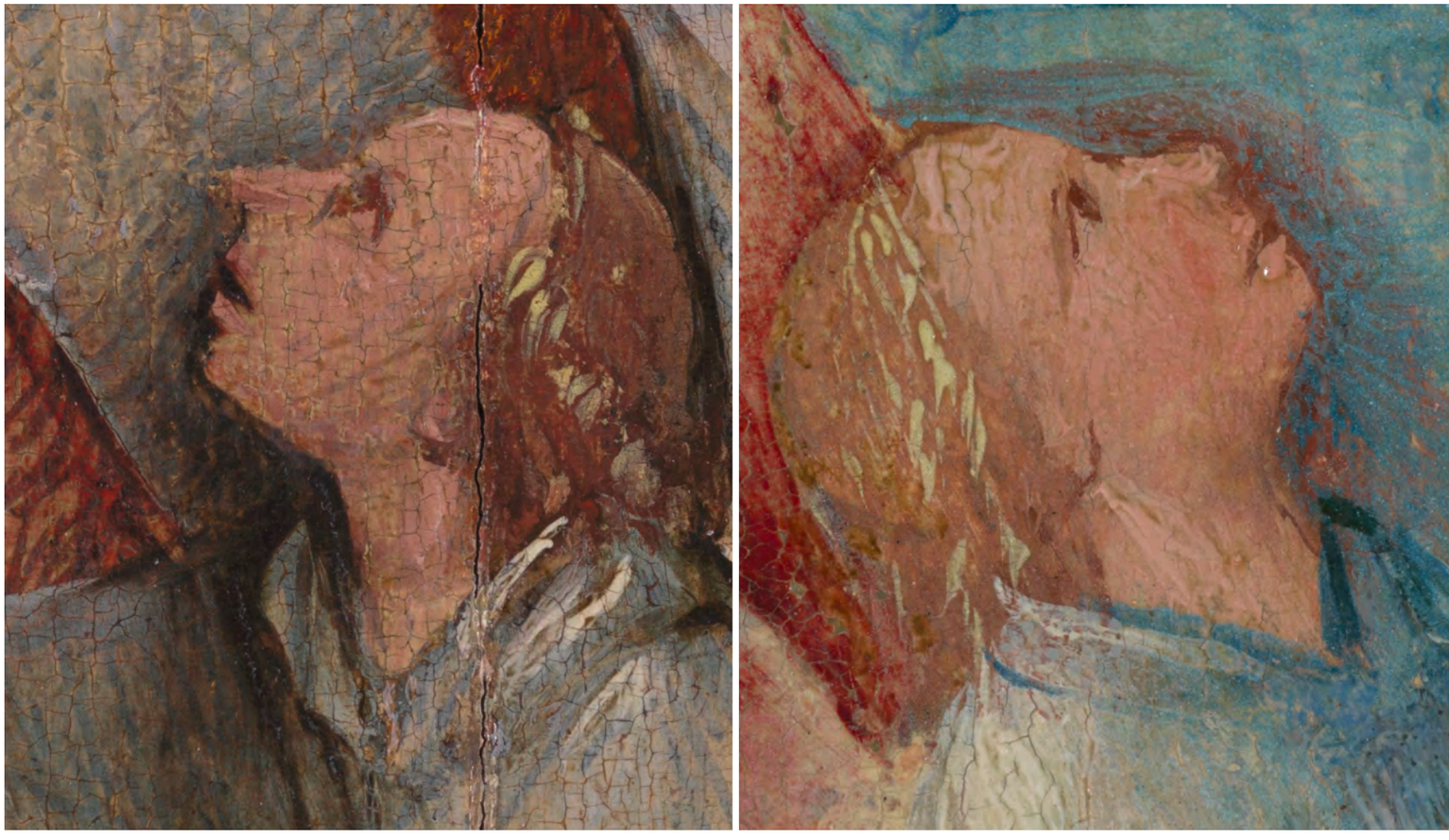




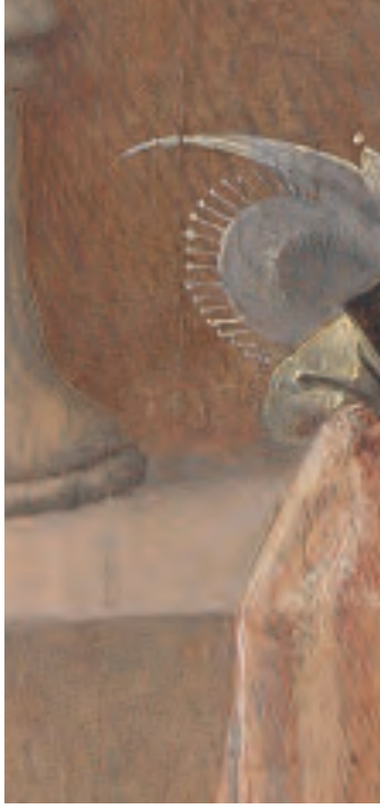
19.16–17 IRR *Ship of Fools* underdrawing [CAT 19B] and drawing [CAT 56]

While we recognize the unusual status of the underdrawing of the *Wayfarer Triptych* compared to the other underdrawings in the Bosch group, we are by no means persuaded that this fact ought to lead to the painting's attribution to a master other than Bosch. The painting of the *Wayfarer*, the *Ship of Fools* and *Death and the Miser* corresponds closely with other works by Bosch, including the *Haywain*. The artist who executed the angel in *Death and the Miser* is undoubtedly the same one who painted the angel on top of the *Haywain*. We see no reason whatsoever not to view the *Haywain* as autograph (see cat. 20). It is nevertheless the case that the underdrawing of the *Haywain* differs from that in the paintings from the *Wayfarer Triptych*.[45] As noted already, the manner of underdrawing in the *Wayfarer Triptych* does not match the other paintings in the corpus at all. This leads us to conclude that a painter other than Bosch, in this case undoubtedly a workshop assistant, was responsible for the underdrawing of the *Wayfarer Triptych*. This must have been done based on a carefully worked-out model, either painted or drawn, since the detailed underdrawing shows virtually no sign of searching for the right forms or proportions. Hieronymus Bosch then executed the final painting on top of this drawing, during which he chose at certain points to deviate from the design after all.[46]

19.18–19



19.18–19 Angels: *Death and the Miser* [CAT 19C] and *Haywain* [CAT 20B]



19.20 [CAT 19C]

[1] Writing in the first publication on the *Ship of Fools*, Demonts (1919, 8 n. 1) already suspected that the painting was the wing of a triptych and that it had, moreover, been separated from the image on the other side. Venturi (1945, 63–64) linked the New Haven fragment with a detail from the *Wayfarer* in Rotterdam, dating the piece – together with the *Ship of Fools* – in Bosch's middle period, towards the end of the fifteenth century. Brand Philip (1958) thought the *Wayfarer* could be the exterior of a triptych. See also Eisler 1961; Morganstern 1984; Hartau 2003; Hartau 2005; Lammertse and Roorda Boersma 2003.

[2] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19, RR 8.

[3] Colenbrander 2014; Koldeweij 2000, 222–52; Hartau 2005, 305–38; Fischer 2013, respectively.

[4] Gibson 1973, 33–47; Pinson 2005, 70ff. See also Belting and Kruse 1994, 74–79, 91 on mirrors and on the *Wayfarer* as a mirror.

[5] De Bruyn 2001, 121–49.

[6] Deguileville (Clasby) 1992; Biesheuvel 2005.

[7] Hartau 2002, 125–71, esp. 138; Dixon 2003, 102; Gibson 1973, 102.

[8] Two copies of the print are currently known, one in Munich (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 118319 D) and one in London (British Library, IC 36). The English translations of the original German texts are as follows. Holy Trinity: 'Look above you, pilgrim. Your soul was made in the likeness of God. You must do penance and keep his commandments. Hope and faith in one, so shall he grant you mercy, and after eternal life.' Last Judgement: 'Look before you, pilgrim: you shall not remain here. You must die and appear before the Last Judgement, and you know not when, where and whither thereafter. Think on it always and every day.' Hell: 'Look below you, pilgrim. Your body came from the earth and it shall also return there. You did not wish to avoid sin, and now you must suffer great pain.' Salvation: 'Look behind you, pilgrim, and think what good God and your fellow man have done. Even if your deeds have been unjust. And always remember that you are guilty.'

[9] See the historiographical survey in De Bruyn 2001, 165–97.

[10] The pack is first and foremost a large basket. There is no way for the viewer to know what it contains or whether those things are for sale as they would be in a pedlar's pack. Small late-fifteenth-century prints are known in which Christ is shown as a child with a pack on his back. This can contain virtues, but also the weight of the world. See Schreiber 1926, vol. 22, 32–33, nos. 820–25.

[11] Zupnick 1968.

[12] See Lammertse 1994, 95.

[13] HG, Meckenem 1986, no. 481; Moxey 1989, 109–11.

[14] Bosch seems to use the dog in a similar, ironic way in the *Wayfarer*. The vicious dog was initially going to be larger, but was reduced in the course of painting; as a result it is still aggressive, but considerably less threatening.

[15] Brant is quoting here from the Twelfth Satire of Juvenal, in which the poet describes the thin line between life and death. For sailors, this line is provided by the wood of the ship, which spares the crew from drowning: 'want also iuvenalis scriift int schip wii maer drie vingheren berds vander doot: dat es van verdriincken en ziin: en die int narrescip varen ziinder noch naerdere: want zii also verten alst in hemlieden es alte dood ziin die in doodelicke zonden ziin en en connen zonder sonderlinghe gratie gods nemer verrisen vander dood der zielen, hoe wel dat god ziin gracie nyemand en weyghert, also langhe al hii noch leeft.' Brant 1500, fol. A II verso. The *Ship of Fools* (*Das Narrenschiff*) was published in German in 1494, followed in 1497 by Latin and Middle Dutch translations. A Middle Dutch translation after the Latin version was published in Paris in 1500 by Guy de Koopman. The quotation here comes from the Middle Dutch translation, a single copy of which survives in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés. Yh 64; accessible online at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k110648p. The reference to Juvenal is missing in the 1494 edition.

[16] Prologue to the *Ship of Fools* (Basel 1494), quoted in the translation of E.H. Zeydel: Brant (Zeydel) 1962, 58.

[17] No such overpainting is found on the fragment from New Haven. This means either that the changes were made after the Yale fragment was separated from the painting in Paris, or that any overpainting of the New Haven piece was removed during some earlier restoration. See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 19B, RR 17–18.

[18] The catalogue for the exhibition celebrating the 150th anniversary of the Rijksmuseum (1958) actually assumes that the boat is moored. Van Luttervelt 1958, 81.

[19] 'Eerst om dat inder heiligher scrifturen af de wereld gheheten es dat mer dat is der zee: overmids dat inder wereld noch in de zee gheene ghestadicheit noch versekertheit en is.' Brant 1500, fol. A II recto.

[20] Cf. Vandenbroeck 2009, 241 n. 116.

[21] Cf. Marijnissen 1987, 311.

[22] Marijnissen (1987, 314) keeps open the possibility that this is a mask or a skull; the IRR leaves no room for doubt, however.

[23] See Oosterman 2001.

[24] Joanna of Castile was married from 1496 to 1506 to Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy and one of Bosch's patrons. See Chapter I, pp. 25–27. The manuscript can be accessed online at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_18852.

[25] See Pleij 1983 for this tradition. For the print, see Wyckoff in Bass and Wyckoff 2015, 158–63; Ilsink in Van Grieken, Luijten and Van der Stock 2013, 250–51.

[26] Brant 1500, fol. p. iiii, cap. 109.

[27] Emblem 85, 'Not Providing for Death'. Brant (Zeydel) 1962, 283.

[28] Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 137.

[29] For example Cologne 1474; Zwolle (Petrus van Os) 1488, Delft (Dirk Snellaert) 1488; and Antwerp (Gerard Leeu) 1492.

[30] The temptations are: (1) The devil tries to persuade the dying man to renounce his faith; (2) The devil tries to make him despair (*quader waanhopen*); (3) The devil encourages him to cling on to his earthly goods (*ghiericheyt*); (4) The devil tries to make him impatient, unresigned (*onverduldicheit, onlijdsaemheyt*); (5) The devil tries to induce pride on the part of the dying man (*vermetelheyt*).

[31] The narrative perspective in the *Ars moriendi* switches back and forth between the devil and the angel. Bosch focuses more on the human being.

[32] Hartau 2003. Hartau 2005 concentrates more on the question of the central panel. Fischer 2013, 191–92, 194, 254–57.

[33] Koldeweij 2000, 227–28.

[34] See Van Waadenoijen 2007, 207; Colenbrander 2014.

[35] See regarding this tapestry and three (originally four) others after Bosch, Kurz 1967; Schneebalg Perelman 1971; Delmarcel 1993, 92–113; Vandenbroeck 2009. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Gillis Mostaert painted a *Haywain* which also has this composition. This haycart is not reversed as it is in the tapestry, prompting the question of whether Mostaert worked after a painting. Gillis Mostaert, *Haywain*, second half 16th century, 104 x 139 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. MNR 399. There is another version of this *Haywain* in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (inv. H 972). The scene is not set in this case in an orb floating on the sea but in a continuous landscape.



19.21 [CAT 19B] after treatment

[36] However, the four surviving tapestries woven after Bosch all have a horizontal format, while the central panel of the *Wayfarer Triptych* must have been vertical in format.

[37] Inventory drawn up in 1655 following the death of his wife and heir Aletheia Talbot. Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl Arundel*, Cambridge 1921, 476: 'BOS, JERONIMO. 43. A small picture. 44. The Hay Cart.'

[38] http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.41645.html, under 'Provenance'. Accessed May 2015. The drawing belongs to the collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington DC.

[39] 'Il est curieux que dans le dessin les hachures sont faites de la main droite, tandis que dans le tableau c'est le contraire.' Lugt 1968, 25 no. 70.

[40] '... le dessin est fait de la main droite, comme tous les dessins de Bosch, et la préparation sur le panneau de la main gauche.' Lugt 1968, no. 71, 26.

[41] Ironside 1974.

[42] She places *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12) and the *Haywain* (cat. 20) in the same group.

[43] Koreny 2012, 63–71, with literature. See also Bambach 2003b. Mongan 1987; Reuterswärd 1993. Koreny does not cite this literature.

[44] Koreny detects the same hand in the *Haywain* and so gave the assistant the provisional name the 'Master of the Prado Haywain'. Cf. Ilsink 2013 for a more detailed discussion of this hypothesis.

[45] See the website Boschproject.org, link L33.

[46] The question of whether Bosch was left- or right-handed is much harder to answer than the art-historical literature suggests. Simple hatching tests show that not every right-handed (or left-handed) draughtsman applies hatching in the same way. What's more, right-handed artists are found to hatch parts of their drawings in a way that has traditionally been described as specific to left-handed draughtsmen (and vice versa). All this is even before we consider the possibility that hatching can be used for modelling purposes, prompting the question as to what extent the direction of hatching is determined by the composition. Virtually no scientific research has been performed into these or related questions. We therefore think it wise to refrain from drawing any conclusions at this juncture. A comparative study into different aspects of the brush- and pen-strokes found in drawings and paintings belonging to the Bosch group might provide more reliable information in this regard.

20 *The Haywain*

Hieronymus Bosch
1510–16

Oil on oak panel, left wing 136.1 × 47.7 cm; central panel 133 × 100 cm; right wing 136.1 × 47.6 cm
Signed central panel, lower right: *Jheronimus bosch*
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, P2052

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Madrid, 1–5 July 2013; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 20, RR 97–102; //Boschproject.org no. 20.

Condition
The engaged frames of the wings are original. In the centre of the closed wings, the composition continues over the planed-down vertical framing elements. The rabbeted frame of the central panel is of later date, it originally also had a engaged frame. The reverse of this panel was thinned considerably and cradled. Some old panel cracks and joins are apparent. Locally, there are some youth cracks in the paint, but the adhesion of both paint and ground appears good. Copper-green paint in the landscape has discoloured into brown, and lighter areas have become more transparent. There are paint losses and damages throughout, as well as abrasion primarily in the lower areas. Most damages were restored between 2006 and 2009, and overall the painting is in relatively good condition. However, discoloured varnish residues in paint interstices interrupt the fluent modelling of skin tones. Locally, matte spots and glossy retouchings slightly distract from the otherwise good visibility of the paint surface.

Provenance
Much of the *Haywain*'s provenance remains unclear, due in part to the existence of different versions. Philip II purchased a *Haywain* from the estate of Felipe de Guevara in 1570 and had it transferred to the Escorial in 1574, though it is not clear to which of the two surviving triptychs this relates. A 1636 inventory of the Alcázar in Madrid includes a *Haywain* triptych, while two *Haywains* are recorded in 1800 – one in the Escorial and another in the Casa de Campo, Madrid.[1] The central panel of the triptych now in the Prado was acquired around 1845 by the Marquis of Salamanca. Isabella II of Spain purchased it in 1848, following which it was kept at the royal palace in Aranjuez. The triptych was included in the 'Toison d'or' exhibition in Bruges in 1907, for which the left wing was brought from the Prado, the central panel from the Palacio Real de Aranjuez and the right wing from the Escorial. The ensemble has been in the Museo Nacional del Prado since 1914.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 20, RR 97–102; Fischer 2013, 188, 197–201, 258–60; Koreny 2012, 28, 89, 95, 209, 211; Silver 2006, 260–73; De Bruyn 2001; Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 123–57; Klein 2001, 127; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 62–65, 133–36; Vandenbroeck 2001, 49–63; Garrido and Van Schoute 1991, 177–79; Marijnissen 1987, 52–59, 465; Vandenbroeck 1987b; Vandenbroeck 1984, 39–65; Unverfehrt 1980, 239–40; Silvestre 1973; Jeffrey 1973, 311–31; Traeger 1970, 298–331; Steppe 1967, 13–14; Tolnay 1965, I, 118; II, 355–56; Starkie 1957, 83–87; Von Baldass 1943, 23–25, 51–52, 236–38; Lebeer 1938, 141–55; Grauls 1938, 156–77; Friedländer 1927, 83, 106, 153.

Analysis
The *Haywain* is a painting that enjoyed immense success in the sixteenth century: two versions found their way into the Spanish royal collections at an early date, inventories list other variations on the theme, and Mencía de Mendoza asked for both a copy and for a tapestry to be woven after it in 1539. There can be no doubt that the version in the Prado is the original version, while the one in the Escorial is a copy. There is nothing in the painting's execution, in either the underdrawing or the paint layer, to suggest that the Prado *Haywain* is not an autograph work. The dating of the wood indicates that the triptych must have been painted after 1510, making it an important point of reference for Bosch's late painting style.

LIFE'S PILGRIMAGE

'Blessed are those who live as pilgrims in this wicked world and remain untainted by it. … For the pilgrim travels the king's highway neither on the right or the left. If he should come upon a place where there is fighting and quarrelling, he will not become involved. And if he should come to a place where there is dancing and leaping or where there is a celebration … these will not entice him, for he knows he is a stranger, and as such has no interest in these things.'[2]

It is easy to imagine, looking at the threadbare elderly man with the basket on his back depicted on the closed wings of the *Haywain* triptych, that Bosch had this passage from one of Saint Bernard's sermons in mind when he painted the scene. The traveller's path runs through a world in which discord rules and is exalted.

Bernard's sermon (published in Middle Dutch editions in 1484–85 and 1495) is one of the many texts from Bosch's time and earlier to describe human beings as pilgrims journeying through life. A passage from the *Spieghel der menscheliker behoudenisse* (*Mirror of Human Salvation*) – a typological text that was extremely popular in the fifteenth century – is also worth quoting in this context:

> Now this stick we might rightly call a staff, such as pilgrims carry when they take the back roads and in many a town to chase away the dogs. We too need such a staff, by which I mean God, who is the staff we all clutch so that we do not fall from grace. It serves us, moreover, at every hour to ward off the hounds of hell.



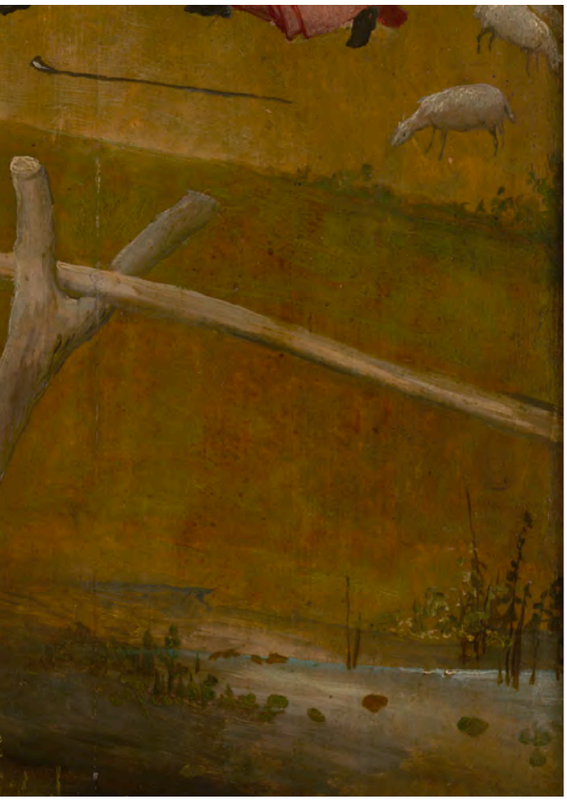
20D 20E







20A 20B 20C





20.1–2 Cross on the road: VIS and IRR [CAT 20E]

20.4 [CAT 20D–E]

The dog who harasses the traveller in the painting is not large, but it certainly appears aggressive and the man might well have to resort to his staff. Comparison with the passage from the *Speculum humanae salvationis* enables us to place a scene that appears entirely secular at first sight in a religious light. The artist seems to have deliberately restricted the visibility of Christian symbols: the little shrine with the crucifix on the tree and the sketchily rendered church towers in the background are the scene's only allusions to a Christian world.[3] The composition as originally prepared included more of the road that the man has already walked prior to reaching the little bridge. A strikingly detailed cross was included here in the underdrawing, of which nothing remains in the final painting; grass grows on the same spot instead.[4] The adjustment heightens the sense of uncertainty; the viewer is left to guess the precise identity of the man trudging through the countryside and whether or not he is on the 'true' path. Where will he find himself after he crosses the rickety little bridge and leaves the world we see here behind him? Does this traveller obey Thomas a Kempis's admonition to 'keep yourself a stranger and pilgrim upon the earth, to whom the affairs of this world are of no concern'?[5] Or does poverty force him to cling onto the world and to fight tooth and nail to preserve every last shred of earthly belongings?

20.1–2

20.4

Bosch is often painted as a preaching moralist, but if so, he was an inventive and subtle one. First and foremost, though, he remained an artist; it was important to him to appeal to the same judgement and discernment that his viewers had to apply every time they were faced with a difficult life-choice.[6] Bosch makes it personal. The traveller looks over his right shoulder and sees the gnawed remains of a horse: everything becomes personal when we face death, and Bosch leaves us in no doubt that death is indeed precisely what we face. What we need, he believes, is a moral compass to direct us towards Christ. Yet for many people, Christ can only be glimpsed with great difficulty; this is the case not only for the traveller, but also for the beholder of the painting.

20.3 [CAT 20B]









20.5





The same is true of the rabble in the central panel, who fight bitterly to get hold of the hay stacked up on a great cart that trundles through the world en route to eternal death. The angel kneeling on top of the haystack is the only one attending to the figure of Christ, who appears in the clouds, displaying his stigmata against a golden background. No one else seems to realize that it is only in Christ that true 'gold' is to be found, and not in earthly possessions.

Bosch offers a powerful and highly innovative image in the *Haywain*, for which there is no prior visual tradition. And while the Bible compares the transience of human existence with that of grass – referred to as 'hay' (*hoey/hoy*) in the 1477 Delft Bible – there is no point
20.24 of reference for the theme of the haywain as such in the traditional literature of the time.[7] Nevertheless, thanks to Jan Grauls we do know of a text dating from before the triptych was painted, which can be linked with its content. A passage in *Van den hopper hoys* ('The Haystack'; c. 1460–70) reads as follows:[8]

De vader god van hemelrijke	God the Father in heaven
Heeft dit eerdsche goet ghegheven	has given this earthly good,
Recht eenen hopper hoeys ghelike	that resembles a haystack
Dat wy daer up souden leven	from which they must live,
Alle ende niement uut ghescreven	all, without exception.
Maer het maect te vele vernoys	Yet it causes much suffering
Dat hi onghedeelt es bleven	that it should remain undivided,
Desen goeden hopper hoys	that good haystack.
Uut siner groter miltheden	In his great kindness
Gaf hi den hopper al gheheel	he gave this haystack entirely
Om ons te nutten met minnelicheden	to us to enjoy in peace,
Sonder kijf ofte crackeel	without quarrel or strife.
Maer elc wils een groot partseel	But everyone wants a large portion,
Vlaminc duutsche ende franchoeys	Fleming, German and Frenchman.
Elc hadde gheerne tmeeste deel	Each wants the best part
Van den goeden hopper hoys	of the good haystack for himself.

Bosch shows how, contrary to God's commandment, people give free rein to their greed.
20.6 Left unchecked, human beings act like beasts and in doing so condemn themselves to hell.[9] That hell, meanwhile, is still being constructed, in what is a striking new invention – like the haywain itself – in Netherlandish visual culture of around 1500.[10] As Eric De Bruyn has noted, the ladder leaning against the infernal tower forms a visual rhyme with the one placed against the haywain,[11] strengthening the link between the behaviour of the people in the central panel and its consequences in the right wing. Middle Dutch literature once again provides a context: Dirc van Delf's *Tafel vanden Kersten Ghelove* ('Survey of Christian Faith'; 1404) describes how demons build hell from humanity's sins.[12]

Although the principal motif appears to be greed, other sins are depicted too, including wrath, envy, gluttony and lust. All humanity is shown here: men, women, peasants, townsfolk, nobles and clergy. The monk in the lower right corner of the central panel watches as
20.12 nuns obligingly fill his sack. The pope rides behind the cart, amicably at the emperor's side. While the mob of men tries to grab the hay, the women tend to their babies and cook pork and fish. Music is played on top of the haystack, while a couple of lovers amuse themselves in the bushes. No one seems to notice that they are dancing to the devil's tune.

The seeds of this human degradation are sown in the left wing of the triptych, which makes it clear in four separate scenes – the Fall of the Rebel Angels, the Creation of Eve, the Fall of Man, and the Expulsion from Paradise – in what light we are supposed to interpret the human behaviour in the central panel. Interestingly, the figure of God who casts out



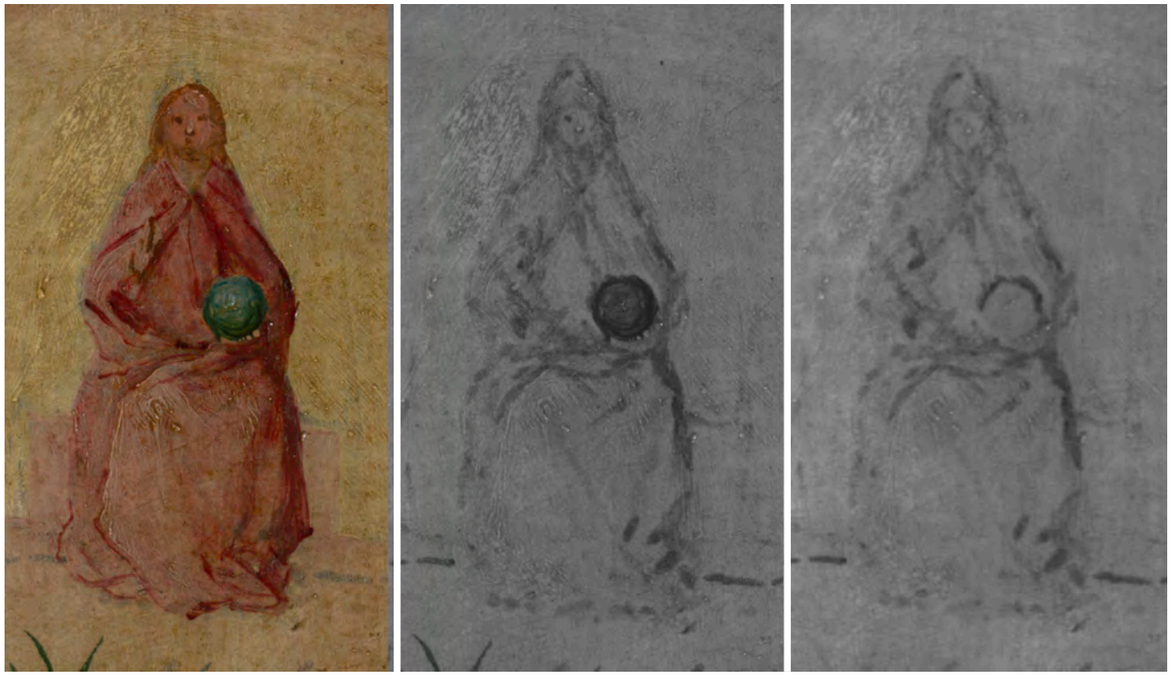
20.6 Going to hell [CAT 20B–C]







20.7 On top of the haycart [CAT 20B]



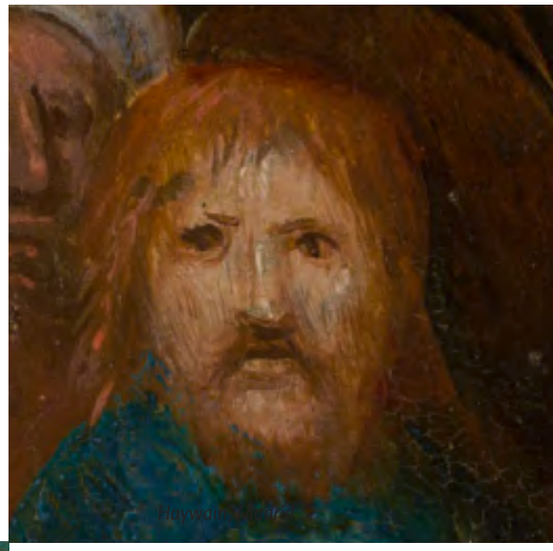
20.8–10 God the Father: VIS, IRP and IRR [CAT 20A]

Satan and his angels resembles Christ more than he does God the Father;[13] this was evidently a deliberate choice, as a bearded figure with his head covered was planned in the underdrawing.[14] The effect is to create a stronger formal connection between this figure and that of Christ in the central panel. The God who casts Lucifer out of heaven is the same God who sacrifices himself to redeem humanity's sins. Bosch follows a similar strategy in the relationship between the God who creates Eve in the left wing and the emperor who rides behind the haywain in the central panel: they wear virtually identical crowns, and the emperor figure is a mirror image of God in the Garden of Eden.

20.8–10

Eve was traditionally viewed as the first human being to commit a sin; she took the forbidden fruit from the serpent and offered it to Adam. Eve as originally planned in the underdrawing made eye contact with the viewer,[15] whereas in the final version of the painting, she turns her head towards Adam, making this a tragic scene between herself and her husband, who is about to take a bite from the apple. The open triptych as a whole is in fact an inwardly looking illustration of humanity's fall into sin; not a single person in the whole of the finished painting really looks out of the picture plane. The world that Bosch presents to us is a difficult one to escape – one that human beings have created for themselves by acting contrary to God's commandment. During the painting process, the artist emphasized the separation between Eden and the world beyond – our world. Small deer, grazing and lying in the grass, were originally drawn above Adam and Eve as they leave the garden; in the final painting, by contrast, a higher and even more impenetrable wall cuts the sinners off from their lost Paradise.

20.11 Red-haired figure [CAT 20B]



20.12 Pope, emperor, king and duke riding behind the haycart [CAT 20B]





20.13


Iheronimus bosch

ATTRIBUTION AND DATING

The angel (more specifically its underdrawing) who expels the first human couple from the Garden of Eden has played a pivotal role in the painting's attribution in the recent literature. Fritz Koreny (2002/03 and 2012), following the example of Gerd Unverfehrt (1980) among others, believes that the *Haywain* ought to be attributed to a workshop assistant of Hieronymus Bosch, rather than to the master himself.[16] Koreny detected a left-handed draughtsman in the underdrawing of the angel, on the basis of which he ascribed the painting to an unidentified (left-handed) artist he provisionally calls the 'Master of the Haywain'. His grounds for attributing the underdrawing to a left-handed draughtsman/painter are the preferred direction of hatching, which runs here from upper left to lower right (or vice versa). A right-handed draughtsman/painter normally prefers to hatch from upper right to lower left (or vice versa). Koreny finds the latter preferential direction in the drawings he ascribes to Bosch, from which he infers that Bosch must have been right-handed. He then extends this logic to conclude that the person who made the underdrawing of the angel was *not* Bosch but a workshop assistant. And from there he makes the (huge) leap from attributing the underdrawing of the angel to a talented assistant in Hieronymus Bosch's workshop to attributing the entire painting to that assistant. According to Koreny, this 'Master of the Haywain' was also responsible for works including the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 4) and the *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 19).[17]



20.14–15 Follower or Workshop Hieronymus Bosch, copy of the *Haywain*, c. 1515–30. San Lorenzo de El Escorial

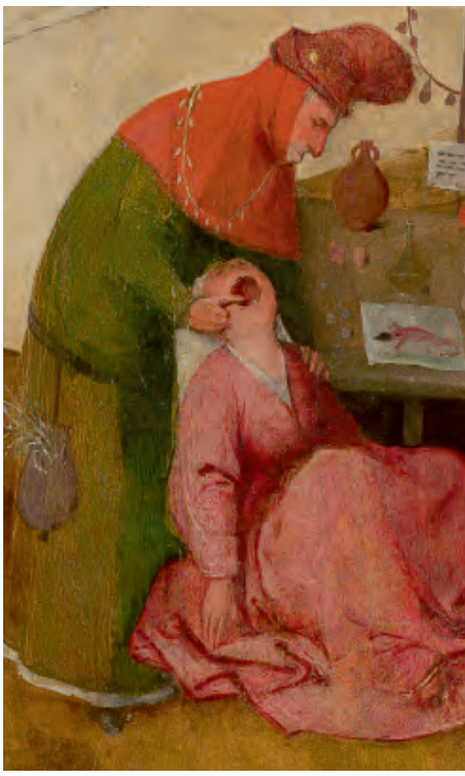
The hop, skip and jump by which Koreny goes from ascribing part of the underdrawing to a workshop assistant, to giving him first the whole of the underdrawing and finally the entire triptych, is highly problematic in methodological terms. It is important to note, for instance, that a full set of infrared reflectograms has only been available for the triptych since July 2013.[18] Prior to this, historians had to rely on the partial and technically unsatisfactory documentation published by Garrido and Van Schoute.[19] If we examine the underdrawing of the triptych as a whole, we note that it was done in several phases, styles and materials, and hence possibly also by several different hands.[20] As a matter of fact, the hatching in the angel of the Expulsion is largely uncharacteristic for the painting as a whole, in which hatching is only used to a limited extent, either to distinguish one area from another, or for modelling and indicating form. Since hatching used to specify form partially determines the direction of the strokes, this direction is not in itself a sufficiently compelling argument to conclude that a single, left-handed draughtsman was responsible for the underdrawing.[21]

Even if it could be determined that the entire underdrawing was produced by a single, left-handed artist and even if we were certain that Hieronymus Bosch was right-handed, this would still allow us to conclude no more than that the *underdrawing* was not Bosch's work; it would tell us nothing about who *painted* the panels. Koreny makes no attempt to compare the direction of hatching in the underdrawing with that of the brushstrokes in the painting. What is more, no reliable, rational method of analysis has yet been found to identify left- or right-handedness or ambidexterity based on surviving drawings and paintings.







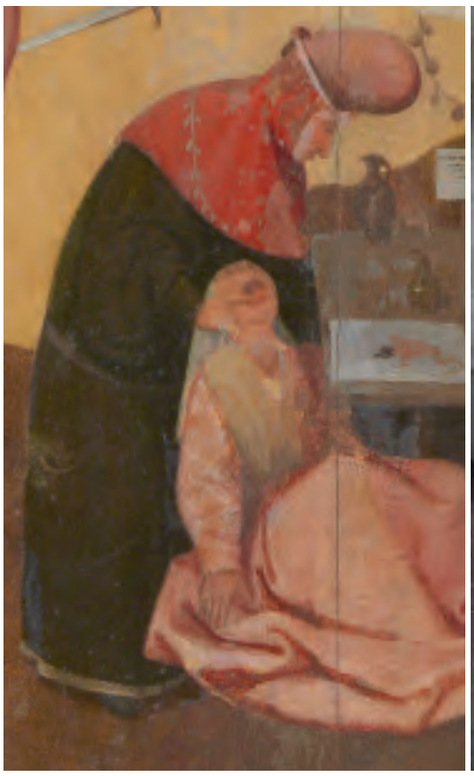


20.16–17 Tooth puller, *Haywain* (Prado): VIS and IRR [CAT 20B]



20.20–21 Angel, *Haywain* (Prado): VIS (on the left) and IRR [CAT 20A]





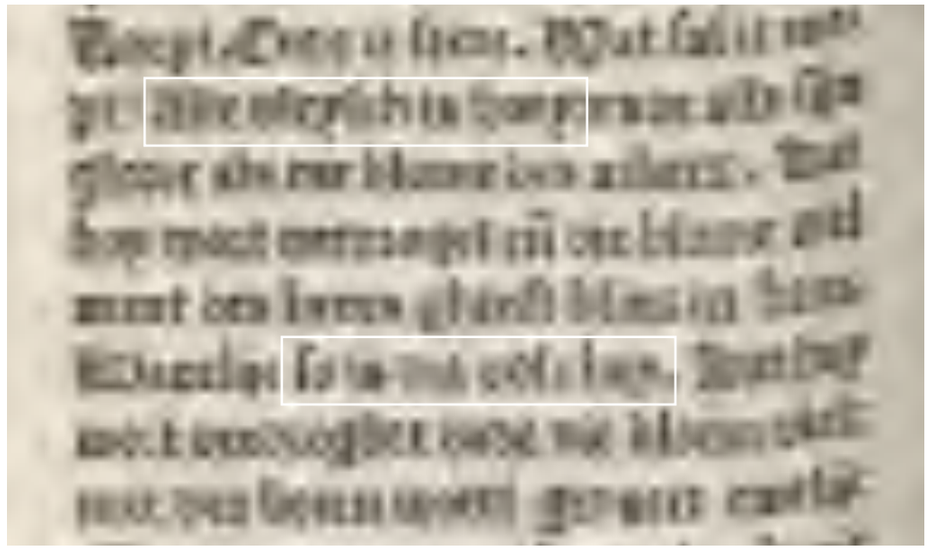


20.18–19 Tooth puller, *Haywain* (Escorial): VIS and IRR [detail of FIG 20.15]





20.22–23 Angel, *Haywain* (Escorial): IRR and VIS [detail of FIG 20.15]



20.24 'Delft Bible of 1477'. Delft (Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer, Mauricius Yemantsz), 1477. Isaiah 40 : 5–8: 'Alle vleysch is hoey ('All flesh is grass') … Waerlijc so is dat volc hoy' ('Surely the people is grass'). Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

Meanwhile, rotating the panel or sheet alters the maker's position, not to mention the fact that artists will have tried to avoid an overly uniform direction of hatching or lines.

It should be pointed out that Fritz Koreny is not alone in his rejection of the attribution of the *Haywain* to Hieronymus Bosch; Ludwig von Baldass (1959) felt that the technique of the painting in Madrid was entirely out of keeping with Bosch, and thought it was the work instead of a copyist.[22] Lorne Campbell too recently concluded that the *Haywain* is unlikely to have been painted during Bosch's lifetime.[23] He based his rejection of Bosch's authorship on dendrochronological rather than stylistic grounds, which led him to conclude that if the painting absolutely had to be attributed to Bosch, it would need to be a relatively late work. The most recent measured growth ring dates from 1499, suggesting that the triptych cannot have been painted before 1510, although for statistical reasons, production after 1512 would be more likely. In other words, the dating of the wood on which the triptych was painted in no way precludes its attribution to Bosch, who did not die until August 1516. The most recent growth ring detected in the version of the *Haywain* in the Patrimonio Nacional
20.14–15 collection in the Escorial dates from 1487.[24] This tempted Campbell to suppose that the Escorial version was painted before the one in the Prado, but this is certainly not the case:[25] the free and spontaneous underdrawing of the Prado *Haywain*, which moreover differs in numerous respects from the painting laid on top of it, shows that the composition was conceived here and not copied. Besides, the Escorial *Haywain* comes nowhere near in quality to
20.16–23 the Prado version. The underdrawing of the Escorial triptych, lastly, which was done using a dry medium, shows no significant deviation from the finished painting, which is rather arid, forced and by no means creative. The poor state of conservation of the Escorial version does not essentially alter these facts. All this leads to the clear conclusion that the version in the Escorial is a replica of the original in the Prado.[26] The underdrawing of the Prado *Haywain*, by contrast, shows evidence of a creative process, while the painting too was executed with unusual rapidity, bravura and efficiency. The triptych is comparable in this respect, as Koreny likewise indicates, with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4). However, the execution of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, which Koreny also attributes to Bosch, does not differ substantially (cat. 21). Although that work is painted with greater refinement than many other paintings by Bosch, we find his characteristic brushwork there as well; Bosch once again shows himself to be a draughtsman in paint. If we focus in the Paradise wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* on a detail like the fish-creature lying in the water reading, we find that the painting style is not materially different from that of the *Haywain* or the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*. The hand that painted the *Haywain* might have been older than the one that created the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and the *Temptation*, but as far as we are concerned, it is the same hand.

PROVENANCE

Nothing certain is known regarding the *Haywain*'s original patron or destination, but the Spanish connection is strong and stretches back a long way. A *Haywain* by Bosch is mentioned in 1574 in the first *entrega* (transfer) – an inventory of paintings donated by Philip II to the monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.[27] The Spanish king had purchased six works by Bosch in 1570 from the estate of Felipe de Guevara (died 1563), including a *Haywain*.[28] It is not clear which of the two versions this refers to, as both originated in the Spanish royal collections.

Although archival evidence is lacking, it is logical to suppose that Felipe de Guevara's *Haywain* came from the collection of his father, Don Diego de Guevara (c.1450–1520). Diego was attached to the Burgundian and later the Burgundian-Habsburg court for over forty years. He served Charles the Bold, Mary of Burgundy, Philip the Fair and, from 1506, Charles V, during which time he collected art and owned works including Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini double portrait (National Gallery, London). As Philip the Fair's chamberlain, Diego probably visited 's-Hertogenbosch as part of the Duke's entourage. His presence in the city is also supported by the fact that he became an ordinary member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 1498/99, when he paid both the customary membership dues and the compulsory *ante obitum* – the *doodschuld* or 'death fee'.[29] His career at court paralleled that of Hippolyte de Berthoz until the latter's death in 1503. Diego evidently knew Engelbert II and Henry III of Nassau very well too, as Henry's widow, Mencía de Mendoza, had a portrait of him.

All this tells us that in the ten years around 1500 Diego de Guevara belonged to the intimate circle of Philip the Fair, along with Hippolyte de Berthoz and Engelbert or Henry of Nassau, all of whom presumably commissioned triptychs from Hieronymus Bosch.[30] Given this context, it is not improbable that Felipe de Guevara's *Haywain* was acquired by his father from Bosch himself, and that this must have been the original version, the one now in the Prado. It is notable that Mencía de Mendoza attempted to acquire a version of the *Haywain* for shipment to Spain in November 1539 – that is, after the death of Henry III of Nassau. The evidence is provided by an instruction to her Antwerp agent, the merchant Arnao del Plano, to seek out another version of the painting on her behalf.[31] Evidence that several versions and copies were in circulation is provided, for instance, by the 1614 inventory of Philips van Valckenisse in Antwerp, which refers to 'an original and copy of Haywain',[32] and to the 1572 inventory of Jean Noiret, master of the Antwerp mint, which includes a 'haywain on canvas with the temptation of Saint Anthony'.[33]

The *Haywain Triptych* was greatly admired in Spain. The painting was described and identified with a reference to the Dutch language in a Spanish text by Ambrosio de Morales (1513–1591), the Hieronymite monk and tutor of Diego de Guevara's grandson. The text was published in 1586, but according to the author had been written as early as around 1530.[34] The basic idea expressed by the painting – *omnis caro foenum* ('All flesh is grass'; Isaiah 40:6) – had already been noted by Fray José de Sigüenza (1605), another Hieronymite monk and librarian of the Escorial.[35] 20.24



[1] Ceán Bermudez 1800, 175–76.

[2] Passage from a sermon of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153). Freely translated to Latin and English; Birkedal Bruun 2007, 107. Dixon 2003, 103–04 (quotation translated into English). Middle Dutch edition: *Dit is dat boec van Sinte Bernardus sermonen. Winter- en Somerstuc*, Zwolle (Peter van Os) 1484 (I), 1485 (II). Rogge 1887, col. 610. The quoted passage according to the Zwolle edition (Petrus van Os) 1495, fol. 101: 'Waerlicken zijn si salich die hem deser tegenwoerdiger scalcker werlt als vremde pelgrims connen bewisen ende hem daer van onbevlecket connen houden. … Want dat een pellegrim is die wandert doer die coninckclicke weghen noch an de rechter side noch oec mede an de lufter side. ende al gevalter dat hi comt daer si vechten ende kyven hi en becommert hem immers daer niet mede. Ende ist oeck mede dattet ghvalt dat hi coemt daer men danset ende springhet, oft daer men vrolicken is oft daer men bruloften houwet. dies en trecket hi hem niet an. want hi weet wel dat hi daer vreemde is ende dattet hem immers niet an en en ghaet dat men daer doet. Ende hi is alleen denckende werwaeet ende waer dat hi ghaerne warte ende hoe hi daer best comen mochte.'

[3] See the website Boschproject.org, link L21.

[4] See the website Boschproject.org, link L22.

[5] 'Blijf u gedragen als een pelgrim en gast op de aarde, die met de zaken van de wereld niets van doen heeft.' Thomas a Kempis, *De navolging van Christus, naar de Brusselse autograaf*, Kapellen 1995, 77. 'Keep yourself a stranger and pilgrim upon the earth, to whom the affairs of this world are of no concern.'

[6] The genesis of *Death and the Usurer* is revealing in this context; there too we find that Bosch made changes between the underdrawing and the final version of the painting to heighten the sense of uncertainty and hence tension in the image (cat. 19). He uses a different technique, though to no less effect, in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21) and the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9) to evoke a sense of confusion about what we are seeing.

[7] The basic idea underlying the meaning of the *Haywain* – the contrast between human transience and the eternity of God – comes from Isaiah 40:5–8. The Vulgate expresses it in the following words: '(5) et revelabitur gloria Domini, et videbit omnis caro pariter quod os Domini locutum est. (6) Vox dicentis: Clama. Et dixi: Quid clamabo? OMNIS CARO FŒNUM, et omnis gloria ejus quasi flos agri. (7) Exsiccatum est fœnum, et cecidit flos, quia spiritus Domini sufflavit in eo. VERE FŒNUM EST POPULUS: (8) exsiccatum est fœnum, et cecidit flos; verbum autem Domini nostri manet in æternum.' The passage is translated as follows in the Delft Bible of 1477 (the first book printed in Dutch): 'Ende des heren glorie sal worden gheopenbaert: en alle vleische sal te gader sien dat des heren mont gesproken heeft. Stemme des segghers roept. Ende ic seide. Wat sal ic roepen. ALLE VLEYSCH IS HOEY: ende alle sijn glorie als die blome des ackers. Dat hoy wort verdroget en die blome viel want des heren gheest blies in hem. WAERLIJC SO IS DAT VOLC HOY. Dat hoy wort verdroghet ende die bloem viel: mer des heren woert geduert ewelijc.'

[8] Grauls 1939/40. 'De vader god van hemelrijke/ Heeft dit eerdsche goet ghegheven/ Recht eenen hopper hoeys ghelike/ Dat wy daer up souden leven/ Alle ende niement uut ghescreven/ Maer het maect te vele vernoys/ Dat hi onghedeelt es bleven/ Desen goeden hopper hoys// Uut siner groter miltheden/ Gaf hi den hopper al gheheel/ Om ons te nutten met minnelicheden/ Sonder kijf ofte crackeel/ Maer elc wils een groot partseel/ Vlaminc duutsche ende franchoeys/ Elc hadde gheerne tmeeste deel/ Van den goeden hopper hoys.' (De Bruyn 2001, 56–58; De Bruyn 2001 [reading edition], 25–26. *Van den hopper hoys, Geraardsbergse handschrift*, c. 1460–70. Govers et al. 1994.)

[9] See the website Boschproject.org, link L23.

[10] De Bruyn 2001, 155.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., 155, 164 n. 688. Cf. 1 Corinthians 3:10–15.

[13] The same distinction, though reversed, can be seen in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21), in which God the Father with a beard and crown can be seen in the Creation scene on the closed wings, while a 'Christomorphic' God introduces Eve to Adam in the open left wing.

[14] See the website Boschproject.org, link L24.

[15] See the website Boschproject.org, link L25.

[16] Unverfehrt 1980, 238–40. Unverfehrt views the *Haywain* as the work of the same hand that painted the Bruges *Last Judgement*, both of which he attributes to the apprentice of Bosch to whom Felipe de Guevara referred in his *Comentarios de la pintura* (c. 1560).

[17] Koreny 2012, 28, 95. See Ilsink 2013 for an overview of Koreny's attributions and dating.

[18] The triptych was fully analysed and documented by the BRCP team between 1 and 5 July 2013. See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 20, RR 97–102.

[19] Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 120–59.

[20] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 20, RR 97–102.

[21] We are not claiming that this cannot have been the case, merely that it is not possible to determine as readily as Koreny suggests whether the underdrawing of the *Haywain* was done by a left-handed or a right-handed artist. The photographic documentation that is now available makes it possible to study the beginning and curvature of the lines in the underdrawing – important elements when seeking to determine whether the draughtsman was left- or right-handed. In addition to *how* the drawing was done, however, it is also important to consider *what* was drawn, as the content determines the form.

[22] Von Baldass 1959, 231. The idea was picked up by Unverfehrt (1980) and Steppe (1967, 14), and we also find it in Büttner (2012, 92–93): 'Doch auch die Prado-Fassung is wohl nicht von Bosch. Schon der Strich des Borstenpinsels, der in der pastos aufgetragenen Farbschicht sichtbar ist und die Maloberfläche merkwürdig rau wirken lässt, passt nicht zu Bosch. Auch erscheinen die Konturen der gezeigten Gegenstände und Figuren unscharf. Zudem hat der Maler bei der Anlage des landschaftlichen Hintergrundes die Figuren ausgespart, die dann erst in einem zweiten Arbeitsschritt eingefügt wurden. So ist diese Version des Heuwagens einem Mitarbeiter Boschs zuzuschreiben – vielleicht einem schon von Guevara gelobten Schüler, den manche Autoren mit dem aus Brüssel stammenden Maler Gielis Panhedel indentifizieren.'

[23] Campbell 2014, 139, 141.

[24] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. S1, RR 103–108.

[25] Campbell 2014, 141. The illustrations accompanying Campbell's text (figs. 1 and 2, 138 and 139) show the Prado *Haywain* triptych in both its open and closed state, but the captions wrongly identify it as the version in the Escorial.

[26] Cf. Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 156.

[27] Zarco Cuevas 1930, 656, no. 841. Checa Cremades, Mancini and Vázquez Dueñas 2013, 212–13.

[28] Justi 1889, 141; Tascon 1988, 258–61. See also Vázquez Dueñas 2015, 12.

[29] BHIC, 's-Hertogenbosch, Rekeningen Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, inv. 123, fol. 176v, 186.

[30] See cat. 4 (*Temptation of Saint Anthony*), 17 (*Last Judgement*), 21 (*Garden of Earthly Delights*).

[31] Steppe 1967, 13–14; Van Dijck 2001a, 94–95; Colenbrander 2014, 85.

[32] 'een originael ende copie van hoywagen'. Denucé 1932, 32.

[33] 'hoywaghen ob lynwaet metter temptatie van St. Anthonis'. Smolderen 1995, 38–39.

[34] Salazar 1955; Van Dijck 2001a, 108–09; De Bruyn 2001, 30–31.

[35] *Tercera parte de la historia de la Orden de san Geronimo* (Libro IV, discurso 17), 837–41. See translation p. 580.

21 *The Garden of Earthly Delights*

Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1495–1505

Oil on oak panels, central panel 190 × 175 cm, wings 187.5 × 76.5 cm
Inscribed on the exterior of the wings: (upper left) *Ipse dixit et facta sunt*; (upper right) *Ipse mandavit et creata sunt* ('For He spake and it was done; He commanded, and it stood fast.' Psalms 33:9).
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2823 (on loan from Patrimonio Nacional)

BRCP examination and documentation data:
The BRCP has not been granted permission to examine and document the painting in the Prado museum. //Boschproject.org no. 21.

Condition
The triptych's frame is modern, but traces of the original engaged frame such as barbs and unpainted edges remain. The original vertical frame members of the central panel were outfitted with a broader base.[1] The reverse of the central panel was thinned and cradled, and wooden strips have been added to its sides. Substantial damage can be observed in the original paint and ground, especially in the central panel and in the exterior of the right wing, which was reinforced with dovetails at a later date. The adhesion of the apparently underbound paint is poor. Paint was consolidated, and gauze imprints from the 1944–45 treatment remain visible. There is severe abrasion and much of the craquelure has opened up. Green lakes are better preserved in the landscape on the inside of the left wing. Damages were restored during the 1999–2000 treatment and the original painted surfaces are easily legible.[2]

Provenance
1517 Henry III of Nassau (Nassau Palace, Coudenberg, Brussels); 1538 René of Chalon; 1544 William of Orange; 1567–68 Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva; between 1567/68 and 1591 Fernando de Toledo, Alva's illegitimate son; 1591 Philip II; presented to the Escorial by Philip II in 1593; since 1939 in the Museo Nacional del Prado.

Literature
Fischer 2013, 21, 101–20, 247–49; Koreny 2012, 28, 29, 184–88; Falkenburg 2011; Silver 2006, 32–79; Dempsey 2004, 247–70; Belting 2002; Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 161–93; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 64–66, 68–70, 90–91; Silva Maroto 2000a; Yarza Luaces 1998; Moxey 1994, 111–47; Vandenbroeck 1990, 9–192; Vandenbroeck 1989, 9–211; Wirth 1988, 545–85; Marijnissen 1987, 84–154, 465, 466; Gibson 1973, 1–26; Gombrich 1967; Steppe 1967; Bax 1956; Von Baldass 1943, 25–28, 52–53, 238–40; Friedländer 1927, 104–05, 153.

Analysis
The triptych known as the *Garden of Earthly Delights* for the colourful scene in its central panel tells a story that runs from the Creation in the closed wings to hell and the last days in the inside right wing. The principal theme is a warning against the danger of human desire, created by God, which came into the world with the first human couple. We know from the large number of adjustments that have been detected that Hieronymus Bosch continued to seek the right forms and imagery as he painted this, his largest surviving work. The references to Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* indicate that the triptych was executed in 1494 at the earliest. In 1517 it was located in Brussels, at the palace of the Counts of Nassau, who most likely commissioned it from Bosch at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

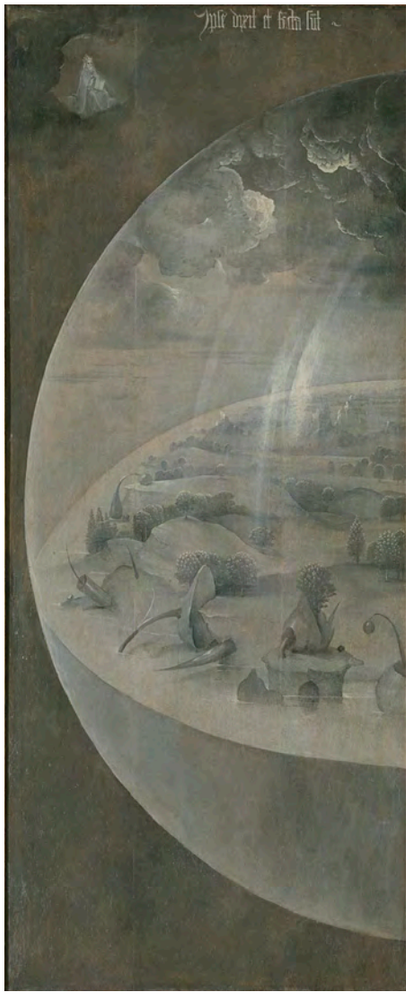
'BIZARRE IMAGES'

A chronicle of the world from its creation to the present day was completed in Nuremberg on 23 December 1493. Hartmann Schedel's printed *Weltchronik* was extremely ambitious in its scope, size and number of illustrations, and swiftly found a large readership in Europe in the years that followed. The first of its more than 1,800 illustrations would be an important source of inspiration for Hieronymus Bosch when he came to paint his own chronicle of the world, the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The woodcut is by Wilhelm Pleydenwurff and Michael Wolgemut and shows God the Father, crowned and enthroned, holding an orb with his left hand and making a sign of benediction with his right. A banderole above his head contains a quotation from the Bible: *Ipse dixit et f*[ac]*ta su*[n]*t ipse ma*[n]*dav*[i]*t* [et] *creata su*[n]*t Psalm 32* ('For he spoke, and it came to be; he commanded, and it stood firm. Psalm 32').[3] The woodcut takes up an entire page and is a visual tribute to the almighty God, creator and ruler. 21.2

Bosch took the woodcut as the starting point for his preamble to the *Garden of Earthly Delights* – the grisaille scene on the closed wings of the triptych. He made several fundamental adjustments, however, compared to his model. God does not wear a worldly crown, for instance, but a papal tiara, and Bosch also replaced the orb with a book. The world that God holds in his hand in the woodcut becomes a large, transparent sphere in Bosch's version, floating against a dark background beneath the Creator's feet. This world, and its relationship with God, is the subject of a triptych that was described on its registration at the Hieronymite monastery of the Escorial on 8 July 1593 as 'la bariedad del mundo'. This is generally translated as 'the variety of the world', but it could be interpreted equally well, if 21.4



21A



21D



21E



21B



21C

not better, as the 'world's variety show' or 'vaudeville'.[4] Where the *Schedel'sche Weltchronik* emphasizes God's might, Bosch is more concerned with the creation brought about by that power. The image of God in this case is tiny, and has almost disappeared from view. His omnipotence is chiefly expressed by the quotation from the Bible at the top of the closed wings.

The world that Bosch painted on the exterior of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* is in the early stages of creation; the third day has just ended. Having created heaven and earth, and light and dark on the first day and the firmament on the second, God separated the land from the water on the third day and caused seed-bearing plants to grow on the earth.

> Then God said, 'Let the earth put forth vegetation: plants yielding seed, and fruit trees of every kind on earth that bear fruit with the seed in it.' And it was so. The earth brought forth vegetation: plants yielding seed of every kind, and trees of every kind bearing fruit with the seed in it. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, the third day.[5]

We see trees that are presumably fruit-bearing, and enormous seed-lobes. It is a world freighted with potency. The story continues when the triptych is opened: from the creation of the first human couple to hell, the end of time. Not only is the painted surface now doubled in size and the number of depicted details many times greater, the sober and hushed grisaille gives way to a teeming pageant, full of colour and movement.



21.1 Antonio de' Beatis, Travel journal of Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona, 1517–18. Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Naples, MS X.F.28, fol. 38v

21.2 Wilhelm Pleydenwurff and Michael Wolgemut, *God the Father Enthroned*, in Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik*, Nuremberg 1493. Woodcut. Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, Sint-Agatha

21.3 '… some [figures] come out of a mussel shell …' (Antonio de' Beatis) [CAT 21B]



21.4 God the Father [CAT 21D]

Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona saw this painted world in all its glorious colour on 30 July 1517 at Henry III of Nassau's palace on the Coudenberg in Brussels. The cardinal's secretary,
21.1 Antonio de' Beatis, recorded the event in his travel journal.[6]

> There are besides several paintings with various bizarre images, with pictures of seas, skies, forests, fields and many other things; some [figures] come out of a
21.3 mussel shell; others shit cranes; men and women and whites and blacks in various actions and poses; birds and beasts of every kind and with much naturalism; things so charming and fantastic that it is impossible to describe them satisfactorily to someone who is not familiar with them.

De' Beatis makes surprisingly little attempt to interpret the painting; he is struck primarily by the visual spectacle, the variety of the juxtaposed elements, and the realism with which all this is achieved, but also by the fantastic element in the painting: it is a fairground attraction. While much can be said about the work's meaning – both eschatological and otherwise – we should never lose sight of the fact that what Bosch composed in the open triptych is in the first instance a visual feast.[7]

VISUAL APPROACHES

The obvious way to consider the overwhelming wealth of depicted plants, people, animals and things is with reference to the heightened expectations generated by the seeding of the earth on the third day of Creation. The forms we see on the closed triptych continue into the upper part of the open left wing, where they are populated by birds including a pink
21.5–6 owl, which can now be made out only with reference to the copy in the Escorial. There are many visual approaches the viewer can take to a triptych as rich in detail as the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Bosch used recurring elements, for instance, in a variety of locations and forms to achieve a sense of coherence between the different parts of the composition. The owl is one such linking element: it appears twice in the left wing, frames the central panel
21.7–10 on both sides, and is enthroned as king of hell on a commode in the right wing. As we move from the top of the left panel across to the Hell wing of the open triptych, the owl occupies a steadily larger position; it is clearly growing.

Bosch gives the owl a function that seems to go beyond simply linking the different parts of the composition. The bird features regularly in his work, and almost always to ominous effect. Paul Vandenbroeck and others have demonstrated that owls enjoyed a sinister





21.5–6 Tiny owl: *Garden of Earthly Delights*, Prado [CAT 21A] and copy *Garden of Earthly Delights*, left wing, Escorial

21.7–10 Owls [CAT 21B–C]











21.11 Not all roses... [CAT 21A]

reputation in the culture of around 1500, and were generally associated with menace and death.[8] This interpretation does not obviously fit the left wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, however; the action here takes place in the Garden of Eden, where God is shown introducing Eve to Adam. The first human couple is surrounded by fruiting trees, but the Fall of Man has yet to take place. Adam seems to look towards Eve with interest, while she lowers her eyes demurely.

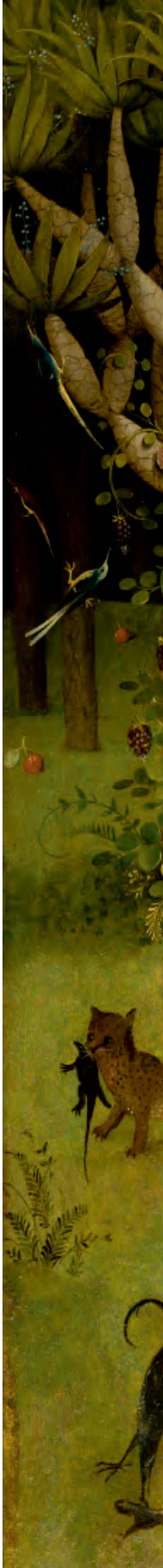
> And the rib that the Lord God had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man. Then the man said, 'This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; this one shall be called Woman, for out of Man this one was taken.' Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh. And the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed.[9]

The Fall occurs immediately after this episode. Bosch does not depict it as such, but he does allude to it by placing Adam and Eve in a setting full of the fruit-bearing trees described in the Bible.

> Out of the ground the Lord God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.[10]

These words prompt us to look for the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which the Bible says is located in the middle of Paradise; what we find instead is a fountain, composed of forms suggestive of plants and their seed-lobes, and with a perfectly circular hole in its base, in which an owl perches. How, one wonders, does this structure relate to God's

21.13 The first couple [CAT 21A]



21.12 Wilhelm Pleydenwurff and Michael Wolgemut, *Fall of Man*, in Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik*, Nuremberg 1493. Woodcut. Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, Sint-Agatha

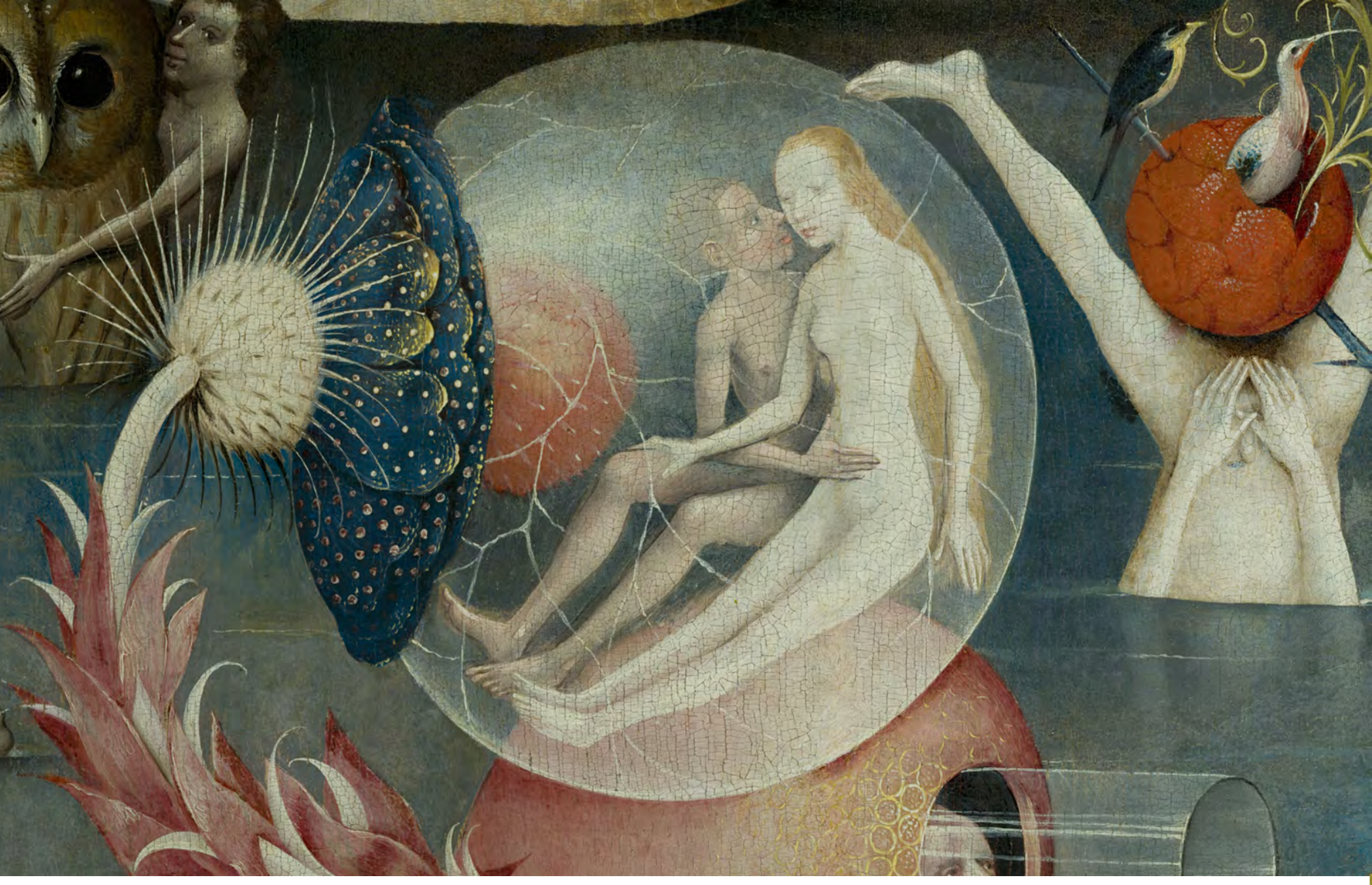






21.14





21.15 [CAT 21B]

Creation? The fountain stands on a little island, which seems to consist of precious stones.[11] A toad sits on a rock in the water, looking towards the bank, where all sorts of dark, oddly
21.11 shaped animals crawl out onto the land. Below them, we see a three-headed creature and another with a dark snout protruding from a white carapace. Some of these animals disappear into a cave, while others climb up the rock, at the top of which stands a palm tree, coiled round with a serpent. A small, inconspicuous tree with red fruit grows behind the palm to the left. The combination of a tree with fruit and a serpent in Paradise inevitably puts the viewer in mind of the Fall.

Although Martin Schongauer's engraving of the *Flight into Egypt* is often cited as a visual source for the 'dragon tree' (*dracaena*) in the left wing, it appears that Bosch turned to Schedel once again when conceiving his Paradise wing. The woodcut illustrating the passage in the *Weltchronik* dealing with the Fall of Man and the Expulsion from Paradise contains
21.12–13 a number of elements that we also find, albeit arranged differently, in Bosch. The print includes the palm tree, for instance, the dragon tree and a tree with red fruit and a serpent coiled around its trunk between Adam and Eve.

Once again, however, Bosch has deviated significantly from his printed model. Although the allusion to the Fall is present in the Paradise wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, Bosch has chosen to depict only the threat of it. The principal action is the bringing together of man and woman. Eve – referred to in Middle Dutch Bibles of around 1500 as *manhaghet* or 'she who pleases man' – has been created out of Adam. 'Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh' (Genesis 2:24). What Bosch shows here is the first stirring of desire, God's creation of human love.

CENTRAL PANEL

Human beings inflamed with desire are the theme of the central panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The viewer is presented with a kaleidoscopic survey of men and women's behaviour, and how they interact with each other and with nature. The situation seems harmonious. Antonio de' Beatis mentioned the couple in the mussel shell, accompanied by two pearls; the way these lovers are enclosed in a veined, spherical membrane separating them from the outside world is another masterful touch. What appears to be a vegetable structure sprouts from a scaly stem, which grows in turn from a hollow red sphere, and is topped with a hairy white bud with blue speckled leaves. There is also a large, red fruit inside the membrane, where we see the woman laying her hand on the man's leg while he places his on her stomach, their red lips almost touching. (De' Beatis was quite right incidentally when he wrote that it is impossible to describe everything you can see in this painting.) Red fruit seems to be scattered across the landscape, systematically contrasting with large and small blue fruit; in some places it is strawberry-like, in others closer to berries; and sometimes, as on the far right of the central panel, it is plainly intended to represent apples. Compared with the modest fruit tree in the shade of the palm in the left wing, we find ourselves here at the height of the growing season; all is ripe and bursting open, and is devoured greedily and exuberantly. It is hard to tell whether the group of twenty men and women sitting around the enormous strawberry are eating it or worshipping it. And is the full-figured woman beneath the transparent cloche full of the fruit she has eaten, or does she bear the 'fruit' of the man who supports her? She certainly stands out among all the other young and slender people. Directly below this woman, human and fruit have become one in the shape of the recumbent man whose head has been taken over by a large

21.3

21.14, 21.16, 21.17

21.20, 21.21

21.19

21.16 [CAT 21B]



21.17 [CAT 21B]





21.18 [CAT 21B]

21.19 [CAT 21B]





21.20 [CAT 21B]



21.21 [CAT 21B]

blueberry. Placing his arm around the woman lying alongside him, he 'clings to his wife, and they become one flesh'.[12]

Geometry holds sway in the middle and background, above the happy chaos of the foreground. Halfway across the central panel, in an expanse of green, there is a circular pond containing only women. The circle is repeated and therefore emphasized by the carousel of men who, mounted on all manner of animals, circle the pond rapturously in an anticlockwise direction. Other groups of men, large and small, come streaming from the left and right to join in the wild ride. The strict ordering of this part of the composition is striking and recalls the central panel of Van Eyck's *Adoration of the Lamb* – an altarpiece that Antonio de' Beatis was able to view two days after seeing the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and which he described as the loveliest painting in all Christendom.[13] The idea, incidentally, that there is some kind of antithetical relationship between Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* and Van Eyck's *Adoration of the Lamb* is intriguing and quite possibly fruitful. There is little reason to suppose that an ambitious painter like Bosch, working in this case on behalf of an extremely prestigious patron, would *not* have studied a painting as famous and close-at-hand as Van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*. Rather than the Lamb of God, however, Woman is the central focus here. The women stand in little groups, gesticulating, and seem to discuss the men circling around them. The background of the central panel shows men and women expressing a more explicit interest in one another and seeking to pair off; one man, for instance, can be seen fondling a woman in the hollow of the fountain.

21.14

21.1

21.14, 21.26

21.18

The forms of the fountain in the central panel are cleaner and more 'cultivated' than those of the one in the Paradise wing, yet they are unmistakably reminiscent of it. As with the recurring owls, Bosch uses spheres and round holes to lend structure to the composition as a whole; they hold everything together. Yet what is this 'whole'? What are we looking at?

Our view of the central panel is framed by what we see in the wings on either side of it, and what we previously saw on the closed shutters. Were it not for the Hell wing on the

right, the central panel might easily be read as a continuation of the Paradise scene on the left. This is plainly not right, however, and would mean we had allowed ourselves to be distracted by the compositional structure of the triptych, in which the horizon runs across from left to right, and green fields extend interruptedly over the left and central panels. The Creation story in the left wing is very clear: the creation of the woman from Adam and the scene in which she is presented to him are immediately followed by the Fall of Man and the expulsion of Adam and the woman he now calls Eve from the Garden of Eden.

The Creation story recounted in the Second Book of Genesis overlaps to some extent and adds detail to the account in the First Book. Genesis 1 also describes the creation of man, which occurs on the sixth day, with no mention of Paradise.

> Then God said, 'Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth.' So God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. God blessed them, and God said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.' God said, 'See, I have given you every plant yielding seed that is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit; you shall have them for food. And to every beast of the earth, and to every bird of the air, and to everything that creeps on the earth, everything that has the breath of life, I have given every green plant for food.' And it was so. God saw everything that he had made, and indeed, it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.[14]

We see in the central panel that humankind has indeed multiplied and populated the earth; in what condition, though, does the earth now find itself? Paradise? Or something else? If the central panel were a continuation of the Paradise wing on the left, the right-hand panel of the triptych would have nothing to do with the rest of the painting. Hell is filled, after all, with the damned and not with the blessed. It makes perfect sense, therefore, to assume that hell follows on from – or is the extreme consequence of – what we see in the rest of the triptych. This makes the painting a tragedy in four acts, the story of how God's Creation degenerated. The appealing scene in the central panel might have developed out of what happened in the Garden of Eden, yet the hell scene on the right tells us that we should not interpret this as another paradise.[15] Ruled by desire (or, to put it in more orthodox terms, having chosen to allow itself to be ruled by desire), humanity has embarked on the path to damnation. However tempting that path might be, it has but one destination: hell, where the damned souls are crammed together to form the nucleus of a *massa perditionis* or 'mass of perdition'.[16]

Bosch shows a world in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* which, although its origins were good, has degenerated into a place where humanity lives in sin, having disobeyed God's commandment. The only logical outcome of this way of life is hell. In this painting, however, even hell is a visual banquet.



HELL

Bosch's representation of eternal damnation is a feast for the eye that the viewer can only admire for its seemingly unbridled creativity. The hell depicted in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* is undoubtedly one of the most famous scenes of its kind in Western painting. There is no daylight here: what illumination we find is cast by a series of conflagrations. Bosch primarily uses burning urban architecture for this purpose, a reference to the contemporary world, of which there is otherwise no trace in the triptych. The scene is an encyclopaedia of pain and suffering, knives and arrows, death and decay. We take pleasure as viewers in the variety of forms and in the fact that what we are seeing is a painting and not



21.23 Pentimenti 'below the ice' [CAT 21C]

reality. The contrasting use of pink and blue elements is continued here; the 'tree-man', for instance – an utterly remarkable creature with a human face looking back towards a hollow rear-end like a seed-pod or egg – is crowned with a set of pink bagpipes. His cavernous backside houses an infernal inn, the landlady of which serves wine from a barrel to guests sitting on monstrous toads. The landlord gazes down pityingly at a damned soul below, balancing an egg on his back. The tree-man's body is supported by two 'trunks' planted in little boats in which several more little fires burn and a number of sinners have sought shelter. The creature's head supports a large disc, on which further lost souls are chaperoned by demons. Bosch was clearly delighted with the tree-man's success as an artistic creation, as he used him again, plucked from his hellish surroundings, as the protagonist in an equally magnificent drawing, now in the Albertina in Vienna (cat. 35).

21.24

A demonic figure dressed in blue and with a head that most resembles an owl or an owl chick is enthroned on a commode and crowned with a cooking pot in the lower right of the panel. Its feet are thrust into a pair of green jugs and it uses its right arm to devour a human figure, whose backside billows fire, smoke and a flock of birds.[17] The souls it digests pass

21.22

21.24 Tree-man [CAT 21C]



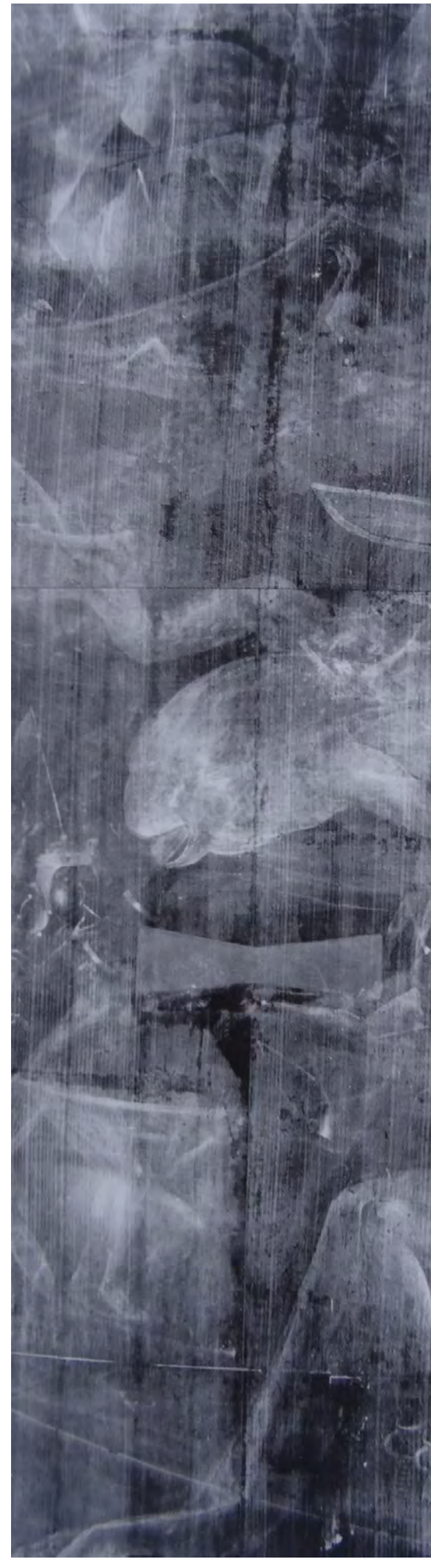
through the demon bird's body into a blue bubble beneath the commode, before dropping into a hole, the perfectly circular form of which recalls the pond in the central panel, and the hole in the fountain with the owl in the left wing. Even hell, it seems, has a drain into which its denizens can puke and shit.

The soul-devouring, crowned king of hell, whose throne is hung with a pink cloth to make a canopied bed for two sleeping figures on either side, forms the grand finale to one of the most spectacular works of Western painting. The blue, demonic bird of destruction is the perfect foil to the pink God of creation in the left wing. No matter how apt this 'nemesis' might be within the painting as a whole, however, it was not originally planned this way. X-radiographs of the painting reveal that Bosch overpainted substantial areas of the Hell wing.[18] Just above the demon bird's head, for instance, in the zone where the cooking pot and the archer on skates are located, a large monster was painted, whose belly contained a sitting figure and a demon displaying its backside and a book. If we look closely, the figure still actually shows through the current painting, making it look as if it is situated beneath the ice. The whole of the demon bird might actually have been painted over an earlier image, as numerous pentimenti can be made out here and in the immediate vicinity.[19] The figures in front of the bird to the left, for instance, were painted on top of a large upturned helmet. In the area higher up above the enthroned demon bird, where we now see the knife and the hell hounds standing on a slice of sausage and devouring a knight, a squatting figure was originally painted in the place occupied by the jug; one leg in a basket, it reached an arm between its legs to grab its own backside.[20] Virtually the entire right wing of the composition was revised and overpainted. The obvious conclusion is that this happened at the end of the creative process, when Bosch had the opportunity to review the triptych as a whole and evidently saw that *his* creation was not yet perfect.

21.22
21.25

On further reflection, then, the artist decided to revise several areas of the painting after they had been completed. In the left wing, for instance, he turned God's head – originally shown more frontally – towards Eve, thereby focusing more attention on the woman and presenting her more emphatically. A group of trees was painted out in the upper left of the central panel and replaced by an open plain, across which people and animals move towards the middle.[21] A man, whose upper body sticks out of a fruit, points towards them excitedly. It is a relatively small adjustment, but one that emphasizes the *beginning* of the scene to come, including the ideas of germination, birth and growth. It is no coincidence that Bosch painted the Creation on the closed wings at the end of the third day, when the earth had just been seeded.

The discovery that the magnificent demon bird that 'concludes' the triptych was not initially planned in this form makes us look afresh at those elements elsewhere in the painting to which the figure relates. The demon's head most resembles that of an owl, causing us to follow its gaze back across the panels, to see how else Bosch has used owls as compositional elements. The little owl in the Paradise wing, for instance, is almost hidden, but is nonetheless positioned at the centre of the panel. A much larger tawny owl, meanwhile, is embraced by a man on the left of the central panel, and an equally large owl frames the scene on the right. It is difficult, if not impossible, to tell human and owl apart any more. The symmetry in this sequence is striking, but when we know it was not conceived in advance and we take a close look at the owls that close off the central panel on both the left and the right, we see that these creatures too have been changed and are painted largely over the background. Bosch shows himself here to have been a painter who prepared his composition carefully to be sure, but who allowed himself the freedom to deviate from his initial plan during the creative process and who, as a consequence, often painted directly on the panel. Having completed the painting, he reviewed the overall work and then made a number of further changes to heighten the coherence between the different parts. This, at least, is how it seems to us after carefully studying the painting as a work of art. It would be extremely useful in this context to be able to examine the underdrawing too as the first stage in the genesis of these motifs; unfortunately, the quality of the available documentation does not currently allow this.[22]



21.25 On and 'below' the ice: XR [CAT 21C]



EARLY TESTIMONY

The *Garden of Earthly Delights* is so rich a work of art that Antonio de' Beatis, writing in 1517, could only express his delight at the visual spectacle. Fray José de Sigüenza – rector of the Colegio de El Escorial and later prior of the monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial – made a more comprehensive attempt to characterize Bosch's work in his *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo* ('History of the Order of St Jerome', 1595–1605) – an early, extensive and hence extremely important attempt to situate and understand Bosch's paintings.[23] At the time de Sigüenza was writing his history, Bosch's large triptychs (*Adoration of the Magi*, *Haywain* and *Garden of Earthly Delights*) were all located at the palace monastery. De Sigüenza made no attempt to conceal his admiration for Bosch and for the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, which he described as 'the most ingenious and artful thing it is possible to imagine'.[24] 'And I speak the truth,' he wrote, 'when I say that – if anyone were to conceive such a plan, and some great genius were willing to write it – this would be a very useful book, because countless examples from Holy Scripture are to be seen here, vivid and clear, touching on man's wickedness.'[25]

A little later, de Sigüenza wrote wistfully 'that one might wish the whole world to be hung with versions of the painting, as Bosch drew his absurdities from the reality and actuality of the world'. He went on, somewhat elliptically, to state that 'if we set the beauty, the ingenuity, and the admirable and considered execution to one side (astonishing that a single mind can think up so many things), we could benefit greatly from looking at ourselves, portrayed from the life inside, unless we do not realize what is in us and we are so blind that we have no understanding of the passions and defects of character that turn us into a beast, or rather many beasts.'[26] De Sigüenza concluded his discussion of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* with an interpretation of the right wing, in which he described the hell scene as the consequence of the human behaviour Bosch depicted in the central panel. 'He who sought all his pleasure in music and in vain and lascivious song, in dancing, at play, hunting, at galas, in wealth, in authority, in revenge, in the reverence of holiness and hypocrisy, will see a contrast in the same manner, and that brief, insignificant pleasure will be transformed into eternal, incurable and implacable wrath. I do not wish to say any more about the "absurdities" of Hieronymus Bosch.'[27]

José de Sigüenza's text is undoubtedly enlightening and valuable, yet it can also be overly one-dimensional, in that the author takes no account of the triptych's spatial complexity. He makes no mention of the closed wings, for instance, even though the scene Bosch presents there establishes the context for those set out in the open triptych. After the viewer has contemplated the painting in all its glory, splendour and perversity and its shutters have been closed once again, what we are left with is the omnipotence of God. He has only to speak, the Bible says, and it comes to pass. He commanded and it was created. His creation is visible on the triptych's exterior as a sphere in the darkness, where the word is with God. The image recalls the poetic and mysterious verses from John's Gospel – another creation story:

> In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things came into being through him, and without him not one thing came into being. What has come into being in him was life, and the life was the light of all people. The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not overcome it.[28]

Bosch's painted God really is light, gives light and shines in the darkness. For as long as people are able to close the triptych again there is hope (the parallel de Sigüenza makes between Bosch's painting and a book is an extremely apt one).[29] The closed triptych reminds us that we can turn to the Word, which offers hope and mercy to every sinner. The open triptych seduces and delights us, just as it did Antonio de' Beatis in 1517. Only by looking closely do we realize that this is a book that ought best to remain closed. Curiosity, hubris and desire, however, will cause us to open it over and over again.



21.26 Wild ride [CAT 21B]

COMMISSION AND DATING

It is not known precisely when or for whom Bosch created his masterpiece. The publication of Schedel's *Weltchronik* towards the end of 1493 suggests that the *Garden of Earthly Delights* was painted in 1494 at the earliest.[30] As noted earlier, the triptych was located in 1517 at the 'Hôtel de Nassau' – the Nassau Palace on the Coudenberg in Brussels – which had belonged to Count Henry III of Nassau-Breda (1483–1538) since the death of his uncle, Count Engelbert II (1451–1504). It is highly probable that one of the two commissioned the triptych. Cases have been made in the literature for both uncle and nephew, based primarily on whether the triptych was felt to date stylistically from earlier or later in Bosch's career.[31] Both men were significant patrons of the arts who granted numerous and prestigious commissions, and each also belonged to the inner circle of the Burgundian court under Charles the Bold, Maximilian of Austria, Mary of Burgundy and Philip the Fair, respectively. Engelbert was certainly present in 1481 at the chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 's-Hertogenbosch. And as the Duke's chamberlain, he will undoubtedly have been in the city again for Philip's ceremonial entry in 1496, and once again in 1504–05 as first chamberlain, when his nephew and heir Henry was also



among Philip the Fair and Maximilian of Austria's entourage. On the latter occasion, the young Duke of Burgundy ordered a Last Judgement triptych from Hieronymus Bosch. The Nassaus undoubtedly visited 's-Hertogenbosch fairly frequently. In 1513, for example, Henry chose the city as his operating base for his war against Guelders.[32] The obvious conclusion is that one or both Counts of Nassau commissioned the *Garden of Earthly Delights* from Bosch to place in their palace in Brussels.[33]



21.27 [CAT 21B]

[1] See Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 163 fig. 5.

[2] Since the BRCP did not obtain permission to examine the work in the Prado, this information is chiefly based on Silva Maroto 2000a.

[3] Psalm 32, verse 9 in the Vulgate; in other translations it is Psalm 33. It is a hymn of praise to the Lord. Verse 1 reads 'Exsultate, justi, in Domino; rectos decet collaudatio' ('Rejoice in the Lord, O you righteous. Praise befits the upright').

[4] Zarco Cuevas 1930, 657, no. 856; Checa Cremades, Mancini and Vázquez Dueñas 2013, 400.

[5] Genesis 1:11–13. In the version in the 1477 Delft Bible: 'En god sach dattet goet wesen soude: en hi sprac. Der aerden groeie groeiende cruyt ende dat zaet maect: en hout dat appel draghet dat vrucht maket elc na sijnre manieren: wiens zaet sij inhem selven boven der aerden. En het gheschiede also. Ende die aerde brochte wt groeiende cruit en dat zaet droech na sijnre manieren: en dat alrehannde zaet hadde na sijn gedaente En god sach dattet goed wesen soude Ende het wort ghemaect tsavonts ende tsmorghens die derde dach.' See http://www.Bijbelsdigitaal.nl/delftse-Bijbel-1477/.

[6] Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuele III, Naples, MS X.F.28, fol. 38v; Hale 1979, 94.

[7] Cf. Moxey 1994.

[8] Vandenbroeck 1985; Ilsink 2009, 32ff.

[9] Genesis 2:22–25; in the Delft Bible of 1477: 'Ende die here god stichtede die ribbe die hi ghenomen hadde van adam in een wijf: ende brochtse tot adam. Ende adam seide. Dit been is nu van minen benen: en tvleysch van minen vleysche. Dese sal heten manhaghet: want si is van enen man ghenomen. Om dese dinc sal een mensche laten sijn vader ende sijn moeder: ende sal hem houden an sijnen wive: en si twe sullen wesen in enen vleysche. En beide waren si naect dat is te weten adam en sijn wijf: En si en scaemden hen niet.'

[10] Genesis 2:9; Delft Bible of 1477: 'Ende die here god dede comen wt der aerden alle schoen hout te sien. ensuet om te eten:ende oec dat hout des levens int midden des paradijs:en dat hout der const guets ende quaets.'

[11] Genesis 2:10–12; Delft Bible of 1477: 'Ende een rivier quam uter stat der weeldicheit om dat paradijs te ververschen: die van daer ghedeilt waren in vier hoefden. Der eenre naem is phison Ende loept al om tlant van euilath. daer wasset gout: ende dat gout van dien lande is alte goet. ende daer vintmen bedellium: ende een steen onix.'

[12] Genesis 2:24.

[13] Hale 1979, 96.

[14] Genesis 1:26-31; in the Delft Bible of 1477: '… ende hi seide. Maken wij den mensche ten beelde ende onse ghelikenisse: ende hi sij boven den visschen der zee. ende die ghevoghelte des hemels ende boven alle beesten der aerden: ende boven elc crupende dat beruert wort inder aerden. Ende god sciep den mensche te sijnen beelde ende te sijnre gelikenisse: te gods beelde schiep hi den man: ende hi schiep hem een wijf. Ende god ghebenedide hem: ende seide. Wasset ende menichfoudicht ende vervollet die aerde. ende doetse tonder: ende hebt heerscappie boven die visschen der zee. ende den gevogelte des hemels: ende boven allen dieren die beruert worden boven der aerden. Ende god seide. Siet. ic hebbe u ghegheven alle groeyende cruyt dat zaet brenct der aerden. ende alrehande houte dat in hem selven heeft zaet na sijnre manieren: dat sij sullen wesen een spijs. u ende allen den dieren vander aerden. ende elken voeghel des hemels. ende allen die beruert worden inder aerden. ende daer levende ziel in is: dat si teten sullen hebben. Ende het gheschiede also. Ende god sach alle dat hi gemaect had: ende si waren herde guet. Ende het wort ghemaect tsavons ende smorghens den sesten dach.'

[15] Vandenbroeck calls this a 'false paradise of love'. See Vandenbroeck 1989 and 1990.

[16] A term used repeatedly by Augustine. See Buonaiuti 1927; Fredriksen 1999.

[17] This must be the figure that Antonio de' Beatis described as 'shitting cranes'.

[18] Garrido and Van Schoute 2000, 85–88; Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 176–78.

[19] Garrido and Van Schoute 2000, 87 fig. 42.

[20] Garrido and Van Schoute 2000, 88 fig. 43.

[21] Silva Maroto 2000a, 82.

[22] The spectral response of the IR camera used for the IRRs published in Garrido and Van Schoute 2001 is surprisingly limited, and green and blue paint were not penetrated at all. New images are therefore likely to provide a better insight into the genesis of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and might also result in a better understanding of the triptych's place within the chronology of Bosch's oeuvre as a whole. See also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[23] See translation pp. 578-82; Catalina Garcia 1907–09, II, 635–39; De Sigüenza 1988, 542–46.

[24] '… la cosa mas ingeniosa y de mayor artificio que se puede imaginar'. See p. 581; Catalina Garcia 1907–09, II, 638.

[25] 'Y digo verdad, que si se tomara de proposito y algún grande ingenio quisiera declararla, hiziera un muy provechoso libro, porque en ella se veen, como vivos y claros, infinitos lugares de Escritura de los que tocan a la malicia del hombre.'

[26] 'Quisiera que todo el mundo estuviera tan lleno de los traslados de esta pintura como lo está de la verdad y del original de donde retrató sus disparates Geronimo Bosque, porque dexado aparte el gran primor, el ingenio y las extrañezas y consideraciones que ay en cada cosa (causa admiracion como pudo dar en tantas una sola cabeça) se sacara grande fruto, viendose alli cada uno tan retirado al vivo en lo de dentro, sino es que no advierte lo que está dentro de si y está tan ciego que no conoce las pasiones y vicios que le tienen tan desfigurado en bestia o en tantas bestias.' Catalina Garcia 1907–09, II, 638–39.

[27] 'El que toda su felicidad ponia en la musica y cantos vanos y lascivos, en danças, en juegos, en caças, en galas, en riquezas, en mandos, en vengança, en estimacion de santidad y hypocresia, vera una contraposicion en el mismo genero, y aquel gustillo breve, convertido en rabia eterna, irremediable, implacable. No quiero dezir mas de los disparates de Geronimo Bosque.'

[28] John 1:1–5.

[29] See p. 581; Catalina Garcia 1907–09, II, 635.

[30] The dendrochronological analyses of the three panels by Peter Klein indicate that the triptych was certainly painted after 1466, and more likely after 1468. The planks of the wings were measured from the X-radiographs.

[31] Vermet (2001 and 2010) considers the triptych to be an early work; Belting (2002, 75–77) places it at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

[32] Van Bavel et al. 2002, 76.

[33] Their residence in Breda was neglected during Engelbert's time, and it was not until 1509 under Henry III that the refurbishment began that would turn it into a Renaissance castle. Van Wezel 1999, 50.

22 *The Flood*

A *After the Flood* B *After the Last Judgement*

Workshop of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1510–20

Oil on oak panels, *After the Flood* 70 × 39.2 cm, *After the Last Judgement* 70.5 × 37.4 cm
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, St. 27 and St. 28

BRCP examination and documentation data: Rotterdam, 23–26 May 2011; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 22, RR 3–6; //Boschproject.org no. 22.

Condition
The two panels were painted on both sides, and both were cropped at the bottom and top. In addition, *After the Flood* was somewhat cropped on the left and *After the Last Judgement* on the right. The latter has a wooden strip inserted between its two planks and two old cracks run from the wood loss at the bottom edge. The join in *After the Flood* is partly visible at the bottom. The ground and paint layers appear stable now, but extensive losses have occurred and the surfaces are abraded. During the 1982–85 treatment, a variety of manners of reintegration have led to various results: a more complete appearance of *After the Flood*; a more fragmented manifestation of *After the Last Judgement*; and a rather archaeological display of their reverses. Natural discoloration has led to browner landscapes and a general increase in transparency of paint resulted in the increased visibility of underlying layers.

Provenance
Both panels reported in 1927 at the home of Marquis de Chiloedes, Madrid; 1929 Nicolaas Beets art dealers, Amsterdam; 1935–40 Franz W. Koenigs, Haarlem, loaned to Museum Boymans, Rotterdam; 1940–41 Daniel George van Beuningen; donated in 1941 to Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 22, RR 3–6; Fischer 2013, 197, 257–58; Koreny 2012, 28, 80, 196; Silver 2006, 322–29; cat. Rotterdam 1994, 96–105; Marijnissen 1987, 292–95; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 145–49; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 81; Tolnay 1965, I, 105–06; II, 352–53; Von Baldass 1943, 18, 22, 29, 69, 232–33, 235; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 35; Friedländer ANM V 1927, 143.

Analysis
The two *Flood* panels must originally have been the wings of a triptych. When closed, they showed two pairs of roundels or tondi. Greyish-green scenes with the world *After the Flood* on the left and *After the Last Judgement* on the right were visible when the triptych was opened. Noah's beached Ark shows God's goodness, notwithstanding the fact that he has otherwise almost entirely destroyed his Creation. The lost central panel must have represented the possibility of salvation via a *Last Judgement* scene. The four anecdotal scenes on the exterior of the wings emphasize how humankind is constantly beset by the devil and by evil, and that God's help is essential. The painting technique differs from the works in Bosch's core oeuvre. The conclusion, based on the links with numerous painted and underdrawn details in other works from the Bosch group, has to be that these panels were produced in Hieronymus Bosch's workshop.

DIVINE JUDGEMENT

The two panels, painted on both sides, were probably the wings of a triptych. Their history prior to the twentieth century is unknown. Anecdotal scenes are painted in four tondi on the backs of the panels, while those on the inside take up the entire surface. Bosch scholars have differed as to their identification of the scenes since the panels were first published by Friedländer in 1927, while there is also a lack of agreement regarding the position of the wings relative to one another. The only scene that can be readily identified is the one with Noah's Ark, which has come to rest on Mount Ararat as the Flood recedes. The heavily retouched paintings were restored as 'honestly' as possible in the 1980s according to the practice of the time, and were stripped of all elements not deemed original. Each picture plane was then individually integrated, depending on the degree of damage, with virtually no supplementary retouching in some cases. This approach disrupted the cohesion of the paintings and considerably hampers their legibility and aesthetic appreciation.

22.1–2 The two panels are in keeping with Hieronymus Bosch's oeuvre and workshop output in terms of underdrawing, pictorial style and imagery. In seeking an interpretation, it makes sense to begin with the narrative structure found in other, surviving triptychs, in which the closed painting sets out a theme that is elaborated further when the wings are opened. In the case of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* in Venice, the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado and the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (cat. 8, 9 and 16), this elaboration takes the form of a single scene stretching across the three panels, with or without donors' figures. The *Flood* panels, however, are discrete scenes that flanked a primary image, as in the Vienna *Last Judgement*, the *Haywain*, the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the *Hermit Saints Triptych*, the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* and also the reconstructed *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 17, 20, 21, 2, 4 and 19).



22A



22C



22D



22B



22.1 **IRR** [CAT 22A]





Both panels are extensively underdrawn, but the content of the panel with Noah's Ark was significantly altered between the underdrawing, the initial painting and the work as it appears in the final version. The underdrawing in particular is hard to read, but the following is a likely analysis: in the version originally planned, the Flood was still underway and the Ark was bobbing about on the water. The drawing of the middleground shows people swimming – rendered very sketchily with a broad brush – while others on the landmass in the foreground flee the still-rising water. A person on the left vainly attempts to reach higher ground. This figure had already been left in reserve in the underpainting when the composition was altered. The water in the middleground was replaced by Mount Ararat with the Ark, now depicted smaller, somewhat higher up and aground: the Flood is over. Noah and his family look out over the receding water, while a procession of animals

22.1–2





22.4–5 Tondo: VIS and IRR [CAT 22C]

disembarks. The essential difference is that the subject is no longer God's destruction of his Creation but, on the contrary, his saving of it. The moment represented is the one where God informs Noah and his family that the Flood is past and that they may leave the Ark.[1]

The second panel shows a very different image: in the background of a similar and no less desolate landscape we see a burning city. Clouds of smoke billow against a sky lit up in red; land and air alike are overrun with demons. Once again there are some deviations from the underdrawing, including a barrel creature in the middle of the foreground, which was ultimately not painted. Not a single human soul is left, other than an old man, who is grasped by a seductive female demon in the cave on the left. The world here is entirely in the hands of devils and monsters. Yet this is not an image of hell, as has frequently been suggested, nor can it be the sinful world prior to the Flood. The end times have come – the Last Judgement has taken place and glowing ashes, represented by numerous dots of red paint, settle over the earth.

22.3

Viewed as pendants, the panels depict the destruction of the world twice over. Creation is wiped out by God's judgement, drowned beneath the waters of the Flood and consumed



22.6 [CAT 22A]

by fire after the End of Days. This contrasting image is specifically alluded to in the Second Letter of Saint Peter: 'the world of that time was deluged and destroyed', while the present world was 'reserved for fire, being kept for the day of judgement' (2 Peter 3:5–7).[2] We can infer from this that the panel with Noah's Ark was the left wing, and the world given over to evil must have been the right wing.[3] Ludwig von Baldass suggested as early as 1943 that the central panel showed a Last Judgement scene, since the Flood functioned as a prefiguration of what will occur in the end times.[4] The scenes from the inside of the wings are painted, unusually, in muted colours verging on grisaille, which must have given the open triptych an ominous appearance. The central panel might have been done in full colour, however, which would have made it an even stronger visual focus.

DEMONS

The position of the wings does, of course, determine the sequence of the scenes on the exterior. The bottom left tondo contains God the Father or Christ blessing a kneeling man; the one above shows a man being attacked by three demons. In the other panel, upper right, we see another kneeling man and a woman fleeing from a burning house; while the roundel below has a farmer being robbed of his horse by a demon.

All four images feature demonic forces that threaten human beings. Two monsters fly across the sky of the lower left tondo, while three figures below them try to swim to safety from a sinking ship. An angel to the right of the middleground hands a piece of clothing to an almost naked man. The figure of God or Christ giving his blessing was slightly larger in the underdrawing and was turned more towards the kneeling man, who originally



leaned further forward, and looked directly ahead; he also seems to have been painted that way initially.

The demon with the pig's head in the second scene was much larger in the underdrawing, and was shown with its right arm raised, with a long tail and with a cockerel's claw. The man he attacks had longer, curly hair in the underdrawing and was painted slightly smaller. A farm was originally planned in the background. The large bird that approaches high in the sky from the left and the small demon with the raised club were not prepared in advance, and neither was the catlike monster in the central foreground. The latter creature corresponds exactly with a monstrous animal in a drawing by Hieronymus Bosch (see cat. 51).[5] 22.4–5

In the third tondo, at top right, a winged demon flies out menacingly from a burning building; a second monster is visible in the gateway, attacking a child who holds a toy windmill in its right hand (now barely visible). The child's mother runs in panic towards a man who faces her, half-kneeling. Each of them wears a conspicuous purse, suggesting that they are well-off. The woman in the underdrawing wears a fashionable dress with a low, square neckline, and her midriff is accentuated. A strip of bare oak has been inserted next to the man, making it difficult here to follow the underdrawing. Further wickedness has occurred around the large, burning house: two pigs lie dead in front of it, and at least three of the sheep in the distant herd have been killed, leaving one black sheep and three others still standing. The burning buildings – like the man, the woman and the flying demon – were prepared in relative detail in the underdrawing, which differs from the final image; the gateway as painted on the far left is significantly different from the initial sketch, in which the arch is positioned much higher and the wall is crenellated; the windows in the building behind the woman, meanwhile, were initially larger and more numerous.

The fourth scene shows a demon unseating a farmer as he harrows the field with his horse. As he falls to the ground, the man looks up to see what happened. The horse, as well as the demon, were initially placed nearer the middle of the tondo. The demon as underpainted has a fox's head, whereas the final painted version, in so far as it can still be seen, has a more apelike face. The underdrawn position of the figure, which was left in reserve, can still be made out to the left of the underpainted demon. Buildings – probably a house, a church and a fortified tower – were sketched in the upper right background of the underdrawing. The harrow behind the horse is extremely weak compared to the rest of the painting and has no underdrawing at all, yet it appears to belong to the original painting. The sack of seed in the right foreground was not underdrawn either, but is also nonetheless original.

Sylvie Wuhrmann suggested in 1998 that the scenes in the four roundels refer to the story of Job, albeit based on non-literal depictions of the Bible story. If that were true, the scenes would have been difficult to recognize in Bosch's time too, as they contain very little of the imagery normally associated with the 'holy man Job'.[6] The scene with the semi-naked man to whom the angel gives a piece of clothing is the only detail that might be linked to that tradition.[7] According to Wuhrmann's interpretation, the first scene in the lower left can only be God speaking to Job, which the Bible says happened after all his trials were complete (Job 38–42); the other three scenes would then have to relate to those trials (Job 1–2).



22.7 [CAT 22B]

Whatever the case, the four scenes must be considered in relation to one another and probably refer to the life of a specific saint or (apocryphal) exemplum. The central theme of these images is the threat that demonic powers pose to human existence and – embodied in the scene lower left – the possibility of divine salvation. This theme was continued and brought to a climax when the triptych was opened and the other side of the two little panels was displayed: the judgement of God, which could lead to destruction, with or without the prospect of salvation.

STYLE AND DATE

Stylistically, the two panels deviate in terms of both painted surface and underdrawing from what must be considered Bosch's autograph oeuvre. There are substantial similarities, by contrast, with the *Job Triptych* in Bruges (cat. 23), in which the style of the underdrawing but also the handling of the paint are extremely close. The dendrochronological dating of the panels is identical; both works could have been painted from 1508 onwards, although execution after 1510 is more likely. The conception of the two works and the motifs they contain show that they must have been created at more or less the same time in Hieronymus Bosch's workshop.





22.8–9 Barrel 'with short legs': underdrawing [IRR CAT 22B] and *Infernal Landscape* [CAT 44]

Consequently, a whole series of details in the *Flood Panels* are found in other works by Bosch and his workshop, in which model drawings and *ricordi* must have been employed. The use of examples facilitated collaboration within the workshop. God the Father or Christ in the first medallion, for instance, is reminiscent of John the Evangelist on the closed wings of the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston (cat. 24). The young man kneeling in the third medallion resembles John the Evangelist in Berlin (cat. 6), while the motif of the gatekeepers carved in stone by the entrance to the house in the background is similar to the passageway flanked by sculpted guards in the left wing of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9) and the variation of this in the central panel of the triptych with Saints Anthony, Job and Jerome in Bruges (cat. 23). The fox's head in the underdrawing of the demon in the third medallion immediately recalls the one in the sinister group behind Job in the central panel of the Bruges triptych.

22.6 The giraffe and the first elephant of the pair stepping onto dry land after the Flood are virtually identical to their counterparts in the Paradise wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21). The latter painting also contains the motif of the disc with a branch protruding through it that can be seen in *After the Last Judgement*. This is the scene that includes in its underdrawing the monster in the shape of a barrel and short legs, which was omitted from the final painting. The same figure appears in the foreground of a drawing of an infernal
22.8–9 scene that we attribute to Bosch (see cat. 44).[8] Taken together, these comparisons form a dense and almost inextricable web of connections between the *Flood Panels* and a whole series of other paintings (plus a drawing) from Hieronymus Bosch's workshop.

[1] In the words of the 1477 Delft Bible: '… god sprak tot noe ende seide Ganc wt der arcken du ende dijn wijf, dijnre zonen, ende dijnre zonen wive mitti; ende leide wt mitti alle die dieren die bi di sijn, van alle vleisch beide in ghevogelte ende in beesten ende alle crupende dieren ende die crupen boven der aerden leitse mitti wt ende gaet wt opter aerden. Wast ende wort gemenichfoudicht boven der aerden' (Genesis 8:15–17).

[2] Also cited by Van Waadenoijen 2007, 176.

[3] The panels were also presented in this order when they were discovered. It has frequently been suggested in later literature that *After the Flood* was the right wing. See Jeroen Giltaij in Lammertse 1994, 97.

[4] Von Baldass 1943, 235.

[5] This too was already noted by Von Baldass (1943, 233).

[6] Minnen 2011 has a more recent discussion of the relevant veneration and visual representation of Job.

[7] A comparable example – the only one identified to date – is provided by a detail in the background of the right wing of the *Job Altarpiece* by the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, alias Aert vanden Bossche, and workshop, Brussels 1485–89, Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. Wuhrmann 1998, 112; Minnen 2011, 46–47; Griet Steyaert, in Bücken and Steyaert 2013, 255–56. The text to which this scene refers is so far known only from the English poem *The Life of Job*, c. 1450–75, and the French mystery play *La Pacience de Job* from the mid-fifteenth century. Minnen 2011, 46.

[8] The figure on top of the barrel was also included in the underdrawing. His protruding legs are clearly visible, and the helmet was underdrawn as well. See the website Boschproject.org, link L31.



22.10 [CAT 22A]

23 *Job Triptych*

Workshop of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1510–20

Oil on oak panel, left wing 98.1 × 30.5 cm, central panel 98.3 × 72.1 cm, right wing 97.8 × 30.2 cm[1]
Stad Brugge, Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 0.209 (long-term loan from Sint-Jacob-de-Meerderekerk, Hoeke, Damme)

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Bruges, 2–6 June 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 23, RR 63–68; //Boschproject.org no. 23.

Condition
The triptych's frames and the hinges are original. The reverse of the central panel is largely original (a lumbermark is visible), but it has suffered from woodworm damage and it was thinned at the two joins to adhere the reinforcing wooden blocks. The coats of arms on the closed wings were at some point partly repainted. These oldest overpaints were maintained in the 2002–05 treatment and numerous smaller and larger losses to paint and/or ground were not filled and retouched. The opened triptych, which has abraded paint surfaces but far fewer losses, was fully reintegrated, although older overpaints were partly left in place or thinned. In some areas these somewhat conceal the compositional changes that have become apparent due to ageing and the increased transparency of paint films, but the original paint surface is easily legible.

Provenance
1858 recorded in Sint-Jacob-de-Meerderekerk, Hoeke; loaned by the Hoeke churchwardens to the City of Bruges in 1931; since then in the Groeningemuseum.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 23, RR 63–68; Fischer 2013, 262; Silver 2006, 234–36; Vandenbroeck 2002, 312–13; Van Dijck 2001a, 64–65; Janssens de Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos 1981, 55–67; De Vos 1979, 90–92; Gyselen 1978; Chailley 1978; Arndt 1968; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, 58–59; Tolnay 1965, II, 367; Janssens de Bisthoven and Parmentier 1951, 5–8; Friedländer ANM XIV 1937, 101.

Analysis
The *Job Triptych* was completed in two stages. The interior was painted in Bosch's workshop in the second decade of the sixteenth century, possibly still under the master's supervision. The iconographical link between the depicted saints is that all three withdrew into isolation and persisted in their faith despite lives full of privation. The exterior wings were initially coated black, and overpainted in Antwerp at a later date – probably around 1520 – with imitation stone and four coats of arms of the couples Pieter van der Voirt and Maria Smaechs, and Diego de Haro and Johanna Pijnappel, respectively. All four belonged to the same Antwerp mercantile elite as Peeter Scheyfve and Agnes de Gramme, the commissioners of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9).

WORKSHOP

Three precious paintings by Hieronymus Bosch were mentioned in the record of the 1571 trial of the Portuguese humanist Damião de Góis for alleged heresy.[2] One of them was described as 'um painél de tentação de S. Job, de Jerónimo Bosch'. It is not known what became of this panel.[3] What is interesting, however, is that the source refers to a painting by Bosch of the trials endured by the Old Testament figure of Job.

The triptych with the 'Holy Man Job' and Saints Anthony and Jerome has been linked with Hieronymus Bosch and his workshop and followers since it was discovered in the 1860s.[4] Dendrochronological analysis of the panels suggests that the triptych could have been painted after 1508 and more likely after 1510. The quality of the overall work does not match that of the core Bosch oeuvre, but numerous details show that it was produced in an environment in which Bosch's autograph works were known exceptionally well. What is more, the triptych displays strong similarities in both its underdrawing and manner of painting with the *Flood Panels* in Rotterdam (cat. 22), to which the same applies. Both works were prepared with an underdrawing laid down fluently and confidently with a fairly broad brush. However, the execution lacks the characteristic finesse, variety of texture and superior quality of Bosch's autograph works. Free use has been made of his motifs and compositions, but the essence and the sense of tension of the examples from which the motifs were borrowed are not achieved in the work as a whole.

OPEN

As the main figure of the scene, Job is presented in the middle of the central panel, sitting on a low, straw-covered wall, beneath the awning of his ruined house. A large fire on the horizon refers to the other disasters that befell him and his worldly goods. His body is covered in the sores inflicted in the course of his second trial (Job 2:4–8). Job turns round to



23D

23E



23A



23B



23C

23.





look at a band of demons approaching him from inside the ruined building. They are led by a figure with a fox's head, dressed in a monk's habit and with a sword hanging from its belt. A bagpipe-player and two other figures – difficult to make out now – stand immediately behind the creature. The viewer's eye is drawn more strongly, however, to the six musicians who approach Job from the left: a striking ensemble of five brass and woodwind players, and a lone 'fiddler'. Only the two rearmost musicians – one with a flute and a drum, hidden behind the figure before him, and another with a trumpet – have realistic instruments. Strangest of all is the horse's skull which, although not strung, is nonetheless played with a bow like a viol. This latter instrument in particular casts an ominous light on the musicians. The scene nevertheless refers to a popular late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century miracle tale about musicians who offer Job solace and distraction in his misery. Job paid them with scabs picked off his wounds, which promptly turned into gold coins.[5]

The left wing shows Saint Anthony in the cave to which he has withdrawn in isolation. He is surrounded by demons who torment him incessantly. The saint kneels low over an improvised altar and is deep in prayer. He holds a long string of prayer beads in his hands and faces a simple cross made of two slender branches. A small monster stands by this altar, which Anthony has evidently defeated, as its armoured hands are bound behind its back. An anecdotal detail is painted in the foreground: a naked child, accompanied by a large bird, sits in the husk of a fruit, where it has caught a fish. The burning church in the background refers to one of Anthony's visions, as recounted in the *Passionael* (the Middle Dutch version of the *Legenda aurea* or *Golden Legend*) and other sources.[6]

23.2–3 The right wing shows Saint Jerome kneeling before the crucifix he has installed on a chair or throne. He touches the cross with his left hand, while in his right he holds a rock with which to chastise himself. Snakes and other ominous creatures crawl about among the plants and stones just above his head. He is identifiable as a cardinal from his *galero* – the flat red hat with long cords that are still just about visible. The lion, Jerome's faithful companion after the hermit extracted a thorn from its paw, devours a deer in the distance.



23.2–3 Saint Jerome: VIS and IRR [CAT 23C]



23.4 IRR Saint Anthony [CAT 23A]

PARALLELS

A surprising number of elements in this triptych correspond closely with details from other works by Bosch. The ruined building in which Job sits strongly resembles the setting in which Joseph is placed on the left interior wing of the Prado *Adoration* (cat. 9). Although the doorway with its Gothic consoles behind him and to the left is topped with a round rather than a pointed arch, the statue of the prophet on the right and the toad standing on its head that decorates the keystone are identical, while the statue on the left has been turned into a complete figure. The corner of the high wall on the right and the articulation of the wall are different, but the structure, including the slate awning, is very similar, and a tall buttress terminates the wall at the edge in both cases. The view in the distance is also very alike, with its green fields and woods, the fencing on the left and the gigantic round tower surrounded by low, thatched buildings in the Madrid triptych. Even the rider on the white horse in front of the buildings appears in both panels, as does the tall roadside cross a little further to the right. The same horseman is also painted in the background of the Rotterdam *Saint Christopher* (cat. 7). The opening into the vaulted cellar and the steps leading down to it, consisting of a stack of low column drums, is quoted almost verbatim from the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice (cat. 2). The figure of Jerome and the throne-like structure before which the Church Father kneels in the right wing of the *Job Triptych* is likewise a reflection of the Jerome panel in Venice. The similarity extends to the details of the carved reliefs: the man who is about to mount a unicorn and even – very vague, but still recognizable – Judith outside the tent in which she has beheaded Holofernes. The crucifix is placed in the same position and a piece of tree trunk can once again be seen in the seat.

Whereas the artist continued to seek the right proportions and composition in both the underdrawing and painting of the *Hermit Saints Triptych*, the principal forms in the *Job Triptych* were planned from the outset and left in reserve in the underpainting. The vault





beneath which the hermit kneels and the skull-shaped outcrop of rock with plants and fruit above it are almost identical to the location in which Saint Jerome has withdrawn in prayer (cat. 1). In that case too, the tombstone directly above Jerome's head refers to the passage in his *vita* describing the grave he dug for himself near to the cave to which he withdrew. A lion devours a deer in the distance, just as it does in the Paradise wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21) and, now reversed, in the background of the small panel with the *Garden of Eden* in Venice and the Paradise wing of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 18, 17). The horse's skull played as a string instrument by the musician behind Job is also found in the Hell wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and reversed in the Saint Giles panel in Venice (cat. 2c), and on the exterior of the left wing of the *Haywain* (cat. 20). Anthony himself, bent deeply over the altar in his cave, was borrowed from the central panel of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 4). The saint, who is almost lying down, is shown in reverse, and the direction of his gaze and his hand gestures have been adjusted. The fat bird with a fish in its beak lower right also appears, slightly altered, in the right wing of the Bruges *Last Judgement* and the left wing of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* (cat. 16, 4).

The striking similarities with elements and even minute details from the securely attributed oeuvre of Hieronymus Bosch – such as the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Garden of Earthly Delights* in Madrid; the *Garden of Eden* panel, the *Wilgefortis Triptych* and the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice; *Saint Jerome* in Ghent; the *Last Judgements* in Vienna and Bruges; the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon and *Saint Christopher* in Rotterdam – can only be explained if they were created in a workshop with access to drawn and painted *ricordi*. It is, after all, impossible that the maker or makers of the *Job Triptych* would have been able to quote from all these works or would have had such a visual repertoire available at any other location. This is not to say that the *Job Triptych* is merely a pastiche: this painting too shows evidence of a search for the right overall iconography and composition during the creative process. Based on the underdrawing, the main figures were left in reserve when the darker passages were being prepared in paint. The lighter elements were then painted, with the reserves largely, though not slavishly, followed. All manner of smaller details were added during a final stage.

PENTIMENTI

Most of the changes relative to the underdrawing and in the paint layers are found in the left wing. The bird-man in the foreground was a little larger in the underdrawing and turned to the left, while Anthony's staff leaned against the altar, and was grabbed at the bottom by the little monster which we still see, but which initially lacked a beak. The two fantasy creatures both now stand with their beaks to the right, directing the viewer's gaze towards the central panel. The most fundamental change is that the first version of this panel was largely painted over. Saint Anthony was initially located in a hut constructed from two tall tree-trunks on the left and right, almost against the edge of the panel. On the far right, another figure – both underdrawn and painted – peered around the corner of the hut at the praying saint. An almost naked woman, leaning forwards in a dark, arched opening in the wall in an attempt to seduce him, is visible in the infrared photograph, the infrared reflectogram and the X-radiograph. She holds a jar in her outstretched right hand, and a long scarf around her waist is draped over her right hand. The face of a second figure, accompanying the seductress, can be made out just behind her. All this was painted out in a brown-green colour and replaced with the little demon who offers the saint a cup and the siren with the naked, demonic child. These are more than compositional adjustments: they fundamentally alter the Temptation scene. The emphasis now is less on resisting earthly temptations through resolute faith but rather on the trust in God that is to be found in seclusion and isolation. The same simplification also placed the emphasis of this wing firmly on the hermit himself.

The composition of the *Job Triptych* as a whole has raised the question in the past as to whether the wings ought to be mounted the other way around, so that Jerome and Anthony

would be oriented directly towards one another in the closed triptych. In that case, it is argued, the triptych would have had a polychrome exterior.[7] The imitation marble with the coats of arms we see there now would then have been added later following the removal of an original, figurative painting.[8] The frames are, however, original and the hinges have not been moved or adjusted, from which it may be concluded that the present configuration corresponds with the original situation. It was a deliberate yet unusual choice, therefore, to place the two saints with their backs to the central panel. A number of compositional adjustments were nevertheless made to the horizon to balance out the overall triptych interior.[9] Where the strange, inward-leaning tree-trunk in the upper left of the left wing is positioned, for instance, there was originally a mountain cut off by the outer edge of the panel. The sky was painted over the top of the 'half' mountain. The same occurred with the mountain top in the left of the right wing, which was added precisely on the right-hand side of that panel. This had the effect of opening up the right wing more towards the central panel, while closing it off visually on the outer side. The way the two hermits in the wings are turned away from the central panel emphasizes both their own isolation and that of the 'Holy Man Job'. This isolation is also precisely what links the two saints with the Old Testament figure of Job. All three managed in their seclusion to persist in their faith in God, to defy the devil's torments and to withstand their earthly trials.

CLOSED

The exteriors of the wings are painted with imitation marble and each contains the coats of arms of a married couple – a decorative Renaissance shield for the husband on the left, and a lozenge-shaped escutcheon for the woman on the right. Since their publication in the *Corpus van de vijftiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Nederlanden* in 1981, the arms have been identified as those of the married couple Vervoort/Van de Voorde-Maes (though this should actually be Van der Voirt-Smaechs[10]) from Antwerp and De Haro-Pijnappel from Antwerp/'s-Hertogenbosch.[11] The escutcheons were painted at the same time as the marbling, and there is nothing to suggest that the heraldic elements have been altered by the overpainting. The Renaissance style of the male arms and the type of marble painting suggest, however, that none of this occurred before the second quarter of the sixteenth century.[12] Technical analysis of the wings has also shown that the backs were initially painted with a uniform layer of black and were only overpainted some time later.[13] The arms on the left wing refer to Pieter van der Voirt (died 6 May 1477) and his wife Maria Smaechs (or Smachs), and those on the right wing to Diego de Haro (died c. 1520) and Johanna Pijnappel (died c. 1545).[14] Pieter van der Voirt served not only as a steward of the City of Antwerp in the years 1472–75, but also as alderman.[15] His son Jacob van der Voirt (died 1520) also became an alderman; Christina van Driel, the daughter of Jacob van Driel and Johanna Pijnappel from 's-Hertogenbosch, became his second wife.[16] Johanna, the daughter of the cloth-dyer Jan Mathijsz Pijnappel, was remarried some time before 1506 to the wealthy Diego de Haro, an Antwerp-based Spanish merchant who traded with Spain, Portugal and the East, while also investing in real estate.[17] The De Haros were involved with the City of 's-Hertogenbosch in a variety of ways, both financial and personal.[18] Diego de Haro and Johanna Pijnappel lived in Antwerp, but also owned houses and other properties in 's-Hertogenbosch, including a number inherited by Johanna.[19] The De Haro family had risen to the administrative elite in Antwerp, to which the Van der Voirts also belonged, as did the Scheyfves and De Grammes, who commissioned the *Adoration of the Magi Triptych*, which Hieronymus Bosch painted around 1495 (cat. 9).[20] Juan de Haro, one of Diego and Johanna Pijnappel's sons, was appointed alderman in Antwerp on 29 November 1532, the first Spaniard to accede to the office.[21] His alderman's seal features the same coat of arms as Diego de Haro's.[22] It is noteworthy that the second and third quadrants of the quartered shield contain the three pinecones that form the distinctive arms of the Pijnappel family.[23] The De Haro merchant family probably used the golden lion on a red shield as its emblem, which Diego de Haro combined after marrying Johanna Pijnappel with the three naturalistic pinecones on a silver ground.[24]

23.5, 23.7

23.6

23.5 **Coat of arms of Juan de Haro, alderman of Antwerp, 1536.** Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/ Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, MS 19.447, fol. 6r no. 37





23.6 Coat of arms of Anthonius Pijnappel ('s-Hertogenbosch, died 1629), Armorial of the Brotherhood of Our Lady (18th century), 's-Hertogenbosch, p. 96



23.7 Alderman's seal of Juan de Haro, 1532. FelixArchief, Antwerp, Stempels en matrijzen, inv. 447

The coats of arms of the Van der Voirt-Smaechs and De Haro-Pijnappel families on the exterior of the wings were undoubtedly added before the death of the latter couple. The commission must have been placed by Diego de Haro or – more likely – on the occasion of his death by his widow Johanna Pijnappel.[25] Diego died around 1520 and Johanna not until after 1544.[26] The decorative Renaissance form of the shield with the male arms appeared in the Southern Netherlands and certainly in Antwerp early in the sixteenth century, as seen for instance in the 1515 gravestone of Adriaan and Nicolaas Rockox in St James's Church in that city.[27] The addition of the coats of arms made the triptych a memorial for the two couples, who were linked with one another by the marriage of their son and (step)daughter. Pieter van der Voirt was buried in the Dominican church in Antwerp in 1477.[28] Other family graves, possibly a shared crypt, were probably located there too. The Dominican church is likely, therefore, to have been the original destination of the *Job Triptych* as a memorial painting for the Van der Voirt-Smaechs and De Haro-Pijnappel families.

[1] Janssens de Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos 1981, 55.

[2] De Góis was present in the Southern Netherlands in 1523–33 and again in 1538–45, where by his own account he acquired numerous works of art.

[3] Engelenburg 1901, 196; Unverfehrt 1980, 19, 23, 116; Van Dijck 2001a, 93–94; Vandenbroeck 2002, 135, 323; Caetano 2014, 77. De Góis gave the panel to Cardinal Giovanni Ricci of Montepulciano, probably between 1544 and 1550. The two other paintings were a *Crowning with Thorns* (see also cat. 27) and a *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 4).

[4] James H. Weale was the first to do so. See the historiographical overview in Janssens de Bisthoven 1957, 14–16, and De Vos 1979, 91–92.

[5] Minnen 2011, 44–48, 120–21.

[6] For references to written and other sources, see the texts on the presentation of Saint Anthony in the left wing of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice (cat. 2) and the triptych with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4).

[7] Janssens de Bisthoven and Parmentier 1951, 7–8.

[8] See note 13 below. No trace of any such overpainted or removed image has been found.

[9] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 23, RR 63–68.

[10] Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, MS II 6540, 50. Génard 1879, 143.

[11] Janssens de Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos 1981, 59–64.

[12] Janssens de Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos (1981, 63–64) state that the shields with the male arms cannot date from before the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Escutcheons in more or less the same shape are found on a number of tombstones dating from 1544–65 in St John's Church in 's-Hertogenbosch. Van Oudheusden and Tummers 2010, II no. 35, 1552; II no. 74, 1565; II no. 177, 1544; III no. 354, 1553; III no. 362, 1552; IV no. 391, 1570; IV no. 397, 1565; IV no. 416, 1562.

[13] See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 23, RR 63–68. This phenomenon has also been noted in the first half of the sixteenth century in other Netherlandish triptychs, particularly from Antwerp. Verougstraete-Marcq, Smeyers and Van Schoute 1981; Faries 1998, 99–100; Van Bueren 1999, 209–11 no. 72; Dijkstra and Faries 2003.

[14] Janssens de Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos (1981) concluded that the arms refer to the respective parents of Jacob van der Voirt, alderman of Antwerp (1508–18, died 1520) and his wife Christina van Driel. Christina van Driel was the daughter of the first marriage of Johanna Pijnappel (died c. 1545) to Jacob van Driel (died before 1506). Johanna van Driel remarried before 1506 to Diego de Haro (died c. 1520). The arms of Christina's stepfather, De Haro, therefore took the place of her father, Van Driel. The Renaissance-style shield of the male coats of arms then led Janssens de Bisthoven to suggest that it was not the couple Van der Voirt-Van Driel but their children who had the arms added of their grandparents and their maternal stepgrandfather respectively. See, regarding Pijnappel, Van Driel and De Haro: Sasse van Ysselt 1910–14, II, 209–10, 212–13; Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, MS II 6507, 81; MS II 6487, 128. For Van der Voirt: Génard 1879, 143–44; Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 6606, 170–71.

[15] Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, MS 19447, fol. 85; MS II 6606, 171.

[16] Génard 1879, 144.

[17] Fagel 1996, 69–71, 113–14, 119; De Vocht 1928, 511.

[18] In 1502–03, 'Jacop de Haro spaengiaert [Spaniard]' paid membership dues and the 'death fee' (while still alive) as a member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady. Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Register 124, fol. 74, 87v; Van Dijck 2001a, 64–65. Anna de Haro (born 1508), an illegitimate daughter of his brother Christobal, received an annuity from the City of 's-Hertogenbosch until her death in 1552. De Vocht 1928, 511; Van Dijck 2001a, 64. 'Suster Anna de Haro opten ulenborch' ('Sister Anna de Haro') paid membership dues and the 'death fee' (while still alive) in 1543; Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Register 131, fol. 79, 82.

[19] Sasse van Ysselt 1910–14, II, 209–10, 212–13. Diego (Degonis) de Haro was mentioned on 30 August 1511 in connection with a tax payment, together with Johan Pijnappel, a relative of his wife; Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief 244 Jezuïetencollege, inv. 84.

[20] Peeter de Gramme and Peeter Scheyfve both served as municipal stewards between 1495 and 1505, at one point at the same time; Pieter van der Voirt had been a steward in the years 1472–75. Peeter Scheyfve was an alderman in 1501/02, 1505/06, his son Jan Scheyfve from 1516 to 1521; and a Jan Scheyfve from a following generation in 1542–44. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, MS 19447, fol. 5, 6, 9, 85, 86v, 87; Prims 1938, 187–88, 192–93, 202–03; Duquenne 2004, 3–6. FelixArchief, Antwerp, Matrijzen en stempels, MSS 441, 447, 459, 516.

[21] Jan de Haro (died 1544/45), merchant, textile dealer and financier, alderman of Antwerp 1532/33, 1535/36. Prims 1938, 198–99; Fagel 1996, 108, 114; Wouters 2000–01, 32–33, 138, 162 Appendix 1, 167, 188 no. 61.

[22] Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, MS 19447, fol. 6 no. 37. FelixArchief, Antwerp, Matrijzen en stempels, MS 447 Joannes de Haro.

[23] Alderman Engelbertus Ludinc Pijnappel was already using the three pinecones in his coat of arms in the late fourteenth century. Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, 's-Hertogenbosch, Zegels toegang 221, nr. 74 (afdruk 07–6–1398).

[24] It has been suggested incorrectly that Diego de Haro was related to the aristocratic De Haro family from Spain, who were related in turn to Diego and Felipe de Guevara. Van Dijck 2001a, 64–65.

[25] The Pijnappel family also belonged to the urban elite in 's-Hertogenbosch, which commemorated its dead with memorial paintings, as evidenced by a witness statement by the prominent citizen Joest Pynappel Janssone in connection with iconoclastic damage to St John's Church in 1566: 'Dan is hy deponent omtrent den zess uren 't savonts in de voerschreve kercke met die van den schutteryen geweest, ene haelde alsdoen vuyte kercke een stuck schilderye, d'welck zyne ouders in de voerschreve kercke gegeven ende gelaten hadden voer eene memorie.' Cuypers van Velthoven 1858, 493.

[26] Wouters 2000–01, 188 no. 61.

[27] Other relatively early examples of similar Renaissance coats of arms in present-day Belgium: Alban de Mayence, 1512, Cathedral of Saint-Aubain, Namur; Jan de Berlaimont, 1529, St-Antoine, Liège; Wouter Crabbe, 1531, St Bavo, Ghent; Sabina Barbanson, 1536, St-Etienne, Reuland; Herman van Hynesdael, Marie van Quaerwerm, 1538, H. Kruis, Guvelingen-Sint-Truiden; Margriet, 1539, Sint-Jan, Poperinge; Margarita Borman, 1539, Sint-Dionysius, Opoeteren.

[28] Génard 1873, 189; Génard 1879, 144.



24 *Ecce Homo Triptych*

Workshop of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1495–1500 (*Ecce Homo*), c. 1500 (wing interiors and predella), mid-1503 (wing exteriors)

Oil on oak panels, left wing 69.3 × 26 cm, central panel 73.4 × 58.4 cm, right wing 69.2 × 26 cm, predella 15.5 × 68.4 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William K. Richardson Fund; William Francis Warden Fund; Juliana Cheney Edwards Collection, 56.171.1a–b, 53.2027, 56.171.2a–b

BRCP examination and documentation data: Boston, 25–28 September 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 24, RR 77–84; //Boschproject.org no. 24.

Condition
The three surviving engaged frames are original. The predella was similarly framed, but that frame has been lost. The frame of the central panel was cropped at the bottom and possibly an additional protruding frame element was once attached to its top. The two planks of the central panel were rejoined, perhaps together with the crack that runs the entire length of the panel. In the right wing another such crack and a shorter fracture were restored. In general, the adhesion of both paint and ground appears good. There are mainly small damages in the wings. Most of the extensive paint loss and abrasion in the central panel and abrasion in the predella has been restored. Red lakes have faded somewhat, resulting in several purplish areas to appear more blue, such as Christ's mantle. Green lakes have discoloured slightly and especially lighter paints have increased in transparency, revealing the underlying layer. Discoloured varnish residues and uneven retouching distract somewhat from the otherwise good visibility of the original paint surfaces.

Provenance
Painted around 1496–1500 for Peter van Os, 's-Hertogenbosch; 1888 F.W. Harris, Gracechurch Street, London; 21 July 1888 auctioned by Christie, Manson & Woods, London, no. 78; 1888?–1948 Charles Holden-White, London; 26 November 1948 auctioned from Holden-White's estate by Christie's, London, no. 36, purchased by Gerald Kerin; 1951 Arthur Kauffmann (possibly purchased from Kerin); sold in 1953 by Kauffmann through Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York, to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (without wings and predella, which Kauffmann donated to the same museum in 1956).

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 24, RR 77–84; Fischer 2013, 43, 261–62; Koreny 2012, 54–75; Silver 2006, 139, 142–44; Klein 2001, 124–25; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 44, 88, 98; Van Dijck 1998, 116–24; Unverfehrt 1980, 137–39; exh. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, 113; Tolnay 1965, II, 341–42; Eisler 1961, 33–43; Swarzenski 1955, 1–10; Friedländer 1937, 88.

Analysis
The triptych of the Van Os and Van Langel families was painted in Hieronymus Bosch's workshop. It is closely related in several respects with works by Bosch himself and by his workshop, where a variety of painters collaborated. The likely genesis of the triptych can be reconstructed in detail based on the people depicted in it and their coats of arms. The slightly older *Ecce Homo* painting was used around 1500 as the central panel of a triptych with wings and a predella. Donor portraits of Peter van Os and Henrickxen van Langel, accompanied by their patron saints, were painted in the open wings; Franco van Langel was added to the closed wings some years later, together with his wife and eleven children.

ORIGIN

On 3 July 1481, 'Jheronimus known as Joen, the son of the late Antonius van Aken, painter' appeared before the municipal secretary Franck or Franco van Langel in connection with a financial matter.[1] Almost twenty years later, a triptych was painted in Hieronymus Bosch's workshop, with Franco van Langel, his wife and their eleven children on the wing exteriors, and his son-in-law and daughter on the interior. The genesis of the triptych, on which no fewer than four different painters appear to have worked, is extremely complex. The central panel must have been completed first, possibly as an autonomous painting, without wings.[2]

The main subject of the triptych is the Ecce Homo scene in the central panel – Pontius Pilate's showing of the tortured Christ to the people just before sentencing him to death by crucifixion (John 19:5).[3] Both the structure of the panel and many of its details display strong similarities with the *Ecce Homo* that Bosch painted in the 1480s, now in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt (cat. 11). Christ is shown bent over slightly and viewed from the side in that work, whereas in this triptych he is depicted statically, frontally, and with much less blood. His cross-shaped nimbus, made up of golden rays, was borrowed too, although it was later removed almost entirely in the central panel in Boston; only the vertical rays were partially retained – turned into dirt dripping from the bird's nest high in the wall. An owl looks down on the distressing scene below from a window high on the right of



24E

24F



24A



24B



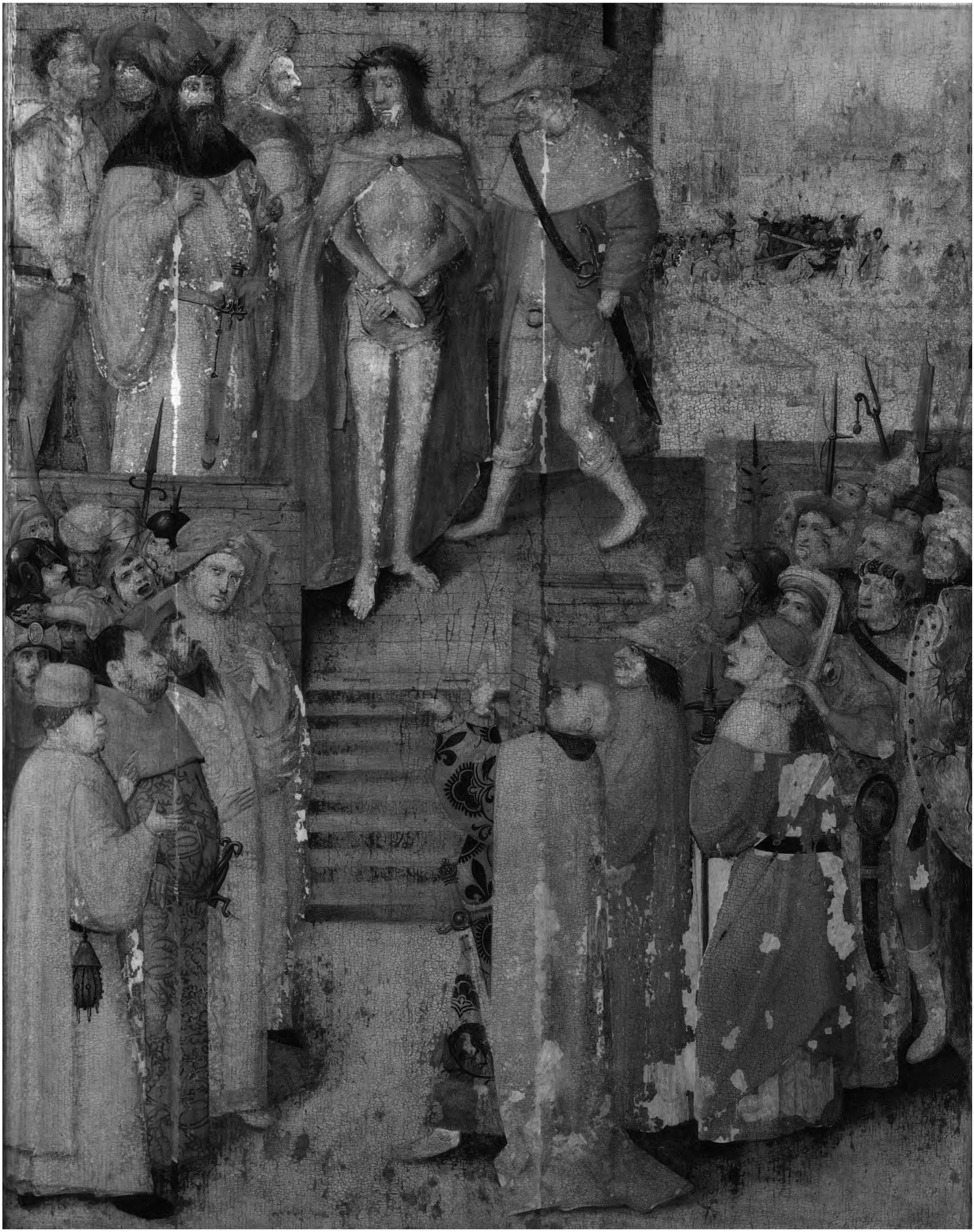
24C



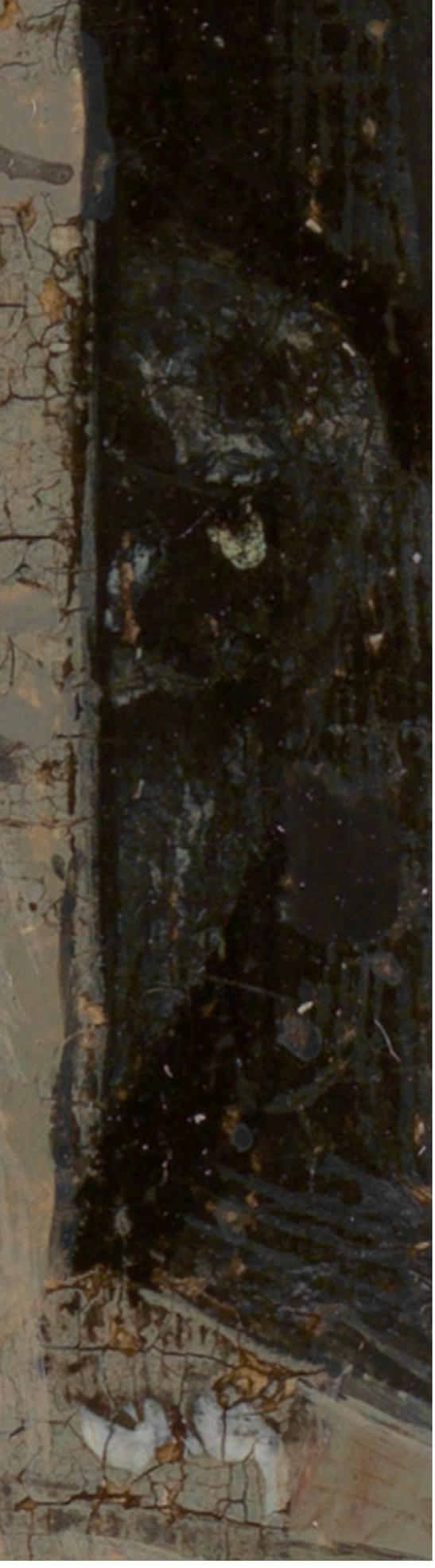
24D



24.1 **VIS** [CAT 24B]



24.2 **IRR** [CAT 24B]



24.3 Owl looking down from a window in the courthouse building [CAT 24B]

the courthouse building. What will follow is shown to the right on the square in the background, where we see Christ carrying his cross towards Golgotha. The way the episode is rendered here is similar to the corresponding scene – also painted extremely small – on the back of the *Saint John on Patmos* panel in Berlin (cat. 6).[4] There too we see Simon of Cyrene helping Christ to carry the cross and the legionary with the *lituus* – the curved war-trumpet – leading the closely packed band of soldiers. Simon is dressed in white, just as he is in the large-scale *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (cat. 13). We notice that the cross has once again been drawn fairly crookedly, heightening the sense of movement in the scene and giving the struggling Christ a little more space beneath the macabre burden he must haul to his place of execution. 24.3 24.4–5

The distant view of the city upper right and the group of onlookers in the right foreground are virtually identical to the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt, with some variations in the weapons and in the colours and decoration of the clothing. The brocade decoration of the robe worn by the man in the middle of the foreground, with the fleur de lis and the bird pecking at a berry, matches precisely in the two *Ecce Homo* panels (Boston and Frankfurt) and in their exact replicas – one of unknown origin, the other from the Mariënwater monastery (Koudewater) in 's-Hertogenbosch.[5] The bridge painted in the Frankfurt panel was included in the underdrawing of the city shown upper right in the Boston *Ecce Homo*, but was left out during the painting process, which implies that the Boston work was produced later than the one in Frankfurt. Several stylistic details and the dendrochronological dating also point in that direction. The differing position of Christ and Pilate (not to the left of the group, but further back in the picture) has the curious effect that the onlookers in the right foreground do not appear to be responding to the Ecce Homo scene itself but to a non-existent occurrence in the left foreground. 24.1–2

DONORS

The donors of the triptych are shown in the open wings: Peter van Os (died 1542) on the left, and Henrickxen van Langel (died 1500) on the right.[6] Van Os – municipal secretary of 's-Hertogenbosch and the son-in-law of Franco van Langel – wears a blue chaperon (a hood with flaps) over his fur-trimmed tabard, to which is pinned the silver insignia of the Brotherhood of Our Lady. His patron saint, Peter, presents him to Christ. Peter van Os's wife, Henrickxen van Langel, kneels in the right wing, holding an open prayerbook; a rosary hangs from her belt. A swaddled infant lies in front of her on the hem of her gown and half concealed beneath her cloak. The child, who died shortly after birth, was painted on top of the woman's figure, which had already been completed, but nevertheless forms part of the original painting. Saint Catherine stands behind Henrickxen. Like the Apostle Peter in the left wing, she is disproportionately large. A striking symbolic reference to Catherine's martyrdom can be seen at her feet: the two wheels mounted on stands, with which she was tortured, were destroyed in the nick of time by an angel of God; she was then beheaded with the sword. The form of the counter-rotating wheels to which blades are fitted – as described in detail in the *Passionael*[7] – are strikingly similar to the insignia of the Brotherhood of Saint Catherine in 's-Hertogenbosch, of which Henrickxen was most likely a member.[8] 24.7–8 24.9 24.10

The coats of arms of the donors, who kneel in prayer, were painted over the completed painting but are nonetheless original. Peter van Os, who was not a nobleman, chose a set of arms with three horizontal tripartite bars in the lower half, beneath an bull's head and an eight-pointed star. Henrickxen van Langel's arms are divided vertically, with a lion passant on the heraldic right for the Van Langel family and three rosettes and a six-pointed star on the heraldic left for her mother's family, the Van der Rullens.[9] The animals in the coats of arms – like the donors and their patron saints – are directed towards Christ in the centre, drawing the heraldic figures too into the religious hierarchy. The bull's head (*ossenkop*) in Peter van Os's arms refers to his birthplace, Oss, and to his toponymic surname; the lower half with the three horizontal tripartite bars was a popular heraldic figure in the Campine (Kempen) region.[10] The Van Langel arms feature a lion, which is also found in the



24.4–5 Christ Carrying the Cross: *Ecce Homo* (Boston) [CAT 24B] and *Passion Scenes* on the reverse of *Saint John on Patmos* [CAT 6B]

alderman's seal of Franck van Langel Junior, who used it during his term as alderman of 's-Hertogenbosch to seal documents with a 'lion rampant contourné' (i.e. turned to face the heraldic right or 'sinister').[11]

Unusually, a second donor family is depicted on the exterior of the wings, and thus visible when the triptych was closed. This is the only example we know of among Netherlandish memorial triptychs[12] and can be explained by the phased execution of the overall work. G.C.M. van Dijck identified the family as Franco van Langel (died 1497) and his wife Heylwich van der Rullen (died 1493–94) with their five sons and six daughters.[13] Franco van Langel is shown kneeling, reading a prayerbook. He is dressed in a long, fur-trimmed tabard and wears a green chaperon on his head, decorated with the insignia of the Brotherhood of Our Lady. The Apostle and Evangelist John stands behind him as his patron saint. The third son can be identified as a Cistercian monk. This is Franco's son Jan van Langel (died 1539), who became cellarer at the priory of Mariëndonk (1510–15) in Elshout and later the abbot of Mariënkroon (1517–36) in Heusden. The two other sons, wearing brimless hats with black chaperons over their shoulders, must be Franck Junior (died 1515) and Wouter. The underdrawing reveals that the rearmost of the two originally held an open prayerbook. 24.11–12 Nothing is known regarding the two considerably younger sons placed a little further in the background; they are likely to have died at a young age, but after the memorial triptych was painted.

The figure of Saint John the Evangelist blessing the poisoned chalice seems to have been based on the same model as the much smaller Christ making the sign of benediction in one of the tondi of the *Flood Panels* in Rotterdam (cat. 22).[14] Saint John is included here as the patron saint of the principal church in 's-Hertogenbosch – the depicted families' parish







24.7–8 Insignia of the Brotherhood of Our Lady on the costumes of Franco van Langel [CAT 24E] and Peter van Os [CAT 24A]



24.9 Attributes of Saint Catherine [CAT 24C]

church – and was also held in high esteem by the Brotherhood of Our Lady (see cat. 6). He is placed, moreover, next to the more prominently positioned son, the Cistercian Jan van Langel, no doubt as the latter's name saint.

Heylwich van der Rullen is shown kneeling in prayer like her husband, a rosary clasped between her hands. Lysbeth, the daughter shown immediately behind her, is dressed as a regular canoness: she entered Bethany Priory on Windmolenberg in 's-Hertogenbosch, where she is recorded as early as 1481. 'Elisabeth Franconis' is subsequently listed as prioress there in the years 1493 and 1494; she died in 1539. The second daughter, dressed as a married woman, is Henrickxen, who married Peter van Os; she is shown wearing the same costume on the open wing.[15] Nothing is known regarding the four other daughters. Mary Magdalene stands behind Heylwich van der Rullen as her patron saint. She is likely to have been chosen because she was the most important patroness of Bethany Priory, which was dedicated to Mary Magdalene, Lazarus and Martha.[16]

Together the known details of the various donor figures provide the basis for dating the triptych, which was produced in two further phases after the slightly older *Ecce Homo* panel was painted. Peter van Os married Henrickxen van Langel in 1498–99. She died around 1 January 1500. Henrickxen and her first and only baby might not have survived childbirth, or both might have died shortly afterwards. Franco van Langel had already died in 1497 and his wife Heylwich in 1493–94. Peter van Os remarried after 20 August 1503. This means the triptych certainly dates from before 1503, although it would be more likely to have been painted in 1500. It must have been intended, after all, as a memorial triptych and will have been installed by the tomb of Henrickxen van Os-van Langel, no doubt near to that of her father Franco van Langel, where her husband Peter van Os would also later be interred, along with the second wife he married in 1503. Annual masses continued to be celebrated for Peter van Os at the Dominican church until well into the sixteenth century, so it is here that the graves will have been located.[17]

The making of this unusual memorial triptych, in which both couples are commemorated to a more or less equal degree, will chiefly have been prompted by the death of Henrickxen van Os-van Langel, since it is Peter van Os and Henrickxen who are presented as the donor couple on the open wings. There must have been an important reason, however, for



24.10 Insignia of the Brotherhood of Saint Catherine, 15th century. Silver. Het Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch / Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, Afd. Erfgoed, BAM i 7137

24.6 [CAT 24B]

placing the previously deceased parents-in-law, Franco van Langel and Heylwich van der Rullen, together with all their children, on the exterior of the wings. Peter van Os worked as a clerk for Franco van Langel from 1483; he became deputy secretary in July 1497, the year of Franco's death, and succeeded him as municipal secretary in 1498. Van Langel belonged to the town's social elite and had been a sworn member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady since around 1466; Van Os became a sworn brother in 1496/97. Surprisingly, Peter van Os was only granted official citizenship of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1499. This was no doubt a require-



24.11–12 A member of the Van Langel donor family: VIS and IRR [CAT 24E]

ment if he was also to succeed Franco van Langel as a notary public – a position Franco had occupied since 1461. Van Langel's protocols were formally presented to Peter van Os on 11 July 1500, enabling Peter to follow in his father-in-law's footsteps in this regard too. Peter's marriage to Franco's daughter Henrickxen and her death at a young age meant he was bound to his mentor and predecessor almost literally to the grave. Their equal status is expressed most explicitly in their respective positions in the Brotherhood of Our Lady, and it is precisely this aspect which the triptych emphasizes so firmly.

This context too suggests the year 1500 as the year of origin of the painting. As sworn brothers, Peter van Os and Franco van Langel both wear the silver insignia of the brotherhood on their coloured chaperons. The badge comprises a lily with a banderole containing the word *sicut* – a reference to the brotherhood's motto 'sicut lilium inter spinas' ('like a lily among thorns'), taken from the Song of Solomon.[18] The colour of the chaperon that the sworn brothers were obliged to wear at their meetings and ceremonies varied from

year to year, but details are sadly lacking for the late fifteenth century.[19] We know from the account books that the colour was determined from 1526/27 onwards by a four-yearly cycle of red-purple-blue-green, and this is likely to have been the case in previous years too. The colour was formally adopted each year on the Wednesday before Laetare or Mid-Lent Sunday.[20] The new colour then probably had to be worn from the Easter celebrations onwards. Peter van Os is wearing blue in the triptych and Franco van Langel green. It seems most likely, therefore, that the colour of the chaperon was blue in the year in which Peter van Os commissioned the triptych and green in the year of Franco van Langel's death, 1497. If we assume that the later, regular cycle was already in place at the time of the commission, the blue chaperon would have been worn in the year 1500/01.

The fact that the brotherhood played a key part in the triptych is also apparent from the recurring figurative motif of the painted green damask or brocade in the background of the closed triptych, which is also found conspicuously in the corpulent figures in the left foreground of the Ecce Homo scene: a swan set in elaborate scrollwork. The swan can only refer to the 'Swan Brethren' as the Brotherhood of Our Lady was also known because of its annual swan banquet and the select little group of noble 'swan brothers' – affiliates who were entitled and could afford to supply the swans to be served up to the guests.[21] There is no evidence whatsoever that the fabric as painted ever existed in reality; it must have been conceived in the artist's workshop as a specific reference to the prestigious fraternity. The fact that the same motif is found in both the closed wings and in the central panel is irrefutable proof of the original connection between the central panel and the wings – something that has been doubted in the past.[22] Given the brotherhood's central role in the nature of the commission and in these painted motifs, it is surprising that Bosch himself appears to have had little if any hand in the triptych's execution.

Two small but noteworthy alterations were made during the painting of the exterior of the wings: Jan van Langel's head was significantly increased in size and Lysbeth's eyelids were lowered, making her seem more pious than originally planned. The adjustments seem to have been instigated by Jan and Lysbeth themselves, which might indicate their direct involvement with the commission for the painting of the outside of the wings. The occasion for this is thus likely to have been Jan's profession as a monk at the Cistercian monastery of Mariëndonk in Heusden on 24 June 1503.[23] He was probably twenty-one when he took his vows and withdrew into monastic life, at which point he will have definitively renounced his worldly possessions.[24] It would have been the perfect moment to add the portraits of his late parents and all their children to the as yet unpainted exterior of the memorial painting.

There are several striking similarities between the Boston triptych and the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9). As many authors have pointed out already, the Apostle Peter on the interior of the left wing corresponds almost exactly – in size too – with the figure of Peter in the corresponding position in the Prado triptych, in which he is likewise included as the donor's patron saint. In addition, the tongue of land with the walled city in the background to the right of Saint Peter is almost identical to the somewhat more finely executed island and the profile of the city in the distance at the top of the inside right wing of the *Adoration of the Magi Triptych*. The image on the exterior of both triptychs forms a continuous whole, so that when the wings are closed, the viewer sees a scene that runs uninterruptedly across the frame elements in the middle. The *Adoration of the Magi* also has portraits on both the insides and outsides of the wings; in the semi-grisaille on the closed Prado triptych, however, only the memorial portraits are rendered realistically, in colour.

24.13–14

24.15–16

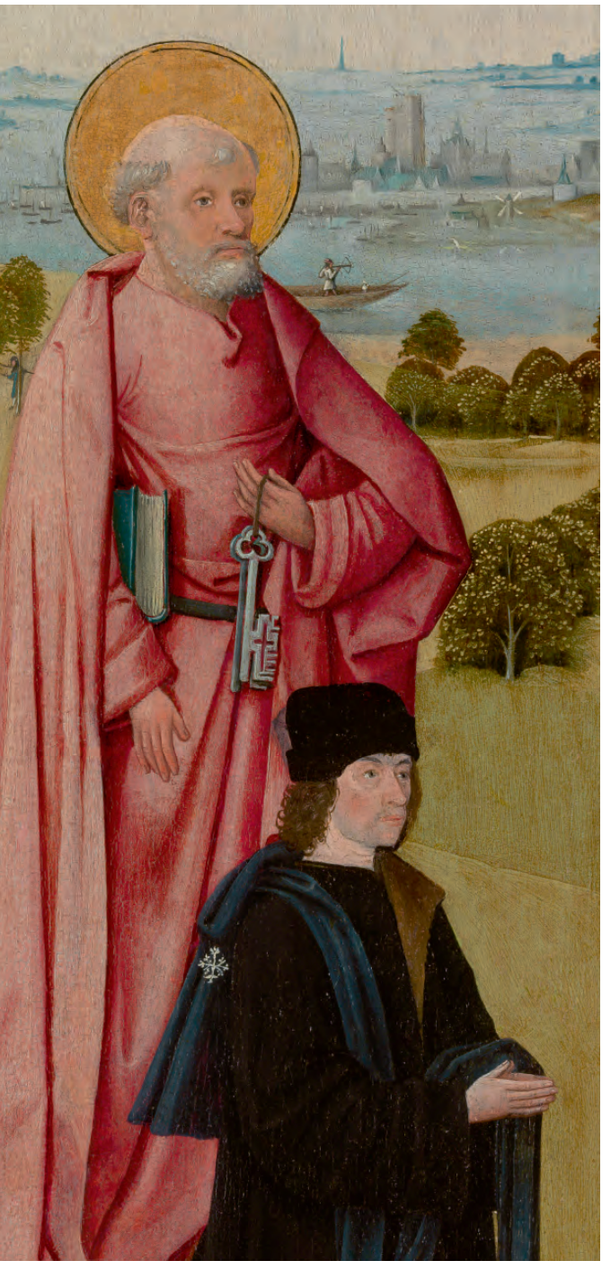
DATING

Dendrochronological analysis of the Boston triptych's *Ecce Homo* panel produced a date of 1478 for the most recent heartwood ring.[25] This means the painting could have been painted from 1489 onwards, although a date after 1491 is more likely. The predella, the qual-

ity of which is considerably inferior to that of the triptych, was probably painted immediately after the completion of the rest of the ensemble. The construction with a predella that remained visible when the triptych was closed, resulted in the current unusual situation that the height of the wings is less than that of the central panel.[26]

If we combine the varied evidence for the dating of this triptych, we arrive at a commission and execution in 1500, at which point the central panel probably existed already, whereas the exterior wings were not painted until over three years later. The work shows close similarities both in its conception and in a number of details with the *Adoration of the Magi Triptych* in the Prado, which was painted at an earlier date (around 1495) for Peeter Scheyfve from Antwerp (cat. 9), while the central panel is based on the even earlier Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* (c. 1475–85). The original destination of the triptych – painted as a memorial for the patron, Peter van Os, his wife and only child, and for Franco van Langel, his

24.13–14 Peter van Os with his patron, Saint Peter:
Ecce Homo (Boston) [CAT 24A] and *Adoration* (Madrid) [CAT 9A]









24.15–16 *Ecce Homo* (Boston) [CAT 24A] and *Adoration* (Madrid) [CAT 9C]

wife and their eleven children – will have been the Dominican church in 's-Hertogenbosch. The Apostle Peter is included as the patron's name saint. The Apostle and Evangelist John, meanwhile, was the patron saint of Franco's son, the Cistercian monk Jan. The two female saints were chosen with reference to the particular devotion of the Van Os and Van Langel families (which also applies, incidentally, to the Apostles Peter and John, giving them a dual role here). Mary Magdalene was the most important of the patron saints of Bethany Priory, which was entered by one of Van Langel's daughters. Saint Catherine was the patroness of the Brotherhood of Saint Catherine in 's-Hertogenbosch, with which Heylwich van Langel will have been associated. John the Evangelist was the patron saint of the principal church in 's-Hertogenbosch, and can therefore be viewed in this light as the protector of the city as a whole; he was likewise held in high esteem by the Brotherhood of Our Lady. Peter, lastly, was also the saint to whom the Dominican church was dedicated.





[1] 'Jheronimus dictus Joen, filius quondam Anthonii de Aken, pictoris': Van Dijck 1973, 171; Van den Bichelaer 1998, Appendix 1 no. 236.

[2] See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 24, RR 77–84.

[3] There is a virtually identical copy of the central panel dating from the later sixteenth century in a French private collection (oak panel, 84 × 61.5 cm). Photograph and letter dated 12 February 1993, David Guiraud, Paris; Boston, MFA, Curatorial Files inv. 53.2027. Examination, IRR, XR and VIS photography on 12 January 2015 in Paris by David Lainé (restorer, IPARC, Leuven) and Jos Koldeweij.

[4] Fischer 2013, 44, 261.

[5] Esther van Duijn has noted that it is precisely these patterns that often differ in later copies made in other workshops. Van Duijn 2013, 101–05. For more information about the Mariënwater copy, see the entry for the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo*, cat. 11. See note 3 above regarding the Paris copy.

[6] Van den Bichelaer 1998, Appendix 1 no. 292; Van Dijck 2012, 592. Koreny (2012, 54, 141 n. 80) wrongly states that the donor couple was added later; they were both prepared in the underdrawing and form an integral part of the paint layer.

[7] *Passionael Winterstuc* 1482, fol. 41v.

[8] Janssen 2007, 112–13; Le Blanc 2002, 36–37; Nijhof and Janssen 2000, 274–75. The fraternity was associated with an altar in St John's Church. Located in the first ambulatory chapel on the south side, it was dedicated to Saint Catherine in 1418; the same insignia were later used by a guild of rhetoricians devoted to the saint; Peeters 1985, 28, 373. The same symbol is found on the tomb of a beguine near this chapel, with a sword running through the wheels; the woman interred there will also have belonged to the fraternity. Van Oudheusden and Tummers 2010, III, 284–85. Saint Catherine is also shown with these wheels as an attribute in the vault paintings in St Martin's Church in Zaltbommel, which are related to the painting in St John's in 's-Hertogenbosch.

[9] The Van der Rullen arms comprised three rosettes, which might explain the decoration of the 'Rose Room' in the home of Wouter van der Rullen (pharmacist and churchwarden of St John's, and brother of Heylwich van der Rullen), on the corner of Ridderstraat and the Markt. Franco van Langel had his will drawn up there on 6 May 1465 and visited the building repeatedly between 1470 and 1475 in his capacity as notary. The house was very close, therefore, to 'In St. Thoenis' – now 'De Kleine Winst', Markt 29 – the Van Akens' home and workshop. Van den Bichelaer 1998, Appendix 1 no. 236. Peter van Os the Younger, the son of Peter van Os's second marriage, chose a coat of arms with three caboshed bulls' heads around a five-pointed star. Het Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch: silver alderman's seal of Peter van Os Jr., 1557, inv. 07337; *Wapenboek I* of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, BHIC, 's-Hertogenbosch, inv. 1232–146, fol. 90v.

[10] Van Broekhoven 2013. The three horizontal tripartite bars appear as a heraldic figure no fewer than thirty-six times, for instance, in the eighteenth-century book of arms of the Brotherhood of Our Lady, which also includes an escutcheon for Peter van Os with three bulls' heads *affronté*. *Wapenboek I* of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, inv. 1232–146. Van Dijck (1998, 122, and 2001a, 59) wrongly suggested that this was a heraldically incorrect division of the arms, and that the three horizontal tripartite bars referred to the Wynrix family. The arms of Peter van Os can be found in *Wapenboek I* on fol. 86v.

[11] Het Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch: silver alderman's seal of Franck van Langel Jr., 1504, inv. 01049.

[12] No other example has been found among the hundred or so memorial paintings catalogued by the MeMO project, Department of Art History, Utrecht University: *Medieval Memoria Online*, accessed February 2015: http://memo.hum.uu.nl/database/index.html.

[13] Van Dijck 1998; Van den Bichelaer 1998, Appendix 1 no. 236; Van Dijck 2012, 461.

[14] Saint John is also very similar to the huge, reversed figure of the apostle in the badly damaged doors of the 'Oralogium' that was installed in St John's Church in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1513; the wings, painted on canvas, were most likely made in the same town, and possibly also in Bosch's workshop. Right wing Oralogium, tempera on canvas, 247.5 × 84 cm, 's-Hertogenbosch, Saint John's Cathedral. Le Blanc 1990, 414.

[15] Koreny (2012, 54) wrongly describes this as 'Nonnentracht' (a nun's clothing).

[16] Hoekx 1983, 25.

[17] Van den Bichelaer 1998, Appendix 1 no. 292; Van Dijck 1998, 120.

[18] Koldeweij 1990c.

[19] Hezenmans 1877, 56, 120; Van Dijck 1973, 118–19; Schuttelaars 1998, 383.

[20] Roelvink 2002, 84.

[21] Schuttelaars 1998, 384–92.

[22] The *Ecce Homo* panel was sold separately to the museum in Boston by the art dealer Arthur Kauffmann, London, in 1953; Kauffmann donated the wings and predella in 1956 at the suggestion of Hanns Swarzenski; MFA, Boston, Curatorial Files inv. 53.2027. Eisler 1961, 33–43.

[23] Johannes Francozn van Langel was the cellarer at Mariëndonk monastery from 5 December 1510 to 13 November 1515, and prior of Mariënkroon from 20 November 1519 to 11 October 1536. He died at the priory on 11 November 1540. Only one brother who can be identified as Jan van Langel was professed during the long priorate of Johannes van den Bosch (1474–1515): 'Johannes, clericus; [1]503 juni 24 (ips. die Nativitate Baptiste). "Ann. etatis sue xxi?".' 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, inv. 239 Kloosters Mariënkroon en Mariëndonk in Heusden, 1245–1631, inventaris, bijlage 1.01 Lijst van abten en prioren van Mariënkroon, bijlage 1.04.1 Lijst van celliers van Mariënkroon, bijlage 1.06.2.2 Naamlijst der geprofesten van Mariëndonk (inv. 61) nr. 23.

[24] The date on which Lysbeth entered Bethany Priory is not known.

[25] Peter Klein, report Kl/Sz, 12 November 1991, Hamburg University, Department of Wood Biology. The most recent heartwood ring of the predella was formed in 1474 (ibid.). The two wings were not examined.

[26] A similarly constructed work is the memorial triptych of Thomas Snoeel (c. 1516), which originated in St Peter's Hospital in Amersfoort: Amersfoort, Museum Flehite, on loan from the 'Armen de Poth' foundation. Van Bueren 1999, 91, 273 no. 1.

25 *The Adoration of the Magi*

Workshop of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1495–1520

Oil on oak panel, 77.5 × 55.9 cm
Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917, 1321

BRCP examination and documentation data: Philadelphia, 18–19 April 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 25, RR 57–58; //Boschproject.org no. 25.

Condition
The bottom edge of the panel was cropped slightly and its reverse thinned and cradled. There is some wood loss at the upper right panel edge and an old crack extends down from here. The adhesion of both paint and ground appears to be relatively good. The extensive craquelure has opened up further as a result of past harsh cleaning and multiple areas are highly abraded (e.g. in Joseph, the kneeling king, the sky and gold leaf detailing). There are many losses of differing sizes, mainly along the join and at the bottom left, as well as several scratches. Conservation issues were addressed in the 2014–15 full treatment of the painting.

Provenance
Edward Law, 1st Earl of Ellenborough (1790–1871); sold from his estate on 3 April 1914 in London, Christie's, no. 97, purchased by St. Hensé; 1914–15 Julius Böhler art dealers, Munich; sold in 1915 to John G. Johnson, Philadelphia; bequeathed by him to the City of Philadelphia in 1917; since then in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 25, RR 57–58; Fischer 2013, 262–63; Koreny 2012, 28; Silver 2006, 155; Elsig 2004, 29–31, 41–42, 225; Klein 2001, 126; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 88, 93, 157; cat. Philadelphia 1994, 35; Unverfehrt 1980, 26, 36, 124; cat. Philadelphia 1972, 9; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 82; Tolnay 1965, I, 78–80; II, 339–41; Tolnay 1963, 20–28; Von Baldass 1943, 9, 60, 65, 246–47; Friedländer 1927, 91, 143; Friedländer 1921, 74, 192.

Analysis
We know from dendrochronological analysis that the *Adoration of the Magi* could have been painted in 1493 at the earliest, and more likely from 1495. This eliminates the hypothesis that it was an early painting by Bosch. The composition draws on models from the first half of the fifteenth century. Elements can also be identified from a number of works by Hieronymus Bosch, including the *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 19), the New York *Adoration* (cat. 10), the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21) and the *Adoration* in the Prado (cat. 9). Given the large number of connections, the painting is likely to have been produced in Hieronymus Bosch's workshop.

TRADITIONAL

A dilapidated stable is shown against a background with an expansive landscape containing a view of a city. An ox and an ass stand to the right of the building, which no longer has any walls on the viewer's side, while two shepherds converse with one another on the left. The thatched roof of the half-open structure rests on the remains of a tall brick upright, which runs virtually all the way up the left edge of the scene. The stretch of wall on which the roof over the stable section on the right is supported seems to be the same height, which is not possible given the depicted interior spaces. Together, these elements create a very odd perspective. The Holy Family is shown inside this impossible building. Mary sits with the infant Christ on her lap in front of a large table, with Joseph – presented as an old man – on the other side. He looks on respectfully (and somewhat surprised) at the sumptuously attired Three Kings on the right. The oldest of the three is the first to kneel at Mary's feet. Dressed in a green robe, he offers the Christ Child a piece of precious metalwork resembling a gold ciborium. The three elements at the top, supported by tiny figures, are filled with shiny grains of frankincense or myrrh. The foreshortening is unusual here too. The second king seems to be looking at the beholders of the painting. He is dressed in red and holds a gift reminiscent of a reliquary, featuring a rock-crystal cylinder with gold fittings. The black king, the youngest, also holds a gold, ciborium-like object decorated with unidentifiable figures and containing myrrh or frankincense beneath the tower-shaped lid. In keeping with tradition, the third king is dressed the most exotically, in gold-trimmed white robes, with a turban of light-blue and white fabric and pink shoes. The extremely wide hanging sleeve of his costume is embroidered with the shower of manna, which flutters down from a cloud and is caught and gathered by the starving Israelites in the wilderness (Exodus 16). The scene was not underdrawn and is now hard to read as the paint has partially discoloured, and both the paint itself and the gold details are badly worn.[1] The star that showed the Magi the way to Bethlehem originally shone above the stable; the gold leaf has almost entirely worn off here, however, as it has in the gifts. Other highly abraded

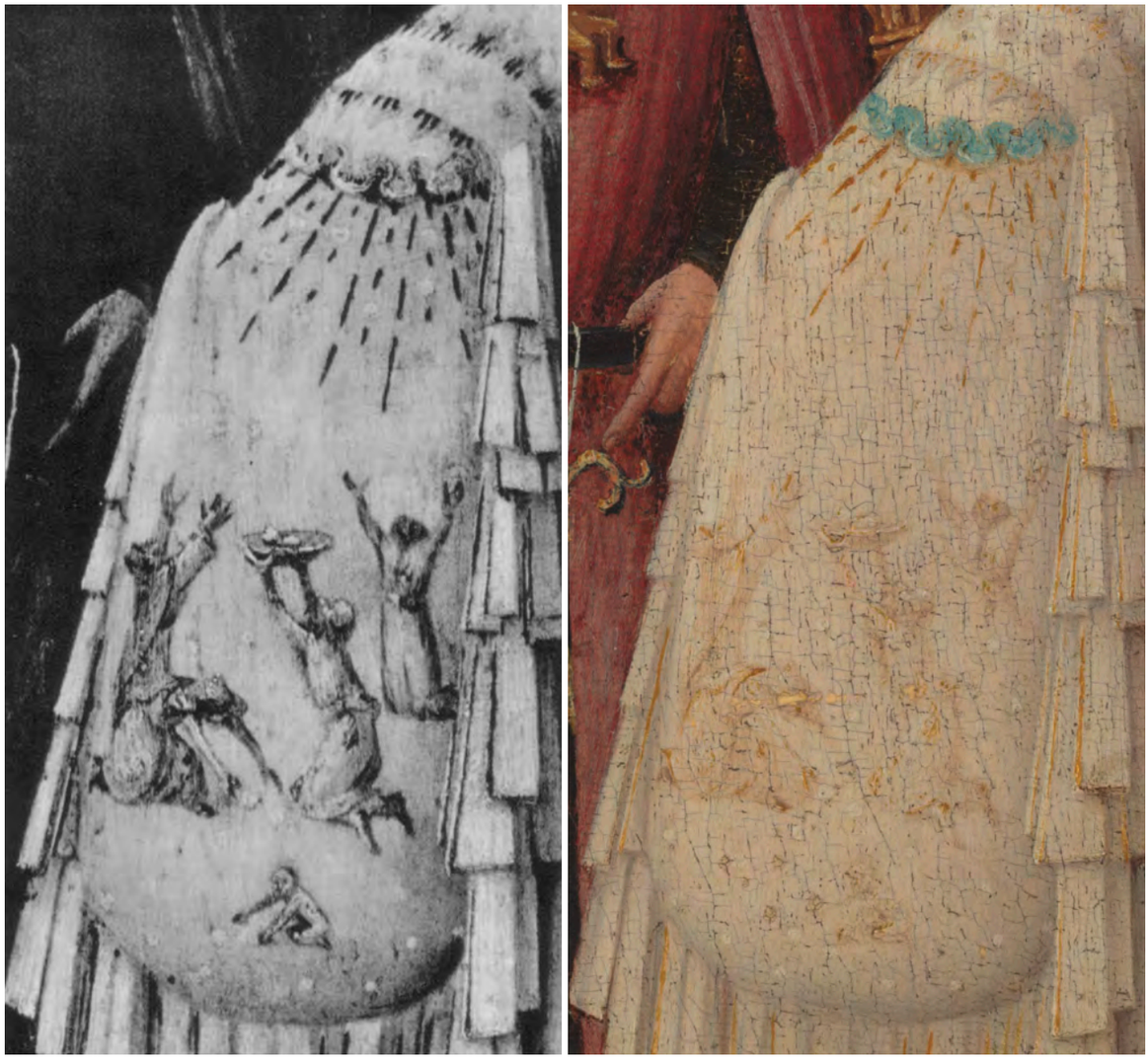
25.3–4



25



25.1–2 The second king: IRR and VIS



25.3–4 Sleeve of the black king: detail from Combe 1946 (pl. 4) and VIS (2012, before restoration)

and heavily retouched elements include the sky, the figure of Joseph and the kneeling king.[2] This earlier retouching was partially removed during the 2014–15 restoration. The composition of the Three Kings and the Virgin and Child is in keeping with a tradition in scenes of this kind dating back to the 1420s. This design seems to have been in circulation especially as a model for book illuminators. Two similar miniatures were painted by the Master of Catherine of Cleves, who was active in Utrecht between around 1430 and 1450.[3] 25.5
There are clear similarities in terms of structure and colour scheme, but also of details, such as the Christ Child's outstretched arms and the purse of the kneeling king.

COMPARISONS

The distant landscape with the high, slightly curved horizon and the silhouette of the city on the right, the layered structure with stands of trees and the peacefully grazing flock in the middleground are in keeping with what we find in the Bosch core group, but its condition makes the painting hard to read. The basic form of the stable with the thatched roof strongly resembles the tavern in the *Wayfarer* panel in Rotterdam, and the form of the ox is 25.7–8
identical to the animal in that picture. The cattle differ from one another, however, in their 25.11–12
technical execution. The Virgin Mary leans forward slightly. Her head, with its loose hair, lowered eyes, narrow mouth and sharp nose resembles that of the female figures in the central panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, and the Virgins beneath the cross in Brussels 10.8–9
and the *Adoration* in New York. The head of the black king, shown in profile, also appears almost identically in the central panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. With his striking and 9.2–3
very stylish white costume, he is closely related to the equivalent figure in the Prado *Adoration*. This is also the case in several copies and imitations of that triptych, in which this 26C, 26.2, 26.3
king wears a piece of embroidery over his sleeve with a scene showing the Dance around the Golden Calf (Exodus 32). The design, as noted, shows the Shower of Manna (Exodus 16). Both motifs were chosen as Old Testament prefigurations of the life of Christ. It was during the Dance around the Golden Calf that Moses received the Tablets of the Law. The Gathering of the Manna was interpreted as a direct allusion to the Salvation: the shower of food from the sky saved the Israelites as they journeyed from Egypt to the Promised Land, while the coming of Christ saved humanity from original sin. The Gathering of the Manna was



25.5 Master of Catherine of Cleves, *Adoration of the Magi* in a Book of Hours, completed 1438. Museum Meermanno, The Hague, MS 10 E 1, fol. 77v



25.6 [CAT 25]

also seen as a prefiguration of the Eucharist, which obviously alludes to Christ's redemption of humankind.

The figures were underdrawn in detail with hatching and outlines executed in several different stages and using different brushes and underdrawing materials. The phased underdrawing is readily comparable with the preparatory drawings found in other paintings.[4] It was followed strikingly closely however in the painted layers, which is not usual for works belonging to the Bosch core group. The layered structure is partially similar, but the consistency of the paint is coarser locally.[5] The abundant use of oil gilding is striking, with the colour of the mordant varying from yellowish to reddish-brown.

The illogical spatial effect – that of the architecture in particular – stands out here. The impression of depth and the perspective treatment recall the structure of the central panel of the *Job Triptych* in Bruges (cat. 23). Here too, sections of wall are used as *repoussoir*, and a theatrical effect is created by the tall section of wall in the immediate foreground running up alongside the principal action. The grouping of the Three Wise Men seems to be based
25.9–10 on that in the New York *Adoration*, unless both derive from the same composition sketch. The oldest king kneels in the foreground and has placed his crown on the ground respectfully. The black king stands behind him and is shown in profile, while the king next to him is presented face on; he is the only figure who looks out of the painting and makes eye contact with the beholder.

Since the panel was auctioned in 1914, it has been viewed by virtually all authors as an early work, if not Bosch's earliest. This changed with Peter Klein's dendrochronological dating in 1987.[6] The most recent growth ring dates from 1482, suggesting that the panel cannot have been painted before 1493, and more likely from 1495.[7] Insofar as the painting has still been viewed as autograph since Klein's findings, it has been seen as a late work. Others have argued that it must be an archaizing painting from Bosch's workshop, while some reject the work completely.[8] Based on the considerations and comparisons set out above, we place the painting in Bosch's workshop in the period 1495–1520.



25.7–8 *Adoration* (Philadelphia) [CAT 25] and *Wayfarer* [CAT 19A]



25.9–10 Kings: Philadelphia [CAT 25] and New York [CAT 10]



25.11–12 *Adoration* (Philadelphia) [CAT 25] and *Wayfarer* [CAT 19A]

1 Tolnay 1937, pl. 11, and Combe 1946, 75, pl. 4 include a detailed photograph (enhanced?) in which the scene is clearly legible.

2 The early Netherlandish paintings in the Johnson Collection, including the celebrated *Crucifixion* panels by Rogier van der Weyden, suffered badly from intrusive restoration by David Rosen. The Van der Weyden panels, like the *Adoration of the Magi*, were restored by Rosen in 1941; see Tucker 1997.

3 Buck 2001, 61–67 no. 1; Dückers and Priem 2009, 156–58 (Rob Dückers), 188–90 (Anne S. Korteweg), 370–71 (Eberhard König).

4 See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 25, RR 57–58.

5 See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 25, RR 57–58.

6 Report by Peter Klein, Hamburg, 4 March 1987; letter 13 August 1987; Klein 2001, 126.

7 In the recent literature: Vermet 2001, 88 (1493, probably from 1499 onwards); Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 38 (1518 or later); Silver 2006, 152–53, 155, 300 (after 1493/1499); Elsig 2004, 29–31, 41–42, 225 (Van Aken workshop, c. 1500, Hieronymus?); De Vrij 2012, 203–04, 246, 506–07 (after 1490, Bosch workshop).

8 Marijnissen 1987, Fischer 2009, Koreny 2012 and Fischer 2013 do not include the *Adoration* in Bosch's oeuvre at all. Elsig 2004, 29–31, 41–42, 225 and De Vrij 2012, 506–07 no. D.2 place it in Bosch's workshop. Silver (2006, 155) questions the attribution to Hieronymus Bosch.

26

Fragments of an Adoration of the Magi Triptych

A *Two Shepherds* B *Retinue of the Magi*
C *Adoration of the Magi*

Follower of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1515–35

Analysis
The two fragments of the wings of a triptych in Philadelphia were attributed to Hieronymus Bosch in the early twentieth century. It was subsequently suggested that an *Adoration of the Magi*, which reappeared not long ago, was the ensemble's central panel. The fragments were recently published again as the work of Hieronymus Bosch. The two fragments and the *Adoration* could have belonged together. These pieces, like a triptych owned by the National Trust in the United Kingdom and a version in Anderlecht, were painted by followers of Hieronymus Bosch. One of them might have been Gillis Panhedel, also called Gielis vanden Bossche, from Brussels, who also painted a pair of extra panels in 1521–23 for the altarpiece of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch, to which Hieronymus Bosch had previously added wings.

26A–B Two Shepherds; Retinue of the Magi

Oil on oak panel, 26A: 36.5 × 22.8 cm; 26B: 36.5 × 21.8 cm
Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1275 and 1276

BRCP examination and documentation data: Philadelphia, 18–19 April 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 26A–B, RR 59–62; //Boschproject.org no. 26A–B.

Condition
The *Two Shepherds* and the *Retinue of the Magi* panels are fragments of larger compositions, presumably the wings of a triptych. The panels were thinned to a thickness of about 1–2 and about 3 mm, respectively, and have subsequently been glued into an oak tray and laminated with plywood. In the bottom left of the *Retinue of the Magi* an old fracture extends about 11.8 cm from the panel edge. The X-radiograph shows a crack over the entire length of the auxiliary support, which is not present in the original panel. The paint and ground are adhered well. Losses are restored and the paint is somewhat abraded overall. Despite the uneven varnish the surfaces are reasonably legible.

Provenance
Purchased in 1915 by John G. Johnson from Julius Böhler art dealers, Munich; bequeathed in 1917 to the City of Philadelphia; since then in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 26A–B, RR 59–62; Silver 2015, 1–19; Fischer 2013, 262–63; Koreny 2012, 274; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 112; cat. Philadelphia 1994, 35; Unverfehrt 1980, 102–10, 121, 244; cat. Philadelphia 1972, 8–9; Tolnay 1965, I, 96–97; II, 380; Tolnay 1963, 20–28; exhib. cat. Worcester and Philadelphia 1939, 32–33 nos. 37–38; Friedländer 1921, 79, 192.

26C Adoration of the Magi

Oil on oak panel, 70.8 × 55.6 cm
Private collection, Paris

BRCP examination and documentation data: 's-Hertogenbosch, 23 October 2013; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 26C, RR 109–110; //Boschproject.org no. 26C.

Condition
The painting has retained its dimensions. Probably original tool marks are visible on the panel reverse, which was at some point coated with a white ground and subsequently painted black. Micro-organisms damaged the wood and a vertical reinforcing bar was partly inserted into the panel reverse, covering the entire join. At the join, just above the opening in the roof, a possible dowel caused a slim, rectangular crack. Cracks were also noted on the left side of the painting at both top and bottom. Adhesion of ground and paint is good. The surface is abraded and in poor condition, for instance at the barely visible ox and ass (?) in the architectural space behind the fire. There are numerous discoloured retouchings and a yellowed, damaged varnish.

Provenance[1]
Before 1850 Johann Baptist Ciolina-Zanoli collection, Cologne; before 1859 J.P. Weyer art dealers, Cologne; auction Cologne, Heberle-Lempertz, 25 August 1862, no. 219 (as Jan van Eyck, described by W.J.H. Weale as Jérôme Agnen alias Bosch); Moreau Wolsey art dealers; auction Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 23–24 March 1869, no. 12 (as Gérome Bosch); Dronsart collection; auction Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 2 February 1874, no. 41 (as Jérôme Bosch); Marquis Biron de la Brade collection; before 1929 to 1945–48 Hans Adolf Wendland art dealers, Berlin/Paris/Lugano/Rome, Alfred Weinberger collection, Paris, and Kleinberger Galleries, Paris/New York/London (loaned to Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA, February–March 1939, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, March–April 1939); purchased in 1945–48 from Weinberger by Gabriel Fodor; 1973 Marianne Texier-Fodor; 2007 purchased by the present owner.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 26C, RR 109–110; Silver 2015; Unverfehrt 1980, 260; exhib. cat. Worcester and Philadelphia 1939, 32–33 no. 36.

ATTRIBUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

The connoisseur and art historian Max J. Friedländer gave a lecture in Berlin in autumn 1914, in which he referred to 'two small altarpiece wings' by Hieronymus Bosch, 'at a Munich art dealer, with princely horsemen on one side and shepherds on the other, which belong to a so far unidentified Adoration'.[2] The American lawyer and collector John G. Johnson (1841–1917) purchased the two little panels in 1915, having consulted the authoritative art historian Bernard Berenson regarding the 'extremely fine examples of Hieronymus Bosch he wished to acquire from the art dealer Böhler in Munich'. Johnson bequeathed his art collection, together with these panels and several other works attributed to Bosch at that time, to the City of Philadelphia in 1917.[3] Some fifteen years after attributing the two fragments to Bosch, Friedländer saw an *Adoration of the Magi* on the art market that he



26A



26B



26C



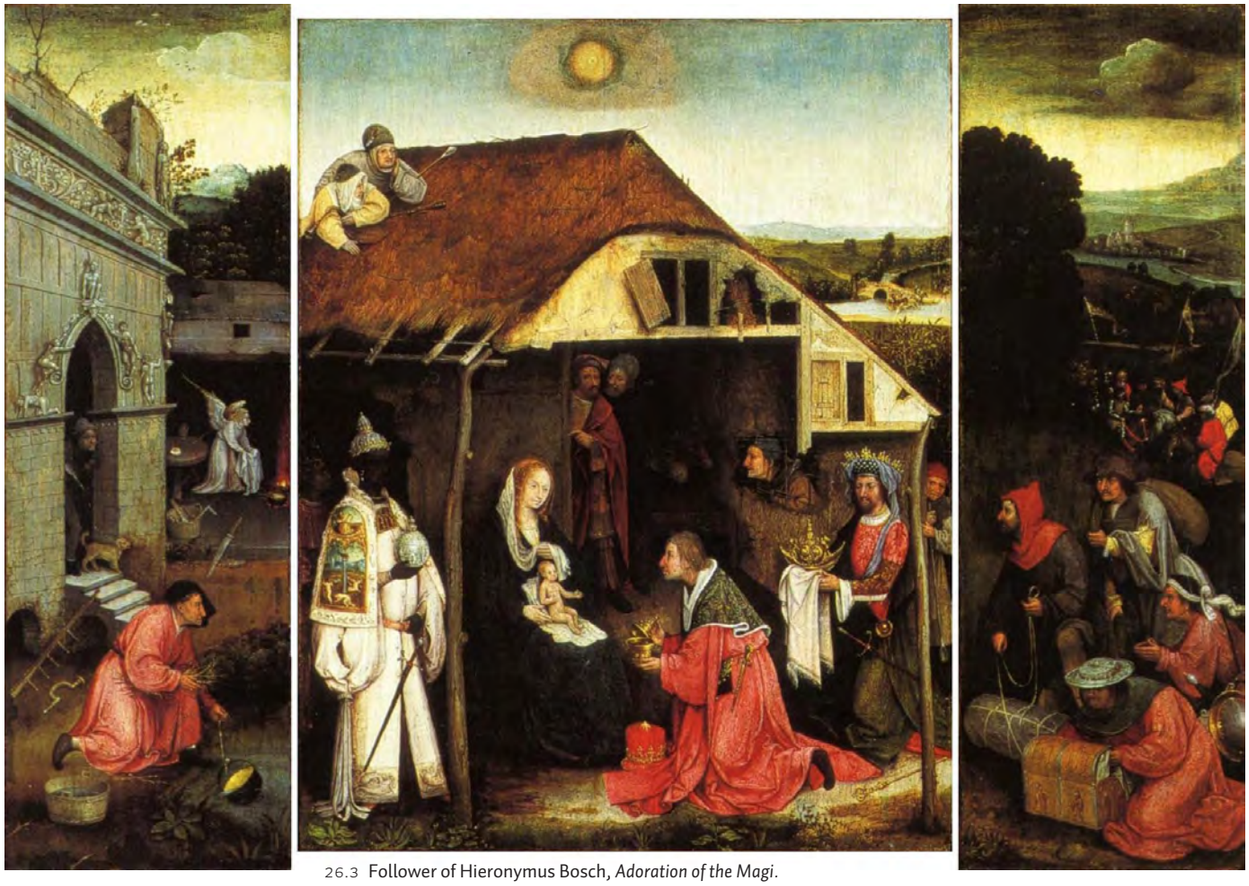
26.1 Reconstruction of the triptych in the exhibition catalogue Worcester and Philadelphia 1939

recognized as the central panel of a dismantled triptych, of which the *Two Shepherds* and the *Retinue of the Magi* in Philadelphia were fragments. He subsequently confirmed in a note 26A–B
'with certainty that the wings of the Johnson Collection, which I have not seen for many years, are by JEROME BOSCH'. Friedländer also included them in the fifth volume of *Die altniederländische Malerei*, in which he describes them as 'probably original'.[4] The three panels were exhibited together in 1939 with a reconstruction of the triptych that was attributed 26.1
on Friedländer's authority and without any qualification to Hieronymus Bosch.[5] Shortly afterwards, the central panel disappeared into private ownership and has barely been mentioned in the Bosch literature since.[6] It was recently rediscovered in a private collection in Paris, and the BRCP has been able to examine it. The two fragments in Philadelphia, 26C
by contrast, have been regularly published, and variously considered as imitations, works from the circle of, or autograph works by Bosch. They were recently published as autograph by Larry Silver, as Bosch's workshop after 1516 or a copy by Marc Rudolf de Vrij, and as the product of the workshop or a former workshop assistant by Stefan Fischer.[7] Ludwig von Baldass considered them to be early works by Bosch, while Charles de Tolnay felt they were probably copies.[8]

The starting point for the 1939 reconstruction was a much later (after 1550) triptych with the *Adoration of the Magi*, then in a Spanish collection and now owned by the Noordbrabants Museum in 's-Hertogenbosch.[9] The fragments in Philadelphia undoubtedly come 26.2
from wings like those of that triptych. The central panel shows numerous similarities to the rediscovered panel in Paris, and to a panel cropped on all four sides in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne.[10] The central panel of the triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch shows the *Adoration of the Magi* in a dilapidated Renaissance-style building. The landscape view in the background is continued in the two wings. The right wing shows the retinue of the Magi: a group of horsemen with three pennants, referring to the Three Wise Men. The building continues into the left wing, where we find the ox and the ass and several shepherds. Two shepherds in the foreground make their way towards the scene in the central panel. The shepherds as well as the Three Wise Men and their retinue were guided to the new-born Christ by the star in the sky, which glitters in the central panel and can be made out through a hole in the ceiling. The underdrawing of the triptych and the results of the dendrochronological analysis show that this is a replica after an example that ultimately derived from the work of Hieronymus Bosch. Stylistic elements too suggest that the work was done somewhat later in the sixteenth century. The most striking feature is the surbased arch, flanked with columns, which dominates the composition. The white stone structure is decorated with Renaissance ornaments, as are the capitals and the architrave, the arcade, which continues into the left wing, and the architrave beam in the building there. The two other versions of this central panel largely match this configuration with one exception: Christ's stepfather Joseph sits in a room further back in the building drying washing in front of a fireplace. The Cologne and Paris versions incorporate a stable behind the hearth – i.e. in the far left of the room – with the ox and the ass next to a sarcophagus-shaped trough. This detail is absent in the 's-Hertogenbosch triptych, in which the ox and the ass are shown in the left wing. The two animals also appear in the left wing in the fragment with the shepherds in Philadelphia. This means that the sharply reduced *Adoration* in Cologne cannot possibly have formed a triptych with the little panels in Philadelphia, but that is less clear with regard to the Paris version. The ox and the ass were left in reserve from the dark background but probably never painted, unlike the trough, which is depicted. The concept of the composition was thus changed during the painting process: the ox and the ass were eliminated from the central panel and moved to the left wing,[11] where they were indeed not prepared, but painted over the already completed background. This suggests that the central panel was painted after an existing model, and that it was subsequently expanded into a triptych by another painter. This ensemble is likely to have provided the example for the considerably later triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch. Support for this idea is provided by the various pentimenti in the fragments, including the ox and the ass, which were adopted in the later triptych. As Tolnay noted as early as 1937, the dog in the shepherds panel in



26.2 Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *Adoration of the Magi ('Moonen Triptych')*, after 1550. Het Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch



26.3 Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *Adoration of the Magi*. Maison d'Erasme/Erasmushuis, Anderlecht



26.4–6 Sleeve of the black king: ’s-Hertogenbosch [FIG 26.2] and Paris [CAT 26C]; column, *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4B]



26.7–8 Anderlecht [FIG 26.3] and underdrawing *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4B]



26.9–13 Prado [CAT 9B], Anderlecht [FIG 26.3], 's-Hertogenbosch [FIG 26.2], Paris [CAT 26C], Philadelphia [CAT 25]

Philadelphia was also laid down over the already-painted legs of the men and was later carefully followed in the triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch. The horses in the other fragment in Philadelphia were set down in modified form over the underdrawing and a preliminary painted version, and this adjusted configuration was likewise imitated precisely in the 's-Hertogenbosch right wing. There are several differences in the Paris panel too between the underdrawing and the painted image;[12] once again, it was the latter that was followed in the central panel of the triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch.[13] In other words, the two fragments in Philadelphia and the panel in Paris once belonged to the same triptych. These works all contain creative elements that recur as slavish copies in the 's-Hertogenbosch painting. It is also plain that the Philadelphia fragments and Paris panel are not by the same hand, in terms of either the preparatory underdrawing or the actual painting.

A striking detail in the Adoration scene is the elaborately embroidered panel over the black king's right sleeve. The effect is that of a Gothic window surrounded by an outline decorated with curled thistle-leaves: the lower half shows the Dance around the Golden Calf, while in the tondo above we see the horned Moses kneeling with the Tablets of the Law. The Dance around the Golden Calf was viewed as an Old Testament typology of the Adoration of the Christ Child by the Three Wise Men – a negative, superstitious adoration contrasting with the genuine act of homage. It is a simplified version of the same prefiguration that Bosch painted as a carved stone relief in the central panel of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon (cat. 4). Attention is paid there and also in the *Adoration of the Magi* to the position of the idol: the face of the Golden Calf is averted from the Virgin Mary and the infant Christ. The black king in the Philadelphia *Adoration* from Bosch's workshop (cat. 25) – who differs slightly, but is also dressed very stylishly and conspicuously in white – also belongs to this series. 26.4 26.7–8 26.9–13

A more or less identical black king is found in another triptych by a follower of Hieronymus Bosch, which was probably painted for the parish church in Anderlecht. The stable in the central panel was inspired by the Prado *Adoration* (cat. 9), but the figures of the Virgin and Child and the Three Kings are virtually identical to those in the panels in Paris 26.3

and Cologne and the triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch. The inside of the wings is, however, very different: the large building that closes off the left wing appears as a variation in the architecture in the equivalent position in the triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch and the wing fragment in Philadelphia. The exteriors of the wings in Anderlecht are strongly reminiscent of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice and the *Job Triptych* in Bruges (cat. 2, 23). A most noteworthy feature is the representation of the Dance around the Golden Calf on the sleeve shield of the black king in Anderlecht: the image of the idol is not shown here, as it is in the other two versions and in Lisbon, on a tall mound around which the people dance, but on a high column. This is the form given to the scene, oddly enough, in the underdrawing of the *Saint Anthony Triptych* (cat. 4). This means that the painter of the Anderlecht triptych had access to a model in which the Dance around the Golden Calf was shown in the form that Hieronymus Bosch used in a preparatory underdrawing before painting it differently, and also to a *ricordo* (a drawn or painted copy) of the *Adoration* now in the Prado. Since the Prado Epiphany was originally a memorial painting for Peeter Scheyfve and Agnes de Gramme, it might also have been publicly accessible in an Antwerp church. This would likewise help explain why this widely admired Adoration scene by Bosch was copied so frequently, primarily in Antwerp.[14]

26.14–15

One more triptych ought to be mentioned in this comparison – the *Adoration of the Magi* owned by the National Trust and kept at Upton House, Warwickshire. The central panel is a copy of the Prado *Adoration*, whereas the wings have elements in common with both the triptych in Anderlecht and the one in 's-Hertogenbosch. The figure of Joseph filling a washing tub with water in the left wing in Anderlecht is a somewhat weaker reflection of the one in Upton House. The annexe with the open arcade behind Joseph in the left wing in Warwickshire is also found in the *Two Shepherds* fragment in Philadelphia and in the much later triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch. The left wing in Anderlecht initially copied the architecture in the Upton House wing, but was later overpainted to give it a large fireplace and, in a third and final stage, a façade with a pronounced perspective effect.[15] This building was adopted in turn in the triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch. The right wing in Upton House shows the retinue of the Three Kings; this is arranged slightly differently, but is otherwise clearly related once again to the triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch and the right-wing fragment in Philadelphia. At the same time, the figure shown in the foreground bending over to lift a large chest reappears in Anderlecht, where the group of horsemen has been pushed further into the background. The tondo with the *Ecce Homo* on the closed wings of the Upton House triptych, lastly, cannot be viewed in isolation from the Escorial *Crowning with Thorns* (cat. 27), while the grisaille-like painting around it recalls the reverses of the *Flood Panels* in Rotterdam (cat. 22).



Taken together, these similarities and connections mean that the Adoration scenes discussed here are interconnected and that all are linked in one way or another to Bosch's legacy. At the same time, the Renaissance elements that feature in all these works make it unlikely that they were painted any earlier than 1515–20. According to dendrochronological analysis, the Paris panel could have been painted from 1501 onwards and more likely from 1503. It was not possible to date the Philadelphia fragments. The triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch could not have been painted before 1550. The Upton House triptych has also been dendrochronologically analysed; the earliest it could have been painted is 1512 and more likely some time from 1514 onwards.[16] It has not yet been possible to analyse the triptych in Anderlecht, where the work is part of the historic inventory of St Peter's Church. It might have been made by the master painter Gielis vanden Bossche, who painted a work on panel for the churchwardens of St Peter's in 1528–29 to serve as a memorial.[17] Vanden Bossche has been identified as the Gillis Panhedel who was commissioned in 1521–22 to paint two wings for the altarpiece made by Adriaen van Wesel for the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch. These were added to the ensemble, which had already been fitted with shutters painted by Hieronymus Bosch (see cat. 5–6). Gielis vanden Bossche's work was approved and paid for in 1522–23. When the altarpiece was cleaned a quarter of a century later, explicit reference was still made to the shutters painted by Gielis vanden

Bossche, residing in Brussels ('geschildert by gielis vanden Bossche tot Bruessel wonende'). Gielis was married to Yda – daughter of the wealthy 's-Hertogenbosch citizen Hendrik Martenszoen de Greve. The latter's brother, Marten de Greve, was a sworn member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady and was directly involved in the commission awarded to Gielis, his niece's husband. The same Marten sold a piece of property on the couple's behalf in 1523, on the occasion of which Gielis was identified as 'Egidius de Panhedel alias de Buscoducis'. He must have been born around 1490 and he lived in Brussels. He moved to Bruges in 1505 with his father Aert Panhedel alias Vanden Bossche, but later returned to Brussels.[18] The direct connection between the triptych in Anderlecht and the work of Hieronymus Bosch together with the aforementioned relationships of the painter Gielis vanden Bossche make it likely that the triptych should be attributed to him. The painting appears to be based in part on the triptych in Upton House, which displays the highest quality of the works in this group of Adoration triptychs. The Philadelphia fragments were added to the Paris central panel in the course of production and the resulting triptych served as the model for the significantly later triptych in 's-Hertogenbosch. Other versions and wings clearly existed, and it has not proved possible yet to determine a more precise order of production. The paintings were perhaps still produced in part in Hieronymus Bosch's workshop following his death in 1516, partly in the Brussels workshop of Aert and Gillis Panhedel alias Vanden Bossche, and possibly even in Antwerp at a later stage for the open market. The example for the Golden Calf placed on a tall column must, at any rate, have originated in Bosch's workshop.

26.14–15 *Adoration of the Magi Triptych*.
National Trust, Upton House, Warwickshire



[1] With thanks to Laurent Texier, Paris.

[2] Lecture to the Kunstgeschichtliches Gesellschaft, Berlin, 9 October 1914. The note and the comments quoted below can be found among the documentation at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. 1275–76.

[3] Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. 352 (*Ecce Homo*), 353 (*Christ Crowned with Thorns*), 353 (*Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*), 354 (*Adoration of the Magi*), 386 (*Last Judgement*), 408 (*Christ at the Whipping Post and Carrying the Cross*), 1321 (*Adoration of the Magi*; see cat. 25), 2055 (*Descent into Limbo*).

[4] Friedländer 1927, 144 no. 70.

[5] Exhib. cat. Worcester and Philadelphia 1939, 32–33 nos. 37–38.

[6] Unverfehrt 1980, 260 no. 43a.

[7] Silver 2006, 180–84; Silver 2015, 12–13; De Vrij 2012, 124, 513–14 no. D 5, 1B; Fischer 2013, 262–63 no. 23.

[8] Tolnay 1937, 102 no. 40; Von Baldass 1943, 246; Von Baldass 1959, 51; Tolnay 1984 (1965), 380 no. 40.

[9] Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *Adoration of the Magi Triptych*. Oil on oak panel, 76 × 126 cm (open), Het Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch, no. 15257. See also Koldeweij 1990a, 244–45 no. 148.

[10] Oil on panel, 66 × 44.2 cm, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, WRM 0475. Unverfehrt 1980, 102–11.

[11] Owing to increased transparency of the paint layer, or as a result of abrasion or paint loss caused by overcleaning, the eliminated ox and donkey began to re-emerge, thus 'unwittingly' completing the Adoration iconography of the central panel after it had been separated from its wings.

[12] The head of the king standing on the right in particular was set out differently in the underdrawing, as was the jewel hanging around his neck; the kneeling king has a beard in the underdrawing that was omitted in the painted version. See concise technical report BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 26C, RR 109–10. These were important arguments to Larry Silver for attributing the panel to Hieronymus Bosch himself. Silver 2015, 9–10.

[13] The Cologne *Adoration* must have been based on the same prototype as the Paris painting.

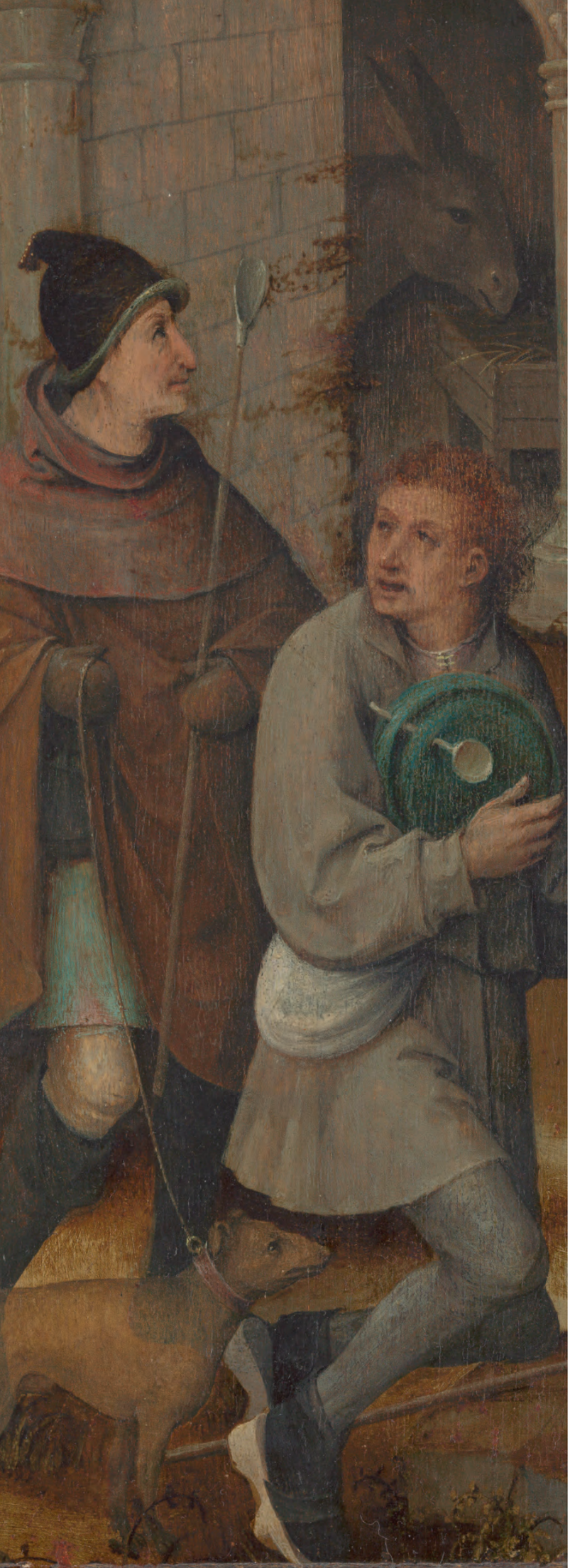
[14] Unverfehrt 1980, 82–85, 257–58 no. 37, 260–61 nos. 42–43b; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 111–12.

[15] Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 112.

[16] Ian Tyers, Project Report 571D, March 2012, Arcus Dendrochronology Laboratory, University of Sheffield. The most recent growth ring measured was 1498, but Tyers observed at least three rings that do not run through to the end, giving a most recent ring of 1501. According to our formula, this gives 1501 + 9 + 2 = 1512 as the earliest possible year and 1514 as the more likely one as of which the triptych could have been painted.

[17] Roobaert 2011, 134. The previously unpublished reference is as follows: 1528–29 – the executors of Jan de Merck, priest at Anderlecht, deceased in May 1528, paid the joiner Merck de Bruyne for the woodwork for the panel painting to be placed by the priest's tomb; another payment relates to Master Gielis vanden Bossche, who painted the panel and gilded the edges and foot of the panel (4 Rhenish florins). A locksmith was paid for supplying the fittings for a curtain to be hung in front of the painting. Archives générales du Royaume/ Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels, Kerkelijke archieven van Brabant, 37/A–. Thanks to Edmond Roobaert for this note (email 22 May 2015).

[18] Koldeweij 2001c, 70–80; Koldeweij 2003 (2002), 458–61; Koldeweij 2014, 420. For the attribution issues regarding Aert vanden Bossche alias Panhedel, see Bücken and Steyaert 2013, 246–75.



27 *The Crowning with Thorns*

Follower of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1530–40

Oil on oak panel, 157.5 × 194.8 cm
Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial/Patrimonio Nacional, 10014743

BRCP examination and documentation data:
El Escorial, 26–29 October 2015; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 27, RR 157–158; //Boschproject.org no. 27.

Condition
The format of the panel seems original. A small piece is missing at the lower right and there are four old cracks. Five horizontal strips have been planed down on the back and small blocks of wood glued to the joins. The paint surface is well preserved, and previously restored damage is largely confined to the joins and the edges. Ageing of the paint layer has caused the ground and underdrawing locally to show through. The legibility of the original paint layer is excellent, despite locally disruptive retouching.

Provenance
Recorded in 1593 in a list of works of art transferred to the Escorial on the order of Philip II of Spain.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 27, RR 157–158; Koreny 2012, 35, 138, 140 n. 59, 180; Silver 2006, 298, 332–34; Vandenbroeck 2002, 128–30, 317–18; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 44–57; Marijnissen 1987, 360; exhib. cat. Bruges 1958, 41–42; Combe 1957, 45, 92; Davies 1953, 18–21; Von Baldass 1943, 249; Escherig 1940, 188–90; Tolnay 1937, 24, 100; Friedländer 1927, 93, 146; Lafond 1914, 1; Philips 1910, 321–27; Fry 1903, 86–93; Justi 1889, 125.

Analysis
The *Crowning with Thorns* was transferred to the Escorial in 1593 on the order of King Philip II of Spain. The panel was attributed at that point to Hieronymus Bosch. Dendrochronological analysis has shown, however, that it cannot have been painted before 1527 and is more likely to have been produced from 1529 onwards. This rules out the possibility that it is an autograph work by Bosch, although the composition does ultimately derive from his *Crowning with Thorns* in London, as do those of several other imitations painted in Antwerp between 1530 and 1550. The panel in the Escorial can be situated at the beginning of that group, which also includes the *Passion Triptych* in Valencia (cat. 28), the imitation signature on which confirms that the invention of this type of Crowning with Thorns was associated with Bosch from an early date.

CROWNED KING

The Crowning with Thorns is shown in a tondo with a gold, archaizing ground and surrounded by darkness. One of the guards grasps Christ with his armoured left hand, while another uses a stick to force the crown of thorns onto his head. Christ seems unmoved; he gazes slightly pityingly and resignedly out of the picture. A third guard stands in the right background with a *lituus*, the bronze signalling horn. Two other men on the left of the tondo look over Christ's shoulder to see his coronation as 'King of the Jews'. The foremost figure, wearing a red cloak and headdress, is identified by the emblem of office he holds in his right hand; the crystal sphere on the sceptre contains an image of the horned Moses with the Tablets of the Law. He must therefore be Caiaphas, the high priest who, a little earlier, had declared that 'it would be good if one man died for the people'.[1] The man standing next to Caiaphas in the luxurious green cloak watches somewhat aloofly as the crown of thorns is pressed onto Christ's head. This will be Pontius Pilate, the Roman prefect, who had Christ flogged in order to satisfy the mob. When he realized this was not going to be enough, he declared: 'You take him and crucify him. As for me, I find no basis for a charge against him.'[2] Christ, wrapped in a white robe, sits on a white stone bench; the other figures stand around him. It is a shallow space – the guards and their attributes cast shadows on the gold ground. The torturer with the stick has stuck an arrow through the brim of his hat, and he wears a conspicuous gold-coloured badge with a black double-headed eagle on his shoulder, with a few little flowers inserted behind it. The heart-shaped shield on the eagle has a gold ground with black crossbar, which is seemingly intended as a variation on the Austrian coat of arms – a red field with a white bar – and might thus be a critical reference to Habsburg rule.[3] Angels battle with evil in the darkness around the tondo. Two angels – in the upper right and lower left corners – are armed with croziers; two of their comrades in the other corners lay about the demons with a sword.

The dendrochronological dating of the panel shows that it could have been painted from 1527, and more likely from 1529.[4] This means it might indeed have been produced shortly before the triptych in Valencia, which was probably based on this *Crowning with*



27



27.1

Thorns and was done at the behest of Mencía de Mendoza in the 1530s (cat. 28). The fact that the panel was originally housed in a rabbeted frame also points to a later date.[5] It is therefore not surprising that the technical execution of this *Crowning with Thorns* differs in several respects from works in the core group. Shaded areas were painted by means of hatching and wet paint was surprisingly often worked with fingers and also with incisions, for example in the rendering of hair. In addition, locally highly fluid paint was used, which must have been very rich in medium. The underdrawing is schematic in nature and rather roughly executed in a dry material, which is also not found in works by Bosch or from his immediate circle.[6]

The man identified here as Pontius Pilate has repeatedly and erroneously been seen as a self-portrait of the artist, and hence as Hieronymus Bosch. Jan Mosmans was the first to make this often-repeated but entirely unsubstantiated suggestion in 1947.[7] Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido rejected this in their publication on the *Crowning with Thorns* in 2001. They referred to the marks on the *lituus* held by the guard at the back of the group as 'forged signatures'. Signal horns like this originated in the Roman era, but were still in use in the late Middle Ages.[8] The equivalent instrument in the Valencia copy also has these marks, consisting of a sun and the letter 'H'. It has been suggested based on them that the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial, or its prototype, was originally painted for the silversmiths' guild in 's-Hertogenbosch, but that is highly hypothetical.[9] The entire group of paintings of this subject, of which only the central panel of the Valencia triptych includes the signature *Jheronimus – bosch*, was probably painted in Antwerp in the 1530s.[10] Paul Vandenbroeck believes that the Escorial *Crowning with Thorns* is 'without a doubt' a faithful copy after a Bosch prototype.[11]

King Philip II had the panel, mounted at the time in a gilded and marbled frame, transferred to the Escorial monastery in 1593. It was already described at that time as 'de Hierónimo Bosco'.[12] Some authors consider it to be an early work, while others place it in the middle of Bosch's career; one believes it to be an especially late work. It was only in the wake of the dendrochronological dating of the panel that a more critical look was taken at the *Crowning with Thorns* and it was acknowledged that the style, manner of painting and scale of the work all differ markedly from Bosch's autograph oeuvre.[13]

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1 John 18:14.

2 John 19:1–6. Baldass (1943, 249) goes no further than to state that this is a representative of worldly power as opposed to the religious authority embodied by the man with the Moses sceptre.

3 Escherig 1940 took it as the basis for a political interpretation.

4 Klein 2001, 128; Koreny 2012, 140 n. 59.

5 Rabbeted frames replaced engaged frames as the standard method of framing in the second half of the sixteenth century. The earliest known example of a rabbeted frame (the central panel of Van Orley's *Last Judgement* in Antwerp) dates from 1518 to 1525; see Verougstraete 2015, 68. We are grateful to Hélène Verougstraete for communicating her findings by email (6 February 2015) before her book was published. The second quarter of the sixteenth century was a period of transition during which both methods were used side by side.

6 See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 27, RR 157–58. See also Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 114, 116.

7 Mosmans 1947, 37–43; Mosmans 1950 unpaginated; repeated by Van Dijck 2001a, 77–78; Vandenbroeck 2002, 129; withdrawn by Van Dijck 2010, 122.

8 Dückers and Priem 2009, 142–43 no. 3b (Jos Koldeweij): bronze signal horn, 15th century, Museum Valkhof, Nijmegen.

9 Koldeweij 1995; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 114.

10 Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido (2001, 114–15) reconstructed how the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial was derived by copyists from the *Crowning with Thorns* in London.

11 Vandenbroeck 2002, 129.

12 Vandenbroeck 2001a, 53; Checa 2013, 252, 268 no. 151, 317. Checa Cremades, Mancini and Vázquez Dueñas 2013, 401.

13 Vermet 2001, 88; Klein 2001, 128.

28 *The Arrest of Christ, Crowning with Thorns and Flagellation*

Follower of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1530–40 (central panel) and c. 1540–50 (wings)

Oil on oak panel, left wing 152.2 × 85.6 cm; right wing 152.4 × 84.5 cm; central panel 139.7 × 170.2 cm
Signed central panel, bottom left: *Jheronimus · bosch*; on the sleeve of the guard at the front: SPQR; on the frame of the central panel: O BONE IESV PER CORONA[M] HANC SPINEA. QUE TVVM MVLTIS PVNCTVRIS/ VERTICEM DIVVLNERAVIT. PERQVE TAM TVRGIDAM EV…[?]/ PERCVSSIONIBVS FACIE. LACRIMIS ET PLAGIS LIVIDAM. AC EFFVSO/ SANGVINE SPVTISQVE FEDATAM. SERVA NOS INETERNVM.[1]
Museu de Belles Arts de València, 264–66

BRCP examination and documentation data: Valencia, 13–17 May 2013; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 28, RR 91–96; //Boschproject.org no. 28.

Condition
The wings are still housed in their original engaged frames, but the central panel is rigidly mounted in a rabbeted frame. The form of the tondo is cut off by the panel's top and bottom edges, but the panel was not necessarily cropped, as the scenes in the corners fit very well. On the reverses, non-original dovetail buttons were applied onto the joins, damaging the marbling on the wings. Aside from some minor old cracks, the central panel appears stable. On the wings however, panel shrinkage has resulted in extensive areas of raised paint and losses, predominantly on the marbled sides. The paint surface of the open triptych appears only slightly abraded overall, although the green glaze on the robe of the tormentor in the right wing is damaged. Despite some matte areas and discoloured old varnish residues, the legibility of the open triptych is reasonably good.

Provenance
Convento de Santo Domingo de Valencia, memorial chapel of Mencía de Mendoza; confiscated by the authorities during the Desamortización (1835–37) and placed in the Museu de Belles Arts.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 28, RR 91–96; Ineba 2003, 58–63; Klein 2003b, 5; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 44–57; Unverfehrt 1980, 127–30, 254–55; exhib. cat. Bruges 1958, 43–46; Friedländer 1927, 146 no. 79; Tramoyeres Blasco 1915; Gossart 1907, 55, 289; Glück 1904, 179; Dollmayr 1898, 292–93; Justi 1889, 127.

Analysis
The *Passion Triptych*, comprising the *Crowning with Thorns* flanked by the *Arrest of Christ* and the *Flagellation*, was recorded in the estate of Mencía de Mendoza, the third wife of Count Henry III of Nassau. The central panel on the one hand and the two wings on the other were installed as altarpieces in her memorial chapel in Valencia shortly after her death in 1554. Mencía de Mendoza probably had the *Crowning with Thorns*, which can be dated to the 1530s, expanded to form a triptych in the 1540s. With its remarkably grotesque heads, the painting is one of the group of Bosch imitations painted in Antwerp. The central panel is the only one in this group to include an imitation Hieronymus Bosch signature.



28A

MENCÍA DE MENDOZA

The *Passion Triptych* originated in the collection of Mencía de Mendoza y Fonseca (1508–1554), Marquise of Zenete. She was the third wife of Count Henry III of Nassau (1483–1538), whom she married in 1524. She lived in the Spanish Netherlands in the years 1530–33 and 1535–39 in the castle at Breda, the Nassau Palace in Brussels and the castle at Turnhout. She returned to Spain following Henry's death in 1538 and had her possessions, including an extensive art collection, shipped from the Low Countries. Mencía also instructed her agent in Antwerp, Arnao del Plano, to procure additional works of art for her, including a copy of the *Haywain* (see cat. 20). The inventory of her estate mentions three paintings on canvas by Bosch: an 'Old man and an old woman holding a basket', a 'Tower of Babel' and a 'John the Evangelist holding a chalice'. It is not possible to determine at this remove to what extent these were by followers of Bosch or possibly autograph works.[2]

ICONOGRAPHY

The large triptych with three scenes from the Passion of Christ focuses on the trials Jesus suffered in the lead-up to his death on the cross. The left wing shows the Arrest, the central panel the Crowning with Thorns and the right wing the Flagellation. The sequence of



28B

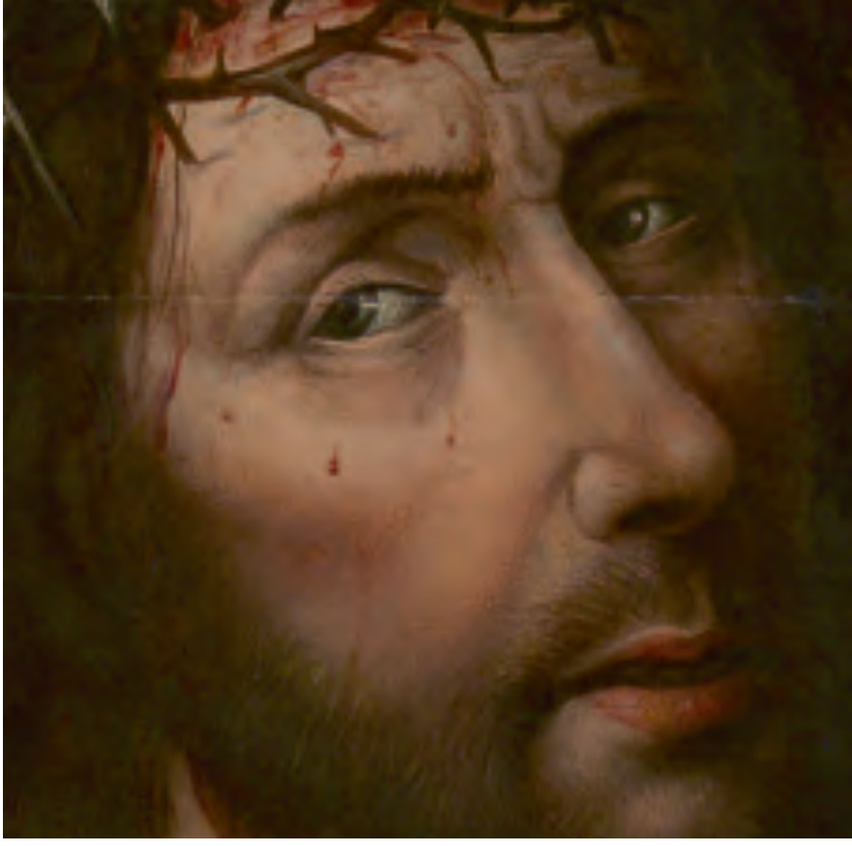


28C

events is clearly described in the New Testament. Christ allowed himself to be arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane. He was then tried by the high priest and taken to the Roman prefect, Pontius Pilate, who considered him to be entirely innocent. However, in order to pacify the mob, Pilate had Christ flogged, following which the soldiers wove a wreath of thorns and 'crowned' him with it. They wrapped a purple cloak around his shoulders, gave him a reed stick to hold, addressed him mockingly as 'King of the Jews', and slapped him in the face.

The triptych does not follow the biblical chronology, as the *Crowning with Thorns* is the central scene. Christ holds the fragile reed stick in his hands like a sceptre, but there is no sign of the purple cloak. The white robe that slips from his shoulders emphasizes his central position among his tormentors. He is surrounded by hostile figures in the wings too. The composition of the central panel – a crowded tondo with an archaizing gold ground surrounded by darkness, in which angels painted in semi-grisaille do battle with evil in the four corners – revolves entirely around Christ as the optical and hence also the devotional centre point. This principle is repeated in the wings, in which the tondo is 'squashed' to form a vertically oriented oval that will fit in the narrower panels. The execution of the wings is weaker than that of the central panel, which is painted more accurately and with greater refinement.[3] The tondo was prepared using incisions in the ground layer, and incisions can also be made out in Christ's beard, possibly made with the end of the paintbrush.

28.2–3

28.1–2 Christ: IRR and VIS [CAT 28B]

We do not find this technique in the wings, which do show signs, by contrast, of dabbing with paint (possibly with a sponge or the artist's fingers), particularly around the edges of the flesh tones. There are clear differences too in the underdrawing of the panels. The underdrawing in the central panel was done using a dry medium, probably charcoal or
28.1–2 black chalk; the modelling was also prepared to a large extent, chiefly by means of parallel hatching. The wings, by contrast, were underdrawn with a relatively small brush in a wet
28.3–4 medium, which was used primarily to set down the outlines.[4]

The differences between the wings and the central panel might be explained by production in stages. The central panel was no doubt painted after the example of the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial (cat. 27) or of the prototype of that painting, of which two other versions exist, one in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid and the other in the museum in Segovia.[5] The group as a whole was probably painted in Antwerp between 1530 and 1550, and ultimately derives from the *Crowning with Thorns* in London (cat. 14).[6] The ground layer on the backs of both wings, decorated with imitation stone, contains chalk (calcium carbonate), which is a strong indication that the panels were painted in Northern Europe, in this case the Low Countries.[7] Of the four Crowning with Thorns paintings, the central panel in Valencia is the only one with a signature (*Jheronimus · bosch*).



28.5 [CAT 28B]

The fact that the tondo seems to be cut off at the top and bottom reflects the fact that this is a one-to-one copy in terms of its dimensions of the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial. The compositions filling the corners fit perfectly, and so the panel in Valencia does not appear to have been cropped (or if so, only slightly).

TRIPTYCH

Canon Joris-Karel Steppe, a professor at Leuven University, identified 'una tabla grande de la Pasion' (a large panel with the Passion), which was left with the merchant Martin Lopez in Antwerp following Mencía de Mendoza's departure from the Netherlands in November 1539, as the central panel of the *Passion Triptych*.[8] The *Crowning with Thorns* had been there since Mencía de Mendoza's first visit to the Low Countries in the years 1530–33.[9] The panel must have been added to in order to form the *Passion Triptych* before being shipped to Spain. As noted already, the quality of the wings differs considerably from that of the central panel.



28.3–4 Christ: VIS and IRR [CAT 28C]

The wings were painted in their engaged frames (the paint slightly overlaps the frame) and were therefore conceived as a triptych at the same time as the current central frame was added.[10] The slightly lower central panel was provided with a wider rabbeted frame with the text of a prayer running around the flat part (see above). The type of frame used for the central panel has generally been dated to the second half of the sixteenth century.[11] The triptych as a whole must, however, have been made in the 1540s, following which it was shipped to Spain. It was located at Mencía de Mendoza's castle at Ayora after her death on 4 January 1554. Her heirs were her daughter Mencía and Luis de Requesens, the future governor of the Netherlands. Requesens had the altarpiece installed in Mencía de Mendoza's memorial chapel, the Capilla de los Reyes in the Dominican abbey in Valencia, as Mencía instructed in her will. She also stated that '[if] there is a need for other small altarpieces for other altars where the aforesaid masses may be read, these may be made, to which end the painted devotional panels I have may be used'.[12] This clearly occurred, as the central panel and the wings, placed alongside one another, were used as separate altarpieces in the niches on the north and south sides.[13] Following the confiscation of monastic property – the 'Desamortización' – under Minister Juan Álvarez Mendizábal in 1835–37, the panels were placed in the Museo Provisional in the former Carmelite abbey, the precursor of what is now the Museu de Belles Arts de València.[14] The imitation stone on the panel backs indicates, as do their dimensions, that the paintings were used as the wings of an altarpiece that could be closed, of which the *Crowning with Thorns* was the central panel. As stated, the wings were painted by a different artist and slightly later than the central panel, but in the same workshop, most likely in Antwerp and on the order of Mencía de Mendoza.

The prototype, in all likelihood the unsigned *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial (cat. 27), was viewed at the time as the work of Hieronymus Bosch on account of the signature inserted on the central panel of the *Passion Triptych*. Other work by Bosch must have been known in the workshop where the triptych was painted, as the signature is a fairly accurate imitation of that on original paintings by him. The same is suggested by a number of details in the wings, including the letter 'M' as a cutler's mark in the panel on the left. This is also found in the Hell wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and the central panel of the *Last Judgements* in both Vienna and Bruges (cat. 21, 16 and 17). Several of the heads in both the *Arrest* and the *Flagellation of Christ*, meanwhile, seem to have been inspired by fig-



28.6 *Trompe-l'oeil* [CAT 28C]

ures in the Escorial *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 13).[15] The motif of the owl, the banderole, the thorn branches and the pearls on the sleeve of the guard who grasps Christ in the central panel are directly comparable with the embroidered hose of the man in the foreground of the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8). The ensemble unmistakably dates both stylistically and in terms of the painting technique to later than Bosch's work; this is particularly evident from the physiognomy of the angels and demons surrounding the three Passion scenes, the decoration of the sword of the man on the far left in the *Arrest of Christ* and the *trompe-l'oeil* bee on the bared knee of the torturer on the far right of the *Flagellation*. 28.6

Several other early Bosch imitations are closely related to the Valencia *Passion Triptych*.[16] *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Ghent (cat. 29), for instance, was attributed to Bosch around 1900 because of its resemblance to the Valencia triptych and to *Christ Before Pilate* in the Princeton Museum of Art,[17] both of which were considered at the time to be autograph works by Bosch. The *Arrest of Christ* acquired by the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam in 1930[18] and a similar version that came into the possession of the Timken Art Gallery, San Diego, in 1938 were not known at that time;[19] nor was a *Christ Before Pilate* now in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.[20] Carl Justi attributed the *Passion Triptych* to Bosch himself in 1889, and his example was followed by Gustav Glück in 1904 and by Luis Tramoyeres Blasco in 1915.[21] Hermann Dollmayr firmly argued as early as 1898, however, that the triptych was definitely not an autograph Bosch, but a copy after him or the work of a follower.[22] This view was endorsed by Maurice Gossart in 1907 and by Max J. Friedländer in 1927, since when it has been the consensus view.[23] The same applies to the entire group of paintings centring on the triptych in Valencia, with the exception of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Ghent, which is also the work of a follower but which, ironically, came to be adopted as an iconic image by Bosch.

1 'O good Jesus! Save us for eternal life through this crown of thorns, which wounded your head with its many little spikes, and through your face, so battered by blows, pale with tears and wounds, and smeared with blood and spit.'

2 Steppe 1967, 13.

3 See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 28, RR 91–96.

4 Ineba 2003, 59–60.

5 It seems possible to indicate the order in which these were painted, with the proviso that a role might also have been played by examples that have since been lost. The version in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano was probably painted after the one in Valencia, which was based in turn on the painting now in the Escorial. This is evident from numerous details. In the Valencia panel, for instance, the bird was added at a later stage of the creation process, as was the plaster on the guard's knee, whereas these details were included from the outset in the Lázaro Galdiano version and are absent from the Escorial version, which may therefore be viewed as the group's prototype. The larger version in Segovia (oil on canvas) was based directly on the Escorial version. There is also a larger group of imitations in which the Crowning with Thorns is not placed in a tondo. Unverfehrt 1980, 127–33, 255 no. 33, 267 no. 65. De Vrij 2012, 357–61. According to De Vrij (2012, 361), there is a fifth copy in a private collection.

6 Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido (2001, 114–15) have reconstructed how the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial was derived by copyists from the one in London.

7 The BRCP was permitted to take samples of the ground layer for analysis at the Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg (SRAL) in Maastricht. See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 28, RR 91–96.

8 Steppe 1967, 21–22.

9 Dendrochronological dating of the central panel: most recent growth ring 1506, earliest production date 1517 and more likely 1519 or later. The wings were not analysed. Klein 2003b, 5.

10 The partially surviving closing mechanism, the hinge traces on the wings and the four single hinge plates on the frame of the central panel are original. See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 28, RR 91–96.

11 In addition, the central panel was designed to be housed in a rabbeted frame, which points to a production date after c. 1520–25. Verougstraete 2015, 68.

12 '[si] hay necesidad de otros retablos pequeños para otros altares donde se puedan decir las dichas misas, se hagan e que para ello puedan aplicar las tablas pintadas de devocion que yo tengo.' As cited by Steppe 1967, 22.

13 A photomontage of this situation was published in Tromoyeres Blasco 1915. The width of the chapel niches and hence the space available for the panels: south 231 cm, north 234 cm; the depth of both niches 115 cm.

14 Gomez Frechina 1998.

15 Koreny 2012, 35.

16 Unverfehrt referred to this group as the work of the 'Master of the Valencia Passion Triptych', Antwerp c. 1520–30. Unverfehrt 1980, 127–30, 254–55.

17 Princeton, *Christ Before Pilate*, most recent growth ring 1496, earliest possible production 1507, but more probably 1509 or later; no underdrawing observed with IRR.

18 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-3113, *Arrest of Christ*, oil on panel, 51.2 × 80.8 cm, c. 1530–50 (on loan to the Noordbrabants Museum), most recent growth ring 1445; the panel has probably been cropped; no underdrawing observed with IRR (with thanks to Norman Muller). See also cat. 29 note 27.

19 Timken Art Gallery, San Diego, inv. 1938–241, follower of Hieronymus Bosch, oil on panel, 50.4 × 81.1 cm, c. 1530–40 (loaned to the San Diego Museum of Art).

20 Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. 2438, *Christ Before Pilate*, oil on panel, 46.5 × 36.5 cm, c. 1530–40, most recent growth ring 1497, earliest possible creation date 1508, more likely 1510 or later; no underdrawing observed with IRR; see cat. Rotterdam 1994, 119. Klein 2001, 126.

21 Justi 1889, 127; Glück 1904, 179; Glück 1933, 13.

22 Dollmayr 1898, 292–93.

23 Gossart 1907, 55, 289; Friedländer 1927, 146 no. 79.





28.7–8 Caiaphas and Pontius Pilate: *Crowning with Thorns*, Escorial [CAT 27] and Valencia [CAT 28B]

29 *Christ Carrying the Cross*

Follower of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1530–40

Oil on panel, 76.8 × 83.1 cm
Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, 1902–H

BRCP examination and documentation data: Ghent, 22–24 November 2010; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 29, RR 1; //Boschproject.org no. 29.

Condition
Documentation assembled before the 1956–57 restoration reveals original painted edges on the front and bevelling on the reverse. This indicates that the painting was originally housed in a rabbeted frame. The degraded edges have been slightly planed and wooden strips added to all four sides. An insert along the damaged join completed the original dimensions of the composition. Two sliding battens (now jammed), held in place by cleats, reinforce the panel. Besides older fractures and a crack that runs the entire length of the panel, slightly opened cracks and joins were observed. Especially at the joins there is extensive paint loss. The original ground and paint layers are generally stable and in excellent condition. The restoration materials have degraded noticeably, resulting in a reduced legibility of the painting.

Provenance
The work belonged to a private collection in England in the nineteenth century, followed by Nicholson art dealers, London; O. Hemmé collection, Brussels; April 1902 purchased through Georges Hulin de Loo by the Société des Amis du Musée de Gand from F. Kennis and donated to the Ghent museum.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 29, RR 1; Fischer 2013, 40, 266; Koreny 2012, 28, 29, 35, 81; Spronk 2011; Silver 2006, 335–37; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 97; Tézé 1998; Marijnissen 1987, 378–80; Unverfehrt 1980, 27, 127–31; Unverfehrt 1975, 101–51; Tolnay 1965, I, 310–11; II, 376; Van Schoute 1959, 47–58; Von Baldass 1943, 47–48, 73, 251; Friedländer 1927, 94, 147; exhib. cat. Bruges 1902, 285.

Analysis
The composition of this panel, with its close-up of Christ carrying the Cross surrounded by his torturers and Veronica with her miraculous cloth, is surprising and its technical execution is strong. It turned up in private hands in the late nineteenth century and was acquired by the museum in Ghent in 1902. It was identified as a characteristic work by Hieronymus Bosch based on several other paintings that were attributed to him at the time. As the twentieth century progressed, the panel increasingly became a cornerstone of Bosch's oeuvre, although doubts gradually began to be expressed from the time of the exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1967. Careful comparison of the painting technique, the style, the cursory underdrawing and the imagery with the other paintings ascribed to Bosch and his immediate circle shows that this *Christ Carrying the Cross* occupies an entirely isolated position. There is no evidence whatsoever for placing it in either Bosch's oeuvre or in his workshop.

ATTRIBUTION

Christ Carrying the Cross was purchased in April 1902 and donated to the Ghent museum by its friends association.[1] Shortly before that date, Georges Hulin de Loo had seen the panel – 'attribué à Jérôme Bosch' – in a collection in Ghent, and proposed its acquisition, as he considered the painting to be extremely important.[2] The panel was presented for the first time that summer at the famous exhibition 'Les Primitifs flamands et l'art ancien' in Bruges. The official exhibition catalogue, compiled by the Bruges-based Englishman James Weale, included a brief description of the panel and attributed it firmly to Bosch: 'Jérôme Bosch. Le Portement de la Croix. Bois. H. 72. L. 78. La Société des Amis du Musée de Gand.'[3]

Hulin de Loo, who played an important part in assembling the hundreds of works for the exhibition, published his *Exposition de tableaux flamands des XIV^e^, XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles: Catalogue critique* six weeks after the opening. He did not simply reproduce the lenders' attributions in this catalogue raisonné, but provided each work with a brief commentary, in which he offered his own independent and often very lucid view. The entry for *Christ Carrying the Cross* was equally concise; in it he identified the triptych with the *Adoration of the Magi* in Anderlecht *en passant* as an original by, or possibly a copy after Bosch.[4] Hulin de Loo also firmly attributed *Christ Carrying the Cross* to 'Hieronymus van Aken dit Bosch' and described it as 'one of the master's most important works outside Spain'.[5] Max J. Friedländer likewise praised the panel in his comments on the Bruges exhibition.[6] As far as he was concerned, it was 'certainly original, despite its highly grotesque appearance', and he was in no doubt 'that the painting, which transcends all limits, is an original work by Hieronymus Bosch'.[7]

26.3

Friedländer and Hulin de Loo much respected one another, and shared their enthusiasm about the panel.[8] Since its presentation in 1902, *Christ Carrying the Cross* has been assigned to Bosch's oeuvre, and has been viewed by most authors as an entirely characteristic work by the late-medieval master from 's-Hertogenbosch. Paul Vandenbroeck does not doubt Bosch's



29



29.1

authorship either, referring to the painting as 'one of the most hallucinatory creations in Western art history', in which 'frenzied lust for sensation, baying crudity and sly sadism are all unflinchingly displayed'.[9] It was recently described in the following terms in a digital presentation by an alliance of Flemish museums and heritage organizations:[10] 'This absolute masterpiece of Western art history clearly illustrates why we are right to call Hieronymus Bosch a radical painter. Never before had such a tangle of hideous and insane-looking faces been painted: mean, frenzied, sadistic and downright stupid. This is a close-up of collective wickedness, given that many were convinced in Bosch's time that "ugly" equated with "sinful" and "bad". At the centre of this infernal mob, the serene, defenceless Jesus carries his cross, meekly and with his eyes closed. In the bottom left, Veronica gazes smilingly at her cloth, the *sudarium*, with its miraculous image of Christ's face. The only woman in

this panel stands apart from the demonically baying crowd. Bosch is religiously radical too: according to him, we can all liberate ourselves from sin by following Christ.'

Most authors consider *Christ Carrying the Cross* to be a late work by Bosch.[11] In his seminal monograph of 1937, Charles de Tolnay went so far as to state that it was the very last painting by Bosch to have survived.[12] Leo van Puyvelde took a different line in his 1962 book on the Flemish Primitives, in which he argued that it was an early work by Bosch. He was followed in this regard, oddly enough, by Frédéric Elsig in 2004.[13]

DOUBT

A note of caution was increasingly struck after the Bosch exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1967, however, and the first doubts were likewise expressed as to the picture's attribution.[14] While the painting remained iconic for Bosch's oeuvre, it was increasingly labelled as 'ascribed to'. In a 1975 article, the American art historian Leonard J. Slatkes went further, stating that in his view the Ghent panel was a workshop copy after an original by Bosch that Albrecht Dürer had seen in Italy, and which inspired his *Christ Among the Doctors* of 1506.[15] In 1987, Roger Marijnissen asked rhetorically: 'If the work is not that of Bosch, then whose is it?', before concluding: 'Even apart from the problem of attribution, this painting remains inextricably bound up with Bosch's oeuvre and the religiosity of the Old Netherlands at the time of Bosch.'[16] The tone was now set, and the more serious literature on the subject steadily began to distance itself from the attribution to Bosch.[17] It is surprising, to say the least, that few arguments, if any, have been presented either way. Even the major technical study that Roger Van Schoute published in 1959 and 1967, for which the question of authenticity served as the starting point, did not contribute to the discussion. Although his research provided more information about the genesis of the painting, no conclusions were drawn from the results and the work continued to be viewed as an indisputably autograph Bosch.[18]

The attribution of *Christ Carrying the Cross* to Bosch, which was accepted in 1902 by Hulin de Loo, Friedländer and Louis Maeterlinck, curator of the Ghent museum, was based on similarities with four works that were ascribed to Bosch at the time: the *Passion Triptych* in Valencia (cat. 28), *Christ Before Pilate* in Princeton, the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial (cat. 27) and the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt (cat. 11), which was owned from 1889 to 1902 by Louis Maeterlinck, and was exhibited some time at the museum in Ghent.[19] The attribution probably dates from the period in which *Christ Carrying the Cross* was still in the possession of Nicholson art dealers in London.

There are particularly notable affinities with the painting in the Princeton University Art Museum.[20] The triptych in Valencia is clearly signed 'Jheronimus – bosch' and was essential to the attribution to Bosch of both *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *Christ Before Pilate*.[21] The other panels that now belong to the group around the Valencia and Princeton paintings had not been identified in 1900 and so could obviously not be taken into consideration.[22] It has become clear in the meantime that, of the four paintings on which the attribution was based, only the *Ecce Homo* is actually an autograph work by Hieronymus Bosch. The three other panels featuring half-length figures, just like the Ghent *Christ Carrying the Cross*, were painted by relatively early followers.[23] This means that the most important points of reference – the triptych in Valencia, the panel in Princeton and the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial – can no longer be used as an argument for attributing *Christ Carrying the Cross* to Bosch. The *Crowning with Thorns* in the National Gallery in London, by contrast, has been added since the work was linked to Hieronymus Bosch in 1921, albeit in the first instance as a copy after a lost original.[24] Friedländer and Tolnay had already published the London painting as autograph, and their attribution has since been generally followed.[25] The attribution of *Christ Carrying the Cross* to Bosch was based on the caricature-like heads found in Valencia and Princeton. We are dealing in both cases – and in that of the paintings subsequently grouped around them – with an early Bosch reception that zoomed in on precisely this exaggerated grotesquery. The latter is much stronger, however, than we find in Bosch's

original work, as made plain by a critical comparison of the heads in the panels in Valencia, Princeton and also Ghent with those in the *Crowning with Thorns* in London (cat. 14). The faces of the guards in London are distinctive, malevolent, very different from one another, and contrast sharply with the suffering Christ; yet they are definitely not crude caricatures. This is not something we find in the rest of Bosch's autograph oeuvre either.[26]

The results of technical analysis similarly fail to offer any support for the autograph or original status of the work; they point firmly instead towards it being a copy after an existing composition. The outlines alone were underdrawn, and this tentative drawing was then followed relatively closely in the painted layers – something we do not find in Bosch or his workshop. Most of the facial types do not refer to a Bosch prototype either, nor is it any more likely that the painting was produced in the family workshop. The fact that the panel was painted right up to the edges, which were bevelled on the reverse, means that the painting cannot originally have had an engaged frame. It must have had a rabbeted one instead – a frame type that only became common after the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[27] Dendrochronological analysis could make a useful contribution in this respect, but this has so far not been possible.[28]

Fritz Koreny considers *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Ghent to be a core work in Bosch's painted oeuvre, along with the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and the *Last Judgement* in Vienna.[29] One important reason for this is the morphological similarity he detects between one of the heads in *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the head of the beggar in the Saint Hippolytus wing of the Vienna *Last Judgement*.[30] Although the form of these heads is indisputably related, their execution differs. The rapid wet-on-wet painting we find in virtually all Bosch's panels, including the exterior wings of the Vienna *Last Judgement*, is all but absent in the Ghent panel. Numerous brushstrokes are visible there, despite the fact that the paint is often applied thinly. The effect is heightened by the uncommon use of fine lines, frequently






29.2 *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Ghent) [CAT 29]
29.3 *Crowning with Thorns* (Valencia) [CAT 28A]
29.4 *Two Men* [CAT 50]
29.5 *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17E]



29.6

hatched, to indicate details like the curly facial hair, the hatching in some of the fingers and the white highlights in several of the eyes.

Taking everything into account, we have to conclude that there is no evidence to include *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Bosch's oeuvre, regardless of how exceptional a painting it is. We cannot detect Bosch's hand in either its underdrawing or its painting. Nor is there any evidence to link the panel to Bosch's workshop, even after the painter's death. It seems more plausible to us to situate this painting in the second quarter of the sixteenth century (in Antwerp?). It is possible that a prototype by Bosch existed, as also appears to be the case for the *Crowning with Thorns* acquired by Mencía de Mendoza for her memorial chapel in Valencia. The caricature-like head in the drawing in a private collection (cat. 50) and the aforementioned beggar on the exterior of the *Last Judgement* in Vienna (cat. 17) are comparable *tronies*. All the same, we do not find such an outrageous collection of villains anywhere in Bosch as appear in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Ghent. Like the work of several followers, the painting is more 'Bosschian' than Bosch himself ever was. The difference compared to other imitators, however, is the outstanding quality of this work and its rigorously developed visual concept, which match what we find by Bosch's hand in the London *Crowning with Thorns* (cat. 14).

29.2–5



29.7

[1] A short letter written on 28 April 1902 by Georges Hulin de Loo reveals that Fernand Scribe, the chairman of the friends association in Ghent, was still negotiating the purchase price at the time. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, dossier 1902/H, Hieronymus Bosch, 'De kruisdraging'.

[2] Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, Registre des Procès-verbaux des Assemblées générales. Société des Amis du Musée de Gand (1897–1937), 36–39; Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, Doos H. Bosch, Briefwisseling voor 1945, Paul van der Perre to Paul Eeckhout, 25 September 1962, with correspondence 25–28 April 1902 about the acquisition of the *Carrying of the Cross*, 'attributed to Hieronymus Bosch'.

[3] Weale 1902, 108 no. 285.

[4] Hulin de Loo 1902, 76 no. 285.

[5] 'Une des œuvres les plus importantes du Maître, hors d'Espagne.'

[6] Friedländer 1903a, 169; Friedländer 1903b, 32.

[7] 'Gewiss Original, wenn auch äusserst fratzenhaft …' and '… keinen Zweifel daran, dass das alle Grenzen überschreitende Werk eine Originalarbeit des Hieronymus Bosch ist'.

[8] It is not clear who was the first to link this *Christ Carrying the Cross* with Hieronymus Bosch. According to Hulin de Loo's notes, the work originated in a private collection in England; it was then offered for sale by Nicholson art dealers in London, following which it was owned by a Mr O. Hemmé in Brussels and finally by Mr F. Kennis, from whom the friends association purchased it for the museum. Georges Hulin de Loo Archive: Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BHSL.Hs. 3231 map 12. Friedländer (1903b, 32) adds that F. Kennis resided in Ghent.

[9] Vandenbroeck 2002, 132–33.

[10] Lukas Art in Flanders, http://www.lukasweb.be/nl/foto/de-kruisdraging (accessed February 2015).

[11] Von Baldass (1917, 196), followed in virtually every subsequently published study. Koreny (2012, 35) also views it as autograph and places it late in Bosch's oeuvre.

[12] Tolnay 1986, 44–45 (original edition 1937); followed by Combe 1946, 15.

[13] Elsig 2004, 89; Van Puyvelde 1962, 38, 59; Delevoy 1960, 59; Mather 1948, 148.

[14] Simon Schümmer – better known among Bosch specialists by his monastic name Father Gerlach O.F.M. Cap. – took the lead in this regard, but the Antwerp art historian Leo Wuyts and Professor Jan Karel Steppe of Leuven University also expressed their doubts. Gerlach 1968; Wuyts 1968. Gerd Unverfehrt, who considered the painting to be autograph, responded in 1975.

[15] Slatkes 1975, 340–42.

[16] Marijnissen 1987, 380.

[17] Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 97: 'late, possibly even too late', 'the same painter… inconceivable' (Vermet); Fischer 2009, 222: 'wrongly attributed to Bosch', 379 no. 121 'Antwerp 1515–25'; De Vrij 2012, 205, 253, 544, 546–47 no. E3 'unidentified artist'; Fischer 2013, 40, 266 no. 29 'Antwerp-based follower'; Campbell 2014, 159 'attributed to'.



[18] Van Schoute 1959; Van Schoute 1967, 73, 76–79; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 107–08.

[19] Maeterlinck 1900; Maeterlinck 1906, 299–307.

[20] Allan Marquand purchased *Christ Before Pilate* from Colnaghi art dealers in London some time around 1891. The painting was already attributed to Hieronymus Bosch based on similarities with the panels in Valencia. Marquand donated it to Princeton University Art Museum. Marquand 1903. There is a photograph in Hulin de Loo's archive of the panel when it was still owned by Marquand. Georges Hulin de Loo Archive: Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent, MS 3160 map 6: Hieronymus Bosch. Louis Maeterlinck informed Allan Marquand of the similarity, to which the latter responded on 11 July 1903. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, Doos H. Bosch, Briefwisseling voor 1945.

[21] We note, however, that Louis Maeterlinck expressed doubt as early as 1900 and again in 1906 regarding the Valencia panels, which he thought more likely to be the work of a follower. Maeterlinck 1900, 74; Maeterlinck 1906, 305.

[22] Unverfehrt 1980, 254–55 nos. 32–33; Vandenbroeck 2002, 317 no. 26, 318 no. 29, 319–20 no. 31.

[23] The most important arguments are the documented later provenance of the panels in Valencia (see cat. 28) and above all the exaggeratedly stereotypical heads, the painting style and strongly caricature-like nature of which build on Hieronymus Bosch's work, while simultaneously deviating from it. They ought in fact to be placed in the second quarter of the sixteenth century in a loose circle of anonymous painters around Quentin Metsys in Antwerp.

[24] Conway 1921, 344.

[25] Friedländer ANM XIV 1937, 101, pl. XIX; Tolnay 1937, 24. Doubts were expressed, though with little response, by: Gerlach 1967, 314–18 (reprinted Le Blanc 1988, 113–18); Wuyts 1968.

[26] Cf. also Fischer 2013, 266.

[27] See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 29, RR 1. The panel in Princeton has barbs and unpainted edges around the sides. However, infrared reflectography performed in 2015 with a Goodrich IRR camera equipped with an InGaAs detector was unable to reveal any underdrawing for that painting. The BRCP is grateful to Norman E. Muller of the Princeton University Art Museum for this information (email, 17 March 2015).

[28] The ends of the board are not currently accessible because of the edges fitted around the panel during its restoration in 1956–57.

[29] Koreny 2012, 28ff. He follows the example here of Unverfehrt 1975 and 1980.

[30] Koreny 2012, 64–65. See also cat. 50.

30 *The Last Judgement (fragment)*

Follower of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1530–40

Oil on oak panel, 59.6 × 113 cm
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen,
Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 5752

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Munich, 23–24 June 2014; BRCP, *Technical Studies*,
cat. 30, RR 128–129; //Boschproject.org no. 30.

Condition
The panel is cropped on three sides. It is extensively cropped at the top and on the left, but presumably less is missing at the bottom. The presence of a barb and unpainted edge on the right indicates that it was originally housed in an engaged frame. It is generally assumed to have formed the lower right section of a much larger Last Judgement. The panel reverse, which is locally thinned and has nine wooden blocks glued to the join, appears to be original in part. There is a small unstable crack in the top right corner and locally slightly raised paint, but adhesion of paint and ground is very good in general. Different craquelure patterns can be observed, some relating to the canvas strips applied before the ground. The main (restored) losses are at the central join. Abrasion is limited, but locally paint is severely damaged (for instance in the rooster-figure) or scratched (in the winged fish). Especially the skin tones have increased in transparency and appear darker locally, but aside from minor imperfections, the legibility of the original paint surface is excellent.

Provenance
1822 Bildergalerie, Nuremberg; 1877–1920 Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; since 1920 Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 30, RR 128–129; Koreny 2012, 112–15, 258–60; Klein 2001, 123; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 88, 90, 179; Marijnissen 1987, 451–52; cat. Munich 1986, 80–81; Unverfehrt 1980, 164–66, 251–52; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 91; Arndt 1968, 1–21; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, 162–63; Tolnay 1965, I, 248–53; II, 364; Von Baldass 1943, 240; Buchner 1934, 297–302.

Analysis
The *Last Judgement* fragment in Munich was attributed to Bosch in the nineteenth century. Charles de Tolnay went so far as to identify it in his 1937 monograph as part of the *Last Judgement* commissioned by Philip the Fair in 1504. It was still being exhibited as such at the anniversary exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1967. It became clear at that point, however, that the style and the technique differ so markedly that this must be the work of a follower, an attribution since adopted by most authors. A *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (RR 113–114) that was also once attributed to Bosch and a sheet of model drawings in Oxford might be the work of the same artist.

ATTRIBUTION AND REJECTION

The fragment showing an array of monsters and chimeras was first attributed to Hieronymus Bosch in 1893.[1] Prior to this, in the early nineteenth century, 'Hell Brueghel' (Pieter Brueghel the Younger, 1564/65–1638) had been proposed as the fragment's author; this was subsequently rejected when the panel was published as an anonymous work of around 1530.[2] Doubts concerning its authorship persisted, however, until Ernst Buchner published it as an autograph Hieronymus Bosch in 1935–36.[3] This attribution was then generally adopted,[4] with Charles de Tolnay going so far as to state in 1937 that the fragment undoubtedly came from the *Last Judgement* that Philip the Fair had commissioned in 1504.[5] This hypothesis was still being advanced in 1967 during the major anniversary exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch. On the same occasion, however, it was stressed that the painting differs significantly from Bosch's other works.[6] Karl Arndt homed in on this in his critical discussion of the exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch, in which he firmly argued that the Munich fragment is not by Bosch nor a faithful copy of an original by him.[7] The same had already been concluded a year earlier in connection with a study of the drawings in Oxford and Providence.[8] Since then, virtually all authors agree that the painting can be attributed to a follower of Hieronymus Bosch.

37.9–10, 38.1

RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD

The panel has been cropped on three sides. The surviving barb and unpainted edge on the right show that this side is original. The left half of the surviving fragment shows the resurrection of the dead on Judgement Day. Naked men and women emerge from fifteen or so open graves; they include a king, an emperor, a bishop and a cardinal, each identifiable by his headgear. In the right half, demons take charge of the dead, who are evidently being led off to hell. A section of blue fabric has been left over in the lower left corner of the fragment, which must originally have belonged to the robes of a large figure. Buchner concluded from



30

this in the mid-1930s that the panel was the right half of a large *Last Judgement* scene, with the standing figure of the Archangel Michael – the weigher of souls, robed in blue – as its central focus. Buchner had in mind – with subsequent authors generally concurring – a painting similar to the large *Last Judgements* of Rogier van der Weyden (Beaune) and Hans Memling (Gdańsk).[9] In the case of the *Last Judgement* to which the Munich fragment belonged, this would imply a panel measuring almost three metres across – a gigantic work, given that the central panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* is 175 cm wide and that of the Vienna *Last Judgement* 127 cm. What is more, Van der Weyden and Memling's *Last Judgements* are spread across seven and three adjacent panels respectively. The central panel of Bosch's Vienna *Last Judgement*, however, provides an intriguing point of reference. The underdrawing of its left foreground includes a kneeling donor who, for some unknown reason, was never actually painted (see cat. 17). It is possible, therefore, that the drapery in the Munich fragment might be the front part of a kneeling donor's cloak. If so, to continue the parallel with the central panel in Vienna, there will have been a brightly lit entrance to heaven high above him, at the right hand of Christ enthroned in the centre. The darkness of hell will then have been shown at Christ's left hand – in the upper right from the beholder's point of view. With the exception of the blue cloak in the lower left, all the figures have been painted on a dark-brown base layer. The cloak is also the only detail in which a few underdrawn lines have been found using infrared reflectography.

17.16

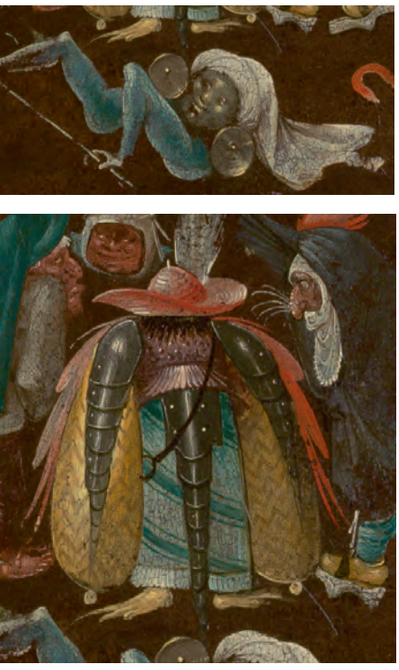
DATE

Dendrochronological dating suggests that the work could have been painted after 1442 and more likely 1444 (see below).[10] In his study on Bosch's reception in the sixteenth century, however, Gerd Unverfehrt drew on earlier literature to assemble a small body of work around the anonymous 'Master of the Munich Last Judgement'. He placed the double-sided model sheet in Oxford in this group, along with the drawing in Providence, the panel with

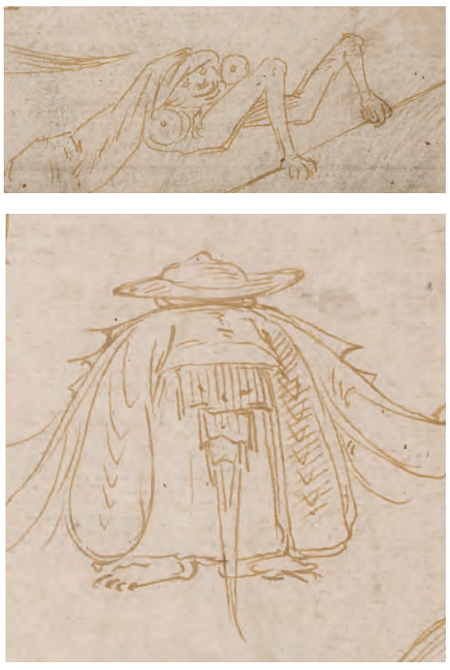
37.9–10, 38.1

30.1





30.2 *Last Judgement* (Munich) [CAT 30]



30.3 *Model sheet* (Oxford) [FIG 37.10]



30.4 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Van Lanschot) [FIG 30.6]



30.5 *Model sheet* (Oxford) [FIG 37.9]

the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in 's-Hertogenbosch, and the one with the *Descent into Limbo* in Philadelphia.[11] Fritz Koreny concluded that this group was certainly not the work of a single artist, but that the corresponding details in the different sheets and panels ought to be traced back to common examples deriving in part from Bosch himself.[12] Several details in the Oxford model sheet are directly linked to the creatures in the panel in Munich. Koreny's date of 1530–40, with which we concur, is later than that suggested by Unverfehrt, who wanted to place the entire group in the second decade of the sixteenth century. 30.6 30.2–3

SAINT ANTHONY

The *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in 's-Hertogenbosch also corresponds in certain respects with the sheet in Oxford.[13] Friedländer attributed the painting to Bosch in 1927 and it was still being exhibited as an original Hieronymus Bosch in Munich in 1930.[14] Since then, it has been considered the work of a follower, as have the two drawings and the Munich panel. The *Saint Anthony* panel remains intriguing nevertheless. The image is painted on a support consisting of two boards; dendrochronological analysis indicates that painting could have occurred from 1461 onwards, but more likely from 1463.[15] IR and IRR images make clearer what could already be made out to some extent with the naked eye: the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* was painted on top of another work. It was originally a memorial panel, the existing picture of which was removed. Two groups of donors are portrayed in the foreground. Four veiled women kneel on the right, while on the left there are at least two and possibly two more underdrawn and partially painted men. Although the underlying image appears never to have been finished, this impression might also be due to damage to the paint layer. The donors are positioned in front of a standing figure of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, viewed from an angle. Mary, baring her right breast, stands behind him on the right of the panel, while God the Father can be seen on the left, enthroned and blessing his Son with his right hand. Traces of painting as well as several lines from the underdrawing can be made out in these three figures. This is an example of a 'Stairway of Salvation' or *Intercessio* image, highlighting the way prayers directed to God will be heard through the intercession of the Virgin Mary and of her Son, who sacrificed himself on behalf of humanity.[16] The aureoles of three saints or angels are still vaguely visible at the top of the panel. 30.4–5 30.7

At some unknown time, this image was partially removed and partly covered over by a thin layer of light paint. The panel was rotated ninety degrees to the left and was then used for a fairly linear and probably incomplete underdrawing.[17] It was subsequently straightened up again, at which point the image we see now was underdrawn and finally painted. The memorial scene with donors can be dated stylistically to the final quarter of the fifteenth century; it was overpainted with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* probably just under half a century later.

Saint Anthony is presented as a hunched-over old man in a hilly landscape that merges in the background into rocky outcrops silhouetted against infernal flames. The hermit is barefoot, dressed in a russet habit and wears a small blue-green cap on his head. A girdle book hangs from the cord tied around his waist. In his left hand he holds a rosary with a tau or Saint Anthony's cross as pendant, while leaning on a staff. He is also holding a little bell. These are all attributes by which he can be identified immediately. He is surrounded by all manner of monsters.

The panel's provenance goes back to the collection of the Munich art dealer A.S. Drey in 1927. Oddly enough, a replica of this *Temptation of Saint Anthony* done on canvas in Italy in the eighteenth or nineteenth century follows the original so faithfully that the ghostly traces of God the Father and the Virgin Mary that show through the paint layer in the panel
30.8–9 were also reproduced faithfully, though presumably inadvertently.[18]

In view of the similarities of style, quality and motifs between the fragment of a *Last Judgement* in Munich, the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in 's-Hertogenbosch and the model
30.2–5 drawing in Oxford, we believe that these are all the work of the same artist.

30.6–7 *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*: VIS and IRR. Art Collection Van Lanschot, 's-Hertogenbosch







30.8 *Last Judgement* (Munich) [CAT 30]



30.9 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Van Lanschot) [FIG 30.6]

1 In the third edition of the catalogue of paintings at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, where the panel was located at the time. Essenwein 1893, 16 no. 60.

2 Essenwein 1885, 14 no. 69.

3 Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Arbeitsbericht Inv. Nr. 5752, Müller. Buchner 1934, 296–302. The *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 11 (1934), in which Buchner mentions the restoration in 1935 (p. 297), was published in 1936.

4 Friedländer ANM XIV 1937, 101; Von Baldass 1943, 240; Combe 1946, 43.

5 Tolnay 1937, 35, 95 no. 21. The *Last Judgement* commissioned by Philip the Fair is discussed in Chapter I, 'Hieronymus Bosch c. 1450–1516', and under cat. 17. Vandenbroeck (2006, 228) once again shares Tolnay's view that the Munich panel is a fragment of the 1504 panel for Philip the Fair.

6 Exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, 163 no. 47.

7 Arndt 1968, 11.

8 Scher 1967, 23 (quoted after Unverfehrt 1980, 164, and Koreny 2012, 314 n. 7).

9 Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune: Rogier van der Weyden, *Last Judgement*, polyptych, c. 1445–50, total width when open approx. 550 cm. Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe: Hans Memling, *Last Judgement*, triptych, 1467–71, total width when open approx. 361 cm.

10 Klein 2001, 123.

11 Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. 2055. Unverfehrt 1980, 164–66, 251–53 nos. 26–29.

12 Koreny 2012, 112–15, 258–60, 312–19 nos. 31–32.

13 Art Collection Van Lanschot, 's-Hertogenbosch, oil on panel, 60.1 × 52 cm. Date 1530–40.
BRCP examination and documentation data: 's-Hertogenbosch, 23 October 2013.
Condition: The panel is thinned, revealing old worm damage, and extensively cradled, but it has retained its original dimensions. Multiple restored damages visible in IR(R) and at the bottom centre in VIS relate to the initial, overpainted composition. Its main shapes shimmer through as a result of increased transparency of especially lighter background paints. The paint surface is easily legible.
Provenance: Lippmann; 1922 art dealers A.S. Drey, Munich/New York/London; 1930 Carl Emmanuel Oskar Burggraf und Graf zu Dohna-Schlodien, Schlodien; 1930 Heinrich Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, Schloss Rohoncz; art dealers Galerie Cramer, The Hague.
Literature: BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 53, RR 113–114; // Boschproject.org no. 53. Van Liebergen 1995; Koldeweij 1990a, 248 no. 150; Unverfehrt 1980, 164–66, 251; Arndt 1968, 11; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, 62–63; Tolnay 1965, II, 384; Larsen 1950, 18; Heinemann 1937, I, no. 42; II, fig. 80; Tolnay 1937, 104 no. 53.

14 Friedländer 1927, 150 no. 91.

15 Pascale Fraiture, *Record of Dendrochronological Analysis: Temptation of Saint Anthony, Bosch-pastiche*, Liège, 8 July 2002 (Van Lanschot Collection Archive, 's-Hertogenbosch); Van den Brink 2003, 87. There is no reason to accept Fraiture's suggestion that these were the recycled shutters of a small triptych, especially since the boards are not the same width (28 × approx. 26 cm and 24 × 25.5 cm).

16 Compare this with the small memorial triptych of Antonius Tsgrooten painted by Goswin van der Weyden (1507, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) and, as variations, with the anonymous little memorial triptych with the Throne of Mercy, the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist (1525–50, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges) and the memorial painting for Canon Art van Pyinghen, which includes the Virgin Mary, Christ and God the Father (1497), in the Treasury of the Church of Our Lady of the Nativity, Tongeren.

17 See also BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 53, RR 113–114.

18 The authors are grateful to Michel van de Laar.

31 *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*

Follower of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1530–40

Oil on oak panel, 73 × 52.5 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, P2049

Not examined or documented in situ by the BRCP.

Condition
The BRCP was not given permission to examine the painting in the Prado. For the technical data, see Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 58–67.

Provenance
Escorial, probably 1574; between 1849 and 1857 listed in the first inventory of the Museo Nacional del Prado collection (no. 446).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 265; Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 59–67, 240–41; Klein 2001, 123; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 88, 93; Vandenbroeck 2001, 49–63; Marijnissen 1987, 436–37; Unverfehrt 1980, 25, 158–60, 250; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 86; Arndt 1968, 1–21; Tolnay 1965, I, 306; II, 373–74; Larsen 1950, 3–41; Von Baldass 1943, 35, 40, 73, 244–45; Friedländer 1921, 80, 192; Cohen 1910, 389; Gossart 1907, 288.

Analysis
This *Temptation of Saint Anthony* is attributed to Hieronymus Bosch in early inventories, with the one drawn up at the Escorial in 1574 probably the earliest. The last time it was exhibited without reservation as an autograph Bosch was at the anniversary exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1967. Since then, it has been almost universally accepted that the panel is the work of a follower. It assumed its current form in two stages: the panel originally had a semi-circular top and was later extended to make it rectangular. The image was seriously damaged in and around the figure of the saint and was substantially overpainted in the same intervention.

ATTRIBUTION AND REJECTION

The Bosch exhibition in 1967 was the last time the Prado *Temptation of Saint Anthony* was presented without qualification as an autograph painting by Hieronymus Bosch.[1] The German art historian Karl Arndt devoted the entire first issue of *Kunstchronik* in 1968 to a detailed and critical review of the exhibition, in which he focused on a number of issues relating to imitations and copies of Bosch versus autograph works. Arndt firmly rejected this Saint Anthony panel, which he placed instead among the free imitations.[2] In so doing, he broke with a tradition stretching back to the sixteenth century, given that the painting can probably be identified as one of the nine works ascribed to Bosch that were transferred to the Escorial in 1574 on the order of King Philip II: 'another painting on panel, rounded at the top, of Saint Anthony, by Hieronymus Bosch, three feet high and two feet wide'.[3] Although these dimensions seem too large for the Prado *Temptation*, the list in question systematically states the measurements of the works including their frames, which means it could still be the same painting. This *Temptation of Saint Anthony* was consistently described as an original work by Bosch from Gossart (1907) and Cohen (1910) onwards, including by Friedländer (1921), until it was exhibited alongside other followers and copies in 1967. Arndt's view was then gradually adopted by other authors, marked at first by regular expressions of doubt.

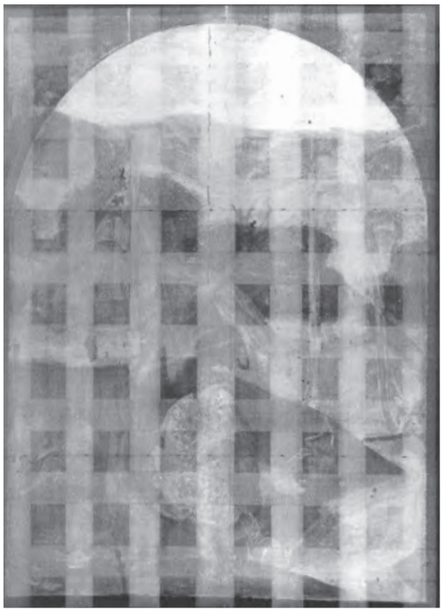
Since Gerd Unverfehrt's study (1980), no scholar believes this to be an autograph Bosch any longer, although opinions differ as to whether it is a workshop piece or a Northern Netherlandish painting from around 1510. Be that as it may, in *Bosch at the Museo del Prado: Technical Study* (2001), Carmen Garrido and Roger Van Schoute cautiously challenged what was by then the consensus view, namely that the panel was not the work of Bosch himself. They argued that the composition and some of the iconographical details are identical with other works by the master, and that the panel resembles Bosch's style even more closely if we look beyond the repainting and alterations.[4] Garrido and Van Schoute's view is not persuasive, however, and did not result in a further shift of opinion. Stefan Fischer argues in his recent monograph that it is now generally agreed that the painting cannot be an original Bosch.[5] It is our opinion too that the work is definitely not by Bosch himself and also not a copy after an original by him. Instead, it is a free imitation in the spirit of the 's-Hertogenbosch master. Although the painting's atmosphere and subject matter were undoubtedly inspired by Bosch's work, it differs from his art in virtually every other



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respect, including its composition, depth effects, style and technique. Moreover, as various authors have already noted, the monsters depicted here are amusing cartoons for the most part, which do not frighten the viewer – not at all what we have come to expect from Bosch himself.

The panel was originally rounded at the top but was extended at some point to make it rectangular (if the panel is indeed the one mentioned in the *Entregas* from the Escorial, this must have occurred after 1574). Large parts of the composition were repainted at the same time. What is more, published infrared reflectograms and X-radiographs show that the figure of Saint Anthony – which Garrido and Van Schoute consider to be part of the original paint layer – was likewise painted on top of an extensive area of damage. As no underdrawing was detected, it seems highly unlikely that traces of an original composition by Hieronymus Bosch are concealed beneath the overpainting. The original, rounded panel is nevertheless an old one. It consists of two boards of almost equal width, to which dendrochronological analysis gives an early date.[6] Stylistically speaking, however, the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* cannot have been painted before the second decade of the sixteenth century. 31.1



31.1 XR (Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 62, fig. 5)

ICONOGRAPHY

Anthony is depicted as a hermit sitting in a tree trunk that has been turned into a primitive hut. His clasped hands show that he is absorbed in prayer. The bell hanging at the top of the barren tree, which Anthony can ring by pulling a rope, is the saint's characteristic attribute. He wears the brown habit of the Antonine Order, with the typical tau (T-shaped) cross on his right shoulder. A precious girdle book hangs at his right hip, with a crystal sphere stopping the leather flaps from slipping beneath his wide belt. A pig lies to his left, as deep in thought as the saint himself. The little bell in its right ear shows it to be one of the 'Saint Anthony's pigs' that rooted around in late-medieval cities. Anthony is beset by demons on both sides, while further off in the background other monstrous creatures advance towards the exotic-looking building we identify as an Antonine monastery from the tau cross above its entrance gate. The monastery is on fire: a red glow is visible through the open door, and flames can also be seen behind the building and to the right. A large city is visible on the horizon. The image as a whole shows Anthony being tormented by the devil during his time in the wilderness, as described at length in his *vita*.[7] The demons and monsters depicted in this panel might be imaginative, but they differ in crucial ways from the imagery used by Bosch himself. The creature attacking the pig with its sharp beak and a raised sledgehammer, for instance, is an artificial amalgam of elements – fortress/bird/human/monster – that is far removed from Bosch's own fantastical hybrids, which for all their strangeness always seem plausible and natural. The drooling two-legged monster that enters the scene lower left resembles the weird creature followed by two of its young that we find in the foreground of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 17), and one of the monsters drawn in a model sheet in the Louvre (cat. 52v). All the same, it too is essentially different from those creatures. This monster, with its iridescent, shot-coloured head, is moreover placed prominently in the lower left corner, almost in the manner of a signature, which 31.2–4



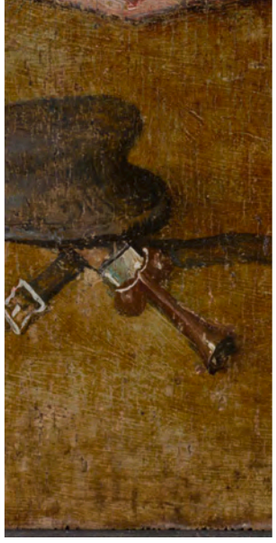
31.2 *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17B]

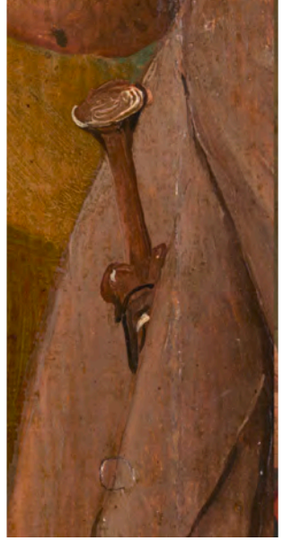
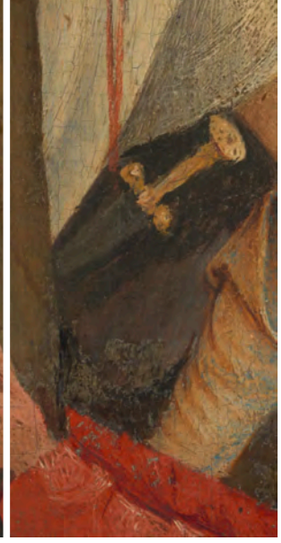


31.3 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Madrid) [CAT 31]



31.4 *Sheet of sketches with Monsters* (Paris) [CAT 52]

31.5 31.6 31.7 31.8 31.9

is not something we find in Bosch or in any of his known followers. One detail in particular stands out when we examine the creature more closely – the sheathed 'bollock dagger', painted meticulously and in accurate foreshortening, that hangs from the longest of the
31.3 curled hairs (?) on its back. The combination of a realistically rendered implement with an invented creature is something we do not actually find in Hieronymus Bosch. The dagger recalls a signature like that of the Swiss draughtsman, printmaker and painter Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (1484–1530), who was the first artist to sign his works with a Swiss dagger (*Schweizerdolch*). His example was later followed by many other artists from the Swiss Confederacy, including the Monogrammist HD and the better-known Urs Graf.[8] Archaeological evidence shows that bollock or ballock daggers of this kind, named for their phallic appearance, were known throughout northern Europe from the fourteenth century. Exam-
31.5–9 ples are also found in paintings by Bosch himself, such as the *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 19) and *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna (cat. 12), and in the *Cure of Folly* (cat. 33).

This *Temptation of Saint Anthony* was probably painted in the period 1530–40, with the repainting and extension most likely occurring after 1574.[9]

'Bollock daggers':
31.5 *Wayfarer* (Rotterdam) [CAT 19A]
31.6 *Gluttony and Lust* (New Haven) [CAT 19B]
31.7 *Cure of Folly* [CAT 33]
31.8 *Wayfarer* (Prado) [CAT 20D]
31.9 *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Vienna) [CAT 12A]

1 Exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, 64–65 no. 3.

2 Arndt 1968, 18.

3 'Otra tabla de pintura en redondo por lo alto de San[t] Anton, de mano de Ger[oni]mo Bosqui, que tiene tres pies de alto y dos de ancho'. Vandenbroeck 2001a, 52; Checa Cremades, Mancini and Vázquez Dueñas 2013, 213.

4 Garrido and Van Schoute (2001, 23, 31) suggest that it was painted by Bosch, arguing on p. 65: 'In addition, the high quality of certain elements of the facture incline us to attribute the work to the artist …'.

5 Fischer 2013, 265 no. 27.

6 The most recent growth ring dates from 1451. The panel could have been painted from 1462 onwards, therefore, although production after 1464 is more likely. It is not impossible that the painting was originally intended as the central panel of a small triptych. The join between the boards runs almost down the middle, prompting Marc Rudolf de Vrij to suggest that the panel might originally have been the exterior wings of a triptych, which were later joined together. However, there is no material evidence to support this. De Vrij 2012, 532–33 no. D.12.

7 Bosch depicted this much more intensely in the *Saint Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon; see cat. 4 in this regard and for references to Anthony's *vita*.

8 Exhib. cat. Berne 1979, 169–70 no. 20 (Franz Bächtiger).

9 Unverfehrt (1980, 250) thinks that the panel was painted around 1510 in the Northern Netherlands.

32 *The Conjurer*

Follower of Hieronymus Bosch
after c. 1525

Oil on oak panel, 53.6 × 65.3 cm
Musée municipal de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 872.1.87

BRCP examination and documentation data:
Paris (Louvre), 25–26 March 2013; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 32, RR 87–88; //Boschproject.org no. 32.

Condition
The wooden support is severely warped but in excellent condition with a nearly invisible join and slight bevelling at the edges. The format is largely original. Traces of the use of a temporary work frame are visible at the top right. The adhesion of both ground and paint layers is outstanding and no recent losses were observed. There are, however, several restored losses and abraded areas, especially in the centre of the panel in and around the green-robed man. Ageing cracks are relatively obvious in white areas and broader drying cracks are visible in the sky, but overall the legibility of the original paint surface is excellent.

Provenance
1850 Ducastel family; bequeathed to the museum in 1872 by Louis-Alexandre Ducastel.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 32, RR 87–88; Fischer 2013, 265–66; Koreny 2012, 278, 282, 285; Le Chanu and Mottin 2006; Silver 2006, 318; Virole 2002; Klein 2001, 121–31; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 88, 93, 134, 150; Willemsen 2001, 193–99; Darriulat 1995; Marijnissen 1987, 446–50; Hamburger 1984, 4–23; Unverfehrt 1980, 114–16; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 87; Arndt 1968, 1–21; Tolnay 1965, I, 86; II, 343–44; Von Baldass 1943, 15, 64, 77, 86, 231; Friedländer 1927, 103, 152; Lafond 1914, 77–78; Gossart 1907, 63, 287.

Analysis
The *Conjurer* derives from a prototype by Hieronymus Bosch and, like the *Cure of Folly* (cat. 33), is a moralizing painting on the dangers of deception and gullibility. The painting is closely related to two drawings by Bosch and an engraving from the mid-sixteenth century, which refers to him as the inventor. Bosch's invention is likely to have been more complex in its imagery than the surviving painting. In this case, the conjurer's accomplice, the man supposedly spitting out frogs, is not only a deceiver, he himself is also deceived. The underdrawing shows that the painting is not an original design but a copy after an earlier composition.

DRAWINGS

There are two drawings by Hieronymus Bosch that can be viewed as studies for a painting of a conjurer (cat. 47 and 48). One of these sheets, in Liège, has little to show apart from the conman and his victim. The other drawing, now in Paris, is clearer. The conjurer in this sheet performs his tricks behind a table; his wife or assistant beats a drum behind him, while a leashed dog and a monkey sit at her feet. A sword, tambourine and dish lie on the ground. The audience facing the conjurer watches his performance attentively, while one of them has his purse stolen. A couple of people, with their arms around each other, observe the proceedings in the foreground, positioning them as it were between the beholder of the drawing and the events it shows; these figures are probably in on the conspiracy too.

Evidently, the conjurer and his assistant have carefully orchestrated the scene: the couple to the side keep lookout while another accomplice robs members of the audience. The viewer of the sheet sees it all – deceivers and deceived alike. The conjurer is a deceiver twice over: his magic tricks are themselves fake, while the performance as a whole has been staged to allow the real deception to take place. The victim has likewise been had twice: fooled by the conjuring trick and robbed of his money. These multiple layers of meaning link the drawing to the conception of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* and the *Cure of Folly* (cat. 37 and 33).

PAINTING

The painting of the *Conjurer* shows only the central scene, which makes the image seem more one-dimensional at first sight: the magic trick is performed and a fool is fleeced. The panel – which the drawings suggest derives from Bosch – has not, however, lost all of its ambiguity. Unlike the drawing, the action takes place here before a blank wall adjoining a ruined building to the left. There is a bird's nest in a round window opening, in which a large chick gazes up hungrily with its beak wide open. Infrared images of the panel reveal 32.1–2



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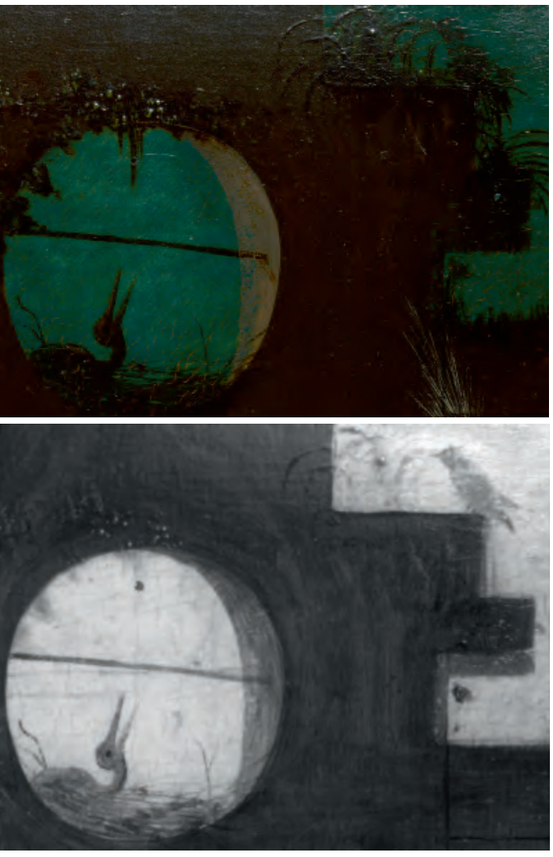
that it is being cared for by a much smaller songbird sitting on the crumbling wall. This bird, which was done in brown paint, has suffered considerable abrasion. It was much more clearly visible around 1550, when the engraver Balthasar Sylvius/van den Bosch ('s-Hertogenbosch 1518–Antwerp 1580) made a print after the painting: the chick is a cuckoo that has hatched in the deceived songbird's nest.[1] 32.3

One important change in the painting compared to the drawing relates to the person whose purse is being cut. The victim of the robbery in the drawing is the young woman whose lover directs her attention to the conjurer. In the painting, by contrast, it is the tall man spitting out frogs whose money is stolen. One frog sits on the table while another emerges from his mouth,[2] suggesting he is an assistant of the conjurer, as they perform the illusion together. Unlike the drawing, therefore, the painting shows the deceiver being

deceived. This is taken a step further in the print, in which the bent-over man drools as he witnesses the magic trick and is not in on the crime. The cutpurse behind him is accompanied by a helper who has already taken hold of the purse. The question in this case is whether the conjurer and the pair of thieves are actually working together; the moralizing inscription simply warns the viewer against conmen.

The prototype of the *Conjurer* was, at any rate, already being linked with Hieronymus Bosch in the mid-sixteenth century, as shown by Balthasar van den Bosch's print, which is inscribed 'IHERONIMUS BOSCH INVINTOR'. The painting in Saint-Germain-en-Laye was first published as a Bosch by Henri Hymans in 1893. Hymans presented it more or less as a pendant of the *Cure of Folly* (cat. 33). Several authors viewed the painting as an early work, because of its relatively simple style and composition. Some changed their mind over time, joining the group of Bosch experts who considered it to be an early imitation or a copy after a lost original. Paul Vandenbroeck went furthest in this regard, writing in 1987 that the freer and considerably larger variations with more anecdotal details in Jerusalem and Philadelphia were more faithful replicas of a lost original.[3] In 2002, Vandenbroeck described the version in Saint-Germain-en-Laye as a 'later, pseudo-archaic forgery of a Bosch prototype … possibly painted on an old panel in the second quarter of the sixteenth century'. He dated this lost prototype to 1496–1502 or later.[4] Fritz Koreny recently attributed the *Conjurer* to a follower of Bosch of around 1515–20,[5] and Stefan Fischer stated that it was painted in Bosch's workshop or by a follower in the 1510s.[6] Dendrochronological analysis of the panel gives a post quem date of 1496 and more probably 1498.[7] A later date – after about 1520–25 – seems likelier, however, on stylistic grounds and also in view of the method of framing.[8]

The underdrawing was done in a dry but somewhat greasy material. The contours alone were prepared with relatively broad lines and no further modelling. This method of underdrawing confirms that the composition was not conceived on the panel but was copied from an existing example. A similar type of underdrawing is found in the *Cure of Folly* in the Prado (cat. 33). The underdrawing was carefully followed in the paint layer, although some of the contours were moved and the little dog and several objects on the table shifted to the left. Doubts existed for some considerable time as to whether the panel's size is original and regarding the related unpainted edge of the upper half of the right side;[9] the dimensions nevertheless seem largely unchanged. Although the ground layer runs over



32.1–2 Birds: VIS and IRR [CAT 32]

32.4–5



32.3 Balthasar van den Bosch ('IHERONIMUS BOSCH INVINTOR'), *The Conjurer*, mid-16th century. Engraving. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich





32.4–5 Spectators: VIS and IRR



32.6 Use of blue paint in the faces

this edge, the presence of a barb in the paint shows that the panel was barely larger here, but that the primed panel was painted in a temporary 'working frame', before being placed in a rabbeted frame.[10] A noteworthy aspect of the way the paint was applied is the visibility of numerous fine brushstrokes, particularly in the faces in which, surprisingly, blue paint has also been used in some cases. Brushstrokes like this are also visible locally in much subtler form in the Ghent *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 29). This technique, combined with the thinly applied paint, is not found, however, in works from the core of Bosch's oeuvre. 32.6

1 Bass and Wyckoff 2015, 198–203.

2 Opinions differ as to whether this is a man or a woman. Hymans (1893, 235) thought the figure was female, as did Brand Philip (1958, 35 n. 67) followed by the exhibition catalogue 's-Hertogenbosch 1967 (128–31 no. 33).

3 Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1914, W.P. Wilstach collection; Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1977, bequeathed by Oliver O. and Marianne Ostier, New York.

4 Vandenbroeck 1987a, 73; Vandenbroeck 2002, 338.

5 Koreny 2012, 284–85.

6 Fischer 2013, 265–66 no. 28.

7 Klein 2001, 126.

8 The fact that the panel was originally housed in a rabbeted frame points to a production after c. 1520–25. Verougstraete 2015, 68.

9 Le Chanu and Mottin 2006, 120 and 121 (fig. 1).

10 A similar barb also appears to be visible in the upper part of the left edge. The panel edges to which the 'working frame' was attached have been partially planed off. See also the concise research report in BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 32, RR 87–88.

33 *The Cure of Folly*

Workshop or follower of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1500–20

Oil on oak panel, 48.8 × 34.6 cm
Inscription: *Meester snijt die keye ras/ Myne name Is lubbert das*
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, P2056

BRCP examination and documentation data: Madrid, 15–17 October 2012; BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 33, RR 85–86; //Boschproject.org no. 33.

Condition
The panel has been almost completely preserved and the painting is generally very stable. The edges were cropped slightly and two non-original dovetails reinforce the join on the reverse, which was planed down in the centre. Woodworm damage has weakened the painting at the bottom left and the regluing of a crack there has resulted in differences in surface level. Besides the retouched join and a slightly abraded paint surface, there are only minor restored losses. Red lakes have faded somewhat and the surgeon's shouldercape and the woman's robe originally appeared more purple. Green lakes have discoloured brown and several lighter paints have increased in transparency. The original paint surface is relatively well legible.

Provenance
Probably owned before 1524 by Philip of Burgundy at Wijk-bij-Duurstede; 1794 Duke of Arco; subsequently the Escorial; since the mid-nineteenth century in the Museo Nacional del Prado.

Literature
BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 33, RR 85–86; Fischer 2013, 188, 194, 257; Silver 2006, 155–59; López-Fanjul Díez del Corral and Pérez Preciado 2005, 84–110; Van Gangelen and Ostkamp 2001, 153–69; Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 51–57; Janssen, Goubitz and Kottman 2001, 171–91; Klein 2001, 125; Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck and Vermet 2001, 88, 93, 148–50; Van Schoute, Verougstraete and Garrido 2001, 103–19; Koldeweij 1991; Marijnissen 1987, 440–43; Unverfehrt 1980, 111–14, 263–64; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 87–88; Tolnay 1965, I, 54, 56, 57; II, 335–36; Von Baldass 1943, 15–16, 65, 68, 231; Friedländer 1927, 83, 101, 153; Lafond 1914, 75–76; Gossart 1907, 288; Justi 1889, 129–30, 143.

Analysis
The panel with the *Cure of Folly* and the explanatory verse *Meester snijt die keye ras/ Myne name Is lubbert das* ('Master, cut the stone out quickly, my name is Lubbert Das') is an early copy after an invention by Hieronymus Bosch. The original version was probably painted during or shortly after the chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1481. The combination of a complementary text and image, both with a double meaning, makes this an early example of a Renaissance emblem. The version discussed here was painted in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, perhaps in Bosch's workshop. The commission might have come from Admiral Philip of Burgundy, who was admitted to the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1501.

PROVENANCE

King Philip II of Spain gave the order in 1570 for a number of works of art to be purchased from the estate of Felipe de Guevara (1500–1563), including a *Haywain* triptych (cat. 20) and five paintings on canvas, listed as the work of Hieronymus Bosch.[1] One of these canvases was described in the following terms: 'Another rectangular canvas, in which folly is cured, has yet to be framed, as all other works have been framed.'[2] It was in the Escorial in 1574 and was still listed in 1600 in the estate of King Philip II as 'a canvas done by Hieronymus Bosch, in poor condition, painted in watercolour, with a surgeon operating on a man's head'. This painting has been lost, along with many other fragile works done in water-based paint on canvas.[3]

A painting showing the Cure of Folly – a theme known also as 'Cutting the Stone' and the 'Extraction of the Stone of Folly' – was located in the early sixteenth century at Duurstede Castle. This was the residence of Philip of Burgundy (1464–1524), who was bishop of Utrecht from 1517 until his death on 7 April 1524. The painting was subsequently described as 'A picture of *Lubbert Tas*, from whom the stone is being cut'.[4] It was auctioned in Utrecht in July 1527, following which there is no further trace of it. The painter's name was not mentioned, but the description indicates that it must have been a Cure of Folly and it seems entirely possible that it was the panel now in the Prado. The panel might have been taken to Spain at an early stage; it is striking, after all, that not one of the many variations that were painted in the course of the sixteenth century, or others of which descriptions have survived, include the calligraphic reference to Lubbert Das.[5]

The *Cure of Folly* in the Prado came from the Duke and Duchess of Arco's collection at their country estate of Quinta del Pardo near Madrid, where it was recorded in 1745 and again in 1794. The painting, by then part of the royal collection in the Prado, was attributed in the mid-nineteenth century to the Netherlandish school under the title 'Operacion quirurgica burlesca' ('comical surgical operation'). The German art historian Carl Justi was



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the first to publish the *Cure of Folly* as the work of Hieronymus Bosch.[6] He did so in 1889, since when the panel has generally been attributed to Bosch, and mostly as an early work. Doubt as to Bosch's authorship has also been expressed, however, since the end of the nineteenth century.[7]

Physical analysis of the *Cure of Folly* confirms the suspicion that this is a copy, since Bosch's characteristic way of working, with its continuous exploration and adjustment of the composition, is all but absent here. The underdrawing likewise differs sharply in terms of both style and material from those in other paintings from the Bosch group.[8] The composition was prepared in detail using a dry, slightly greasy material, and the underdrawing

33.1–2 was then followed almost exactly in the paint layer. The paint itself was also applied precisely and carefully, in a noticeably smoother manner than we have come to expect from Bosch. Virtually no impasto is found in the underpainting of the red lake either. The more painterly character of the landscape and the atmospheric perspective make it likely that this copy was done not after a drawing but after another painting.

Dendrochronological dating of the panel indicates that the painting was done after 1488 and more likely after 1490. Stylistically speaking, there is little reason to propose a date well into the sixteenth century as some authors have done.[9] Gerd Unverfehrt goes no further than 1510–20, arguing that of all Bosch imitations, the *Cure of Folly* is the closest to Bosch himself. The baluster-shaped table leg decorated with acanthus leaves is an element with a strikingly Renaissance character. The similarity has already been noted between this element and the whipping post in a prayer-card printed in or under the immediate influence of Mariënwater monastery near 's-Hertogenbosch at the beginning of the sixteenth
33.3 century, indicating that a motif of this kind would not be in conflict with the time or place.[10] On the other hand, the dendrochronological dating need not preclude the painting's execution in Bosch's workshop.

MEANING

Given the design and the historical context in which the overall composition of the Prado *Cure of Folly* can be placed, it seems fair to look to Hieronymus Bosch for the prototype. The interaction between image and text is comparable with that in the drawing *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37). Bosch's invention in the *Cure of Folly* lies in the transformation of a popular saying into an image, which he has then extended into a verbal and visual game through the calligraphic text around the picture. The wordplay is taken even further by the fact that rather than a stone, it is a flower that is supposedly being removed from the portly idiot's head: the Middle Dutch word *keye* not only meant 'stone', but also 'carnation' and 'flower' in general.[11] To have 'a stone in your head' was to be stupid or mad, and so its removal would cure the sufferer's folly. However, the idea of 'cutting the stone' also assumed the secondary meaning of robbing someone or deceiving them, which was in turn synonymous with the verb *lubben* – literally to cut or castrate.[12]

The scene painted in the tondo and the text that surrounds it – 'Master, cut the stone out quickly, my name is Lubbert Das' – both have several layers of meaning. The picture heightens the significance of the inscription, while the text adds an extra dimension to the image. The surgeon is performing an operation everyone knows to be a charade. The inverted funnel on his head marks him out as a fool, while the beer-jug hanging from his belt hardly inspires confidence either.[13] The company he keeps – an elderly woman and a man – seem equally dubious. The woman, who appears to be watching attentively, has a closed book on her head, and a purse hanging somewhat ostentatiously from her belt. Although the man makes a solicitous gesture – almost a blessing – towards the victim with his right hand, he too clutches a wine or beer-jug in his left. The idiot lolls back in the chair, doing full justice to his name, Lubbert Das. The badger (*das*) was thought to be lazy, being a nocturnal creature that naturally sleeps all day; 'Lubbert', meanwhile, is a standard male name, but was also used – as was the female equivalent 'Lubba' – as a nickname for a fat, lazy and/or stupid person, while the verb *lubben* meant, as already noted, to castrate or emasculate. The patient's belt-pouch, through which a 'bollock dagger' has been stuck, adds to the *double entendre*, as does Lubbert's conspicuous hose, complete with codpiece.[14] Taken together, these elements make the *Cure of Folly* an early example of a Renaissance emblem – an illustration with a pithy and often moralizing saying, in which word and image complement one another.

The scene with the Cure of Folly is set in a tondo against a black background on which the explanatory text is laid out in gold letters with elaborate cadels. The visual association between this image and the panels with shields of the Order of the Golden Fleece is unmistakable. These heraldic paintings were installed from 1430 onwards in every church where



33.1–2 VIS and IRR



33.3 *Man of Sorrows and Saint Bridget*, prayer-card with indulgence granted by Pope Julius II, early 16th century. Woodcut. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

the Burgundian chivalric order held a chapter meeting. The venue in 1481 was 's-Hertogen-
33.4 bosch. Only four of the thirty-six shields installed in St John's Church at that time have survived. Bosch is sure to have been familiar with them, especially since one of the boards was hung upside-down in a porch outside the church as a humiliating punishment for one of the knights of the order, Philippe de Crèvecœur.[15]

The visual rhyme between the *Cure of Folly* panel and the Golden Fleece paintings must likewise have been obvious to Bishop Philip of Burgundy who, as already noted, owned a 'Cure of Folly of Lubbert Das' in the early sixteenth century. Philip himself had been inducted into the Order at its sixteenth chapter meeting in Brussels in 1501, and the emblematic painting would have been perfectly at home in the kind of intellectual and cultural circles to which he belonged.[16] He had a large art collection and even managed to engage Jan Gossart as his court painter. In addition to the *Cure of Folly*, there was a painting on canvas at Duurstede Castle with a comical scene by (or after) Bosch; it was probably signed, since the inventory explicitly states the painter's name as 'Jeronimus Bosch'.[17] It is entirely plausible that Philip himself, while still Admiral of the Low Countries and a knight of the Golden Fleece, commissioned his copy of the *Cure of Folly*. In 1511 the 'Bastard of Burgundy and Admiral of the Fleet' was in 's-Hertogenbosch with a large retinue.[18] The *Cure of Folly* is a painting that invites discussion – a conversation piece that Philip displayed in the dining room of his Duurstede residence following his appointment as Bishop of Utrecht. He had probably seen the prototype at the home of one of his art-loving friends or acquaintances, to whom he is known to have given paintings as gifts.[19] We do not know, however, for whom Hieronymus Bosch painted his original work, inspired by the shields of the Golden Fleece knights as installed in 's-Hertogenbosch to mark their 1481 chapter meeting.

The *Cure of Folly* in the Prado stands at the beginning of a long visual tradition. Not only is there a relatively large group of Bosch imitations, the theme has also been adopted and reworked by countless other artists, including Jan Sanders van Hemessen, Pieter Brueghel the Younger, Maerten van Cleve, Pieter Baltens, Rembrandt, Frans Hals and Jan Steen. Its influence even extended into the twentieth century, when James Ensor drew on it for a performance, a painting and a photograph.[20]



33.4 Pierre Coustain, *Shield of Edward IV of England as Knight of the Golden Fleece*, 1481. Het Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch (on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

1 Justi 1889, 123, 141–42; Silva Maroto 2000b, 524 n. 43; Vandenbroeck 2001a, 49–50; Vázquez Dueñas 2015, 12.

2 'Otro lienço quadrado, Donde se cura de la Locura; por guarnesçer, porque todos los demás están guarneçidos.'

3 Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 51; Vandenbroeck 2002, 40; Vandenbroeck 1987a, 37, 372 n. 217.

4 'Een tafreel van *Lubbert Tas* die men die keye uyt snyt'. It is described in the inventory drawn up five years later which also included works that had been removed in the meantime, as 'Een taeffereel van Lubbertas, die men de keye snijt'. Matthaeus 1698, I, 349; Sterk 1980, 55, 248, 309; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, 124–25 no. 30.

5 Unverfehrt 1980, 21, 111–14, 263–64 no. 55.

6 Justi 1889, 129–30.

7 Dollmayr 1898, 296; Brand Philip 1958, 41–53; Von Baldass 1959, 225–26; Boon 1960; Unverfehrt 1980, 111–14, 263–64 no. 55; Elsig 2004, 108–10.

8 With the exception of that of the *Conjurer* in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 32, RR 87–88.

9 Brand Philip 1958, 45, has even suggested a date as late as 1560–70; Unverfehrt 1980, 111–14, 263–64 no. 55.

10 De Kreek 1986, 28–29 no. 16; Koldeweij 2001a, 31.

11 Bax 1967, 70; Koldeweij 1991, 10. Justi (1889, 130) already noted that there was no stone to be seen: '... sieht aus wie eine Tulpe'.

12 Stoett 1923, I, 377 no. 980; Koldeweij 1991, 9–10.

13 The upturned funnel as headgear with a negative connotation is used twice in the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 4), once in *Gluttony and Lust* (cat. 19B), and there are three inverted funnels in the Bruges *Last Judgement Triptych* (cat. 16). It does not appear in any other surviving works by Bosch. See the website Boschproject.org, link L26.

14 'Lubbert in de wei laten lopen' ('Taking Lubbert for a walk in the meadow') is a euphemism, according to the dictionary of erotic proverbs, for sexual intercourse. Lubbert = penis. See Van den Broek 2002, 61.

15 Following the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, Philippe de Crèvecœur had defected from the Burgundian side to that of the French. Koldeweij 1990a, 106–07 no. 53a–c; Koldeweij 1991, 18.

16 Sterk 1980; Pleij 1988, 25–29; Ainsworth 2010, passim.

17 Sterk 1980, 99, 225, 282.

18 Van Bavel et al. 2002, 71.

19 Sterk 1980, 17, 23–25, 34, 39–40.

20 Koldeweij 1996.

34 *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*

Workshop or follower of Hieronymus Bosch
c. 1510–20

Oil on poplar panel, 120 × 150 cm
Signed lower centre: *jheronimus bosch*
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2822 (on loan from the Patrimonio Nacional)

BRCP examination and documentation data:
the BRCP did not obtain permission to examine the painting in the Prado.

Condition
The poplar support was enlarged at some point with two strips that were nailed to the sides. On the reverse, dark red paint, oakum and other materials were added later, including a strip of canvas that covers the crack in the centre that runs over the entire length of the panel. Other cracks were observed as well and although there are multiple losses and damages, the original paint surface appears to be in a fairly good state overall.[1]

Provenance
By 1560 in the possession of Philip II of Spain; transferred to the Escorial in 1574 on the order of Philip II; since 1939 in the Museo Nacional del Prado.

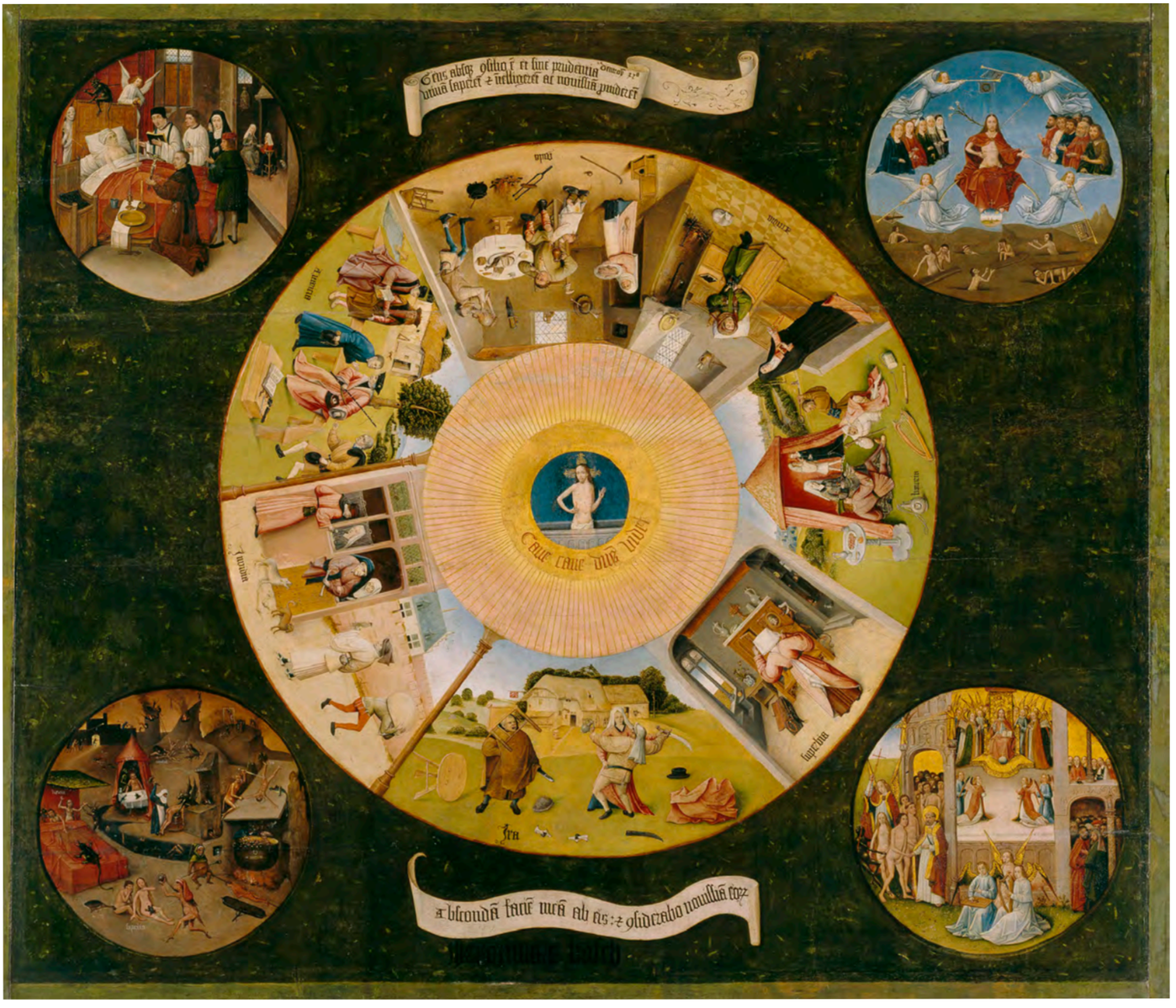
Literature
Kremb 2013, 9–11, 31–43; Fischer 2013, 188, 191–92, 252–53; Koreny 2012, 28, 110–11; Pokorny 2010, 35–43; Koerner 2006, 285–300; Silver 2006, 305–18; Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 77–95; Vandenbroeck 2001, 49–63; Marijnissen 1987, 329–34; Unverfehrt 1980, 26; Gerlach 1978–79 (reprinted 1988, 129–66); Gibson 1973, 205–26; Friedländer ENP V 1969, 87; Tolnay 1965, I, 58–69; II, 336–37; Von Baldass 1943, 11–12, 18–21, 54, 233–34; Friedländer 1927, 102, 152; Friedländer 1921, 81, 192; Lafond 1914, 50–51; Gossart 1907, 59–61; Justi 1889, 131–32, 142.

Analysis
The attribution and function of this painting have been the subject of considerable debate. The earliest description, by Felipe de Guevara (c. 1560), suggests that it is the work of an apprentice or a follower – an analysis confirmed by closer examination of the work's execution. The fact that the painting was done on poplar rather than oak, combined with De Guevara's reference to it as a *mesa* (literally 'table', but also 'panel'), has led to recurring suggestions that this is actually a tabletop, which is indeed probably the case. The painting's provenance stretches back to Philip II's private quarters in the Escorial. José de Sigüenza cited the painting as evidence of the orthodoxy of both the artist and Philip II.

MEANING

The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things represents a challenge in terms of its attribution to Hieronymus Bosch. The painting is signed in the lower middle and boasts a royal provenance stretching back to Philip II's private quarters in the Escorial, where it was registered between 12 and 16 April 1574 as being 'de mano de Géronimo Bosqui'.[2] The Seven Deadly Sins are set out within a series of concentric circles, the centrepoint of which is formed by the resurrected Christ standing in a sarcophagus; this central circle is set against a golden yellow background and surrounded by a circle of gilded rays. The extremely clear composition must have appealed to the pious king of the great Spanish Empire and founder of the Escorial. The words *cave cave do*[*minu*]*s videt* ('beware, beware the Lord is watching') are inscribed below Christ. The text heightens the suggestion that Christ is located in the pupil of an eye that sees all the sins of the world reflected in it. There are four medallions in the corners around the large central roundel, illustrating the 'Four Last Things': death, judgement, hell and heaven. The medallions and the large circle are set against a dark, monochrome background, painted largely in shades of green and brown in an imitation stone pattern.[3] Two banderoles containing cautionary texts from Deuteronomy appear above and below the central circle. The one at the top reads: *Gens absq*[*ue*] [*con*]*silio e*[*st*] *et sine prudentia // deutro*[*m*]*y 32*[*um*] *// utina*[*m*] *sapere*[*n*]*t* [*et*] *i*[*n*]*telligere*[*n*]*t ac novissi*[*m*]*a p*[*ro*]*videre*[*n*]*t* ('They are a nation without sense, there is no discernment in them. If only they were wise and would understand this and discern what their end will be!'); and the one underneath: *Absconda*[*m*] *facie*[*m*] *mea*[*m*] *ab eis* [*et*] [*con*]*siderabo novissi*[*m*]*a eo*[*rum*] ('I will hide my face from them; and see what their end will be').[4]

The image sums up schematically what Bosch shows in a more implicit and complex way in paintings like the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the *Haywain* and the *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 19–21), namely that hell is the inevitable destination of those who turn away from God. In his history of the Hieronymite Order (1595–1605), José de Sigüenza describes the painting as a mirror in which the truth of Christianity is reflected and in which viewers can



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34.1–2 *Superbia* (Pride): VIS and IRR

therefore see themselves. He concludes his description of the painting with the comment that 'he who painted this had nothing against our faith'.[5] His words need to be understood in the context of the task De Sigüenza set himself in his discussion of Bosch's work, namely to show that any suggestion that the artist had been a heretic was nonsense.[6] De Sigüenza plainly considered *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* to be an instructive example with which to emphasize its maker's orthodoxy. He lent weight to his argument by stating that he was convinced the king had been a pious and devout man, and that if there had been any truth in the accusations of heresy levelled against Bosch, his works would never have been permitted to enter his majesty's quarters. The painting played an important part, therefore, in justifying the presence of Bosch's work in the Spanish royal collections.

Felipe de Guevara, writing forty years earlier in around 1560, also felt the need to stress that there was nothing unnatural about Bosch's work. He drew a distinction in his *Comentarios de la pintura* between Bosch himself, who always worked with prudence (*prudencia*) and decorum (*decoro*), and his followers, whose imitations lacked discernment (*discrecion*) and judgement (*juicio*). All they cared about, De Guevara wrote, were monsters and strangeness, and they paid no heed to the content for which such forms were appropriate. It was only fair (*justo*), he went on, to report that among these imitators, there was one who had been Bosch's pupil and who, whether out of respect for his master or to give his works a good name, did not sign his paintings with his own name but with that of Bosch.[7] 34.6

> … but it is right to warn that among these imitators of Hieronymus Bosch, there is one who was his pupil and who, out of respect for his master, or to give his works a good name, inscribed the name *Bosch* on his paintings instead of his own. And they are nevertheless paintings very much to be esteemed, and those who own such works ought to be aware of their value, as this painter emulated his master in terms of invention and morals, as he was more diligent and patient in his work than Bosch, and because his work did not deviate in style, elegance or colour from that of his master.

In the very next sentence, without beginning a new paragraph, De Guevara goes on to mention *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* – already in the king's possession – as an example of this kind of art.

> An example of this type of painting is a 'table [or panel]' owned by His Majesty, in which the Seven Deadly Sins are painted in a circle, depicted in figures and examples: and although the painting is marvellous in itself, the depiction of Envy is, in my opinion, so rare and so ingenious, and expresses her emotion so well, that it can vie with Aristides, the inventor of the paintings the Greeks call *Ethice*, which in our Castilian language can be translated as 'paintings that show the customs and feelings of human beings'.[8]

Don Antonio Ponz, who published De Guevara's manuscript in the eighteenth century, added a footnote in which he stated that he was convinced that the work in question was *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* and that the painting was located in the Escorial, in the bedchamber where Philip II had died, adjoining the first room of the royal apartments, and which could be entered via a door on the sacristy stairs.[9] 34.7

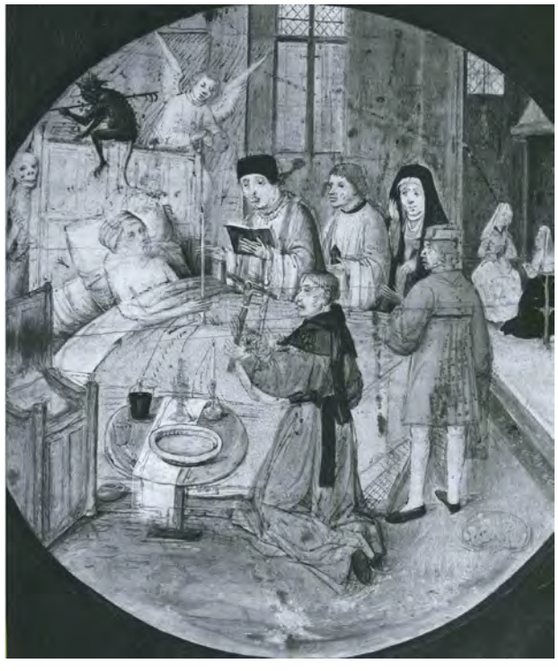
ATTRIBUTION

Felipe de Guevara's passage on Bosch and *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* prompted the suggestion – one that persists to this day – that he was attributing the painting to a pupil of Bosch.[10] This means De Guevara might be distinguishing here between work he considered to have been painted by Bosch himself and this particular painting. We know that De Guevara sold six paintings by Bosch to Philip II in 1570, from which we

can infer that he must have known Bosch's work well. In his text about the artist, he therefore makes a point of distinguishing between original paintings by Bosch and those of his followers. He refers in this regard to a trick used by forgers to make their work seem older so that it could pass for Bosch's own, by smoking them in the fireplace. The place where De Guevara cites the example of the 'Tabletop' at least keeps open the possibility that it may be interpreted as an example of the work of a pupil rather than simply as an example of a work by Bosch done with decorum and discernment. He could, after all, equally well have mentioned it in some other place if he wanted to avoid any doubt regarding the attribution.

The passage from the *Comentarios de la pintura* would undoubtedly have been discussed less frequently if there were no other grounds for doubting the painting's attribution to Bosch; this is not the case, however. The painting was done on a thick poplar panel – the only time, as far as we can tell, that this ever occurred in early Netherlandish painting. The vast majority of panels are made of oak, preferably of the fine-grained Baltic variety.[11] Poplar wood, by contrast, was widely used in Italy and Spain as a support for panel paintings. The painterly execution of the work is likewise difficult to link to the output of Bosch and his workshop. The painting was extensively prepared; the central circle was divided into regular segments and the composition was then underdrawn in considerable detail in at least two phases. The style of the underdrawing is precise, detailed and a little stiff, in a manner we do not find in the Bosch group. The artist handled the underdrawn design quite freely during the painting stage, deviating from it in numerous places. The uniform segmentation was abandoned, with the result that some of the scenes are larger than others. This means that the painter only felt bound to a limited degree by the design set out before him on the panel. 34.1–2

The way the sins are visualized, in contemporary, everyday situations rather than personifications, is engaging rather than brilliant. The elements of each image are mostly placed next to one another and complex compositions are avoided, giving the scenes a somewhat naive character. The perspective is not very successful in many cases, as we see in particular in the rendering of the table in *Luxuria* (Lust) and the chair in *Gula* (Gluttony). This is in spite of the considerable attention paid to the positioning of the various objects in the underdrawing. Bosch's brilliant and rapid way of working, which we find in the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 4) and especially in the *Haywain* (cat. 20), but also in the more refined *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21) and the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9) is as





34.3–4 Death: IRR and VIS

good as absent here. As has frequently been noted, the images of the Four Last Things are of even lesser quality, and also differ from the Deadly Sins in terms of technique. The question arises, therefore, as to whether they might have been done by another artist.[12] *Death* in the upper left medallion seems indebted to *Death and the Miser* in Washington (cat. 19c), but comes nowhere near the pictorial quality of that painting, in terms of either content or
34.3–4 form. The underdrawing of this medallion is still somewhat comparable with the underdrawings of the panels from the *Wayfarer Triptych*, including the one in Washington, but was done with considerably less skill.[13] The perspective of the faces painted in three-quarter profile is distorted in virtually all the scenes in the painting. The painter of this work was
34.5 unable to represent the human face convincingly *en trois quarts*.[14]

The available data for *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* raises serious doubts regarding its execution by Bosch or even by his workshop. The style of both the underdrawing and the painting is hard to link to signed paintings by Bosch, the attribution of which is beyond doubt.[15] All the same, we have a signature here, and the underdrawing shows that the painting is not a replica, as is the case, for instance, with the *Haywain* in the Escorial and the *Passion Triptych* in Valencia: this is ruled out by the way the artist clearly continued to search for the final composition as he worked. The theme of the work, moreover, does appear 'Boschian'.

The Four Last Things were the subject of a treatise that was printed and translated in Europe from the 1470s until well into the sixteenth century. *Cordiale quattuor novissimorum* was the most important source for *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*, and actually concludes with the quotation from Deuteronomy set out at the top of the painting.[16] The text is attributed to Gerard van Vliederhoven, an otherwise unknown Dutch monk, who was active in the Utrecht area around the end of the fourteenth century. The printed version of his treatise prepared by Denis the Carthusian – a monk who was appointed prior in 1466 of the newly founded Charterhouse of St Sophia in 's-Hertogenbosch, and who lived in Roermond, eighty kilometres to the southwest, from 1469 until his death. The little book was published not only in Latin and Dutch, but also in German, French and English. There was a Castilian translation too, which appeared in May 1495, and a month later a version in Valencian. The treatise must have been readily accessible throughout Europe in the late fifteenth century.

The status of the signature is another issue to be addressed. In so far as we can tell based on the technical analysis performed and published by Garrido and Van Schoute, there is no reason to view it as a later addition.[17] The placement of the signature, jammed in between the lower banderole and the edge of the painting, is a little awkward, and therefore raises certain questions. If the hand of Hieronymus Bosch cannot be detected in this panel, in either the underdrawing or painting, can it still be a Bosch? Archive material, including the passage from De Guevara in which he mentions an apprentice, refers to painters who worked for or with Bosch, namely assistants and close relatives who were also painters. The *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston (cat. 24) is not of the same artistic quality as the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9) or the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt (cat. 11), but its relationship with those paintings and the fact that it was commissioned by patrons from 's-Hertogenbosch, make it highly improbable that the triptych was not produced in Bosch's workshop. If we assume that the paintings that left a master's workshop did so with his approval, even if they were executed by assistants, then they did so in his name. The case of *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* differs from that of the triptych from Boston or of the *Flood Panels* (cat. 22) and the *Job Triptych* (cat. 23). No patrons are known in this case and the links with other works by Bosch are not very strong.



34.5 The Risen Christ

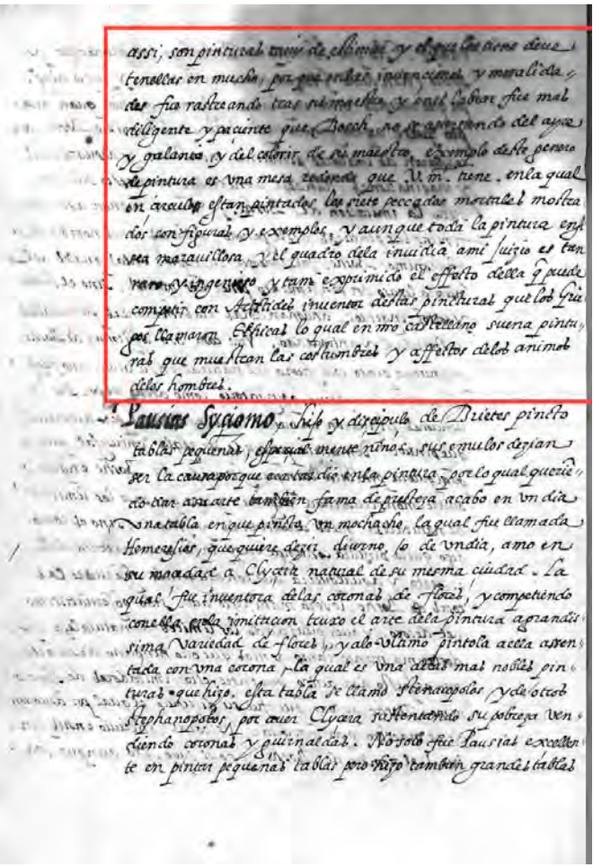
POPLAR WOOD

The issue of the support, a poplar panel, does not make it any easier to view this as an autograph work by Bosch. We do not know of any other work by an early Netherlandish master painted on this type of wood. X-radiographs also detect fills in the joins on the front of the

panel, which was not a usual technique in the Low Countries.[18] On the other hand, the chalk (calcium carbonate) used as a filler in the ground layer points firmly towards production in Central or Northern Europe, whereas gypsum (calcium sulphate) was generally used for this purpose in Spain and Italy.[19] It is theoretically possible that a patron, perhaps from Southern Europe, supplied Bosch with the wood for the commission, but in that case, we would expect to find considerable input from Bosch himself.

The argument that the support may be explained by the work's function as a tabletop ought to be taken seriously. The images of the Deadly Sins can indeed be read more clearly when the painting is laid flat, yet not the medallions with the Four Last Things or the banderoles with the quotations from Deuteronomy. On the other hand, we would expect a tabletop to show considerably more wear, as we find, for instance, in the tabletop of Berne Abbey in Heeswijk – a very rare example of a painting on an oak (!) support, which is known to have been used as a table.[20] The principal argument against viewing the panel as a table- 34.8
top is the way the painting has been conceived as a mirror of the sins and as God's all-seeing eye. These functions are fulfilled more effectively when the painting is hung on the wall, as it was in Philip II's bedroom at the Escorial, and the figure of Christ at the centre stands upright in his sarcophagus (which, oddly enough, is depicted at an angle).[21] The four medallions, the texts and the signature are all then correctly oriented. In his description of the painting, Felipe de Guevara uses the word *mesa*, which can be read as 'table' but also as 'panel' (De Sigüenza refers in this context to *tabla y quadro*). His use of the term has contributed significantly to the view that this really was a tabletop, and for good reason: elsewhere in his text he uses the word *mesa* fifteen times, and in each case it has the meaning of 'table'. He even refers at one point to the German custom of painting tables that were not used for dining.[22] This written source links perfectly with the painted tabletops that were recently analysed by Jens Kremb, who believes that the work in the Prado is indeed a table.[23]

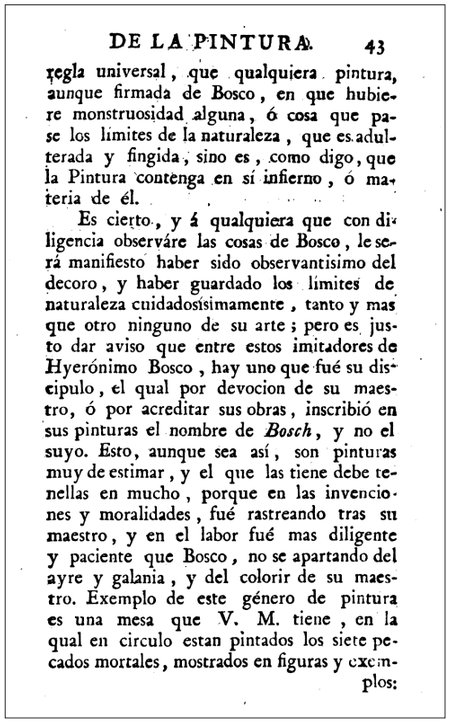
34.6 Passage about Bosch in the manuscript of Felipe de Guevara's *Comentario de la pintura*. Library of the Prado Museum, Madrid, Ms/8



assi, son pinturas muy de estimar y el que las tiene debe tenellas en mucho, porque en las inuenciones y moralidades fué rastreando tras su maestro, y en el labor fué mas diligente y paciente que Bosch, no se apartando del ayre y galanes, y del colorir de su maestro. Exemplo de este genero de pintura es una mesa redonda que V. M. tiene, en la qual en circulo estan pintados los siete pecados mortales, mostrados en figuras y exemplos, y aunque toda la pintura en sí sea maravillosa, y el quadro dela inuidia a mi juicio es tan raro y ingenioso, y tan exprimido el effecto della, que puede competir con Aristides inuentor destas pinturas, que los Griegos llamaron *Ethice*, lo qual en nuestro castellano suena pinturas que muestran las costumbres y affectos delos animos delos hombres.

Paus*ias* Sycyonio, hijo y discipulo de Prieto pintó tablas pequeñas, especialmente niños, sus semejantes, por la causa porque acostumbró en esta pintura, por lo qual quedó de tan aprouado arte, también fama de grandeza acabó en vn dia vna tabla en que pintó vn muchacho, la qual fue llamada Homerasias, que quiere decir, durmiendo, o de vndia, amo en su mocedad a Clycia natural de su misma ciudad. La qual fue inuentora delas coronas de flores, y competiendo con ella, imitacion, tuuo el arte dela pintura grandissima variedad de flores, y alo vltimo pintola aella assentada con vna corona, la qual es vna delas mas nobles pinturas que hizo. Esta tabla se llamó Stephanoplos, y della otras Stephanoplos, por auer Clycia sustentado su pobreza vendiendo coronas y guirnaldas. No solo fue Pausias excelente en pintar pequeñas tablas, pero hizo tambien grandes tablas

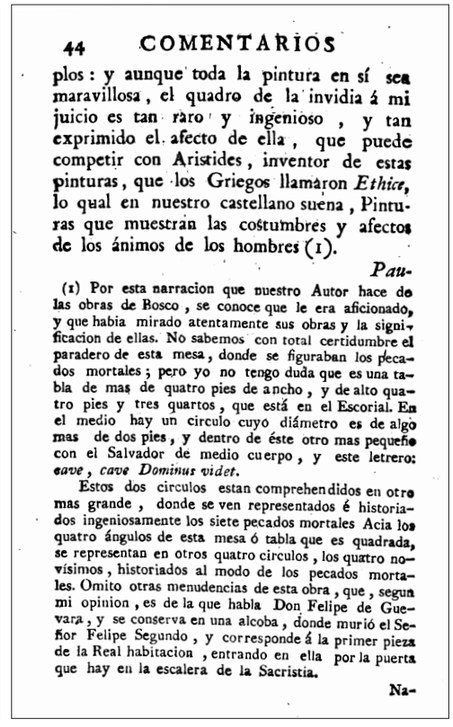
34.7 Felipe de Guevara, *Comentarios de la pintura* (Ponz edition, 1788). In the footnote Antonio Ponz states that he has seen the panel in Philip II's death-chamber in the Escorial.



DE LA PINTURA. 43

regla universal, que qualquiera pintura, aunque firmada de Bosco, en que hubiere monstruosidad alguna, ó cosa que pase los límites de la naturaleza, que es adulterada y fingida, sino es, como digo, que la Pintura contenga en sí infierno, ó materia de él.

Es cierto, y á qualquiera que con diligencia observáre las cosas de Bosco, le será manifiesto haber sido observantisimo del decoro, y haber guardado los límites de naturaleza cuidadosísimamente, tanto y mas que otro ninguno de su arte; pero es justo dar aviso que entre estos imitadores de Hyerónimo Bosco, hay uno que fué su discípulo, el qual por devocion de su maestro, ó por acreditar sus obras, inscribió en sus pinturas el nombre de *Bosch*, y no el suyo. Esto, aunque sea así, son pinturas muy de estimar, y el que las tiene debe tenellas en mucho, porque en las invenciones y moralidades, fué rastreando tras su maestro, y en el labor fué mas diligente y paciente que Bosco, no se apartando del ayre y galania, y del colorir de su maestro. Exemplo de este género de pintura es una mesa que V. M. tiene, en la qual en circulo estan pintados los siete pecados mortales, mostrados en figuras y exemplos:



44 COMENTARIOS

plos: y aunque toda la pintura en sí sea maravillosa, el quadro de la invidia á mi juicio es tan raro y ingenioso, y tan exprimido el afecto de ella, que puede competir con Aristides, inventor de estas pinturas, que los Griegos llamaron *Ethice*, lo qual en nuestro castellano suena, Pinturas que muestran las costumbres y afectos de los ánimos de los hombres (1).

Pau-

(1) Por esta narracion que nuestro Autor hace de las obras de Bosco, se conoce que le era aficionado, y que habia mirado atentamente sus obras y la significacion de ellas. No sabemos con total certidumbre el paradero de esta mesa, donde se figuraban los pecados mortales; pero yo no tengo duda que es una tabla de mas de quatro pies de ancho, y de alto quatro pies y tres quartos, que está en el Escorial. En el medio hay un circulo cuyo diámetro es de algo mas de dos pies, y dentro de éste otro mas pequeño con el Salvador de medio cuerpo, y este letrero: *cave, cave Dominus videt.*

Estos dos circulos estan comprehendidos en otro mas grande, donde se ven representados é historiados ingeniosamente los siete pecados mortales Acia los quatro ángulos de esta mesa ó tabla que es quadrada, se representan en otros quatro circulos, los quatro novísimos, historiados al modo de los pecados mortales. Omito otras menudencias de esta obra, que, segun mi opinion, es de la que habla Don Felipe de Guevara, y se conserva en una alcoba, donde murió el Señor Felipe Segundo, y corresponde á la primer pieza de la Real habitacion, entrando en ella por la puerta que hay en la escalera de la Sacristia.

Na-

Without more substantial evidence, it is not possible to draw any secure conclusion as to whether or not this tabletop/painting should be placed in the group of paintings attributable to Bosch (or his workshop). Poplar cannot be dated dendrochronologically, which rules out this form of analysis. It is conceivable that the panel was produced in the Van Aken family workshop after Hieronymus's death – a possibility that is not too far removed from the practice described by Felipe de Guevara. In all probability, the presence of chalk in the ground layer places the painting in Northern Europe, even if a few rare examples are known from Italian and Portuguese art around 1500.[24] Although a Netherlandish painter – whether or not from Bosch's workshop – might have painted this work somewhere else, the ripples that *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* left in later Netherlandish art argue against this. There is a copy of *Ira* (Wrath) in Bergamo, done on oak by a Netherlandish painter in the mid-sixteenth century.[25] Intriguingly, the little painting originated in the collection of the celebrated connoisseur Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891). A Netherlandish oil sketch on paper in Leipzig, meanwhile, incorporates quotations from the painting in Madrid.[26] Works like this seem to indicate that the painting remained in the Low Countries before finding its way into the Spanish royal collection. It is worth mentioning, moreover, that two examples of Bosch's *Seven Deadly Sins* were reported in Antwerp in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. A 'Tafreel van Jeronimus Bosch wesende de VII doodsonden' is recorded in 1565 in the possession of the Antwerp merchant and banker Nicolaas Jongelinck, who also owned a large number of paintings by Pieter Bruegel.[27] The other example is mentioned in 1574 in the estate of Margaretha Boge, the widow of the wealthy Joris Vezelaer ('s-Hertogenbosch 1493–1570 Antwerp), who was a goldsmith, master of the mint, and trader in jewellery, precious metalwork and tapestries.[28] Vezelaer probably became a citizen of Antwerp in 1515–16. His father, the goldsmith Jacob Vezelaer (died 1495), purchased a house on the Markt in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1473 and a large, newly built dwelling in December 1485 next door to the home of municipal secretary Franco van Langel (see cat. 24).

34.10
34.9



34.8 Tabletop of Berne Abbey, Heeswijk, first quarter 16th century



34.9 Anonymous (Netherlandish), *Ira* (Wrath) [FIG 34.10], mid-16th century. Accademia Carrara di Belle Arti, Bergamo



34.10 *Ira* (Wrath)

1 Given that the BRCP was not granted permission to examine and document the painting in the Prado, the technical data assembled here are largely based on Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 77–95.

2 Checa Cremades, Mancini and Vázquez Dueñas 2013, 216.

3 The dark background is fully opaque to infrared. See exhib. cat. Madrid 2006, no. 3, 94 fig. 1.

4 Deuteronomy 32:28–29 and 32:20, respectively.

5 'quien esto pintava no sentia mal de nuestra fe'. See p. 579; Catalina Garcia 1907–09, II, 637.

6 'porque comunmente las llaman los disparates de Geronimo Bosque gente que repara poco en lo que mira, y porque pienso que sin razon le tienen infamado de herege'. See p. 578; Catalina Garcia 1907–09, II, 635.

7 Precisely whose works were being given a good name is ambiguous: Bosch's or those of the pupil. See also Vázquez Dueñas 2015, 14–15.

8 See p. 576. De Guevara (Ponz) 1788, 43–44. The 'genre' to which De Guevara refers here seems to be that of apocryphally signed paintings. See Silva Maroto 2000c, 536 for an alternative interpretation.

9 See p. 577 and fig. 34.7.

10 Koreny 2012, 110.

11 Peter Klein (2003a, 72, table 4) cites just four other exceptions: lime, fir (2) and beech.

12 Gibson 1973, 34. For the deviating technique, see Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 76–95.

13 See, for instance, the diagonally placed parallel hatching behind the angel in the upper left of the medallion, published in exhib. cat. Madrid 2006, 95 (fig. 1) and 99 (fig. 8). The quality of execution of the underdrawing in the medallion is significantly inferior to that in the panels of the *Wayfarer Triptych* (cat. 19); this is chiefly apparent in the faulty preparation of the modelling of the drapery, for instance. The lines here also lack the assurance and suppleness of the underdrawings in the triptych, but both images might go back to the same source, possibly a print in the tradition of the *Ars Moriendi*. Further comparison has been hindered by the fact that the BRCP was unable to document this painting itself.

14 Cf. the convincing way in which Bosch painted the risen Christ in the *Mass of Saint Gregory* on the exterior of the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9).

15 *Saint John on Patmos* in Berlin (cat. 6), for instance, and the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9).

16 Lane 1985.

17 Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 76–95.

18 Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, 80.

19 Reference is sometimes found in the literature to use of calcium carbonate as a filler in the ground layer of Spanish panels, but this is merely repeating an early, erroneous source. Maite Jover de Celis (email, 9 January 2015) reports that the analytical laboratory at the Prado's restoration department has never detected calcium carbonate in a Spanish panel, and its alleged discovery was never described in a reliable publication. Calcium sulphate was always used for this purpose, even in coastal regions.

20 Dubbe 1969; Van Bavel 1969; Van Rosmalen 1969.

21 Marijnissen (1987, 333) wondered *en passant* whether the painting might have been used as a ceiling decoration.

22 See p. 576.

23 Kremb 2013, passim, and 31–43: 2.3 'Tischplatte von Hieronymus Bosch'. Erwin Pokorny argues against the tabletop function. Pokorny 2010.

24 In Giovanni Bellini's *Madonna Contarini* (1475–80), for instance, in the Gallerie dell' Accademia in Venice. With thanks to Giulio Bono.

25 Anonymous, *Ira*, oil on oak, 22 × 31 cm. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara di Belle Arti, inv. 1005–1891, Giovanni Morelli bequest. Ricci 1912, no. 589; Unverfehrt 1980, 89.

26 Koreny (2012, 254–56) believes this sheet to be a study by the same hand as the painter of *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*. We think the drawing is by a later hand.

27 Denucé 1932, 6; Van Dijck 2001a, 62, 99.

28 Denucé 1932, 6; Gerlach 1978–79; Van Hemeldonck 1988, 29, 30; Van Dijck 1998; Van Dijck 2001a, 60–62, 106.



Bosch as Draughtsman

NOTES ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DRAWING CATALOGUE

The drawings numbered 35–54 are attributed to Hieronymus Bosch. This is not to say that we believe all twenty sheets are entirely autograph. Most of the verso of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37), for instance, was drawn by assistants or apprentices of Bosch.[1] In *Concert in an Egg* and the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 43), only the little sketch of a monster's head can be attributed to Bosch. The versos of the *Conjurer* in both Paris and Liège (cat. 47 and 48) must have been drawn outside Bosch's immediate sphere of influence.

It goes without saying that our survey is indebted to earlier research into Bosch's drawn oeuvre, first and foremost to the comprehensive study by the Viennese drawing expert Fritz Koreny and his colleagues Erwin Pokorny and Gabriele Bartz.[2] Although research into Bosch's drawings was carried out throughout the twentieth century, this frequently occurred in the context of museum catalogues and so was not done with an overview of the corpus in mind.[3] Where drawings featured in monographs devoted to Bosch's work, meanwhile, they tended to be side-lined and were referred to largely with reference to the paintings.[4] Building on Koreny's study, but also on prior work by Gerard Lemmens and Ed Taverne and by Jan Piet Filedt Kok, our aim here is to consider Bosch's drawn oeuvre as a whole, while also linking it where possible to his painted work.[5] The documentation produced by the BRCP has proved immensely important to these efforts; it has made it possible to include the underdrawings of paintings in our study, while macrophotography of Bosch's work has enabled us to look much more precisely at the line and brushwork in drawings and paintings and to compare them with one another. Macrophotography also means that we can now look at the drawings and the paintings in much greater detail and can transcend differences not only of style but also of scale. The huge quantity of narrative and other details in Bosch's paintings and drawings can be highlighted and compared much more than previously, and to greater effect. It was evident during this process that comprehensive photographic documentation of drawings – in both visible and infrared light – can contribute significantly to our understanding of an artist's work.[6]

We have not attempted to organize our catalogue according to the function of the drawings, as too few sheets by Bosch have survived and their purpose cannot be determined with sufficient accuracy to justify such a breakdown. Chronological ordering, as applied by Koreny, is not feasible either in our view, as it tends to create an illusion of certainty. In our opinion, the arguments used to date drawings are not strong enough since Koreny takes virtually no account of differences of function, which can influence the appearance of a drawing.

The order in which we present the drawings takes the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35) as its starting point, as it is here that the strongest arguments in favour of attribution to Hieronymus

FIG 1 *Two Monsters* [CAT 38]

Bosch can be made. It is then a matter of building on this first attribution. Function does play a significant role here and dating very little, except to the extent that we do not expect a drawing done in 1480 to look precisely the same as one done by the same hand in 1515 (whoever's hand that might have been, although there is no reason to suppose that Bosch did not continue to draw over a period even longer than thirty-five years).

The primary reason for our attribution of twenty drawings to Bosch rather than the eleven Koreny gave him is that the differences are considerably smaller than the similarities. What is more, we believe Koreny's 'Master of the Prado Haywain' to have been Bosch himself rather than a workshop assistant. The differences compared to drawings produced by the workshop and by followers, as in cat. 37 verso, 43, 47 verso, 48 verso, 56, 57 and 58 are much greater than the differences between cat. 35 to 54 themselves.

The drawing of *Two oriental men* (cat. 55) is difficult to evaluate. The painterly character of the drawing differs so sharply from the other drawings in the Bosch group that attempts to link them seem unconvincing. Stephanie Buck's comparison with figures from the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* (cat. 11), by contrast, is sufficiently interesting for us to include the sheet in this catalogue as a doubtful case.[7]



FIG 2 *The Gathering of the Birds* [CAT 41]

Introduction

Hieronymus Bosch was a draughtsman through and through. Paper, pen and ink were the perfect medium for an artist who focused so strongly on seeking out new forms, on invention. Bosch is the first Netherlandish artist by whom a small body of drawings has come down to us. Fritz Koreny identified eleven autograph sheets in his catalogue raisonné[8] – a group that should, we argue here, be extended to twenty drawings, almost double Koreny's total.

Early Netherlandish drawings have only survived to a very limited extent. Roughly 700 sheets are known from the period 1400–1500.[9] To put this in perspective, the catalogue of drawings by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) alone includes around 1,000 entries. Drawing in the Low Countries largely consisted of copies of and variations on compositions that were more or less well-known and which, most importantly, existed already. Some of these drawings can be linked to a particular artist's workshop (or its wider circle), but this often remains uncertain too, as it is necessarily based on the content of the image (iconography and composition) and less so on personal draughtsmanship. The distinctive drawing style of an individual artist cannot have been very important in the late fifteenth century. Drawings were intended more as working documents to serve a workshop practice geared toward skilfully rendered and highly finished pictures. More than this, it was evidently considered important in many cases that the maker's 'hand' should *not* be visible in the finished product, as this might cause the artist to 'come between' the beholder and the image. For many years, awareness of the individual artist was primarily a by-product of the work's quality rather than something considered desirable at the outset. Attributions of drawings to artistic 'personalities' like Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400–1464), Petrus Christus (active 1444–1475/76), Dirk Bouts (c. 1410/20–1475), Hugo van der Goes (c. 1430/40–1482) and Hans Memling (active 1465–1494) are few and far between, and those that do exist are frequently open to question.[10]

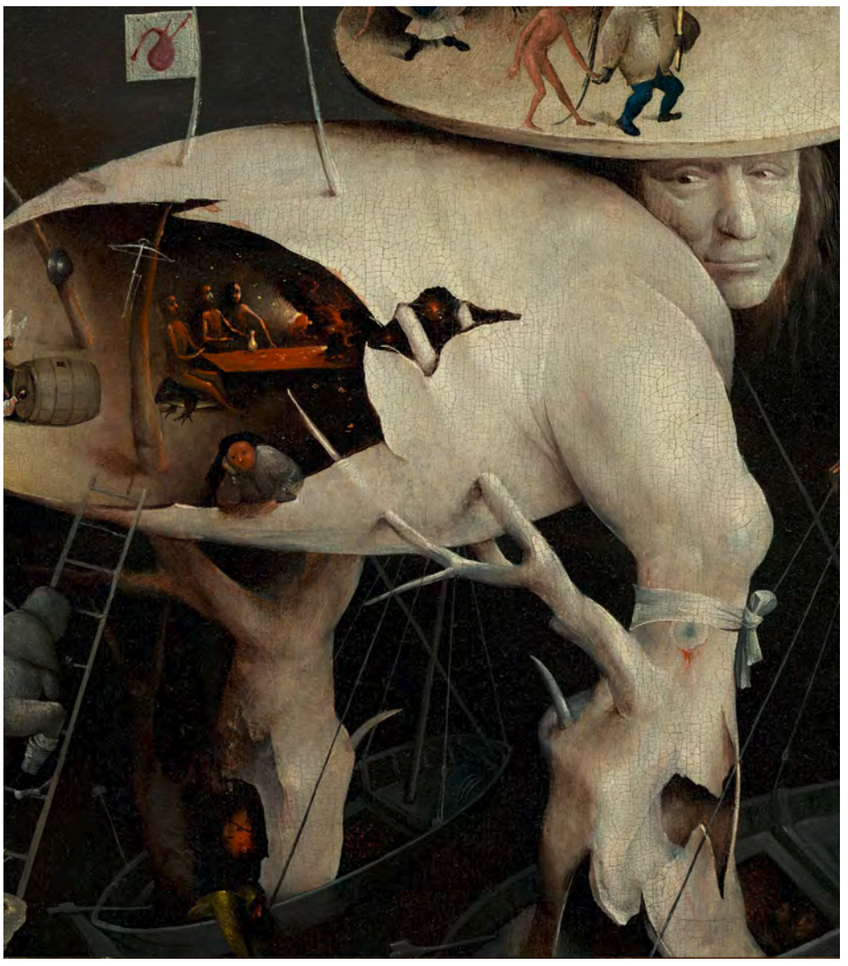
Jan van Eyck (c. 1390–1441) is the almost inevitable exception to this rule. His metalpoint portrait of a cardinal (Nicolò Albergati?) has survived (Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden),[11] and Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam acquired a *Calvary* in silverpoint and goldpoint in 2014, which seems to have been produced within Van Eyck's circle.[12] Leaving aside the question of whether it ought to be considered an 'autonomous' drawing, *Saint Barbara* (1437) in Antwerp is a magnificent, signed and dated example of this Southern Netherlandish master's draughtsmanship.[13] Van Eyck likewise prepared the way for Bosch in the way he used his signature.

A larger number of drawings that may be attributed to individual artistic personalities has survived from the period around the turn of the century. Gerard David (c. 1455–1523), Jan Gossart (c. 1478–1532) and Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533) all left small bodies of drawings; roughly fifteen are currently known by David,[14] while Stijn Alsteens has counted over forty drawings for Gossart.[15] Twenty-eight drawings are currently attributed to Lucas van Leyden.[16] The art of drawing took off in the Low Countries after 1500, with the result that far more examples are known of later artists who expressed themselves this way and by whom a larger or smaller body of works has therefore survived.[17]

Hieronymus Bosch stands at the beginning of a drawing tradition in which paper was used as a sketch medium to capture the artist's visual ideas. Max Friedländer wrote of Bosch that designing to him equalled inventing: 'Gestalten war ihm stets erfinden'.[18] This is largely true, although not all of his drawings can be identified as sketches, and none of them were repeated in his paintings. The *Tree-Man* (cat. 35) had (previously?) been painted in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, while the fantastic animal in part of a model sheet in Berlin (cat. 51) also appears in one of the so-called *Flood Panels* from Bosch's workshop (cat. 22c).[19]

The genesis of Bosch's paintings almost never followed a linear pattern from preliminary sketch to completed panel; the artist continued throughout the creative process to invent new things and alter compositions even in the painting stage. This is revealed with particular clarity by infrared reflectography, which allows us to look below the paint layers





FIGS 3–4 *Tree-Man* [CAT 35] and *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]

at the underdrawing in which the composition was prepared, and by X-radiography, which makes overpainting easier to see. It is this creative flow that makes Bosch's art so extraordinary, but also difficult to order, frame and categorize.

Composition of the drawing catalogue

As with Bosch's paintings, we both need and lack firm points of reference with which to study his drawings. There are few if any certainties, and what little evidence does exist to aid us in the attribution of paintings is not particularly useful for the drawings. As far as we know, Bosch – unlike Lucas van Leyden or Jan Gossart, say – did not sign his drawings.[20] We also find very little use of surviving drawings in a painting. As noted already, Bosch continued to think and invent while working on the panel, up to and including the final paint layer. An example is the previously mentioned fantastic animal in one of the *Flood Panels*. The IRR tells us that the animal was added after the composition had been set down in the underdrawing. The legs of the beaten figure were originally larger and ran through the place where the animal is now located. The artist deviated from the underdrawing during the painting process, reducing the size of the human figure and adding the animal. It is plausible that this was done based on a drawing, possibly the one in Berlin.[21] A second example of a correspondence between a drawing and a painting is likewise found in the *Flood Panels*, now in combination with the image of an *Infernal Landscape* (cat. 44). In the bottom right of the panel, just above the area of worst damage, a face can be made out in infrared light in a barrel on legs. A very similar motif is found in the bottom right of a

FIGS 6–7
> 22.4–5 , 51.1–3





spectacularly drawn hell scene in a private collection. The detail in the panel was later overpainted, removing it from view. FIGS 5–7

These are all links in a chain that must have begun somewhere. The drawings that seem to connect with the *Flood Panels* are not the most obvious candidates for determining precisely where, however, primarily because the attribution of the panels themselves is contested. Nor can the relevant drawings have been produced as straightforward preliminary studies for the paintings, as they are not related closely enough. Consequently, even if we were certain about the authorship of the panels – Bosch and/or his workshop – this would not necessarily tell us much about the attribution or function of the two drawings.

The *Tree-Man* (cat. 35) in Vienna is a more obvious place to start, therefore, when reconstructing Bosch's drawn oeuvre. The sheet has solid links with the *Garden of Earthly Delights* – a painting of uncontested authorship, in spite of its being unsigned. Moreover, the drawing is large and detailed, allowing comparisons to be made with other paintings and drawings, and its quality is phenomenal. Like that of the *Tree-Man*, the attribution of the *Owl's Nest* (cat. 36) and of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37) is not disputed. A great many stylistic similarities can be identified between these three sheets, enabling us to adopt them as the basis and point of reference for the reconstruction of Bosch's corpus of drawings. *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* had a slightly different function than the *Tree-Man* and the *Owl's Nest* (both of which seem to be completed works of art in their own right) and the sketches on the verso by assistants/apprentices tell us that it was used in the workshop, which explains the somewhat freer character of the sheet. All the same, the draughtsman has sought to achieve a harmonious composition here too, so that the drawing on the recto

ought also to be viewed as a completed work. The subject-matter and the inscription are strong indications to suggest that the drawing was used as a model in the workshop. The drawing style of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* is similar in many respects to the sheet with two monsters in Berlin (cat. 38). The figures were copied again at a later date in a model sheet now in Providence. The latter offers a possible impression of the original scale and content of the prototype, since the two monsters from the recto are also copied there. The model sheet with witches in Paris (cat. 39) can be readily linked with cat. 37, 38 and 40 on stylistic grounds but also in terms of certain motifs, and must be by the same artist. It is uncomprehensable, therefore, why Fritz Koreny dismissed this sheet in his catalogue raisonné as the work of a follower around 1530–50.[22]

38.1

The little drawing of two old women (recto) and the fragment of a composition with a fox and a cockerel (verso) in Rotterdam (cat. 40) acts as a link between the model sheet with witches and two drawings with the battle between birds and mammals in Berlin (cat. 41 and 42). The two women are very similar to those in the Paris sheet, while the fox and cockerel also feature again in the battle between the animals, having already appeared together, as we have seen, in *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37). It was Fritz Koreny who recognized Bosch's hand in the two brilliantly drawn sheets with birds and mammals.[23] Both the composition drawing showing the mobilization of the birds and mammals (cat. 41) and the more rapidly and dynamically executed battle between the two armies (cat. 42) can be readily linked with other drawings from the group (e.g. cat. 35–37, 39, 53). These sheets, along with the privately owned *Infernal Landscape* (cat. 44), represent the most important additions to the corpus of Bosch drawings in recent decades.

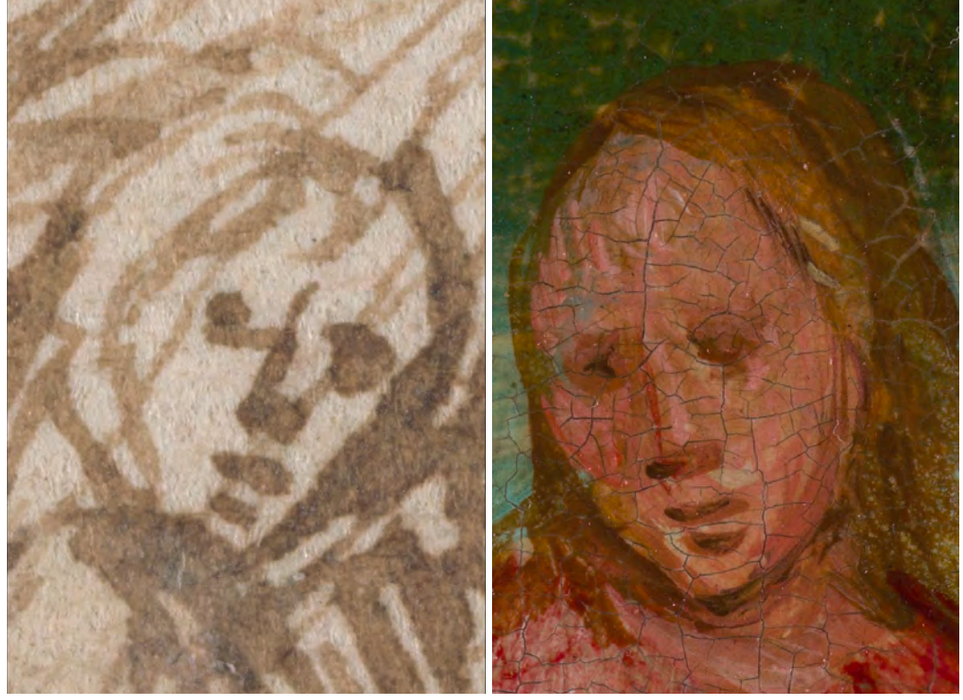
Like Buck and Koreny, we consider *Concert in an Egg* and the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 43 recto/verso) to have originated in Bosch's workshop.[24] However, this sheet – along with cat. 37 and 38 – must also have been used for practical purposes in the workshop, where master and assistant worked successively on the same drawing; *Concert in an Egg* includes a sketch of a monstrous bird, which we do believe to be by Bosch himself. The







FIGS 5–7 *Infernal Landscape* [CAT 44] and *After the Last Judgement* [CAT 22B], IRR and VIS



FIGS 8–9 *Tree-Man* [CAT 35] and *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Escorial) [CAT 13]

creature was repeated lower right by a weaker hand. The handling of the lines in the little sketch corresponds with the *Battle between the Birds and Mammals* (cat. 42), but also with the *Infernal Landscape* (cat. 44), in which we find a similar bird.

We view the *Infernal Landscape* as by the same hand as the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35) and the *Owl's Nest* (cat. 36), and hence as an autograph Bosch. The drawing is a creative but carefully executed compositional sketch of a scene from hell. If it has to be defined as an 'accomplished pastiche', as Koreny writes, then it must be one in which Bosch himself found forms that he used in a different but comparable way in paintings like the *Last Judgements* in Bruges and Vienna (cat. 16 and 17), and above all in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The drawing can probably best be characterized as the search for a full or partial composition with an impressively dominant fantasy figure, such as the tree-man in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*.

The *Burning Ship* in Vienna (cat. 45) is less ambitious and less worked out, yet those are not sufficient reasons to argue that the drawing is not autograph. It is the kind of sketch that Bosch must have made in large numbers to capture an idea, and can be compared in that respect with the invention of the figure in a hop-basket with birds flying out of its backside (cat. 46). The St Petersburg copy after the *Burning Ship* might show the composition of which the Vienna sheet formed part. Either way, the drawing in St Petersburg shows just how complicated it is to successfully imitate Bosch's drawing style – a feature it shares with the model sheets from Brussels, Vienna, Providence and Oxford.[25] 38.1, 37.9–10

The figure in the hop-basket and the other sketches on that sheet (cat. 46) were drawn, according to Koreny, by the left-handed 'Haywain Master', an assistant in Bosch's workshop. We attribute the *Haywain* (cat. 20) to Bosch himself, as we do this drawing, in which the same hand can indeed be recognized.[26] The very confidently drawn children on the recto can also be compared, for instance, to the two monsters in the lower left of the sketch sheet with studies for Saint Anthony (cat. 52). The much more cursorily rendered verso recalls the little sketch with a conjurer in Liège (cat. 48 verso). It was Koreny once again whose keen eye identified the handful of lines in the Liège sheet as a conjurer and his mark, and who linked them with the more elaborate and better-known drawing in Paris (cat. 47). However, we disagree with him once again when he goes on to ascribe the two drawings to a follower of Bosch and to date them to around 1530–40.[27] The Paris drawing has a more dynamic composition and is, moreover, executed very confidently. Comparison can be made with elements from the *Haywain*, such as the virtually identical way in which

a little dog has been painted there.[28] The use of short strokes – somewhat more so here than in other drawings – is comparable with the execution of the underdrawing of the *Haywain*.

The *Conjurer* differs in this respect from the much more carefully conceived sheet with a group of ten men (cat. 49). Lemmens and Taverne rejected the drawing – partly because of this feature – in an article written at the time of the Hieronymus Bosch exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1967. Koreny concurred with them and attributed the drawing to a follower in around 1530–40. We agree with Friedländer and de Tolnay, and ascribe the drawing once more to Bosch. The quality is excellent and the foreshortening of the man with the helmet (third from the right) is very effective. A detail like the headgear of the second man from the left, which is drawn over an earlier outline of the figure's head, indicates moreover that the drawing is not a copy. Stylistic affinities can also be detected here with drawings like the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35) and the *Model sheet with 'Witches'* (cat. 39). These drawings might be less spontaneous than swiftly executed sketches like cat. 41, 42, 46–48 and 52, but that does not necessarily mean they are by another hand. First and foremost, it probably says something about the function of these sheets.[29] In this case, we are dealing with a drawing in which part of a composition has been worked out. We do not have any composition drawings of this kind by Bosch, although we do have (fragments of) model sheets that are finished to the same degree (cat. 38, 39, 51). The completed drawings can also be cited by way of comparison (cat. 35–37).

The sheet with *Two men* and the *Fall of Man* (cat. 50) on the reverse is closely related in stylistic terms to the fragment of a model sheet with monsters in Berlin and the study sheet including sketches of Saint Anthony (cat. 51 and 52), but also with the studies of monsters and an infernal scene in Berlin (cat. 53). The rapid and scratchy drawing style in the *Fall of Man* is readily comparable with certain figures in the Saint Anthony sheet (cat. 52) and above all with the figures armed with sledgehammers who attack a human figure on an anvil in cat. 53. The two male figures on the front of cat. 50 are related, meanwhile, in terms of drawing style and motif to the head-and-feet figure in Berlin in particular (cat. 51). Koreny accepts this group as autograph, with the exception of cat. 53, which he views as the work of an assistant. Stephanie Buck hesitated between workshop and autograph. We consider the drawing to be autograph, due primarily to the similarities of style with cat. 50–52.

The London *Entombment* (cat. 54) is of a very different order again; it is a type of drawing for which it is not easy to find comparative material within the group that we can attribute to Bosch. This is chiefly because the drawing displays more painterly features than the others; a brush and washes have been used, which are elements we do not find elsewhere among the drawings ascribed to Bosch. When the British Museum acquired the sheet in 1952, Arthur Ewart Popham attributed it to Bosch, based primarily on a comparison with the angel in the Berlin *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6)[30] – an adequate comparison in our view. Bosch shows himself there to be a draughtsman in paint in the way that he modelled the folds of the angel's robe in the paint layer. The underdrawing, however, is much sketchier and cannot be used for purposes of comparison.[31] The drawing in London was built up in several phases, like the angel in Berlin: there is an underdrawing in black chalk, and at least two phases in ink.[32] We find a much more articulated and more readily comparable underdrawing in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (cat. 13), for instance, especially in the robe of the figure who flogs Christ.[33] This style of underdrawing, in which a broad, brushed line is alternated with short hatching, is comparable with that in the London *Entombment*. It is hard to say whether this is a preparatory drawing or a record of a completed composition: a *modello* or a *ricordo*. Whatever the case, it is closer to a painting than the other drawings in the group. Koreny attributed the sheet to the 'Master of the Haywain'. We agree, with the proviso that we believe this master to have been Hieronymus Bosch himself.

Drawing in ink and in paint

It is often difficult to draw stylistic comparisons between drawings, underdrawings and paintings; drawing serves quite a different function to underdrawing, and differences in scale are at least as important. Generally speaking, the amount of detail in a drawing on paper is much greater than that found in panel underdrawings, which focus in many cases on the (relatively) sketchily indicated position of the figures and other elements of the composition. This is what we find, for instance, in the underdrawing of *Saint John on Patmos*, *Saint John the Baptist*, the *Adoration of the Magi* (Prado), *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (London), *Saint Christopher*, *Saint Jerome*, *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Escorial), and the *Hermit Saints* and *Saint Wilgefortis* triptychs. We only find a similar degree of sketchiness in the drawings on the verso of *Man in a basket* (cat. 46 verso) and the little sketch of the *Conjurer* in Liège (cat. 48). Both these drawings are interesting, incidentally, as they happen to include the following stage of the design process, in that the same motif recurs in a more worked-out form (cat. 46 recto and cat. 47). The motif of the man in a basket from the Vienna drawing also reappears in slightly altered form in the central panel of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2B). The pictorial elements are similarly sized in absolute terms, but what is the main part of the image in the drawing is merely a detail in the painting. That detail is nevertheless a marvellous little example of drawing in paint, which is why no underdrawing has been detected here. Although the motif of a man in a large basket with bare buttocks and a flock of birds occurs in both the drawing and the painting, the way it is worked out in the painting differs once again from that in the drawing. It is a small but revealing illustration of Bosch's working method which Friedländer aptly described as 'Gestalten war ihm stets erfinden'. He constantly found new forms, and although he sometimes reused them, they were also altered in the process.

FIG 2.4

The most glorious comparison between a drawing and a painting by Bosch is undoubtedly that between the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35) and the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21C).[34] Here too, like the *Man in a basket*, the drawing and the painting are the same in terms of subject, yet also different. The degree to which the tree-man drawing is finished and the fact that it includes a composition that has been carefully enclosed on all sides suggests that this is a completed work of art in its own right and not merely an intermediate sketch or a drawing intended to develop or record a particular form. The character of the tree-man in the drawing also differs from his painted counterpart. Generally speaking, the figure in the drawing is more tree than man compared to the creature in the painting, whose 'right leg' is wounded and bandaged. This detail is absent in the drawing, which also emphasizes the landscape element. The 'right leg' of this figure has a knot sprouting branches on which a bird sits. The equivalent spot in the painting, just above the bandaged wound, has something more suggestive of a knee joint or an elbow. The miraculous figure is much more of a curiosity in the drawing than it is in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* – a fact that is also emphasized in the print made after the drawing around 1600.

FIGS 3–4

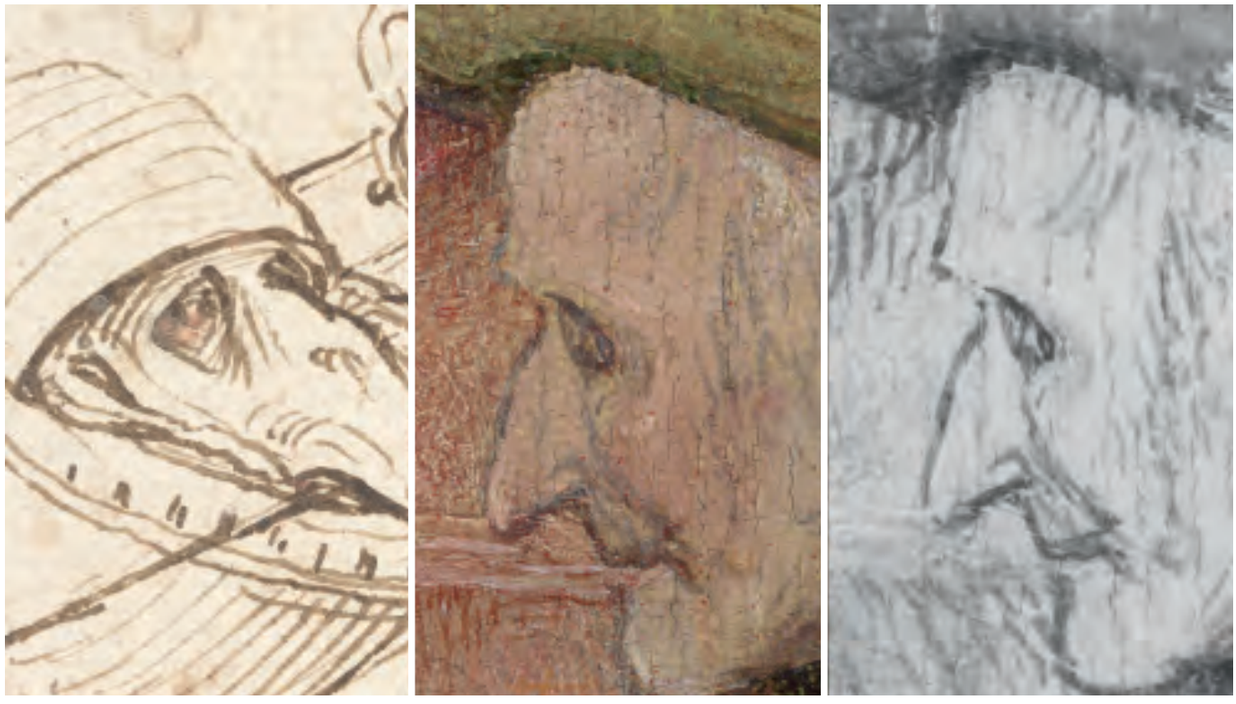
FIG 14

Thanks to the high resolution of the photographic documentation now available for both the painting and the drawing, we can compare the two at a level that comes close to that of individual brush- and penstrokes. In both cases, the manner (what Van Mander would have called the *handeling*) of drawing and painting can be compared much more precisely than was previously the case. It reveals that the drawing is structured in layers, with one line laid over another and several different types of ink for different elements and phases – a structure that is also found in many underdrawings on panels.[35] What stands out most when we zoom in on the painting is the 'drawing-like' nature of the brushwork. We mostly view a large painting like the *Garden of Earthly Delights* from a distance, focusing on iconography; now, however, the opportunity to magnify the image offers us a better insight into the painting method. When we place the drawn face of the tree-man next to the painted face, it is clear how the penstrokes resemble the brushstrokes: Bosch drew here in paint. A similar comparison can be made between the way one

FIGS 3–4



FIG 10 Monk at the foot of the cross, *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* [CAT 8B]: before and during restoration



FIGS 11–13 Eyes: *Infernal Landscape* [CAT 44] and *Death and the Miser* [CAT 19C]

of the little figures inside the tree-man has been drawn and the painting of Saint John the Evangelist's face in *Christ Carrying the Cross*, with penstrokes and brushstrokes displaying a comparable pattern. FIGS 8–9

Another comparison of drawing and painting in Bosch that illustrates how similarly he used the two media is that between the drawing of an *Infernal Landscape* (cat. 44) and *Death and the Miser* (cat. 19c). The way the eye of the monster sitting on the barrel lower left is rendered in the drawing is very similar to the style of the miser's eye in the painting. The effect FIGS 11–13 in both cases is that of a mask. There seems to be another eye in the drawing, lying deeper below the triangular eye socket. The eye in the painting is indicated only sparingly in paint, and Bosch has incorporated the underdrawing and the painted ground in the final result.[36] On closer viewing, we find that Bosch did something similar on quite a few occasions, as in the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8), where the approach is used to model the eye of the monk at the foot of the cross on the left.[37] Karel van Mander commented on this practice in FIG 10 his biography of Bosch: 'Also, just like some other old masters, he used to draw his subjects onto the white of the panel, laying over that a transparent, flesh-coloured ground layer; he often allowed the ground to contribute to the effect of the picture.'[38] It is possible, now that high-quality imaging techniques are becoming increasingly accessible, to make these and countless other comparisons. We have much more opportunity than in the past to establish relationships between drawings and paintings and between different drawings.

The result is that a more substantial catalogue of drawings is proposed here than was the case with Fritz Koreny (2012). Instead of the eleven drawings Koreny considered to be autograph, we attribute twenty sheets to Bosch.



FIG 14 Anonymous after Hieronymus Bosch, *Tree-Man*, c. 1600. Etching

[1] Strictly speaking, it is not possible here to distinguish between apprentices and followers.

[2] Koreny 2012.

[3] Van der Coelen 2012; Buck 2001; Lugt 1968.

[4] Marijnissen 1987; Silver 2006; Fischer 2013.

[5] Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68; Filedt Kok 1972–73.

[6] Cf. Chapman and Faietti 2010. For the purposes of this study, the most important groups of Bosch drawings – those in Berlin, Vienna and Paris – were documented using the following imaging techniques: macrophotography in visible light (VIS), raking light, ultraviolet (UV) light, infrared photography (IRP) and infrared reflectography (IRR). No pigment analysis was carried out. All the documentation can be accessed via Boschproject.org.

[7] Buck 2001, 234–37.

[8] Koreny 2012.

[9] Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002, 14.

[10] Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002.

[11] Thomas Ketelsen, in Ketelsen and Neidhardt 2005, 61–67.

[12] See the website Boschproject.org, link L3.

[13] Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002; Borchert 2010, 145.

[14] Ainsworth 1998, 8.

[15] Alsteens, in Ainsworth 2010, 89.

[16] Kloek, in Vogelaar, Filedt Kok, Leeflang and Veldman 2011, 151.

[17] Van den Brink 2004/05 (with further literature); Hand et al. 1986.

[18] Friedländer 1927, 123.

[19] See the website Boschproject.org, link L4.

[20] For Lucas van Leyden, see Kloek 2011, no. 80.a; for Jan Gossart, see Alsteens in Ainsworth 2010, no. 64.

[21] See the website Boschproject.org, link L5.

[22] Ilsink 2013, 401–03.

[23] Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002, 177–81.

[24] Buck 2001, 223–30; Koreny 2012, 266–71.

[25] Follower of Bosch, *Burning Ship*, St Petersburg, Hermitage, Drawings and Miniatures, 14241 (Koreny 2012, 221–23); Follower of Bosch, *Model Sheet with Crippled Beggars*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Cabinet des Estampes, S.II 133708 (Koreny 2012, 300–03); Follower of Bosch, *Model Sheet with Crippled Beggars*, Vienna, Albertina, 7798 (Koreny 2012, 296–99); Follower of Bosch, *Model Sheet with Monsters*, Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 51.069 (Koreny 2012, 312–14); Follower of Bosch, *Model Sheet with Monsters*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1863.155 (Koreny 2012, 315–19).

[26] Ilsink 2013, 401.

[27] Koreny 2012, 282–85.

[28] See the website Boschproject.org, link L7. We find this little dog drawn twice, by two different apprentices on the verso of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37) and a agitated version on the other side of this sheet, once more by a much inferior hand.

[29] This might also relate to the dating of the drawing, but the supporting evidence to express an opinion in this regard is as yet insufficient.

[30] Popham 1955.

[31] See the website Boschproject.org, link L8.

[32] Several drawings from the Bosch group were built up in different phases. No reference has so far been made to this in the literature, but it is clearly revealed in the recent macrophotographic documentation. See the entry for the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35) in this regard.

[33] See the website Boschproject.org, link L9.

[34] See the website Boschproject.org, link L32.

[35] Especially in the more complex compositions with a variety of figures; see also Chapter III, 'Materials and Techniques'.

[36] The ageing of the paint has, however, increased the visibility of the underlayers, especially in this thinly painted panel and its pendants. See also Chapter IV, 'Conservation History and Appearance'.

[37] This is much better visible now that the panel has been cleaned.

[38] 'Hy hadde oock, als meer ander oude Meesters, de maniere zijn dinghen te teeckenen en trecken op het wit der Penneelen, en daer over een doorschijnigh, carnatiachtigh primuersel te legghen, en liet oock dickwils de gronden mede wercken' (fol. 216v). Translation Van Mander (Miedema) 1994–99, I, 125.

FIG 15 *Model sheet with 'Witches'* [CAT 39]



35 *The Tree-Man*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper, outlines emphasized in various places in grey ink
277 × 211 mm
Albertina, Vienna, 7876

Inscriptions and collectors' marks: Lower left: BRVEGEL; lower left: stamp of Duke Albert of Saxony-Teschen (L.174).
Watermark: not visible, drawing has been lined.

Condition/Restoration
Yellowing and grime. The upper-right corner has been restored. A number of small, dark spots are visible near the tree-man's left leg. Several tears along the edges; one tear approx. 3 cm long on the left.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 26 August 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Duke Albert of Saxony-Teschen (1738–1822).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 272; Koreny 2012, 184–89; Ilsink 2009, 26, 35, 72–83; Elsig 2004, 17, 110–13; Koerner 2004a, 40–52; Koerner 2004b, 78–84; Koreny 2002–03, 61–63; Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002, 164; Koreny and Pokorny 2001, 6–15; Buck 2001, 202–03, 219; Ironside 1973, 165, 167–71; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 87; Tolnay 1965, II, 389; Von Baldass 1943, 76–77, 85–88; Von Baldass 1937, 21–24; Tolnay 1937, 111; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 62; Friedländer 1927, 124, 125, 127.

Although Bosch was famous for his visualization of the unnatural, he shows himself in his paintings and drawings to have been an excellent observer.[1] A small but fine example of this is the pair of ducks swimming in the water in the foreground of the drawing. The first bird is identifiable as a drake by the curl in its tail, which is lacking in the second, female duck. The identification of these waterfowl as a male and female enables us to recognize a second pair of ducks and their ducklings – drawn above the mother with nine strokes of the pen – between the little boat and the water's edge. The landscape surroundings in which the waterfowl find themselves – a riverscape with a little harbour and villages – is drawn totally convincingly. 35.1

This context makes the bizarre creature in the middle of the sheet all the stranger. Even so, the figure has been set down on the paper very confidently, not as if it were an invention but something that merely needed to be drawn. The tree-man is undoubtedly one of Bosch's most famous ideas – a highly successful example of *inventio*, to borrow a term from rhetoric.[2] In its entirely naturalistic representation of something unnatural, the drawing embodies much of the essence of Bosch's artistic practice. A non-existent thing-animal-person is firmly rooted in two unstable little boats bobbing on the water. It is a perfect impossibility.[3]

The drawing is harmoniously composed and neatly closed off on all sides, forming a world in and of itself. It is finished to such a degree that we can assume it to be a completed work in its own right, and not simply the sketch of an artistic idea.[4] It is definitely not a preliminary study for the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21) nor a record of it. Although closely related in formal terms, the two tree-men are autonomous figures, conceived and executed in relation to their context.[5] The one in the drawing obviously dominates the scene, yet his counterpart in the painting also plays a central role in the right wing. Substantial adjustments were made around the tree-man in the panel during the painting process, yet the creature itself, as the central figure, was neither altered nor overpainted.[6] This tells us that the tree-man was immediately recognized as a successful figure in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* too – without doubt Bosch's most ambitious painting. So much so that the artist evidently decided he could carry a composition in his own right, and so chose him as the central motif for a drawing. FIGS 3–4

The drawing is carefully structured and worked out, with considerable attention to detail. Its relatively large format, homogeneous style and close relationship with the *Garden of Earthly Delights* makes the *Tree-Man* a logical point from which to begin our reconstruction of the artist's drawn oeuvre. It is hard to overstate the importance of this sheet, therefore, to our thinking about the autograph status of works associated with the Bosch group. The drawing is a confident and triumphant example of Bosch's creativity and his ability to express visually what his eye observed and his mind conceived. Viewed in these terms, its subject is first and foremost Bosch's own creativity. The *Tree-Man* is a *true image* of Bosch, an ironic *vera icon*. The tree-man can only exist in Bosch's art and is thus entirely *cheiropoieton* or *manufactum* – made by human hand, artificial.[7] It is a general observation that Bosch's artistry is frequently expressed through a refined play of irony, in the inversion of the relationship between the natural and the unnatural, and in the contrast between the divine and the demonic. The *Tree-Man* is an entirely natural image of an unnatural creature; of an invented and man-made construction. As such, it is an ambitious example of that artistry.



35

[1] Giulio Carlo Argan wrote on this in 1967: 'Bosch forces us to believe in his demonic apparitions, because every detail of this absurd world is familiar to us. The only new elements are the setting for these fragments of reality and the inversion of normal proportions. The transformation of large into small and vice versa, reflects an antithesis that is at once moral and religious, social and political. Nevertheless, it is invariably the endless study of nature that supplies him with the means to realize the supernatural.' Argan 1967, 185.

[2] Compare this with the text quoted at the top of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37), in which the term *inventio* features prominently.

[3] Cf. Koerner 2004b.

[4] This makes the tree-man sheet an extremely early – if not the earliest – example of 'autonomous' drawing in the Netherlands.

[5] See the comment in this regard in the section 'Drawing in ink and in paint' above. Appropriately enough for a hell scene, little fires can be seen burning in the little boats in the painting, and damned souls are led inside the tree-man via a ladder. These infernal details are absent from the drawing.

[6] See cat. 21c.

[7] Use of the term *cheiropoieton* is intended here to evoke the association with its opposite, *acheiropoieton* – the term used in connection with images of Christ's true face, which were supposedly *not* made by human hand. The contrast between the transience of human creations (*cheiropoieton/manufactum*) and the eternal nature of God's (*acheiropoieton/non manufactum*) is mentioned in several places in the Bible. See Mark 14:58; Acts 7:48 and 17:24; Ephesians 2:11; Hebrews 9:11 and 9:24. It is a noteworthy feature of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* that all the man-made things in the painting are located in hell.



35.1



36 *The Owl's Nest*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper, 140 × 196 mm
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, N 175

Inscriptions and collectors' marks: Koenigs stamp (L.1023a), verso, bottom; to the right of this in pencil 'Herri met de Bles'.
Watermark: unclear; drawing has been lined. Vertical chain lines, distance approx. 29 mm.

Condition/Restoration
Slight yellowing and dirt. The image might have been trimmed all round. Small hole by the tree upper right. Brown-black border over traces of an earlier, reddish border.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 7 September 2015 with macrophotography in visible light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
1930 Franz W. Koenigs, Haarlem; D.G. van Beuningen (acquired 1940), bequeathed to the Museum Boymans Foundation 1940; since 1940 loaned to the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

Literature
Fischer 2013, 51, 57, 271; Van der Coelen 2012; Koreny 2012, 190–95; Dietz and Hahn 2011, 123, 124, 128; Ilsink 2009, 35–37, 64–70; Elsig 2004, 110–12, 228; Buck 2001, 202–04, 209, 219, 236; Luijten 1990, 51–53; Ironside 1973, 165, 177; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 155, 159; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 87; Tolnay 1965, II, 389; Von Baldass 1959, 71, 86, 247; Von Baldass 1943, 77, 84–85, 88, 255; Von Baldass 1937, 22, 24; Tolnay 1937, 49, 111; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 61–62.

Owls must have appealed to Bosch, as they appear very frequently in his work.[1] There are no fewer than five of them in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21), but owls are also found in most of the other paintings, often rendered in sufficient detail for us to identify the species. The bird almost invariably functions in Bosch as a symbol of menace, death and the devil.[2] There are two owls in the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35): a disproportionately large one at the top of the 'mast', and one surrounded by smaller birds at the water's edge – also an unnatural spot for an owl. An owl likewise roosts in the hollow of a dead tree at the centre of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37). That one too is unrealistically large.[3] Its presence at the centre of a rebus-like visualization of a Middle Dutch proverb suggests that we are right to assume its significance goes beyond simply offering a convincing representation of visible reality. 36.4

The question is whether this is also the case with the birds in the *Owl's Nest*.[4] The three owls take the leading role here, rather than featuring as details in a larger composition. With an acute sense of detail, Bosch has deftly and meticulously drawn a little owl with outspread wings, its gaze fixed on another, smaller owl (a chick?) in the hollow of a tree.[5] A third owl perches higher up the tree, looking up into the sky. Four other birds are placed around the owls – an image that appears again, for instance, in the underdrawing of the *Wayfarer*, also in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. A highly unusual feature of this drawing is that the crowded tree is shown in 'dramatic' close-up, solely against the background of a distant view, with no middleground. The composition is closed off on the left by a wheel on a high pole, and on the right by a tall, slender tree of the kind also found in the *Tree-Man* and *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 6). The design of the procession in the bottom left of the drawing is found in a very similar manner, also drawn, in the background of the *Gathering of the Birds* (cat. 41) and in painted form in the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 9). The image of small armies crossing the landscape must have been very familiar in the 's-Hertogenbosch region around 1500.[6] 36.1–2

There is nothing in the sheet to suggest that more was intended than was actually drawn. The image Bosch sketches here of a pair of owls and their chick is an almost touching indication of the artist's fascination for a bird that was freighted with negative connotations in the late fifteenth century. It is also an example, first and foremost, of his powers of observation, and of his ability to turn those observations into a dynamic composition, which he then executed with great skill. The natural appearance of the constructed image that results from this makes the *Owl's Nest* a pendant of the *Tree-Man*.



36.1–2 *The Wayfarer:* VIS and IRR [CAT 19A]



36

[1] See the website Boschproject.org, link L30.

[2] See in particular Vandenbroeck 1985; Ilsink 2009, 30ff.

[3] The effect of the owl's large size is heightened when we realize that this is a 'little owl', one of the smallest species, which does not grow larger than about 20–25 cm in height.

[4] Van der Coelen 2012: http://collectie2008.boijmans.nl/nl/work/N%20175%20recto%20(PK)?research=1. Accessed 14 January 2015.

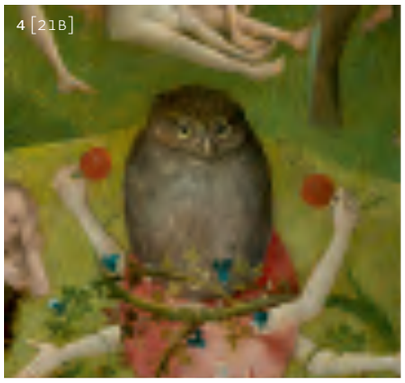
[5] Mebs and Scherzinger 2010, 311–33.

[6] 's-Hertogenbosch is located in the north of Brabant, almost on the border with Guelders and not far from the zone where the Guelderian Wars were fought, beginning in 1502.

36.4–33 Owls

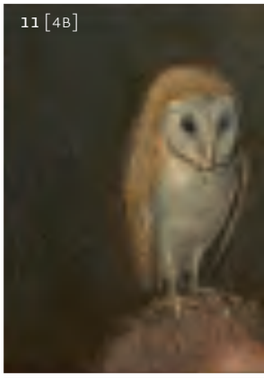


36.3

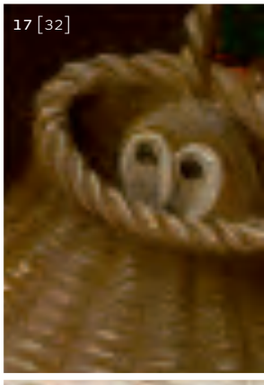


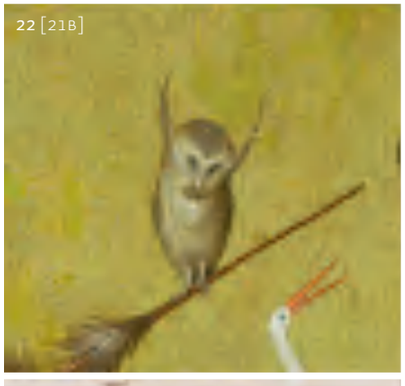








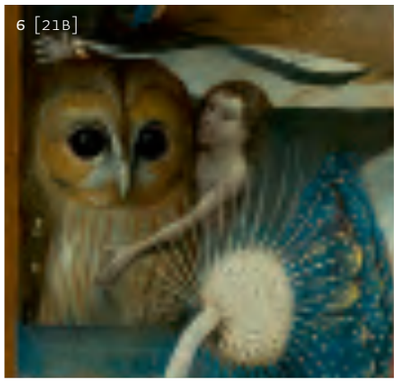






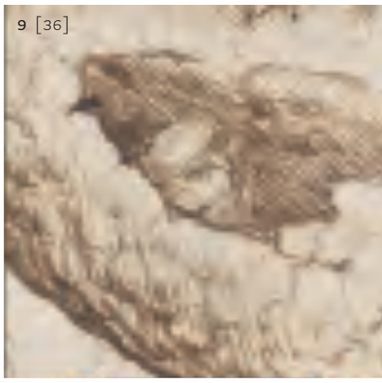


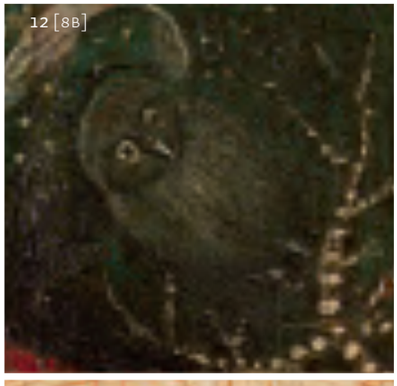


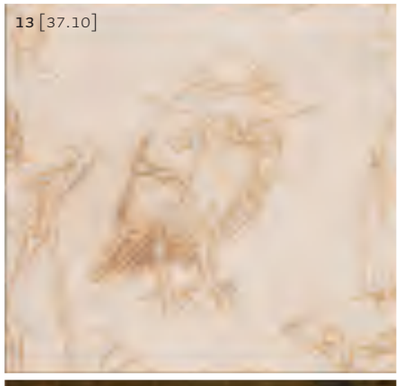

6 [21B]


7 [9B]

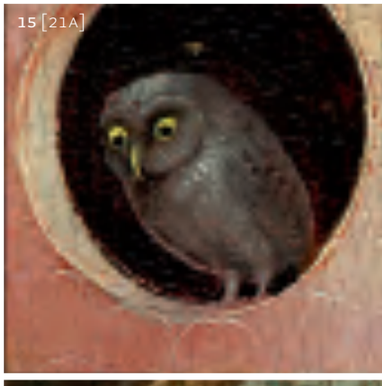

8 [11]


9 [36]

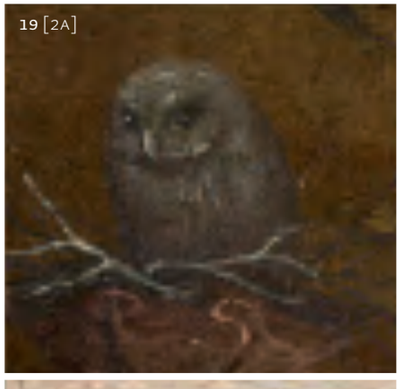

12 [8B]

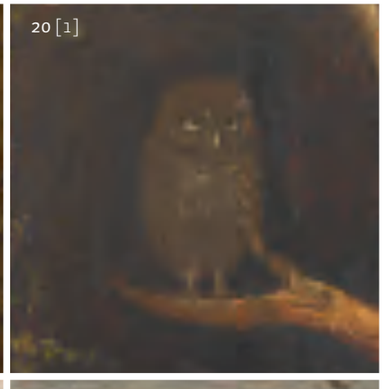

13 [37.10]


14 [2C]


15 [21A]

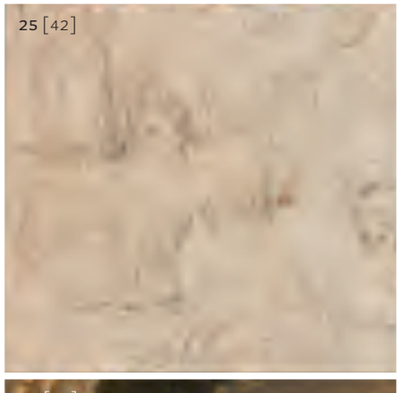

18 [38.1]


19 [2A]

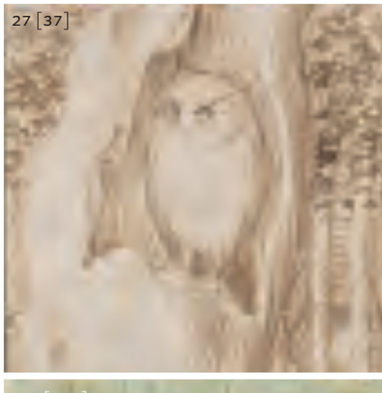

20 [1]

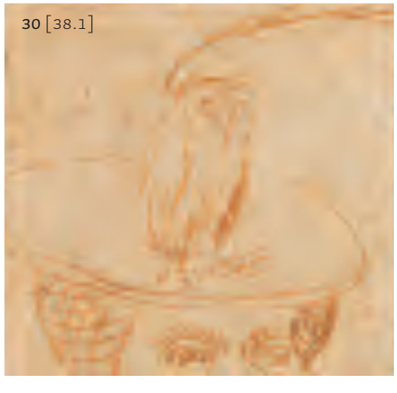

21 [2B]


24 [20B]


25 [42]


26 [19A]


27 [37]


30 [38.1]


31 [9B]


32 [36]


33 [21A]

37r/v

The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes / Study of a beggar and workshop sketches

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink and black chalk on paper,
205 × 130/127 mm
SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 549

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Recto, top in pen and brown ink: *miserrimi quippe e*[*st*] *i*[*n*]*genij se*[*m*]*p*[*er*] *uti i*[*n*]*ve*[*n*]*tis et nu*[*m*]*q*[*uam*] *i*[*n*]*ven i*[*en*]*dis*; bottom in lighter ink: *Jero: Bosch*.
Verso, upper left and upper centre in light brown ink: *Dicu*[*n*]*t adv*[…]*/ Dicu*[*n*]*t adven*[…]; *Dicu*[*n*]*t m*[*ilesim*] *o anno veni t plen* […]; lower left in pencil: *K.d.Z. 549*.
Lower centre: Kupferstichkabinett stamp (L.1606).

Watermarks
Fragment of a watermark (clover leaf); chain line distance: approx. 2.2 cm.

Condition/Restoration
Recto: the paper is smudged and yellowed around the edges. Three small tears on the left. Diagonal brown line upper right. Verso: fairly dirty.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 27 May 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Old holdings (acquired before 1879).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 54, 57, 105, 271; Koreny 2012, 170–77; Ilsink 2009, 26, 34, 37, 38–64, 69; Elsig 2004, 110, 228; Buck 2001, 197–206, 219–20, 226, 232; Ironside 1973, 165–69, 172, 176–78; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 155; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 85–87, 89; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 57; Tolnay 1965, II, 388–89; Von Baldass 1959, 64, 70–71, 84, 247, 249; Von Baldass 1943, 75, 77–79, 84, 88, 253, 255; Von Baldass 1937, 22; Tolnay 1937, 110–11; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 61; Friedländer 1927, 124, 125.

A piece of text is quoted as a motto at the top of one of Bosch's most famous and curious drawings: *Miserrimi quippe est ingenij semper uti inventis et numquam inveniendis* ('Poor is the mind that always uses the inventions of others and invents nothing itself').[1] A dead tree 37.11
stands prominently in the middle of the sheet with an oversized owl perching in a hollow, peering out of the picture plane. A second hollow at the foot of the tree contains a fox and a cockerel. Four birds perch in the branches above, two of which seem agitated. A group of young, blossoming trees stands immediately to the rear of the dead trunk, forming a copse in which we make out two large human ears, one on either side of the hollow tree. All this vegetation grows on a hilly field in which seven human eyes can be seen. The composition as a whole is strongly centred and ordered.

It illustrates the proverb *campus habet oculos, silva aures* (the field has eyes, the wood ears), which is explained as follows in the collection of proverbs – *Proverbia Germanica* – published in 1508 by Heinrich Bebel: '… in the wood and in the field [where other people may be present] we should do nothing we wish to be secret'.[2] In other words, the proverb urges us to be discreet. A simpler illustration is provided by a unique Dutch woodcut from 1546, also now in Berlin, which shows a man stepping forward cautiously with his hand over his mouth 37.2
as he points towards the wood ahead of him in which other people can be made out. The Middle Dutch text above his head reads: 'The field has eyes / the wood has ears / I want to see / keep silent and hear'. What remains implicit in Bosch is here made explicit.

The viewers of Bosch's drawing are expected to play a more active role and to tease the proverb out of the image themselves. The image is complex and ambiguous, and does not seem to refer only to the proverb but also to its visualization by a creative hand. A single line of Latin text runs across the upper edge of the sheet. There is no reason to suppose that it was not placed by the draughtsman himself.[3] The words give the drawing the feel of an emblem, complete with *motto* and *pictura*. A true emblem would also feature a *subscriptio*, which is lacking here, yet it remains fruitful to discuss the drawing in these terms. The *pictura* in emblemata is the visual presentation of an idea by means of a *concetto*: a witty and unexpected linkage of disparate images or ideas.[4] Although emblemata took off with the publication of Alciati's *Emblematum Liber* in 1531, it drew on earlier concepts, such as the rebus, the epigram and rhetoricians' mottoes and blazons. Without slotting precisely into any of these categories – a problem we frequently encounter with Bosch – the image evokes a variety of associations with them. The associative function of the elements brought together in the drawing means, however, that any interpretation of that image must ultimately remain incomplete.

One important association evoked by the wood is that of disorder, chaos, error, darkness, death and hence of evil. The expression 'no longer seeing the wood for the trees' is probably the pithiest summary. The dark forest – the *selva oscura* – in which Dante finds himself in the opening canto of his *Commedia*, having erred from the straight path – is undoubtedly the most famous poetic expression of the idea.[5] The forest is the archetypal place where danger lurks.[6] Vigilance and prudence are called for. This is no doubt how we are supposed to view the cockerel in the drawing, who wanders recklessly into the hollow in the tree where a fox lies in wait. It is not hard for the viewer to predict the outcome of 37.13
this scene,[7] which also prompts the question of whether the birds in the tree are aware of the rather large owl perched beneath them.

The owl is at the drawing's visual centre, but what position does it occupy metaphorically? The bird is found over and over again in Bosch, and must therefore have been very important to what the artist was seeking to convey. He generally used it as an ominous



37R



37V



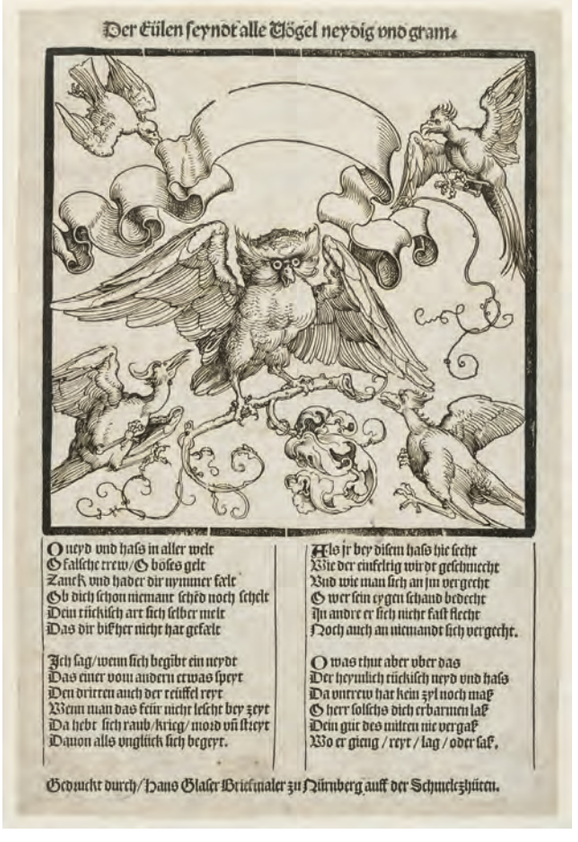
37.1 Owl harassed by other birds, *Dialogus creaturarum dat is twespraec der creaturen*, Gouda (Gerard Leeu) 1482, Dialogue 82. Woodcut. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

symbol, placing it in contexts with an atmosphere of menace.[8] To emphasize the owl's threatening presence, Bosch drew from time to time on a visual tradition in which it is surrounded by other, hostile birds that try to drive the owl away.[9] Although the image is one observed in nature, it frequently assumes an emblematic, moralistic significance in the art and literature of around 1500.[10] *The Dialogue of the Creatures* (*Dialogus creaturarum*), for instance, tells the story of a long-eared owl who wanted to rule over the other birds (dialogue 82).[11] The description of the owl is based in the first instance on Bartholomeus Anglicus's *On the Properties of Things* (*De proprietatibus rerum*), but the 'moral dialogue' turns this into a fable on pride, in which the Fall of the Rebel Angels (the origin of evil) is the plainly recognizable subtext. The owl's association with menace, death and the devil is not unusual for the period. 37.1

It is hardly surprising that we should find an owl – a *bosvogel* (both 'forest bird' and 'Bosch bird') – in *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes*. Its disproportionate size, the central position it occupies in the composition, and the context in which it appears all suggest

37.2 Anonymous (Netherlands), 'Dat Velt heft ogen, dat Wolt heft oren. Ick wil sien, swijghen ende hooren', 1546. Coloured woodcut. SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin





37.3 Albrecht Dürer, *'Der Eülen seyndt alle Vögel neydig und gram'*, the owl attacked by other birds, 1515. Woodcut. Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg

37.4





37.5 Seal of the city of 's-Hertogenbosch.
Stadsarchief, 's-Hertogenbosch



37.6 IRR [CAT 37V]

that there is more going on here than the simple observation of nature. All the same, it is doubtful whether we ought to interpret this owl in a purely negative light. With its steady, emphatically vigilant gaze, and its position in the shelter of a hollow tree, the bird seems to be doing precisely what the proverb calls for, namely 'hear all, see all, say nowt'.[12] Viewed in this light, the owl is the embodiment here of wisdom, with which it has been associated since antiquity. It is, however, a rather practical and defensive kind of wisdom – one based on experience; this is an owl we might describe today as 'streetwise'. Precisely this kind of wisdom is alluded to in an inscription on a 1515 woodcut by Albrecht Dürer, which shows an owl being attacked by other birds.[13] In this case, the owl is a symbol of good being threatened by evil, in a similar way to the owl in Psalm 102.[14] However, as soon as the printed text has been trimmed from the image (as is the case with most of the surviving prints), the viewer is left with just the picture and its blank banderole, and has to make out the meaning for him or herself. In the absence of further context it remains an 'open image' that depicts conflict with no guidance as to how we should interpret it. Although the owl in Bosch's drawing is placed in a more detailed context, it is still possible to read the bird in both a negative and a positive way. 37.3

We conclude with a few observations and thoughts on how the owl and the other visual elements have been arranged in the composition of the drawing. We referred above to the emblematic features of the sheet and the interplay between image and inscription. The emblematic character is heightened by the orderly, even strict arrangement of the elements. The way the large, centrally placed tree is flanked by smaller trees that together represent a wood (*bosch*) is reminiscent of the municipal seals used in 's-Hertogenbosch in the artist's time. These stamps were affixed to official documents and provided a symbolic representation of the city. 's-Hertogenbosch is abbreviated here to *bosch*, a 'wood' represented by three trees – a large one in the middle, flanked by two smaller ones. The text around the image explains what we see: 'SIGILLUM BURGENSIUM DUCIS IN BUSCHO' ('seal of the citizens of the duke in the wood'). The seal was used throughout Bosch's life and he must have known it well.[15] The image it incorporates seems to have provided the basic idea for the drawing to which it adds a further layer of meaning. Throw in the fact that the artist's professional surname 'Bosch' corresponded with the name of the city in which he lived, grew up and worked, and it becomes clear that what is being 'discussed' in this drawing is much greater in scope than merely the visualization of a proverb urging caution. The inscription makes this an artistic manifesto too, in which the master urges his apprentices and others to develop a creative mind-set. It is a quotation from a thirteenth-century text on the training of pupils – *De disciplina scholarium*, attributed to Pseudo-Boethius.[16] 37.5

The relationship with the 's-Hertogenbosch municipal seal adds an extra dimension here and enables us to view the drawing simultaneously as a general symbol of the city and as a personal document. The drawing illustrates an everyday, widely used proverb, but does so in a proud and original way. The combination of the anthropomorphic wood, the inclusion of the owl as a *bosvogel* (forest bird/*Bosch* bird) as the central visual element and the somewhat heraldic manner in which these elements are ordered, result in an image that is specifically linked to Bosch's artistic personality.

The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes is an exceptionally rich image, in which Bosch demonstrates that he reflects on art, the world in which art is created, and the place of the human being and the artist in that world. It is at once universal, therefore, and idiosyncratic. Otto Benesch's description of the drawing in 1937 as an *eingekleidetes Selbstbildnis* is not so far from the mark.[17] It is a self-portrait, however, of an artist emphatically engaged with the world as the head of a workshop with assistants and as a citizen of 's-Hertogenbosch.

The verso of the sheet contains sketches by Bosch and his workshop. They provide an interesting example of how Bosch's workshop must have functioned. The master himself drew the beggar and probably also the little dog above the beggar's head.[18] Other hands, most likely workshop assistants, then repeated certain elements elsewhere on the sheet. The dog appears three more times, and the beggar's head is also repeated. The cripple's begging bowl features again too and has been drawn by a different (and significantly less 37V 37.12

37.7 [CAT 37V]

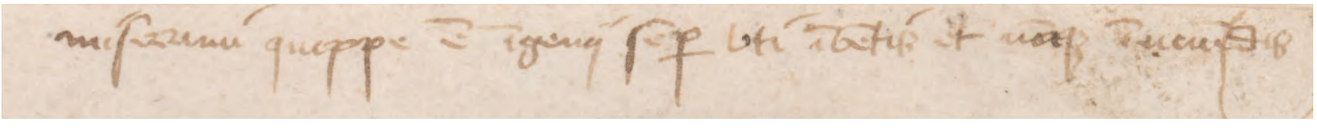


37.8 [FIG 37.10]





37.9–10 Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *Model sheet with Monsters*, recto/verso.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



37.11 'Miserrimi quippe est ingenij semper uti inventis et numquam inveniendis'
('Poor is the mind that always uses the inventions of others and invents nothing itself'). Inscription [CAT 37R]



37.12 Crippled beggar [CAT 37V]

gifted) hand in an ink that now appears blacker than in other areas. We find the same ink (and hence also the same hand?) in the initial lines of the head in the left of the drawing, the eye in the middle, parts of the hatching in the edifice on the right, the little head in the upper right, and the animal in the upper centre of the sheet. The patterns and the little dog at the lower right were also done in the same ink. The infrared reflectogram readily reveals the difference between the inks. The iron gall ink used to draw the beggar and the architecture becomes virtually transparent at 1700 nanometres, while other elements remain clearly visible.[19] This image also shows that two heads were drawn in black chalk – one directly below the leg of the animal looking over its shoulder at the top of the sheet, and one to the left of the beggar's head. With the exception of the *Entombment* (cat. 54), black chalk has not been detected elsewhere in the drawings of Bosch and his workshop. Macrophotography in visible light shows that the hand of the draughtsman who drew in darker ink partially crosses over an earlier drawing in iron gall ink. This is the case in the architecture, to which hatching has been added, but also in the head of the animal looking over its shoulder at the top of the sheet.[20] This animal, which has been cropped at the top, comprises two inventions of Bosch, of which we find a copy on the front and back of a model sheet in Oxford.[21] It looks as though an assistant of Bosch dutifully put into practice here the motto inscribed on the recto at the top of the drawing, by attempting to come up with something new with the aid of his master's inventions.

37.6 37.7 37.9–10

[1] Vandenbroeck 1981.

[2] '… dicitur quod nihil faciamus in silvis et campo (ubi homines esse possunt) quod occultum esse volumus'.

[3] Extensive documentation of the drawing by means of macrophotography in VIS and IR, as well as UV photography and IRR, does not reveal any discrepancy between the image and the inscription. The examination was performed on 27 and 28 May 2014 by the BRCP in collaboration with and under the auspices of Holm Bevers and Georg Dietz of the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin.

[4] Verkruijsse, Struik, Van Bork and Vis, *Letterkundig lexicon voor de neerlandistiek* 2002, s.v. 'embleem': http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/borko01letto1_01/borko01letto1_01_0006.php#E034 (accessed 6 June 2014).

[5] 'Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita/ mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,/ ché la diritta via era smarrita. / Ah quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura,/ esta selva selvaggia e aspra e forte,/ che nel pensier rinnova la paura!/ Tant'è amara che poco è più morte …' In Allen Mandelbaum's translation: 'When I had journeyed half of our life's way,/ I found myself within a shadowed forest,/ for I had lost the path that does not stray./ Ah, it is hard to speak of what it was,/ that savage forest, dense and difficult,/ which even in recall renews my fear:/ so bitter – death is hardly more severe!' Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, translated by Allen Mandelbaum, London (Everyman's Library) 1995. Canto I:1–7.

[6] Le Goff 2003, 166–69.

[7] See cat. 1.

[8] See Bosch's use of owls in, for instance, the Vienna *Last Judgement*, the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* and the *Haywain*. Bosch goes furthest in his use of the owl as a symbol of disaster in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Viewing the painting from left to right, we see the owls growing steadily larger as the threat increases. See Vandenbroeck 1985 on the owl as a negative symbol in Bosch. José de Sigüenza, writing around 1600, considered the use of the owl in Bosch to be a classical symbol of wisdom. See p. 582.

[9] This is shown most clearly in the drawing of the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35), in which the phenomenon is drawn literally. See also De Bruyn 2001, 388–91.

[10] The phenomenon was also exploited by hunters in Bosch's time; bird-catchers used owls as decoys in the knowledge that other birds would recognize the threat they posed and would attempt to drive the owl away. They smeared glue on the branches around the decoy so that the other birds could be captured as soon as they landed on them. See Vandenbroeck 1987b, 134–35; De Bruyn 2001, 85.

[11] *Dialogus creaturarum dat is twespraec der creaturen*, Gouda (Gerard Leeu) 1482. See also cat. 41–42.

[12] See Morris 2009 for a cultural history of the owl, including a focus on the shifting and occasionally contradictory significance placed on it.

[13] Ursula Mielke, in Schoch 2002, no. 245, 435–37.

[14] 'I am like an owl of the wilderness, like a little owl of the waste places. I lie awake; I am like a lonely bird on the housetop. All day long my enemies taunt me; those who deride me use my name for a curse.'

[15] The earliest seal with this image dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. It was renewed in the early fourteenth century and the new seal remained in use until the eighteenth century. Van Zuijlen 1863a, 15; Koldeweij 1985b, 124–25.

[16] Vandenbroeck 1981, 178–84. Ilsink 2009, 45–47. The treatise was published in the period 1470 to 1500 in several places, including Cologne, Leuven and Deventer. Albrecht Dürer used the proverb too. See Rupprich 1956, I, 125.

[17] Benesch 1937. The German word *eingekleidet* (literally 'clothed') also has connotations of being couched with meaning, and so here emphasizes the idea that the author is referring to more than a self-portrait in the narrow sense. The point is explored at greater length in Ilsink 2009, 30–89.

[18] The figure in the sheet with the witches (cat. 39) with the pot on his head is stylistically similar to the beggar. See Koreny 2012, 77, where the two figures are illustrated alongside one another.

[19] We find something similar in cat. 43 recto, in which the two birds' heads are rendered virtually transparent, but the concert in an egg remains visible.

[20] The eye and the top of the head of the animal with the ear are repeated in the middle of the sheet, to the left of the architecture.

[21] This relates to the head of the animal looking over its shoulder on the verso and the leg of the monster in the lower middle of the recto. Jan Brueghel reused the latter monster around 1600 in a painting of *Aeneas and the Sibyl in the Underworld*. See Rutgers 2014. The little head in the upper right of the drawing in Berlin recurs (in expanded form) in the Oxford drawing, recto, bottom left.



37.13 **Fox and cockerel** [CAT 37R]

38r/v *Two Monsters / Two Monsters*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper
163 × 116 mm
SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 547 recto

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Bottom in pen and yellow-brown ink: *Jer: Bosch.*

Condition/Restoration
Recto: brown, grey and black spots; somewhat smudged at the bottom.
Verso: the image has been cropped on the left. Horizontal fold in the middle. A small tear is visible diagonally below the monster. Large green stain upper left and two substantial brown stains lower left, together with numerous small spots.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 27 May 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Old holdings (acquired before 1879).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 273; Koreny 2012, 178–83; Elsig 2004, 76, 227; Buck 2001, 211–15, 219, 233; Ironside 1973, 175–78; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 160; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 83–84, 87, 89; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 61; Tolnay 1965, II, 392; Von Baldass 1959, 64, 82–83; Von Baldass 1943, 69; Von Baldass 1937, 22; Tolnay 1937, 114; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 63; Friedländer 1927, 125.



38R



38v

The two monsters on the recto of this small sheet are among the most powerful Bosch drew. They were set down on paper quickly and with bravoura and great accuracy. The original sheet was undoubtedly larger and contained other mon-
38.1 sters too, similar to the copy in Providence, in which the Berlin monsters reappear, surrounded by other strange creatures. As in the *Model sheet with 'Witches'* in Paris (cat. 39), this sheet comprises a collection of figures set down on paper individually and with no overlapping. The function of this sheet is similar to that of another drawing with monsters in Berlin (cat. 51), except that we do not see the creatures in that sheet recurring verbatim in any of the surviving paintings.

38.2 The horse's skull on the verso is a regular motif in Bosch. There is a detail in the foreground of the central panel of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2) which seems to show the moment immediately prior to that of the drawing (fig. 38.2, bottom left); a creature explores the skull in the painting, while in the drawing it has made itself comfortable inside. However, where the two elements are rendered individually in the painting, they merge in the drawing into a single entity. The strange little creature at the bottom of the sheet shows how Bosch developed the final form as he worked: the figure originally had nothing on its head, but was given a funnel to
38.4 wear in the finished version of the drawing.

The attribution of this drawing to Bosch has never been seriously disputed.









38.2 Horses' skulls

38.1 Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *Model sheet with Monsters*.
Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence





38.3 [CAT 38R]





38.4 [CAT 38V]

39 *Model sheet with 'Witches'*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on paper, 204 × 264 mm
Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Paris, 19721

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Lower left in a later hand in pen and brown ink: *Bruegel / manu / propria*. Left of this: Louvre stamp R.F. (L.2207); lower right: Louvre stamp MN (L.1899) and Mariette stamp (L.1852). Verso, in pen and brown ink: 8460; in pencil: PV 17; stamp *No. d'Ordre* 19.721; below this in pencil: NIII / 8965.

Condition/Restoration
The drawing has been cut vertically down the middle and the two halves then reattached and stiffened. The paper is smudged, contains moisture stains and has yellowed. Large brown stain on the right of the barrel. Various small tears. The border was added at a later date.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 29 and 30 June 2015 with macrophotography in visible light and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774); Cabinet du Roi; Musée Napoléon (no. 8460); Musée du Louvre.

Literature
Koreny 2012, 288–91; Elsig 2004, 50, 226; Ironside 1973, 161; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 155; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 85; Tolnay 1965, II, 391; Von Baldass 1959, 65, 67, 81, 246; Von Baldass 1943, 77, 80, 87, 88, 89, 254; Von Baldass 1937, 23; Tolnay 1937, 113; Friedländer 1927, 126.

Strictly speaking, the madwomen in this drawing ought not to be identified as witches, although they are behaving most peculiarly. One of them rides a wheel while using a distaff for a lance, from which a pig's foot is suspended. Another is mounted in an impossible pose on a barrel pulled along by a cockerel. A plateau with a jug containing sprigs of blossom balances on her back. In the upper left of the sheet, a woman rides a baker's shovel, on the handle of which perches an owl. This behaviour is similar to that found in images of witches, and several of these figures were indeed used as witches in a painting, now in Brussels, by a follower of Bosch.[1] It is for that reason that we have retained the term 'witches' in the title for this model sheet, while placing it in inverted commas.[2]

The eight human figures in the drawing have been laid down carefully so that they do not overlap. This makes them easier to read and indicates that the drawing could have served as a model sheet. In our view, the fact that the figures do not interact with one another and that the individual elements lack coherence is not due to any lack of quality, but reflects the drawing's function as a set of examples.[3]

Koreny and others have noted the similarities in drawing style between the old woman with a pot on her head and the beggar on the back of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37). Unlike Koreny, we detect the same hand in the two works, namely that of Bosch himself.[4] This sheet may be linked to other drawings by Bosch in other ways too: the way the blossoms in the jug are drawn is the same, for instance, as that of the flowers on the little trees in *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes*, and also in several places in the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35). A very similar cockerel is found, meanwhile, in the drawing of a fox and a cockerel on the verso of the Rotterdam sheet (cat. 40) and at the bottom of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes*. The rooster in the drawing of the *Gathering of the Birds* (cat. 41) can be added to the list too. A final noteworthy similarity is found in the figure with a basket over her (?) head and an arrow piercing her belly and the basket; the way the foot of her standing leg is drawn corresponds with the left foot of the spinster in the Rotterdam sheet. The unusual detail of the instep indicated by a double line is identical in the two sheets, which must have been done by the same artist. In our view, therefore, there is every reason to attribute this drawing to Bosch.

37.12



39

[1] Koreny 2012, 291.

[2] Cf. Koreny 2012, 288.

[3] Koreny 2012, 290.

[4] Koreny assigns the sheet to a follower and dates it to between 1530 and 1550.

40r/v *Two Old Women / Fox and cockerel*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown and greyish-brown ink on paper,
120 × 85 mm
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, N 190

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Recto, lower left in brown ink: *boesh*; to the right of this in pencil: Q 41; lower right: Rodrigues stamp (L.897) and Vallardi stamp (L.1223a).
Verso, lower right in brown ink: *bo*[*sch*].

Condition/Restoration
Recto: smudged on both sides; brown stains showing through from the verso; horizontal fold just below the middle; later border in brown ink.
Verso: the image has been trimmed at left, top and bottom.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 7 September 2015 with macrophotography in visible light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Giuseppe Vallardi (1784–1863; L.1223); Eugene Rodrigues (1853–1928; L.897), Paris; his auction, Amsterdam (Muller) 12–13 July 1921; Dr Leo Baer, Bad Homburg (1924); Franz W. Koenigs (1881–1941), Haarlem (L.1023a), in or after 1924; loaned to the museum, 1935–40; acquired with the Koenigs collection by D.G. van Beuningen (1871–1955), Rotterdam, and donated to the Museum Boymans Foundation, 1940; loaned to the museum since 1940.

Literature
Fischer 2013, 271; Van der Coelen 2012; Koreny 2012, 152–55; Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002, 182–84; Buck 2001, 221, 232; Ironside 1973, 164, 167, 170, 172, 177, 185–86, 195; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 155, 161; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 86–87, 89; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 48; Tolnay 1965, II, 387–88; Von Baldass 1959, 64, 67, 84, 246; Von Baldass 1943, 75–76; Von Baldass 1937, 23; Tolnay 1937, 109; Rotterdam 1936, 64.

As in the *Model sheet with 'Witches'* (cat. 39), the women in this drawing have often been identified as witches.[1] Unlike their counterparts in Paris, however, the two old women here do not display any deviant behaviour; one leans on a stick, while the other clutches a distaff. The drawing is undoubtedly a fragment of a larger work, which makes it impossible to identify and explain the women precisely. It is unlikely, though, that Bosch intended to offer a non-judgemental representation of the picturesque appearance of two elderly women. The association between 'down-at-heel' and 'ugly' on the one hand, and 'foolish' and 'wicked' on the other, is an obvious one, especially in Bosch.[2]

Interestingly, Bosch drew here using two inks of different composition, which have therefore aged differently over the centuries. This reveals that the artist completed the women in this sheet in two phases: he began with the drawing in brown ink and then overlaid the greyer lines, chiefly for hatching purposes, but also to heighten the outlines.[3] The difference between the brown and the grey ink that we see today was probably less obvious at first.

Koreny proposed an early date between 1480 and 1490 for this drawing, based on a comparison with the underdrawing of the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* (cat. 11). Although he was followed in this by Peter van der Coelen in the catalogue of early Netherlandish drawings in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, we do not feel there is sufficient evidence for such a conclusion.[4] It is true that the underdrawing of Christ in the Frankfurt painting shows some resemblance to the pose of the spinster, and the way the two figures' feet are rendered is also comparable. This applies equally well, however, to Eve's feet in the left wing of the *Haywain* (cat. 20), a painting which, based on the dating of the wood of its panels, must have been produced at a late stage – after 1510, at any rate. There are so few points of reference by which to date or even to suggest a sequence for these and other drawings by Bosch, that we will not attempt to do so. 40.8–9

The abruptly cropped elements around the little sketch of a fox and cockerel make it plain that this is a fragment of a larger drawing. What we see now suggests an unsuspecting cockerel who rounds a small hill in which a fox lurks in its den. The remains of an earlier meal, in which a duck evidently came to its end, are scattered in the foreground. Foxes and cockerels appear regularly in Bosch's work, both separately and together.[5] A cockerel in *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37) sticks its head into the hollow of the tree in which a fox lies in wait, while in the *Battle of the Birds and Mammals* (cat. 42) a fox stretches out among a scattering of severed birds' legs, wings and heads. Another fox is curled up asleep in *Saint Jerome* (cat. 1), surrounded by the remains of a devoured cockerel.[6] The fox is a cunning, clever and observant predator, making it a favourite character for Bosch (along with the owl) in compositions dealing with the struggle for life, both physical and spiritual. Things do not always turn out well even for the crafty fox, as we see in the painting of *Saint Christopher* (cat. 7), in which two cockerels parade behind a tree from which a dead fox dangles. 40.1–6



40R



40V

[1] See Van der Coelen 2012: http://collectie2008.boijmans.nl/nl/work/N%20190%20recto%20(PK)?research=1. Accessed 19 January 2015.

[2] Koldeweij 2001c.

[3] Cf. the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35), in which the contours were also emphasized in a greyer ink during a second phase.

[4] Koreny 2012, 153–54.

[5] See, e.g., cat. 1 and 37.

[6] The Paradise wing of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 17A) includes a fox that rushes out of the trees towards a cockerel standing in the open field.

40.1 *Saint Jerome* [CAT 1]
40.2 *The Wood Has Ears, …* [CAT 37R]
40.3 *Battle of the Birds and Mammals* [CAT 42]
40.4 Cranach, *Last Judgement* (Berlin)
[see also FIG 17.14]
40.5 *Job Triptych* [CAT 23B]
40.6 *Saint Christopher* [CAT 7]

40.1



40.7 [CAT 40R]

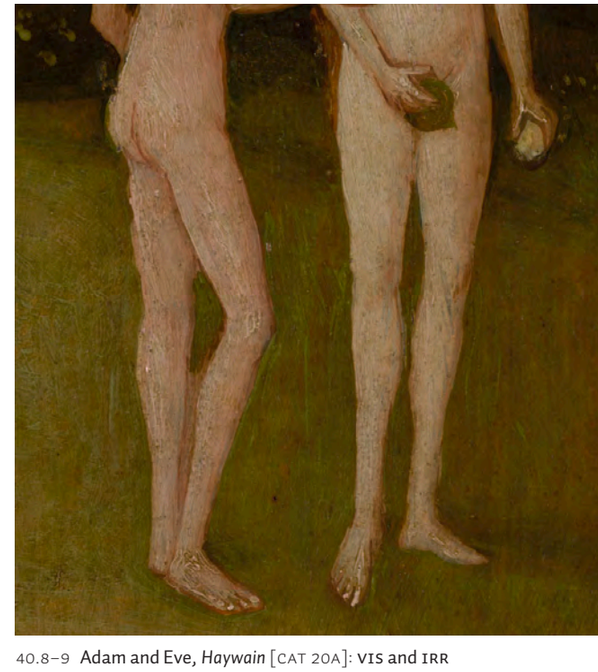


40.3



40.5





40.8–9 Adam and Eve, *Haywain* [CAT 20A]: VIS and IRR



40.2



40.4



40.6



40.10 [CAT 40V]



41 *The Gathering of the Birds*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper, 195 × 284 mm
SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 13136

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Verso, lower left in pencil: *Herry van Bles (Civetta)*. Kupferstichkabinett stamp (L.1606). Right in pencil: *KdZ 13136*.

Watermark
Jug with lid and handle; height 23 mm. Comparable with Briquet 12496 or 12505, but there with a cross. Chain line distance: approx. 20–22 mm.

Condition/Restoration
The image has been trimmed somewhat on the left. Several slightly smudged folds have been smoothed. Various small tears. Lower left: various stains; upper middle: several paint and ink spots. Correction by the artist himself in the left leg of the commander of the bird army, in which the first phase has been scratched out.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 27 May 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Old holdings (acquired prior to 1879).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 272–73; Koreny 2012, 162–69; Koreny 2002–03, 66–69; Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002, 177–81; Bock and Rosenberg 1930, 2.



41

42 *Battle of the Birds and Mammals*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper, 203 × 290 mm
SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 14715

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Verso middle: Kupferstichkabinett stamp (L.1606); lower left: illegible inscription in pencil; right in pencil: *KdZ. 14715.*

Condition/Restoration
The paper is smudged and has been trimmed top and right; various smoothed folds; several tears along the left, right and top edges; significant damage upper right; various brown and black-brown spots and several moisture stains.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 27 May 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Old holdings (acquired before 1879).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 272–73; Koreny 2012, 162–69; Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002, 177–81; Buck 2001, 230–34.



42

The *Gathering of the Birds* and the *Battle of the Birds and Mammals* are the most important additions to Bosch's drawn oeuvre in recent decades, together with the *Infernal Landscape* (cat. 44). The Berlin sheets are also extremely important to our picture of Bosch as a draughtsman in terms of the type of drawing. The fact that the two sheets stand in direct relationship to one another enables us to learn something not only about the master's drawing style but also about his thought processes.

The *Gathering of the Birds* was first published by Bock and Rosenberg in 1930 as a copy by a follower; nothing more was then heard of the drawing for some considerable time.[1] Stephanie Buck included the sheet and the one with the *Battle of the Birds and Mammals* in her very thorough and comprehensive catalogue of fifteenth-century Netherlandish drawings in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin. She felt that the sheets were too weak to be attributed to Bosch himself and concluded that they were a workshop product or the work of a follower.[2] It was Fritz Koreny who presented both drawings as autograph in 2002 at the exhibition of early Netherlandish drawings in Antwerp. Koreny's comparisons with drawings like the *Tree-Man*, the *Owl's Nest*, *The Wood Has Ears*, *The Field Has Eyes* and the sketch with studies including Saint Anthony (cat. 52) are persuasive and the attribution of these drawings to Bosch has since been generally accepted.[3]

The foreground of *Gathering of the Birds* contains a collection of fowl – owls, storks, spoonbills, peacocks, ducks, swans, cockerels, eagle-like birds and a griffin – holding a council of war. The griffin is the flag-bearer sitting at the centre of the drawing, opposite two large birds of prey who seem to be the commanders of this avian army. A row of storks faces one of spoonbills on the right of the sheet; flags hang from their beaks, while another bird beats the drums between them. An army of mammals can be seen in the upper right background, led by a stag standing on a hill next to a cross. The lines beyond include unicorns, an elephant with what is probably a monkey on its back, and deer.

We view the scene from the perspective of the birds; the mammals are far away, on the horizon. In the second sheet, which shows the *Battle of the Birds and Mammals*, the birds advance from the left from behind a slope in the landscape. We infer from this that we are now looking at the mammals' territory and hence that the birds are the aggressors. The drawing presents the chaos of the battlefield, in which birds and mammals fight fiercely. Although the outcome is not yet certain, it is significant that the lion has the griffin – the birds' standard-bearer – by the throat. It is surely no coincidence that in the drawing of the birds preparing for war, a (triumphal) cross was shown on the mammals' side.

What is unusual about these drawings is that the artist sought here to present a narrative – an event with a distinct passage of time. This relates not only to the fact that the two drawings apparently depict successive scenes, but also to the composition of each drawing individually. Whereas virtually all the other drawings in the Bosch group are concerned with the development (invention) of figures and compositions with a relatively static character, this is about preparing for action and the subsequent action itself. It is not clear what story these drawings are intended to illustrate. The double-headed eagle (symbol of the Holy Roman Empire) in the banner of the bird army in *Gathering of the Birds* (an obvious visual rhyme) suggests that the story can be translated to the human world. The idea that the drawings refer to a specific political conflict is, however, difficult to prove.[4] At the same time, it is undeniably the case that the boundary between a 'scientific' description of things and animals, and a moral explanation of these characteristics and their deployment in fables was not clearly delineated around 1500.

An example is *On the Properties of Things* (*De proprietatibus rerum*) – a thirteenth-century encyclopaedia compiled by Bartholomeus Anglicus (Bartholomew the Englishman, c. 1240), of which both Latin and Middle Dutch editions were in circulation in the Low Countries towards the end of the fifteenth century. It comprised nineteen volumes of





41.1 [CAT 42]

descriptions of subjects ranging from rocks and minerals, trees and plants, birds, and the sun, moon and stars, to scents and colours. Book 12, Chapter 6 is devoted to the owl, which it describes as a bird with full plumage, lazy and a poor flier, which is drawn to churchyards and caves. 'Diviners [*wijchelaers*] and Aristotle consider the owl to betoken evil. They say that if the bird is seen in the town, it heralds a death or a fire among the people or that the city will be laid waste.'[5]

In another popular book – the *Dialogue of Creatures* (*Dialogus creaturarum*, dialogue 82), probably written in northern Italy in the fourteenth century and published in Middle Dutch in the late fifteenth century under the title *Twespraec der creaturen* – the 'scientific' description of the owl is expanded into a story about the 'long-eared owl who wanted to rule over the other animals'.[6] It is interesting that the owl, as a nocturnal creature and bird of prey, figures here in a fable-like, moralizing tale of pride. The owl wishes, contrary to the laws of creation, to achieve dominion over the other birds. He ultimately pays a high price – pride comes before a fall – and he is put to death. The story that resonates here in the background is that of the Fall of the Rebel Angels which, according to exegetical tradition since Augustine, was the moment at which evil came into being when God separated light from dark. This implies that the owl in the story ought to be associated with darkness and evil and is hence also comparable with the devil. This is not to say that he *is* the devil, merely that Satan can be detected in him. 37.1

Animals are thus assigned characteristics and personality traits comparable with those of people. Stories with animals in the principal role, from which people could draw lessons, were an entertaining and popular form of education. The best-known example is the collection of fables attributed to Aesop, which were also illustrated and circulated in the Northern Netherlands in the late fifteenth century.[7] One of the fables is about a battle between birds and mammals (beasts). The principal figure in the story is the bat, who wants to choose the winning side and tells the birds he is a bird, and the beasts that he is a beast. Once the battle has been fought, both sides shun and punish the bat. The moral of the tale is that it is impossible to serve two masters.

We find a contrasting moral in a fable in the *Twespraec der creaturen* (dialogue 85). The story of 'The lion who fought against the eagle' also deals with a conflict between beasts and birds. In this case, the king of the beasts is pitted against the eagle, leader of the birds. The griffin intervenes, being himself half eagle, half lion. He observes the battle between the two sides and positions himself on a hill, so that they can all see him. The lion and the eagle both respect the griffin, as each sees that half of him belongs to the enemy. The foes also see themselves united in the griffin, who thus becomes the peacemaker between the two warring factions. In this case, the fact that he cannot choose between the birds and the beasts has a positive outcome. The griffin is the Other to both sides, yet at the same time, each side recognizes itself in that Other. Consequently, the griffin provides the vehicle here for an appeal for tolerance.

Dialogue 87 of the *Twespraec der creaturen* shows, incidentally, that the griffin can also be viewed entirely differently, as in that instance the animal compiled from the king of the beasts and the king of the birds is a tyrant. The griffin is described in this case as an intolerant oppressor, who is able to behave in that way because of the powers united in him (lion and eagle). All this indicates yet again that while animals can be used to symbolize ideas, those symbols do not have the same meaning always and everywhere. 41.6

It seems very much as though stories from books like *On the Properties of Things*, the *Dialogue of the Creatures* and Aesop's fables were the seedbed for these two drawings by Bosch. And that goes not only for the stories, but also for the illustrations accompanying them. A comparison between the *Gathering of the Birds* and a woodcut with birds from the *Proprieteyten* suggests that Bosch was indeed familiar with this book. The griffin and the ostrich/eagle are particularly striking in this regard.[8] Comparison with these wood- 41.2–3





41.2–3 Birds and mammals in Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Van den proprieteyten der dinghen* (c. 1240), Haarlem (Jacob Bellaert) 1485. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

cuts and the illustrations accompanying Aesop's fable about the bat and the one about the lion and the eagle in the *Twespraec* provides additional insight into Bosch's ambitions in this
41.5, 41.6 instance. The book illustrations are limited in their dynamism by the woodcut medium; the same limitation barely applies, by contrast, to pen drawings. Bosch's two drawings seem to have been primarily intended therefore as studies in the visual representation of movement and suspense rather than as illustrations of a specific allegory. The only pentimento in these sheets – the leg of the ostrich/eagle in the *Gathering of the Birds*, which was
41.4 initially straight – is geared precisely to that aspect.

1 Bock and Rosenberg 1930, 2.

2 Buck 2001, 230–34, nos. I.36, I.37.

3 Koreny 2012, 162–69, nos. 3–4.

4 Pokorny 2014, 254–63.

5 Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Van den proprieteyten der dinghen*, Haarlem (Jacob Bellaert) 24 December 1485, fol. 223r/v. Belief in the owl as a symbol of disaster is ancient and widespread, and goes back to at least Greek and Roman times. Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, Book 10, 34–42. Morris (2009, 27–28) describes the custom among Roman farmers of nailing an owl to the front door to ward off evil. See also in this regard the 2007 short story *La Civettina* by Raffaele La Capria (http://www.sagarana.net/anteprima.php?quale=144).

6 *Dialogus creaturarum*, Gouda (Gerard Leeu) 1480; *Twespraec der creaturen*, Gouda (Gerard Leeu) 1481.

7 Kok 2013, I, 134–41; II, 357–87. Use is made here of Aesop, *Die historien ende fabulen van Esopus die leerlic wonderlick ende seer ghenoechlick syn*, Delft (Hendrik Eckert van Homberch) 1498.

8 Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002, 181 n. 3.

41.4 Griffin and eagles [CAT 41]



41.5 *Die historien ende fabulen van Esopus die leerlic wonderlick ende seer ghenoechlick syn*, Delft (Hendrik Eckert van Homberch) 1498. Woodcut. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent



41.6 *Twespraec der creaturen*, Gouda (Gerard Leeu) 1481. Woodcut. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

43 r/v *The Temptation of Saint Anthony / Concert in an Egg and two sketches of monsters*

Workshop of Hieronymus Bosch (recto)
Hieronymus Bosch and workshop (verso)

Recto: pen and brown ink on paper; the four figures below the main scene were drawn in light brown ink and emphasized in a second phase using dark brown ink
Verso: pen and dark brown ink on paper; the monsters left of centre and lower right are in light brown ink, as is the hatching upper right
258 × 179 mm
SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 711

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Recto, lower middle in pencil 3 x.
Verso, on the left in pencil: *Prügel*; lower left in pencil: *K.d.Z. 711*; upper left: Kupferstichkabinett stamp (L.1606) and Altenstein stamp (L.8).

Condition/Restoration
Recto: the image has been cropped slightly top and left; torn in the middle. Heavily discoloured around the repair. There is another repair next to Anthony's knee and in the upper right corner. The paper is yellowed and smudged; moisture stains above and below; grey-green paint spatters on the right. Traces of folds and creases in the corners; lower right corner cut off. Vertical line of a previous repair along the right-hand side.
Verso: brown discoloration caused by the glue used for repair. Traces of black paint left of centre. Brushstrokes (next to the figure with the bare behind) and traces of paint (upper right).

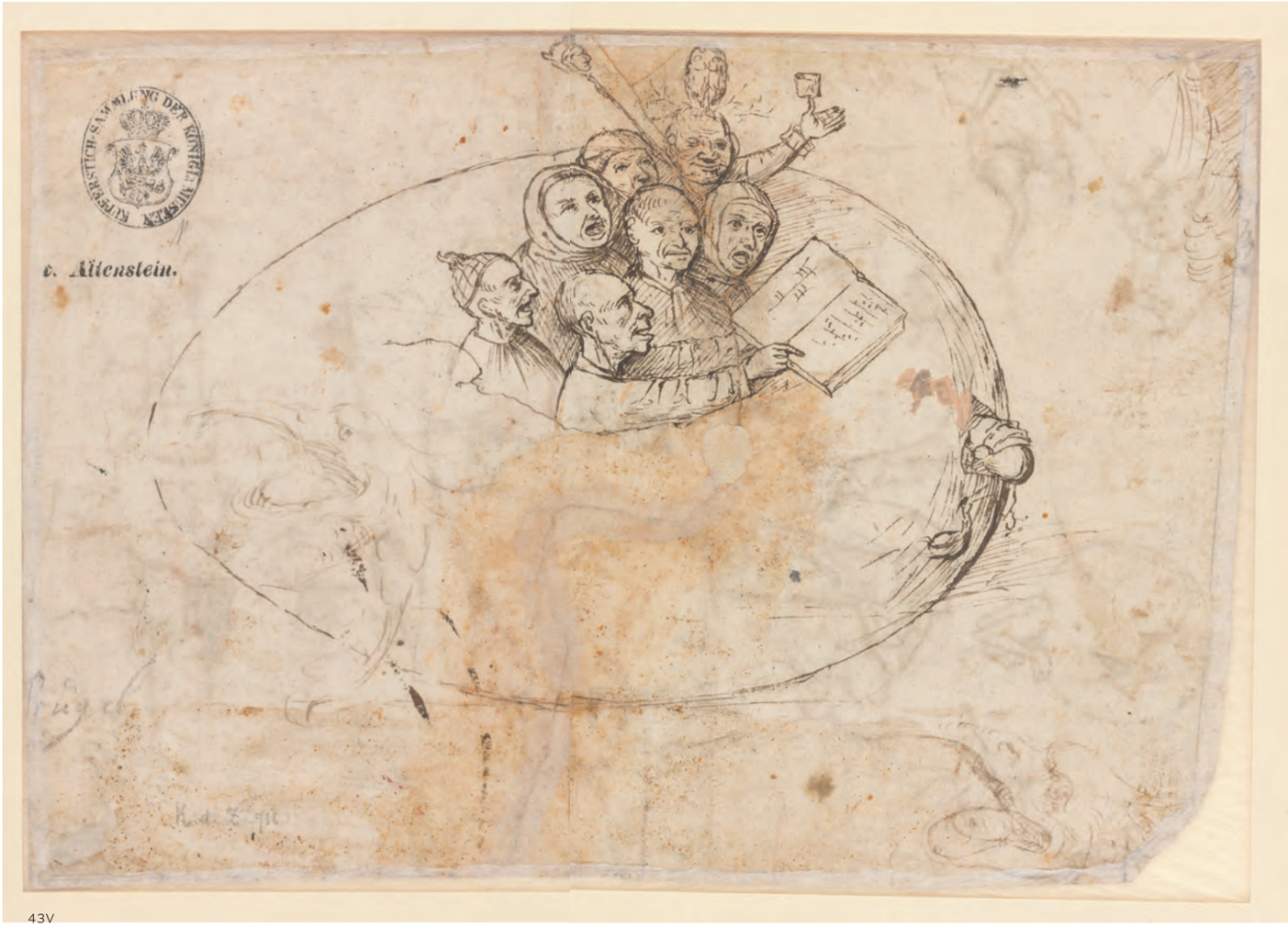
BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 27 May 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr von Altenstein (1757–1831), Berlin; acquired before 1879.

Literature
Fischer 2013, 280; Koreny 2012, 266–71; Elsig 2004, 73, 131, 229; Buck 2001, 202, 204, 217, 223–30; Chailly 1976, 93, 95; Ironside 1973, 161, 183; Tolnay 1965, II, 388; Von Baldass 1959, 63, 65; Von Baldass 1943, 75–77, 253; Von Baldass 1937, 26; Tolnay 1937, 110; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 62; Friedländer 1927, 125.



43R



43v

Saint Anthony sits in a landscape, surrounded by Boschian monsters, in a composition that is remarkably simple but consistently worked out overall.[1] Images of this type were repeated countless times in the course of the sixteenth century, when Bosch's imagery was popular. They often consisted of small paintings produced by now-anonymous masters for the open market.[2]

The simplification of Bosch's frequently complex and refined images, done in a manner lacking the master's brilliance, is not a phenomenon, however, that dates only from after his death. It seems as though pictures of this kind were already being produced in his workshop and this drawing is an example.[3] The reason for supposing that the sheet came from Bosch's workshop is found on the verso, where in addition to a scene with a concert in an egg, the head of a monstrous bird has been drawn twice, with the quality we recognize from other drawings by Bosch, such as the *Battle of the Birds and Mammals* (cat. 42) and the demonic creature sitting on a barrel on the left of the *Infernal Landscape* (cat. 44). In our view, these sketches have to be attributed to Bosch – an opinion previously expressed by Haverkamp-Begemann and Van Gelder too.[4] A sheet on which Bosch drew

has once again been used by apprentices, as in the case of *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37), where, as we have seen, pupils were actually encouraged to make a creative contribution rather than simply referring to existing inventions. Similar efforts seem to have been made in this *Temptation*. A not entirely successful attempt to create an attractive composition has been made using 'inventions' derived from Bosch, such as the tree-man-like figure to Saint Anthony's right. We find the same mechanism at work in the *Job Triptych* in Bruges (see cat. 23). The wing featuring Saint Anthony even includes an element that
43.1 closely resembles the hollow, inhabited fruit in the lower right of the drawing.[5] The *Infernal Scene with Tree-Man* in Dresden (cat. 58) is comparable in terms of drawing style and the way the composition has been put together.

The drawing with a concert in an egg on the verso is partially executed on top of the bird-monster and so was done later than Bosch's little sketch. The cropped monster's head in the lower right of the sheet and the little lines in the upper right corner (apparently applied in the same ink and by the same hand) indicate that the sheet was originally larger. The composition with the concert in an egg is probably a free variation on a Bosch invention, done in the workshop like the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* on the recto, which was drawn by the same hand.[6]

1 Koreny (2012, 267) has an early picture with a piece of paper stuck on that covers a little monster. The latter can already be seen, however, in Buck 2001, 395.

2 Unverfehrt 1980, 151–86.

3 Cf. cat. 4.

4 Haverkamp-Begemann and Van Gelder 1963, no. 517, 522. Koreny (2012, 269) also takes this sketch seriously and compares it with a detail from the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, Lisbon (cat. 4), a painting he attributes to one of Bosch's workshop assistants.

5 Similar pictorial elements are found in Bosch in *Saint Jerome*, the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* and the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 1, 4 and 21).

6 The painting, now in Lille, with a version of the same subject was most likely produced in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. See Unverfehrt 1980, 285.



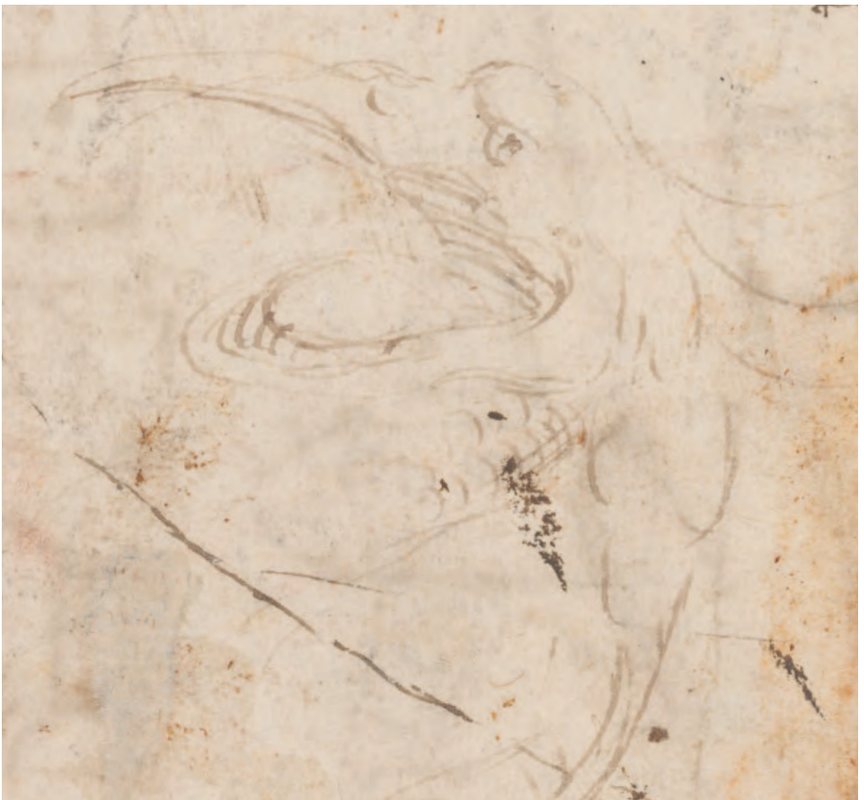
43.1 *Job Triptych* [CAT 23A]



43.2 [CAT 43R]



43.3 [CAT 43V]



43.4 [CAT 43V]

44 *Infernal Landscape*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper; red ink in the eye of the helmeted monster
259 × 197 mm
Private collection

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Verso: several old inscriptions, one of which – *antrement* or *autremont* done in pen – might be original; in pencil: *H:Mandyn*; *JCallot / original Drawing*; lower right: *41*. A fragment of a price list is attached to the back, together with a small piece of paper with a fragment of text: … *got ghy dyt af* …

Watermark
Gothic letter P with cloverleaf; height 60 mm. Chain line distance: approx. 22–23 mm.

Condition/Restoration
Image cropped all the way around; tears up to 5 cm long on all sides. Dark brown ink border added later. Smudged, yellowed, a few small moisture spots. Various filled lacunae, particularly at the bottom.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 13 October 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
New York, Sotheby's, 21 January 2003, no. 20.

Literature
Ilsink 2013, 401; Koreny 2012, 218–20; Elsig 2004, 74, 227; Ilsink 2003, 50; New York, Sotheby's, 21 January 2003, no. 20.

This sheet was auctioned on 21 January 2003 as a drawing from the circle of Bosch, based in part on an analysis by Fritz Koreny.[1] The drawing was not previously known in the art-historical literature and was only given a place in the Bosch group in 2012, following the publication of Koreny's catalogue raisonné of Bosch's drawings, as a work by an 'assistant of the master of the Bruges *Last Judgement*',[2] which Koreny attributes to an assistant of Bosch (see cat. 16). In Koreny's view, therefore, we are dealing here with an assistant of an assistant of Bosch.

Although the drawing is now in a private collection, it was possible to examine it at first hand on several occasions in the course of the research performed by the Bosch Research and Conservation Project. This included the extensive documentation of the drawing on 13 October 2014 using macrophotography, and in visible, infrared, ultraviolet and raking light, and infrared reflectography. This documentation is accessible online in full.[3] Examination of the drawing itself and of its photographic documentation, combined with the similarities detected between this sheet and other works by Bosch (in the first instance the *Garden of Earthly Delights*) lead us to conclude that it ought to be viewed as an autograph work by Hieronymus Bosch.

A demonic edifice is placed in the middleground of a sprawling infernal landscape. A leviathan-like figure stands with gaping mouth and its legs in two jugs on the bank of a stretch of water. The beast's maw is crammed with a wheel, seemingly intended to swallow up the human figures who are drawn into the monster's jaws by two groups of figures with a large net. A disc with spikes running around the edge lies on top of the beast's head. Two groups of figures have been drawn on top of it – one pair is wrestling, while another group rings a bell, the clapper of which consists of human bodies. The bell is hung from a canopy, from which a cloth hangs down. Above this is a bowl containing figures and with guy ropes hanging down on either side, attached to masts sticking through the handles of the jugs. The cables are tensioned by counterweights in the shape of a lantern on the left and a cauldron topped with a tent on the right. This fantastic structure stands in the middle of a landscape, the most striking features of which are a monstrous creature in a basket with a knife in its teeth, a barrel on legs containing a human figure and ridden by a curious creature in a helmet, and a dragon vomiting out another figure into a cooking pot.

The draughtsman has taken great pains to develop an infernal scene with a large number of fantastic elements. We find many of the motifs in the drawing in more or less varied form in Bosch's paintings, most notably the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and the Bruges and Vienna *Last Judgements* (cat. 21, 17 and 16). This makes the sheet a fascinating addition to the drawing group while also giving us the sense of being able to follow the artist's creative process. That process was a constant search for new forms, which frequently arose by playing with unexpected combinations of people, animals and things, and with relative scales. Human feet combined with a barrel for a body, two immense jugs used as shoes, and a knife so huge that five men can cling to, sit and lie on its blade. This was how Bosch went about finding forms and scenes that can exist only in his art.

What is particularly interesting about this sheet is that it can be linked in several ways to surviving paintings. The precise context and their juxtaposition with other visual elements often differ, yet it is plain that Bosch had a number of favourite motifs, which he constantly varied and combined to create new images. Exploring the relationship between elements of this drawing and those from several of his paintings can give us a certain insight into Bosch's thinking, which must have been 'modular', enabling him to combine and rework motifs as required. It is important for the drawing discussed here that we consider the



44

Infernal Landscape, private collection 527





44.1–2 Birds: *Infernal Landscape* [CAT 44] and *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4E]



44.3 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]



44.4 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]





44.6–7 Barrel on legs, *The Flood* [CAT 22B]: IRR and VIS

44.5 [CAT 44]



44.8–11 *Infernal Landscape* [CAT 44] and *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]





relevant paintings not only as we see them today, but also in terms of their underdrawing and underpainting.

The analysis can be made most clearly by summarizing several of these elements. As noted above (cat. 22), for instance, the barrel on legs containing a human figure that we see in the right foreground of the drawing can also be found in the *Flood* panel *After the Last Judgement*.[4] The way the face in the barrel has been rendered is also very similar to a detail from the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, in which a demonic mirror is held up to a woman. We find the same combination of a gaping mouth and a giant wheel in the Bruges *Last Judgement*, which also contains details like the lantern, the spiked disc, the bell with human bodies as a clapper, and the person/soul on the edge of a gigantic blade. The Vienna *Last Judgement* likewise contains the spiked wheel, as well as the combination of skewered bodies and a demonic bell (the Bruges *Last Judgement* has the demonic bell and a single impaled body). And the composition in Vienna also includes a large net used to catch human figures.

44.5–7 44.3 44.12

If we consider the affinities between this sheet and the other drawings from the Bosch group, we are struck by the similarity between the rendering of the birds, here and in the





Tree-Man, the *Owl's Nest* and *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 35–37). There is also a remarkable correspondence between the birds in the drawing and the bird on the exterior of the right wing of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon, in which Bosch once again shows himself to be a draughtsman in paint. The smallest figures are similar to those in the *Tree-Man*, but also to those in the two drawings with birds and mammals in Berlin (cat. 41–42). 44.1–2

It is as good as certain that the drawing is not a copy (note the continuous lines between the figures sitting on the knife blade and below the figure riding the barrel), and its quality is excellent. The penwork is so deft that the more we look at the drawing, the more admiration we feel. The procession of figures with trumpet, banners and pennants that enters the scene from round the hill lower left is drawn with confidence and skill. We find similar groups time and again in Bosch, in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado, for instance, the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the Vienna *Last Judgement* and the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Lisbon (cat. 9, 21, 17 and 4). They also appear in his drawn oeuvre, including the *Owl's Nest* (cat. 36) and the *Gathering of the Birds* (cat. 41). This drawing has to be by the same hand that

Infernal Landscape, private collection

44.12 *Last Judgement (Bruges)* [CAT 16B]







44.13–14 *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]



44.15 Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625), *Aeneas and the Sibyl in the Underworld* (detail).
Oil on copper, 25.5 x 34.3 cm. Private collection



drew the *Owl's Nest* and the *Tree-Man*. Although the scale of the figures in the *Burning Ship* (cat. 45) is slightly larger, the way the figures are drawn there is very similar too. The relatively long arms are particularly noticeable in that case – a characteristic we also find in the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the image that this drawing most resembles in terms of its ambition and execution. The dramatically outstretched arms of the figure in the little boat, for instance, at the foot of the jug on the right, or the arms of the figure carrying a ladder next to the jug on the left are also found in various places in the Hell wing.

44.8–11

Other comparisons too are possible with the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The monstrosity that occupies a central place in the drawing is comparable in ambition to the invention of the tree-man (in both his painted and drawn incarnations). The motif of the helmeted bird's-head with legs is found in altered form, yet in the same spirit, in the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The way the bell is rung and the dynamism of its drawing is much closer to the *Garden of Earthly Delights* than the Bruges *Last Judgement*, in which we find the same motif. The two jugs in which the creature's legs are placed form a striking detail that is also found in the demonic figure enthroned on the commode in the Hell wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The lantern on the left of the drawing also returns in the Prado triptych, to the right of the tree-man. The idea of a monster with its head, shoulders and arms sticking out of a basket is likewise found in a passage – subsequently overpainted – in the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*.[5] This is an important argument in favour of viewing the drawing as autograph, since it is an example of information known only to the person who painted the panel, for it was rapidly painted out and removed from anyone else's view, preventing a copyist from seeing it. The same goes for the barrel-monster in the *Flood Panels*.

44.4

44.12

44.14

Taking everything into account, the sheet discussed here seems relatively close to the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. It is an ambitious drawing with a series of motifs that were used in modified form in that and other paintings. Comparison between this and other inventions enables us to 'see' Bosch in the process of thinking and developing forms. Oddly enough, Jan Brueghel the Elder used this drawing roughly a century after it was made in the design of one of the versions of his *Aeneas and the Sibyl in the Underworld*.[6] Brueghel borrowed the central monster and placed it in slightly modified form in the background of his painting.[7] In other words, while Bosch seems ultimately to have used the drawing to develop new forms rather than as a preliminary study for a painting, Jan Brueghel later adopted the sketch as a model sheet.

44.15

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1 Sale catalogue, Sotheby's, New York, *Old Master Drawings*, 21 January 2003, no. 20, 8.

2 Koreny 2012, 218–20.

3 See the website Boschproject.org, link L11.

4 See the website Boschproject.org, link L31.

5 An XR in which this can be seen is reproduced in Silva Maroto 2000a, 88.

6 See Rutgers 2014. (Rutgers's article was printed in twenty numbered copies.)

7 He based his painting not only on this drawing but also on others from the Bosch group. Several of the figures are found in the model sheet with monsters in Oxford (see figs. 37.9–10), which was drawn after Bosch.

44.17



45 *Burning Ship*

Hieronymus Bosch

Brush and grey-brown ink on paper
175 × 154 mm
Akademie der bildenden Künste, Kupferstichkabinett, Vienna, 2554

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Upper left: Akademie stamp (L.1628); verso, in pencil: *Peter Brueghel del.*

Watermark
Crowned star (virtually identical to the watermark in cat. 58), similar to Briquet 6116. Chain line distance: 25 mm.

Condition/Restoration
Smudged and discoloured in the corners and lower left; dark mark upper right; two stains on the right above the middle, partially retouched in white, which has subsequently cracked; numerous small, dark paint spatters; long, forked tear lower left, repaired.

Provenance
F. Jäger; donated to the Akademie in 1837.

Literature
Fischer 2013, 280; Koreny 2012, 214–16; Elsig 2004, 74, 134, 227; Ironside 1973, 161, 183; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 159; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 79–89; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 53; Tolnay 1965, II, 388; Von Baldass 1959, 69–70, 85, 247; Von Baldass 1943, 77, 82–83, 87, 255; Von Baldass 1937, 23; Tolnay 1937, 110; Friedländer 1927, 125.

The little sketch of a burning hell-ship, manned by unfortunates and beset by demonic monsters, features something rare in Bosch's drawn work – a motif linked to both his drawn and his painted oeuvre. The figure dangling over the forecastle, with little birds flying out of his behind, is also found in the drawing of a figure in a large basket (cat. 46) and in the Hell wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21). The distinctive way the birds have been drawn is identical to that on the verso of the figure in a basket. We find the tapered feet in the *Temptation of Eve* (cat. 50) and in the *Infernal Scene with anvil and monsters* (cat. 53). As in the *Infernal Landscape* (cat. 44) we recognize here the characteristic manner of drawing arms, while the way the shod feet with spurs and pattens are drawn also links the drawing discussed here with that sheet. Although the *Burning Ship* is significantly less ambitious than the *Infernal Landscape*, the invention is once again done with brio, and so we see no reason to attribute the sheet to an assistant of Bosch.[1]

[1] Contrary to Koreny 2012, 214–16.



45

46 r/v *Man in a basket, old woman with tongs and children / Sketch of a man in a basket and a head-and-feet figure*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown and brown-grey ink on paper
192 × 270 mm
Albertina, Vienna, 7797

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Lower right: *Jeronim[us] Bosch*. Lower left: stamp of Duke Albert of Saxony-Teschen (L.174).

Watermark
Gothic letter P with cloverleaf, height 55 mm (corresponding with Piccard IV/2, dept. VIII, 19; Briquet 8653). Chain line distance: 25 mm.

Condition/Restoration
Vertical fold; restored gap lower left; verso: image cropped at the top.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 26 August 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Duke Albert of Saxony-Teschen (1738–1822).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 280; Koreny 2012, 230–35; Elsig 2004, 17, 50, 226; Ilsink 2003, 56; Koreny 2002–03, 73; Buck 2001, 219, 221; Ironside 1973, 176–79, 195; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 156, 159; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 81–87, 89; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 59; Tolnay 1965, II, 391–92; Von Baldass 1959, 63–66, 68, 84, 87, 246; Von Baldass 1943, 75–76, 80–81, 86–88, 254; Von Baldass 1937, 23–24; Tolnay 1937, 113; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 63; Friedländer 1927, 125.

The spontaneity and pleasure with which the artist has drawn the children chasing birds in the margin recalls Leonardo da Vinci's drawing of a child playing with a cat from the same period.[1] The poses of the tiny figures, the way they relate to one another and the little scenes they play out seem to have come to Bosch spontaneously. The young bird-catchers are drawn with the greatest of ease and wholly convincingly, in a manner also reminiscent of Bosch's contemporary Raphael. The birds loosely connect the children with the two larger figures at the centre of the drawing, where birds fly out of the bare backside of a figure who is mostly hidden inside a large basket. A man squats on top of the basket, brandishing a lute with which he is apparently about to strike the buttocks below. A woman with a large pair of tongs gazes in shock at this bizarre scene. 46.2 46.1

The scene with the man in the basket is drawn again on the verso, this time with minimal means. In this case, a woman seems to sit on the basket holding two undefined attributes, one of which she is about to use to spank the figure in the basket. A flock of birds flies out of the man's backside, similar to the way this detail was depicted in the *Burning Ship* (cat. 45). A strange creature consisting of a human head



46.1 [CAT 46R]



46R



46V



46.2 Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), *Study sheet with children*, recto/verso. The British Museum, London

on legs can be seen on the right of the drawing, with a kind of 'see-through' hump, containing little figures (the drawing on the other side of the sheet immediately makes us think of children).

The execution of these sketches is of the very highest level and shows numerous points of comparison with other drawings by Bosch. We also find the woman with the fire-tongs in the *Model sheet with 'Witches'* (cat. 39), while the figure whose backside serves as a 'dovecote' appears in the drawing of the *Burning Ship*. Bosch incorporated the motif of the figure with bare buttocks sticking out of a large basket in the central panel of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* (cat. 2), which shows various birds, including an owl perching on a stick inserted between the figure's legs. 46.3

As in several other Bosch drawings, the artist has worked here in two phases, which can be clearly distinguished due to the discoloration of the respective inks.[2]

[1] The British Museum, London, inv. 1857-1-10-1. Bambach 2003a, 293–96.

[2] The same phenomenon can be seen in cat. 35, 40, 49 and 54.



46.3 *Hermit Saints Triptych* [CAT 2B]



46.4 [CAT 46R]



46.5 [CAT 46R]

47 r/v *Conjurer / Comical Concert and studies of helmets, three heads and a plough*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink
276/279 × 203/207 mm
Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Paris, 19197

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Verso lower left: Louvre stamp (L.1886).

Watermark
Hand (corresponding with Piccard online, file 340, no. 154620: 0.0. 1496). Chain line distance: 25–27 mm.

Condition/Restoration
Recto: the image has been cropped on the right. Yellowed, local tears, mended with tape, along the horizontal fold in the middle; various tears up to 2 cm long all the way around. Several restored lacunae. Upper left and lower left corners missing. Numerous large and small black-grey stains.
Verso: the image has been cropped on all sides.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 29 and 30 June 2015 with macrophotography in visible light and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

The *Conjurer* occupies a special place in Bosch's drawn oeuvre, as it is a rare example of a composition sketch in which an attempt has been made to visualize a group of figures and the interaction between them. The composition drawings with *Ten Spectators* (cat. 49) and the *Entombment of Christ* (cat. 54) are more detailed and hence a little stiffer in character. This drawing is closest in functional terms to the *Gathering of the Birds* (cat. 41). Like that sheet, the *Conjurer* is accurately and confidently executed, resulting in a dynamic composition. The two spectators in the left foreground are as important in that respect as they are effective. Bosch used minimal means to draw two figures, with the one on the right placing an arm around the shoulder of the one on the left, who points towards the conjurer. They lean backwards and watch the show.

Bosch is playing a game here: we follow the gaze of these spectators as they observe an audience that watches but does not see, and whose attentive inattention allows them to be robbed of their possessions. The addition of the two spectators means that he does so in a more layered and hence more dynamic manner than in the painting in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, in which a follower of Bosch depicted a similar, but more caricatured scene (cat. 32). It is not clear to what extent that painting is a literal representation of an invention by Bosch. This drawing suggests otherwise.

Several motifs in the drawing and the way it is executed recall the *Haywain* (cat. 20). In the margin of that work, we see several oriental-looking women with conspicuous headdresses, a very similar little dog, and two spectators who guide the viewer into the picture. 47R
This drawing is very close to the rapid, free style of painting and underdrawing in the *Haywain*, but other comparisons with Bosch's painted oeuvre also thrust themselves upon us. Bosch used the device of spectators within the image also in the scene with Christ Carrying the Cross on the closed right wing of the Lisbon *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 4) and the Flagellation on the exterior of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado, complete in that case 47V
with a monkey.



47.1 *Haywain* [CAT 20B]



47.2 *Adoration of the Magi* (Prado) [CAT 9E]



47R



47V

Provenance
Belonged in the seventeenth or eighteenth century to a French collector (identified by Lugt by the letter A); collection Charles-Paul-Jean-Baptiste de Bourgevin Vialart de Saint-Morys; in the Louvre during the French Revolution; 1803–14 Musée Napoléon (inv. MA 7775).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 280; Koreny 2012, 282–87; Buck 2001, 195; Ironside 1973, 161, 183; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 159; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 81, 84; Tolnay 1965, II, 388; Von Baldass 1959, 15, 63, 65, 245; Von Baldass 1943, 15, 75–78, 86, 88, 252, 253; Von Baldass 1937, 23–24; Tolnay 1937, 109; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 64; Friedländer 1927, 126.

The back of the sheet has an interior scene with a comical concert, combined with drawings in the margin of helmets, three heads and a plough. All of these little drawings give an impression of having been copied and are of considerably inferior quality to the scene with the conjurer on the recto. They were probably done around the middle of the sixteenth century and evoke the world of the Verbeeck family of artists from Mechelen more than that of Bosch.

48 r/v *Christ Carrying the Cross and beggars / Conjurer*

Follower of Bosch (recto)
Hieronymus Bosch (verso)

Pen and brown ink on paper
283 × 208 mm
Cabinet des Estampes et des Dessins de la Ville de Liège, Liège, Album d'Arenberg, no. 534

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Verso bottom: stamp of the Cabinet des Estampes (L.531 [a]).

Condition/Restoration
Recto: the image has been cropped top, bottom and right. Fairly smudged, contains numerous stains. Visible, smudged folds in the middle of the drawing. Diagonal folds in the right corners; both corners torn off on the left.
Verso: yellowed; quite smudged along the horizontal and vertical folds in the middle. Several moisture stains and paint spatters in different colours across the entire sheet. Various tears around the edges; both lower corners torn off.

Provenance
Album d'Arenberg (Louis-Englebert duc d'Arenberg, 1750–1820, or Auguste-Marie-Raimond duc d'Arenberg, 1753–1833).

Literature
Koreny 2012, 276–81.

A rapid, now barely visible sketch of a conjurer and his assistant can be found on the verso of a drawing dating from the mid-sixteenth century with Christ Carrying the Cross and beggars. Fritz Koreny recognized its relationship with the drawing in Paris (cat. 47) and published the little sheet in his catalogue raisonné of Bosch's drawings. Like the sketch of the *Conjurer* in Paris, he attributed this sheet to a follower of Bosch from around 1530–40. The drawing is undoubtedly by the same hand as the one in Paris, and so we ascribe it to Bosch. The speed with which it was done and its minimal characterization of the figures puts us in mind of the sketch of the man in a basket (cat. 46).

48.1



48R



48V

49 *Ten Spectators*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper
124 × 126 mm
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, I, 112

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Recto, lower right in brown ink: *bosch*; above in pen and brown ink: *Rymsdyk's Museum*. Verso top: *B1FX*; below in pencil: *lived about 1600*; below: 9; bottom: illegible inscription.

Watermark
Bottom left: part of a Gothic letter P.

Condition/Restoration
The image has been cropped at the top and the corners rounded off. Vertical fold in the middle; edged in black ink.

Provenance
Jan van Rijmsdijk (L.2167); Tighe; Charles Fairfax Murray; J. Pierpont Morgan, acquired in 1910.

Literature
Koreny 2012, 272–74; Elsig 2004, 23, 225; Ironside 1973, 161, 183; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 84; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 55; Tolnay 1965, II, 387; Von Baldass 1959, 66, 80, 247; Von Baldass 1943, 48, 78–79, 86, 253; Von Baldass 1937, 24–25; Tolnay 1937, 109; Friedländer 1927, 126.

Virtually all authors up to and including Charles de Tolnay (1965) considered this drawing to be autograph. However, since Lemmens and Taverne (1967–68) included this drawing in an article written to accompany the exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch, the sheet has been invariably attributed to a follower of Bosch.[1] Fritz Koreny (2012) dates it to between 1530 and 1540 and is highly critical of its quality, referring to an inexperienced draughtsman and unprofessional execution.[2] Erwin Pokorny (quoted by Koreny 2012) gives the drawing an earlier date (c. 1510–20) and places it closer to Bosch's workshop.[3]

Koreny's comment that several figures in the drawing recur in a print that Hieronymus Cock published in Antwerp around 1560 is interesting. The drawing for it was done by Lambert Lombard in 1556. The print states that Hieronymus Bosch conceived the image (*Hieron. Bos invenit*) and that Lombard 'brought it back' (*L. Lomb restituit*).[4] The engraving thus appears to show a lost Bosch composition.[5] The relationship between the print and the drawing in the Morgan Library remains somewhat enigmatic; Koreny identified four heads in the drawing that reappear in the print in a modified configuration. On closer inspection we find that four more heads may be added to this, so that eight of the ten heads in the drawing have been used in the print. Surprisingly, not one of them appears in Lombard's drawing. Could Lombard have had the drawing discussed here in his possession in 1556? Or do the Morgan Library's drawing and Lombard's print both refer to an unidentified painting by Bosch? We are unlikely to find answers to these questions, although the detail with which some of the figures from the drawing recur in the print suggests that the former did indeed play a part during the production of the latter.[6] 49.1 49.2

All this raises the question once more of the drawing's status. Was it really made after a painted example? We are less sure about this than Koreny is. The second figure from the left, for example, initially had a very different head, probably without or with different headgear. One would not expect a pentimento of this kind in a drawing after an existing work. What is more, the quality seems much less poor to us than Koreny suggests. 49.3

The way the fourth figure from the left in particular has been drawn reminds us, despite the difference in scale, of the figures in the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35). Comparison of this figure with Saint John – drawn in the paint – in the background of the Escorial *Christ Carrying the Cross* is likewise enlightening. We also find some of the headgear and figure types in the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* (cat. 11). To our mind, the similarities with Bosch's work are much more numerous than the differences, and we therefore see no reason not to attribute this drawing to Bosch. As in several other Bosch drawings (cat. 35, 40 recto, 46 recto), two types of ink have been used here: an iron gall ink, which infrared light renders transparent, and a carbon-containing ink, used in a second phase of drawing, which remains visible in infrared.[7] 13.15 13.18

It is not clear what scene is being witnessed by the group of spectators in this sheet. An episode from the Passion of Christ is most likely, but we cannot say whether it will have been an Ecce Homo, Carrying of the Cross, or a Crucifixion. The dimensions of the sheet suggest that the figure group has been cut from a larger work. The purpose of a drawing like this is to compose a visually arresting group of people. The principal focus is not the interaction between the depicted individuals (as it is in cat. 50), but rather their positions



49



49.1 Cornelis Cort after Lambert Lombard after Hieronymus Bosch, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, c. 1560. Engraving



49.2 Lambert Lombard after Hieronymus Bosch, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1556. Composition study for the engraving [FIG 49.1]. Fondation Custodia, Paris, 3949



relative to one another. Where the figures in a model sheet (like cat. 39) are strictly separated, the ones here have actually been pushed together. The figure group in the central panel of the *Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8) is similar in this respect.

1 Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 84.

2 Koreny 2012, 273–74.

3 Koreny 2012, 274 n. 19.

4 Bass and Wyckoff 2015, 122–25; Van Grieken, Luijten and Van der Stock 2013, 274–75; Ilsink 2009, 227–30.

5 This is not likely to have been a literal copy after a lost work by Bosch: the draughtsman and engraver will have allowed themselves the necessary artistic freedom when producing the engraving. Ilsink 2009, 222–31.

6 The print made after the *Tree-Man* drawing (cat. 35) would be a similar case.

7 Van Berge-Gerbaud, Duval, Guicharnaud and James 2005; Colbourne 2001, 37–46; Corrigan 1997.



50 r/v *Two men / The Temptation of Eve*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and grey-brown ink on paper
137 × 103 mm
Private collection

Condition/Restoration
Recto, image cropped on all sides. The border on the recto was added later.

Provenance
L. Rosenthal; Le Roy Bakus (San Francisco/Seattle); L.V. Randall (Montreal); Sotheby's London, 10 May 1961; private collection.

Literature
Fischer 2013, 281; Koreny 2012, 200–03; Elsig 2004, 60, 78, 227; Koreny 2002–03, 64; Ironside 1973, 173–74, 177; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 156; Tolnay 1965, II, 389; Von Baldass 1959, 64, 69, 85, 246; Von Baldass 1943, 76, 82, 88, 89, 255.

The paper on which the little drawings of the temptation of Eve and two men talking were made must originally have been larger than the current thirteen by ten centimetres. The sheet has been cropped on all sides, as a result of which the immediate context in which the figures were initially drawn has been lost. This does not diminish the fact (the cropping actually enhances it), however, that these drawings have a much stronger narrative character than we find in many other drawings by Bosch. The rapid yet convincing way in which the pair of figures on both the recto and verso has been laid down gives these sketches a sense of dynamism and brio.

The free drawing style is comparable not only with other drawings by Bosch, but also with his underdrawings and painting technique. The way the male figure is drawn on the left of the recto, with numerous nervous strokes around the eyes, has a parallel in the painting of Peeter Scheyfve's father on the exterior of the left wing of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (cat. 9).[1] In terms of form, a similarity between the figure on the right with the hook-nose and protruding chin and one of the head studies in the Ghent *Carrying of the Cross* has been noted by Koreny, and with the beggar in the Saint Hippolytus wing of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (cat. 29 and 17).[2] In our view, the comparison with the painting in Ghent is inadequate, since the similarity in that case is purely morphological. The painterly technique in the Ghent panel shows few affinities with Bosch's way of 'drawing in paint', and the same goes for the underdrawing. The exterior wings of the Vienna *Last Judgement* seem much more closely related to this drawing. Apart from the similarity with the figure of the beggar, the manner in which Hippolytus's left hand is rendered has a lot in common with the right hand of the figure on the left of the drawing. The underdrawing of paintings like *Saint Christopher*, *Saint John the Baptist*, *Saint Jerome* and *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 7, 5, 1 and 6) is free, sketchy and readily comparable with the way the two heads on the recto were drawn. The head of the Virgin Mary in the Brussels *Calvary* (cat. 15), by contrast, is

50.1 Claus (Nicolaas) Scheyfve, *Adoration* (Prado) [CAT 9D]







50.2–3 *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17E]



50R



50V

less exploratory, but is also drawn in short strokes. This sheet can be linked to the master's painted oeuvre to a greater extent than other drawings by Bosch. 50.8–14

The greatest similarity in the drawing group in terms of the scratchy lines is found in the sketch of an *Infernal Scene with anvil and monsters* (cat. 53), the sketch with studies of Saint Anthony (cat. 52) and the (horizontal) sheet with monsters (cat. 51).

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1 Koreny (2012, 44, 53, 56) considers this figure to be a later addition by a hand other than Bosch. Closer examination shows, however, that the figure was planned from the outset and that it formed part of the painting as we see it now. See BRCP, *Technical Studies*, cat. 9, RR 134–39.

2 Koreny, Pokorny and Zeman 2002, 188–90; Koreny 2012, 200–02.



50.4–6 *Calvary* (Brussels): VIS, IRP and IRR [CAT 15]



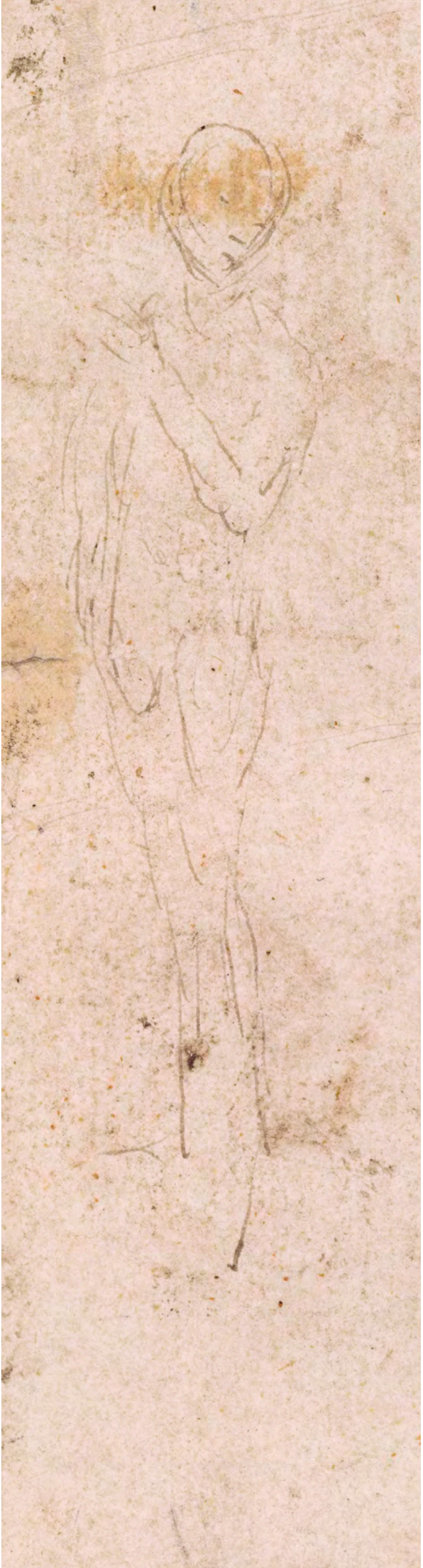
50.7 [CAT 50R]





50.8–9 Temptation of Eve: *Last Judgement* (Vienna) [CAT 17A] and *Haywain* (Prado) [CAT 20A]

50.10 [CAT 50V]











Underdrawings (IRR):
50.11 *Saint Christopher* [CAT 7]
50.12 *Saint Jerome* [CAT 1]
50.13 *Saint John the Baptist* [CAT 5]
50.14 *Saint John on Patmos* [CAT 6A]

Two men / The Temptation of Eve, private collection

51 r/v *Two monsters / A head-and-feet figure and a monster*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on orange prepared paper
85 × 182 mm
SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 550 recto

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Recto, lower left in a later hand in light brown ink: *Jero: bosch*.
Verso right: Kupferstichkabinett stamp (L.1606); bottom left in pencil: *KdZ* 550.

Condition/Restoration
Recto: broad, grey brushstroke in the middle.
Small tear in the middle of the left edge.
Verso: the image has been cropped at the bottom.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 27 May 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Old holding (acquired before 1879).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 273; Koreny 2012, 196–99; Elsig 2004, 76, 227; Koreny 2002–03, 63–65; Buck 2001, 207–11, 214, 219; Ironside 1973, 174, 177–78; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 156, 160; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 80; Tolnay 1965, II, 392; Von Baldass 1959, 21, 63–64; Von Baldass 1943, 69, 75–77, 81, 86–89, 254; Von Baldass 1937, 22; Tolnay 1937, 114; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 63; Friedländer 1927, 125.

A comparison between the front and back of this sheet shows what effect light can have on a drawing. The paper was prepared with an orange tone on both sides; the front side, however, which has been exposed to light much more frequently, has faded to a pale pink colour. This fact reveals the excellent quality of the ink Bosch used to produce his drawings. It has no doubt faded to some extent over half a millennium (iron gall ink is virtually black when fresh), but the legibility of the drawings remains excellent, and they have not suffered from ink corrosion.

The format of the paper will originally have been larger, and the manner in which the figures were laid out on the sheet – alongside one another with no overlapping – suggests that it was used as an example in a similar way to the *Model sheet with 'Witches'* in the Louvre (cat. 39). As previously noted by Stephanie Buck and Fritz Koreny, Bosch does not seem to have used his drawings as models for his own paintings, since we do not know of any cases in which motifs from drawings are repeated verbatim in paintings securely attributed to him.[1] The crawling creature on the recto of this drawing does recur literally in the uppermost roundel on the exterior of the panel showing the world after the Flood (cat. 22).[2] That painting has to be considered, however, as a product of Bosch's workshop. It is possible that his workshop assistants followed his drawings more faithfully than Bosch did himself. 51.1–3

In any event, the monstrous head-and-feet figure on the verso is an artistically delightful creation. The face was set down with short penstrokes to achieve a creased and grimy effect. The legs are a little stiff, yet relatively long, giving the impression that this gruff-looking creature could move pretty quickly, were it not for the rope tying its two limbs together. The figure is completely credible, despite the fact that this hybrid has sprung entirely from the draughtsman's imagination. The attribution of the drawing is not contested.

1 Buck 2001, 211; Koreny 2012, 196, n. 6.

2 See the website Boschproject.org, link L29.



51.1–3 *Two monsters* (Berlin) [CAT 51R] and *The Flood* [CAT 22C, upper roundel]: IRR and VIS



51R



51V

52 r/v *Studies of Saint Anthony / Sketch sheet with monsters*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper
206 × 263 mm
Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Paris, 20871

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Recto, lower left: Louvre stamp (L.1886).
Verso, upper left in a later hand in black-brown ink: 12. L.; in the middle: 12,584; Jabach's initials to the right (L.2959).

Condition/Restoration
The image has been cropped on all sides. Tear on the left. Various large, brown stains. The thin, black border was added later.
Verso: the image has been cropped on the left. Smudged, yellowed, several substantial brown and ochre-coloured paint spots. Glue residue on the edges.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 29 and 30 June 2015 with macrophotography in visible light and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
E. Jabach; acquired in 1671 for the Cabinet du Roi.

Literature
Koreny 2012, 156–61; Elsig 2004, 64, 226; Koreny 2002–03, 65, 67, 69; Buck 2001, 219, 221; Ironside 1973, 178; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 87; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 58; Tolnay 1965, II, 391; Von Baldass 1959, 64, 69, 247; Von Baldass 1943, 69, 76–77; Von Baldass 1937, 23; Tolnay 1937, 112; Friedländer 1927, 126.

Although this drawing is sketched much more freely than the model sheet with monsters in Berlin (cat. 51), several of the profile heads here are similar to the head-and-feet figure in the Berlin drawing. The occasionally scratchy drawing style corresponds too. The sheet with a drawing of two male figures and the *Temptation of Eve* (cat. 50) can also be cited in this connection; we find the same pointed feet there as in the figure reading with a monk's cap on his head. The swan on the other side of the sheet, where it serves as a helmet crest, is readily comparable with the way the same fowl is drawn in the *Gathering of the Birds* (cat. 41).[1] Together, these connections firmly anchor the sheet within Bosch's drawn oeuvre.

The drawing seems to have been made with a view to developing forms for use in a Temptation of Saint Anthony. The quest for forms and figures is very similar to the *Saint Anthony* in Lisbon, without any of the figures appearing there directly (see cat. 4). At a more detailed level, the way the creature on the lower right of the verso has been drawn – simple and primarily in outlines – is very similar to a beast in the underdrawing, but not the final painting, of the central panel of the Lisbon triptych. 52.1

As far as we can conclude at this point, Bosch's drawings form a universe that exists in parallel to that of the paintings; certain links can be identified between the two, yet it is almost never possible to indicate a causal link. There are virtually no instances where a drawing can be identified as a preliminary study for a form that was subsequently painted. The drawing process, like that of underdrawing and then painting, is invariably a creative one. This is not to say that Bosch always created something out of nothing, simply that he rarely repeated forms verbatim, with the result that looking at his work is never boring.[2]



52.1 IRR *Saint Anthony Triptych* [CAT 4B]

1 Koreny 2012, 160.

2 Words to similar effect in José de Sigüenza. See pp. 578–82.



52R



52V

53 r/v *Infernal scene with anvil and monsters / Sketch sheet with monsters*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper
156 × 170/176 mm
SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 548

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Recto, upper middle in pen and grey-brown ink: *m*; lower right: 157.
Verso, upper middle in pen and brown ink: *m*; lower middle: Kupferstichkabinett stamp (L.1606); lower right in pencil: *H. Bosch*; lower left: *KdZ* 548.

Watermark
Fragment of a hand (corresponding with Piccard XVII, dept. I, 269, 307; Piccard online no. 154541).
Chain line distance: 37 mm.

Condition/Restoration
Recto: the image has been cropped on the left. Clear horizontal and vertical folds in the middle. Upper right corner torn off and subsequently repaired. Tear upper centre (repaired on the back).
Verso: image cropped on the right; clear horizontal and vertical folds in the middle; upper middle restored; penstrokes upper right.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 27 May 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Old holdings (acquired before 1879).

Literature
Fischer 2013, 281; Koreny 2012, 248–53; Elsig 2004, 76, 227; Buck 2001, 216–23; Ironside 1973, 161, 183; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 159; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 81–83, 87, 89; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 60; Tolnay 1965, II, 390; Von Baldass 1959, 64, 69, 85, 246, 249; Von Baldass 1943, 69, 76, 81, 88, 254; Von Baldass 1937, 23; Tolnay 1937, 111–12; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 63–64; Friedländer 1927, 123, 125.

In her catalogue of early Netherlandish drawings in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, Stephanie Buck hesitates between attributing this drawing to Bosch himself or his workshop.[1] Fritz Koreny, by contrast, doubts Bosch's hand in the sheet to such an extent that he firmly identifies it as a workshop product.[2] The quality, spontaneity and skill of the drawing are supposedly inferior to those of other, autograph sheets. The conclusion is an understandable one, given that this drawing does not contain any truly arresting or compelling inventions of the kind we find in, say, cat. 38, 51 or 52.

Nevertheless, there is no reason in our view to identify two different hands in the execution of the human head with four legs in the drawing in Berlin and the head of the figure with a sword on the sheet of sketches of Saint Anthony in Paris. The characteristically pointed feet of the figures around the anvil likewise correspond with those of the standing and reading figure in the Saint Anthony sheet (cat. 51).[3] The figures on the *Burning Ship* in the Vienna Akademie are also comparable in this regard (cat. 45). We find the same pointed feet there, but also a similar way of representing hands, suggesting that this drawing ought to be viewed as autograph. In our view, the differences compared to the other drawings in the core group (cat. 35–54) are too minor for there to be any question of different hands.



53.1 [CAT 53R]

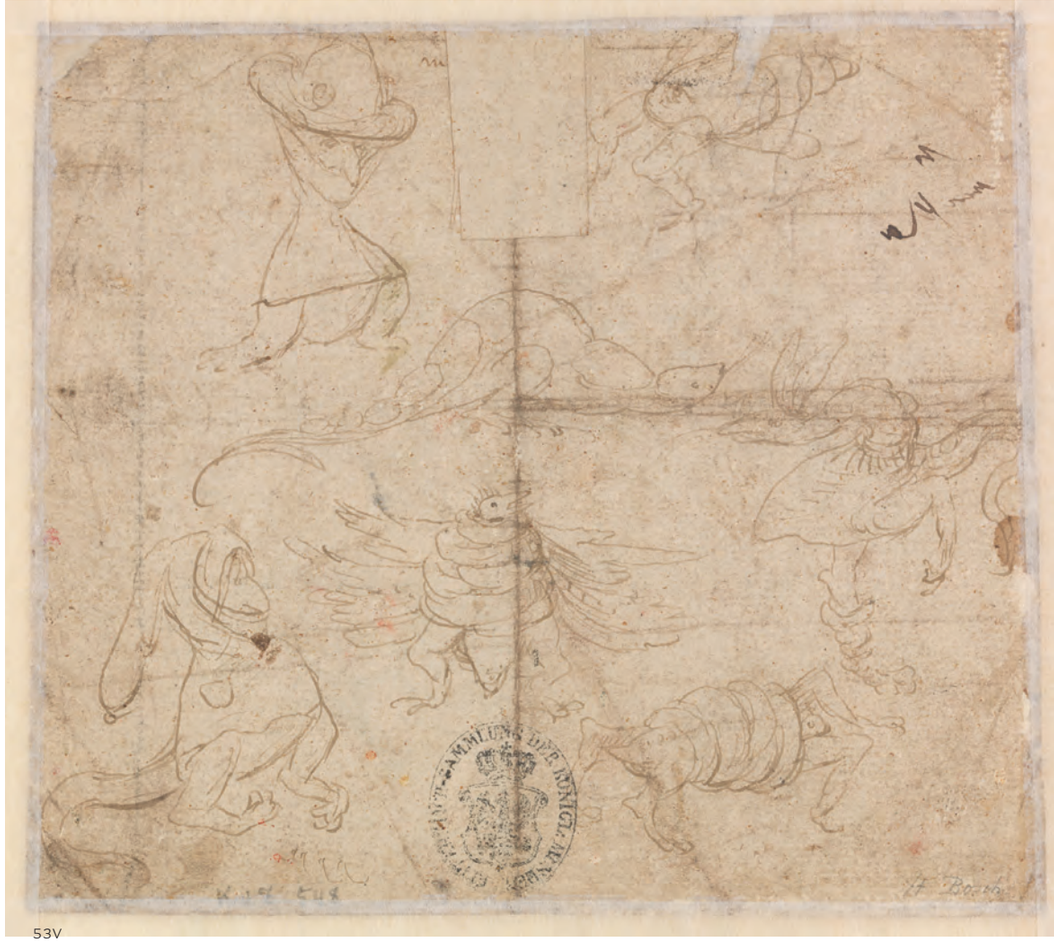
1 Buck 2001, 216–23.

2 Koreny 2012, 248–50.

3 Compare also the *Temptation of Eve* (cat. 50v).



53R



53V

54 *The Entombment of Christ*

Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brush in grey and black ink over traces of black chalk on paper, 252 × 304 mm
The British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, London, 1952.4.5.9

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Recto: Difficult to read inscription right of centre on the sarcophagus: *Jheronimus Bosch*. Verso: British Museum stamp (L.302).

Condition/Restoration
Border in pen and brown ink added later. Smoothed vertical fold in the middle.

Provenance
Webbs Collection, Newlead Abbey; Pepper Arden Hall (Newcastle); acquired in 1952 by the British Museum with the assistance of the National Art Collections Fund.

Literature
Fischer 2013, 280; Koreny 2012, 224–29; Elsig 2004, 70, 226; Ilsink 2003, 56; Koreny 2002–03, 71–73; Ironside 1973, 162–64, 177, 179, 185, 195; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 88; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 56; Tolnay 1965, II, 387.

Arthur Ewart Popham was the first to present this *Entombment of Christ* at an art historians' conference held in Amsterdam in the summer of 1952. The British Museum had recently acquired the sheet as a drawing by Hieronymus Bosch. During his presentation, Popham compared the sheet with the drawings of the *Ship of Fools* and *Death and the Miser* in Paris (cat. 56 and 57), both of which he was inclined to attribute to Bosch, and with the angel in *Saint John on Patmos* in Berlin (cat. 6). He also wondered whether there might be some connection with the sculpture of the time, such as Adriaen van Wesel's carvings for the altarpiece of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch (see cat. 5–6).[1] 54.2

Popham's attribution to Bosch was adopted by Tolnay (1965) and Ironside (1973), but was contested by Lemmens and Taverne (1967), who viewed the sheet as the work of a follower. Koreny (2012) believes it to be by the same hand as the *Haywain* (which he considers to be the work of an assistant of Bosch). Fischer (2013) is unsure whether to ascribe it to a workshop assistant or a follower.

Koreny chiefly detects similarities with details from the *Haywain*, the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* and the *Wayfarer* (cat. 20, 4 and 19). He attributes the London *Entombment*,



54.1 Entombment, *Saint John on Patmos* [CAT 6B]

54.2 Angel, *Saint John on Patmos* [CAT 6A]





along with those paintings, to a left-handed artist he has named the 'Master of the Haywain Triptych'.

In our view, the comparison with both the *Haywain* and *Saint John on Patmos* is a valid one, although there are also other possibilities. Bosch's only other surviving Entombment can be found in the (miniature) grisaille on the reverse of *Saint John on Patmos*.[2] Popham's 54.1
comparison with the way the angel is painted on the front of that panel is understandable 54.2
in so far as the style of the painting is concerned, in which Bosch shows himself as so often to be a draughtsman in paint, modelling his figure very swiftly with visible brushstrokes.[3] However, the underdrawing in that case is much less comparable with the drawing discussed here, as it was done much more sketchily.

The analogy with the angel in Berlin can be extended, as that drawing too was built up in several layers (black chalk and at least two phases with carbon-containing ink); it can be seen in several places that the artist has drawn with a pen and darker ink over a much vaguer and broader 'underdrawing' and a wash.[4] The extent of the drawing's finish 54.6
and painterly quality led Popham to conclude that the sheet is a *modello* – a study from an

advanced stage of the design process. We are not aware of any Bosch drawings with a similar form or content to the one in London, making it hard to place the sheet in his drawn oeuvre. The *Ship of Fools* (cat. 56) and *Death and the Miser* (cat. 57) appear similar at first sight, but considerably less so on closer examination.[5] The drawing method, in which the artist returns to the sheet several times and builds up the drawing in layers with different types of ink, is also found in other drawings by Bosch: the *Tree-Man* (cat. 35), *Two Old Women* (cat. 40 recto) and *Ten Spectators* (cat. 49). Although the format and the colour of the ink are
54.3–4 different, the drawing style of the London and New York drawings is very similar.

The function of this drawing at some advanced stage of the design process (it is reasonable, in our view, to call it a *modello*) results in a work that resembles the underdrawing of paintings to a greater extent than many other sheets. Koreny has pointed out the similarity between Saint John's cloak in the drawing and that of a beggar in the central panel of the *Haywain*.[6] Further weight is lent to the comparison when we take account of the infrared
54.6–8 documentation.[7] We see there, for instance, how the underdrawing was used in the painting process and in some cases blends with it seamlessly. Painted and underdrawn lines cannot always be readily distinguished. This manner of drawing/painting is, as Koreny has noted, very similar to the way the *Entombment* was laid out. The *Haywain* does not, however, differ materially in this respect from *Saint John on Patmos*, with the qualification that it was executed faster and more economically. In our view, therefore, the London *Entombment of Christ* has to be attributed to Hieronymus Bosch.

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1 Popham 1955, 250.

2 See the website Boschproject.org, link L12.

3 See the website Boschproject.org, link L13.

4 Unlike cat. 36, 37r, 38r and 41, the *Entombment* does not disappear in infrared light. The drawing appears to have been done using the same kind of ink as the one employed to emphasize the contours in cat. 35, 49, 46 and 40.

5 The use of prepared paper and white highlights enhances the painterly effect in the case of the Paris drawings and can be explained as a desire to 'reproduce' a painting. The search for forms – however limited – that we find in the *Entombment*, for instance, is missing from the *Ship of Fools* and *Death and the Miser*.

6 Koreny 2012, 226.

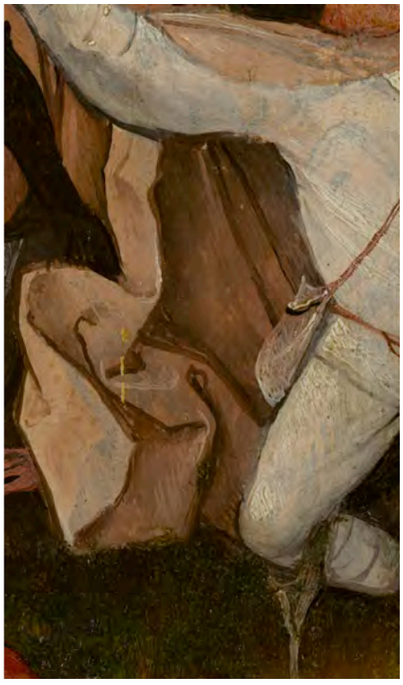
7 See the website Boschproject.org, link L14.

54.3–4 *Entombment* [CAT 54] and *Ten Spectators* [CAT 49]





54.5


54.6–8 *Entombment* [CAT 54] and *Haywain:* VIS and IRR [CAT 20B]

55 *Two oriental men*

Hieronymus Bosch (?)

Pen and brush in grey-brown ink, black chalk, white highlights, on paper
138 × 108 mm
SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 5210

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Verso, lower left in pen and brown ink: 25511; above in pencil: 1642 / […]ss and 18; left of centre: Kupferstichkabinett stamp (L.1612); below in pencil: 5210.

Watermark
Gothic letter P with cloverleaf, cut off at the bottom (Piccard type IV, dept. 7, 8). Chain line distance: 25 mm.

Condition/Restoration
The image has probably been cropped right and bottom. Several accents and corrections with lead white, which displays traces of oxidation. The later border in grey ink has been partially cropped on the left, and is missing entirely at the top.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 27 May 2014 with macrophotography in visible light and in infrared, and in ultraviolet and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Weigel (auction catalogue 1886); A. von Beckerath; acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett in 1902.

Literature
Koreny 2012, 204–08; Buck 2001, 234–37.

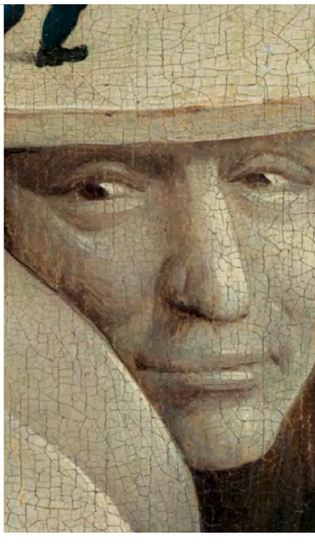
This drawing was listed in the catalogue of the 1958 exhibition of medieval art from the Northern Netherlands at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, as having been produced in the 'Northern Netherlands, after the middle of the fifteenth century'. The brief description of the sheet there by Van Regteren Altena mentions the relationship with the drawing of two men in an American private collection (cat. 50).[1] This was the first time the drawing was linked with Hieronymus Bosch.[2] Stephanie Buck developed this insight in her catalogue of fifteenth-century Netherlandish drawings in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, where she compares the men in the sheet with figures in the *Saint Wilgefortis Triptych* (cat. 8) and the *Ecce Homo* paintings in Frankfurt and Boston (cat. 11 and 24). She linked the view of a distant landscape in the background with the *Owl's Nest* in Rotterdam (cat. 36). Above all, however, it was the similarity to the underdrawing of the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* that prompted her to 55.1–2
place this drawing in Bosch's circle.[3] Fritz Koreny in turn rates the quality of the drawing so highly that he does not think it can possibly be a workshop product. With slight reservation, he attributes it to Bosch himself, citing similarities with the Prado *Adoration*, the 55.3–5
Garden of Earthly Delights and the Vienna *Last Judgement*.[4]

Although the comparisons with the aforementioned works by Bosch are interesting, they are not entirely convincing. Koreny himself refers to 'remaining doubt' ('Restzweifel') in this regard, and we would agree with that. The drawing occupies an isolated position within the drawn oeuvre. The technique with which the men are executed (pen and brush, wash and white highlights) is similar to that of the *Ship of Fools* (cat. 56) and *Death and the Miser* (cat. 57), but the way they are worked out is not. The two men are drawn with a refinement we do not actually find in Bosch. Nor is there any solid parallel in Bosch's work for the men's headgear. We therefore wonder whether this drawing can actually be attributed to Bosch or his workshop.




55.1–2 *Ecce Homo* (Frankfurt): IRR and VIS [CAT 11]





55.3–5 *Two oriental men* [CAT 55], *Adoration* (Prado) [CAT 9B] and *Garden of Earthly Delights* [CAT 21C]



55

[1] Van Luttervelt 1958, 135.

[2] The drawing was previously placed in the Van Eyck group. Koreny 2012, 204, 206 nn. 4, 5.

[3] Buck 2001, 236–37.

[4] Koreny 2012, 208.

56 *The Ship of Fools*

Workshop of Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brush and grey-brown ink, white highlights, on grey-green-brown prepared paper
256 × 168 mm
Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Paris, RF 3714

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Verso, in pencil: *Pl.* II. 13; black inventory stamp: *R.F.70/3714*; lower left, blue stamp of Marquis Charles de Valori (L.2500); to the right of this the black Musée du Louvre stamp (L.1886a).

Condition/Restoration
The image has been cropped all the way around; damaged on the right and repaired with thin paper on the back; several small tears around the edges; brown and black paint spots spread over the entire sheet; border added later.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 29 and 30 June 2015 with macrophotography in visible light and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Charles de Valori; acquired by the Louvre at the second Valori auction (13 and 14 February 1908, no. 164).

Literature
Koreny 2012, 236–41; Elsig 2004, 47, 49, 51; Koreny 2002–03, 71; Buck 2001, 236; Ironside 1973, 162, 183; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 151, 159; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 88; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 52; Tolnay 1965, II, 393; Von Baldass 1959, 227; Von Baldass 1943, 232; Von Baldass 1937, 26; Tolnay 1937, 90; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 65; Friedländer 1927, 122.

The *Ship of Fools* and *Death and the Miser* occupy a special place in the group of drawings associated with Hieronymus Bosch, due in the first instance to their appearance. Rather than pen and brown ink, the sheets were drawn in pen, brush and ink on prepared paper. Both sheets – drawn by one and the same artist – are heightened with white bodycolour to enhance the suggestion of plasticity. There is an obvious association, therefore, with grisaille paintings, although it is not clear to what extent the prepared paper was always so grey. Whatever the case, these sheets are more painterly in appearance than the other drawings in the group. This is even clearer when we compare them with the paintings with which they are related, namely the *Ship of Fools* in the Louvre, the fragment of that painting in New Haven and *Death and the Miser* in Washington (cat. 19B–C). Both drawings must have been made after the paintings by, in our view, a workshop assistant rather than Bosch himself.

The most important information yielded by the drawing after the *Ship of Fools* is found in the upper part of the sheet, which shows a state of the painting different from the one we see today. A single branch is lashed to the mast above the roast bird that the figure immediately below is about to cut down. The equivalent branch in the painting was later expanded, giving it more of the appearance of the crown of a tree.

The horizon in the drawing runs directly below the roast fowl, indicated by a fairly thick line laid down in brush and ink. The outline of a city can be seen on the right of the drawing, partially intersecting the horizon. The painting has the beginning of a hill there, which was also added at a later date. We can only speculate as to the reasons for the overpainting; it might have been done to make the painting, which is only a fragment of a triptych, an autonomous work by closing off the composition on the right. These overpaintings were removed during the treatment of the painting in 2015.

The peculiar way the image is cut off at the lower right corner could be taken to mean that the drawing was made after the painting in the Louvre had been cropped. This would not be correct, however, as also the foot belonging to the cropped leg can be seen in the drawing, whereas it now belongs to the fragment in New Haven. This proves that the two parts of the painted *Ship of Fools* were still connected at the moment the drawing was done. The artist had to choose which part of the painting to record – probably because of the format of the paper – and decided to concentrate on the ship and the revellers. As a consequence, the upper part of the drawing is more compressed compared to the painting. He omitted the bottom part of the composition (now in New Haven).



56

57 r/v

Death and the Miser / Studies of a helmet and shield

Workshop of Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brush and grey-brown ink, white highlights, on grey-green-brown prepared paper
258 × 151 mm
Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Paris, RF 6947

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Lower right: Louvre stamp (L.1886a); lower left: stamp of N. Esterházy (L.1965).

Condition/Restoration
The image is cropped on all sides; various tears; cracks caused by horizontal and vertical fold lines.

BRCP documentation
The drawing was documented on 29 and 30 June 2015 with macrophotography in visible light and raking light. An IRR was made using an OSIRIS camera.

Provenance
Paulus II Praun (1548–1616); sold by Frauenholz in Nuremberg (catalogue 1804); Prince Nikolaus Esterházy; Comte de Robiano; auction Amsterdam (Muller), 15 and 16 June 1926, no. 356; acquired by A.W.M. Mensing and donated to the Musée du Louvre in 1927.

Literature
Koreny 2012, 242–47; Elsig 2004, 46, 49; Koreny 2002–03, 71; Ironside 1973, 162, 183; Filedt Kok 1972–73, 151, 159; Lemmens and Taverne 1967–68, 88; exhib. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, no. 51; Tolnay 1965, II, 393; Von Baldass 1943, 236; Von Baldass 1937, 26; Tolnay 1937, 90; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 65; Friedländer 1927, 122, 126.

The assumption is that this drawing was made after the painting of *Death and the Miser* (cat. 19C). The principal reason for this is a comparison between the painting, the underdrawing and the drawing of the man on his deathbed. The drawing corresponds with the painting: the man has not (yet) taken hold of the money-bag and does not have a goblet in his hand. In the underdrawing of the painting, by contrast, he holds the money-bag (his hand is placed around it) and there is a large goblet in his right hand. It is logical to assume that if the drawing had been made before the painting, it would also have been done before the underdrawing and would have served as a *modello*. If that had been the case, the artist responsible for the underdrawing would need to have made several significant adjustments to the preliminary design, which were then reversed during the painting process, which would be a highly unlikely sequence of events.[1] It is far more plausible that the drawing was done after the painting had already been completed. An intermediate option, in which the drawing was done after the underdrawing and before the painting, is unlikely. It would not explain, for instance, why the shield, helmet and lance are placed on the left of the drawing, while the same elements are shown at the bottom of both the underdrawing and the painting. It seems probable that the draughtsman wanted to include as many visual elements as possible from the painted composition in what has to be defined as a copy drawing or *ricordo* – a record of a completed painting.

The drawing has little to tell us, therefore, about the earlier state of the painting. There are very few details that feature in the drawing but not in the painting, and it is reasonable to assume that these elements were originally included, but have disappeared over the centuries: the little letters, for instance, slipped behind a cord tied across the inside of the chest lid. Of the three in the drawing, only one can still be made out vaguely in the painting. During the most recent restoration of the painting, the drawing actually served as a guide for the reconstruction of the lock on the lid of the chest. In other words, it was eventually used as a preliminary study after all, more than 500 years after it was first made.



57.1 [CAT 57R]



57.2 *Death and the Miser* (Washington): IRR [CAT 19C]



57R



57V

The hatching in this drawing runs consistently from lower left to upper right (or vice versa), which differs from the more varied direction of the hatching in the underdrawing of the painting. This was done almost uniformly from lower right to upper left (or vice versa); the hatching was only laid down from upper right to lower left (or vice versa) in the zone behind the dying man's pillow (behind the angel's extended arm). The direction of hatching chiefly reflects the function of the underdrawing, which is intended to show what has to go where, and also partly to model it. Modelling is less important in the copy drawing, the main purpose of which is to provide a record of the painting's composition. The implications of this difference in the direction of hatching has been the subject of debate ever since Frits Lugt described it in 1968.[2] It looks like the drawing was done by a right-handed draughtsman, while the underdrawing in the painting might have been done by a left-handed artist. 57.1–2

It is not clear when or where the drawing was made. Koreny placed its maker in the workshop of the Master of the Haywain Triptych, who had been employed in Bosch's workshop and who, according to Koreny, took the business over when Bosch died. His suggestion is entirely plausible, with the significant proviso that we believe the 'Master of the Haywain Triptych' to have been Hieronymus Bosch himself. In our view, the drawing was produced in Bosch's workshop as a visual record. Washed drawings done in pen and brush with white highlights on prepared paper became increasingly common towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. The choice of medium seems to have been determined in this case by the desire to achieve a painterly effect.

The question arises, lastly, as to who made the drawings of the *Ship of Fools* and *Death and the Miser*. We have to choose between an anonymous workshop assistant and the master's own hand. Although the drawing was produced by a skilled draughtsman, we believe there are too few points of comparison to attribute it to the same artist as cat. 35–54. There are similarities in the rendering of the hands between these drawings and, say, the *Model sheet with 'Witches'* (cat. 39) and the *Burning Ship* (cat. 45). The execution of the sheets does not differ significantly either from the closed wings of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 4). Even 57.3–5



57.3 [CAT 57R]



57.4 *Ship of Fools* (Paris) [CAT 56]

so, these similarities seem too limited in this case for us to attribute the drawings to Bosch himself. We therefore consider *Death and the Miser* and the drawing of the *Ship of Fools* to be the work of a workshop assistant.

The draughtsman repeated the helmet and the shield from the painting on the verso of the sheet. In the drawing on the recto, he moved these elements from the bottom of the composition to the left, probably because of the format of the paper.[3] They are less worked out there and less skilfully copied too, which might be why the helmet and shield were redrawn on the verso.

[1] This takes account of the aforementioned money-bag and the goblet, but also elements like the arrow Death holds in his hand. This is short in the drawing and the painting, but much longer in the underdrawing. We should also note the group of attributes shown at the bottom of the composition in the underdrawing: a rosary, a stack of cups and a jug, none of which were painted. There is also the spur, lastly, which was included in the underdrawing between the lance and the helmet, but which does not appear in either the drawing or the painting. Apparently the painter thought that the owner of the tournament equipment had failed to earn his spurs.

[2] Lugt 1968, 25, under no. 70; Koreny 2012, 63–71. See Ilsink 2013, 394–95 for a discussion of this. See also cat. 19.

[3] The lower part of the composition was also omitted in the drawing of the *Ship of Fools*. See cat. 56.



57.5 *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Lisbon) [CAT 4E]

58 r/v *Infernal scene with tree-man / Standing oriental man (a prophet?)*

Workshop of Hieronymus Bosch

Pen and brown ink on paper
199 × 277 mm
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, c.1875

Inscriptions and collectors' marks
Verso, in pencil: *H. Bosche*; Kupferstich-Kabinett stamp (L.1616).

Watermark
Crowned star (corresponding with Briquet 6116; identical to cat. 45). Chain line distance: 25 mm.

Condition/Restoration
Recto: the image has been cropped all the way around; several tears; numerous moisture stains; the upper right corner has been torn off and restored: the tear is clearly visible.
Verso: moisture stains and traces of glue.

Provenance
Old holdings; acquired before 1764 according to the card index.

Literature
Fischer 2013, 280; Koreny 2012, 261–65; Elsig 2004, 74, 227; Buck 2001, 204, 227; Koreny and Pokorny 2001, 15, 34; Ironside 1973, 162, 183; Tolnay 1965, II, 392; Von Baldass 1959, 64; Von Baldass 1943, 76, 83–86; Von Baldass 1937, 23; exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1936, 63; Friedländer 1927, 126.

The central motif on the recto of the Dresden *Infernal Scene* is a tree-man inspired by Bosch's creation in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 21) and the drawing in Vienna (cat. 35). Where the tree-man in the autograph Viennese drawing is surprisingly placed in a persuasively naturalistic setting, the artist who drew this sheet positions the monster in a hellish landscape with a cannibal, a severed leg and a large, monstrous fish. It is an imaginative scene of the kind found on countless occasions in the course of the sixteenth century in drawing, painting and printmaking.[1] An example is the drawing with a tree-man in the University of Erlangen's collection.[2] 58.1–2

The drawing harks back in part to inventions by Bosch, but it also elaborates on them and is not made up simply of quotations. The sheet is comparable in that respect with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* and the *Concert in an Egg* (cat. 43). Both are drawings, probably made by two different hands, in which assistants employed in Bosch's workshop attempted to obey their master's exhortation above *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (cat. 37): 'Poor is the mind that always uses the inventions of others and invents nothing itself'. The result lacks the finesse, skill and coherence of the autograph sheets, but the manner in which the drawing was done suggests that it was produced in Bosch's immediate circle. The watermark in the sheet is identical to the one in the *Burning Ship* (cat. 45).

The figure on the verso of the sheet – an elderly oriental man, standing and with a sword and a banderole in his hands (a prophet?) – is even more strongly related to Bosch's drawing style. Charles de Tolnay viewed the figure as autograph for that reason.[3] The handling of the pen is, however, the same here as on the recto, and there is no reason to conclude that two different hands worked on this sheet. The figure is somewhat reminiscent of one of the kings in Bosch's *Adoration of the Magi* in New York (cat. 10). 58.3–4

[1] Koreny 2012; Unverfehrt 1980; Bass and Wyckhoff 2015. The Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin has an unpublished sketchbook which includes Boschian drawings from the second half of the sixteenth century. Inv. 79.b.2. 192/I.

[2] Koreny 2012, 328–29.

[3] Tolnay 1965, T 18c.



58R



58V

58.1 [CAT 58R]



58.2 *Infernal scene with tree-man* (detail), University of Erlangen





58.3–4 *Standing oriental man* [CAT 58V] and second king, *Adoration* (New York) [CAT 10]

Literary Sources

Felipe de Guevara: *Commentaries on Painting* c. 1560

Edited and annotated by Don Antonio Ponz,
Madrid (Gerónimo Ortega; Hijos de Ibarra y Compañía) 1788.

There was once a manner of painting called *Grillo*. It owed its name to *Antiphilus*, who painted a man he jokingly called *Grillo* (cricket). *Antiphilus* was born in Egypt and he learned this manner from *Cresideno*. It was similar in my view to the painting of Hieronymus Bosch, or Bosco, as we call him, who is so celebrated in our age; Bosch, who always distinguished himself by searching for amusing human figures and strange compositions to paint.

And now we are discussing Hieronymus Bosch, this is a reason to disabuse the common people – and others more than common – of an erroneous view they have of his paintings, such that they attribute any monstrosity or anything unnatural to Hieronymus Bosch, making of him an inventor of monsters and chimeras. I do not deny that he painted strange images of things, but for just one reason: to represent hell; and to this end, wishing to depict devils, he devised admirable compositions.

What Hieronymus Bosch did with prudence and decorum, others have done and do without the slightest discernment or judgement; having seen in the Netherlands how highly this type of painting is esteemed, they set out to imitate it by painting monsters and absurd fantasies, revealing their belief that Bosch's imagination consisted in this alone.

So are there countless paintings in this style that are falsely inscribed with the name of Hieronymus Bosch; they are paintings on which he would never have thought of laying a hand, but are made with limited talent and with smoke, that is to say by making them appear old by smoking them in a chimney.[i]

One thing I dare to state concerning Bosch is that he never painted anything unnatural in his life, except in the context, as I have said, of hell or purgatory. His inventions flowed from the quest for the strangest yet natural things: it may be stated in general that any painting – even when signed 'Bosch' – in which anything monstrous appears or anything that goes beyond the limits of the natural is a fake and an imitation, unless, as I have said, the painting contains hell or elements of it.

It is certain – and will be clear to anyone who has observed Bosch's work diligently – that he also showed the greatest respect for decorum, and that he took more careful account of the limits of the natural than any other in his art; but it is right to warn that among these imitators of Hieronymus Bosch, there is one who was his pupil and who, out of respect for his master, or to give his works a good name, inscribed the name Bosch on his paintings instead of his own. And they are nevertheless paintings very much to be esteemed, and those who own such works ought to be aware of their value, as this painter emulated his master in terms of invention and morals, as he was more diligent and patient in his work than Bosch, and because his work did not deviate in style, elegance or colour from that of his master. An example of this type of painting is a table* owned by His Majesty, in which the Seven Deadly Sins are painted in a circle, depicted in figures and examples: and although the painting is marvellous in itself, the depiction of Envy is, in my opinion, so rare and so ingenious, and expresses her emotion so well, that it can vie with Aristides, the inventor of the paintings the Greeks call *Ethice*, which in our Castilian language can be translated as 'paintings that show the customs and feelings of human beings'.[ii]

Comentarios de la pintura

Transcription from *Comentarios de la pintura que escribio Don Felipe de Guevara Gentil-hombre de boca del Señor Emperador Calors Quinto, Rey de España. Se publican por la prima vez con un discurso preliminar y algunas notas de Don Antonio Ponz, quien ofrece su trabajo al excelentisimo Señor Conde de Florida-Blanca, Protector de las nobles Artes*, Madrid (Don Gerónimo Ortega, Hijos de Ibarra y Compañía) 1788, 41–44.

Ovo antiguamente otro género de pintura que llamaban Grillo. Dioles este nombre Antífilo, pintando un hombre, al qual por donayre llamó Grillo. De aquí quedó que este género de pintura se llamáse Grillo. Nacio Antífilo en Egypto, y aprendió de Cresideno este género de pintura, que á mi parecer fué semejante á la que nuestra edad tanto celebra de Hyeronimo Bosch, ó Bosco, como decimos, el qual siempre se extrañó en buscar talles de hombres donosos, y de raras composturas que pintar.

Y pues Hyerónimo Bosco se nos ha puesto delante, razon será desengañar al vulgo, y á otros mas que vulgo de un error que de sus pinturas tienen concebido, y es, que qualquiera monstruosidad, y fuera de órden de naturaleza que ven, luego la atribuyen á Hyerónimo Bosco, haciéndole inventor de monstruos y quimeras. No niego que no pintase extrañas efigies de cosas, pero esto tan solamente á un propósito que fué tratando del infierno, en la qual materia, quiriendo figurar diablos, imaginó composiciones de cosas admirables.

Esto que Hyerónimo Bosco hizo con prudencia y decoro, han hecho y hacen otros sin discrecion y juicio ninguno; porque habiendo visto en Flandes quan accepto fuese aquel género de pintura de Hyerónimo Bosco, acordaron de imitarle, pintando monstruos y desvariadas imaginaciones, dándose á entender que en esto solo consistia la imitacion de Bosco.

Ansi vienen á ser infinitas las pinturas de este género, selladas con el nombre de Hyerónimo Bosco, falsamente inscripto; en las quales á él nunca le pasó por el pensamiento poner las manos, sino el humo y cortos ingenios, ahumandolas á las chimeneas para dalles autoridad y antigüedad.[i]

Una cosa oso afirmar de Bosco, que nunca pintó cosa fuera del natural en su vida, sino fuese en materia de infierno, ó purgatorio, como dicho tengo. Sus invenciones estrivaron en buscar cosas rarisimas, pero naturales: de manera, que puede ser regla universal, que qualquiera pintura, aunque firmada de Bosco, en que hubiere monstruosidad alguna, o cosa que pase los límites de la naturaleza, que es adulterada y fingida, sino es, como digo, que la Pintura contenga en sí infierno, ó materia de él.

Es cierto, y á qualquiera que con diligencia observáre las cosas de Bosco, le será manifiesto haber sido observantisimo del decoro, y haber guardado los límites de naturaleza cuidadosísimamente, tanto y mas que otro ninguno de su arte; pero es justo dar aviso que entre estos imitadores de Hyerónimo Bosco, hay uno que fué su discípulo, el qual por devoción de su maestro, ó por acreditar sus obras, inscribió en sus pinturas el nombre de Bosch, y no el suyo. Esto, aunque sea así, son pinturas muy de estimar, y el que las tiene debe tenellas en mucho, porque en las invenciones y moralidades, fué rastreando tras su maestro, y en el labor fué mas diligente y paciente que Bosco, no se apartando del ayre y galanía, y del colorir de su maestro. Exemplo de este género de pintura es una mesa que V. M. tiene, en la qual en circulo están pintados los siete pecados mortales, mostrados en figuras y exemplos: y aunque toda la pintura en sí sea maravillosa, el quadro de la invidia á mi juicio es tan raro y ingenioso, y tan exprimido el afecto de ella, que puede competir con Aristides, inventor de estas; pinturas, que los Griegos llamaron Ethice, lo qual en nuestro castellano suena, Pinturas que muestran las costumbres y afectos de los ánimos de los hombres.[ii]

i A method used by some to mislead those with little understanding of the true merit of the works; in the manner of the forgers of antique lead and metal monuments or casts of those that are truly antique. Such as these bury the monuments for a while in manure and use other means besides to corrode them and make them seem old, in order to deceive collectors of these objects, in which few are well versed.

ii The way our author describes Bosch's works tells us that he admired him and that he had studied the paintings and their meaning closely. We do not know with complete certainty where this table, on which the Seven Deadly Sins were depicted, is located; I am in no doubt, however, that it is a table measuring over four feet in diameter and four and three-quarter feet in height, which is in El Escorial. There is a circle in the middle with a diameter of just over two feet, and within it another, smaller one with the Saviour shown half-length, and with this inscription: *cave, cave, Dominus videt* ['Beware, beware, the Lord is watching']. These two circles are surrounded by another, larger one, in which the Seven Deadly Sins are ingeniously represented and recorded. The Four Last Things are depicted in the four corners of this square table or panel in the same manner as the Deadly Sins. I will omit other details of this work which, in my opinion, is the one of which Don Felipe de Guevara speaks, and which is kept in the bedchamber [*alcoba*] in which His Majesty Philip II died, and is the first work in the Royal Chambers, which is entered via a door on the sacristy stairs.

Bosch was born in 's-Hertogenbosch and Spain has secured his best works. Various works by Bosch are mentioned, the best of them in *Viage de España* [Journey through Spain], II, pp. 131 and 139 and VI, pp. 149 and 152 of the second edition.

i *Arbitrio de algunos, usado para engañar á los que poco entienden el mérito verdadero de las obras; al modo de los falsificadores de monumentos antiguos, executados en plomo y metal, ó vaciados de los que son verdaderamente antiguos. Estos tales los entierran por algun tiempo en el estiercol, y usan de otros medios, para que, adquiriendo cierto corroimiento y señales de vejez, caigan en la trampa los que recogen estas cosas, en las quales son poco versados.*

ii *Por esta narracion que nuestro Autor hace de las obras de Bosco, se conoce que le era aficionado, y que habia mirado atentamente sus obras y la significacion de ellas. No sabemos con total certidumbre el paradero de esta mesa, donde se figuraban los pecados mortales; pero yo no tengo duda que es una tabla de mas de quatro pies de ancho, y de alto quatro pies y tres quartos, que está en el Escorial. En el medio hay un circulo cuyo diámetro es de algo mas de dos pies, y dentro de éste otro mas pequeño con el Salvador de medio cuerpo, y este letrero:* cave, cave Dominus videt. *Estos dos circulos estan comprehendidos en otro mas grande, donde se ven representados é historiados ingeniosamente los siete pecados mortales. Acia los quatro ángulos de esta mesa ó tabla que es quadrada, se representan en otros quatro circulos, los quatro novísimos, historiados al modo de los pecados mortales. Omito otras menudencias de esta obra, que, segun mi opinion, es de la que habla Don Felipe de Guevara, y se conserva en una alcoba, donde murió el Señor Felipe Segundo, y corresponde á la primer pieza de la Real habitación, entrando en ella por la puerta que hay en la escalera de la Sacristia.*

Nació el Bosco en Bois-le Duch, y España logró sus mejores obras. Se ha hecho mencion de varias obras del Bosco, y de las mas excelentes en el Viage de España, *tomo II. pag. 131 y 139 y en el tomo VI. pag. 149 y 152 de la segunda edicion.*

* De Guevara uses the word *mesa* here, which means 'table'. Ponz refers to the painting in his edition as *mesa ó tabla* – table or panel. De Guevara uses the word *mesa* or its plural, *mesas*, fifteen times in his *Comentarios*, always in reference to tables (painted or otherwise).

José de Sigüenza: *History of the Order of Saint Jerome* c. 1605

Among the paintings of these German and Netherlandish masters, which as I say are numerous, there are many throughout the house by a certain *Geronimo Bosco*, of whom I would like to say a little more for a number of reasons: because his great ingenuity merits it; because people who think little about what they see commonly refer to *Geronimo Bosco*'s absurdities; and because I think he has been maligned as a heretic for no reason. I have a high enough opinion of the piety and zeal of the King, our founder (to begin with this latter argument), to think that, had he known that this would be raised, he would never have allowed these paintings in his house, in his monasteries, in his bedchamber, in the chapterhouses and in the sacristy. All these places are adorned with these paintings. Besides this argument, which to me is an important one, there is another that may be deduced from his paintings: these show almost all the sacraments and estates and ranks of the Church, from the pope down to the very lowest, two stumbling blocks for all heretics, and he painted them very truthfully and with great consideration, which he would not have done, had he been a heretic; and he did the same with the mysteries of our salvation.

I would now like to show that his paintings are not absurdities, but books of great prudence and ingenuity; and if they are absurdities, then they are ours and not his. And, to come finally to the point, it is a painted satire on the sins and follies of men. The subject matter of many of his paintings might be expressed in the verses of that great critic of the vices of the Romans, who sang in the beginning the following words:

Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas:
Gaudia, discursis nostri est farrago libelli.
Et quando uberior viciorum copia, &c.

Bosch might have put this [in our language] as follows: 'All that men do – their desires, their fears, their rages, their vain appetites, their pleasures, their satisfactions, their occupations – is the subject of all my painting. But when was there such an abundance of vice?'

The difference, it seems to me, between this man's paintings and those of others, is that where the rest sought to paint man as he appears on the outside, only he dared to paint him as he is on the inside. He did so with a singular motivation, which I have explained with the following example: all agree that poets and painters are very similar. So akin are their skills, that they differ no more than by paintbrush and pen, which are almost one and the same. The subjects, the ends, the colours, the liberties and other parts are thus so much one, that they are barely distinguishable, other than with the formalities of our metaphysicians.

Among the Latin poets, there is one (and no other worth naming) who, realizing that he could not equal the heroic verse of Virgil, the comedy or tragedy of Terence or Seneca, or the lyric poetry of Horace, and since these poets, no matter how excellent and promising he himself was, had to take precedence, he decided to beat another path: he invented an amusing form of poetry, which he called *Macarronica* – a poetry that had to have so much refinement, and be so inventive and witty, that he himself would always be the first and best exponent of the style, and that the good poets would read him, and that those who were not would not reject him and that, as he said *Me legat quisquis legit omnia*.[1] And because this occupation was not in keeping with his status and his profession (he was a clergyman, I will not give his name, as he withheld it), he invented an amusing name and called himself Merlin Cocayo [Merlino Coccajo], which seemingly fits the work well, as with that other, who called himself Ysopo [Aesop]. In his poems, he displays with exceptional ingenuity, all the good that can be desired and can be assimilated from the most lauded poets, both of moral things and the things of nature; and if I were

Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo

José de Sigüenza, *Tercera parte de la Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo …* , Madrid (la Imprenta Real, [por Iuan Flamenco]) 1605, 837–41.

Entre las pinturas destos Alemanes, y Flamencos, que como digo son muchas, estan repartidas por toda la casa muchas de vn Geronimo Bosco, de que quiero hablar vn poco mas largo por algunas razones, porque lo merece su grande ingenio, porque comunmente las llaman los disparates de Geronimo Bosque, gente que repara poco en lo que mira, y porque pienso que sin razon le tienen infamado de herege, tengo tanto concepto (por empeçar desto postrero) de la piedad y zelo del Rey nuestro fundador, que si supiera era esto assi, no admitiera las pinturas dentro de su casa, de sus claustros, de su aposento, de los capitulos y de la sacristia; todos estos lugares estan adornados con ellas: sin esta razon que para mi es grande, ay otra que se toma de sus pinturas, veense en ellas casi todos los Sacramentos y estados y grados de la Iglesia, desde el Papa hasta el mas infimo, dos puntos en que todos los hereges estropieçan, y los pintò en muchas veras, y con gran consideracion, que si fuera herege no lo hiziera, y de los mysterios de nuestra redencion hizo lo mismo.

Quiero mostrar agora que sus pinturas no son disparates, sino vnos libros de gran prudencia y artificio, y si disparates son, son los nuestros, no los suyos, y por dezirlo de vna vez, es una satyra pintada, de los pecados y desuarios de los hombres. Pudierase poner por argumento de muchas de sus pinturas, los versos de aquel gran censor de los vicios de los Romanos, que cantò al principio diziendo:

Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas:
Gaudia, discursus nostri est farrago libelli.
Et quando vberior viciorum copia, &c.

que bueltos en Castellano pudiera dezir assi Bosco. Quanto los hombres hazen, sus desseos, sus miedos, furias, apetitos vanos, sus gozos, sus contentos, sus discursos, de toda mi pintura es el sugeto. Mas quando huuo de vicios tanta copia.

La diferencia que a mi parecer ay de las pinturas deste hombre a las de los otros, es, que los demas procuraron pintar al hombre qual parece por de fuera, este solo se atreuio a pintarle qual es dentro: procedio para esto con vn singular motiuo, que declarè con este exemplo: los poetas y los pintores son muy vezinos a juyzio de todos: las facultades tan hermanas, que no distan mas que el pinzel y la pluma, que casi son vna cosa, los sugetos, los fines, los colores, las licencias y otras partes son tan vnas, que apenas se distinguen, sino con las formalidades de nuestros metafisicos.

Entre los poetas Latinos, se halla de vno (y no de otro que merezca nombre) que pareciendole no podia ygualar en lo heroyco con Virgilio, ni en lo comico ò tragico llegar à Terencio, ò Seneca, ni en lo lyrico à Oracio, y aunque mas excelente fuesse, y su espiritu le prometiesse mucho, auian de ser estos los primeros: acordò hazer camino nueuo, inuentò vna poesia ridicula, que llamò Macarronica: junto con ser assi, que tuuiesse tanto primor, tanta inuencion è ingenio, que fuesse siempre principe y cabeça deste estilo, y assi le leyessen todos los buenos ingenios, y no le desechasen los no tales, y como el dixo: Me legat quisquis legit omnia. Y porque su estado y profession no parece admitia bien esta ocupación (era religioso, no dire su nombre pues el le callò) fingio vn vocablo ridiculo, y llamose Merlin Cocayo, que quadra bien con la superficie de la obra, como el otro que se llamò Ysopo: en sus poemas descubre con singular artificio quanto bueno se puede dessear y coger en

required here to act as critic, I would demonstrate this by comparing and contrasting many examples.

I am absolutely certain that the painter Geronimo Bosco wanted to be like this poet. Not because he had seen him, as I believe he was painting before the other made his name, but because he shared the same thinking and the same motivation: he discovered that he had great talent as a painter and that for all he would achieve, he would fall short of Alberto Durero [Albrecht Dürer], Micael Angel [Michelangelo], Urbino [Raphael] and others. He beat a new path, along which the rest would follow him while he followed no other, and this so that all eyes would be trained on him; a kind of mocking and 'macaronic' painting, in which he concealed many refined and strange things in the midst of all that burlesque, in terms of ingenuity as well as execution and painting, and in which he sometimes showed what he was worth in this art, as Cocayo did too, when he spoke seriously.

The panels and paintings here are of three different types. He paints devout things, such as episodes from the Life of Christ and his Passion, the Adoration of the Magi, and when Christ carries the Cross. In the first, he expresses the pious and sincere impression of the wise and virtuous, and there is no trace here of anything monstrous or absurd; in the other, he shows the jealousy and rage of the false wisdom that will not rest until it has taken the life of the innocence that is Christ. We see pharisees and scribes with furious, fierce and grim faces, and we can read from their habits and actions the fury of these emotions.

Sometimes he painted Temptations of Saint Anthony (this is the second type of painting), as this was a subject in which he could show strange effects. On the one hand, one sees the holy prince of the hermits with a serene, devout, contemplative and calm face, and a soul filled with peace; on the other, the countless fantasies and monsters created by the enemy to confuse, worry and disturb this mild soul and steadfast love. To this end, he conceived animals, wild beasts, chimeras, monsters, fires, corpses, cries, threats, serpents, lions, dragons and terrifying birds of so many varieties, that it is admirable how he was able to give shape to so many ideas. And all this to show that for a soul aided by God's grace and which pursues a similar path at his hand – even though in his imagination and with his inward and outward eyes he represents the enemy (which can lead to laughter or vain delight, or to other excessive emotions) – who shall not be able to cast him down or deflect him from his intention. He made so many variations on this subject and on this idea, and with so many new inventions, that I find it admirable how he was able to conceive so much; it makes me pause to consider my own wretchedness and weakness, and shows me how far removed I am from this perfection. For I am disturbed and agitated by such simple troubles and trifles, and I then miss my cell, the silence, the solitude, and I even lose my patience. In the case of this saint, all the ingenuity of the devil and hell was not enough to cast him down. And the Lord is so equipped to succour me, just like him, if only I throw myself valiantly into the fray.

This painting is found in very many places: there is a panel in the chapterhouse, another in the prior's cell; two in the Infanta's gallery; one more in my cell, a very good example which I sometimes read and in which I am totally absorbed; there is an excellent panel and painting in His Majesty's apartment, where he has a bookcase like clergymen have: our Saviour is represented there in a circle of light and glory, as if at its centre; in the ring around him are seven other circles containing the Seven Deadly Sins through which all the creatures He has saved offend Him, without them realizing that He is watching and sees everything. In seven other circles he painted the Seven Sacraments with which He enriched His Church, and in which He poured the medicine to cure all the many faults and infirmities, as if in precious flasks. And this painting is certainly important to a pious man, and it is good for us all to seek our reflection in it, because he painted it as mirrors in which the Christian might compose himself. He who painted this had nothing

los mas preciados poetas, assi en cosas morales como en las de la naturaleza, y si huuiera de hazer aqui oficio de Crytico mostrarà la verdad desto, con el cotejo y contraposicion de muchos lugares.

A este poeta tengo por cierto quiso parecerse el pintor Geronimo Bosco, no porque le vio, porque creo pintò primero que estotro cocase, sino que le tocò el mismo pensamiento y motiuo: conocio tener gran natural para la pintura, y que por mucho que hiziesse se le auian de yr delante Alberto Durero, Micael Angel, Vrbino y otros, hizo vn camino nueuo, con que los demas fuessen tras el, y el no tras ninguno, y boluiesse los ojos de todos assi: vna pintura como de burla y macarronica, poniendo en medio de aquellas burlas muchos primores y estrañezas, assi en la inuencion como en la execucion y pintura, descubriendo algunas vezes quanto valia en aquel arte, como tambien lo hazia Cocayo hablando de veras.

Las tablas y quadros que aqui ay son tres diferencias. O pinta cosas deuotas, como son passos de la vida de Christo y su passion: la adoracion de los Reyes, y quando lleua la Cruz a cuestas: en la primera, exprime el efecto pio y sincero de los sabios y virtuosos, donde no se vee ninguna monstruosidad ni disparate: en la otra muestra la inuidia y rabia de la falsa sabiduria, que no descansa hasta que quita la vida a la inocencia, que es Christo; assi se veen los Fariseos y Escribas, con rostros furiosos, fieros, regañados, que en los habitos y acciones se les lee la furia destos afectos.

Pintò por vezes las tentaciones de san Anton (que es el segundo genero de pintura) por ser vn sugeto donde podia descubrir estraños efectos. De vna parte se vee aquel santo principe de los Eremitas, con rostro sereno, deuoto, contemplatiuo, sosegado, y llena de paz el alma: de otra las infinitas fantasias y monstruos que el enemigo forma, para trastornar, inquietar, y turbar aquella alma pia y aquel amor firme: para esto finge animales, fieras, chimeras, monstruos, fuegos, muertes, gritos, amenazas, viuoras, leones, dragones, y aues espantosas y de tantas suertes, que pone admiración como pudo formar tantas ideas: y todo esto para mostrar que vna alma ayudada de la diuina gracia, y lleuada de su mano a semejante manera de vida, aunque en la fantasia y a los ojos de fuera y dentro, represente el enemigo lo que puede mouer a risa ò deleyte vano, ò yra y otras dessordenadas passiones, no seran parte para derribarle ni mouerle de su proposito. Variò este sugeto y pensamiento tantas vezes y con tan nueuas inuenciones, que me pone admiracion como pudo hallar tanto, y me detiene a considerar mi propia miseria y flaqueza, y quan lexos estoy de aquella perfeccion, pues con tan faciles musarañas y poquedades me turbo y descompongo, pierdo la celda, el silencio, el recogimiento, y aun la paciencia: y en este santo pudo tan poco todo el ingenio del demonio y del infierno para derribarlo en esto: y tan aparejado està el Señor para socorrerme a mi como a el, si me pongo animosamente en la pelea.

Encuentrase esta pintura en hartas partes: en el capitulo ay vna tabla: en la celda del Prior otra: en la galeria de la Infanta dos: en mi celda otra harto buena, en que algunas vezes leo y me confundo: en el aposento de su Magestad donde tiene vn caxon con libros como el de los religiosos, està vna tabla y quadro excelente, tiene en medio y como en el centro, en vna circunferencia de luz y de gloria, puesto a nuestro Redentor: en el contorno estan otros siete circulos en que se veen los siete pecados capitales con que le ofenden todas las criaturas que el redimio, sin considerar que los està mirando y que lo vee todo. En otros siete cercos puso luego los siete sacramentos con que enriquezio su Iglesia, y donde como en preciosos vasos puso el remedio de tantas culpas y dolencias en que se dexan caer los hombres, que cierto es consideracion de hombre pio, y buena para que todos nos mirassemos en ella, pues la pintò como espejos donde se ha de componer el Christiano, quien esto

against our faith. We see the pope here, bishops and priests; some are performing ordinations, others baptisms, others still take confession, and administer other sacraments.

In addition to these paintings, there are others that bear witness to immense ingenuity and which are no less useful, even though they seem more 'macaronic'. This is the third type of his inventions. The idea and the ingenuity of these paintings are based on the passage in Isaiah, where God has him cry out: 'All flesh is grass and all its glory is like the flower of the field.' To which David says: 'Man is like grass, and his glory like the flower of the field.' One of these two paintings has the first as its foundation or main theme: it is a full haycart, and on top of it sit the pleasures of the flesh, fame and the outward display of its glory; the first represented as a couple of naked women playing music and singing, and the second as a demon standing next to them with its wings and trumpet, and which proclaims its greatness and its gifts. The subject and basis of the other painting is a little flower and fruit we call 'strawberry', which resembles the fruits of the strawberry tree (called in some places 'maiotas'), something that you have barely tasted before it is gone.

To understand the story behind it, I will explain it in the order in which it is constructed. Both works consist of a large painting and two wings with which they can be closed. On the first of these shutters, he painted the creation of man and how God placed him in paradise, in a charming, wonderful place full of greenery, as lord of all the animals of the land and birds of the air, and how he commands him as a test of his obedience and faith not to eat of one tree. And how the devil in the form of a serpent then misleads him, how he eats and transgresses God's commandment, and how He banishes him from that wonderful place and out of that high dignity in which he was created and placed. This is painted more simply in the painting called the haywain; in the painting of the strawberry tree, it appears with a thousand fantasies and considerations, which contain many warnings; this is in the first part on the first wing.

The large painting that follows shows how man, banished from paradise and placed in this world, occupies himself. It depicts him pursuing a glory of hay and of straw, or of grass without fruit, which exists today and is thrown into the oven tomorrow, as God Himself said. In this way, it depicts the lives, occupations and conduct with which these children of sin and wrath give themselves up – with no thought for what God has commanded them, that is, to do penance for their sins and to lift their eyes to a Saviour who must protect them – to seeking and pursuing the glory of the flesh that is just as transient, finite and useless as hay, because such are the gifts of sensuality, status, ambition and fame.

This haycart, on which glory rides, is drawn by seven wild beasts and terrifying monsters, including human beings who are half lion, others half dog, others still half bear, half fish and half wolf – all symbols and representations of pride, lust, greed, ambition, bestiality, tyranny, cunning and cruelty.

Around this cart walk all ranks and estates of man, from the pope and emperor and other princes, to those who stand in the lowest esteem and have the world's worst occupations; because all flesh is hay, and the children of the flesh arrange everything and use everything to achieve this vain and transient glory; and everything revolves around thinking of how they might ascend to the glory of the cart: some use ladders, others have hooks, others clamber, others jump and seek as many means and instruments as possible just to get on top of it; some, who were already on it, fall off; others are run over by the wheels, others enjoy this vain name and imagination; so that there is not a single estate, occupation or profession – from low to high, from clergyman to layman – which the children of this age do not use or misuse to be able to reach the glory of the hay and to enjoy it. I know well that they are all in haste, that the beasts that draw the cart struggle because the haywain is so heavily laden, and that they pull so that the working day will be done quickly, to unload for the journey and to turn around for a fresh load, expressing

pintaua no sentia mal de nuestra fe. Alli se vee el Papa, los Obispos y Sacerdotes: vnos haziendo ordenes, otros bautizando, otros confessando y administrando otros sacramentos.

Sin estos quadros ay otros de grandissimo ingenio, y no de menor prouecho, aunque parecen mas macarronicos, que es el tercero genero de sus inuenciones. El pensamiento y artificio dellos està fundado en aquel lugar de Esayas, en que por mandado de Dios dize a vozes: Toda carne es heno, y toda su gloria como flor del campo. Y sobre lo que dize Dauid: El hombre es como heno, y sus glorias como la flor del campo. El vno de estos dos quadros tiene como por fundamento o sugeto principal, lo primero, que es vn carro de heno cargado, y encima assentados los deleytes de la carne, la fama y la ostentacion de su gloria y alteza, figurado en vnas mujeres desnudas, tañendo y cantando, y la fama en figura de demonio alli junto, con sus alas y trompeta, que publica su grandeza y sus regalos. El otro tiene por sugeto y fundamento vna florecilla y frutilla de estas que llamamos fresas, que son como vnos madroñuelos, que en algunas partes llaman maiotas, cosa que apenas se gusta, quando es acabada.

Para que se entienda su discurso, pondrelo por el orden que lo tiene dispuesto. Entrambos tableros son vn quadro grande, y dos puertas con que se cierran. En la primera de estas puertas pinta la creacion del hombre, y como le pone Dios en el Parayso, y en vn lugar ameno lleno de verdura, y deleytable, señor de todos los animales de la tierra, y de las aues del cielo: y como le manda para exercicio de su obediencia y de su fe, que no coma de vn arbol: y despues como le engaña el demonio en figura de serpiente, come y traspassa el precepto de Dios, y le destierra de aquel lugar deleytable, y de aquella alta dignidad en que estaua criado y puesto. En el quadro que se llama carro de heno, està esto mas senzillamente pintado, en el del madroño està con mil fantasias y consideraciones, que tienen mucho que aduertir, esto està en la primera parte y puerta.

En el quadro grande que luego se sigue, està pintado en que se ocupa el hombre, desterrado del Parayso y puesto en este mundo: y declara que en buscar vna gloria de heno y de paja o yerua sin fruto, que oy es, y mañana se echa en el horno, como dixo el mismo Dios: y ansi descubre las vidas, los exercicios y discursos con que estos hijos de pecado y de yra, oluidados de lo que Dios les manda, que es hazer penitencia de sus pecados, y leuantar los ojos de la fe a vn Saluador que los ha de remediar, conuertirse todos a buscar y pretender la gloria de la carne, que es como heno breue, finito, inutil, que tales son los regalos de la sensualidad, los estados, la ambición y fama.

Este carro de heno en que va esta gloria, le tiran siete bestias fieras y monstruos espantables, donde se veen pintados hombres medio leones, otros medio perros, otros medio osos, medio pezes, medio lobos, símbolos todos y figura de la soberuia, de la luxuria, auaricia, ambicion, bestialidad, tirania, sagacidad, y brutalidad.

Al derredor de este carro van todos los estados de los hombres, desde el Papa y Emperador y otros Principes, hasta los que tienen el estado mas baxo y mas viles oficios de la tierra, porque toda carne es heno, y todo lo endereçan los hijos de la carne, y de todo vsan para alcançar esta gloria vana y caduca: y todo es dar traças como subir a la gloria de este carro, vnos ponen escaleras, otros garabatos, otros trepan, otros saltan, y buscan quantos medios y instrumentos pueden para llegar allí arriba: vnos ya que estauan en lo alto, caen de alli abaxo, otros atropellan las ruedas, otros estan gozando de aquel nombre y ayre vano. De suerte que no ay estado ni exercicio ni oficio, sea baxo, ò sea alto, sea diuino, o sea humano, que los hijos de este siglo no lo conuiertan o abusen del, para alcançar y gozar de esta gloria de heno. Bien se que van todos caminando a prisa, y los

very well the transience of this wretched century, and the short time that it lasts, and just how closely every age resembles every other in wickedness.

The final destination of all this is shown in the last wing, in which a very frightening hell can be seen, with strange torments, terrifying monsters, all shrouded in darkness and eternal fire. And to make clear the large band of people who enter there and for whom there is no longer any room, he imagines that new quarters and rooms are being built; and the stones that are laid are the souls of the damned; and the same means they used to achieve glory have been turned there into the instruments of their punishment. And to make clear also that divine assistance and mercy never entirely abandon even the worst sinners in this life, not even in the midst of their sins, we see the guardian angel next to the person riding atop the haywain, in the midst of his everyday sins, while the angel beseeches God for help, and the Lord Jesus Christ who, with open arms and His wounds clearly visible, waits for those who repent. I admit that I read more in this painting in a single short glance than in other books in many days.

The other panel of the vain glory and the brief pleasure of the strawberry or fruit of the strawberry tree and its faint aroma, which you barely taste once it is gone, is the most imaginative work and of the greatest ingenuity imaginable. And I speak the truth when I say that – if anyone were to conceive such a plan, and some great genius were willing to write it – this would be a very useful book, because countless examples from Holy Scripture are to be seen here, vivid and clear, touching on man's wickedness. How many allegories and metaphors are there not, after all, in Scripture to express this, in the Prophets and in the Psalms, in the form of tame, wild, savage, lazy, crafty, cruel, ravening beasts, beasts of burden and working animals, animals for pleasure and recreation, animals to flaunt, animals that have been sought out by man for their natural tendencies and habits and thus altered, and animals crossed with others: they are all depicted here with admirable verisimilitude. And the same goes for the birds, fish and reptiles, for the Holy Scripture is full of them.

One ought also to understand here the transmigration of souls conceived by Pythagoras, Plato and other poets, who wrote erudite fables about these metamorphoses and transformations, which had no other aim than to show us bad customs, habits or sinister advice, in which the souls of the wretched conceal themselves; people who through pride become lions, through vengefulness tigers, through lust mules, horses and pigs, through tyranny fish, through vanity peacocks, through craftiness and demonic cunning foxes, through gluttony apes and wolves, through callousness and wickedness donkeys, through gross simplicity sheep, through vices goats, and so too other traits and forms, which they pile and build upon this human existence. And this is how these monsters and absurdities come into being. And all this for such an insignificant and base goal as the taste of revenge, sensual pleasure, personal honour, for appearances and prestige, and other like matters that barely have taste or cause the mouth to water, as when savouring a strawberry or the fruit of the strawberry tree and the scent of its flowers, even though there are those who sustain themselves with that scent alone. I wish everyone were as full of the images in this painting as of the truth and the original on which Geronimo Bosque based his absurdities, for if we set the beauty, the ingenuity, and the admirable and considered execution to one side (astonishing that a single mind can think up so many things), we could benefit greatly from looking at ourselves, portrayed from the life inside, unless we do not realize what is in us and we are so blind that we have no understanding of the passions and defects of character that turn us into a beast, or rather many beasts. And that we should also see in the last wing what the wretched final destination is of all his studies, practices and occupations, and where they metamorphose into these infernal abodes. He who sought all his pleasure

animales que tiran el carro, forcejan porque va muy cargado, y tiran para acabar presto la jornada, descargar aquel camino, y boluer por otro, con que se sinifica harto bien la breuedad de este miserable siglo, y lo poco que tarda en passar, y quan semejantes son todos los tiempos en la malicia.

El fin y paradero de todo esto, està pintado en la puerta postrera, donde se vee vn infierno espantosissimo, con tormentos estraños, monstruos espantosos, embueltos todos en obscuridad y fuego eterno. Y para dar a entender la muchedumbre de los que alli entran y que ya no caben, finge que se edifican aposentos y quartos nueuos: y las piedras que suben para assentar en el edificio, son las almas de los miserables condenados, conuertidos también alli en instrumentos de su pena, los mismos medios que pusieron para alcançar aquella gloria. Y porque se entendiesse tambien que nunca en esta vida desampara de todo punto el auxilio y piedad diuina, aun a los muy pecadores: y aun quando estan en medio de sus pecados: se vee el Angel Custodio, junto al que està encima del carro de heno, en medio de sus vicios torpes, rogando a Dios por el: y el Señor Iesu Christo los braços abiertos, y con las llagas manifiestas, aguardando a los que se conuierten. Yo confiesso que leo mas cosas en esta tabla, en vn breue mirar de ojos, que en otros libros en muchos dias.

La otra tabla de la gloria vana, y breue gusto de la fresa o madroño, y su olorcillo, que apenas se siente, quando ya es passado: es la cosa mas ingeniosa y de mayor artificio que se puede imaginar. Y digo verdad, que si se tomara de proposito, y algun grande ingenio quisiera declararla, hiziera vn muy prouechoso libro, porque en ella se veen, como viuos y claros, infinitos lugares de Escritura de los que tocan a la malicia del hombre, porque quantas alegorias o metaforas ay en ella para sinificar esto, en los Profetas y Psalmos, debaxo de animales mansos, brauos, fieros, perezosos, sagazes, crueles, carnizeros, para carga y trabajo, para gusto y recreaciones, y ostentaciones, buscados de los hombres, y conuertidos en ellos por sus inclinaciones y costumbres, y la mezcla que se haze de vnos y de otros, todos estan puestos aqui con admirable propiedad. Lo mismo de las aues, y pezes, y animales reptiles, que de todo esto estan llenas las diuinas letras.

Aqui tambien se entiende aquella transmigracion de las almas que fingieron Pitagoras, Platon, y otros Poetas que hizieron fabulas doctas de estos Metamorfosis, y transformaciones, que no pretendian otra cosa sino mostrarnos las malas costumbres, habitos, o siniestros auisos, de que se visten las almas de los miserables hombres, que por soberuia son leones, por vengança, tigres, por luxuria, mulos, cauallos, puercos: por tirania pezes: por vanagloria, pauones: por sagazidad y mañas diabolicas raposas: por gula, gimios y lobos: por insensibilidad y malicia, asnos: por simplicidad bruta, ouejas: por trauessura, cabritos, y otros tales accidentes y formas, que sobreponen y edifican sobre este ser humano: y ansi se hazen estos monstruos y disparates, y todo para vn fin tan apocado y tan vil, como es el gusto de vna vengança, de una sensualidad, de vna honrilla, de vna apariencia y estima: y otras tales que no llegan apenas al paladar, ni a mojar la boca, qual es el gusto y saborcillio de una fresa o madroño, y el olor de sus flores, que aun muchos con el olor se sustentan. Quisiera que todo el mundo estuuiera tan lleno de los traslados de esta pintura como lo està de la verdad y del original, de donde retratò sus disparates Geronimo Bosque: porque dexado a parte el gran primor, el ingenio y las extrañezas y consideraciones que ay en cada cosa (causa admiracion, como pudo dar en tantas vna sola cabeça) se sacara grande fruto, viendose alli cada vno tan retirado al viuo en lo de dentro, sino es que no aduierte lo que està dentro de si, y està tan ciego que no conoce las passiones y vicios que le tienen tan desfigurado en

in music and in vain and lascivious song, in dancing, at play, hunting, at galas, in wealth, in authority, in revenge, in the reverence of holiness and hypocrisy, will see a contrast in the same manner, and that brief, insignificant pleasure will be transformed into eternal, incurable and implacable wrath.

I do not wish to say more about the absurdities of Geronimo Bosque, but it ought to be noted that in almost all his paintings – that is to say in those paintings that have this ingenuity (we saw, after all, that there are also simple and holy ones) – there is always fire and an owl. With the first, he would have us understand that it is important to remember that eternal fire at all times, because this makes every task easy to perform, as is seen in all the paintings he made of Saint Anthony. And with the second he is saying that his paintings were done with care and study, and that they ought to be studied in their turn. The owl is a nocturnal bird, dedicated to Minerva and to study, symbol of the Athenians, among whom philosophy flourished so, which was achieved through the stillness and silence of the night, consuming more oil than wine.

bestia, o en tantas bestias. Y viera tambien en la postrera tabla, el miserable fin y paradero de sus estudios, exercicios y ocupaciones, y en que se truecan en aquellas moradas infernales. El que toda su felicidad ponia en la musica y cantos vanos y lasciuos, en dançaș, en juegos, en caças, en galas, en riquezas, en mandos, en vengança, en estimacion de santidad y hypocresia, vera vna contraposicion en el mismo genero, y aquel gustillo breue, conuertido en rabia eterna, irremediable, implacable.

No quiero dezir mas de los disparates de Geronimo Bosque, solo se aduierta que casi en todas sus pinturas, digo en las que tienen este ingenio (que como vimos otros ay senzillos y santos) siempre pone fuego y lechuza. Con lo primero nos dà a entender, que importa tener memoria de aquel fuego eterno, que con esto qualquier trabajo se harà facil, como se vee en todas las tablas que pintò de san Anton. Y con lo segundo dize, que sus pinturas son de cuydado y estudio, y con estudio se han de mirar. La lechuza es aue nocturna, dedicada a Minerua y al estudio, simbolo de los Atenienses, donde florecio tanto la Filosofia, que se alcança con la quietud y el silencio de la noche, gastando mas aceyte que vino.

[1] 'Those who would read me are those who read everything', quotation from the Italian macaronic poet Teofilo Folengo (1491–1544), who wrote under the pseudonyms Merlino Coccajo and Merlinus Coccaius.

Karel van Mander: The Life of Jeronimus Bos 1604

Translation from Van Mander (Miedema) 1994–99, I, 125–26.

The characters, deeds and works of painters are various and strange – and each of them has become the better master in that to which Nature has drawn him through inclination and for which she has given him talent. Who will relate all the wonderful or peculiar fancies which Jeronimus Bos had in his head and expressed with his brush, of phantoms and monsters of hell which are usually not so much kindly as ghastly to look upon. He was born in 's-Hertogenbosch, but I have not been able to discover at which time he lived or died – only that it was very early on. And yet he was quite different in his draperies or fabrics from the old, modern manner with its multiple creases or folds. He had a steady hand and a very adroit and subtle working manner, usually finishing his works in one layer which nevertheless remains beautiful without discoloration. Also, just like some other old masters, he used to draw his subjects onto the white of the panel, laying over that a transparent, flesh-coloured ground layer; he often allowed the ground to contribute to the effect of the picture. Some of his works are in Amsterdam. In one place I have seen a *Flight into Egypt* by him in which Joseph in the foreground asks the way of a peasant and Mary sits upon the donkey. In the distance is a strange rock, like a kind of inn, where all sorts of wonderful things are to be found. There are some strange little figures too, who are making a large bear dance for money, it is all wonderfully curious and lively to look at. Then there is a *Hell* by him at the Waal in which the patriarchs are released, and Judas, who is planning to slip off with them, is hauled up and hanged with a noose. The bizarre prowlings to be seen there are amazing – and also his subtle and natural way with flames, fires, smoke and vapours. Furthermore, there is in Amsterdam a *Bearing of the Cross* in which he employed more solemnity than was his wont. In Haarlem, at the house of the art-loving Joan Dietring I have seen various things by his hand: shutters with saints; for instance, how one or other saint who is a monk, while arguing with several heretics, has all their books as well as his own put into the fire and whomsoever's book does not burn is in the right: and the saint's book flies out of the fire. It was very subtly painted, the flames of the fire as well as the smouldering logs, burned and covered with ash; the saint with his companion looked very dignified and the others had odd, outlandish faces. Elsewhere is some miracle or other in which a king and others are fallen down and look wholly terrified. The faces, hair and beards appear effortless, to great and pleasing effect. In the churches in 's-Hertogenbosch there are also some of his works – and indeed in other places too; among others in the Escorial in Spain, works which are held in great esteem there. Lampsonius speaks to him thus in his verses:

> Jeroon Bos, what means your frightened face
> And pale appearance? It seems as though you just
> Saw all infernal spectres fly close around your ears.
> I think that all the deepest rings of miserly Pluto
> Were revealed, and the wide habitations of Hell
> Opened to you – because you are so art-full
> In painting with your right hand depictions
> Of all that the deepest bowels of Hell contain.

T'leven van Ieronimus Bos 1604

Het Schilder-boeck, Haarlem (Passchier van Wesbusch) 1604, fol. 216v–217r

Veelderley en vreemt zijn de geneyghtheyden, handelingen en wercken der Schilders: en yeder is beter Meester gheworden in t'ghene, daer de Natuere hem door lust toe heeft ghetrocken, en aengheleyt. Wie sal verhalen al de wonderlijcke oft seldsaem versieringhen, die Ieronimus Bos in't hooft heeft ghehadt, en met den Pinceel uytghedruckt, van ghespoock en ghedrochten der Hellen, dickwils niet alsoo vriendlijck als grouwlijck aen te sien. Hy is gheboren gheweest tot s'Hertoghen Bosch: maer hebbe geenen tijdt van zijn leven oft sterven connen vernemen, dan dat hy al heel vroegh is geweest. Hy was nochtans in zijn draperinghen oft lakenen ghenoech afghescheyden van de oude moderne wijse, van dat menighvuldigh kroken en vouwen. Hy hadde een vaste en seer veerdighe en aerdighe handelinghe, doende veel zijn dinghen ten eersten op, het welck nochtans sonder veranderen seer schoon blijft. Hy hadde oock als meer ander oude Meesters de maniere, zijn dinghen te teeckenen en trecken op het wit der Penneelen, en daer over een doorschijnigh carnatiachtigh primuersel te legghen, en liet oock dickwils de gronden mede wercken. Daer zijn t'Amsterdam eenige van zijn stucken. In een plaets heb ick van hem ghesien een vluchtinghe van Egypten, daer Ioseph voor aen eenen Boer den wegh vraeght, en Maria op den Esel sit: in't verschieten is een vreemde roots, waer wonder te beschicken is, wesende als een Herberghe: daer comen oock eenighe vreemde bootsen, die om gelt eenen grooten Beer doen dansen, en is alles wonder seldtsaem en cluchtigh om sien. Noch is van hem op de Wael een Helle, daer de oude Vaders verlost worden, en Iudas die oock mede meent uyt trecken, wort met een strick opghetrocken en ghehanghen: t'is wonder wat daer al te sien is van oubolligh ghespoock: oock hoe aerdigh en natuerlijck hy was, van vlammen, branden, roocken en smoocken. Noch is van hem t'Amsterdam eenen Cruys-dragher, daer hy meer staticheyt, als wel zijn ghewoonte was, in heeft ghebruyckt. Te Haerlem ten huyse van Const-liefdighen Ioan Dietring, heb ick ghesien van hem verscheyden dinghen, deuren met eenighe heylighen: onder ander, daer eenighen Sanct Monick wesende, met verscheyden Ketters disputerende, doet alle hun Boecken met oock den zijnen legghen op het vyer, en wiens Boeck niet verbrande, die soude recht hebben, en des Sancts Boeck vlieght uyt het vyer, dat seer aerdigh gheschildert was, alsoo wel het branden des vyers, als de roockende houten verbrandt en met de asschen becleedt wesende: den Sanct met zijnen gheselle seer statigh siende, en d'ander bootsighe vreemde tronien hebbende. Elder is eenigh mirakel, daer eenen Coningh en ander ghevallen seer schricklijck sien: en de tronien, hayren en baerden, hebben met cleen moeyte eenen grooten welstandighen aerdt. Tot s'Hertoghen Bosch in de Kercken, zijn noch van zijn wercken, als in meer ander plaetsen: oock in Spaengien in't Escurial, dingen die daer in grooter weerden worden gehouden. Tot hem spreeckt in zijn veersen Lampsonius, op dese meeninghe:

> *Ieroon Bos, wat beduydt u soo verschrickt ghesicht,*
> *En aenschijn alsoo bleeck, het schijnt oft even dicht*
> *Ghy al het helsch ghespoock saeght vlieghen om u ooren.*
> *Ick acht dat al ontdaen u zijn de diepste chooren*
> *Gheweest van Pluto ghier, en d'helsche wonsten wijt*
> *V open zijn ghedaen, dat ghy soo constigh zijt,*
> *Om met u rechter handt gheschildert uyt te stellen,*
> *Al wat in hem begrijpt den diepsten schoot der Hellen.*

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