

## Hieronymus Bosch and Lucas Cranach

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Translated from the Dutch by M.A. Bax-Botha



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Hieronymus Bosch and Lucas Cranach  
Two Last Judgement triptychs

Description and exposition

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Dedicated to my wife

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## Preface

The author was rounding off this study in 1976 when his doctors had to pass their 'last judgement' on him. He accepted the verdict with fortitude and in the months of respite found solace and peace of mind in quietly carrying on with the task in hand, which he was able to complete to his satisfaction. He proceeded to prepare for the press the typed copy of his Dutch manuscript, plus appendages and illustrations, and this, too, he could still fully accomplish, up to the point of even rechecking the hundreds of page references in the notes. Beyond this stage, however, he had neither strength nor desire to go. That he hoped, and trusted, that his last work would, like several earlier ones, be published by the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, is evident from the acknowledgements expressed in advance in the Introduction.

It was only some time after his death late in December 1976, that the work was submitted to, and accepted by, the Akademie, the then projected date of publication being early 1979.

In the mean-time my translation into English of Bax's first major work on Bosch was going through the press and due to appear early in 1979. This circumstance led the Akademie to suggest that Bax's last major work also appear in English and that I do the translation. Although it meant considerable postponement of publication, and also that the original Dutch text would remain unprinted, this was the course eventually decided upon. The work has now been completed and is herewith presented.

As in the above-mentioned English version of the *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch*, my translation of *Hieronymus Bosch en Lucas Cranach: Twee Laatste-Oordeeldrieluiken* is an integral one, that is, nothing has been added to, or omitted from, the original. As in the former work, too, style was disregarded where it conflicted with accuracy.

The only section in which the author could, understandably, have no

part, is the index. In a work of this kind with its multitude of possible key-words, restriction was imperative. Excluded from full indexing were, therefore, the notes, the Elaborations, and those sections of the text which, while referring to themes in art and literature relevant in some way to *The Last Judgement*, contain also diverse other motifs with little or no bearing on the subject.

On the other hand, my endeavour was to be as comprehensive as possible in regard to *The Last Judgement* itself and immediately pertaining matters, the assumption being that location of the key-words here would in turn lead to the more distantly connected details mentioned in references to works of art and literature.

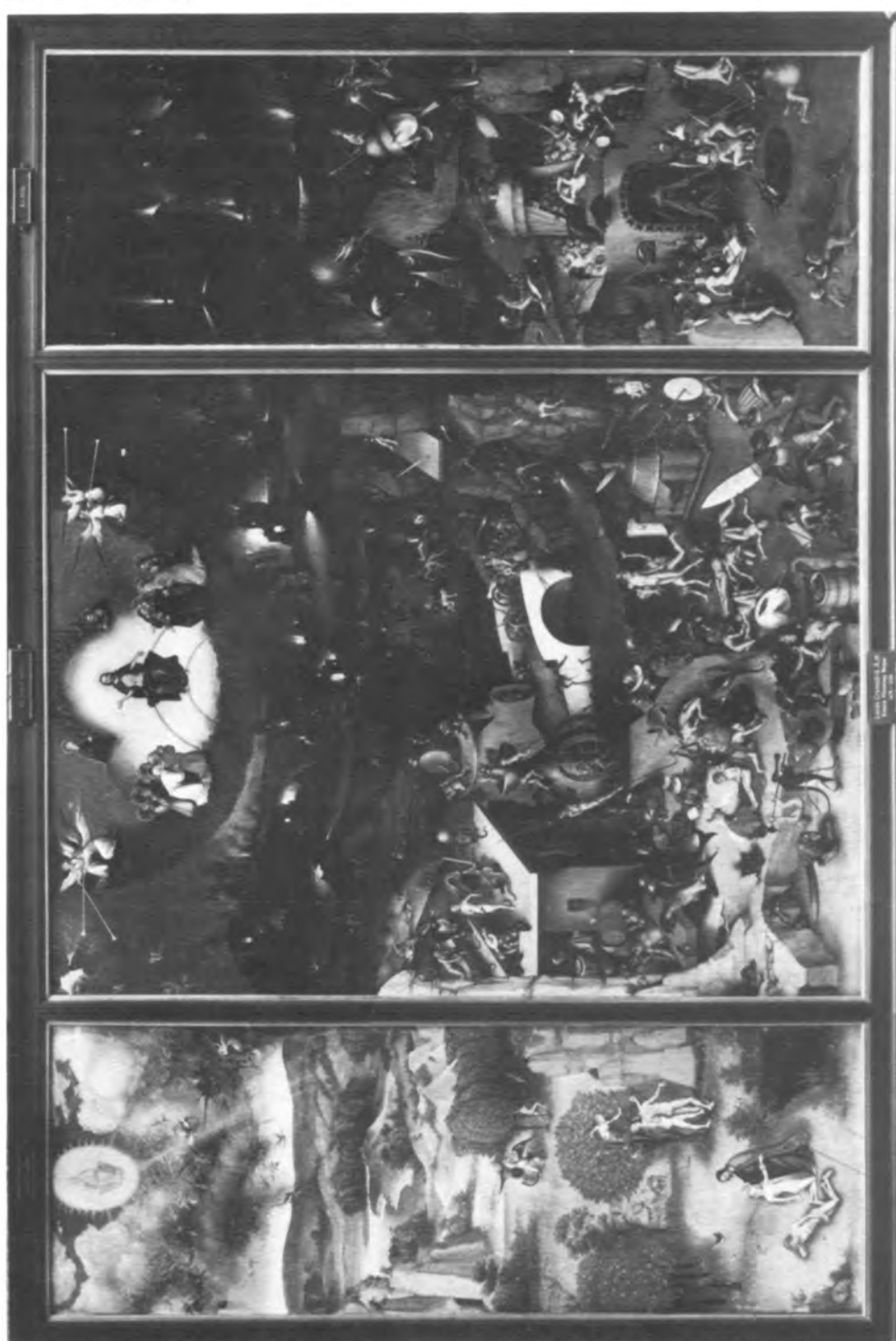
The references themselves, however, have been covered in a more general way. Indexed according to artist's name, subject, or medium, the works of art appear in an appended section (p. 461), while cited written works, not page-indexed, can be found in an alphabetically arranged list of titles, following on the main bibliography (p. 413).

October 4, 1982

M.A. BAX-BOTHA

# Abbreviations

a.o.	among others; and others	lit.	literally
c.	caput, chapter; section c; century; circa	L.J.	Last Judgement
ca.	circa	ms.	manuscript
cf.	confer, compare	n.	note(s)
cm.	centimeter	n.d.	no date
col.	column	no.	number(s)
coll.	collection	p.	page(s)
e.g.	exempli gratia, for instance	P., pl. rep.	plate reproduction
f(f).	and following page(s)	Rijksbureau	Rijksbureau voor Kunst- historische Documentatie [Netherlands Institute for Art History] The Hague
fig.	figure, figurative(ly)		
i.a.	inter alia	Tr.	Translator
i.e.	id est, that is	viz.	videlicet, namely
ill.	illustration(s)	vol.	volume(s)
i.m.o.	in my opinion	[ ]	bracketed section interposed; not by author
<i>Judgem.</i> ,			
<i>Judgement</i>	this book		
l.c., loc. cit.	loco citato		



1. Last Judgement triptych, Cranach (p. 11)



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## Introduction

*Wel de Hel, (sey Baksje)  
en hy kon op de Drommel  
sijn naam niet komen.*

*Lyste van Spreekwoorden.  
Gedrukt in de Brouwery  
van de Wereld, in de  
Drukkery van Kakodemus.  
1, nr. 474.*

Well the Hell, said Baxkin,  
and he could not hit on  
the name of the Dickens.

From a list of mediaeval  
Dutch sayings, printed in 'the  
Brewery of the World, in the  
Press of Cacodemus'. 1, no. 474.

This book is an attempt to describe and explain the numerous depictions in two *Last Judgement* triptychs, one by Hieronymus Bosch (Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste), the other by Lucas Cranach the Elder (East Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Bodestrasse 1-3). In addition I have endeavoured to throw light on the origin of these paintings and on their mutual relationship.

In January 1954 I studied and recorded all the details of the triptych in Vienna, and in June 1963 my wife and I compared my description again with the original in the Gemäldegalerie. In May 1963 we studied and recorded all the details of the triptych in East Berlin. Careful scrutiny and exact description of these complicated works are essential if one wishes to determine precisely what Bosch and Cranach actually painted.

Professor Ludwig Münz and Dr. Margarethe Poch-Kalous in Vienna (both since deceased) and Dr. Edith Fründt in East Berlin gave the required permission for access to, and study of, the paintings. They also provided many photographs of details, for which I remain most grateful.

For a considerable time after these initial stages I worked on publications of an entirely different nature. It was only some years ago that I resumed my study of the triptychs.

For photographs of the Vienna triptych in full and in detail the reader is referred to the illustrations in De Tolnay 1965, p. 164-187, Poch-Kalous 1967, no. 1-16, and Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 14-18 and 54-63. A number of photographs in this book also serve as illustrations. Good reproductions of the Berlin triptych have as yet not been published anywhere. Photographs of the work as a whole (ill. 1) and of several details will however be found in this book.

A number of excessively long notes have been given the form of elaborations.

Throughout this study the reader will find references to passages from works of moralists who wrote in Middle Dutch, that is, in the language of Bosch. Sometimes the depictions and ideas of the painter accord with those of the authors, sometimes they do not. The comparison is often enlightening.

Most of the Middle Dutch texts that I cite, including those not of a moralistic nature, exist in manuscripts of the 15th or early 16th century, or both, and some also in incunabula or post-incunabula, or both. The exceptions are, to the best of my knowledge: *Esopet* (ms. second half 14th century), *Die bediedenis van der missen* (ms. ca. 1350), Jan Boendale, *Jans Teesteye* (ms. ca. 1400?), Hein van Aken, *Die Rose* (latest ms. ca. 1400?), *Dat Boec vander Wraken* (latest ms. ca. 1400?), *Der Ystorien Bloeme* (ms. ca. 1340), Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiael* (latest ms. ca. 1400), Jacob van Maerlant, *Alexanders Geesten* (ms. 1350), and a few tracts, legends and exempla. For the age of the manuscripts I consulted mainly *M. W. X: Bouwstoffen*.

It follows from the above that of the Middle Dutch writings to which I refer, far and away the most were known in Bosch's time, though the originals could have been written a century earlier.

I was able to make profitable use of the library of the University of Amsterdam, of the Royal Library in The Hague, and of the libraries, as well as the photographic collections, of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague. My grateful acknowledgements go to the personnel of these institutions for the assistance so readily given me.

It is with particular appreciation that I thank the Royal Netherlands Academy for undertaking to publish this work as a sequel to my studies on the *Garden of Lusto* and the *Woman Martyr* (St. Julia triptych), brought out by the Academy in 1956 and 1961 respectively.

The oldest document telling us anything with certainty about the Vienna triptych, is the inventory, made in 1659, of the collection of paintings owned by Leopold Wilhelm, archduke of Austria (1614-1662)<sup>1</sup>. It says: 'Noch ein Altarstück mit zweyen Flügeln von Öhlfarb auff Holcz warin das jüngste Gericht vndt darunder die Höll, in welcher die septem peccata mortalia gestrafft werden. In einer glatt vergulden Ramen, hoch 8 Span 6 Finger vnd 7 Span 1 Finger breit. Original von Hieronimo Bosz'.

How and when it came into the possession of Leopold Wilhelm is unknown. From 1647 to 1656 he was stadtholder of the Southern Low Countries, where he bought paintings for his collection. Theoretically the triptych could have been one of these purchases, but it could, of course, also have been acquired in some other way, through family inheritance, for instance. Dr Poch-Kalous believed

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<sup>1</sup> A. Berger, *Inventar der Kunstsammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Österreich*. *J. d. k. S. d. A. K.* I (1883), *Mahlercy von teutsch unndt niederländischen Mahleren*, no. 547 (p. cxli). About Leopold Wilhelm as art collector see also: F. Mareš, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Kunstbestrebungen des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm*. *J. d. k. S. d. A. K.* v (1887), p. 343 ff. *Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestandes*. Zweiter Teil: Alphons Lotsky, *Die Geschichte der Sammlungen. Erste Hälfte. Von den Anfängen bis zum Tode Kaiser Karls VI, 1740*. Wien 1941-1945, p. 355 ff. *Inventar der Schatzkammer des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm*. 1660 April 30, *Wien*. *J. d. k. S. d. A. K.* vii (1888), Theil II, p. lxxvii ff. K. Garas, *Das Schicksal der Sammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm*. *J. d. k. S. i. W.* 64 (1968), p. 181 ff.

that the triptych was already in a fairly poor condition in the 16th century<sup>2</sup>. But would the art collector have bought such a painting?

Leopold Wilhelm bequeathed his collection to his nephew, the Emperor Leopold. The latter added it to the imperial collections<sup>3</sup>. In an inventory of 1751 the painting is called 'Die grosze höll nebst zweien flügeln von Sammet-Prügel'<sup>4</sup>. It was at that time therefore being attributed to Velvet Bruegel, i.e. Jan Bruegel the Elder.


In the end of the 18th century, perhaps in 1787 or shortly after, Count Anton Lamberg-Prinzenstein acquired it<sup>5</sup>. He bequeathed his art collection to the Akademie, who became the owner in 1822, after the death of the count on 26 June of that year<sup>6</sup>. Inventories of the Lamberg collection give the name of the painter as 'Brügel' and 'Breughel Peter oder Höllen Breughel'<sup>7</sup>.

In 1862 the work was again attributed to Bosch by G.F. Waagen<sup>8</sup>. The first catalogue of the Akademiegalerie (Heinrich Schwemminger, 1866) followed suit<sup>9</sup>.

Henri Hymans (1884/85) thought that it was perhaps the triptych that Bosch painted for Philip the Fair in 1504: 'peut-être le tableau commandé par Philippe le Beau en 1504'<sup>10</sup>.

Th. von Frimmel (1896, 1899 and 1901) regarded it as an original Bosch<sup>11</sup>.

G. Glück in 1896 wondered whether it had been made by Jan Mandijn, and in 1904 judged it to be a smaller copy of the triptych of 1504<sup>12</sup>.

H. Dollmayr in 1898 was of the opinion that it was a work of someone whom he called the monogrammist , regarded by him as Jan Mandijn's teacher<sup>13</sup>.

M.J. Friedländer wrote in 1916 that it was an original<sup>14</sup>, and kept to this belief also later (1927, 1937)<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> *Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*. 1872-1972, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Poch-Kalous 1967, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Th. von Frimmel. *Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*. Erster Halbband. *Einleitung und Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Gemäldegalerie*. Leipzig 1899, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> Th. von Frimmel. *Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*. *Galeriestudien*. Dritte Folge. Lieferung vi. Viertes Capitel. *Die Galerie in der Akademie der bildenden Künste*. Leipzig und Berlin 1901, p. 43 and 151.

<sup>6</sup> Poch-Kalous, 1967, p. 8. M. Poch-Kalous und H. Hutter. *Die Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*. Wien 1968, p. 9 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Poch-Kalous 1967, p. 33, note 27.

<sup>8</sup> G.F. Waagen. *Handbuch der deutschen und niederländischen Malerschulen*. Erste Abtheilung. Stuttgart 1862, p. 150.

<sup>9</sup> Poch-Kalous 1967, p. 33, note 27.

<sup>10</sup> H. Hymans. *Le livre des peintres de Carel van Mander*. Etc. Tome premier. Paris 1884, p. 174.

<sup>11</sup> Th. von Frimmel. *Die neu geordneten Niederländer in der Wiener Galerie*. *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. Kunstchronik* N.F. VII (1896), col. 68. Also the publications mentioned in notes 4 and 5.

<sup>12</sup> G. Glück. *Zu einem Bilde von Hieronymus Bosch in der Figdorschen Sammlung in Wien*. *J.d.k.p.K.* xxv (1904), p. 179 (reference to Glück's article in *Kunstchronik* 1896), 179 and 181.

<sup>13</sup> H. Dollmayr. *Hieronymus Bosch und die Darstellung der vier letzten Dinge in der niederländischen Malerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*. *J.d.k.S.d.A.K.* xix (1898), p. 299.

<sup>14</sup> M.J. Friedländer. *Von Eyck bis Bruegel. Studien zur Geschichte der niederländischen Malerei*. Berlin 1916, p. 81.

<sup>15</sup> Friedländer. *Malerei* v, p. 99, xiv, p. 101.

L. von Baldass in 1917 called it 'nur eine getreue Kopie eines Originalwerkes'<sup>16</sup>.

Eigenberger in 1927 thought it possible that the triptych was 'grösstenteils eigenhändiges Werk, möglicherweise sogar eigenhändige Wiederholung'<sup>17</sup>.

In the late thirties the centre panel was cleaned and restored by Eigenberger<sup>18</sup>.

In 1932 Glück repeated his opinion that it was a smaller copy of the 1504 altarpiece, calling it a 'kleinere Kopie aus Boschs Werkstatt', but in 1937 he took it to be an original<sup>19</sup>.

In 1937 Ch. de Tolnay regarded it as an 'excellente copie d'un tableau perdu de Jérôme Bosch'<sup>20</sup> and in 1965 as an excellent copy of an original Bosch, perhaps a smaller copy of the 1504 painting<sup>21</sup>.

In 1943 Baldass called it a 'getreue Kopie eines verschollenen Originals'<sup>22</sup>. In 1959 however Baldass and Heinz regarded it as an original Bosch<sup>23</sup>.

J. Combe, on the other hand, described it in 1946 and 1957 as 'une belle copie contemporaine'<sup>24</sup>.

Judging only from photographs I was of the opinion in 1949 that it was a copy. But a careful study of the triptych in situ in Vienna in 1954 led me to believe that it is indeed an authentic Bosch, with parts here and there that had been heavily damaged and in these places badly restored<sup>25</sup>.

In 1954 the restorer Olga Fleissner removed younger layers of varnish from the fronts and backs of the wings<sup>26</sup>.

After this treatment Ludwig Münz (1954) and Jean Leymarie (1956) expressed their views that it was an original Bosch<sup>27</sup>.

Ludwig Goldscheider in 1959 judged the triptych to be partly the work of Bosch, partly of a collaborator. In his opinion this assistant was the artist who painted the *Last Judgement* which is in the cathedral of Tudela in Spain<sup>28</sup>.

Delevoy (1960) sees in the triptych 'le reflet d'un tableau perdu'. He writes: 'Nous serions en présence d'une excellente copie qui pourrait être attribuée à Peeter Huys, le plus brillant disciple de Jérôme Bosch'<sup>29</sup>.

Van Puyvelde (1962) regarded it as an authentic Bosch<sup>30</sup>.

Cinotti (1966) wrote: 'Per conto nostro si tratta di un' opera di bottega, di alta qualità'<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> L. von Baldass. *Die Chronologie der Gemälde des Hieronymus Bosch. J. d. k. p. K.* xxxviii (1917), p. 189.

<sup>17</sup> Eigenberger, p. 51.

<sup>18</sup> Poch-Kalous 1967, p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> G. Glück. *Bruegels Gemälde*. Wien 1932 (1st edition), p. 59. 4th edition in 1937.

<sup>20</sup> De Tolnay 1937, p. 63.

<sup>21</sup> De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 360.

<sup>22</sup> Baldass 1943, p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1959, p. 30 and 233.

<sup>24</sup> Combe 1946, p. 28. 1957, p. 30.

<sup>25</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 134/177 (15). *Tuin*, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Münz 1954, p. 13. Poch-Kalous 1967, p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> Münz 1954, p. 14. J. Leymarie. *La peinture hollandaise*. Genève/Paris/New York 1956, p. 31.

<sup>28</sup> Linfert, p. 115: communicated to Linfert by Ludwig Goldscheider.

<sup>29</sup> Delevoy, p. 110.

<sup>30</sup> Van Puyvelde. *Peinture*, p. 38.

<sup>31</sup> Cinotti, p. 108 and 109.

Margarethe Poch-Kalous (1967) accepted the possibility that Bosch painted it in 1504 as 'eine in kleinerem Massstab angefertigte Komposition, die der Künstler seinem Auftraggeber als Probearbeit vorgelegt haben könnte'<sup>32</sup>.

Günther Heinz (1968) believes that it is partly the work of the master<sup>33</sup>.

Finally: Patrik Reuterswärd (1970) was of the opinion that it is the altarpiece of 1504, and that the measurements recorded in a document of that year ('neuf pietz de hault et onze pietz de long', i.e. about 280 × 340 cm.<sup>34</sup>) must be taken as provisory<sup>35</sup>.

The opinion that the painting could be by Pieter Bruegel the Elder or by his sons Hell Bruegel and Velvet Bruegel, has long since been rejected. So has the idea that it was executed by Jan Mandijn or his 'instructor'.

The underlying sketches<sup>36</sup> which became visible as a result of cleaning processes in the end of the thirties and in 1954, and which in places differ strongly from what has been painted over them, prove that the work is no copy: neither a reduced copy of Bosch's large 1504 triptych, nor a copy of another lost *Last Judgement* by Bosch.

That the triptych could be a specimen piece painted by Bosch in order to give Philip the Fair an idea of what the commissioned work would look like, as Madam Poch-Kalous put forward, seems unacceptable. The painting is too large for that, and too detailed in execution.

Also difficult to accept is Reuterswärd's hypothesis that Bosch, having already received an advance of 36 pounds in part payment for a triptych to measure ca. 280 × 340 cm., would have painted something of a much smaller size.

The view held by Goldscheider (1959) and Heinz (1968), that the triptych is partly the work of Bosch, partly that of an assistant, is shared by me, but that this collaborator is the person who painted the *Last Judgement* now in the cathedral of Tudela (Navarra), as Goldscheider thinks, I cannot accept. A good photograph of the latter already shows great differences in style<sup>37</sup>. The bodies of the naked sinners, for instance, are much longer, much more extended, than in the Vienna *Judgement*.

It seems to me that the triptych as a whole was designed by Bosch and that he painted large parts of it himself. More will be said about this later.

The painting is not signed, but this proves nothing. The *Garden of Lusts* triptych, which everybody regards as a genuine Bosch, does not bear the signature of the master either, whereas the two *Haywain* triptychs, of which at least one is a copy, are both signed.

In 1954 Münz pointed out that parts of the exterior of the wings 'besonders die pastos gemalten (möglicherweise durch die Wärme der Altarkerzen), weitgehend durch schwere Risse bis auf den Grund in ihrer Wirkung beeinträchtigt sind und, zum Teil um dies zu beheben, schon sehr früh (Anfang des 17.

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<sup>32</sup> Poch-Kalous 1967, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 57.

<sup>34</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 318.

<sup>35</sup> Reuterswärd, p. 44.

<sup>36</sup> Also called: underlying paintings, preliminary paintings, sketch paintings, design paintings, ground paintings and original paintings. Instead of paintings the term drawings also occurs, but the depictions were executed with brush and paint. Filedt Kok (*Simiolus* 6 -1972/73-, p. 136) says: 'with the brush in a black water paint'.

<sup>37</sup> Rijksbureau: H. Bosch. Box: *Verrijzenis. Laatste Oordeel* [Resurrection. Last Judgement].



Jahrhunderts?) übermalt worden sind'<sup>38</sup>. In 1972 Madam Poch-Kalous was of the opinion that overpainting of deteriorated parts occurred already in the 16th century<sup>39</sup>. She, too, notes 'dass vor allem die pastos gemalten Stellen des Bildes in ihrer Wirkung durch schwere Risse bis auf den Grund beeinträchtigt sind'. She continues: 'Dass diese Zerstörungen nicht auf Hitzeeinwirkungen zurückzuführen sind – wie bisher angenommen wurde –, konnte durch mikrochemische Untersuchungen festgestellt werden. Die Schäden beschränken sich vor allem auf die dick aufgetragenen Farbschichten, die durch eine ungeeignete Zusammensetzung wohl vom Künstler selbst verursacht worden sind'<sup>40</sup>.

In 1970 Reuterswärd reported that Dr Meier-Siem of Hamburg had remarked 'dass der Maler die Schäden indirekt selber verursacht hat. Die Rissigkeit beschränkt sich nämlich auf bestimmte, dick aufgetragene Farbschichten, die offenbar eine ungeeignete, möglicherweise zu fette Zusammensetzung hatten und überdies vielleicht aufgetragen wurden, ehe die Grundierung darunter völlig getrocknet war. Man wüsste gern ob das Triptychon in Eile entstanden ist'<sup>41</sup>.

In my opinion it is possible that Bosch's assistant was guilty of these mistakes.

In the Staatliche Museen in East Berlin there is a triptych by Lucas Cranach the Elder that calls for comparison with the *Last Judgement* triptych in Vienna. The centre panel and the interior of the wings are very similar indeed to the corresponding panels of the Vienna altarpiece. The backs of the wings in Berlin are however entirely different from their Vienna counterparts: they show Christ as the Man of Sorrows and Mary as the Mother of Sorrows. These do not derive from examples by Bosch.

The measurements in both cases are more or less the same: Berlin, centre panel 163 × 125 cm., wings each 163 × 58 cm.<sup>42</sup>; Vienna, according to Poch-Kalous (1967) and Heinz (1968): centre panel 164 × 127 cm., wings each 163,7 × 60 cm.; according to Eigenberger (1927): centre panel 163 × 127,5 cm. ('Oben – und zwar im Verhältnisse zu der Höhe der Flügel – um etwa 4 cm. beschnitten'), left wing 167 × 60 cm., right wing 165 × 60 cm.<sup>43</sup>; according to De Tolnay (1965): centre panel 163,7 × 127 cm. ('Mitteltafel, deren oberer Teil um 4 cm. beschnitten worden ist'), wings each 167,7 × 60 cm.<sup>44</sup>.

In reply to my enquiry from the Gemäldegalerie as to what in fact the actual measurements were, Dr Renate Trnek, professional officer, wrote: 'Die Differenzen der Abmessungen in den verschiedenen Publikationen dürften darauf beruhen, dass einmal die Tafeln ungerahmt, also aus der Rahmung genommen, vermessen wurden, das andere Mal gerahmt und in situ in den Ausstellungsräumen, was natürlich zu ungenaueren ('runderen') Ergebnissen führt. Es ist uns leider nicht möglich, die Tafeln zu diesem Zweck nochmals ausgerahmt abzumessen, wir gehen bei unseren Arbeiten aber von den Massen 164 × 60 cm. und 164 × 127 cm. aus'.

<sup>38</sup> Münz 1954, p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> Eigenberger had already arrived at this conclusion much earlier, in 1927:

'Überarbeitungen, die in das ausgehende 16. Jahrhundert weisen',

<sup>40</sup> *Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien. 1872-1972*, p. 200.

<sup>41</sup> Reuterswärd, p. 274.

<sup>42</sup> *Katalog der Lucas-Cranach-Ausstellung. Weimar und Wittenberg. Juli bis Oktober 1953. Erklärender Katalog: Dr. Walther Scheidig. P. 25.*

<sup>43</sup> Eigenberger, p. 50.

<sup>44</sup> De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 359.

It seems to me that the measurements given by Eigenberger are the most reliable. He was very precise in his work.

The Berlin altarpiece is painted on limewood, the triptych in Vienna on oak.

Eigenberger took into account the possibility that Cranach, when he was in the Low Countries in 1508, could have copied the centre panel and wing-fronts of a now lost *Last Judgement* triptych by Bosch, which closely resembled the one in Vienna<sup>45</sup>. But he could produce no proof of the existence of such a variant.

Friedländer and Rosenberg disputed Eigenberger's theory that the Berlin picture was made in the Netherlands and that it dated from 1508: 'Dieser Annahme widerspricht die Tatsache, dass das Bild auf Lindenholz gemalt ist, sowie das Vorkommen eines verhältnismässig späten Frauentyps von Cranach (z.B. die Eva auf dem Paradiesflügel), der nicht vor 1516-18 denkbar ist. Da auch die Rückseiten, die selbständige Erfindungen sind, den Stil der Cranachwerkstatt um 1518-20 zeigen, erscheint eine Datierung des Ganzen um diese Zeit gerechtfertigt'<sup>46</sup>. They give as date of origin: 'Um 1520'.

In 1900 Flechsig had already put it even later: 'vor 1525 ist kaum der Flügelaltar der Berliner Galerie entstanden'. He judged it to be a work of Hans, the eldest son of Lucas Cranach, and that the centre panel and wing-fronts were copied from the painting now in Vienna<sup>47</sup>.

It would appear that after the book by Friedländer and Rosenberg the Berlin triptych has continued to be dated mostly as 'um 1520'. In any case this is how it appears in the *Katalog der Cranach-Ausstellung im Deutschen Museum Berlin*, 1937, by Herbert Herrman and in the *Katalog der Lucas Cranach-Ausstellung, Weimar und Wittenberg*, 1953, by Walter Scheidig.

Von Frimmel (1901), Friedländer (1927), Baldass (1943), De Tolnay (1965), Cinotti (1966), Poch-Kalous (1967), Reuterswärd (1970) and Schade (1974)<sup>48</sup> regard the Cranach triptych as a copy of the Vienna one. Ladislav Daniel (1972) calls it 'eine freie Kopie' of this work<sup>49</sup>. Friedländer and Rosenberg (1932) say it is 'eine Kopie Cranachs nach dem Flügelaltar des H. Bosch in der Akademie in Wien oder nach einer Replik dieser Bosch-Komposition'. Herrman (1937) regards it as a copy of the Vienna picture, or, as Eigenberger wrote, as a copy of a lost work by Bosch showing the same composition.

Personally I was of the opinion in 1956 (*Tuin*, p. 13), when the Cranach triptych was known to me only through photographs, that it was a free copy of the painting in Vienna or a copy of a variant that had been lost.

I now find that a closer in situ inspection and a more detailed comparison of the depictions in the East Berlin painting with those of the triptych in Vienna, reveal that Cranach made a copy of the front of an altarpiece by Bosch, a work which has disappeared, and that this front diverged in a number of details from the one in Vienna. Further, that Cranach sometimes gave a typical Cranach form to what he was copying, e.g. to some angels, and to the head of Eve (see *Judgement*, p. 319 n. 183).

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<sup>45</sup> Eigenberger, p. 50. On Cranach's stay in the Netherlands see: H. Lüdecke. *Lucas Cranach der Ältere. Der Künstler und seine Zeit*. Berlin 1953, p. 39.

<sup>46</sup> Friedländer and Rosenberg, no. 88.

<sup>47</sup> Flechsig, p. 169 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Werner Schade. *Die Malerfamilie Cranach*. Dresden 1974, p. 385, note 431.

<sup>49</sup> Ladislav Daniel. *Cranachs Kopie von Hieronymus Boschs Darstellung des jüngsten Gerichts*. In: *Lucas Cranach. Künstler und Gesellschaft. Referate des Colloquiums mit internationaler Beteiligung zum 500. Geburtstag Lucas Cranachs d.Ä.* Staatliche Lutherhalle, Wittenberg. 1-3 Oktober 1972. Wittenberg 1973, p. 86.

Not much is known about the provenance of the Cranach copy. It certainly did come 'aus dem Besitz des ehemaligen preussischen Königshauses, aus den Schlössern zu Berlin und Potsdam'<sup>50</sup>. Flechsig believed that in this collection it had belonged 'zum ältesten Bestande aus der Zeit des Kurfürsten Joachim I (gest. 1535)'. This elector of Brandenburg, says Flechsig, could have commissioned the copy, and the original could well have been not too far away: 'Etwa in einer Wittenberger Kirche, oder auf einem der kurfürstlichen Schlössern? Oder im Besitze des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg?'<sup>51</sup>. But these are mere conjectures.

Because parts of the fronts of the Vienna side-panels are in a bad condition, early reproductions of these wings, in the form of engravings, drawings and paintings, would be of great value as aids to description and explanation. However, I know of none. Nor of any of the centre panel or backs of the wings<sup>52</sup>.

Of the Cranach copy an engraving does exist, that is, of the wing-fronts and centre panel. According to Münz it was made in the first half of the 19th century<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum und Deutschen Museum*. Neunte Auflage. Berlin 1931, no. 563.

<sup>51</sup> Flechsig, p. 169 ff.

<sup>52</sup> According to a statement in the *J.d.k.S.d.A.K.* VII (1888), Part II, p. IX, a work by Bosch in the collection of Leopold Wilhelm was reproduced in the form of a copperplate engraving in *Theatrum artis pictoriae, quo tabulae depictae, quae in caesarea Vindobonensi pinacotheca servantur, leviori caelatura aeri insculptae exhibentur ab Antonio Josepho de Prenner*, Pars I, Viennae Austriae anno MDCCXXVIII. I checked through this part and also the following parts (1729, 1731 and 1733) in the library of the Albertina, but i.m.o. no work by Bosch has been reproduced in this publication. Nor in another work containing a number of depictions of paintings from the Leopold Wilhelm collection, viz: *Prodromus seu praeambulare lumen reserati portentosae magnificentiae Theatri, quo omnia ad aulam caesaream in augustissimae suae . . . Caroli VI . . . edita a Francisco de Stampart et Antonio de Brenner* 1735 Viennae Austriae typis Joannis Petri van Ghelen. Reproduced in *J.d.k.S.d.A.K.* VII. Neither is there any representation of a work by Bosch in the three 'Pergamentbände mit kleinen Copien nach Gemälde in der Keyserlichen Bilder-Galleria in der Stallburg. Gemahlt von Ferdinand von Storffer, 1720-1733' (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Dr. Karl Schütz was kind enough to check through the volumes for me). Teniers in his book *Theatrum pictorium* (Brussels, 1660) reproduced only the works of the Italian masters that Leopold Wilhelm had in his possession in Brussels. In the many paintings by Teniers which show one part or another of Leopold Wilhelm's gallery in Brussels, the triptych is not discernible. (Summary of these paintings in *Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums* etc. – see *Judgem.* p. 12, note 1 – , p. 356.) Also Klara Garas (*Das Schicksal der Sammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm. J.d.k.S.i.W.* 64 -1968-, p. 181-278) found no old representations of the triptych. She points out that the archduke had yet another painting by Bosch in his possession: 'no. 663. Hieronymus Bosch, Versuchung des hl. Antonius, Holz, 3 × 2½'. What became of it is unknown and she found no reproduction of it.

<sup>53</sup> Rep. Lafond, at p. 89 and 90.

<sup>54</sup> Münz 1954, p. 13. It was formerly wrongly regarded as a 16th-century engraving by Hieronymus Cock.



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## The Last Judgement



2. Paradise panel, Bosch (p. 21)

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## The front of the left panel

Depicted on this panel (ill. 2) are the following scenes (noted in their chronological order): the fall of the rebel angels; the arrival of devils on earth; the creation of Eve out of Adam; the temptation of Eve; and the expulsion from Paradise.

In 1954 Münz in his *Katalog und Führer der Gemäldegalerie* 1. Teil, wrote as follows about the front of both right and left wings (p. 13): 'Die beiden Innenflügel sind nun vorsichtig von späteren Firnissschichten befreit worden, und es zeigte sich nach Vollendung dieser Arbeit durch dipl. Rest. O. Fleissner, dass Teile dieser Flügel sehr gut erhalten sind, die originale Handschrift zeigen, andere, besonders die pastos gemalten (möglicherweise durch die Wärme der Altarkerzen), weitgehend durch schwere Risse bis auf den Grund in ihrer Wirkung beeinträchtigt sind und, zum Teil um dies zu beheben, schon sehr früh (Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts?) übermalt worden sind'.

About the front of only the left wing, he observes (p. 9): 'Dieser Innenflügel ist in der unteren Partie der bei weitem am schlechtesten erhaltene Teil des Bildes, wogegen sich der Engelsturz nach Entfernung der Firnissschicht des 19. Jahrhunderts als wohlerhalten erwiesen hat. Auch Teile der Landschaft zeigen die originale Malerei. Von den Figuren wurde vorsichtig vor allem die Gestalt der Eva abgedeckt, an der man ermessen kann, wie sehr sich die originale Malerei mit ihrer engmaschigen Krakelure von den späteren, durch Sprünge derb zerrissenen Übermalung, etwa der Gestalt Christi, unterscheidet'.

Looking at the picture to-day, the viewer is indeed struck by the great contrast in quality between the top part of the left wing, which comprises the air with God, angels, devils, and also the horizon of Paradise, and almost everything to be seen below it. This lower section has been strongly overpainted in many parts, probably as a result of restoration. As indicated in the Introduction, it is to-day no longer believed that the initial damage was caused by heat.

Several Middle Dutch authors wrote about the fall of the angels, among others: Jacob van Maerlant (1225–shortly after 1291)<sup>1</sup>, Jan van Boendale (shortly after 1280–shortly after 1352)<sup>2</sup>, the anonymous author of *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (14th century)<sup>3</sup>, and Dirc van Delf (beginning 15th century)<sup>4</sup>.

Dirc van Delf (II, p. 142) recounts that God created the angels with Lucifer as their leader. Lucifer was proud and wanted to be equal to God in power: *ic sal inden hemel opclymmen ende boven die sterren des hemels sal ic verheffen minen throen, ic sal sitten inden berghe des testaments, inder ziden vanden noorden ende sal clymmen boven die hoecheit der wolken en ghelijc wesen den alren-oversten* [I shall climb up in heaven and above the stars of heaven shall I raise my throne, I shall sit in the mountain of the testament, on the sides of the north and shall climb above the height of the clouds and be equal to the Almighty]<sup>5</sup>. Together with the angels who sided with him he rebelled against God and they were driven from heaven by Michael and the faithful angels.

According to *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* and *Sidrac* (p. 41)<sup>6</sup> Lucifer was in heaven for only one hour, and Boendale says: *Also luttel als een ooghenblic* [As little as the wink of an eye]. Dionysius the Carthusian, too, writes that Lucifer, before his fall, saw God only *weinich meer dan eenen ooghenblic* [little more than a second]<sup>7</sup>. Maerlant and the anonymous author recount that the fall of the angels

<sup>1</sup> *Rijmbijbel* I, p. 8 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Boendale, *Der Leken Spiegel* I, p. 27 and 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Dietsche Lucidarius*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Dirc van Delf II, p. 141 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Psalm* 48:1-3 and *Isaiah* 14:13.

<sup>6</sup> The Middle Dutch *Sidrac* is a translation, from the first quarter of the 14th century, of the French prose book *Le Livre de Sidrac*. The work was well known in the Low Countries in the 15th century. Van Tol gives the dates of seven Middle Dutch manuscripts. The earliest was written in the end of the 14th and the latest in the first half of the 15th century. In addition he notes eleven printed editions of the Dutch text (1495-1564). See *Sidrac*, p. LXIII and LXVI.

<sup>7</sup> *Spiegel der liefhebbers*, B 14. Writers on Bosch have more than once associated him with Dionysius the Carthusian. However, they give no clear example of anything that Bosch might have borrowed from this author. Dionysius was born in 1402 in Rijkel near St. Truiden. For a large part of his life he lived in Roermond, where he died in 1471. From 1466-1469 he was prior of the Carthusian monastery he had established in 's-Hertogenbosch. I read five of his writings in the following Dutch translations: *Van den loefliken leuen der geechteder menschen*. Gouda, gheraert leeu, 1479. *Die spiegel der bekeeringhen der sondaren Ende dat dyalogus onser liever vrouwen maria totten sondaer ende des sondaers tot mariam*. Antwerpen, Gheraert leeu, 1488. *Eenen spiegel der liefhebbers deser werelt*, etc. Utrecht 1535. *Van de vier wtersten des menschen, te weten, Die Doot, Dat Oordeel, Die pijn der Hellen. Ende de blijtschap des ewighen Levens, Is in dit notabel Boeccken ghestelt*. Amstelredam, Harmen Janszoon Muller, 1585. That these translations from Dionysius's Latin were made in the 15th and 16th centuries is proof of their popularity at the time.

In my opinion it is out of the question to suppose that Bosch was influenced by them. (The content of the *vier wtersten* [four last things] has already been dealt with in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 277/364 (58). Also in learned studies on other works by Dionysius I could find nothing of which one could say: Bosch certainly must have known this. Passages from Dionysius can indeed be useful for the purpose of our study but the same is true also in regard to the works of many other moralistic writers.

From what I have read of him Dionysius emerges as a spirit of no great originality. For instance, the infernal punishments in the *vier wtersten* (*Quatuor Novissima*) and in his *De Particulari Judicio Dei* are based on those of Tondalus (see i.a. Verdeyen en Endepols

took place on the first day of creation, when God separated the light from the darkness. At the same time he made the division between the rebellious and the faithful.

The arrogant angels were changed into devils. Lucifer, so Dirc tells us (II, p. 143), fell *int diep der culen* [into the deepness of the abyss] and *in enen put . . . inden crop vander aerden* [in a pit . . . in the bowels of the earth], that is, the hell which is inside the earth. About the other devils he writes: *een deel bleefster te hanghen int onderscot vander lucht, een deel vielen in dat meer, een deel in moyrboschen, wildernis ende braem, na dat haer toekeere groot ende quaet was. Ende hier-of ist, dat wi in lucht, in water, in velde dicwijl anstorm liden der quader gheesten* [a part remained hanging in the partition of the air (i.e. between heaven and earth?), a part fell into the sea, a part into bogwood, wasteland and bramble, after the degree that their defection was great and evil. And it is because of this that in air, in water and on land we often suffer the onslaught of evil spirits].

Because it led to the downfall of Lucifer and his followers, pride was often regarded in the Middle Ages as the mother of all sins<sup>8</sup>. The idea derives from *Ecclesiasticus* (the apocryphal book *Jesus Sirach*) 10:15: *Initium omnis peccati superbia*. The *Bouck der Bloemen* (p. 63) says that from pride emanate the seven deadly sins, which are: *idel glorie* (Inanis Gloria), *nijt* (Invidia), *torn* (Ira), *trachheit* (Accidia), *ghiericheit* (Avaritia), *gulsicheit* (Gula) and *oncuysheit* (Luxuria) [in other words: idle glory, envy, rage, sloth, avarice, gluttony and lust]. The writer could in fact have omitted idle glory, since this is itself a form of Superbia.

Moralists in the Low Countries point out that Lucifer's pride was accompanied by greed. He wanted the same power as God<sup>9</sup>. Jan Praet (p. 60) even wrote: *Bi ghiericheden was meest verdomt Lucifer ende sine ghesellen* [Doomed mostly by greed were Lucifer and his fellows]. Sometimes these moralists call greed the root of all evil, in imitation of 1 *Timothy* 6:10: *Radix omnium malorum est Avaritia*<sup>10</sup>.

The author of the *Bouck der Bloemen* (p. 19) says that Lucifer was not only proud but also envious, that is, of God: he *benijde dat sijn scepper boven hem was ende woude sijns ghelijc wesen* [resented that his creator was above him and desired to be his equal]<sup>11</sup>.

In *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 227) *nijdicheit* [spite, envy] is accordingly called the daughter of pride, and Ruusbroec even describes it as the mother of all evil: *die es moeder alre quaetheit*<sup>12</sup>.

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1, p. 81 ff.). *Eenen spiegel der liefhebbers* also tells us various things about sufferings in hell, but nothing new and nothing that influenced Bosch.

<sup>8</sup> Boendale. *Der Leken Spiegel* I, p. 108. *Die Dietsche Doctrinale*, p. 242. *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 233. *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 184 and 185. Willem van Hildegaersberch, p. 188. *Das Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 63. Jan de Weert, p. 205, line 173. Jan Praet, line 1867 f. Ruusbroec III, p. 236: *Van VII Trappen in den Graed der Gheesteleker Minnen*.

<sup>9</sup> Boendale. *Der Leken Spiegel* I, p. 201.

<sup>10</sup> *Die Dietsche Doctrinale*, p. 66. Ruusbroec III, p. 225: *Van VII Trappen in den Graed der Gheesteleker Minnen*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Die Dietsche Doctrinale*, p. 249.

<sup>12</sup> Ruusbroec IV, p. 215: *Vanden XII Beghinen*.

In *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 14) the devil, after his fall from grace, is also jealous of man:

<i>Die viant hadde groten nijt</i>	[The devil's spite was great
<i>Dat die mensche soude comen</i>	That man should gain the state
<i>Ten blijschap, die hem was genomen.</i>	Of happiness that he had lost.]

This envy leads him to plunge the first human couple into misfortune. In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 245) *Nijt* [Envy] is accordingly called *des duvels dochter ende des doots moeder, want overmits nijt des duvels so quam die doot eerst in der werlt* [the devil's daughter and the mother of death, because through the devil's envy death first came into the world].

So at least three capital sins were ascribed to the upstart Lucifer during the Middle Ages.

How has Bosch depicted the fall of the angels? The subject is dealt with in three of his compositions which have come down to us: in the *Last Judgement* triptych (two variants: Vienna and Berlin)<sup>13</sup>, in the *Haywain* triptych (two almost identical versions: Prado and Escorial)<sup>14</sup>, and in a triptych of which only the wings remain (Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen)<sup>15</sup>. In all of them he has painted the Fall on the front of the left wing.

His representation of it on the panel of the *Last Judgement* (ill. 3) closely corresponds to that on the *Haywain* panel. The wing in Rotterdam shows much less: God and the conflict in heaven are not pictured; defeated angels, transformed into demons, fall from heaven and take possession of the earth.

What is it that we actually see on the front of the left wing of the *Last Judgement* triptych?

High above angels, devils, and man on earth, God the Father is enthroned in a glow of light<sup>16</sup>. Round the border of this light he is being worshipped by angels<sup>17</sup>. Perhaps they are giving thanks for the victory over the rebellious angels. The following passage from Ruusbroec could point to this: . . . *doe de inghel sente michghel met sinen inghelen street jeghen luciferre ende jeghen sinen*

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<sup>13</sup> Henri Hymans (*Le livre des peintres de Carel van Mander*, etc. Tome premier, Paris 1884, p. 174) was mistaken when he wrote that a painting in the Royal Museum in Brussels represented the top part of the left panel in Vienna. The painting Hymans was referring to is the *Fall of the Angels* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Grossman is of the opinion that in Bruegel's painting 'the crowd of angels streaming out of the sun-like heaven right at the top of the painting and the figure of St. Michael aided by another angel' are derived from the *Fall of the Angels* on our left panel (*Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder*, The Hague 1973, p. 148). Also related to Bosch's God and his faithful angels descending from heaven, is the Godhead with the angels who worship him in Grünewald's *Mary and Child* (part of the Colmar altarpiece; rep.: N. Pevsner und M. Meier, *Grünewald*, London 1958, ill. 102). The Colmar altarpiece was probably completed in 1516. But in my opinion we have no reason to believe that Grünewald had seen the Bosch triptych.

<sup>14</sup> Rep.: Prado: Baldass, no. 31. Escorial: Baldass und Heinz 1968, nos. 11 and 37.

<sup>15</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 53. See Elaboration 1.

<sup>16</sup> In type and posture he has much in common with a God the Father in a *Last Judgement* that was probably made after a work by Dirk Bouts: Schöne, ill. 45 b.

<sup>17</sup> Cranach painted angels only on the border of more or less the top half. In Vienna there are worshipping angels also further down, but not right round the lower edge of the radiance.



3. Fall of the angels, Bosch (p. 24)



*inghele, wie den hemel behouden soude, doe wart lucifer verwonnen ende alle sijn heere, ende viel ute den oversten hemele alse blixem ende berrende vlamme; want die hem-selven hooght, hi werd ghenedert. Doe verblijdden alle de choore ende alle de ordenen ende alle de moghende heerscape des hemels. Ende die overste inghel van den seraphinnen gaf gode eeweghen lof, ende al dat hemelsche heere volghde hem na. Si dancten alle gode van der victoriën*

[... when the angel Saint Michael with his angels strove against Lucifer and against his angels, as to who should possess heaven, then was Lucifer vanquished and all his legion, and fell from the topmost heaven like lightning and burning flame; for whoever exalts himself, he shall be abased. Then were filled with joy all the choirs and all the orders and all the dominions of heaven. And the superior angel of the seraphim gave to God eternal praise, and all the heavenly host followed him. They all thanked god for the victory]<sup>18</sup>.

With his right hand God points to the terrestrial orb which he holds in his left hand<sup>19</sup>. His crown, countenance, robe and pointing hand are pinkish in colour. The orb is light-blue. The crown is not tiered as it is on the exterior of the *Garden of Lusto* triptych (*Tuin*, p. 17), where God is likewise enthroned in the clouds, but is of the same type as that which God the Father wears on the *Paradise* panel of the *Haywain* triptych.

Below God hosts of angels are descending, those in front fighting the apostates, now changed into devils, and driving them away from heaven.

We distinguish Michael, armed with cross-staff and shield. He wears a golden suit of armour and on his forehead a cross as diadem<sup>20</sup>.

The other faithful angels are clothed in white, pink or light-blue, and they fight with cross-staves and swords<sup>21</sup>.

The unfaithful have for the most part been transformed into insect-like demons<sup>22</sup>. But there are also a few ape-, toad- and bird-like monsters, and in addition a lizard and a bat. One of the ape-devils carries a claw-hook, another a mop. A toad-like demon also has a mop.

There is a contrast in colour between the lighter angels and the darker devils. Perhaps Bosch was thinking here of the division between light and darkness on the first day of creation<sup>23</sup>.

In a couple of instances Cranach's devils and angels differ somewhat from those of Bosch. On the whole the variations are fairly slight. In the case of the devil depicted more or less halfway between Michael and the horizon, however, there is a most remarkable divergence. In Vienna this figure is a bat, in Berlin an insect-demon with a man's head. The bat is not the result of subsequent overpainting.

I find it difficult to imagine that Cranach would have substituted something quite different from the strikingly depicted bat if he was indeed copying in its unimpaired state the triptych which is now in Vienna. I prefer to think that Cranach's triptych is the copy of a work which in a few places deviated slightly

<sup>18</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 243: *Van VII Trappen in den Graed der Gheesteleker Minnen*.

<sup>19</sup> In the Cranach he does not point, but lifts his hand.

<sup>20</sup> In the Cranach no cross. Michael often carries it, i.a. in Memlinc's *Last Judgement* (Dantzig) and in the Van Eyck-like *Last Judgement* in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

<sup>21</sup> In the Cranach a few are also in yellow, light-brown and pale violet.

<sup>22</sup> Baltrušaitis (*Réveils et prodiges*, p. 301) erroneously thinks that the angels are transformed into 'libellules' (dragonflies) only.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. what Maerlant and the anonymous author have to say about this: *Judgem.*, p. 22 f.



from the Vienna piece, but which had also been painted by Bosch, or by Bosch and an assistant in his workshop, and that it was in this work that the insect-devil with its human head had first occurred, itself also a genuine little Bosch imp<sup>24</sup>.

Most of the devils are pictured as falling down to earth, but not all of them. Are those still flying around intended by Bosch as an allusion to the demons who remained 'hanging in the partition of the air'<sup>25</sup>? Of these *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 8) says:

*Som bleven si hanghen in die lucht,  
Die den mynsche doen grote vrucht;  
Want si sijn die ons raden  
Sonde te doene, ende quade daden.*

[Some remained hanging in the air,  
Who cause mankind great fear;  
For theirs is the prompting which leads  
To our sinning and evil deeds.]

The Brabanter Thomas of Cantimpré describes them as follows (*Biënboec*, p. 136): *Die ander bliven inder lucht, mede dese noemt die heilige apostel Paulus die geestelike scalcheit der lucht* [The others stay in the air, these too the holy apostle Paul calls the spiritual evil of the air].

That Bosch used the forms of insect, ape, toad, bird, lizard and bat has significance, of course. Also that a toad- and an ape-devil manipulate a mop or Turk's head, and another ape-devil a claw-hook.

In the Middle Ages and 16th century insects often had an unfavourable meaning in the Low Countries.

A butterfly could be a symbol of folly in the 16th century<sup>26</sup>. *Capelle* [butterfly] at that time also meant prostitute, and *motteken* [little moth] darling<sup>27</sup>. In the 16th-century play *Spel van Pirus en Thisbe*, a devilish imp [a 'vice'] addresses his female partner as *motte* [sweetheart]<sup>28</sup>.

In *De Christelycke Ridder*, another 16th-century play, devils are referred to as *Spinnecop-kevers* [spider-beetles].

In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 300) slanderers are compared to *wevele*, i.e. beetles which prefer dung to flowers, and to horse-flies or gadflies. In the same work (p. 246) the fly is a symbol of envy.

A kind of wasp sits on the knee of an executioner in a *Flagellation of Christ* in the Museo de Valencia, a work by a follower of Bosch<sup>30</sup>.

The dragonfly and the fly in a *Calling of St. Anthony*, and also the butterflies in a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, both attributed to Aertgen van Leyden, probably have unfavourable connotations<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> The face of Cranach's imp resembles the mask of a figure of death in the bottom right-hand corner of Bruegel's *Triumph of Death* (Madrid). Was Bruegel acquainted with the now lost triptych that Cranach copied, or with depictions related to it?

<sup>25</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 108/140.

<sup>27</sup> *Tuin*, p. 48.

<sup>28</sup> Soens, *Beginsel*, p. 107.

<sup>29</sup> Schotel, p. 149.

<sup>30</sup> *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen* 1967, opposite p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> J. Bruyn, *Twee St. Antonius-panels en andere werken van Aertgen van Leyden. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 11 (1960), p. 61 and 68. Both works have also been attributed to Lucas van Leyden.

Cornelis van Haarlem in 1592 painted two butterflies in the *Fall of Adam and Eve* (Rijksmuseum)<sup>32</sup>.

In former times people in the Low Countries believed that a devil could take on the shape of a fly and a drone<sup>33</sup>, and that a witch could change into a drone<sup>34</sup>.

Thomas of Cantimpré (*Biēnboec*, p. 136) compares the devils in general with *wevele*, meaning beetles, which he says is of a *kunne menigerhande ende wreet*

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<sup>32</sup> Near to Adam and Eve, who are in the process of disobeying God's command, there are, besides the two butterflies, also a deer, an owl, a dog with sad-looking eyes, a fox, two frogs, a lion and a peacock, all dealt with elsewhere in *Judgem.* (p. 51 f., 358 ff., 65 n. 317, 39 f., 69 and 362). Further: a dragon-like animal, another dog (? more probably a wolf), a hedgehog, two slugs and an ape embracing a cat. In my opinion all these animals have an unfavourable connotation.

With Dirck van Delf (see Tinbergen in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 148) a hedgehog is a symbol of avarice, a wolf of ire. A slug already appears as a symbol of sloth in Maerlant's *Der Naturen Bloeme* (vi, line 284). In a 15th-century manuscript of a Middle Dutch adaptation of Guillaume de Déguilleville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* (Bisschoppelijk [Episcopal] Museum, Haarlem, no. 93, p. 62 b, now in Catharijneconvent, Utrecht) a term of abuse directed at a woman is *vule slecke* [dirty slug]. Verdam (*M.W.* vii, 1230) compares the word with the Latin limax in the meaning of light woman. Colijn van Rijssle (*Spiegel der Minnen*, line 56) calls a certain girl *een hovaerdich slecxken* [an arrogant little slug].

According to P.J.J. van Thiel (*Simiolus* 2 -1967/68-, p. 98) the ape alludes to the character of Adam ('the sanguine monkey') and the cat to the nature of Eve ('the choleric, cruel cat'). At the same time, says this writer, the two animals are here symbols of stupidity.

Should we perhaps interpret the two in a different way? In Vondel's *Warande der Dieren* [Animal Park] (1617) we find the story of an ape that forces a cat to scrape baked chestnuts from the ashes. In doing so the cat burns its paw. *De Werken van Vondel* (w.b.) i, p. 619. Here the ape is a symbol of cunning, the cat of him who falls victim to it. Does the ape who is embracing the cat likewise represent evil (here the devil), and the cat the human couple being drawn into its power?

In the background of Cornelis's painting, Adam and Eve – before their fall – are listening to the Godhead who is represented as a spirit. The animals which the artist has included here have a favourable connotation. They seem to me to be alluding to the institution of marriage, that is, to God's approval of sexual intercourse in holy matrimony. For we distinguish two geese, one stork, a grey-white porcupine and a roe, animals that can have sexual significance and are explained elsewhere in this book (*Judgem.*, p. 100 n. 74, 68, 62 n. 297 and 52). Further two white sheep and a white turkey.

In a painting by Cranach of the *Fall of Adam and Eve* (Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 161) a sheep appears with i.a. a deer and a stork. Also Bosch, Beham and Bruegel use the sheep as a sexual symbol in an unfavourable sense (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/87, 80/101 and 94/119).

The turkey comes from Central America. The first specimens are said to have been imported in the province of Zealand in 1528 (*W.N.T.* vii, part 1, 1002). In 1578 Adriaen Coenensz Schilperoord wrote that in his youth the turkey-cock was still a novelty and that it was put on show to the public for money (idem, 964). Matthijs van de Merwede in his *Uyt-beemsen Oorlog, ofte Roomse Min-triompfen* ('s-Gravenhage 1651, p. 32) points out that the mating passion makes turkey-cocks strut (idem, 964).

Sheep and turkey with the blameless Adam and Eve are no doubt sexual symbols in a favourable sense, like the geese, the stork, the porcupine and the deer.

<sup>33</sup> Van den Bergh, p. 31.

<sup>34</sup> Idem, p. 277.

[very varied and cruel kind], giving the following examples: *Die een kunne swemmt inden water, dat ander kunne crupet op der eerden, dat derde blijft inder eerden, dat vierde vliecht inder lucht* [The one kind swims in the water, the second kind crawls on the earth, the third lives in the earth, the fourth flies in the sky]. He compares especially the devils in action in the air, to hornets (p. 138).

In Dutch, the name *duivel* [devil] was given to several kinds of black insects<sup>35</sup>.

It is therefore not strange that Bosch painted insect-like devils on the left panel of the *Last Judgement* and *Haywain* triptychs<sup>36</sup>, that an imitator did it in a *Hell-scene*<sup>37</sup> and another in a *Temptation of St. Anthony*<sup>38</sup>, and that Memlinc<sup>39</sup>, Pieter Huys<sup>40</sup> and Bruegel<sup>41</sup> sometimes gave their devils the wings of a butterfly<sup>42</sup>.

In the Low Countries the ape could in those times symbolize folly<sup>43</sup>, unchastity<sup>44</sup>, strife<sup>45</sup> and falsity<sup>46</sup>. It served to represent the blasphemous person<sup>47</sup>. Sometimes it was also a devil-image and people even believed the devil could appear in the shape of an ape<sup>48</sup>. Bosch and his followers repeatedly gave the animal an unfavourable sense<sup>49</sup>.

The toad in the Netherlands and Flanders stood for unchastity<sup>50</sup>, greed and

<sup>35</sup> *W.N.T.* III, part II, 3623.

<sup>36</sup> For butterflies and butterfly-wings in Bosch's oeuvre, see the indexes sub *vliender*/butterfly in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.* For the insect-like devil in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych: *Tuin*, p. 113. In the variants of a painting showing the twelve-year-old Jesus in the temple, their ultimate common source probably being a lost original by Bosch, a butterfly is posed on the ground at the feet of one of the Pharisees. In my opinion the butterfly here alludes to the ineffectiveness and folly of the Pharisees (see *Tuin*, p. 165). The function of the little animal in this context is totally different from that of a butterfly on the hand of the Christ-child in a painting by a follower of Rogier van der Weyden (Friedländer, *Malerei* II, Tafel LXXVIII): a butterfly can sometimes be a symbol of the resurrection, i.e. that of Christ (Timmers, no. 1853) and of the soul (Smits, p. 140).

<sup>37</sup> *Hell* by an imitator of Bosch, in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice.

<sup>38</sup> *Temptation of St. Anthony*, formerly in the Gutmann Collection, Haarlem. Now in a private collection, Nashville (Canada). Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 67.

<sup>39</sup> W. Drost. *Das jüngste Gericht des Hans Memling in der Marienkirche zu Dantzig*. Wien 1941, ill. 27 and 32.

<sup>40</sup> Baltrušaitis. *Réveils et prodiges*, p. 298.

<sup>41</sup> In his *Fall of the Angels*, Brussels.

<sup>42</sup> Dr. Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 16) was mistaken in her opinion that Bosch with the 'buntschillernden Insekten, die den kämpfenden Erzengel Michael umschwirren' has 'fast wortgetreu in ein sichtbares Bild übertragen' the words of Dionysius the Carthusian: 'Das Böse in seiner Hässlichkeit macht durch den Gegensatz das Gute noch heller'. There is no question here of the influence of Dionysius.

<sup>43</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 33/41 f. and 160/210.

<sup>44</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 34/42; *Tuin*, p. 59. *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 79.

<sup>45</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 66/84.

<sup>46</sup> *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 71.

<sup>47</sup> De Vries, p. 55: example in Van Mander's *Uytleggingh op den Metamorphosis P. Ovidii Nasonis*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 33/41. *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 170.

<sup>49</sup> For apes in Bosch's oeuvre see the indexes sub *aap*/ape in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin*, *Martelares* and *Judgem.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 33/40 (21 and 22). Molsdorf, p. 221 (no. 1081). Witkowski, fig. 305.

miserliness<sup>51</sup>, uncleanness<sup>52</sup>, and pride<sup>53</sup>. The animal could be a symbol of the devil and the latter sometimes changed himself into it<sup>54</sup>. In purgatory and hell toads not only torment sinners<sup>55</sup>, they are also given to the doomed to eat<sup>56</sup>.

Bosch and his followers repeatedly use the toad in an unfavourable sense<sup>57</sup>.

Toad-like monsters are also found among the fallen angels on the left wing of the *Haywain* and on the panel in Rotterdam. *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 9) tells us that the celestial beings, when they were changed into devils, *vielen neder geliken padden* [fell down like toads].

Bird-names (owl, duck, magpie, goose, etc. etc.) acquired many kinds of unfavourable connotations<sup>58</sup>. So did the word *vogel* [bird] in combination with a prefixed noun or adjective: *galgenvogel* [gallows-bird], *kale vogel* [bare bird], etc. etc.<sup>59</sup> By itself the word *vogel* could mean sly person, rogue<sup>60</sup>.

A bird often occurred in an erotic sense in both language and the plastic arts. In these cases it was in fact a symbol of the male sexual organ<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 37/41 (18). *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 85. *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 165. In an *Exposicie op et Pater Noster* (Tinbergen, in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 180) the corpse of an avaricious church dean is exhumed. With it is found a toad that has devoured his heart. *Tafelspel van Al Hoy*, p. 11: *Hy slacht der padde, die altoos even ghierich sidt in haer hol* [He resembles the toad who always as greedy as ever sits in her hole].

<sup>52</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 37/41 (18), 117/153.

<sup>53</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 37/41 (18).

<sup>54</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 33/39 f. Van den Bergh, p. 31. Devils in the shape of toads, bats and snakes enter the mouths and other parts of nuns' bodies. *Middelnederlandse Marialelegenden* II, p. 22, ex. CCXII.

<sup>55</sup> Particular sin not defined: Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 247. *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 113. *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 17. *Dat sterf boeck*, 40'. Gluttons: Gossart, p. 223 f. (*Le Compost*). Mainly lechers: *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 179. *Biënboec*, p. 290. *Dat sterf boeck*, 120'.

<sup>56</sup> Particular sin not mentioned: *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 297. Gluttons: *Dat sterf boeck*, 96' and 97'.

<sup>57</sup> See indexes sub *pad*/toad in *Ontc./Deciph.* Additions: *Old Master Drawings* VI, pl. 46 (see *Judgem.*, p. 108). *Temptation of St. Anthony*, formerly Gutmann Collection, Haarlem (*Judgem.*, p. 29, note 38). Centre panel of *Hermit Saints* triptych, Venice: toad sits in hole in bottom part of column that served as pedestal for the toppling idol. Baldass und Heinz 1968, opposite p. 220 (Abigail kneels before David; copy of a work by Bosch or an imitator). See also index sub toad in *Judgem.*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 60/78 and under the names of birds in the indexes in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Martelares*.

<sup>59</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 60/78 (136)) and examples lower down. Addition: *stoute vogel* [brazen fellow] (*Dichten*, p. 5), *vechtvogel* [fight-bird] (*W.N.T.* XVIII, 979).

<sup>60</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 64/78 (136).

<sup>61</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 19/26; *Tuin* p. 28 (3); *Martelares*, p. 11. See also the indexes sub *uyl*/owl and *vogel*/bird in *Ontc./Deciph.* and *Tuin*, and sub *vogel* in *Martelares*. Additions: *pluivieren* [little plover] (*Verslagen K.V.A.v.T.e.L.*, October 1953: *Verloren Vastenspel*, line 563). In a *Hell* by an imitator of Bosch a big bird with a sharp bill stands on the back of a sinner who has a stick in his anus (Janssens de Bisthoven et Parmentier, pl. xxx). In a *Last Judgement* engraved by Hieronymus Cock there is a little bird-devil with a shell (vagina symbol) as its head (Baldass 1943, ill. 55). An imp with the head of a bird with a very long bill is depicted in erotic surroundings in a *Last Judgement* attributed to Jan Mandijn (*The Connoisseur* CXLV, June 1960, p. 78). In a *Last Judgement* attributed to Pieter Huys (Lafond, at p. 35) a little demon riding on a bird holds a kind of lance to the belly of a female sinner also sitting on a bird. In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch a magpie sits on an axe of which the handle is stuck in the arse of a man (Van Camp, fig 2). A bird with a long neck and bill, and an owl, are near a naked



Lizards too could have derogatory meanings. In descriptions of hell they often appear as devils and as infernal food that sinners are forced to eat<sup>62</sup>, and in the plastic arts of the Middle Ages they sometimes occur in an obscene sense<sup>63</sup>.

The bat is a symbol of envy in *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 246): *die nydighe mensche is oec des duvels ule of vledermuus, want hi en mach niet bet sien die claeinheit der duechden in enen anderen, dan die ule of vledermuus die claeinheit der sonnen* [the envious man is also the devil's owl or bat, for he can no more see the brightness of virtue in another, than the owl or bat the brightness of the sun]. In the poem *Vander Vledermuus* [Of the bat] in the Hulthem manuscript (Royal Library, Brussels) the animal is a symbol of the mischiefmaker<sup>64</sup>. Seeing it fly near a house indicates that this building will soon go up in flames<sup>65</sup>. The devil could change himself into a bat<sup>66</sup>. In a Middle Dutch legend of the Virgin, devils in the shape of bats, toads and snakes enter nuns' mouths and other parts of their bodies<sup>67</sup>. In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* attributed to Aertgen van Leyden a bat flies through the air<sup>68</sup>. With Marnix the little beast represents persons who associate with the devil, such as sorcerers and poison-mixers<sup>69</sup>. In a 15th-century Dutch manuscript bat's blood is an ingredient of a magic ointment that gives the user the power of rapid transportation from one place to another<sup>70</sup>. In a less derogatory sense, yet not altogether untainted, the bat appears in the mediaeval fable of the lion and the eagle, where it represents man who trims his sails to the wind<sup>71</sup>; and due to its association with sleep, the bat occurs also in recipes for sleeping-drugs, its heart, blood and head being used as ingredients<sup>72</sup>.

The bat-devil in our picture somewhat resembles the devil in the upper right-hand corner of a drawing from the school of Van Eyck (Louvre) which represents a hell-scene<sup>73</sup>, and it also looks like a devil in Bouts's *Hell* in Lille. The drawing, moreover, shows three other devils reminiscent of demons on our central panel. They are: two dragons that resemble the three dragon-devils (*Judgement*, p. 115, 156 and 204) and a flying snake that is related to the flying eel (*Judgement*, p. 173).

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amatory couple depicted by I. van Meckenem (Geisberg, Bl. 144 A, no 4). Many birds with long bills and long tails occur in Bruegel's *Luxuria* (De Tolnay, *Drawings of Pieter Bruegel*, ill. 50). In a drawing by Bruegel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* birds are perched on the edge of a boat containing a love-pavilion (Idem, ill. 46). On a glass made in Antwerp in 1568, which in 1963 was in the possession of the art dealer Vecht in Amsterdam, depictions and inscriptions of an erotic nature were engraved. The verb *vogelen* [lit: to bird, meaning to catch birds] was here used in an obscene sense.

<sup>62</sup> E.g.: *Dat sterf boeck*, 40', 96', 97'. Other examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 110/146 (86).

<sup>63</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 110/146 (90). For the lizard with Bosch see the indexes sub *hagedis/lizard* in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.* Without providing proof, Reuterswärd (p. 136) maintains that the insects and reptiles into which the fallen angels change, are symbols of the plague.

<sup>64</sup> *Belgisch Museum* vi (1842), p. 422 ff.

<sup>65</sup> *Die Evangelien vanden Spinrocke*, p. Diiij<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Van den Bergh, p. 124. Niermeyer, p. 53.

<sup>67</sup> See note 54.

<sup>68</sup> J. Bruyn in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 11 (1960), p. 68.

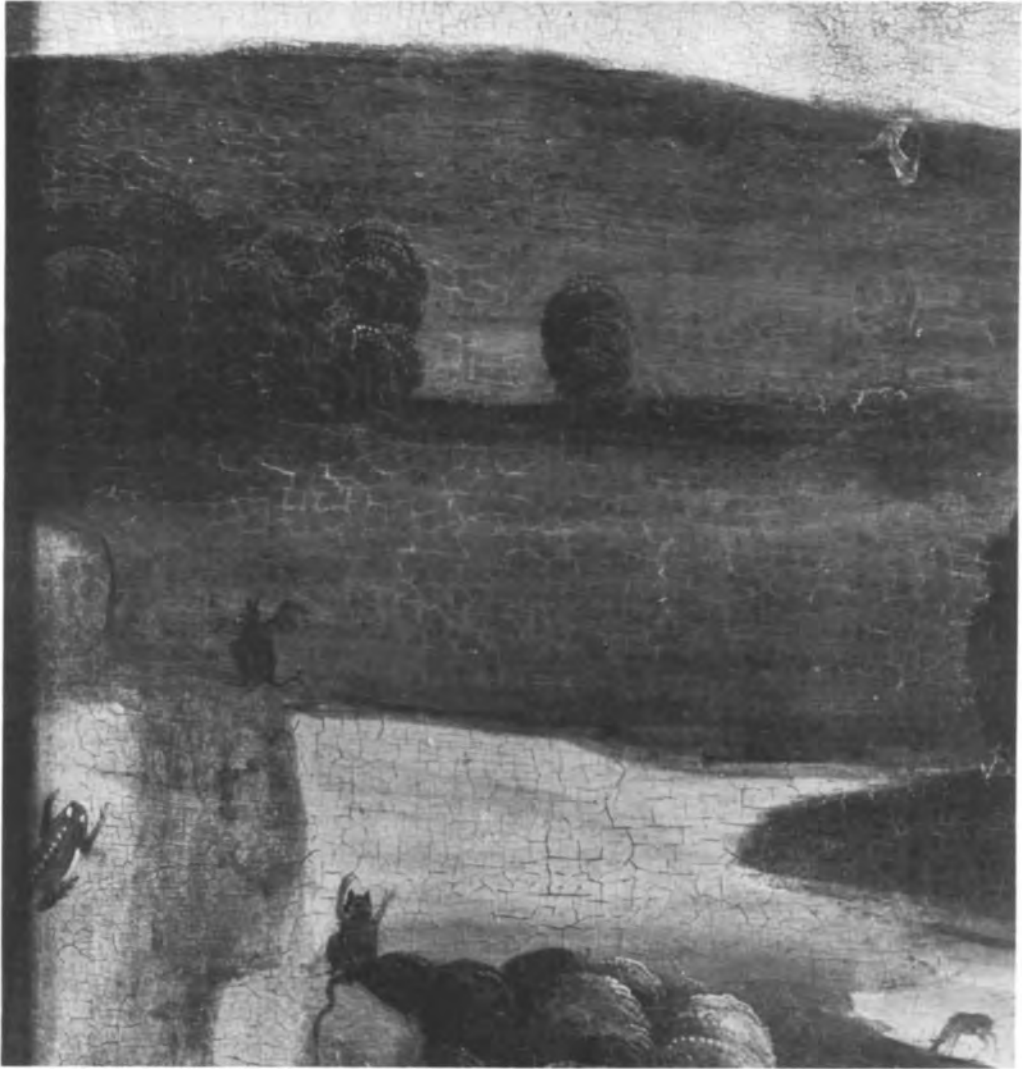
<sup>69</sup> Marnix. *Byen corf*, p. 425.

<sup>70</sup> *Verslagen K.V.A.v.T.e.L.* 1966, p. 78.

<sup>71</sup> *Doctrinael des Tijts*, p. 145. *Cancellierboek*, p. 147.

<sup>72</sup> Braekman, p. 303 and 304.

<sup>73</sup> For this drawing see: F. Winkler in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 9 (1958), p. 99 and 105.



4. Head in landscape; bush, crag and creatures, Bosch (p. 33)

As already mentioned, a toad- and an ape-devil each manipulate a mop. With Bosch and his followers this object points to dissipation: it was an attribute of merry-makers (see *Judgement*, p. 129).

Another ape-devil wields a claw-hook. This is a barbed rod with which devils torment their victims in hell. In origin it was a kitchen utensil, but then smaller<sup>74</sup>.

Most of the demonized angels are falling towards the earth. Some have already reached it (ill. 4). For instance, near the horizon we distinguish the head of a woman sticking up out of the green undulating land. She wears a white headcloth, round at the top (that is, not drawn up into one or two peaks) and supporting the chin. It is the same headdress which in a number of instances Bosch and imitators have given to procuresses and prostitutes. The following are a few examples:

1. A *Temptation of St. Anthony* shows a house of ill-fame the top of which is formed by the head of an old woman with a pointed nose and chin<sup>75</sup>. Her headcloth is white. She is a copulatrix and on her headdress carries a dove-cote, symbol of a brothel. In the 16th century *duyf-huis* [lit: dove-house] was a term for a brothel; *duve* [dove] was used for a meretrix, *doffer* [cock-pigeon] for lover or adulterer, and *kobber* [cock-pigeon] for lover or paramour<sup>76</sup>. At the entrance to the whore-house a naked woman is sinking into the marshy ground: a symbolic representation of a prostitute in the morass of iniquity<sup>77</sup>. A public woman with a white cloth round her head sits at a small table and another looks through a window.
2. In the church of St. Martin in Zaltbommel a mural painting dating from about 1540<sup>78</sup> shows St. Christopher with the Christ-child<sup>79</sup>. In the water at the feet of the saint are demonic creatures. Among them are a naked meretrix, who stands in the water to the left of St. Christopher's left leg, and, to the right of

<sup>74</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 29/35 (3). *Tuin*, p. 93. For claw-hooks with Bosch and imitators see the indexes sub *krauwel*/claw-hook in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.* Devils on stage in the Middle Dutch period sometimes carried claw-hooks. See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 32/34 (3) and also: Endepols, p. 75 and Soens: *Beginsel*, p. 29. The soul of Tondalus sees devils with claw-hooks in purgatory: Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 35. The drunkard in the *Gula* of the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*, whose addiction to intoxicating drink leads to his poverty, and the man of standing in the *Invidia* of the same work, who carries a hawk on his hand, both have a little bag hanging from their girdle in which is stuck an object somewhat resembling a bird's claw, but which i.m.o. is a small claw-hook. (It is remarkable that *krauwel* can also mean the claw of a bird of prey: *M.W.* III, 2067). The small hooks with their curved teeth appear to me to be symbols of rapacity here. They were used for scraping food towards the eater.

<sup>75</sup> There are several variants of this painting. They could derive from a lost original by Bosch. One of them is in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and in 1963 another was with the art firm Malmedé in Cologne. Lafond on p. 73 mentions yet a third. Rep.; Lafond, at p. 57; De Tolnay 1937, pl. 118, 2: *J.d.k.S.i.W.*, N.F. IX, p. 151 ff, ill. 104. Cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 40/50 (10).

<sup>76</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 98/124.

<sup>77</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 109/143 (55). *Martelares*, p. 12.

<sup>78</sup> *Nederlandse Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst. De monumenten in de Bommeler- en de Tielerwaard*. First instalment. 's-Gravenhage 1932, p. 228.

<sup>79</sup> Rep.; G. van Kalcken et J. Six. *Peintures ecclésiastiques du moyen-âge de l'époque d'art de Jan van Scorel et P. van Oostzaanen 1490–1560*. Haarlem (1919), Zalt-Bommel. Église St. Martin, Pl. 1. Cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 35/44.

this leg, a swimming fish which has a woman's head with a white cloth on it: i.m.o. the head of a copulatrix.

3. On the centre panel of Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon a she-devil in the shape of a woman with a white headcloth stands near a dove-cote. She is a procuress or a prostitute<sup>80</sup>.

4. In the same painting the female devil sitting beside the beggar-devil is a procuress reduced to poverty. Round her face she wears a white cloth over which a black one is draped<sup>81</sup>.

5. In Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Venice we see walking along, in the lower left corner, a she-devil who consists of a woman's head and two feet<sup>82</sup>. On the white headcloth, which passes round her chin, she wears a little wine-red cap. She is partly covered by a rose-coloured sack which is tied at the top, has no bottom, and is open in front. On it lie dry twigs. On these sits an owl, towards which three black birds are flying. *Sack* [sack] in the 16th century meant prostitute, and *mutskin* [little cap] a skittish girl<sup>83</sup>. The motif of the owl with birds flying towards it sometimes had an unchaste meaning<sup>84</sup>. Withered twigs could be symbols of folly and worthlessness<sup>85</sup>. The woman's face is fairly old, so that she seems to be procuress or whore-mistress rather than a prostitute<sup>86</sup>.

Among the women who wear the headcloth which is round at the top and passes under the chin, the following would be prostitutes:

A woman in the brothel in the background of Bosch's *Pedlar* (Rotterdam)<sup>87</sup>; the she-devil sitting in front of a window on the left wing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>88</sup>; women-devils with a sinner who is lying on a bed in the

<sup>80</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 98/124. Rep.: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 18/48.

<sup>81</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 40/49-51. Rep.: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 14/19.

<sup>82</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 85.

<sup>83</sup> *Tuin*, p. 52.

<sup>84</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 158/208. *Tuin*, p. 24 and 28. *Judgem.*, p. 359.

<sup>85</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 11/16, 12/17 and 33/41. *Martelares*, p. 25. Addition: In Bruegel's *Patientia* (Van Bastelaer. *Estampes*, no. 124) a man with a lute sits beside a prostitute. A crossbow hangs near by. Lute and bow have sexual significance here. Lute: *Judgem.*, p. 139 n. 323 and p. 233. Cross- or footbow: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29 (29), *Tuin*, p. 111. (In *Ontc.* and *Tuin* I inadvertently referred to the bows on the left wing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon and on the right wing of the *Garden* triptych as hand-bows). A woman draws wine from a cask. Under the cask lie dry twigs (symbols of folly and worthlessness). Not only a dry twig could function as a symbol of folly (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 11/16, 12/17 and 33/41 (23); *Tuin*, p. 171; *Martelares*, p. 25, note 3), but also a withered tree. The 16th-century Chamber of Rhetoric in Geervliet, in the province of South Holland, was called *Den dorren Boom* [The withered Tree] and it had as its device: '*t Jolijt van den doren* [The Jollity of the Fools]. The word *dor* [dry, withered] was associated with *door* [fool]. *Koninklijke Souvereine Hoofdkamer De Fonteine. Jaarboek* III (1945), p. 30. For dry twigs that possibly symbolize folly, see also *Judgem.*, p. 125 n. 231 and p. 291. A dry branch and a dry tree could likewise function as symbols of worthlessness (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 97/123). See also *Judgem.*, p. 293 and 294. The dead trees on which criminals were hanged could have had this meaning too sometimes (*Judgem.*, p. 201 and 297).

<sup>86</sup> For procuresses with Bosch and others, see also: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 40/49-51, 46/51 (10, 11), 98/124 and the indexes sub *koppelaarster*/procuress, etc. in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin*, *Martelares* and *Judgem.*

<sup>87</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 86. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 222 f./295 f. I regard this tavern as a symbol of unchastity and not of intoxicating drink, as Zupnick thinks I do (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 19-1968-, p. 128).

<sup>88</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29.



*Hell of the Garden* triptych<sup>89</sup>; the woman looking through a window, and another sitting at a little table, in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* dealt with above under 1; the female devil sitting in front of a window on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* in Bruges (by an imitator of Bosch)<sup>90</sup>; the female devil beside the large kettle in which a cleric stands, on the right panel of the same painting<sup>91</sup>; the drunken woman-devil sitting with a soldier-devil at a tavern-table in a fruitskin, in a drawing by a follower. From this skin a thorny branch sticks out with a bellows hanging on it<sup>92</sup>. The woman and the soldier *sign in scille* [lit: are in skin, meaning: are in strife, for *scille* could mean both skin and strife]<sup>93</sup>.

In my opinion the woman's head on our left panel was intended by Bosch to represent a procuress or prostitute. The distinction between the two was not a very marked one. A 16th-century Dutch song tells of girls of easy virtue who turn into procuresses when they become older<sup>94</sup>, and Erasmus in his *Adolescentis et Scorti* lets a young man say to a prostitute that when her beauty has faded she will become a procuress<sup>95</sup>.

It is clear from the above examples that Bosch and his followers repeatedly charged their depictions of the copulatrix and the meretrix with diabolic meaning.

The motif of a head just visible above the ground occurs also in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the *Julia* triptych in Venice. There, near to a naked woman, a man's head sticks up out of marshy grassland<sup>96</sup>. This satirizes the unchaste person: the man to whom the head belongs is disappearing into the sink of iniquity.

The head of the procuress or prostitute on our left panel could likewise belong to a body already inside the earth. The fallen angels were guilty also of the sin of unchastity. This vice is here represented as so powerful that it penetrates the earth and so contaminates it.

Instead of the lewd female head sticking out of the ground, the left panel in Berlin shows a woman-devil in the form of some animal with a long tail (ill. 5). She too wears a white headcloth which passes under the chin. One end of the cloth flutters like a veil, wimple or pennant in the air, a motif that Bosch has also applied in his depiction of the woman sitting behind a man on a flying fish on the right panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>97</sup>. They are a couple of devils in whom probably low-class dissolute celebrators of Carnival are being satirized. The fluttering piece of cloth (veil, wimple, pennant) perhaps indicates that the woman is *sluierachtig* [lit: veil-like], that is, dawdling or sluggish, or that she is a *wimpel wite* [wimple-withe], that is, a woman with a linen cloth wound round her head in a fashion common among the lower classes, or a *vaenvrouwe* [lit: vane-woman, *vaen* meaning both vane or pennant, and measure for beer], probably a woman who filled the beer-glasses in a tavern<sup>98</sup>.

It seems to me that the female devil on the Berlin panel was likewise intended as a procuress or prostitute. Her head is at an angle that shows the forehead

<sup>89</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 73. *Tuin*, p. 97 (9): after further consideration i.m.o. prostitutes rather than procuresses.

<sup>90</sup> Rep.: Janssens de Bisthoven et Parmentier, pl. xxii.

<sup>91</sup> Idem, pl. xxix.

<sup>92</sup> Rep.: *Oud Holland* L (1933), p. 288. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 65/81 (7).

<sup>93</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 65/82 (15). *Judgem.*, p. 340.

<sup>94</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 40/51. *Judgem.*, p. 254.

<sup>95</sup> *Opera Omnia* I, col. 719.

<sup>96</sup> *Martelares*, p. 12.

<sup>97</sup> Rep: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill.20/70.

<sup>98</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 123/161 (42, 43, 44).



5. Fall of the angels, Cranach (p. 35)

lower than the chin, for she has her face turned in the direction of the insect-devil with a man's head, mentioned earlier (*Judgement*, p. 26), who is obliquely above her and who looks at, and flies towards her. The remarkably long tail of the she-devil and the birds behind her could be phallic symbols<sup>99</sup>.

The face of the woman is blue in the Cranach, blue-green in the Bosch.

Also elsewhere in the triptych devils have parts of their body coloured blue<sup>100</sup>.

Blue could be a symbol of deceit<sup>101</sup>. Sometimes the word was used to qualify persons of immoral behaviour: in 1455 a brothel-keeper in Arnhem was called *blau Bet* [blue Beth]<sup>102</sup> and in the 19th century the term *blauwe Begijnen* [blue Beguines] was still being used in Amsterdam for prostitutes<sup>103</sup>.

In Dutch literature of the 15th and 16th centuries the devil is sometimes called blue. In *Die Evangelien vanden Spinrocke* (p. 2) there is mention of *den blauwen Duyvel besweeren* [to exorcize the blue Devil] and Brugman says in one of his sermons: *Niet en is duveliker noch Gode myshageliker dan te wesen buten grauwe ende bynnen blauwe, van buten engelen te schinen ende van binnen duvelen te sijn, mit der ydelheit ende feestelicheit der werelt becommert te wesen* [Nothing is more devilish or more displeasing to God than to be outwardly grey and inwardly blue, to look like angels outside and to be devils inside, to be laden with the vanity and the gaiety of the world]<sup>104</sup>.

Cranach's procuress- or prostitute-devil is descending in the direction of a hillock on which a little dog is sitting. It is of the same shape as the little dog pictured four times on the back of Bosch's drawing of the *Wood that Sees and Hears*<sup>105</sup>. The little animal does not occur on the Vienna panel.

In the Middle Ages and 16th century the dog had several unfavourable connotations in the Low Countries<sup>106</sup>. It could be a figure of unchastity<sup>107</sup>,

<sup>99</sup> For the birds, see *Judgem.*, p. 30. *Staart* [tail] in the 16th century could mean the male member (*W.N.T.* xv, 173). In an engraving by Urs Graf a devil has a tail where his penis should be (rep.: Castelli, tav. 128). Also in Bosch's *Haywain* triptych one sees birds flying with the fallen angels: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 37. The shape of a she-devil is slightly reminiscent of that of a devil in a drawing by Bosch (Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 143), left, in the middle.

<sup>100</sup> See index, sub blue.

<sup>101</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 13/18 f. (59, 60). For the colour blue with Bosch, see the indexes sub *blauw*/blue in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.*

<sup>102</sup> G. van Hasselt, *Kronijk van Arnhem*. Arnhem 1790, p. 30.

<sup>103</sup> *Tuin*, p. 106 (5).

<sup>104</sup> Brugman, *Verspreide sermoenen*, p. 6. [Grey was the colour of habits worn by monks and nuns, therefore taken to indicate devoutness.]

<sup>105</sup> Rep.: Baldass 1943, no. 129.

<sup>106</sup> For dogs with Bosch and others, see the indexes sub *hond*/dog etc. in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.*, and *Bezwaren*, p. 48. A dog-devil I have not yet mentioned is the one which Bosch sketched as underpainting on the medallion with the fleeing sower, to the left of the devil with the horseshoe, on the back of the so-called *Flood and Hell* in Rotterdam. See Filedt Kok in *Simiolus* 6 (1972/73), p. 145 and ill. on p. 147. Its head resembles the dog's head of a devil who has ape's feet and who is about to hit St. Anthony in the air with a May-branch (left panel, *Temptation of St. Anthony*, Lisbon; *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 34/42).

<sup>107</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 34/42. *Tuin* (see index sub *hond*). Additions: *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 175 (*Exposicie op et Pater Noster*). Marnix. *Byen corf*, p. 417 (*teef* [bitch]). Friedländer und Rosenberg ill. 157 (dog with St. Hieronymus, cf. *Judgem.*, p. 352). Sexual desire: small dog and partridge in Titian's *Venus and Cupido*, Uffizi, Florence; dogs in *Garden of Love* by the Master of the Love Gardens. *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Souvereine Hoofdkamer De Fontaine* VIII (1950), p. 39: head of dog is glans penis.

greed<sup>108</sup>, covetousness<sup>109</sup>, gluttony<sup>110</sup>, wrath and viciousness<sup>111</sup>, arrogance<sup>112</sup>, slander<sup>113</sup>, unbelief<sup>114</sup>. The devil could take on the shape of a dog<sup>115</sup>, sorcerers associating with the devil were likened to black dogs<sup>116</sup>, dogs tormented sinners in hell<sup>117</sup>. One gets the impression that in the Low Countries it was given a bad name mainly for unchastity and greed. These are meanings which well fit the little dog towards which the she-devil is moving. Moralists writing in Dutch accused procuresses and prostitutes of being greedy<sup>118</sup>.

Instead of the bat-devil and the female head in Vienna, Cranach therefore shows us a combination of figures: a male devil flying towards a lewd female devil who looks at him while she herself is descending to a hillock on which a dog sits. The depiction is typical of Bosch. It seems to me that this whole scene indicates that Cranach made a copy of a *Last Judgement* triptych by Bosch, other than the one in Vienna.

<sup>108</sup> *Die Spiegel der Sonden* 11, col. 92. *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 175 (*Exposicie op et Pater Noster*). *Heimelijckheid der Heimelijckheden*, line 1889. Willem van Hildegabersberch, p. 90. *Als een man rijct, so hont hi* [As a man becomes rich, so he becomes dog] (*Proverbia seriosa*). *Het is een ghierich Wolf of Hont* [It is a greedy Wolf or Dog] (*Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 9). *Daer twee Honden knaegen an een been, die draegen sick selden over een* [Where two dogs gnaw at one bone, they are seldom at one with each other] (*Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 65; cf. *Seer schoone spreekwoorden*, no. 171). In Kiliaen *Rekel* [male dog] = homo avarus. Bosch's *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*, *Avaritia*: dog in background. This *Table* is perhaps a studio-work executed between ca. 1490 and ca. 1515 by a pupil working to instructions or examples given by Bosch: *Bezwaren*, p. 26.

<sup>109</sup> *Tis den eenen Hont leet, dat die ander in die koecken gheet* [To the one dog woe it does, that the other in the kitchen goes] (*Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 65). *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*, *Invidia*: A dog is looking at the bone that a man holds in his hand. A second dog is standing near by. They already have their own bones but are envious of the man who also has one. On the medallion showing hell, near *Invidia*, dogs attack sinners. Dirc van Delf (Tinbergen in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 148): *die hont der nidiicheit* [the dog of envy].

<sup>110</sup> *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 175 (*Exposicie op et Pater Noster: gulsighe menschen* [gluttonous persons]). A dog sticking its nose in a pot on the signboard of a village tavern (Erasmus. *Samenspraken* 11, p. 76: *Rijke bedelaars of de Minderbroeders*: figurative allusion to the keeper and his helpers who are gluttonous). Cf. the signboard in a conjuring scene by a follower of Bosch (Munich): *Bezwaren*, p. 19; does the dog here allude to spiritual gluttony (avarice)? Dog with gypsies in foreground of Bosch's *Haywain*: *Bezwaren*, p. 48.

<sup>111</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 56/68 f., 62/70 (note 6), 226/301 (99). *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 175 (*Exposicie op et Pater Noster*). The vicious soldier in Bosch's *Crowning with Thorns* in the National Gallery in London wears a dog's collar with spikes. Cf.: *Totten fellen hont behoefstmen eenen scherp bant* [For a vicious dog one needs a sharp neckband] (*Seer schoone spreekwoorden*, no. 28). For this type of collar see: L. Schmidt. *Das Stachelhalsband des Hirtenhundes*. *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* VI (1960), Teil I, p. 154 ff. When he depicted the soldier, did Bosch have in mind the word *rekel*, meaning an inferior kind of male dog, but also a bestial person and a miser (16th-century examples *W.N.T.* XII, part III, col. 1834, 1835, 1837 and 1839)? And in connection with the twig with acorn and oak-leaves, attached to the cap, the word *ekel*, meaning acorn, but also prickle, barb (*M.W.* II, 599 and 607)? The big arrow sticking through the head-cloth of the other soldier pictures the word *bout*. This meant, besides arrow, also dissipated fellow (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 170/222, note 49), membrum virile (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 108/141, note 35) and leg of poultry (favourite food of spendthrift merry-makers: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 169/222, note 44). Just like the arrow, the acorn undoubtedly also tells us something about the person wearing it. In addition to *ekel*, meaning both acorn and prickle, the form *eikel* should be noted, which besides meaning acorn, was used also for glans penis

In both the Bosch and the Cranach there is, to the left and right of the head, an empty, gently undulating landscape<sup>119</sup>. As mentioned earlier, in the Bosch the part extending from below this area on the horizon, to the bottom edge of the panel, has been heavily overpainted in many places.

To the left, somewhat below the bare stretch, is a thicket, and still further down, on the left, both paintings have high crags rising up out of the water.

On and near the top of these rocks the Vienna triptych (ill. 6) shows us three diabolic creatures of fantasy: on the left, a frog-like animal with a long tail; on the right, going down, a rat-like monster lifting up its little paws; and on the right, going up, a long-tailed winged imp looking to the left. On its dog's head it has the jester's cap which was worn by the trained dogs of minstrels and entertainers who let the animals perform tricks<sup>120</sup>.

I know of comparatively few examples of the frog used in an unfavourable sense in the Middle Ages and 16th century<sup>121</sup>. Van Mander mentions it as symbolizing the blasphemous<sup>122</sup>, and *puit* [frog] could be used for a bad, depraved person<sup>123</sup>. Because of its naked skin it sometimes indicated poverty<sup>124</sup>.

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and favourite pig's food (*W.N.T.* III, part 3, 4014). The two other figures tormenting Jesus in the London painting are probably Pharisees, in any case not soldiers. For possible meanings of crescent moon, star and letter A (?) on the cap of one of them, see: *Martelares*, p. 53 f. The arrow sticking through the head-cloth of the soldier is not a symbol of the plague, as Reuterswärd, p. 136, surmises. A soldier in a *Carrying of the Cross* (a drawing by an imitator of Bosch with various borrowings from the work of the Master, Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento; *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 54) has a *bout* [arrow] sticking through his hat. In the *Crowning with Thorns* (London) Christ does not wear a purple cloak but a white robe. This is also how he is described by Dionysius the Carthusian: *metten witten clede bespottet* [with the white robe mocked] (*Vanden loefliken leuen*, P 3<sup>v</sup>). In the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial the robe is white and light-blue. White is no doubt symbolical; colour of purity.

<sup>112</sup> *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 175 (*Exposicie op et Pater Noster*).

<sup>113</sup> *Seneka leren*, p. 13.

<sup>114</sup> *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 175 (*Exposicie op et Pater Noster*).

<sup>115</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 34/42. *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* I, p. 235, 395, 396 and 421. *Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 169. *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 173.

<sup>116</sup> *Marnix. Byen corf*, p. 425.

<sup>117</sup> Sin not specified: *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 113. *Dat sterf boeck*, 10<sup>r</sup> and 41<sup>r</sup>.

Avaricious persons: *Verdeyen en Endepols* II, p. 47, lechers: p. 69.

<sup>118</sup> E.g. *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 272. See also *Judgem.*, p. 186.

<sup>119</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 44, say about this section of the *Paradise* in Vienna: 'Er geht im Hintergrund in eine weite, zum Teil felsige Landschaft über, die am Meeresgestade endet.' But neither in Vienna nor in Berlin does one see water here.

<sup>120</sup> For similar dogs with Bosch, see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 50/64 and 54/64 (41). I was wrong in previously describing the imp with the dog's head as a 'kangaroo'-like creature: *Tuin*, p. 40. In shape and posture it resembles an animal that occurs in a *Paradise* by an imitator (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; see *Judgem.*, p. 340), in which the animals are part of God's benediction addressed to Adam and Eve: multiply and hold dominion over all animals. It is sitting to the left on a hillock. Was it intended to be a wolf? Cf. the wolf attacking a woman in the background of the right wing of the *Adoration* in the Prado.

<sup>121</sup> For frogs with Bosch, see: *Tuin*, p. 22, 23, 24, 98 and 162, *Martelares*, p. 12, *Bezwaren*, p. 21.

<sup>122</sup> De Vries, p. 55.

<sup>123</sup> *W.N.T.* XII, part II, 4781 (*Haerlems Iuweel*. Zwolle 1608, p. 35).

<sup>124</sup> Idem (R. Lawet. *Twee spelen vande Verlooren Zoone*. Edited by E.C.A. Galama. Utrecht 1941, 161: Ao. 1583).





6. Diabolic creatures on crag, Bosch (p. 39)

*Revelation* 16:13 mentions three unclean spirits that resemble frogs. In the *Esopet* the frog is represented as cowardly and afraid<sup>125</sup>, and also as proud<sup>126</sup>. It is worth noting that the Middle Dutch words *puut* [frog] and *pute* [prostitute; or, as an adjective: depraved, lascivious] are closely related in sound<sup>127</sup>.

One frog with, and another without, devil's antennae, both occur in an unfavourable context in the depiction of *St. James* which is on the back of the panel under discussion<sup>128</sup>. In *The Conjuror* in St. Germain-en-Laye there are two small frogs that perhaps play a part in the quack's curative measures<sup>129</sup>. The frogs in the *Paradise of the Garden* triptych are not intended to have a pejorative sense. They are included in the blessing God gave to Adam and Eve: Be fruitful and multiply . . . and have dominion . . . over every living thing that moveth upon earth<sup>130</sup>. On the other hand, Cornelis van Haarlem painted two frogs which have a derogatory meaning in his *Fall of Adam and Eve* (Rijksmuseum).

A rat in the 15th and 16th century in the Low Countries could signify the sexual organ, male or female<sup>131</sup>. *Sluyprat* meant woman of easy virtue<sup>132</sup>. The animal could also personify cunning and poverty<sup>133</sup>.

A small trained dog was often used by entertainers, e.g. conjurors, who made it perform tricks to amuse the public<sup>134</sup>. Bosch repeatedly satirized entertainers, accusing them of licentiousness and immorality<sup>135</sup>. In the Lisbon *Temptation of St. Anthony* he censures them i.a. by changing them into devils. Here the little trained dog with jester's cap that accompanies a minstrel-devil has also been turned into a diabolic creature<sup>136</sup>.

In the little devil with the head of a minstrel's performing dog, shown on our left panel, Bosch probably satirized the dissoluteness and unchastity of entertainers. These people were often seen in less reputable taverns. It is understandable, therefore, that the trained dog-devil finds himself between the head of the procuress or prostitute on the one hand, and a prostitute-devil and satyr on the other, the two latter standing, one at, the other in, the cavity in the rock-formation (figures still to be discussed).

The three devil-animals are overpaintings of inferior quality. Nevertheless they are genuine Bosch monsters. It is probable therefore that they are poor copies of what was originally put there by the hand of the master.

<sup>125</sup> *Esopet*, xxxii, 5.

<sup>126</sup> *Esopet*, xlii, 17.

<sup>127</sup> *M.W.* vi, 781, 782.

<sup>128</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 290.

<sup>129</sup> *Tuin*, p. 162. *Bezwaren*, p. 21.

<sup>130</sup> *Tuin*, p. 22-24.

<sup>131</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 13/20. Additional example of first meaning: *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Souvereine Hoofdkamer De Fontaine* viii (1950), p. 39.

<sup>132</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 13/20.

<sup>133</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, 13/20. Additional example of first meaning: *Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 54. For rats with Bosch see the indexes sub rat etc. in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.* I have not yet pointed out that a mouse- or rat-like devil with a fanciful tail occurs in the lower right-hand corner of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the *Hermit Saints* triptych (Venice).

<sup>134</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 50/64.

<sup>135</sup> See the indexes sub *speelman*/entertainer, minstrel, in *Ontc./Deciph.* and *Tuin*, i.a. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 153/203.

<sup>136</sup> Rep.: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 12/18.

What Cranach shows in the place of the frog is a devil-animal of fantasy, with four legs and a very long tail. In the place of the dog-devil he has put the hindquarters of a monster with something of the ape about it<sup>137</sup>. In the place of the rat we see a diabolic manikin with his head stuck in a cap. Birds are flying towards him. See ill. 7.

There is symbolism in this which fits in with Cranach's procuress- or prostitute-devil above, and his two, still to be discussed, prostitute-figures at and in the cavity. The remarkably long tail could be a phallic symbol<sup>138</sup>; the ape has already been shown to represent unchastity<sup>139</sup>; the manikin and the birds can likewise have phallic meaning<sup>140</sup> and the little cap can be a symbol of the vagina<sup>141</sup>.

The three creatures in the Cranach are also genuine Bosch figures. The hind-part of the creature at the top has much in common with that of a demonic beast in the little painting of *St. James and the Sorcerer Hermogenes* in Valenciennes (the work of an imitator of Bosch)<sup>142</sup>; and the manikin with the cap is reminiscent of an imp in a hell-ship in a drawing by Bosch<sup>143</sup>.

At the foot of the crags is an inlet, forming a cave. On the Berlin panel it is much more distinct than on the one in Vienna, because the latter has obviously been heavily damaged and only given a slight touch-up.

In the Cranach a woman stands to the left of the cave. She wears a headdress with a single peak, from which a veil hangs down. In the cavity itself a second woman, dressed like the first, stands with her head turned towards a man to the right.

In the Bosch, to the left of the cave, we see a human figure wearing a pointed cap<sup>144</sup>, clearly the unsuccessful restoration of a woman with a single-peaked headdress, and in the cavity itself a standing figure resembling a satyr, with goat's feet. Its body and face are somewhat turned to its left. Its left arm hangs beside the body. From its head pointed ears or horns stick up<sup>145</sup>. See ill. 8.

A woman wearing a headdress with a single peak (a high cone-shaped hat) occurs in several of Bosch's works.

On the centre panel of our triptych a meretrix-devil taking part in a procession has one (with a veil) on her head<sup>146</sup>. On the same panel another woman wearing the same headgear is helping two she-devils with double-peaked head-coverings

<sup>137</sup> The front of the body withdrawn from view, and the prominently placed posterior with its long tail are also features of a devil in the *Hell* in Venice.

<sup>138</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 37 n. 99.

<sup>139</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29.

<sup>140</sup> Male person as sexual symbol in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch: *Tuin*, p. 47. *Hoofd* [head] = glans penis, 16th century: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 35/44 (72); *Tuin*, p. 51.

<sup>141</sup> Head in cap: *Tuin*, p. 52. Compare the 16th-century *mutskin* [little cap] = skittish girl (*Everaert* xvi, line 71-75: it refers to a maiden that *voortyts . . . elcken ghewillich was* [previously . . . yielded willingly to everybody], but is now kept in check by her parents).

<sup>142</sup> *Rep.*: Combe (1957), no. 135.

<sup>143</sup> *Rep.*: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 150.

<sup>144</sup> The pointed cap I saw clearly in January 1954. In the course of that year the left panel was cleaned and it seems that this conical cap then disappeared from naked-eye view. At any rate, in 1963 I could no longer discern it. But a photograph taken with special lighting in 1963, after my visit, does show it (see *Judgem.*, ill. 8).

<sup>145</sup> I previously mistook this very indistinct figure for a woman with double-peaked headdress: *Tuin*, p. 40.

<sup>146</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 176.





7. Diabolic creatures and various animals in Paradise, Cranach (p. 42)



8. Satyr-like figure and meretrix, Bosch (p. 42); touched up in white by author, for clearer outline

to carry a sinner from a narrow chasm to some swimmers<sup>147</sup>. On the right panel a she-devil (procuress or prostitute) wears the single peak without the veil<sup>148</sup>.

In the *Fall of the Angels* (Rotterdam) a she-devil with cone-hat and veil stands beside a beggar-devil on crutches in the mouth of a cave<sup>149</sup>. These two should be compared with a couple in a woodcut by Jan Wellens de Cock: a cone-hatted she-devil and a beggar-devil, assisted by a procuress- or prostitute-devil wearing a double-peaked headdress, are out to ensnare St. Anthony<sup>150</sup>. The first-mentioned holds a bowl in her hand. I believe that there she represents the devil-queen of the Vita of Antonius<sup>151</sup>.

In a *Last Judgement* (Bruges) by an imitator of Bosch two prostitute-devils wearing cone-hats, with the veil, are sitting at a table together with a sinner who has on his head the mitre of a prelate<sup>152</sup>.

A *Temptation of St. Anthony* by another follower shows us a prostitute-devil with cone-hat and veil<sup>153</sup>. In a *Hell* by an epigone a procuress-devil has a headdress with single cone<sup>154</sup>. In a *Hell* by yet another artist from the school of Bosch, a prostitute-devil with the same headgear embraces a sinner at a tavern-table<sup>155</sup>.

Elsewhere, too, we find examples of the cone-hat with veil in an unfavourable context:

In more than one depiction dating from round about 1500 the temptress of St. Anthony is a distinguished lady who wears this headdress<sup>156</sup>. It is also on the head of a foolish virgin carved by a Fleming on a 15th-century misericord in Kempen (Germany)<sup>157</sup>.

On a Flemish or northern French tapestry with proverbs, which dates from the end of the 15th century, a woman wearing the cone-hat and veil holds the purse of a man standing next to her. She is a woman who sells herself for money. Grauls has shown that the proverb represented here is: *Hier is de liefde up de ziede daer de tasse hanget* [Here love is on the side where the purse hangs]<sup>158</sup>.

Sculpture on the corbel of the Eggert chapel in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam shows a woman who wears a cone-hat with a veil attached to it. Her breasts are bare and she holds up an apple in her left hand. In my opinion the woman represents unchastity. The apple is perhaps the symbol of the mamma<sup>159</sup>, or is it the apple of Eve with which man is seduced? The sculpture probably dates from the third quarter of the 15th century<sup>160</sup>.

In Israhel van Meckenem's *Morris-dance* and in his *Dance of the daughter of*

<sup>147</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 192.

<sup>148</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 244.

<sup>149</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 53. I have already pointed this out in *Tuin*, p. 168.

<sup>150</sup> Nijhoff. *Nederlandsche houtsneden*, Pl. 162.

<sup>151</sup> For devil-queen see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 7 f./11 f., 44/60 and 108/142.

<sup>152</sup> Janssens de Bisthoven et Parmentier, Pl. xx.

<sup>153</sup> Rijksbureau, Friedländer Records. Comprises data on Bosch's altarpiece in Lisbon.

<sup>154</sup> Idem. Private collection in Madrid.

<sup>155</sup> Rijksbureau. Box H. Bosch. Allegorie etc. Sijpesteijn Castle near Loosdrecht.

<sup>156</sup> E.g. *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 93/61 and British Museum Add. Ms. 38126, f. 133v; Flemish. For the motif see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 109/144 (65-72). Sometimes she appears to be the devil-queen, for instance in the woodcut by Jan Wellens de Cock (note 150 above).

<sup>157</sup> Maeterlinck. *Sculpture*, p. 279, fig. 182.

<sup>158</sup> *Artes Textiles* III (1956), ill. 6.

<sup>159</sup> *Tuin*, p. 31 (2) and 39 (4).

<sup>160</sup> *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 40 (1944), sheet VII, ill. 18.

*Herodias* a woman with the headdress as described is shown in a frivolous milieu<sup>161</sup>.

In two Florentine engravings which show evidence of northern influence and which date from between the years 1465 and 1480, we see such ladies in amorous situations<sup>162</sup>.

However, in the end of the 14th and during a very large part of the 15th century the cone-hat with veil was also worn by distinguished ladies of irreproachable conduct<sup>163</sup>. Was this fashion of the leading ladies being imitated in Bosch's time by the more luxurious daughters of joy<sup>164</sup>? That women of easy virtue sometimes did wear such a cone-hat is evident from a miniature in a Swiss manuscript from 1483, in which prostitutes of the army of Charles the Bold are depicted. One of them wears a conical hat with veil, another a double-peaked bonnet (for this headdress see note 164), and still others have ordinary headcloths and round caps<sup>165</sup>.

In the Dutch literature of the period the headdress in question likewise appears in an erotic sphere. In the play *Die Spiegel der Minnen* a lovelorn damsel is described as wearing on her head: *Venus wis . . . recht als een potken . . . ende achter nae twijfs wempele* [The sign of Venus . . . exactly like a little pot . . . and behind, the woman's veil]. The writer adds: *Dat loct die knechtken* [That entices the lads]<sup>166</sup>. This was a kind of single-peaked headgear with veil.

It seems that in Bosch's time women of easy virtue who could afford it, adopted this headdress to catch the public eye.

As already mentioned, one woman with the veiled conical hat in the Berlin painting has a man standing close to her. He is the profligate, slave to lechery. He too must be seen as a demon. In Dutch literature of the 15th century the devil more than once takes on the form of a man. It is in this shape that in devil in a legend of the Virgin visits a woman at night<sup>167</sup>, and in the play *Mariken van Nieumeghen* the devil Moenen, who seduces Mariken, says: *Ick hebbe mi selven toegemaect . . . al waer ick een mensche* [I have so arranged myself . . . as if I were a man]<sup>168</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> A. Warburg. *Israhel van Meckenem*. Bonn 1930, Tafel 28 and 30.

<sup>162</sup> Hind. *Early Italian engraving*. Part I, vol. II, plates 145 and 146.

<sup>163</sup> I gave examples in *Tuin*, p. 86, note 4. Additional example: portrait of Margaret of York, spouse of Charles the Bold. Probably Flemish. Ca. 1468? Adhémar, Pl. v.

<sup>164</sup> The double-peaked headdress that was worn in the beginning of the 15th century by ladies of standing, had in Bosch's time clearly become 'herabgesunkenes Kulturgut': ordinary prostitutes also wore it. See *Judgem.*, p. 154, 192. Moralists in the Low Countries satirized the imitation of the fashions of the higher classes by the lower orders. A telling example in *Die Dietsche Doctrinale*, p. 302:

<i>Eest oec dat diernen scouwen</i>	[Be it that wenches become aware
<i>Iet sunderlings ane scone Vrouwen,</i>	Of something special on ladies fair,
<i>Si werven daer na ende poeghen</i>	They strive for it and strain
<i>Hoe si des ghewinnen moeghen.</i>	How they themselves can this attain.
<i>Dit nes behoerlec twint.</i>	Such is not proper, not one whit.
<i>Hi es vroet die hem selven kint.</i>	Wise is he who knows what's fit.]

<sup>165</sup> Rep.: Catalogue. Bernisches Historisches Museum. *Die Burgunderbeute und Werke Burgundischer Hofkunst*. 18. Mai - 20. September 1969, p. 33.

<sup>166</sup> Colijn van Rijssle. *Spiegel der Minnen*, line 1213 ff.

<sup>167</sup> *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* II, p. 44 (CCXXXVII).

<sup>168</sup> *Die waerachtige ende een seer wonderlijcke historie van Mariken van Nieumeghen*. Edited by W.H. Beuken: Zutphen 1931, p. 12.

In the Vienna picture a kind of satyr stands in the cave. The Brabanter Thomas of Cantimpré believed in the existence of devils who lived *inden culen der berge of inden bosschen* [in the holes of the mountains or in the woods] (*Biënboec* p. 136). It was fairly generally accepted in mediaeval times that shaggy devils inhabited forests<sup>169</sup>. They had satyr-like traits. The devils about whom *Isaiah* 13:21-22 and 34:14 prophesizes that they shall live in the devastated Babylon and other heathen places, were in those days also known as Satyri, Paniti and Incubi, all unchaste demons<sup>170</sup>.

The procuress- or prostitute-devil on the horizon and the prostitute-devil, man and satyr in and at the cave clearly indicate that the fallen angels were also tainted by the sin of unchastity. From their pride issue the other chief sins. In *Dat Bouck der Bloemen* (p. 82) we read: *Dat fenijn der oncuysheit wort gheborn wt den worttel der hoverdien*, and: *Bij desen .ij. sonden principael soe heeft die duvel heerscappie ende macht over den minssche. Alsoe bij hoverdie der ghedachten ende bij oncuysheit des vleesch* [The poison of unchastity is born out of the root of arrogance], and: [Through these two principal sins the devil has dominion and power over man. That is, through arrogance of the spirit and through unchastity of the flesh].

The two standing meretrix-devils of Cranach and the one of Bosch are slightly reminiscent of Lilith. According to old Jewish tales Adam first had Lilith as a wife, before Eve. She again had been one of the wives of Sammael, the later chief of the rebellious angels, but she had joined Adam in Paradise, who by her fathered the Shedim, spirits known to be malicious at times. When Lilith attempted to lord it over Adam and he resisted this, she flew away to the sea, where she lives as a demon. From there she sets out to kill children, especially the newly born<sup>171</sup>. In addition Bosch's satyr reminds us of Asmodæus, prince of the Shedim. He was lascivious and had the feet of a goat<sup>172</sup>.

It is possible, of course, that Bosch knew stories about Lilith and Asmodæus and that these gave him the idea of placing demons in Paradise in the form of a woman and a satyr<sup>173</sup>. But the women are no Liliths. Their headdress and the fact that Cranach shows two of them, point in another direction<sup>174</sup>.

In Vienna and Berlin, to the right of the top edge of the rocky formation, there is a stretch of water with a small wood on the left bank.

<sup>169</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 49.

<sup>170</sup> *Malleus maleficarum* 1, p. 48.

<sup>171</sup> Wünsche, p. 25 f. According to another Jewish legend Lilith was not Adam's first wife, but lived with him after the expulsion from Paradise. Adam and Eve were then doing 130 years' penance, separated from each other. During this time Lilith bore Adam evil spirits and Eve had sexual intercourse with Sammael, who begot by her Cain (Wünsche, p. 28 and 44). The soul of Tondalus sees Lucifer and many devils in hell (Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 109 ff.). They are fallen angels and *adaems kinderen* [Adam's children] (p. 117). Was Lilith their mother?

<sup>172</sup> Jung. *Fallen angels*, p. 82, 84 and 89.

<sup>173</sup> Besides this, people in the Low Countries knew a legend of the Virgin in which a devil takes on the shape of a woman of light virtue: *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* 1, p. 421.

<sup>174</sup> According to a Jewish tale Adam left Eve after the death of Abel and had intercourse with two female demons. This of course happened outside the terrestrial paradise. A.E. Waite. *The holy Kabbalah. A study of the secret tradition in Israel as unfolded by sons of the doctrine for the benefit and consolation of the elect dispersed through the lands and ages of the greater exile*. London 1929, p. 287 ff.

In Vienna we see, to the right of this thicket, a diabolic animal of fantasy swimming towards the right bank. It has a big curved horn on its head and is a kind of unicorn. This animal occurred in all sorts of variations<sup>175</sup> and could have an unfavourable connotation. We find it representing unchastity, death, devil and avarice<sup>176</sup>. In the little figure here, the hand of Bosch is again evident. The body resembles that of the swimming dragon on the right panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>177</sup>, and the horn that of a kind of unicorn in the *Paradise* wing of the *Garden* triptych<sup>178</sup>.

Our unicorn is absent from the Berlin picture. In its place, and somewhat higher up, swims a devil with long grasping arms. This demon has a counterpart in the *Paradise* wing of the *Haywain* triptych, where it is also in the water<sup>179</sup>. Both have something of an insect about them.

In the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* triptych the number of rebellious angels who have fallen into the water is much greater still. An ape has just taken a dive, with his hindlegs still up in the air; a broad, toad-like little monster is swimming about; in the distance two humanoid little freaks stick up from the water.

Dirc van Delf tells us that some of the fallen angels plunged into the sea<sup>180</sup>. *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p.8) says of them:

*Som sijn se in 't water belent,  
Die doen ons tsnachts torment,  
Ende bedwelmen soe onsen sin  
Dat wire cume bliven in.*

[Some of them into the water went,  
Who in the night do us torment,  
And so bedaze our native wit,  
That hardly we remain in it  
(i.e. that we're almost driven out of our senses)]<sup>181</sup>

In the Middle Ages people believed in 'Neptuni' and 'nikkers' [nixes]<sup>182</sup>, waterspirits of human form and diabolic intent. In the 15th-century play *Tspel vanden Heiligen Sacramente van der Nyeuwervaert* devils who are in the water call each other 'necker'<sup>183</sup>.

In the thicket towards which his swimmer is moving Cranach has painted two other creatures not depicted on the Vienna panel. A winged angel in a long purplish-grey robe appears in a tree-top to the left. In his left hand he holds a stick. And a devil with the body of a bear and the head of a goat sits on the ground beside a tree-trunk. It is lifting up its right paw. It seems to be pointing to the angel in the branches.

To the right of the thicket, both in Berlin and in Vienna, a piece of open

<sup>175</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 210 f./278 f. *Tuin*, p. 55 f.

<sup>176</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 210/278. Additions: In *Dat Boeck der Bloemen* (p. 48) the unicorn is said to be *seer heet ende onghetempert* [very hot and intemperate]. It occurs in the large *Garden of Love* by the Master of the Love-gardens (Van Marle. *Iconographie* II, fig. 453). In *De Parabelen van Cyrillus* (p. 60) it is called proud. In a miniature from the Ghent-Bruges school a unicorn and a lion replace the three horses of the Apocalypse (G.I. Liefstinck, in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 -1957-, p. 4 and 13). They allude here to *Psalm* 22:22, a text which in the Vulgate reads: *Salva me ex ore leonis et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem meam.*

<sup>177</sup> Rep.: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 23/69.

<sup>178</sup> Rep.: *Martelares*, no. XXVIII and XXIX.

<sup>179</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 37.

<sup>180</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 23.

<sup>181</sup> *Biënboec*, p. 136 and 160.

<sup>182</sup> Van den Bergh, p. 180. *Natuurkunde van het geheel-al*, p. 116.

<sup>183</sup> Haslinghuis, p. 149.



ground stretches to another clump of trees that rises above a hillock. Here a big tree is clearly visible on the Berlin panel, and under it a man-devil, bent forward, walks to the left, that is, in the direction of the thicker where the other devil is sitting under a tree. The walker, grey-black in colour, carries a stick over his right shoulder. This devil, too, is missing in Vienna. There the two thickets have been roughly overpainted.

The angel in the tree-top could be a devil who has put on the appearance of an angel. In old tales the devil does indeed disguise himself as an angel when it suits him. The following are some examples.

In the apocryphal *Leven van Adam en Eva* the devil, wishing to tempt Eve, appears to her in the shape of an angel on the wall round Paradise<sup>184</sup>. He speaks to her first as a celestial being, then through the mouth of a snake. She lets him into Eden as a snake and follows him to the tree of knowledge.

In the same book, Adam and Eve, after their expulsion from Paradise, decide to do penance. Adam will stand for 40 days in the river Jordan and Eve for 37 days in the river Tigris, both up to their necks in the water. Lucifer changes himself into an angel and in this shape persuades Eve to terminate her atonement prematurely<sup>185</sup>.

A South-Netherlandish miniature, painted about 1460 and illustrating *Le Livre des Bonnes Moeurs* of Jacques le Grand, shows the fall of the rebellious angels. They land on earth and in hell. All have been changed into monsters except one, who has the shape and garb of an angel<sup>186</sup>.

To Pilate's wife the devil appeared as an angel<sup>187</sup>.

In Middle Dutch narratives Satan is presented as having the aspect of an angel<sup>188</sup>.

In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 385) it is said of man that in the world he *altoes moet leven inden stride ende vechten teghen die enghelen die so veel sijn ende so subtiel ende starc* [he must live always in the struggle and fight against the angels who are so many and so subtle and so strong]. With these are meant, of course, the fallen angels.

Perhaps the explanation lies in the first of the above references to the *Leven van Adam en Eva* and in the miniature with the fall of the angels, which would lead us to recognize the angel in the tree-top as Lucifer who is first going to appear to Eve in that form and then going to change into the snake.

If we are to see the figure in the tree as a real angel, he could be one of those celestials who, according to the *Leven van Adam en Eva*, were put in Paradise to guard Eve, but shortly before the fall of man, had ascended to heaven to worship God<sup>189</sup>. Or one could see him as one of the loyal angels who has pursued the

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<sup>184</sup> Kautzsch II, p. 521.

<sup>185</sup> This episode is represented in a Flemish miniature. The depiction is wrongly interpreted by F. de Fremery (*Bijzondere voorstellingen van het paradijsverhaal in de Vlaamse miniaturen in het Rijksmuseum* 1959, *Het Boek* XXXIV -1960-, p. 96 ff.). He thinks that Lucifer is performing the baptismal rite on Eve in a river.

<sup>186</sup> Delaisse. *Miniatures médiévales*, no. 31.

<sup>187</sup> Haslinghuis, p. 107. Haslinghuis also draws attention to 10th- and 11th-century miniatures which represent Satan wholly or almost wholly as an angel (p. 200) and to a passage in the *Apocalyps van Mozes* in which Eve sees the devil *een engel gelijk* [like to an angel] (p. 201, note 1).

<sup>188</sup> *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 173 f. *Middelnederlandse Marialegenden* II, p. 71 (CCLXI). *Biënboec*, p. 197 f.

<sup>189</sup> Kautzsch, p. 517 and 521.

rebels right down to earth. The devil beneath the tree would then be pointing derisively at him: he is not going to succeed in keeping sin out of the Garden of Eden.

The sitting devil has the body of a bear and the head of a goat.

In the Middle Ages and 16th century the bear occurred as a symbol of unchastity<sup>190</sup>, rage<sup>191</sup> and voracity<sup>192</sup>. Bears are inmates of hell<sup>193</sup>. The devil sometimes takes on this shape<sup>194</sup>. In earlier times people of the island of Texel disguised themselves as bears at Christmas-time, symbolizing the untamed powers of nature, and fertility<sup>195</sup>. In the beginning of the 19th century 'bear-hunting' was still a known practice in North Brabant: a rope was tied round the body of an adulterer and he was led round as a bear<sup>196</sup>.

The goat in the Dutch-speaking regions of the 15th and 16th centuries was a symbol of lust, stupidity and folly<sup>197</sup>. The devil could appear in the form of a goat<sup>198</sup>.

In regard to the man-devil with the stick we note that Bosch painted man-devils also on the *Paradise* panel of the *Haywain* triptych. There they are in the background, to the right of the sea<sup>199</sup>. Studying the goat-bear-devil and the grey-black man-devil with a stick among the trees, one is involuntarily reminded of the superstitious belief that hairy devils lived in the woods<sup>200</sup>.

In regard to the cap-wearing manikin on the rock, the satyr-devil in the cave, the swimming devil with the long arms, the angel in the tree-top, and the two bush-

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<sup>190</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 13/19 (67 and 68). *Tuin*, p. 56. *Martelares*, p. 22. Additions: The bear which in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch stands beside a pot into which is stuck a long piece of wood. A half-naked woman is teasing him (*Judgem.*, p. 384). Marnix, *Byen corf*, p. 417. Nijhoff, *Nederlandsche houtsnedes*, Pl. 126: in Cornelis Anthonisz.'s *Misbruik van Voorspoed* [Misuse of Prosperity] unchastity is accompanied by a bear. For bears with Bosch see the indexes sub. *beer*/bear etc. in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin*, *Martelares* and *Judgem.* Bosch painted the animal in the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* triptych, probably as a symbol of some sin (*Judgem.*, p. 339), and in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych, together with many other animals, very likely as an illustration of the last part of God's injunction: multiply and have dominion over all animals (*Judgem.*, p. 339).

<sup>191</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 13/19 (62, 63, 64, 65). Additions: *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 27. Soens, *Beginsel*, p. 108: *Tspel van Sinte Trudo*.

<sup>192</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 13/19 (69). Addition: *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 148 (example in Dirc van Delf).

<sup>193</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 13/19 (70). Addition: *Dat sterf boeck*, 41'. The soul of Tondalus sees misers in purgatory being tormented i.a. by bears (Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 47).

<sup>194</sup> *Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 170.

<sup>195</sup> J. Pieters, *Het uitgaan met de beer in het Dendermondse*. *Volkskunde* 53 (1952), p. 211.

<sup>196</sup> W. van de Poll, *In den ploeg spannen. Herinnering aan een oud-Geldersche volksgebruik*. *Geldersche volks-almanak voor het jaar 1887*, p. 167.

<sup>197</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 179/232. Additions: A goat occurs also in the large *Garden of Love* by the Dutch Master of the Love-gardens: *Tuin*, ill. xxxiii. Marnix, *Byen corf*, p. 417: lechers have a goat in their coat-of-arms.

<sup>198</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 179/233. Addition: Van den Bergh, p. 31. For the goat in works by Bosch and imitators see the indexes sub *bok*/goat etc. in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.*

<sup>199</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 37.

<sup>200</sup> *Biënboec*, p. 136 and 154. Van den Bergh, p. 30.

devils, the question arises whether Bosch in imagining these creatures was not also influenced by mediaeval superstition.

In connection with the satyr and the bush-devils, attention has already been drawn to devils who were believed to inhabit caves and woods, and in connection with the swimmer, to water-spirits in human form (nixes).

In a 14th-century manuscript a certain Brother Gerard gives us a list of devils. He mentions among others, and consecutively: *coubouten*, *alven*, *nickers*<sup>201</sup>. A *coubout* (byform *cobout*) is a goblin<sup>202</sup>. Our manikin with the pointed cap resembles this. *Nickers* are nixes. *Alven* are elves, spirits that can lead one astray, so that Dame Venus in a 16th-century text is compared to an elf<sup>203</sup>. Individual trees were sacred because elves lived in them<sup>204</sup>. Did Bosch place his angel-devil in a tree-top because he was in some measure influenced by this popular belief?

Wood spirits, nixes, goblins and elves were originally creatures in whose existence the pagan inhabitants of the Low Countries believed implicitly and who acquired a diabolic character after Christianization.

Bosch probably did not believe in them, but tales about them could have contributed to his choice of devil-forms.

At the foot of the crags with the cave, a white heron stands at the edge of the water.

To the right of the rocky mass is a field and to the right of this again, a hillock on which stands a female deer. In Berlin this hind is absent. There, somewhat more to the front, a hart has been painted. To the right of him is a bear, to the left a hare. In Vienna they do not occur. There one sees to the right of the hind a second hind. The latter is jumping in the direction of a hart further away to the back.

In Vienna, on the right-hand side of the pool in which the unicorn swims, a hind stands drinking. Cranach does not show this animal. Further back and tapering away to the right is grassland. In Berlin this is a fairly bare hilly stretch.

Behind these respectively grassy and hilly stretches there is again a wood. In Vienna a hind stands in this wood, to the right, and to the right of her a hart is jumping out from among the trees. It is this hart in whose direction a hind previously mentioned is leaping.

In the Cranach panel one sees in this section, from left to right: at the edge of the water a dog lying down, on a hillock a standing hind, to the right in the wood a hind looking back, and to the right of this animal a leaping hart. One can of course regard heron, deer, bear, hare and dog as just part of the scene in Paradise, without any symbolic significance. Thus 15th-century miniatures of Paradise with Adam and Eve in it, contain deer, unicorn, horse, lion, lizard, birds, porcupine, dog, hare or rabbit, cow, pig, sheep, ape and bear<sup>205</sup>. But in the context of the Paradise here under discussion the animals could well have a special meaning. We shall consider this possibility in what follows.

Bosch repeatedly depicted white herons. In my opinion they have a sexual function, mostly in an unfavourable sense. See Elaboration III.

Concerning the deer, it is remarkable how often Cranach in his original works has placed a deer in a sinful environment or with persons leading a sinful life,

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<sup>201</sup> *Natuurkunde van het geheel-al*, p. 116.

<sup>202</sup> *M. W.*, III, 1650.

<sup>203</sup> M. de Castelein. *De Const van Rhetoriken*. Gent 1555, p. 205.

<sup>204</sup> *Biënboec*, p. 154.

<sup>205</sup> Rep.: *Tuin*, ill. IV, VI, VII; *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 74/146 and 76/145.



e.g. in the fall of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (in one depiction Eve is even sitting on this animal<sup>206</sup>), with St. Magdalene<sup>207</sup>, with St. Hieronymus<sup>208</sup>, with the princess seduced by St. Chrysostomus<sup>209</sup>, with Venus<sup>210</sup>, and with a naked spring-nymph<sup>211</sup>. In the case of Magdalene, Hieronymus, Chrysostomus, Venus and the spring-nymph the allusion must surely in the first place be to the sin of unchastity.

In a woodcut made by Hans Burgkmair (1473-1531) deer are also present at the fall of man<sup>212</sup>.

Deer occur in 15th-century *Gardens of Love*<sup>213</sup> and in Bruegel's *Luxuria*<sup>214</sup>. Also in Bosch's *Garden of Lusts*<sup>215</sup>.

In the plastic arts of the 15th and 16th centuries the deer therefore does occur in an erotic sense. Correlated to this is that in Netherlandish folk art it sometimes functions as a figure of fertility<sup>216</sup>, that in festivities at the beginning of the year and at Carnival, disguising oneself as a deer symbolizes fertility<sup>217</sup>, and that in German folklore it is a source of many aphrodisiacs<sup>218</sup>.

In addition we note that *schoon herten* [handsome deer/hearts, *hert* being a term for both heart and deer] is synonymous with light women in Godschalc Rosemondt van Eindhoven's *Boecxken vander Biechte ende van die seven Dootsonden* (Antwerpen 1517; see Tinbergen in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 159).

It is not strange, therefore, that Bosch painted deer-devils on the left and centre panels of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>219</sup> and also on the centre and right panels of the *Haywain* triptych<sup>220</sup>, that the Bosch imitator Pieter Huys did likewise in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* which hangs in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh in Antwerp (no. 25), that a deer-devil is taking a sinner to a devil-smith on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges, and that one of the devil-creatures tormenting Antonius by their very presence, in a painting by Maarten de Vos (which i.a. shows Paul of Thebe being carried to his

<sup>206</sup> Rosenberg, ill. 39 and 48. Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 161, 162, 165, 166, 287 and 288.

<sup>207</sup> Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 143.

<sup>208</sup> Idem, ill. 156 and 158. For his temptations see *Passionael*. Somer stuck ccxviii: ... *daer ic was met scorpionen ende beesten, so docht mi dat ic inder maechden dans was in mijnen couden lichaem ende doden vleysche. So oprees alleen die brant der oncuiseheit. Hier om weende ic altoos, ende ic dede mijn vleesch onder, dat tegen mi vacht* [ ... where I was with scorpions and beasts, so it seemed to me that I was in the virgins' dance in my cold body and dead flesh. Then arose at the same time the fire of unchastity. Because of this I wept all the time, and I subjected my flesh that fought against me]. See also *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 215/285.

<sup>209</sup> Jahn, Tafel 69.

<sup>210</sup> Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 321. Deer are shown also with Titian's *Venus* (Prado, no. 420 and 421).

<sup>211</sup> Rosenberg, ill. 40. Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 101 and 323.

<sup>212</sup> Bergouignan, ill. 13.

<sup>213</sup> Van Marle. *Iconographie* II, fig. 453 and 457.

<sup>214</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 25/32.

<sup>215</sup> *Tuin*, p. 55, 56 etc. (see index).

<sup>216</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 25/32.

<sup>217</sup> J. Pieters. *Het uitgaan met de beer in het Dendermondse. Volkskunde* 53, p. 212, 213. *Handwörterbuch* IV, 116.

<sup>218</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 25/32.

<sup>219</sup> Idem.

<sup>220</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 43 and 44 (left, cf. 13).

grave by the saint), is a woman with the antlers of a deer, representing lust<sup>221</sup>. A devil with deer's antlers is present, too, in a Last Judgement depicted in a North Netherlandisch miniature from the end of the 15th century<sup>222</sup>.

In my opinion also the following were intended to have an unfavourable sense: the roedeer or hind in Bosch's drawing of the human tree (which I see as a satire on celebrators of the May festival)<sup>223</sup>, the roe and deer in the *Paradise* of the *Haywain*, and the deer in the *Terrestrial Paradise* in Venice<sup>224</sup>. Further, the deer in the *Paradise* showing the creation of Eve, fall of man, and expulsion, painted about 1520 by an imitator and now in Chicago<sup>225</sup>.

The deer in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych also have a sexual connotation, but here in a favourable sense: they relate to God's command: Be fruitful and multiply<sup>226</sup>. In the same sense they appear also in the *Paradise* showing Adam and Eve in a fruitskin, painted by an imitator of Bosch and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna<sup>227</sup>, and on a window-pane in the Bomann Museum in Celle, in Hanover. The latter shows a bridal couple cutting furrows in a field with a plough drawn by four deer<sup>228</sup>. A roe as symbol of love in a favourable sense can be seen near Adam and Eve where, before the fall, they are listening to God in the background of Cornelis van Haarlem's large painting of the *Fall of man* (Rijksmuseum). In contrast to this the deer in the depiction of the fall itself, in the same painting, has an unfavourable connotation.

Cranach's bear too could have an unfavourable meaning. That it occurred in former times as a symbol of unchastity, rage and voracity, has already been pointed out<sup>229</sup>.

In regard to Cranach's hare we note that the artist painted not only a deer but also a hare in a depiction of Eve offering the apple to Adam, as well as in depictions of St. Hieronymus<sup>230</sup>, and that Hans Burgkmair also placed a little hare with the deer in his *Temptation of Adam*<sup>231</sup>. Hares occur in 15th-century *Gardens of Love*<sup>232</sup>. Bosch and other Netherlanders give the animal an unchaste meaning<sup>233</sup>.

The hare was also regarded as diabolic in a general sense: people in the Low Countries believed that the devil and witches could transform themselves into this animal<sup>234</sup>.

The presence of a little hare or a rabbit in the *Terrestrial Paradise* in Venice is an indication that various souls have not yet been entirely cleansed of carnal

<sup>221</sup> Ao. 1594. Royal Museum in Antwerp, no. 103.

<sup>222</sup> *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandsche Oudheidkundige Bond* 1956, at p. 15. Haarlem. Bisschoppelijk [Episcopal] Museum, Ms. 66, now in Catharijneconvent, Utrecht.

<sup>223</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 154. See *Judgem.*, p. 183, 266, 371.

<sup>224</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 339 and 349.

<sup>225</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 339.

<sup>226</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 339.

<sup>227</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 340 and ill. 61.

<sup>228</sup> Communicated by F. de Fremery in *Nehalennia* 1 (1956), p. 127. For *de akker beploegen* [to plough the field] see *Judgem.*, p. 205.

<sup>229</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 49.

<sup>230</sup> Rosenberg, ill. 39. Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 156 and 158.

<sup>231</sup> Bergouignan, fig. 13.

<sup>232</sup> See note 213.

<sup>233</sup> *Tuin*, p. 57.

<sup>234</sup> Van den Bergh, p. 31 and 277. Niermeyer, p. 69.

desires<sup>235</sup>. The little hares or rabbits in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych could, together with other animals depicted there, be illustrative of God's words: Be fruitful, and multiply . . . and have dominion . . . over every living thing that moveth upon the earth<sup>236</sup>.

Cranach's dog may well be found to have an unfavourable meaning too. We have already noted the pejorative sense in which the dog occurs<sup>237</sup>.

The lower half of the left panel (ill. 9) shows us three scenes from the story of the Garden of Eden. In chronological order they are: at the bottom the creation of Adam and Eve, above this the fall, and above this again the expulsion from Paradise.

We begin with the first.

The Creator here is God the Son, as on the left wing of the *Garden* triptych, and not God the Father, as on the left wing of the *Haywain* triptych. In a Utrecht bible of about 1440 and in a Paris manuscript of St. Augustine's *La Cité de Dieu* of about 1480 the Creator is also God the Son<sup>238</sup>.

Haslinghuis has pointed out that in the Middle Ages no strict distinction was made between God the Father and God the Son. He writes [translated]: This is based on the doctrine already manifest in Irenaeus, that Christ, the Logos, is the eternal self-revelation of the Father<sup>239</sup>.

Van Puyvelde adds to this [translated]: Perhaps it was done also on the grounds of gospel texts such as: He that seeth me seeth the Father that sent me, and: I and my Father are one (*St. John* 10:30), or was it based on the text of St. Paul, who says of Christ: Imago Dei invisibilis (*Ad. Coloss.* 1, 15)<sup>240</sup>.

God has the figure and the aspect of a man in his thirties and he has a small moustache. His robe and cloak are red in colour and, with Bosch, without a buckle. Cranach however adds a round golden clasp. God the Son in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych, where he is shown instituting marriage between man and woman, also wears this kind of clasp<sup>241</sup>. He also wears red robes here. The colour could indicate the dawn of mankind, or the death of Christ, who shed his blood on behalf of the human race.

God holds Eve, newly created out of the still sleeping Adam, loosely by her left arm and raises two fingers of his right hand over her head in a gesture of benediction. The depiction has much in common with a miniature in a Paris manuscript of St. Augustine's *La Cité de Dieu* from about 1480<sup>242</sup>.

In none of Bosch's three depictions of Adam and Eve in Paradise is the creation of Adam shown. This is understandable, because many mediaeval Dutch writers held that Adam was created outside of Eden, namely in the *land*

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<sup>235</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 349.

<sup>236</sup> *Tuin*, p. 23, 26, 28 and 34.

<sup>237</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 37 f.

<sup>238</sup> *Tuin*, ill. iv and vi. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 244/324 (14) and ill. 76/145.

<sup>239</sup> Haslinghuis, p. 17.

<sup>240</sup> Van Puyvelde. *Schilderkunst*, p. 236. God the Son as creator was therefore not an unknown motif, and Madam Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 16) was mistaken when she wrote about Eve's creation out of Adam, as depicted on our panel: 'Diese Darstellung gibt klar zu erkennen, dass Bosch sich nicht an die traditionelle Form gehalten hat'. Neither do I agree with her opinion that God the Son and the sleeping Adam have the same face.

<sup>241</sup> For this kind of clasp see *Tuin*, p. 20.

<sup>242</sup> See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 244/324 (14) and ill. 76/145.



9. Creation of Adam and Eve, Cranach (p. 53)

van Damas<sup>243</sup>, in *damasts acker*<sup>244</sup>, *Damascus acker*<sup>245</sup>, or *akker Damascene*<sup>246</sup> [land of Damas, damast's field, Damascus field or field Damascene].

This field was near to what later became the city of Jerusalem, and on the place where Christ would be crucified<sup>247</sup>. Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 631) situates it in the valley of Jehoshaphat, which lies *aan de voet van den berch van Oliveten* [at the foot of Mount Oliver]. According to some, Adam was formed from the dust of Mount Golgotha<sup>248</sup>, and according to the author of *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 12) from *Ebron . . . die pit* [Ebron . . . the pit].

It is strange that Boendale (*Der Leken Spiegel* 1, p. 76 f.) believed that God created not only Adam but also Eve in *Ebroen bi Damas* [in Ebron by Damascus] and that he brought them both from there to the Garden of Eden.

In *Sidrac* we read that Adam was created 1000 years after the fall of the angels (p. 150). It happened in Hebron on a Friday. He also died there, again on a Friday, and was buried there (p. 43, 176, 177). Christ, too, was born and died on a Friday, and Noah died on a Friday (p. 177).

Several Dutch writers tell us that the Last Judgement will take place in the valley of Jehoshaphat, that is, near Jerusalem where Adam was created<sup>249</sup>.

The author of *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 67) believes that the Garden of Eden was near to this valley. Another writer however situates it a good 1000 miles from Jerusalem<sup>250</sup>.

Was Bosch aware that the two places were held to be in close proximity, and did this view influence him in putting next to each other terrestrial paradise and Last Judgement?

There are other links, too, between the first human couple and the Last Judgement.

*Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 12, 37, 67) says that Adam and Eve were buried in *dat lantschap van Damas* [the landscape of Damas], namely in the well at Hebron, from the clay of which Adam was formed. The well lay close to the Garden of Eden, and this was again close to the valley of Jehoshaphat where the Last Judgement would take place.

Jacob van Maerlant writes that Adam when he woke up after Eve had been created out of him, prophesied that *domesdach . . . met brande zoude comen* [doomsday . . . would come with fire]<sup>251</sup>.

The creation of man was also associated with the fall of the angels, according to the author of the *Lucidarius* and Jan van Boendale.

*Alse die ynglen scandelike  
Verloren hadden hemelrike,  
Maecte God den mensche, om dat  
Hi weder vollen zoude die stat,  
Daer si uut ghevallen waren.*

[When the angels shamefully  
Had lost the kingdom heavenly,  
God created the human race  
So that He could fill again the place  
Where they had fallen from]<sup>252</sup>.

<sup>243</sup> *Rijmbijbel*, p. 37. *Die Dietsche Lucidarius*, p. 12.

<sup>244</sup> *De Spiegel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse*, p. 11.

<sup>245</sup> Dirc van Delf III B, p. 631.

<sup>246</sup> *Sermoenen van Jan Brugman*, p. 20.

<sup>247</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>248</sup> Jung. *Fallen Angels*, p. 141.

<sup>249</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 85.

<sup>250</sup> *Sermoenen van Jan Brugman*, p. 20.

<sup>251</sup> *Rijmbijbel*, p. 26.

<sup>252</sup> *Die Dietsche Lucidarius*, p. 10. Boendale. *Der Leken Spiegel* 1, p. 56.



As seen by some writers the creation of man therefore has its place between the fall of the angels and the Last Judgement. This is also where Bosch has put it.

To the left of Adam a dog with its eyes open lies before a shrub. With Cranach it has its eyes closed. Lying in more or less the same posture is a dog in Bosch's *Accidia* (*Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*). Here I would say the animal has its eyes closed.

To the right of the scene of creation is a small pool with waterplants and two ducks. A little bird of fantasy perches in the branches of a low bush. It is absent in the Cranach panel. There two other little birds of fantasy are on the branches of a shrublet at the edge of a pool. In the Cranach there is also a lizard (absent in Vienna). It is creeping through the grass left of the pool.

Is the lying dog (whether with its eyes open or closed) a symbol of *Accidia*, of Sloth<sup>253</sup>? Does it belong with the sleeping Adam and does it suggest that Adam was going to be slow and inactive in resisting the temptation by Eve when she presented him with the apple?

One is reminded here of the following passage in Ruusbroec: *Uut deser quader secten der traechheit wast eene andere zonde, dat is gulsicheit. Die brachte Adame, onsen eersten vader, uten paradise, daer hi dat ghebot Gods brac metten appelbete* [Out of this bad vice of sloth another sin grows, that is gluttony. This brought Adam, our first father, out of Paradise, where he broke the commandment of God with the bite of the apple]<sup>254</sup>.

The ducks, the little birds of fantasy and the lizard could be telling us something about Eve.

In the Dutch language the duck is a figure of stupidity and addiction to drink<sup>255</sup>. In the plastic arts of the Low Countries it could be symbolic of unchastity<sup>256</sup>, transience<sup>257</sup>, stupidity<sup>258</sup> and, probably, addiction to drink<sup>259</sup>.

Small birds of fantasy can symbolize unchastity<sup>260</sup>.

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<sup>253</sup> In my opinion Zupnick (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 19-1968-, p. 123) erroneously interprets the very vicious dogs shown with the *Pedlar* on the back of the *Haywain* and with the *Pedlar* in Rotterdam, as symbols of *Accidia*. They are in keeping with the saying: *hont, meersman, elc weet wel dat se tsamen discorderen* [dog, pedlar, everybody well knows that together they disagree] (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 226/301).

<sup>254</sup> Ruusbroec IV, p. 145: *Vanden XII Beghinen*.

<sup>255</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/94; *Tuin*, p. 68.

<sup>256</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/94 and 215/285; *Tuin*, p. 46, 52 and 53. The ducks in Bosch's *Pedlar* (back of *Haywain*) and in his drawing of the *Human Tree* undoubtedly also have a derogatory meaning. Those in the *Paradise of the Garden* triptych and in the *Paradise* with Adam and Eve in a fruitskin are illustrative of God's benedictory injunction: *Judgem.*, p. 339.

<sup>257</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 73/93.

<sup>258</sup> In Bruegel's *Dean of Renaix*, where it is depicted on a signboard. Van Bastelaer. *Estampes*, no. 192. In a depiction of a conjuring scene by an imitator of Bosch (Museum of Art, Philadelphia): *Bezwaren*, p. 17.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. the Gula scene depicted by an imitator of Bosch in a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, formerly in the possession of the art firm Ehrich, New York, later in the Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/31, note 54; rep.: De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, ill. 23): A swimming duck carries a round, laid table-top. At the table sits a devil with a spoonbill's beak (addiction to drink). On the table-top are a beer-or wine-jug and a pig's trotter with a bread-roll. Protruding from the table is a mop or Turk's-head (see *Judgem.*, p. 129) stuck through a roast chicken. From the mop hangs a little sausage.

<sup>260</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 30, note 61.

Cranach's lizard no doubt has the same function as the two which he and the one which Bosch placed against the rocky wall to the right of the seduction scene. In Vienna as well as in Berlin a diabolically depicted porcupine sits on a ledge of the same rock. As we shall see later the lizards and porcupine here have an erotic connotation. So undoubtedly has the lizard at the pool.

One could say that the ducks point to Eve's stupidity, while the fantasy birds and the lizard allude to the unchasteness which she caused mankind to fall victim to as a result of her sin.

The posture of Adam is more or less that of Adam in the scene with the creation of Eve on the *Paradise* panel of the *Haywain* triptych, and the posture of Eve is approximately that of Eve in the creation scene on the left panel of the *Garden* triptych. In the course of our analysis we shall repeatedly find that in his *Last Judgement* Bosch has painted things which remind us of details in other of his works. This could mean that the triptych was a very late work.

Chronologically we now come to that part of the left wing where the fall is depicted.

A she-devil in the shape of a creature whose upper body is that of a woman and the lower a dragon (the 'serpent' of *Genesis* 3), sits in the tree of good and evil and offers Eve an apple. The latter has already accepted an apple and is looking at it with pleasure. The second apple being offered to her is apparently the one she has to give to Adam. He is looking at Eve and gesturing with his right hand. It seems as if he is going to ask her what she is about to do. Eve has not yet eaten of the apple, but is on the point of succumbing to the temptation.

The reference here is to the first part of *Genesis* 3:6, which in a Dutch translation of the Vulgate reads as follows: *De vrouw zag dan, dat de boom goed was om er van te eten en schoon voor de oogen en liefelijk om te aanschouwen en zij nam van zijne vrucht en at en gafer van aan haren man, die ook at.* [The woman then saw that the tree was good to eat from and pleasant to the eyes and lovely to look at and she took of its fruit and ate and gave of it to her husband, who also ate]<sup>261</sup>.

The serpent in the Garden of Eden (described by Ruusbroec as *een quaet inghel die uten hemel gestoten was* [a bad angel cast out of heaven]<sup>262</sup> represented with the head or upper body of a woman and with two arms and two legs, or with four legs, was a well-known mediaeval image. As such it occurs on the stage<sup>263</sup>, in literature<sup>264</sup>, and in the plastic arts<sup>265</sup>.

The serpent's role in the story of the Garden of Eden, its gliding movements and venom made of the snake a pejorative symbol in the Middle Ages. In Middle

<sup>261</sup> *De Heilige Boeken van het Oude Verbond. Vulgaat en Nederlandse vertaling met aantekeningen*. Deel 1. Tweede druk. 's-Hertogenbosch 1933, p. 20.

<sup>262</sup> Ruusbroec IV, p. 117. *Vanden XII Beghinen*.

<sup>263</sup> Van Puyvelde. *Schilderkunst*, p. 255 f.

<sup>264</sup> *Rijmbijbel*, p. 29. Dirck van Delf II, p. 161. *De Spieghel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse*, p. 11.

<sup>265</sup> Th. Ehrenstein. *Das alte Testament im Bilde*. Wien 1923, ill. 54, 73, 87, 89, 90, 102. Th. Ehrenstein. *Das alte Testament in der Graphik*. Wien 1936, Kap. II, ill. 5, 9. With Bosch also in the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* triptych and in a drawing in the Leroy M. Backus Collection, San Francisco (Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 142). In the drawing the snake looks like a woman with a long tail; compare her with the snake in the *Paradise* by an imitator of Bosch (The Art Institute, Chicago, *Judgem.*, p. 339).

Dutch texts, for instance, it occurs as a figure of disobedience (*wantet die ierste onghhehoersamheit toe broechte inden paradijse* [for it brought about the first disobedience in paradise]<sup>266</sup>), of hate<sup>267</sup>, envy<sup>268</sup>, arrogance<sup>269</sup> and treachery<sup>270</sup>.

The devil can appear to man in the shape of a serpent<sup>271</sup> and in hell and purgatory snakes torment sinners by inflicting pain on them or by being given to them to eat as disgusting food<sup>272</sup>.

It is remarkable that the serpent is more than once associated with unchastity. Sometimes it is an attribute of a woman who represents Luxuria<sup>273</sup>. Thomas of Cantimpré tells of a cleric whose penis changed into a snake because he *van quader gewoenten hem zelve plach onkuuschelic te betasten* [through bad habit was wont to finger himself unchastely]<sup>274</sup>. Snakes and toads are sometimes shown punishing sinners in hell<sup>275</sup>.

Both Bosch and Cranach have given Eve and the serpent the same face, but the face is different in the two paintings. Giving Eve's face to the snake is the artists' way of conveying that they see Eve as the great temptress.

In *Tuin* I have pointed out that for the Dutch authors Boendale (*Der Leken Spiegel*, 1325-1330) and Clodius (ca. 1550) the fall of Eve was associated in particular with the advent of unchastity, and that Bosch is of the same mind on the centre panel of his *Garden* triptych<sup>276</sup>. On the left panel of his *Last Judgement* triptych he likewise represents this view. Here the accent falls fully on Eve: *she* is the one being created and *she* it is who first succumbs to temptation. Thereby she causes man to commit sins, i.a. the sin of unchastity. That this was uppermost in Bosch's mind is apparent from the unchaste character of many of the demonic creatures taking possession of the earth.

However, there were moralists in the Low Countries who imputed to Eve (and with her to Adam) still other deadly sins.

In the mystery play *Die Eerste Bliscap van Maria* it is the devil *Nijt* [Envy] who induces the serpent to make Eve envious of God (line 163 ff.). In *Sidrac* (p.68) Adam is blamed for envy in particular.

In *Dat Bouck der Bloemen* (p.63) Eve is accused of pride: *Doe verhief sij haer in hoverdie ende om dat sij ghelijc gode wesen woude, soe beet sij inden appel* [Then she raised herself in arrogance and because she would be equal to God, she bit in the apple]. In a Middle Dutch legend of Mary, virgins accompanying

<sup>266</sup> *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 119.

<sup>267</sup> Idem, p. 17.

<sup>268</sup> *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 245.

<sup>269</sup> Jan Praet, p. 132.

<sup>270</sup> *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 300: *si biten als serpenten mit verraderien* [they bite like serpents with treachery].

<sup>271</sup> Van den Bergh, p. 31. *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* II, p. 22 (exempel CCII).

<sup>272</sup> *Dat sterf boeck*, 40<sup>r</sup>, 96<sup>v</sup>, 97<sup>r</sup>. *Vorsienicheit Godes*, p. 66 and 133. Boendale. *Der Leken Spiegel* I, p. 53. *Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 297. Gossart, p. 223 f. (*Le Compost*). Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 47 and 247. *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 17.

<sup>273</sup> Molsdorf, p. 221 (no. 1081).

<sup>274</sup> *Biënboec*, p. 187.

<sup>275</sup> *Vorsienicheit Godes*, p. 66.

<sup>276</sup> *Tuin*, p. 39. Compare the passage in Jung, *Fallen Angels*, p. 146: According to the Talmud (Babli Shabbat 146<sup>a</sup>; Yeb 103<sup>b</sup>) the curse of Eve's Fall was that the serpent infected her with lasciviousness. The lasciviousness in itself was the punishment.



her compare the fall of Lucifer with that of Adam and Eve. All three committed the sin of Superbia<sup>277</sup>.

According to Jan de Weert (p.240, line 1266 f.) and *Des Coninx Summe* (p.281 and 471) the first human couple yielded to the sin of gluttony. The *Summe* also says (p.287) that when the devil wishes to tempt a person to over-indulgence he lets him see *die spise, hoe wel smakende ende lekker datse is, also hi Eva onser eerster moeder den appel toende* [foodstuffs, how good to the taste and pleasing they are, just like he showed the apple to Eve our first mother].

In *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 28) Eve's greediness leads to her loss of virginity: *Also lange als Eva tegen gulsicheit hielt in den paradise, soe bleeff si maget, mer alsoe schier als si gulsicheit had gedaen ende vanden appel geten, soe bekenden si onsuverheit*. [As long as Eve held out against gluttony in Paradise, she remained virgin, but as soon as she had committed gluttony, she knew impurity].

We have already noted that Ruusbroec writes in *Vanden XII Beghinen* that gluttony put Adam out of Paradise (*Judgement*, p. 56). In *Vanden VII Sloten* he tells us that Adam was tempted by gluttony and that this is *wortele ende oerspronc alre zonden; want daer-uyt wast traechheit ende oncuysche neyghinghe ende by-wilen oncuysche werke, <ende> daer-na menichfuldicheit der zonden* [root and origin of all sins; for from it grows sloth and unchaste inclination and sometimes unchaste acts, <and> after that the multitude of sins]<sup>278</sup>.

In *Die Chierheit der Gheesteliker Brulocht* Ruusbroec imputes to Adam five sins in connection with his fall: *hi minde hem selven met natuerliker minnen onordenlike, ende hier omme keerde hi van Gode ende versmade Gods ghebod in hoverdicheden. Ende hi begheerde const ende wijsheit in ghiericheden; ende hi sochte smaec ende ghelost in gulsicheden; ende daer na wert hi beweghet in oncuyscheden* [he loved himself with inordinate self-love, and because of this he turned from God and in arrogance scorned God's command. And in greed he desired knowledge and wisdom; and in gluttony he sought what was tasty and luscious; and after that he was moved into unchastity]<sup>279</sup>. So we have here self-love, arrogance, greed, gluttony and lust.

Hendrik Herp, too, makes Adam a victim of these five vices<sup>280</sup>, but Brugman charges Adam and Eve with 'only' three: arrogance, greed and gluttony<sup>281</sup>.

On the other hand *Sidrac* (p.45) accuses Adam of committing no less than seven sins: arrogance (because he wanted to be equal to his creator), disobedience (because he broke God's command), greed (because he desired more than God wished to give him), sacrilege (because he undertook what God had forbidden), adultery (because his soul was joined to and crowned with God; but when he did the devil's counsel he acted unfaithfully to the bridegroom of his soul), manslaughter (because he brought death on himself and all who came after him), and gluttony (because he believed the woman and ate the apple). *Sidrac* calls them the seven chief sins. Superbia, Avaritia and Gula are clearly included. Adultery is a form of Luxuria and manslaughter of Ira. Disobedience to God, says Dirc van Delf, sometimes issues from Torpor (rigidity, indolence), a

<sup>277</sup> *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* I, p. 428.

<sup>278</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 96.

<sup>279</sup> Jan van Ruusbroec. *Die Chierheit der Gheesteliker Brulocht*. Amsterdam 1917, p. 119.

<sup>280</sup> Hendrik Herp O.F.M. *Spiegel der Volcomenheit*. Opnieuw uitgegeven door P. Lucidius Verschueren O.F.M. Antwerpen 1931. Deel II, p. 139. The manuscript was written in 1466. Herp died in Mechelen in 1477.

<sup>281</sup> *Sermoenen van Jan Brugman*, p. 26.

form of Accidia<sup>282</sup>. According to Dirc a person is guilty of Torpor if he is *onghehorich als een <die> niet met rade, met bede of met dranghe daer toe te bringhen en is, dat hi Goods ende siner oversten ghebode vervolghen* [disobedient as one <who> will not with advice, with entreaty or with pressure be brought thereto that he follow the command of God and his superiors]. We are left with sacrilege, committed by Adam when he undertook what God had forbidden. Is this a form of Invidia? Did Sidrac interpret this sacrilege as an expression of envy of God's power?

But it is Eve who started all this misery. *De Spieghel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse* (p. 14) says:

<i>Ende twijf verdoemde den man adam</i>	[And the woman condemned the man Adam]
<i>Ende al tgheslachte dat na hem quam.</i>	And all the generation that after him came]

In *Van den Rijcke der Ghelieven* Ruusbroec even maintains that woman still continues to drive man out of Paradise. *Dat wijf, dat sijn de sinne* [The woman, that is the senses]<sup>283</sup>.

It is clear that in the Low Countries of the Middle Ages Adam and Eve were believed to have committed one or more or all seven of the deadly sins in their fall.

We return to the scene of temptation on our left panel. Bosch gave the serpent the face of Eve. He therefore sees a connection between the two: both are temptresses, one seduces Eve, the other Adam (cf. *Genesis* 3:12 and 13). Elsewhere I have pointed out that in the Low Countries of the Middle Ages and 16th century it was not uncommon to regard Eve as the temptress of Adam and by extension as the woman who seduces the man<sup>284</sup>.

Not only Bosch and Cranach gave the identical face to Eve and the serpent. In a miniature in the *Breviarium Grimani*, for instance, and in a *Fall of Man* by Herri met de Bles, we also find the similarity<sup>285</sup>.

Perhaps the oldest example of this motif is to be found in 'die Adamslegende, die in der äthiopischen wie in der Schatzhöhlen-Fassung folgendermassen erzählt: So fuhr der Satan, der, hässlich von Gestalt, fürchten musste, der Eva zu missfallen, in die Schlange und rief Eva bei ihrem Namen, und als sie sich umwandte, da sah sie in ihm ihr Bild'<sup>286</sup>.

Rogier van der Weyden, too, once warned against the sin of female seduction, in the serpent he painted in Paradise. For he gave the snake (probably about 1440) the head of a woman with her hair done up in so-called horns or cones<sup>287</sup>. The preacher Jan Brugman also describes this disguise of the serpent: *<hij> stack sijn hoeft boven doer die bladeren vanden boem, ende setten eenre*

<sup>282</sup> Jacobs in Jan de Weert, p. 75: *Tafel vanden Kersten Ghelove*.

<sup>283</sup> Ruusbroec 1, p. 29.

<sup>284</sup> *Tuin*, p. 39.

<sup>285</sup> Also in some of the examples in the books of Ehrenstein (note 265 above). Cranach likewise applied the motif in an engraving (F.W.H. Hollstein. *German engravings, etchings and woodcuts. ca. 1400-1700*. Vol. vi, p. 11) and Bosch did so on the left panel of the *Haywain* triptych (Escorial: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 37; Prado: Brans, ill. 87).

<sup>286</sup> Esche, p. 28. Perhaps a Book of Adam that dealt with the life and death of Adam and Eve had already been produced before the birth of Christ. The Syrian work *Die Schatzhöhle* and the Ethiopian *Der Kampf Adams und Evas* are thought to be derived from it (Esche, p. 9).

<sup>287</sup> Eisler, Pl. CIII.

joffrouwen hoeft op met tuyten. Aldus is die duvel die eerste die de tuyten opgebracht heeft [ <he> stuck his head up, through the leaves of the tree, and put on a young woman's head with horns. Thus the devil is the first to have introduced horns]<sup>288</sup>.

Moralists of the Low Countries waged war against this coiffure. Ruusbroec censures women who *maken ane hare hoefde bulte van hare; dat sijn des duvels neste, daar si in sculen . . . cromme hoerne, alse gheite, daer si den duvel mede gheliken* [make on their heads lumps of hair; these are the devil's nests wherein they lurk . . . curved horns, like goats, with which they resemble the devil]<sup>289</sup>.

Jan de Weert (p.228) abominates the yellow hair braided into horns, and the author of *Vorsienicheit Godes* (p.196) lets devils in hell comb the hair of women sinners who had *dat scone haer dat . . . scoen ghecemmet was ende hoer opten hoefde vergadert oft horen van beesten waren* [the lovely hair . . . well combed and bunched up on the head as if it were horns of beasts].

The moralisers found that this hairdress testified to arrogance and made the woman more seductive.

There were Dutch moralists who clearly regarded the serpent in the Garden of Eden as an unchaste female creature. The author of *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p.14) says she is *luxurioes boven alle dieren* [lustful above all animals], and the writer of *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col.51) compares the snake who tempted Adam and Eve and who had *een aensicht gelijs enen wive* [a face like a woman] with a procuress.

The idea of the serpent in Paradise as the introducer of unchastity is an old one: in the book *Baruch*, a Gnostic work written by a certain Justinus, the fall of the first human couple is brought about by a being who is part girl, part snake, and who operates through an angel in her service. The sins which Eve and Adam are here led to commit are adultery and pederasty<sup>290</sup>.

The tree of knowledge of good and evil in which the serpent is shown, is an apple-tree. This is so also on the *Paradise* panel of the *Haywain* triptych and in the *Paradise* of the imitator of ca.1520 (The Art Institute, Chicago; *Judgement*, p. 357), but in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych the tree of knowledge has i.m.o. not been depicted<sup>291</sup>. That this tree could have been other than an apple-tree, was an acceptable consideration in the Low Countries in Bosch's time, as is evident from, among others, Jan Brugman's statement that it was an apple-tree or a fig-tree<sup>292</sup>. The fig-tree already appears in the apocryphal book of the *Leven van Adam en Eva*<sup>293</sup>.

Let us now look at what there is to see to the right and left of the seduction scene.

To the right rises a high crag, with water at its foot. In the Cranach there is a flow of water from the rock into the little pool. In Vienna a porcupine of diabolic form is seen on a ledge of the rock. In Berlin the demonic character of

<sup>288</sup> *Sermoenen van Jan Brugman*, p. 25.

<sup>289</sup> Ruusbroec II, p. 323: *Van den Gheesteliken Tabernakel*.

<sup>290</sup> The book itself has been lost, but a detailed table of its contents does exist. This has been published in a German translation: Latte, p. 64 ff.

<sup>291</sup> See Elaboration II.

<sup>292</sup> *Sermoenen van Jan Brugman*, p. 24.

<sup>293</sup> Kautzsch, p. 522 (21). Bergema has noted places in Rabbinic literature and apocryphal books where the tree of knowledge is said to be a pine-tree (p. 247), vine (p. 247), palm-tree (p. 248), kind of lemon-tree (p. 248) and fig-tree (p. 248 and 252).

this animal is even more strongly accentuated: there one clearly sees a pair of diabolic antlers growing out of the head.

Such a fiendish porcupine with two long feelers or horns on its head was depicted by Bosch also near a female prostitute-devil on the left wing of his triptych with the *Crucified woman-martyr* (St. Julia)<sup>294</sup>, and near a prostitute and a procuress, both female devils, on the right wing of his *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>295</sup>. In these cases the protuberances have a phallic connotation. Our porcupine on the left panel of the *Judgement* i.m.o. likewise alludes to unchastity<sup>296</sup>.

A porcupine with long quills functions as a sexual symbol also in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych, where it has a favourable sense<sup>297</sup>, on the main *Garden* panel, in the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* triptych, and on the Venice panel with *St. Egidius*: in these three in an unfavourable sense. Near St. Egidius it denotes, together with some other animals, vegetal forms, etc., the dangers the world holds for the man who is not in communion with God.

Besides the porcupine there is also a lizard on the rock-wall in Vienna, and in Berlin there are two of them. These reptiles likewise have diabolic significance: they often appear in depictions of hell, both as devils and as food that sinners have to eat<sup>298</sup>. In mediaeval plastic art lizards could serve to convey an obscene meaning. In a 15th-century Dutch manuscript, for instance, a lizard's tail was used for this purpose<sup>299</sup>.

Lizards are present on the *Paradise* panels of the *Haywain* and *Garden* triptychs and i.m.o. have sexual connotations here, unfavourable in the former and favourable in the latter.

Is some special meaning to be attached also to the crag (with its diabolic porcupine and lizard) standing in a little pool, and from which Cranach shows water running into the pool?

In the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* there is, just as on our panel, not far from the scenes of creation and fall, a rock in a pool of water. A basin-shaped part of the rock also holds water, and falling into this as well as into the little pool are jets of water which issue from the rock.

In the Prado version of the *Haywain* a hart and a hind stand at the foot of the rock and birds sit on it. In the *Haywain* of the Escorial (a painting that has suffered much damage) only the birds are present.

In both versions the stony mass is crowned by some vegetal matter that looks like a cap with a long, pointed 'feather' on top. The section of rock under this has an 'eye' in it. The top part of the rock accordingly somewhat resembles a head with head-covering<sup>300</sup>. An object in the shape of a fish lies on the 'cap', its head to the left, the tail to the right. The 'feather' sticks up between the back fin and the back itself. In the Prado version one also sees the eye of the fish.

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<sup>294</sup> *Martelares*, p. 12.

<sup>295</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 108/141.

<sup>296</sup> For the motif of the two feelers with Bosch, see *Martelares*, p. 12 f. *Judgem.*, p. 290.

<sup>297</sup> In this sense a porcupine (here of a grey-white colour) occurs also with Adam and Eve who, before their fall, are listening to the Godhead, represented as a spirit in the background of Cornelis van Haarlem's *Fall of Adam and Eve* (Rijksmuseum).

<sup>298</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 31.

<sup>299</sup> *Verslagen K.V.A.v.T.e.L.* 1966, p. 63.

<sup>300</sup> My view in regard to the anthropomorphic character of the rock in the *Paradise* of the *Haywain*, as stated in *Martelares*, p. 52, is incorrect.



10. Various birds and fox, Bosch (p. 64)



In my opinion hart, hind, birds and fish-shape here assume a diabolic character. Hart, hind and birds were discussed higher up, the symbolism of the fish follows later<sup>301</sup>.

In the rock with its water, both in the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* and in that of the *Last Judgement*, we probably have to see the fountain in the Garden of Eden from which sprang the four streams, and to accept that this part of the world, too, has been tainted by sin<sup>302</sup>. But this does not yet explain the human aspect of the rock on the *Haywain* panel. I may point out here, not without hesitation, that Azazel is the name of a rocky mountain as well as of a fallen angel, and that in an old Jewish tale a rock is changed into a devil by fallen angels<sup>303</sup>. Was Bosch acquainted with a similar Jewish theme?

To the left of the seduction scene (ill. 10) we see a group of trees which bear round red fruits. In the Cranach they are reddish-yellow<sup>304</sup>. Some have fallen to the ground.

In the foremost tree a cock is perched and on the ground a hen stands looking up at him.

The cock in the Netherlands of Bosch's time represented folly<sup>305</sup> unchastity<sup>306</sup>, slander<sup>307</sup> and pugnacity<sup>308</sup>, and in addition it sometimes had a daemonomagic function<sup>309</sup>. In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 477) it is a symbol of arrogance because it is proud of *sinen sconen cam* [its beautiful comb].

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<sup>301</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 50, 51 f.; 30; 89 n. 4.

<sup>302</sup> For fountains in Paradise-scenes by Bosch and imitators, see *Tuin*, p. 24 and *Judgem.*, p. 349 and note 11, 350. The fountain in Paradise from which four streams arise, also takes on all kinds of forms in Middle Dutch literature: De Vooy's. *Middeleeuwse schilderungen*, p. 106 f., 119.

<sup>303</sup> Jung. *Fallen Angels*, p. 156.

<sup>304</sup> They are the same as the fruit which grows on the tree of knowledge. In *Dit is dat visioen der maget Petrisa vanden paradise ende van Enoch ende Helias die int paradijs syn* (De Vooy's. *Middeleeuwse schilderungen*, p. 127-131), a manuscript in the University Library of Amsterdam, it is stated that the fruit of this tree is an apple which is as red as a rose on the one side, and white mixed with light yellow on the other (p. 129). Was Cranach or Bosch acquainted with this motif?

<sup>305</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 143/190. Another example of folly: in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* that originated in the environment of Pieter Huys, a cock draws along a cask on which sits a female Carnival-reveller (Rijksbureau. Box P. Huys: Somzée Collection, Brussels). Compare a similar depiction in a drawing by Bosch (Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 138; *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 143/190).

<sup>306</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 143/190. *Tuin*, p. 56. Additional example: Jan van der Noot, p. 124.

<sup>307</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 143/190.

<sup>308</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 143/190 f. *Tuin*, p. 120 (1). Additional example: A devil who holds a knife in his hand, has the tail of a cock (*Last Judgement*, attributed to Jan Mandijn: *The Connoisseur* CXLV -June 1960-, p. 78). The word *haan* [cock] occurs in an unfavourable sense in compounds, e.g. in *kuythane*, meaning tippler. *Kuythane* [lit: calf-cock, i.e. cock with calves that have spurs on them] was depicted by Bosch: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 12/18 (47). In *St. James and the Sorcerer Hermogenes* (Valenciennes, imitator of Bosch) a devil with a spoonbill's beak (alluding to addiction to drink: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/31) has cockspurs on his calves. Here too a *kuythane* is intended. The same meaning is represented by the devil who has a cockspur attached to his calf and is carrying a woman-sinner on his hat in the fragment of the *Last Judgement* in Munich. Yet another example: *Judgem.*, p. 94 n. 43.

<sup>309</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 143/191 (19). Additional example: In a 15th-century Dutch manuscript a cock is mentioned several times as an animal to be sacrificed in order to obtain something (*Verslagen K.V.A.v.T.e.L.* 1966, p. 116).

In a 15th- or 16th-century text in which ambiguous reference is made to *dat haenken mitten roden camme . . . daer aldus veel hennkens nae lopen* [the cockerel with the red comb . . . that many little pullets run after], it is pursued by lustful hens<sup>310</sup>. Of certain wanton mendicant monks Willem van Hildegarsberch says that they go *Byden vrouwen in dat bier; Entan worden sy voer theete vier Root gbecammet als een haen* [to the women in the beer; And then by the hot fire they get red combs like a cock]<sup>311</sup>. In the fragment of Bosch's *Last Judgement* in Munich a cock-devil with a red comb is depicted<sup>312</sup>, and in the *Garden of Lysts* a cock and a hen walk together<sup>313</sup>.

The erotic meaning of the cock on our panel is i.m.o. accentuated by the presence of the fanciful bird with its long tail and bill, up against the trunk at the foot of the tree. The bird in its function as a phallic symbol, especially when it has a long tail and bill, has already been discussed.

The hen plays yet another role on the left wing: at the edge of the thicket a fox lies watching her.

The motif of fox with hen or cock occurs also elsewhere in Bosch's work:

In the lower left-hand corner of his *St. Hieronymus* (Ghent) a fox lies sleeping in front of its hole. From the hole the leg of a fowl protrudes and in front of it lie a gory wing and a head and neck. Reynard is here replete with his meal<sup>314</sup>. In the drawing *The Field has Eyes, the Wood has Ears* (Berlin) a fox lies in the foot of a hollow tree with a cock it has caught<sup>315</sup>. And in the drawing *Fox and Cock* (Rotterdam) a fox from within its hole has its eyes on a cock passing by<sup>316</sup>. In these cases the animal is a symbol of evil which can claim victims.

It seems to me that the fox on our left panel represents the devil, for whom a loose woman is an easy prey. With mediaeval moralists the fox is a figure of *scalcheit ende loesheit* [guile and deceit]<sup>317</sup> and of greed<sup>318</sup>. Both of these meanings are very appropriate to the situation here<sup>319</sup>.

In a woodcut by Hans Burgkmair Eve offers Adam the apple, while near by a fox watches a pheasant<sup>320</sup>. In Cranach's works a pheasant is depicted: near the princess who was seduced by St. Chrysostomus<sup>321</sup>, near St. Hieronymus who was

<sup>310</sup> *Tuin*, p. 56 (5).

<sup>311</sup> Willem van Hildegarsberch, p. 172 f. Compare the passage in a *referein* [a form of line-repeating poem popular with the Rhetoricians] (*Styevooort* CCXXII, 14 ff.) quoted in *Judgem.*, p. 272.

<sup>312</sup> For the cock see also *Judgem.*, p. 272.

<sup>313</sup> *Tuin*, p. 56.

<sup>314</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 215/285.

<sup>315</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 158/208 and 279/367, and *Tuin*, p. 172.

<sup>316</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 279/367.

<sup>317</sup> *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 103. A fox as symbol of guile is part of the scene in Cornelis van Haarlem's painting of the *Fall of Adam and Eve* (Rijksmuseum). A dog with sad eyes lies beside it. Does this dog likewise allude to tardiness, as the dog in the Bosch and Cranach panels perhaps does (*Judgem.*, p. 56)?

<sup>318</sup> *Doctrinael des Tijts*, p. 109.

<sup>319</sup> The head of a fox has been given to a pilgrimess-devil (Rijksbureau. Friedländer Records. Cover Mandijn-Huys. *Temptation of St. Anthony*; see *Judgem.*, p. 255) and to a monk-devil (Janssens de Bisthoven, Pl. XI: centre panel of triptych with Job). Nicely applicable to this monk-devil is a passage in a *referein* [a form of line-repeating poem popular with the Rhetoricians] (*Onuitgegeven gedichten van Anna Bijns*, p. 244): in a bad monastery *maect bruer Williken . . . spel and draecht Reynken ghecapt . . . monicken cleeren* [brother Willy makes merry and cowed Reynard wears monk's clothes].

<sup>320</sup> Bergouignan, fig. 13.

<sup>321</sup> Jahn, Tafel 69.



subject to obscene temptations<sup>322</sup>, and near Samsom and Delilah<sup>323</sup>. Burgkmair's pheasant will therefore undoubtedly have been intended to represent weakness in the face of temptation, associated here with feminine charm.

In Bosch's *Christophorus* in the Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum there is a dead fox. A hen and a cock stand at the foot of the tree in whose branches we see a wine-flask (the form into which devils have changed the abode of Christophorus's friend, the hermit), a dove-cote (symbol of a brothel and placed there by devils), and a naked manikin climbing up to a beehive (symbolic representation of voracity which leads to poverty)<sup>324</sup>. Attached to the tree is a little hutch or box which we must imagine as containing a small image of Christ or Mary. This safeguards the lower half of the tree with its immediate environment against all evil: the fowls are in no danger from the fox (dead, and hanging on the trunk of the tree, to the right; at its throat one sees blood), no bird is sitting at the hole in the tree (a bird at a hole in a tree is a favourite symbol of unchastity with Bosch), and the ladder, which upright would lead to the wine-flask and beyond, lies on the ground.

On our left panel, somewhat further away, an owl is perched on a branch.

In the 16th century the owl in the Low Countries occurred as a figure of unchastity, folly and stupidity, also of light-shyness and evil<sup>325</sup>. All these meanings are applicable here<sup>326</sup>.

On the Cranach panel, above the owl's head, a magpie sits on a branch and a crow flies past.

If they are to be seen in context with the owl, the motif here represented would be 'birds with owl', in which the owl symbolizes light-shyness<sup>327</sup>.

Originally there were perhaps a magpie and a crow also on the left panel in Vienna, but this part has been heavily overpainted.

In most of the other instances of the motif 'birds with owl' which I noted, the birds in question have something ambiguous about them. This could also be the case with our magpie and crow.

In the *Concert in an Egg* (Musée des Beaux Arts, Lille), a painting which can be traced back to a lost original by Bosch and which is an allegorical satire on merry-makers, a magpie is sitting near a branch on which hangs a beer-jug<sup>328</sup>. Here the bird i.m.o. represents the person addicted to drink. A tavern in Brussels had a signboard with the words 'A la pie boiteuse' [lit: In the limping magpie], which is word-play on 'A la pie qui boit' [In the magpie that drinks]<sup>329</sup>. In the Lille painting a hive filled with foodstuffs hangs close to the beer-jug and magpie. *De korf vullen* [to fill the hive (wicker basket)] meant to eat and drink a lot.

The other magpies depicted by Bosch occur in the *Pedlar* (Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum).

Here a magpie sits in a cage attached to the door of a dubious tavern. A cage containing a bird was the sign of a house of ill repute. *Gemuylt* [caged] was in

<sup>322</sup> Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 156, 157 and 158.

<sup>323</sup> Idem, ill. 175.

<sup>324</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 233/309.

<sup>325</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 158-162/208-213. See Elaboration v.

<sup>326</sup> My opinion in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 159/209 (17) that the owl here has no unfavourable meaning, is incorrect.

<sup>327</sup> For the motif birds-with-owl, see *Judgem.*, p. 359 f.).

<sup>328</sup> Rep.: Friedländer v (Lemmens), Plate 98, no. 108a. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 199/263.

<sup>329</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 223/296 (30).

16th-century Dutch a term applicable to a prostitute. The bird did not have to be a magpie though: in Jan van Hemessen's *Ribald Company* in Karlsruhe it certainly is not (here it could be a crow). That Bosch preferred a magpie was perhaps because 'pies à la porte' was also said of babbling woman<sup>330</sup>. In the *Pedlar* another magpie sits at the gate which the itinerant is approaching. Here, together with the awl on the hat of the man, the rag bound round his leg, the recumbent cow and perhaps a drinking dog, it forms part of a series of figures symbolizing inebriety or the alcoholic<sup>331</sup>.

On the edge of the wicker hive in the Lille painting are two crows, i.m.o. here likewise alluding to the inebriate. The expression 'as drunk as a crow' is still well-known to a large section of the rural population in the eastern parts of the Netherlands<sup>332</sup>. 'Tipsy as a crow' occurs also in West Friesland<sup>333</sup>. The name of a well-known tavern in Groningen was *De Kraaibek* [The Crow's Beak]. One of our two crows is pecking into a piece of bread. The term *brooddronken* [lit: bread-drunk] was known already in the Middle Ages, and in the 16th century it was in frequent use, being applied to persons who led a shameless and dissolute life<sup>334</sup>.

Bosch repeatedly painted crows, most certainly not always as images of the alcoholic. But in combination with the magpie in the depiction of the merry-makers (Lille) and with the owl in East Berlin, the bird i.m.o. does have this meaning.

In Vienna a bird of fantasy walks below the owl. It looks like a large, clumsily depicted fowl, while at the same time also resembling an unsuccessfully rendered ostrich, much reduced in size<sup>335</sup>. This figure of a bird, in almost the same posture, can be seen also in a woodcut in the *Bible of Wittenberg* (1534 edition, printed by Hans Lufft), which contains a depiction of the Garden of Eden before the Fall, with Adam and Eve and many animals in it<sup>336</sup>. Here the bird is looking at a large frog and standing close to a cock which in turn has the same posture as the hen on our left panel<sup>337</sup>. This woodcut, but then coloured, we find also in a bible that was illustrated for Johann II, prince of Anhalt, in 1541<sup>338</sup>. The illustrator gave the bird the colours of a stork: red bill and legs, white feathers, with a touch of dark to the wings. It is not known who the artist was. Cranach has been mentioned as having possibly had a hand in the making of the woodcuts for the 1534 bible<sup>339</sup>.

Was the designer of the two birds in the woodcut influenced by Bosch's depiction? Did Bosch paint a stork and was this spoilt by a restorer?

<sup>330</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 223/295.

<sup>331</sup> See i.a. *Bezwaren*, p. 10 f. For other pejorative meanings attached to the magpie in the Low Countries, see *Elaboration* vi.

<sup>332</sup> Bezoen in *Onze Taaltuin* III, p. 279 ff.

<sup>333</sup> B. Veurman en D. Bax. *Liederen en dansen uit West-Friesland*. 's-Gravenhage 1944, p. 149.

<sup>334</sup> *W.N.T.* III, part I, 1561, 1562 and 1563.

<sup>335</sup> Dr Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 17) is incorrect in taking it to be a peacock.

<sup>336</sup> A. Schramm und W. Gerber. *Luther und die Bibel*. Leipzig 1923, ill. 249. Also reproduced in Baltrušaitis, *Réveils et prodiges*, p. 238.

<sup>337</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 64.

<sup>338</sup> Rep.: H. Lilienfein. *Lukas Cranach und seine Zeit*. Bielefeld und Leipzig 1942.

<sup>339</sup> Jahn, p. 65. W. Mejer. *Der Buchdrucker Hans Lufft zu Wittenberg*. Zweite Auflage 1923, p. 27.

The stork occurred as a symbol of unchastity<sup>340</sup> and impurity<sup>341</sup> in the Low Countries of mediaeval and 16th-century times. In a copperplate engraving by Cranach (1509) which depicts the fall of man, two storks fly through the air<sup>342</sup>, and in a painting by Cranach with the same subject (1526), there is also a stork<sup>343</sup>. The birds could here be symbols of tainted love. Contrasting with this is a stork in the background of Cornelis van Haarlem's *Fall of Man* (1592): it is near Adam and Eve where they are listening, before their fall, to the Godhead, represented as a spirit. Is it here a symbol of pure love, and does the stork with the peacocks and swans in the depiction of the *Sybil of Tibur* (*Judgem.*, p. 363) also have this meaning?

If the bird was intended to represent an oversized hen, we could see it as an image of the fool<sup>344</sup> and of the loose woman<sup>345</sup>. If on the other hand it was supposed to suggest an undersized ostrich, we might find our clue in Maerlant, who already knew the ostrich as a figure of folly and stupidity<sup>346</sup>.

Instead of this bird of fantasy, Cranach depicts a hart and two hinds, with a little hare (absent in Vienna) sitting close by. The group of hart and hinds postured in the same way, occurs also in the background of another Cranach painting, his *St. Magdalene* (Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne)<sup>347</sup>. This work dates from 1525 and is therefore probably younger than the triptych, which, as we have noted, is thought to have originated round about 1520-1525. Did Cranach derive the little group from the Bosch variant which he had copied? Their proximity to Mary Magdalene makes it probable that the deer have a sexual function here. In my opinion this also holds for the trio on our left panel with the little hare sitting near by<sup>348</sup>.

Above the scene of seduction an angel is driving Adam and Eve out of Paradise with his sword<sup>349</sup>. The angel wears a rose-coloured cloak over a white robe. His right wing, visible on the outside, is black-blue-red in colour, while the left wing, seen on the inside, is black-grey. Adam and Eve are hiding their genitals. In the Cranach Eve does this with an apple, in the Bosch with a green leaf. With Adam the object is not visible.

In the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* it is likewise a leaf that serves the purpose. Eve makes use of the leaf also in the seduction scene here, but Adam does not.

In the seduction scene of the *Last Judgement* Eve is not covered.

<sup>340</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 80/102 (19 and 20). *Tuin*, p. 56 and 58: two storks on head of dromedary, two storks on back of bristly wild boar.

<sup>341</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 81/102 (29 and 30).

<sup>342</sup> Rep.: Kirchner, p. 135.

<sup>343</sup> Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 161.

<sup>344</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 200/264 (55).

<sup>345</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 65. Another example: In a *Last Judgement* by Pieter Huys (Prado; Lafond, at p. 35) a devil-knight sits on a big goose. With a tourney-spear he presses against the belly of a female sinner who is sitting on a fowl. For the erotic connotation of goose-riding, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/87.

<sup>346</sup> *M. W.* VII, 2351: *Heimelijckheid der Heimelijkheden*, line 1901; *Der Naturen Bloeme* III, 3346.

<sup>347</sup> Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 143.

<sup>348</sup> For the hare with Cranach, see *Judgem.*, p. 52.

<sup>349</sup> There is a slight resemblance to the angel in the woodcut showing the *Expulsion from Paradise* in Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 257/339 (after 59), ill. 72/138; *Tuin*, p. 25.

The author of *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 195), writing about Adam after the fall, puts it very nicely: *Hij decten hem doe mit bladeren. Eer hi sunde dede, en decten hi hem niet meer dan die sonne off die maen ende die blomen hoer schoenheit en decken. Mer nae der sunden decten hi hem* [He covered himself with leaves. Before he sinned, he no more covered himself than the sun or the moon or the flowers cover their beauty. But after the sin he covered himself].

On the left panel it is the advent of unchastity on earth that Bosch stresses. After the fall Adam and Eve regard their genitals as the means to indecent acts. They are ashamed of their nakedness. This is also how Van Maerlant saw it, when he wrote about them:

... hare lust verroerde met desen  
In die natuurlike lede,  
Dat soe te voren niet ne dede.  
Ende begonden hem beide scamen  
Van haerre naecter mesquamen.

[... with this their lust stirred  
In the natural parts,  
Which formerly it did not do.  
And both began to feel ashamed  
Of their naked indecency]<sup>350</sup>.

That Cranach sometimes allowed himself liberties is clearly evident from his angel. The posture and form here are decidedly not those of any angel by Bosch. Also the colours are different.

According to *Sidrac* (p.44) Eve was in Paradise for only seven hours. How long Adam stayed there is not mentioned.

To the extreme left a lion is devouring a hart (in the Cranach a hind)<sup>351</sup>.

The lion here is undoubtedly meant to represent the devil, and the hart sinful man who after the fall becomes the prey of Satan.

A lion which has caught a hind also decorates one of the choir-stalls, dating from the 15th century<sup>352</sup>, in the St. Jan's cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch<sup>353</sup>. Smits correctly explains the predator here as the devil.

The lion in the Low Countries of the 16th century could represent wrath<sup>354</sup>. In *Des Coninx Summe* (p.233) *die grypende lewe diet al verslint* [the clutching lion that devours all] is a symbol of arrogance<sup>355</sup>. In descriptions of hell and purgatory the animal has the role of a devil punishing sinners<sup>356</sup>. In a miniature of the Ghent-Bruges school, showing St. John on Patmos, it appears, together with the unicorn, as a diabolic creature, a theme influenced by the lion and the unicorn in *Psalms* 22:22<sup>357</sup>. Widely known is 1 *Peter* 5:8: the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour<sup>358</sup>.

Near the lion and the hind in the Cranach painting, some crows are sitting in

<sup>350</sup> On the impropriety of their nakedness, see *Rijmbijbel*, p. 31.

<sup>351</sup> Dr. Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 17) erroneously takes the lion to be a dog.

<sup>352</sup> Witsen Elias, p. 44.

<sup>353</sup> Xavier Smits, p. 212, fig. 36. Witsen Elias, p. 36.

<sup>354</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 16/21 (note 93). Jan van der Noot, p. 124. De Vries, p. 55 (cruel person).

<sup>355</sup> In my opinion the lion in three depictions of *The Fall* by Cranach (Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 161 and 162. Kirchner p. 135) and the lion in *The Fall* by Cornelis van Haarlem (1592, Rijksmuseum) also have this meaning. Or must we associate the animal here with wrath as a result of pride and envy (see *Judgem.*, p. 70).

<sup>356</sup> E.g.: *Dat sterf boeck*, 41<sup>r</sup>. Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 47 (*Tondalus' Visioen*).

<sup>357</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 47, note 176.

<sup>358</sup> The devil appears in the shape of a lion in a legend of the Virgin (*Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 169. *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* I, p. 235). Devils are compared to lions in *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 62 and *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 144.

the grass and another is flying towards the scene. Crows batten upon carrion<sup>359</sup> (they can therefore represent impurity), and in the Low Countries of mediaeval times they were well-known symbols of the devil<sup>360</sup>.

In the *Paradise* of the *Garden triptych* Bosch also placed a lion feasting on a hind (or a roe?)<sup>361</sup>. As in the Cranach, crows are sitting in the grass near the kill and another comes flying towards it. Some other animals, too, are hostile to each other here, but because the demonic element is, as I see it, absent from this Garden of Eden (it is a portrayal of *Genesis* 1:28), I believe that Bosch wanted to illustrate that the animals could indeed harm one another, but that man had nothing to fear from them, for does he not have dominion over them<sup>362</sup>?

Another lion with no unfavourable connotation is the one drinking from a little stream in a *Paradise* by an imitator of Bosch (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ca.1520)<sup>363</sup>, a picture reminding us, like the *Paradise* of the *Garden*, of God's benediction: Be fruitful and multiply . . . and have dominion . . . over every living thing. The lion here could be a symbol of teeming wild life or an example of the powerful animal kingdom placed under man's rule.

Bosch also painted a lion eating a deer in his *Terrestrial Paradise* (Venice), where the blessed wait until they are sufficiently purified to be taken up into heaven<sup>364</sup>. This little scene shows that the blessed are not yet wholly without sin. Does the lion here indicate wrath?

In Bosch's *St. Hieronymus* (main panel of the *Hermit Saints* triptych in Venice) a lion has turned away from a dead deer and drinks from a pool. Is it the lion of the saint, no longer bloodthirsty? Or is it one of the numerous animals which represent sins in this painting, among others the sin of unchastity? In this connection one should note the lion drinking from a little river in a *Paradise* showing the creation of Eve, the fall and the expulsion, which was painted by an imitator about 1520 (The Art Institute, Chicago<sup>365</sup>), and the lion which appears in the *Garden of Luts* in an aggressive-erotic function<sup>366</sup>.

It is possible that Bosch was prompted to use this motif through seeing carved work like the decoration on the 's-Hertogenbosch choir-stall referred to above, or a drawing of a lion devouring a deer, like the one attributed to Giovannino de' Grassi<sup>367</sup>.

On Bosch's *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*<sup>368</sup> and perhaps also in the engraving of the *Battle-elephant*<sup>369</sup>, the lion is a symbol of Ira. *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col.232) says: *Na der hoverdiën ende nijt ist recht datmen gramscap sette, want si wt hem beiden rijst* [After arrogance and spite it is right that one should set ire, because it arises out of both of them]. To Adam and Eve are imputed the sins of Superbia and Invidia<sup>370</sup>. Did Bosch have in mind the sin of Ira in particular when he painted his lion devouring a deer not far from the fall?

<sup>359</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 30/36. About the crow see also *Judgem.*, p. 103 n. 90.

<sup>360</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 36/45.

<sup>361</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 26.

<sup>362</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 22.

<sup>363</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 340.

<sup>364</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 349.

<sup>365</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 339.

<sup>366</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 54 (wild animal), 55 and 69.

<sup>367</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 69.

<sup>368</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 16/21 (93).

<sup>369</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 209/277 (19) and 210/277 (26, 28).

<sup>370</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 58 f.



What are the sins Bosch alludes to on the left panel?

*The demon-creatures in the air.* The insect-like devils can refer to all kinds of sins. Bosch was probably thinking of no one sin in particular. The ape-, toad-, bird-, lizard- and bat-devils can mean folly, unchastity, strife and treachery (in the ape); unchastity, greed, impurity and arrogance (toad); slyness, unchastity (bird); unchastity (lizard); envy, mischief-making (bat). The mops that a toad- and an ape-devil carry, point to licentiousness, the procuress- or prostitute-devil in Berlin to unchastity.

*The diabolic creatures in Paradise.* Head of procuress or prostitute: unchastity. Frog-devil: divers sins. Rat-devil: unchastity, cunning. Dog-devil wearing the jester's cap of an entertainer's dog: licentiousness and unchastity. Tail-devil: unchastity. Ape-devil: unchastity. Diabolic manikin with head in cap: unchastity. Two women wearing single-peaked headgear, together with a man: unchastity. Satyr-devil: unchastity. Unicorn-devil: unchastity, greed. Insect-devil with clutching arms: ? Angel-devil: Lucifer? Bear-goat-devil: mainly unchastity. Two women wearing single-peaked headgear, together with a temptation, unchastity.

*The animals in Paradise.* Sitting dog: mainly unchastity and greed. Indefinable birds: unchastity. White heron: unchastity. Harts and hinds: unchastity. Bear: unchastity, wrath, gluttony. Small hares: unchastity. Lying dog: sloth. Ducks: stupidity. Lizards: unchastity. Porcupine: unchastity. Cock and hen: unchastity. Hen watched by fox: loose woman easily falls prey to devil. Owl: among others, unchastity, folly and stupidity, light-shyness. Magpie and crow: addiction to drink. Large fowl, small ostrich or stork?: unchastity, stupidity. Lion eating deer: wrath. Crows near carrion: uncleanness.

In the depiction of his demonic beings and animals Bosch was not concerned with an even balance between the seven deadly sins. He represented mainly unchastity. To a much lesser extent, greed, wrath, sloth and, as an aspect of intemperance or gluttony, addiction to drink. Perhaps also pride and envy. Of the secondary sins there are, among others, uncleanness, licentiousness, folly and stupidity. Of human occupations that could be censured, we recognize only those of the prostitute, procuress and entertainer.

Apart from all this it should be kept in mind that *any* depiction of the fall of the angels or of man would have suggested deadly sins to the mediaeval viewer. Fall of the angels: arrogance greed and envy. Fall of man: all seven, but particularly arrogance, gluttony, greed, envy and unchastity.

Dutch moralists also tried to find an answer to the question of what would have happened in Paradise if Adam and Eve had not sinned. Dionysius the Carthusian thought that their progeny would all have been married and that sexual desire in Paradise would have been something beautiful. 'Sie wäre nicht zu einem blinden Rausch geworden, der den Menschen wider seinen Willen mit sich reisst'<sup>371</sup>. *Sidrac* (p.161) writes of sexual intercourse in Paradise: *die manne ende die wive souden te samen gheweest hebben sonder enege vroude ende sonder scaemte van den inghelen, alsoe ofte een man sloge sijn ene palme in dandere; ende en souden ghene scalcheit daer inne gehat hebben deen vore den*

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<sup>371</sup> Joh. Möllerfeld. *Die Schönheit des Menschen nach Dionys dem Kartäuser*. In: Dr. L. Reypens-Album. (Essays presented to Prof. Dr. L. Reypens S.J. on the occasion of his eightieth birthday on 26 February 1964). Edited by Dr. Alb. Ampe S.J. Antwerpen 1964, p. 237.



*anderen, no scaemte van haren leden* [the men and the women would have been together without any voluptuousness and without shame before the angels, just as if a man struck his one palm in the other; and would have felt nothing vile in it, the one before the other, nor ashamed of their bodily parts].

According to *Sidrac* (loc. cit.) Adam and Eve and their descendants would have died in Paradise without suffering and pain. After death everyone would have ascended to heaven as an angel. When the number of souls in heaven had become equal to the number of angels who had been ejected, Paradise would have ceased to exist.

According to Brugman, however, Adam, Eve, and all their offspring would have remained in Paradise until God himself *die mijnlike soen gods* [the dear son of god] would have been born there. He would then have led all souls to heaven<sup>372</sup>.

But Adam and Eve sinned. They begot children outside of Paradise. *Sidrac* (p. 225) says that there were 33 sons: Abel, Seth and Cain and 30 unnamed ones. According to the *Leven van Adam en Eva* they had 33 sons and 30 daughters<sup>373</sup>. Boendale writes in his *Der Leken Spieghel* (I, c. 29, line 47) that they had approximately 90 children of both sexes. From these issued mankind, lost in sin.

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<sup>372</sup> *Sermoenen van Jan Brugman*, p. 23 and 34.

<sup>373</sup> Kautzsch II, p. 515.





11. Centre panel, top edge with figure of God Me Father at apex obscured by frame, Bosch (p. 75)

## The centre panel:

### I. the air

The centre panel (ill. 11) has been fairly well preserved. Here and there we do indeed find overpainting as a result of restoration, but in many sections the hand of Bosch himself can be recognised<sup>1</sup>.

In the inventory of 1659 the altarpiece is said to depict: 'das jüngste Gericht unndt darunter die Höll, in welcher die septem peccata mortalia gestrafft werden'. This description in fact refers only to the centre panel. The compilers of the inventory must therefore have thought that the top section of the centre panel (the air and that part of the earth where angels are taking away the blessed with them) represented the Last Judgement and that the section below it represented the hell in which the seven deadly sins are punished.

The compilers' view is not correct, for the entire centre panel is intended to be seen as a representation of the Last Judgement, or to put it more exactly, of what happens in the air and on earth shortly after the actual judgement has been pronounced. Yet it is understandable how they arrived at their interpretation, for here, once again, Bosch went to work in an original way<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Some examples in *Judgem.*, p. 283. Before the centre panel was cleaned in the late thirties, Eigenberger wrote (p. 48): 'Viele Retuschen in den vorderen Partien der Hölle und oben in den Flächen des Himmels beeinträchtigen neben zahlreichen Verputzungen die Erhaltung'. Friedländer (*Malerei* v, p. 99) on the contrary: 'Das Mittelbild ist namentlich in seinem unteren Teile gut erhalten und zeigt Boscche Kunst auf seiner Höhe'. After the cleaning De Tolnay (1937, p. 94) reiterated Eigenberg's finding: 'Nombreuses retouches au premier plan et dans le ciel du panneau central'. In 1968 Heinz (Baldass und Heinz, p. 57) wrote: 'Die Qualität der Ausführung erreicht in den unteren Partien des Mittelbildes eine den eigenhändigen Werken entsprechende Höhe'.

<sup>2</sup> This has already been dealt with in *Tuin*, p. 12.

We are not shown any people rising from their graves or out of the sea. The resurrection of the dead has therefore already taken place. Judgement has already been pronounced and this has been done by the twelve apostles to the right and left of Christ, because it is through them that God lets the Doomsday judgement be spoken, as i.a. *Dat sterf boeck* (154<sup>t</sup>) teaches<sup>3</sup>. The trumpeting angels are accordingly not proclaiming the day of judgement, but sounding the praise of Christ. Devils have taken possession of the earth and are already punishing sinners before carrying them off to hell. The last of the blessed are being conducted to heaven by angels.

Dirc van Delf, too, informs us (III B, p.634) that on Judgement Day there will still be sinners left on earth after the blessed have gone to heaven: *In deser wolke sullen alle salighe menschen doer die lucht ghetoghen worden, ende die sondige sullen opter aerden nueselic bliven crupen alse brede wormen* [In this cloud all blessed persons will be conveyed through the air, and the sinful will miserably remain crawling on earth like huge worms]<sup>4</sup>. Every sinner is *mitten bosen gheesten begrepen, die bereet sijn hem in der hellen gloet, diemen niet en mach lesschen, te trecken en daer na wachten* [beset by evil spirits who are ready to drag him into the fire of hell, which cannot be abated, and are on the look-out for this opportunity] (III B, p. 639).

The following is a detailed description of Christ and the scene surrounding him.

Christ sits on a big rainbow with his feet resting on a smaller one. The wounds of the crucifixion in his hands, feet and right side are visible. With his right hand he points in the direction of heaven and with his left in the direction of hell.

Two tips of his red robe are held together at the neck by a clasp, convex in the centre, with no depiction on it, like the one worn by God the Son in the *Paradise* of Bosch's *Garden* triptych.

Lighting him up from behind is a whitish glow with many shades of blue around it.

To the right and left of Christ the twelve apostles are in a kneeling posture on bluish clouds. They are divided into two groups of six. The foremost of the right group points to Christ and turns his face towards the two apostles behind him, to the right. It seems as if he wants to say something to them. The other three in this group worship the Saviour. The figures in the left group are also worshipping their Lord. While they do so some of them look up to him in great awe.

The apostles have no attributes with them. In the left group, however, Peter is recognisable by his tonsure. His face resembles that of Peter on the back of the left wing of Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon. And in the right group John is identifiable by his fairly young and beardless face. But it is not the face of John in Bosch's *St. John on Patmos* and in *The Marriage in Cana*.

To the right above Christ, John the Baptist leans on a cloud<sup>5</sup>. In the corresponding position to the left Mary rises from a cloud. They worship Christ with folded hands. A place of honour is often given to the mother and the preparer of the way.

<sup>3</sup> The idea is derived from *Matthew* 19:28. Brugman (*Verspreide sermoenen*, p. 38) quotes the text and adds: *ende die quaden totter ewiger pijnen* [and the wicked to eternal torment].

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ruusbroec I, p. 91: *Het Rijke der Ghelieven: Cristus sal houden inder locht metten heylighen; die swaere sonderen zullen houden opde eerde* [Christ will stay in the air with the saints; the bad sinners will stay on earth].

<sup>5</sup> His posture somewhat resembles that of John in *John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (Lazaro Collection, Madrid), but 'ganz ähnlich', as Münz (1954, p. 9) puts it, it is not.

Mary, John the Baptist and the twelve apostles represent the saints with whom Christ comes to deliver judgement<sup>6</sup>. In the Cranach picture they have aureoles, which is not the case with Bosch. Cranach has also given John the Baptist a somewhat younger face than Bosch did.

Between Mary and the Baptist a number of angels are positioned in an arc. At its apex is God the Father. On his left (in Vienna) are five angels of which one carries the ladder and another the scourging column. On his right are probably also five angels (three are clearly visible), of which one holds up the cross and another the spear. Between ladder and scourging column on the one hand and cross and spear on the other, is an angel not carrying anything. The rest of the angels likewise appear to have no implements of the Passion with them.

In the Cranach there are clearly five angels on either side of God the Father.

On his left two are praying, the third holds a staff (with the sponge on top?), the fourth the ladder, and the fifth the scourging column. On his right three are praying, one holds the cross, and one the spear.

To the left of Mary and to the right of John the Baptist four angels, two on either side, are blowing golden trumpets.

The motif of Jesus flanked by Mary with six apostles on his right and John the Baptist with the other six on his left, and further accompanied by angels blowing trumpets and carrying implements of the Passion, is well-known in the plastic arts. It occurs, for instance, in Rogier van der Weyden's *Last Judgement* in Beaune and in Memlinc's *Last Judgement* in Dantzig.

The depiction of God the Father in a scene of the Last Judgement is, however, a less common occurrence. Nevertheless, he does appear in the top left-hand corner of a *Last Judgement* that was probably painted after a work by Dirk Bouts and is now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich<sup>7</sup>, and also in Lucas van Leyden's *Last Judgement* of a much later date, 1526, where in fact also the dove of the Holy Ghost is included. In a *Last Judgement* by Jan Mostaert, dating from about 1515, even the chair of the Holy Trinity floats above Christ, on which are seated God the Father and the Holy Ghost, the latter shown as a figure in white, while the third place remains open for Christ<sup>8</sup>.

With Bosch and Bouts the Holy Ghost is absent.

Has the Father been included on the ground of the reference to him in *Matthew* 25:34, where Christ, sitting in judgement, says to the saved souls: Come, ye blessed of my Father? And also because Jesus says in *Matthew* 24:36: But of that day and how knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only?

In Berlin God the Father raises his hands in blessing. In Vienna the situation is not clear.

The figure of God the Father as painted by Bosch and Cranach is reminiscent of God the Father, seen as a half-figure with hand raised in blessing, who is placed high in the air in a miniature showing Mary in a garden, in the *Brevier van Maria van Gelder* (1415)<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> A. Troelstra. *Stof en methode der catechese in Nederland vóór de Reformatie*. Groningen 1903, p. 247.

<sup>7</sup> Schöne, p. 98, no. 10<sup>c</sup>. M.J. Friedländer. *Early Netherlandish painting*. Vol. III. *Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent*. Comments and notes by N. Veronee-Verhaegen. Translation by H. Norden. Leyden 1968, Plate 126, Add. 118.

<sup>8</sup> *Middeleeuwse kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, ill. 67, no. 138; ill. 49, no. 77.

<sup>9</sup> Byvanck, fig. 34.



In the Bosch representation, as we have said, judgement has already been passed, devils have taken possession of the earth, and they have already commenced to torment sinners even before taking them to hell.

Van Eyck depicted an even later stage in his multipanelled altarpiece, *The Adoration of the Lamb*. Here the New Jerusalem has appeared on earth after the removal of the sinners. God (being Son and Father in a single figure) reigns on high, with Mary to his right and John to his left as in Last Judgement depictions. And to the left and right of them are the angels who sing and make music in honour of the Supreme Being.

*Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 70) describes the aspect of this world without sin:

<i>God sal dan maken niue aerde</i>	[God will then make a new earth
<i>Scoenre ende van mere waerde</i>	Fairer and of greater worth
<i>.vii. warven dan so nu es . . .</i>	Seven times than it is now . . .
<i>God salse versieren, des sijt wijs,</i>	God will make it lovely, to this be wise,
<i>Gelike dat was 't aerdsche paradijs.</i>	Even as was the earthly paradise.]

And *Sidrac* (p. 223) says to king Boctus: *Dat water dat dwaen sal den lechamen der goeder menschen in dese warelt sal clare sijn dan enich cristael . . . ende de elementen sullen danne alle ghepurgiert sijn . . . de eerde . . . sal verschoent sijn in vele manieren van bloemen, van leliën ende van rosen* [The water that will wash the bodies of the good people in this world will be clearer than any crystal . . . and the elements will then be all purged . . . the earth . . . will be beautified in many ways by flowers, by lilies and by roses].

Who is not reminded here of Van Eyck's glorified earth?

Also the motif of Christ with his feet on a rainbow while also sitting on one, had occurred in the Low Countries before Bosch's time.

We see it for instance in a miniature of a *Last Judgement* in a North Netherlandish manuscript that was completed in 1408<sup>10</sup>, as well as in the *Last Judgement* in Munich mentioned higher up.

It is worth noting the strong resemblance in posture between the leftmost of the four trumpeting angels on our centre panel and a trumpeting angel in the Munich picture, and that God the Father on our left panel has much in common, both in type and in posture, with the Father in the same work.

Corresponding to Bosch's illustration of Christ and the surrounding scene we again find beautifully apposite passages in Middle Dutch texts. Listen, for example, to what Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 634) tells us: *Daer-na so sal die rechter hem openbaren in sulken schijn ende ghedaenten, als hi inden cruce stont mit alle der passien wapen: cruce, speer, spongy, naghelen, croon* [After this the judge will manifest himself in such semblance and form as when he was on the cross, with all the implements of the passion: cross, spear, sponge, nails, crown]. And *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 66):

<i>Die inghelen soe ic hore wagen,</i>	[The angels, as I've heard tell,
<i>Sellen cruce ende crone dragen,</i>	Will carry cross and crown,
<i>Tspere ende nagele mede,</i>	The spear and nails as well,
<i>Die dorwonden sine lede.</i>	That through his body ran.
<i>Dese tekene sal hi togen</i>	These tokens will by him be shown
<i>Elken mensche vor sine ogen.</i>	Before the eyes of every man.]

<sup>10</sup> Rep.: Hoogewerff I, p. 115.

Christ will also show *sijn wonden, die hi ontfinc dor onse sonden* [his wounds that he received through our sins]. Of the wound in his side Ruusbroec says: *Die opene wonde sijne ziden sal sijn uwe poorte in dat eeweghe leven, ende uwe ingang in dat levende paradijs dat hi selve es* [The open wound in his side will be your gate to the everlasting life, and your entrance to the living paradise which he himself is]<sup>11</sup>.

Boendale thinks that the real implements of the passion will not be present (*Der Leken Spiegel* IV, p. 271):

*Maer daer sal des ghelike zijn,  
Claerre dan dat zonnen schijn.*

[But a semblance will be there  
Brighter than the sunshine clear.]

According to *Dboeck der inghelen* the cross will be carried by Michael and the other implements of the passion will be exhibited by less important angels<sup>12</sup>. With Bosch and Cranach no sign of rank distinguishes the bearer of the cross from the others.

The opinion has been expressed that the rainbow on which Christ is sitting, has its origin in *Revelation* 4:3: And there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald. Another view is that it derives from *Genesis* 9 : 9-17. Here God says of the rainbow: This is the token of the covenant, which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth. With this God confirms that 'the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh'.

The double rainbow, the one on which Christ sits and the one under his feet, have been held to be symbols of the Old and the New Testament. But also to be 'Zeichen der beiden Gerichte'. One is then sometimes coloured blue ('Hinweis auf die Sintflut'), the other red ('Hinweis auf das feurige Weltgericht')<sup>13</sup>.

Ruusbroec regards a rainbow in general as a symbol of celestial life and compares the number and variety of its colours with the number and variety of the virtues of the saints<sup>14</sup>.

Did Bosch have this in mind? His two rainbows are multi-coloured. On this point Dr. Renate Trnek wrote to me: 'Es handelt(e) sich bei beiden Bögen um eine dreifarbige Anlage, was heute teilweise kaum mehr erkennbar ist:

*oberer Bogen*: Mittelstreifen grünlich-blau, resultierend aus dem gelben Farbgrund, der vor allem im Segment zur Rechten Christi als unterer Farbstreifen gerade noch erkennbar ist (hebt sich kaum vom bläulich-verschatteten Ockergrund der Glorie ab). Der oberste Farbstreifen wirkt heute weisslich-grau mit Schattierungen von Rosa, die besonders in der Nähe des roten Gewandes Christi deutlicher fassbar werden.

*unterer Bogen zu Füßen Christi*: Es gilt hier das gleiche Farbschema wie oben beschrieben, der mittlere (Grün-) Blau-Streifen wirkt hier härter, die Gelb- und Rosa-Tönung ist kaum mehr erkennbar'.

In the *Last Judgement*-scene on Bosch's *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* the trumpeting of the angels does serve to raise the dead from their graves.

<sup>11</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 131: *Een Spiegel der Eewigher Salicheit*.

<sup>12</sup> *Dboeck der inghelen*. Brussel 1517, cap. xxxvii. ghetranslateert wten franchoyse in duitsee bi mi thomas vander noot [translated from the French into Dutch by me, Thomas van der Noot].

<sup>13</sup> E. Kirschbaum and others. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*. Dritter Band. Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1971, col. 521.

<sup>14</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 125: *Vanden VII Sloten*.

In the following works, however, no graves are shown: Alart du Hameel's engraving after a *Last Judgement* by Bosch<sup>15</sup>; the centre panel of a *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges by an imitator<sup>16</sup>; a *Last Judgement* in Baytown-London by an imitator<sup>17</sup>; a *Last Judgement* in the cathedral of Tudela (Navarra) by an imitator<sup>18</sup>; and the *Last Judgement* formerly in the collection of L. Maeterlinck in Ghent, by an imitator<sup>19</sup>. In all these the angels sound their trumpets to the greater glory of Christ, as in the painting in Vienna.

On the *Table*, in the engraving, and in the painting in Bruges, Christ does not have his feet on a rainbow, but on a terrestrial orb. In the London picture and in the Maeterlinck triptych there is no support for the feet. In the Tudela piece this detail is the same as in Vienna.

A motif which we do not find on the triptych in Vienna, but which does occur in the six other *Last Judgements*, is the well-known one of the lily and the sword with Christ, alluding to his words in *Matthew* 25:34 and 41: Come ye blessed of my Father, and: Depart from me, ye cursed; compare *Revelation* 19:15: And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword.

A remarkable representation of the subject is given in the engraving made by Hieronymus Cock after a *Last Judgement* triptych by an imitator<sup>20</sup>. On the centre panel judgement has already been passed. Devils are tormenting sinners. Angels save the blessed from the clutches of the devils. The blessed ascend a mountain from the top of which they behold a radiant light, probably the

<sup>15</sup> Clear rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 159. Of this engraving P. van der Heyden or Ph. Galle made another engraving in mirror-image. Rep.: Hollstein III, p. 132.

<sup>16</sup> Janssens de Bisthoven, pl. XIX ff. De Tolnay 1965, p. 188 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 46. According to Friedländer v (Lemmens), p. 85, no. 87, pl. 74, no. 87, it is now in the D.E. Evans Collection in London. It is the same painting that was formerly in the collection of E. Pacully in Neuilly (Lafond, ill. at p. 38) and in that of Princess Kadjar in Baytown. From the Baytown collection it was auctioned at Christie's in London on 21 June 1968. A variant of this painting was sold in the Palais Galliera in Paris on 6 December 1966 (see auction catalogue). The variant painting is of a later date than the Neuilly-Baytown-London work. Someone made various additions to the depiction and for the erotically intended mussel-shell in the foreground substituted a she-devil who has butterfly-bird-wings, wears on her head an upturned funnel, and is beating on kettle-drums with a ladle. See *Judgem.*, p. 89, note 3. Clear photograph in the Rijksbureau.

<sup>18</sup> Clear photograph in the Rijksbureau.

<sup>19</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 38. L. Maeterlinck (*Les imitateurs de Hieronymus Bosch, à propos d'une oeuvre inconnue d'Henri met de Bles; Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, Tome XXIII, janvier-juin 1908, p. 148) bought the triptych in Brussels at the Vente Viévez in 1907. It came from the Van de Waele Collection in Bruges. On 11 December 1963 a triptych almost identical to the one from the Collection Maeterlinck was auctioned in the Palais Galliera in Paris (see auction catalogue, no. 10; ill. in colour on cover of catalogue). It came from the Collection Ozenfant. A second variant belonged to the Collection Raspail and was auctioned in the Hotel Drouet, Paris, on 22 November 1961. Rep.: *Catalogue. Collection Raspail (première vente). Tableaux anciens*. Planche 1. No. 6. The work differs in small details from the Maeterlinck as well as from the Ozenfant triptych. I do not know where the three triptychs are now. Judging from photographs the Maeterlinck comes closest to Bosch. The reduced side panels of a third variant are in a private collection in New York. See *Judgem.*, p. 349 n. 9. The centre panel is missing. De Tolnay thinks that these panels were painted by Bosch himself. I regard them as parts of a triptych that was painted by an imitator who came close to the master. In my opinion it is on this triptych that the Maeterlinck, Ozenfant and Raspail triptychs are based.

<sup>20</sup> Clear rep.: Baldass 1943, ill. 55.

entrance to heaven. Christ does not appear on this panel. Tolnay errs i.m.o. in thinking that the light is the Sol Justitiae and that this Sun takes the place of the Son of God for pronouncing judgement<sup>21</sup>.

On the other hand we do see Christ depicted on the left panel. Here he sits in a kind of palace set in clouds. In it are many angels, in addition to four saints sitting on thrones (is it Mary who is on the right and is she turning towards her son?). The depiction resembles a carved retable in Gothic style.

It brings to mind Dirc van Delf's description (III B, p. 634) of the advent of Christ on Doomsday. There will appear *een grote scone wolke, of si van saphiren waer ghewracht of ghemaect, die onsen heer God sal als een paulioen omvangen, ende daer sal hi in sitten gaen als in eenre tenten* [a large beautiful cloud, as though wrought or made of sapphire, which will enfold our lord God like a pavilion, and he will take his seat in it as in a tent]. The apostles take their place *op scone thronen* [on fine thrones] and *alle die enghelen van hemetrijc sullen om dese vierscaer staen* [all the angels of the heavenly kingdom will stand around this seat of judgement].

The depiction also reminds one of *Revelation* 20:11 and 15, where Christ the judge sits on 'a great white throne' and there is mention of 'the book of life' which contains the names of the saved.

In the engraving Christ has this book in his left hand. He seems to be reading names, lifts up the right hand and looks down on the terrestrial paradise, the place where souls after death or after a sojourn in purgatory, but before the last judgement, are purified so that they may be in a fit state to ascend to heaven (*Judgem.*, p. 348 f.).

Christ calls their names in order that also those who are in the process of purification may share in the celestial glory. One must remember that final judgement is pronounced not only on the still living, but on all souls, also those in the terrestrial paradise, in heaven, in hell and in purgatory<sup>22</sup>.

We return to the triptychs in Vienna and Berlin.

On earth, not far below the group of apostles on the left, an angel is leading dozens of the blessed to a place with relatively few devils, from where he will

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<sup>21</sup> *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* xx (1961), p. 43.

<sup>22</sup> The first judgement, immediately after death, concerns only the soul, not the body. The last judgement applies to both soul and body. Cf. *Dat sterf boeck*, 143<sup>v</sup>. See *Judgem.*, p. 353.

In the foregoing I have named a number of *Last Judgement* depictions executed by Bosch and imitators. To these can still be added a *Last Judgement* triptych in Cairo (H. Kröber, *Unbekannter Bosch in Kairo*. In: *Kristall* -Hamburg- 21 -1966- no. 27, p. 27 ff.) and another with a striking resemblance to it, in Krakau (State Art Collection; photograph in Rijksbureau, Friedländer Records). In these triptychs almost all the motifs are borrowed from the hell-panel of Bosch's *Garden* triptych. The painter must have been far removed from Bosch. The two pieces are of no importance to us for the purpose of this book. See *Judgem.*, p. 350.

Documents contain references to also the following *Last Judgement* paintings which could have been works by Bosch or an imitator.

Brans (p. 25) informs us that Philip II had in his possession in 1593 a *Last Judgement* by Bosch. According to an inventory it was transferred to the Escorial on 8 July of that year. It was not a triptych.

In the El Pardo Castle, royal pleasure resort near Madrid, there was in 1611 'el lienço de las Justicias de Hieronimo Bosque', a canvas, therefore, representing Justice. The painter Francisco Granero at that time made a copy of it. This is clear from an account, dated 26



conduct them to heaven. He either carries a large cross in his left hand, or is walking towards it. This cross is also in the Berlin picture, but there the angel is absent.

In the air, to the extreme left, are more of the blessed. The lower ones, at least six of them, walk on clouds, accompanied by angels. In Berlin there are five, and here they are being carried aloft by the angels. Higher up, three blessed souls (two in Berlin) are ascending into the blue of the sky, accompanied by angels.

This 'ascent to heaven' is related to the one in Venice (departure from terrestrial paradise to heaven) and, to a much lesser extent, to the ones in Bruges (idem)<sup>23</sup> and Baytown-London (departure after Last Judgement), and also to Dirk Bouts's *Ascent to Heaven* (Lille).

The blessed and the angels are on the way to a golden glow surrounded by clouds in the upper left corner of the painting. Their attention is not focussed on Christ and God the Father, but on the celestial splendour. It is the entrance to heaven.

When the knight Owein in *St. Patricius' Vagevuur* beholds the portals of heaven from the earthly Eden, he says: *Hie schint ghelijc golde dat gluyet in enen ovne* [It shines like gold that glows in an oven]<sup>24</sup>, and in another version he sees it *als fijn gepuert gout in enen bernenden oven* [as pure refined gold in a burning oven]<sup>25</sup>.

In Bosch's *Ascent* in Venice this entrance is at the pale golden end of a long blue-grey tunnel, and in his *Terrestrial Paradise*, also in Venice, it appears as a golden square. In Cock's engraving after a *Last Judgement* triptych it is a radiant light, in the *Last Judgement* in Baytown-London and in Bouts's *Ascent to Heaven* an opening in the clouds.

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October 1611 drawn up by the caretaker Sebastian Hurtado, of sums paid to painters who worked in the Pardo: *J.d.k.S.d.A.K.* XII (1891), Theil II, p. CCIV. Both original and copy have disappeared. In 1607 this painting was in the Alcázar in Madrid: Brans, p. 23. In 1660 there was in the deceased estate of Jean Petit of Antwerp *een schulderye wesende een oordeel met twee deuren van Jeronimus Bosch* [lit.: a painting being a judgement with two doors by Hieronymus Bosch] (J. Denucé. *De Antwerpsche 'konstkamers'. Inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen*. Amsterdam 1932, p. 227).

P. Gerlach (*Spiegel der Historie* 2 -1967-, p. 630) has pointed out that we may deduce from a visitation report of December 1615, that offence was caused by nudes in a painting of the *Creation of the World* and in a painting of the *Last Judgement*, both in the St. Jan's cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch. The writer refers to *Bossche Bijdragen* 27 (1963-64), p. 107 f. On p. 108 these two paintings are called 'tabula creationis mundi' and 'tabulam extremi iudicii'. The first refers to a painting by Bosch, namely *de Scheppinge des Werelts, met de Historie van Abigaël, komende met hare gaven by David, Item de historie van Salomon, eerende sijn Moeder Bersabeam* [the Creation of the World, with the Story of Abigail, coming to David with her gifts. Likewise the Story of Solomon, honouring his Mother Bathsheba] (J. van Oudenhoven. *Beschryvinge der Stadt ende Meyerye van 's-Hertogen-bossche*. Etc. Amsterdam 1649, p. 25). Was the 'tabulam extremi iudicii' also Bosch's work?

The information by R. van Bastelaer (*Peter Bruegel l'Ancien: son oeuvre et son temps*, etc., Bruxelles 1905, p. 22) and by L. Maeterlinck (*Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* XXII -1908-, p. 146) that Margaret of Austria in 1515-16 had a *Last Judgement* by Bosch in her possession, is incorrect.

<sup>23</sup> For the terrestrial paradises in Venice and Bruges, see *Judgem.*, p. 349.

<sup>24</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 305. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 276/362.

<sup>25</sup> *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 22.

On our centre panel there is yet another blessed soul in addition to the above-mentioned, namely the one on earth, to the left, above the bed on which a sinner lies.

The motif of angels leading blessed souls away from devils after the Last Judgement, is also to be found in Du Hameel's engraving, in the engraving of the triptych by an imitator, and in the painting in Baytown-London by an imitator. Surrounding Bosch's *Crowning with Thorns* (Prado) are angels fighting devils, probably Last Judgement scenes<sup>26</sup>. In the lower left corner an angel is rescuing someone who is being carried off by a devil. In the *Heaven* of Bosch's *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* we see a devil who even after the Last Judgement has been pronounced, is still trying to snatch a woman from an angel at the very door of heaven. But in vain.

This motif occurs also in the writings of Middle Dutch moralists. Boendale (*Der Leken Spiegel* IV, p. 21) says:

*Daer sullen die yngle na desen  
Die goede uten quaden lesen*

[There the angels will afterward  
Pick out the good from the bad].

And *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 68) tells us that the angels will separate the good from the bad:

*Gelike dat die ackermanne  
't Coren sceden mitten wanne,  
Ende 't caf leggen op een plein  
Ende op ander side dat goede grein*

[Even as the husbandmen  
Sift the corn with the winnow then,  
And lay the chaff on an open plain  
And on other side the goodly grain].

In a sermon we read: *Hoe soetelic dat die enghelen gaen sellen onder die uutvercoren, recht als die dienaren des gheweldighen rechters bescuddende hoers heren volc* [How sweetly the angels will go among the chosen, even as the servants of the sovereign judge protecting their lord's people]<sup>27</sup>.

But to lighten the lot of a damned soul even *die inghel die zijn bewaerre es* [the angel who is his guardian] will be powerless. Christ will be inexorable:

*Al weende zijn lieve moeder marien  
Ende al die inglen, geloves mie*

[Even if his dear mother Mary cried,  
Believe me, and all the angels beside]<sup>28</sup>.

The Dutch writers also tell us something about the bodies that the blessed will receive on the day of judgement.

They will be *harde scone ende wel gedaen* [very beautiful and of good shape] according to *De Spiegel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse* (p. 237). Ruusbroec describes them as *wit en blickende alse de snee, schinende claeerre dan de sonne, doorschinegh alse een cristael* [white and glittering as the snow, shining clearer than the sun, transparent as a crystal]<sup>29</sup>. According to *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 211) the blessed long for the day of judgement *op dat hoer blyscap dan mochte volmaect werden, want hoer blyscap en is niet volmaect eer si hoer lichaam weder anghenomen hebben, dat dan glorificiert ende onsprekelike scoen wesen sel* [so that their joy may then be made perfect, for their joy is not perfect before they have again taken on their body, which will then be glorified and beautiful beyond words].

<sup>26</sup> Clear rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen* 1967, p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> *Jhesus collacien*, p. 193.

<sup>28</sup> *De Spiegel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse*, p. 233.

<sup>29</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 261; *Van VII Trappen in den Graed der Gheesteliker Minnen*. A similar description occurs in *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 212.



This same book (p. 206) teaches that the bodies will each be like that of a person of 33 years: *also als onse lieve here ihesus cristus was doe hi starf* [as was our dear lord Jesus Christ when he died]. But Boendale (*Der Leken Spiegel* IV, p. 270) and *Sidrac* (p. 224) say 30 years for everybody. This too has reference to the age of Christ when he died<sup>30</sup>.

However, *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 71) does not agree with such uniformity:

<i>Maer omme dat es een soeter sanc</i>	[But because it is a sweeter song
<i>Te boorne d'oude ende die jonghe gemanc,</i>	To hear the old mixed with the young,
<i>Ende die kinder metten wiven,</i>	And the children with the women,
<i>Des willen sommige clercken scriven</i>	Hence some clerks will have it written
<i>Dat elc sel verrisen in den ouden</i>	That each when arising will be as old
<i>Gelike dat hi voer ter moude</i>	As on the day he entered the mould
	(= grave)].

In the *Last Judgement*-depictions by Bosch and imitators, the bodies of the blessed are those of people of about 30 years of age.

In *Ontc./Deciph.* (p. 284/373) and *Tuin* (p. 187) I wrote that in his *Last Judgement* (Vienna) Bosch shows only a few of the righteous over against dozens of the damned, and I gave examples of moralistic writers prior to Bosch who allow some few souls into heaven and purgatory and put thousands in hell (*Tuin*, p. 187 f.)<sup>31</sup>. However, taking into consideration that a closer scrutiny shows not merely a handful, but actually some dozens of righteous souls on the centre panel, and keeping in mind that the resurrection has already been completed, so that what we see of the blessed are only those bringing up the rear, the pessimism of Bosch is not quite so deep.

When one sees the altarpiece with the wings open, it becomes apparent that Bosch painted the ascent of the blessed next to the fall of the angels. He probably had in mind here pronouncements made by Middle Dutch moralists in their writings.

*Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 13) declares that if Adam and Eve had not sinned, the first human couple with all their progeny would have been taken to heaven the moment they became equal in number to the fallen angels<sup>32</sup>. Further, that since sin had now entered the world *in Gods rike worden ontfanen Also menige siele . . . Als ingelen vielen* [in God's kingdom are received As many souls . . . As angels that fell].

Boendale (*Der Leken Spiegel* I, p. 27) notes that it gives the angels much sorrow when people sin. Because the greater the number of those who go to hell, the longer will it take before all the fallen angels are replaced by human souls<sup>33</sup>.

According to *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 59) the world will come to an end when the number of the blessed is equal to that of the fallen angels.

<sup>30</sup> St. Augustine, too, gives his age as 30: E. Mâle. *L'Art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*. Huitième édition. Paris 1948, p. 379.

<sup>31</sup> The account in the 15th-century manuscript of *Voirsienicheit Godes* to which I refer, shows a resemblance to Hennecke und Schneemelcher I, p. 363: passage in the *Bartholomeüs-evangelie*. Cf. *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 83, 84, 241-243.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Sidrac* (p. 161): *Judgem.*: p. 71 f.

<sup>33</sup> Dirck van Delf II, p. 167, records the opinions of St. Gregorius, St. Augustinus, St. Ambrosius and St. Bernardus. On the number of saved souls they do not agree. Approvingly Dirck writes: *Mer sinte Jheronimus seit, dat die tal Gode alleen is bekent* [But St. Hieronymus says that the number is known to God alone].

So for Bosch as well as for the moralistic authors there is a connection between the angels' fall and the Last Judgement.

There is perhaps yet another link between the left wing and the centre panel.

In various Middle Dutch writings one reads that the Last Judgement will take place in the valley of Jehoshaphat, near Jerusalem where Adam was created and Christ crucified<sup>34</sup>. Ruusbroec writes about this: *Dat oordeel sal sijn int dal van Josaphat; want dat es in midden der werelt, ende die stadt es bekinlijc allen menschen, omme-dat Cristus daer-bij ghedoocht hevet ende gestorven es* [the judgement will be in the valley of Jehoshaphat; for it is in the centre of the world, and the place is known to all people, because there Christ suffered and died]<sup>35</sup>. Elsewhere he says that Christ will appear to judge the people *bi jherusalem, daer hi den eersten mensce maecte, ende daer hi den mensche weder hermaecte met zijnder heiligher doot* [at Jerusalem, where he made the first man, and where he remade man again with his holy death]<sup>36</sup>. It was also believed by some that the Garden of Eden had lain close to the valley of Jehoshaphat<sup>37</sup>.

The atmosphere of darkness on earth, especially in the background, is probably a reflection of the belief that the Last Judgement will take place at night. *Sidrac* (p. 220) says of this: *Te middernachte op die ure dattie Goids some beroven sal die helle, op de selve ure sal hy te livereren sine vriende van deser werelt. Ende op alsulken dach alse hy opverstaen sal vander doot soe sal dordeel sijn* [At midnight on the hour that the son of God shall vanquish hell, on the same hour shall he deliver his friends from this world. And on such day as he shall rise up from the dead (a Sunday, see *Sidrac*, p. 208), shall be the judgement].

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<sup>34</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 55. *Die Dietsche Lucidarius*, p. 37 and 67. Dirc van Delf III B, p. 630. *Die bedienisse van der missen*. Edited by A.C. Oudemans. Leiden 1852, p. 53. *Sidrac*, p. 220. Boendale, *Der Leken Spiegel* IV, p. 269. That the place of judgement would be in the valley of Jehoshaphat was a deduction that could be made from *Joel* 3:2, 12 and 14. Gibson, p. 55, suggests that with the burning buildings in the background Bosch was alluding to 'the walls of the earthly Jerusalem'. Jan van Boendale (*Der Leken Spiegel* IV, p. 272) wondered whether all the people would find standing room in the valley. He believed:

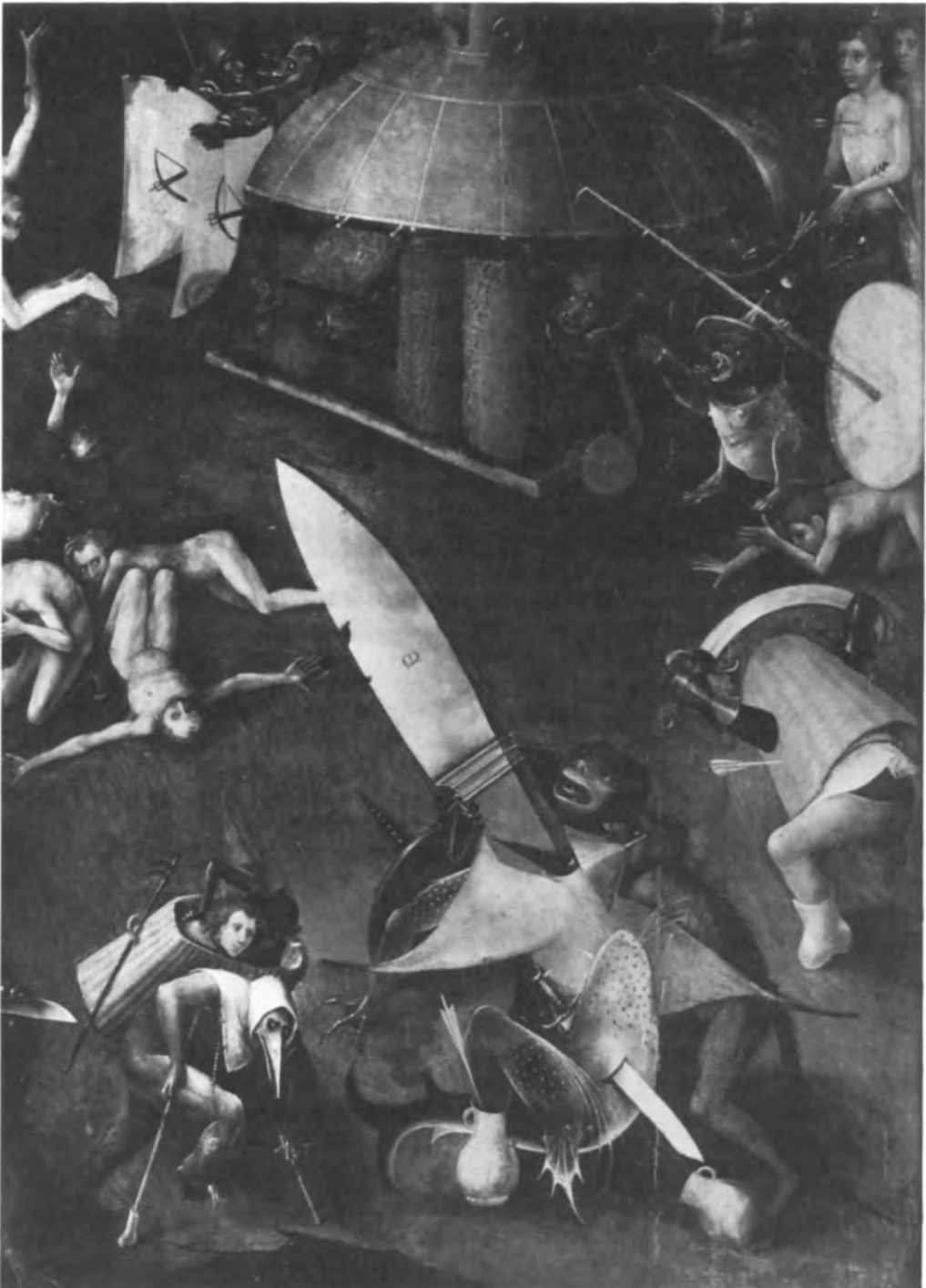
*Dattie menschen na Gods bevelen  
In die lucht ooc wesen zelen,  
Boven, beziden ende onder.*

[That the people on God's orders  
Will be in the air also,  
Above, aside and below].

<sup>35</sup> Ruusbroec I, p. 91: *Het Rijke der Ghelieven*

<sup>36</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 68: *Vanden Kerstenen Ghelove*.

<sup>37</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 55 = *Die Dietsche Lucidarius*, p. 67.



12. Knives, baskets and war-machine, Bosch (p. 88)

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## The centre panel:

### II. the earth: foreground

We noted on p. 76 that the passing of judgement has already been completed, that devils have taken possession of the earth, where they have already started to torment sinners before taking them to hell. As Dirc van Delf described it, each sinner is there *mitten bosen gheesten begrepen, die bereet sijn hem inder hellen gloet, diemen niet en mach lesschen, te trecken ende daer na wachten* [grasped by evil spirits who are ready to drag him to unabating blazing hell and eager to do so].

Also elsewhere one reads strikingly apposite passages in contemporary writings. The wretched are confronted with Christ: *Soe sullen dan die verdoemde sielen over al beset wesen, boven ende onder ende an beiden syden, dat sy norghent en sullen vlyen of sculen moghen. Want boven hem sellen sy gode sien, dat is onse here ihesum cristum naeder menscheit, horen scepper ende verlosser, gram ende toornich op hem, ende die enghelen sullen daer voert brenghen alle teykenen ende wapenen synre pinen ende passien, als dat heylighe cruus, die naghelen, die spere, die doornen crone, die gheselen, die columpne, ende die teykenen synre ghebenedider wonden sullen dan openbaer wesen tot synre eren ende tot hoerre scanden* [So will the damned souls then be shut in everywhere, above and below and on both sides, that nowhere will they be able to flee or shelter. For above them they will see God, that is our lord jesus christ in the flesh, their creator and deliverer, wrathful and angry with them, and the angels will bring out there all the tokens and arms of his suffering and passion, as the holy cross, the nails, the spear, the crown of thorns, the scourge, the column, and the signs of his blessed wounds will then be exhibited in his honour and to their shame] (*Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 122).

They have caused Christ even more suffering than those who crucified him. *Also dicke als een mensche een doetlike sonde doet, soe doet hi god weerre ende seerre ende mishandelt hem iammerliker dan die ghene dede die hem mit enen*

*scarpē spere in sijn ghebenedide syde stac anden cruce Ia, hi vernuwet hem al sine passie ende crucet hem weder* [Every time a person commits a deadly sin, he resists and pains god and maltreats him more grievously than they did who stuck a spear into his blessed side on the cross. Yea, he renews all his passion and crucifies him again] (idem, p. 149).

The souls of those who went to hell after death wished the day of judgement to be postponed indefinitely, for they feared the reunion with the body, because this would increase their sufferings (idem, p. 120).

These bodies *zullen leelic uter erden verrisen . . . zo leelic . . . Dat hem sal gruwen ende rouwen Zijns selves leden an te scouwen* [will rise out of the earth ugly . . . so ugly . . . That it will horrify and grieve them to behold their own figures] (*De Spieghel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse*, p. 237).

Devils and angels will expose their sins and even the elements earth, fire and air will accuse them (idem, p. 233).

At the Last Judgement man will also be indicted by his own sins, who will say to him: *Du mensche, du hebste ons gemaect ende niet God. Wi sijn dijn hantwerck, wi en sullen di niet verlaten, mer altijt by di wesen. Wi willen mitti trecken totten oordel, totter hellen ende in allen pinen sullen wi di mede versellen. Oncusheit sal barnen, toorn sal steken, nijt sal knaghen, ghiericheit sal den helschen brant op steken. Ende des ghelijc veel ende anders meer* [You man, you have made us and not God. We are your handiwork, we shall not leave you but always be with you. We shall go with you to the judgement, to hell and in all sufferings we shall accompany you. Unchastity will burn, wrath will prick, envy will gnaw, avarice will raise the fire of hell. And many such and others too] (Dirck van Delf III B, p. 636). As with Bosch the sinner is here tormented by his own sins. This is even more explicitly stated in *Dat sterf boeck*, 105<sup>r</sup>: *Want in wat manieren dat si gesondicht hebben, daer worden sij mede gepinicht* [For in what manner that they have sinned, with that they are tormented]<sup>1</sup>.

But this is not all. According to *Dat sterf boeck* (100<sup>r</sup>-101<sup>r</sup>), doomsday will bring yet four other kinds of agonies: *die wroeginge harer boser ende quader consciencien* [the pricking of their evil and wicked consciences], *die gehoechnisse boerre corter ydelre genoechten* [the memory of their short vain pleasures], their fear of the sinners they themselves have led into sin and who through their doing are in hell, and their envy of the blessed.

In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 321) the reader is advised to send his soul to hell once a day, the better to picture to himself the eternal punishments. This will help him to fight against sin. Bosch seems to be giving similar advice.

For the analysis of what we see happening on earth in the Vienna and Berlin depictions, we start in the lower right-hand corner. See ill. 12.

Here three devils are holding up a large knife.

One has a bird's beak, a red wing-like body-covering and on his head a funnel. He emerges from the mouth of a fish which has two human legs, with the feet stuck in wine- or beer-pots. The tail of the fish curves down and forward between the two legs. Through the lower part of the mouth a long knife or short sword is stuck and in one pot there is a big arrow. The hilt of the knife is surmounted by a crescent moon. Under the mouth are black spots and on the thigh of the left leg white ones.

<sup>1</sup> Borrowed from *Boek der Wijsheid* 9:17. *Per quae peccat quis, per haec et torquetur. Voorsienicheit Godes* (p. 197) gives examples of how sinners are punished by objects with which they have sinned.



As we have already learnt, in 16th-century Dutch the word *vogel* [bird], without further qualification, could be a synonym of rascal, as well as a phallic symbol<sup>2</sup>. The funnel represented, among other things, unreliability, unscrupulousness and addiction to drink<sup>3</sup>. The fish could stand for folly and licentious amusement. It also occurred as a phallic symbol<sup>4</sup>.

The motif of a *poot* [paw] (a word that could mean either leg/foot or hand) stuck in a beer- or wine-jar was used a number of times by Bosch and his imitators<sup>5</sup>. The jars allude to excessive drinking and the *poot* stuck in the jar is a visual expression of the saying *sinen poot steken in* [to put his foot into] something, i.e. to get involved in something (here: in intoxicating drink)<sup>6</sup>.

In regard to the arrow in the jar: a 16th-century synonym of *pijl* [arrow] was

<sup>2</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 137/181 and 206/274. *Tuin*, p. 163 (6). Additional examples of inebriety: Funnel through which imp puts his arms (*Judgem.*, p. 139 n. 317). Funnel on bath-house (*Judgem.*, p. 135 n. 299). Funnel on head of she-devil who beats on kettle-drums with ladles (gluttony) and has butterfly-bird-wings (unchastity) (*Last Judgement*, painted by an imitator of Bosch, Auction Palais Galliera, Paris, 6 December 1966. Photo Rijksbureau). Dirc van Delf II, p. 176: *crapula sive ebrietas . . . dat een sijns lijfs ghen mate en wete, mer als in enen trechter doer ghiet, daer sijn lijf ende sinne mede werden verswaert* [ . . . when a person does not know moderation of his body, but pours through as into a funnel, wherewith his body and senses are made heavy]. I do not believe that the funnel on the head of our imp on the centre panel represents 'die geistige Leere im Menschen (denn wie durch ihn jede Flüssigkeit ohne Halt durchrinnt, ebenso dringt nach Boschs pessimistischer Weltanschauung die Religion in die Menschen zwar ein, ohne dass sie aus ihr aber Glauben und Stärke nehmen)' as Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 22) sees it.

<sup>4</sup> I.a. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 166-8/217-9. For fishes with Bosch and imitators, see the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin*, *Martelares* and *Judgem.* sub *vis*/fish, etc. and *Bezwaren*, p. 17, 18, 35 and 48. Additions: With the pot and arrow (back of Bosch's *St. John on Patmos*, cf. *Judgem.*, p. 90), which allude to addiction to drink and gluttony, is a huge fish. In Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych a little demon who has with him two conspicuous boots (inebriety), holds in his hand a large fish, and walking in his direction is another little devil, whose beard is a fish (see *Judgem.*, p. 160). The three fishes in these instances are i.m.o. symbols of licentious merrymaking. I read the same meaning in the fish in the attack on a ship (*Judgem.*, p. 368). In a 16th-century play *visjes inslikken* [to swallow little fishes] means to keep company with public women (*Tafelspel van Al Hoy*, p. 2, l. 39 ff.). For herrings as phallic symbols, see P.J.J. van Thiel, *Frans Hals' portret van de Leidse rederijersnaar Pieter Cornelisz. van der Morsch, alias Piero (1543-1628)*. *Oud Holland* LXXVI (1961), p. 167, note 50. That the fish in Bosch's *Merrymakers in a Boat* (Louvre, *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 193/253 (99) and in the painting *Merrymakers in an Egg* (Lille, Senlis; *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 167/218, n. 10; 199/263, n. 47; eel: 58/73, n. 47) is an attribute of the moon, as Anna Bozckowska (*Oud Holland* 1971, p. 62 and 68) would have us believe, I cannot accept, because of the symbolism of their contextual surroundings and because of the meanings that the fish has elsewhere in the works of Bosch and his imitators. The fishes painted on the merrymakers' boat in the *Schönbarthbuch* are not intended as moon attributes either (*Oud Holland*, p. 62). They are ordinary fishes and eels that have been depicted on the boat, together with a lobster, simply as an allusion to the custom for revellers to go round with their ship-on-wheels and be rewarded with fishes and lobsters received from the public; later also other foodstuffs and money were given: K. Drescher, *Das Nürnbergerische Schönbarthbuch*. Weimar 1908, p. VIII.

<sup>5</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 114/149 (26-30); *Tuin.*, p. 94. Addition: Leg of human tree devil in beer-pot, *Judgem.*, p. 372. Sketch-sheet Oppenheimer Collection, London.

<sup>6</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 114/149 (26).



*bout* and this word at that time was also a term for a dissolute fellow<sup>7</sup>, as well as for a favourite food of spendthrifts<sup>8</sup> and it could function as a phallic symbol<sup>9</sup>. One instance I have not yet drawn attention to, is the sinner in the upper right section of the depiction of hell outside the ring round the scenes of the Passion on the back of Bosch's *St. John on Patmos* in Berlin. The man's head and hands are raised up from within a large pot which is pierced by an enormous arrow. Pot and arrow here signify inebriety and gluttony. Another example I have not mentioned, is the arrow behind the head of a laughing imp lying with his head against a jar (sketch-sheet Oppenheimer Collection, London)<sup>10</sup>.

Long knives were often used in tavern brawls. Consequently the carrying of such weapons was repeatedly prohibited by civic authorities. In the 16th century the long knife was a symbol of pugnacity, irascibility and wrath<sup>11</sup>. A knife in general could however also be a phallic symbol<sup>12</sup>. The crescent moon could point to licentiousness<sup>13</sup> and the black and white spots could allude to the Spanish pox<sup>14</sup>.

The second devil is a green-haired ape-like being. In Bosch's time the ape in the Low Countries signified quarrel and dispute, unchastity, folly and the devil<sup>15</sup>.

The third devil has a toad-like right leg and foot, and a human-like face and right hand. Under his nose he has cat's whiskers. On his right thigh are yellow spots. A black-brown hooded cape covers his head and upper body. The hood resembles that of a soldier in Bosch's *Crowning with thorns* in the Prado. Is it accidental that there is the same turn of the head, that both mouths are open and that the soldier also has long whiskers? Propped against the right side of our devil is a metal shield with a projecting metal point which has little knobs on it.

In the Low Countries of the 16th century the toad stood for avarice, impurity and filth, unchastity, pride and the devil<sup>16</sup>. The cat occurred as a symbol of folly and of the devil<sup>17</sup>. The tom-cat was familiar as a figure of lust<sup>18</sup>. Shield and sharp point can indicate pugnacity, the yellow spots syphilis<sup>19</sup>. Do the little knobs on the long point of the shield also allude to a venereal disease? In 16th-century Dutch *schild* [shield] and *speer* [spear] were used in the meaning of, respectively, the female and the male sex organ<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/30; *Tuin*, p. 109 (9). *Dronckenbout* meant drunkard.

<sup>8</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 99/125 and 169/222.

<sup>9</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 111/141 (35); *Tuin*, p. 109 (10). Cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 27/29 (29).

<sup>10</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 184 n. 197.

<sup>11</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 13 f./20 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 65/82 (20); *Tuin*, p. 84 (8).

<sup>13</sup> For discussion of the motif of the crescent moon, see Elaboration xi. A real sword with crescent moon on top of the hilt is illustrated in Demmin (*Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 732, no. 43). It is a Western European example: end 15th or beginning 16th century. In a depiction of the *Temptation of Job* the hilt of a minstrel-devil's knife consists of a half-moon: Doña Dolores Fernandez Collection, Madrid. Work of an imitator of Bosch. Photo in Rijksbureau, Friedländer Records.

<sup>14</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 246 f.

<sup>15</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 175 f./228.

<sup>18</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 176/228. For *kat*/cat and *kater*/tomcat see the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.* Additions: cat and tomcat as devil:

*Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 170. Van den Bergh, p. 31, 123 and 124. Niermeyer, p. 55.

<sup>19</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 246 f.

<sup>20</sup> *Tuin*, p. 65 (2) and 84 (8).

The knife being lifted by the trio has two bits broken from its edge. The blade therefore has a *schaarde* or *schaar* [nick] in two places<sup>21</sup>. Was it Bosch's intention with the *geschaarde* [nicked] knife to picture the word *schaermes* [lit.: nicked knife] as homonymic with *scheermes* [razor]<sup>22</sup>, and thus to indicate that the knife was sharp, indeed too keenly honed? A current expression was: *Al te scherp maectt schaertich* [lit.: Too sharp makes nickish]<sup>23</sup>, that is, overdoing things causes faults.

The knife is that of an executioner, with the letter M as mark on its blade<sup>24</sup>. From one angle it looks a bit like a B, but our specialist in the field of mediaeval handwriting, Professor G.I. Lieftinck, has assured me that it is intended to be an M. He considered it possible, though, that at a later date an imitator of Bosch could have read it as a B.

On two other executioner's knives, both of which occur in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych, Bosch likewise shows the letter M<sup>25</sup>. The edge of one of these shows a small V-shaped indentation. So this knife, too, has a nick.

De Tolnay explained the letter M as i. a. the first letter of the word *Mundus*<sup>26</sup>. Much is to be said for this hypothesis, because on a knife in his drawing *The big fishes eat the small* Bruegel depicted a world globe. With Bosch, the M would i. m. o. then signify the world which rewards its worldly devotees with the punishment of hell<sup>27</sup>. In Bruegel's *Avaritia* a terrestrial globe is the mark on a scissors that is cutting in two a dressmaker who has kept back some customer's material for herself, and it appears also in his *Ira*, on the flag of the imps behind a machine of war. In these cases, too we have satire on the 'world'. The engraver (probably Pieter van der Heyden), of a print with beggars closely related to those on Bosch's sheet in the *Albertina*, has provided one of the mendicants with a beggar's emblem in the shape of a terrestrial orb with cross. Here the meaning is: the world impoverishes<sup>28</sup>. Another possibility suggested by De Tolnay is that the M could allude to the male sex organ. It is indeed probable that the letter had this additional meaning, because in 16th-century Dutch *mes* [knife] was also a term for *membrum virile*<sup>29</sup>; moreover, the other knife in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych (the one between the two pots) occurs in a most obscene context<sup>30</sup>, while in two further instances in Bosch's work it could also have a connection with unchaste motifs<sup>31</sup>. In addition there is the M on a knife which appears in a very indecent scene in a work by an imitator of Bosch (*Last Judgement* triptych, Bruges). Here it is placed with its point between the two

<sup>21</sup> *W.N.T.* xiv, 163.

<sup>22</sup> *M.W.* vii, 240;

<sup>23</sup> *Oude Nederlandsche spreuken en spreekwoorden*. Published by G.J. Meyer. Groningen 1836, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the executioner's knives in the *Judgement of Cambyzes* by Gerard David (Ao 1498). Rep.: Janssens de Bisthoven et Parmentier, no. 5, Gr. David, xxxv; 1, xxxviii. Is the depiction on the blade of the first a lily-flower, as mark?

<sup>25</sup> *Tuin*, p. 117 and 122. Rep.: Combe 1946, no. 96.

<sup>26</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 15/15, note 15.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Judgem.*, p. 141.

<sup>28</sup> *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 101 (p. 226). Does the A on the sword of a diabolic sea-knight stand for the word *Aarde* [Earth]? See *Judgem.*, p. 376.

<sup>29</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 70/82 (20); *Tuin*, p. 118 (5).

<sup>30</sup> *Tuin*, p. 116 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Tuin*, p. 122; *Judgem.*, p. 140.

halves of a mussel-shell. The sinner lying with his upper body on the edge of the blade, is in fact a lecher<sup>32</sup>.

All this has already been dealt with in *Tuin*, p. 117 f., where I added [here translated]: It seems probable that Bosch, who was not averse to piling up symbolic references, intentionally used the M in a double meaning<sup>33</sup>.

Imitators of Bosch appear to have seen the letter sometimes as a B. Perhaps they interpreted it as the first letter of Bossche, the short form for 's-Hertogenbosch which appears on copperplate engravings by Alart du Hameel. The executioner's knives in Bosch's home town could have carried this mark. Or did the imitators in some instances take it to be the first letter of the word *beul* [executioner]<sup>34</sup>?

The three devils are directing the knife towards three sinners in order to torture them with it<sup>35</sup>. One of the unfortunates is lying on his back in the posture of someone who has been flung to the ground. Another is looking at the knife in a frightened way, and the third bends forward with his head to the ground so as not to see it.

As is generally the case with Bosch, the devils and their attributes allude to the nature of the sins committed by those they are tormenting.

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<sup>32</sup> Rep.: Janssens de Bisthoven et Parmentier, no. 4, Gr. Bosch; 3, v.

<sup>33</sup> Gibson (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 -1973-, p. 26, note 73) asks whether the M could mean Malignus, a name given to the Antichrist in a 15th-century work. But Bruegel's globes i.m.o. add support to the hypothesis that the M stands for the word Mundus.

Von Frimmel and after him Glück surmised that the M on the knives of Bosch was the mark of a manufacturer of weapons or knives in 's-Hertogenbosch (see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 15/15, note 15). Also Steppe (*Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen* 1967, p. 21 and 39, notes 93-96) and P. Gerlach (*Brabantia* xvii -1968-, p. 381; *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1968, p. 77; Marijnissen e.a. *Jheronimus Bosch*, p. 155 and 157) take it to be a cutlers' trade-mark of 's-Hertogenbosch. But it seems to me that the M has a deeper significance. P. Gerlach (*Brabantia* xvii, p. 382) is mistakenly of the opinion that an M occurs on a knife in a triptych by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsaenen: see *Judgem.*, p. 141. Munz was wrong when he wrote (1954, p. 12, repeated by Poch-Kalous 1961, p. 16) that I saw the M on the knives of Bosch as the sign of the scorpion. It is Combe who ascribed this meaning to the M, which I rejected: see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 15/15, note 15.

<sup>34</sup> A B appears on the knife of Peter on the left wing of the triptych of the *Crowning with Thorns* which is in the Museo de San Carlos in Valencia. The work was probably painted about 1530 by an imitator of Bosch. Rep.: *Vlaamse kunst uit Spaans bezit*. Stedelijk Museum Groninge, Brugge. Juli-Augustus 1958, no. 15-16. *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen* 1967, p. 21. Here it cannot be the first letter of the word *beul* [executioner], because the knife belongs to Peter. Did the painter wish to signify that he was active in Bossche [short form of 's-Hertogenbosch]? Steppe (*Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen* 1967, p. 21 and notes 93-96) sees the letter as an M. But in form the mark clearly deviates from the M's on the knives of the *Garden* triptych, *Last Judgement* triptych (Vienna) and *Last Judgement* triptych (Bruges).

In a *Jesus taken captive* by an imitator of Bosch (Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego), closely related to the *Jesus taken captive* in the Rijksmuseum, Peter's knife has the word Bos on it. There is a B on a small flag attached to a stick which is stuck in the anus of a devil forming part of a brothel-scene (*The stone operation*, by an imitator, Rijksmuseum). The B here is probably the first letter of the word *bordeel* [brothel].

<sup>35</sup> In a *Hell or Purgatory* in the Sijpesteijn Castle at Loosdrecht, painted by an imitator of Bosch, a devil carries a large executioner's knife on which hangs a severed, blindfolded head.

The long knife, the beer- or wine-jars, the feet inside them, and the arrow in one of them - all belonging to the foremost and most prominent devil - evoke the atmosphere of the tavern where pugnacity and drunkenness are rife. In the *Ira* of Bosch's *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* a peasant who is threatening another with a long knife in his right hand and a beerpot in his left, stands before a tavern with a lion in its signboard (the animal here being a symbol of wrath, see *Judgem.*, p. 69). The other symbolic figures are entirely in keeping with life in a tavern: fish (licentious merrymaking), bird (rascal), funnel (unreliability and addiction to drink), ape (quarrel and strife), toad (unchastity), cat (folly), crescent moon (licentiousness). The obscene meaning of many symbols likewise fit the picture. The metal shield belongs, in general, to pugnacity, perhaps also in the sense of sexual aggressiveness. The spots could be indicative of the Spanish pox, picked up in taverns of ill repute.

Bosch wishes to convey, I think, that the three sinners have indulged in debauchery in taverns, including fighting, quarrelling and strife. When we look at this scene in conjunction with what is depicted in the vicinity, it certainly seems to be part of a large *Ira* representation.

Above the right arm of the devilish imp in the pack-basket of the pedlar-devil (to be discussed later), the two legs of a sinner that were overpainted have become visible again. In the Berlin picture they are not seen. Bosch's original intention was probably to place here yet another sinner being threatened by the knife.

To the right of the devils with the knife walks a little demon whose head and upper body are hidden in a red basket. His arms protrude through holes in it. In his hands, protected by iron gauntlets, he holds a long knife. An arrow is stuck in the basket.

The lower part of a white shirt appears from under the basket. A belt is tied round it. Under the shirt a small piece of naked brown bottom is visible. Leathery, violet-grey hose cover part of the posterior and legs<sup>36</sup>. The truncated feet are encased in large white pieces of bone.

The symbolism of the basket has been exhaustively dealt with in *Ontc./Deciph.*<sup>37</sup>. In the Low Countries of the 16th century a basket often refers figuratively to voracity, due no doubt to the fact that *korf* [basket] was formerly also used for *maag* [stomach] and *buik* [belly]. *De korf vullen* [to fill the basket] meant to eat abundantly<sup>38</sup>.

The little devil 'fills' the basket, which signifies that in him voracity is being censured. The arrow which pierces the basket, and through it also the belly of the imp, represents the word *bout* also in its other sense of leg (of beef, venison, pork). Such a leg of meat was a favourite food of the revelling community in the

<sup>36</sup> In *Ontc.*, p. 168 (12), I erroneously stated that only one leg was visible and that it was naked.

<sup>37</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 168-171/219-222.

<sup>38</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 169/221 (22). Addition: In a *Last Judgement*, attributed to Jan Mandijn (rep.: *The Connoisseur* CXLV, June 1960, p. 78. C. Marshall Spink Collection, London) a little demon whose head is concealed in a beehive and who wears black boots on his naked legs, is carrying a large fish to a place where sinners guilty of gluttony and inebriety are being tortured. The hive here alludes to overeating and the boot to excessive drinking. In Bruegel's *The Numbering at Bethlehem* (Vienna) we see hanging in front of the tavern a *krans* [lit.: wreath; tavern-bush], a wine-jar and a beehive: symbols of drinking and guzzling.



16th century<sup>39</sup>. The *bout* [arrow and meat] has gone through the little monster's basket/belly. Now *door de buik jagen* [to drive through the belly] meant to dissipate<sup>40</sup>. He has therefore squandered his money on gourmandising.

Is the red colour of the basket also intended to have a meaning? *Rooi* meant poverty as well as red<sup>41</sup>.

The partly bare bottom and the pieces of bone on the feet certainly point to indigence. For a *kaalgar* [bare arse] was a poor devil<sup>42</sup> and the white 'shoe' is nothing but the enlarged representation of the protective bone-piece which was sometimes fitted over the end of a beggar's crutch to prevent wear and tear<sup>43</sup>.

The posterior is only half exposed. A piece of Dutch verse from around 1500 describes the poor man i.e. as *den korf ontdekt ende niet geheel* [lit.: the basket uncovered, and not entirely], meaning the behind bare but not wholly so<sup>44</sup>. For *korf* could also signify posterior. Was this a well-known saying and has Bosch given it visual expression here?

It is remarkable that in a detail of a *Festival of Saint Martin* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), dating from ca. 1558 and attributed to Bruegel, a pauper is shown who, like Bosch's little fiend, is wearing a white shirt, a black belt and violet (in the Bruegel violet-red) hose. His feet are bare.

The truncated foot is diabolical. St. Birgitta had a vision in which she saw devils with maimed feet, some cut in half<sup>45</sup>. Satan applied this mutilation also to

<sup>39</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 99/125 and 169/222.

<sup>40</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 170/222 (46).

<sup>41</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 57/72 (41), 225/299 (79).

<sup>42</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/52 and 173/225 (6).

<sup>43</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/95. Additions to the examples given there: In a drawing by Bosch (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 146) a devil has on his left leg a bone with an arrow [*bout*] sticking in it. It means: gluttony impoverishes. On his right leg is the spur of a cock. This is a visual representation of the word *kuythane* [lit.: calfcock, i.e. cock with spurs on his calves] meaning boozier (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 12/18, note 47; *Judgem.* p. 64 n. 308). There is in the Royal Palace in Madrid a Brussels tapestry from about 1550, made after a work by Bosch or an imitator and representing a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, in which a beggar-devil is shown with his right leg in a bone (rep.: Lafond, at p. 81). On another tapestry there, also Brussels ca. 1550, some beggars have the tip of their crutch in a piece of bone (rep.: Lafond, at p. 79). I thought that this tapestry pictured the feast of St. Martin (*Over allerhande bisschoppen en Bruegel's kreupelen in het Louvre, Historia, Maandblad voor Geschiedenis en Kunstgeschiedenis* ix - 1943-, p. 245 and 246; *Als de Blende tzuwijn sloughen, Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* LXIII - 1944-, p. 84). But Steppe (*Jheronimus Bosch, Bijdragen* 1967, p. 33 ff.) regards it as an episode in the life of St. Anthony: as a young man he leaves the city where he lived and goes to seek solitude. In the Triumphal Entry into Brussels in 1496 of Johanna of Castile, spouse of Philip the Fair, a jester who was mocked by boys on a Brussels square, carried in his girdle a stick with its tip in a bone-piece: Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Ms. 78-D-5: *Einzug der Johanna von Castilien in Brüssel. Brüsseler Schule um 1496*. Lateinischer Text. Federzeichnungen, aquarelliert, auf Papier. Fol. 12<sup>r</sup>. Is a play on words involved here? *Bot* [bone] also meant stupid.

<sup>44</sup> *Dichten*, p. 79. *W.N.T.* VII, part II, 5641.

<sup>45</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/94 (64). Haslinghuis, p. 185, drew attention to this. P. Gerlach (*Brabantia* xv - 1966-, p. 209) thinks that for his depictions of hell Bosch drew inspiration from the visions of St. Birgitta. He points out that in the possession of the Birgittanite convent of Coudewater or Mariënwater at Rosmalen, a town to the north-east of 's-Hertogenbosch, there was a copy of Birgitta's *Revelationes*, printed in Nuremberg in 1501 (*Brabantia* xviii - 1969-, p. 55). But he gives no example of anything borrowed from it. I read *The revelations of Saint Birgitta* (edited from the fifteenth-century ms. in the Garrett

humans. When Christoffel Wagenaer extends his foot outside the magic circle so *hout eenen Geest hem den voet schier half af, also dat hy die Teenen voor quijt was* [then a Spirit hacked off almost half of his foot, so that he lost the Toes in front]<sup>46</sup>.

Bosch may also have intended the *botten* [bones] to indicate that the man is a *lichtvoet* [light-foot], that is a frivolous person<sup>47</sup>. For the foot is light in both colour and weight. In this respect it may be significant that the devil in a 15th-century Limburg play of the Antichrist is named Lightfoot<sup>48</sup>.

The iron gauntlet and the long knife point to the man's pugnacity.

In this demon Bosch is censuring the armed vagrant who squanders whatever money comes to hand and so remains indigent. Many of Bosch's demon figures satirize persons who stay poor or who become impoverished because they do not know how to save, but spend all they have, especially on food and drink<sup>49</sup>.

Armed vagabonds, half-robber, half-beggar, exercised a veritable reign of terror in Bosch's time, intimidating the peasants on the land and townsfolk in the taverns<sup>50</sup>.

In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by a follower of Bosch an imp has his arms stuck not through a basket, but through a funnel which covers the upper part of

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Collection in the library of Princeton University, by William Patterson Cumming. London 1929), and found in this Middle English translation of a large number of the revelations nothing that must have inspired Bosch. The punishments which sinners in hell have to suffer according to her description are not those which Bosch depicts and her demon types are almost never the same as Bosch's. That St. Birgitta mentions maimed feet does not yet prove that Bosch was acquainted with her *Revelationes*.

Huizinga's remarks in *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* about the sexual element in the devil-fantasies of Alain de la Roche (Alanus de Rupe; Alanus van der Klip; born in Brittany ca. 1428, died in Zwolle in 1475) led Delevoy (p. 67) and M. Gauffreteau-Sévy (*Jérôme Bosch*. Paris 1965, p. 82) to believe that Bosch had undergone the influence of Alanus's writings. Madam Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 14) was of the same opinion. Yet not a single example was brought forward.

<sup>46</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/94 f. (65).

<sup>47</sup> 16th-century examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 78/95 (70).

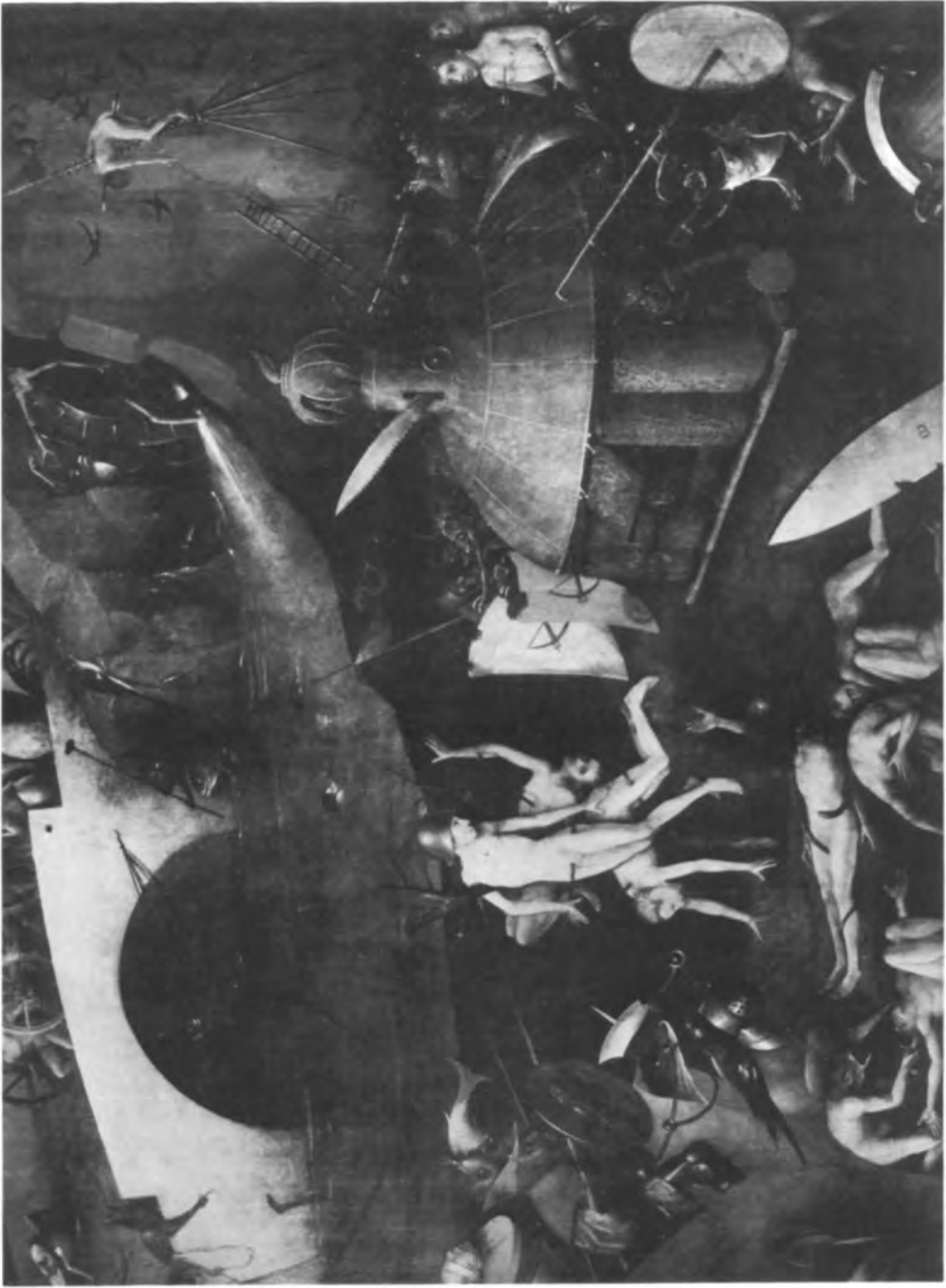
<sup>48</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 78/95 (71).

<sup>49</sup> E.g. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 132/175, 186/240 and 202/267; *Tuin*, p. 113 (1). Compare Dionysius the Carthusian: *Soe wye dat minnet die wescappen die sal in armoede wesen. Ende wie dat minnet den wijn ende die vette mercelen, die en sel niet rijck worden* [Whosoever loves the festive meals he shall be in poverty. And whosoever loves the wine and the fat morsels, he shall not become rich] (*Vanden loefliken leuen*, K 7<sup>v</sup>). In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 383) the sinner asleep in deadly sin is compared with a drunken fellow who has squandered his all in the tavern and is now *arm ende naect* [poor and naked]. As late as the first quarter of the 17th century D.P. Pers (*Bacchus-wonderwerken*. Amsterdam 1628, p. 137) lets someone whose drinking has made him penniless arrive in the towns of *Kael-bil*, *Al-verbrast*, *Kost-verloren* and *Calis* [approx.: Bare-bum, All-drunkup, Food-gone and Stitchless]. *Kalis* was a name for a beggar. A report on poor-relief in Leiden, brought out in 1577, criticizes the beggars who do sometimes work, but immediately consume all they earn and squander their pay (Ligtenberg, p. 299).

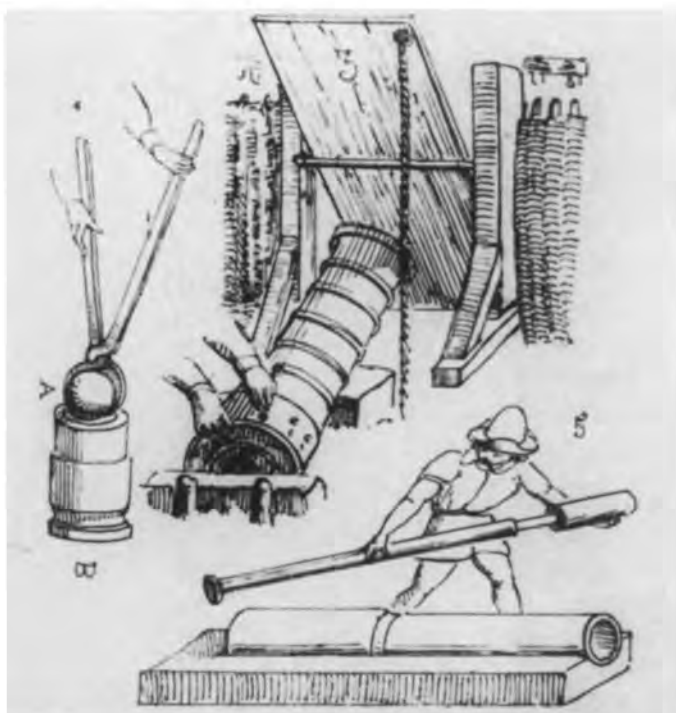
Coornhert censures the many *ghezonde, onschamele, smetsende en oock ghierighe bedelaars* [healthy, shameless, gorging and also greedy beggars] (*Zedekunst. Dat is Wellevenskunste*. Etc. Edit. B. Becker. Leiden 1942, p. 282). In the 15th and 16th centuries beggars streamed to 's-Hertogenbosch because this town in particular was well-known for its many charitable institutions (Van den Eerenbeemt, p. 7 f.).

<sup>50</sup> See i.a. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 57/71 (21). The Leiden report of 1577 says that farmers in the surrounding districts of the town live in fear of vagrant beggars (Ligtenberg, p. 300).





13. War-machine and soldiers, Bosch (p. 98)



14. War-machine, after 1350 (p. 98 n. 55)



15. War-machine, before 1550 (p. 98 n. 56)

his body. In his right hand he holds a knife, in his left the lid of a pot. A long dance-band passes over his shoulders through the funnel<sup>51</sup>. The funnel here points to excessive drinking<sup>52</sup>, knife and small shield to pugnacity, dance-band to licentious merrymaking in taverns<sup>53</sup>.

While in the three devils with the knife, together with the basket-demon, Bosch condemns people who have been guilty i.a. of pugnacious conduct in taverns and elsewhere, the scene a little higher up (ill. 13) is a denunciation of war itself.

There a huge assault-apparatus on small wooden wheels is rolling to the left. On the dome-shaped roof is a cylinder supporting a sphere. Roof, cylinder and sphere are metallic. A serrated knife protrudes from the cylinder. It is held up by a chain issuing from an opening in the sphere. Flames flicker in this ball and flare out at the top.

The front of the dome is supported in an obscure way by a green breastwork consisting of four curved sections. Far left a little imp is shooting with a crossbow through an opening between roof and breastwork<sup>54</sup>. The form of the little creature cannot be distinguished. To the right of this a wooden hatch has been raised at an angle, enabling a devil to put out with his feet, through the opening thus formed, a large earthenware jug which has the form of a short barrel of a big gun. From the jug issue smoke and fire as from a cannon.

In Berlin the 'jug' looks more like a metal cannon. A round ball is being fired from it. This is not shown in the Vienna picture. With Bosch the head of the devil is ape-like, with Cranach, should one rather say goat-like? In Berlin two indefinable devils peer out over the two curved sections of the breastwork to the right of the cannon. In Vienna they are absent.

The entire right side of the war-machine is open. In Vienna we see there, from left to right: the head of a toad-like (?) devil, a devil with human features, a devil with a bear-like head from which a long tongue sticks out, and an ape-like devil stretching out his paw towards a sinner. In Berlin on the other hand there are, from left to right: an ape-like, a lion-like and an ape-toad-like devil. The last-named stretches out his paw towards the sinner.

In his construction of this war-machine Bosch was influenced by 15th- and 16th-century engines of attack and siege, such as shown here in ill. 14 and 15. The first shows i.a. a cannon placed behind a wooden screen which is so fitted into the breastwork that it can be hauled up (second half 14th century)<sup>55</sup>; compare this with the earthenware jug under the hatch. In the second we see i.a. a wall-battering machine on wheels which has a domed roof (first half 16th century)<sup>56</sup>. In form this apparatus belli resembles Bosch's engine of assault.

To the left of the contrivance two large shields have been placed in an upright position. One is red, the other white (pink in Berlin). Behind each shield stands a devil with a toad-like head. Appearing from between the two shields is a cross-

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<sup>51</sup> Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri. Formerly: art firm Ehrich, New York. Rep.: De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, ill. 23. Painting already mentioned in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/31 (54).

<sup>52</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 137/182 (21).

<sup>53</sup> For the dance-band see *Judgem.*, p. 138.

<sup>54</sup> For the old Dutch terms for the crossbow and its constituent parts, see: A.M.C. van Asch van Wijk, *De Schut- of Schutter-gilde in Nederland* (cont.). *Voet- en bandboog, bannier. Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, Volume 3. Part 2. 1850, p. 6-10. E. van der Looy van der Leeuw, *De boog*. *Oude Kunst*, December 1919, no. 3, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Demmin, *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 924, ill. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Demmin, *Ergänzungsband*, p. 190.

bow. In Vienna this bow was first drawn lower down and larger. The type of shield we see here was in use in Western Europe during the 14th, through to and including the 16th century<sup>57</sup>.

Behind the shields a grey-brown (in Berlin dirty white) flag with nothing on it is held aloft and a group of devils are standing at the ready. Among them is one with a human face and a hood over his head, another has the head of a dog and at least two have the snout of an ape. In Berlin we see from left to right: human head with hood, human head with green chaplet, ape-head with a kind of jester's cap, ape-head, and bird-head with blue hood. The bird-devil carries a mop.

It is obvious that here war and warrior are being satirized.

Ape, bear, lion and dog are very appropriate in this bellicose atmosphere. The ape, as we have seen, could be a symbol of quarrel and strife. Bear and lion were well-known figures of ire<sup>58</sup> and the dog signified i.a. viciousness and anger<sup>59</sup>, voracity and greed<sup>60</sup>. Other details fit in well with this: the green chaplet evokes the tavern, the jester's cap is an indication of folly and the mop of licentiousness<sup>61</sup>. Bird means rascal and the colour blue deceit<sup>62</sup>.

Why did Bosch paint an earthen jug [*pot*] in the form of a cannon and not the cannon itself? He could have been thinking of the term *potbond* [lit. potdog] for a cannon<sup>63</sup>, but another explanation is also possible.

Ape, bear and dog, besides having the above-named connotations, could also allude i.a. to unchastity<sup>64</sup>. Toad and goat were likewise used in this sense<sup>65</sup>. The lewd behaviour of soldiers in war-time was a familiar fact in Bosch's time. Erasmus censured this in his *Militis et Carthusiani* (1523), in which a soldier who had suffered from the Spanish pox three times, says [translated]: Everything that I could rake in with my pay, marauding, desecration of churches, booty, theft, it was all dissipated in wine, whores and gambling<sup>66</sup>. The pot in the 16th century Low Countries was a well-known symbol of the vagina<sup>67</sup> and as such, especially in the form of an earthenware jug, was repeatedly painted by Bosch<sup>68</sup>. A pot could,

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<sup>57</sup> Poschenburg, fig. 342. Did the detail of the two upright shields and the wooden hatch raised at an angle influence Bruegel when he was painting the raised trapdoor, with coffins as shields beside it, in his *Triumph of Death*?

<sup>58</sup> Bear: *Judgem.*, p. 49. Lion: *Judgem.*, p. 69.

<sup>59</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 37 f.

<sup>60</sup> *Bezwaren*, p. 48. *Judgem.*, p. 37 f.

<sup>61</sup> On the *zwabber*/mop/see *Judgem.*, p. 129.

<sup>62</sup> Bird: *Judgem.*, p. 30. Blue: *Judgem.*, p. 37.

<sup>63</sup> F.H.W. Kuypers. *Het oudste vuurgeschut in Nederland. De Militaire Spectator*. Third series. Seventh part. 1862, p. 656.

<sup>64</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29, 49 and 37.

<sup>65</sup> Toad: *Judgem.*, p. 29. Goat: *Judgem.*, p. 49.

<sup>66</sup> Erasmus. *Samenspraken* IV, p. 39.

<sup>67</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 59/75 f. (76, 77 and 81). Addition: *Koninklijke Souvereine Hoofdkamer De Fontaine. Jaarboek VIII* (1950), p. 39: *een vreemde hont . . . Waer hy een podt vint die qualijck sluyt Daer steeckt hij sijn hoofd in, gelyck een rodt* [a strange dog . . . where it finds a pot which is badly closed There it pushes its head in, like a rat]. *In allen landen vintmen ghebroken potten* [In all countries one finds broken pots]; *Proverbia communia*, ca. 1495, no. 431. *Men vindt veel gebroken potten over al* [One finds many broken pots everywhere]; *Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 52. In the *Accidia* of the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* a pot with a broken rim stands in a niche. Into it are stuck two spools and beside it stands an empty spindle. This pot appears to be not a symbol of unchastity but of neglect. The unused spindle and the spools point to laziness.

<sup>68</sup> See the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.* sub *pot*. *Bezwaren*, p. 44.

however, also be a symbol of arson<sup>69</sup>. In this case it was the fire-pot. A pot, representing the fire-pot, used to be hung with the body of an executed arsonist: war brings with it incendiarism on a large scale.

To the right of the war-machine an imp, half-human, half-lizard, lifts up his right hand. On his head he wears a metal fist-guard with a projecting conical point<sup>70</sup>, and on his body a part of a leather uniform. In his left hand he holds a claw-hook, one end of which is stuck through a mill-stone placed with its edge on the back of a sinner. The claw-hook was originally painted higher up on the mill-stone.

From behind the mill-stone the large duck- or goose-head of a devil comes into view and behind this a sinner rides on a fictive bird with a long sharp bill. The breast of the sinner is pierced by an arrow. Gripping his left arm is the paw of a devil with a toad's head, and the ape-devil on the war-machine, described above, stretches out his right arm to the sinner's left hand. Behind this sinner is another one. In Berlin it is an elderly man with a long moustache and beard. In Vienna we have a younger type, without beard or moustache.

The fist-guard, the leather tunic and the ape-devil on the war-machine are all clearly still part of the bellicosity scene, but the mill-stone in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch is a sexual symbol<sup>71</sup>. The bird with a long bill and the arrow have already been shown to be phallic symbols<sup>72</sup>. The duck<sup>73</sup> or goose<sup>74</sup> could signify folly. Toad and lizard could here indicate unchastity<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 58 f./74 f.

<sup>70</sup> Poschenburg, fig. 361: fist-shield with long, sharp point, diameter 25 to 40 cm. Bosch has depicted also another type of fist-shield, which is round, convex and without a point: *Last Judgement*, Munich: devil with sword; *Carrying of the Cross*, Vienna: soldier with sword. This kind of fist-shield occurs also in a *Carrying of the Cross* by Nicolaas Francke, dating from 1425 (Hoogewerff I, ill. on p. 155), in a miniature attributed to the Master of St. Barbara, ca. 1440 (Hoogewerff I, ill. on p. 455), in Memlinc's *Passion of Christ* (C. Aru et Et. de Geradon. *La Galerie Sabauda de Turin. Les Primitifs Flamands*. Anvers 1952, pl. xxvi). German examples: Demmin. *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 570, no. 62; Hirth I, ill. 184.

<sup>71</sup> *Tuin*, p. 29 (1). Cf. *Judgem.*, p. 181.

<sup>72</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 30 n. 61 and 89 f.

<sup>73</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 30.

<sup>74</sup> The goose as symbol of stupidity occurs already in Middle Dutch: Willem van Hildegarsberch, p. 54. Later examples: *Tuin*, p. 113 (2). As symbol of inebriety: *Tuin*, p. 113 (3); of the gullible: *Allenskens eedt de wolf de gans* [In time the wolf gets to eating the goose], *Seer schoone spreekwoorden*, no. 889; of folly and daftness: *Hy is dulcoppigher dan een gans* [He is crazier in his head than a goose], idem, no. 332. *Gans* [goose] could be used for an ignorant, simple woman: *Al waert een spinstere, oft een ander erm gans* [As if it were a spinster or another poor goose]: *Onuitgegeven gedichten van Anna Bijns*, p. 227. *Gheese*, synonym of *gans*, meant meretrix: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/87 (76). The goose on which a knight-devil is riding in a *Last Judgement* by Pieter Huys (*Judgem.*, p. 68 n. 345) has erotic significance in an unfavourable sense. The two geese shown with Adam and Eve where the couple are listening to God before their fall (background of Cornelis van Haarlem's *Fall*, Rijksmuseum) are probably love-symbols of a pure nature. A plucked goose was a symbol of poverty: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/86, *Tuin*, p. 112 (10). Additional example, 15th century: *Dichten*, p. 114.

In my opinion the prepared bird, ready for consumption, which a man climbing up to it out of a hazel-bush, is about to cut loose from the mast of Bosch's *Merrymakers in a Boat* (Louvre), is also a goose. In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 192/251, I took it to be a roast chicken. The man is *in den haselare* [in the hazel], i.e. he is someone who does foolish things because he is hot-tempered (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 192/250). Here the goose is not only food for the merrymakers but at the same time a symbol of folly and craziness.



In the *Last Judgement* scene of the triptych engraved by Hieronymus Cock we see, in the centre to the left, devils barricaded behind a large mill-stone, and a cannon being fired on angels and saved souls. A cannon is also present in a *Last Judgement* by another follower (Baytown-London), and there are two in the *Hell*-scene of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges.

The cannon was known, of course, in the Low Countries long before Bosch censured the use of this weapon. About 1330 the German monk Berthold Schwarz discovered gunpowder and already in 1348 the Dutch city of Deventer acquired three *dunrebusen* [blunderbusses], buying them from the lawyer Henso van Campen<sup>76</sup>. Erasmus deprecated the use of cannon in his *Querela Pacis* (1517)<sup>77</sup>.

Behind the war-machine follows a group of indistinct devils. A winged man-devil blows on a war-trumpet. An ape-devil carries a ladder (in Berlin the figure carrying it is not visible) from which ropes hang down. Is this the ladder for using at the gallows, for instance when towns were sacked and the inhabitants hanged? In addition we discern the head of a goat, heads of apes, a claw-hook, a dog-devil stretching out his arm, and frightened faces of sinners. In Berlin: claw-hook, ape-devil, toad-devil, devil with head of hare or rabbit, ass-devil, lion-devil, man-devil, another toad-devil, bird-devil, and some indistinct devils and faces of sinners.

Goat, ape, dog, toad, lion and bird we have already come across at the war-machine. The hare could have an unchaste meaning and a generally diabolic connotation<sup>78</sup>. The rabbit has a sexual function in Bosch's *Garden* triptych: on the *Paradise* panel it appears in a favourable sense<sup>79</sup>, in the *Garden* itself the allusion is unfavourable<sup>80</sup>, for here Bosch has placed diabolic feelers on its head<sup>81</sup>.

Elsewhere I have given old Netherlandish examples of the ass as a figure of stupidity and folly<sup>82</sup>, and of laziness and sloth<sup>83</sup>. In the *Garden* triptych it

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A 15th-century vault-painting in the church of Kollum in Friesland, shows a man with a bellows in his right arm and a goose in his left. With the fingers of his two hands he is pulling his mouth wide open (*Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 69 -1970-, p. 70 and ill. 12). This was thought to be a satire on the overeating which was a feature of the St. Martin's festival. For geese were often eaten at this feast. The bellows would then be explained as the implement serving to fan the fire over which the goose was roasted. But the bellows was a well-known symbol of folly (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 171/223). Is it not rather folly that is being satirized in the man with his goose, bellows and inanely opened mouth? Or does the representation have both meanings? See for the goose with Bosch and imitators: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/86 f., 69/88, 185/237, 186/240; *Tuin*, p. 110, 112, 113; *Bezwaren*, p. 17; *Judgem.*, p. 171.

<sup>75</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29 and 31.

<sup>76</sup> F.H.W. Kuypers. *Het oudste vuurgeschut in Nederland. De Militaire Spectator*. Third series. Seventh part. 1862, p. 650. F. Buitenrust Hettema en A. Telting. *Een bezoek aan een Nederlandsche stad in de XIVde eeuw*. 's-Gravenhage 1906, p. 68.

<sup>77</sup> Erasmus van Rotterdam. *De klacht van de vrede die overal door alle volken verstoten en versmaad wordt*. Translation into Dutch by Truus van Leeuwen. Amsterdam 1947, p. 78.

<sup>78</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 52.

<sup>79</sup> *Tuin*, p. 23.

<sup>80</sup> *Tuin*, p. 57, 58 and 59.

<sup>81</sup> *Tuin*, p. 59.

<sup>82</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/86, 162/210 (note 31), 273/359 (49); *Tuin*, p. 97; *Bezwaren*, p. 19. Old examples also in *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 125. Brugman. *Verspreide sarmoenen*, p. 7; *Onuitgegeven gedichten van Anna Bijns*, p. 328. In the *Merrymakers in an Egg* (Lille) the ass's ears of a lute-player stick out through his little hat.

<sup>83</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 71/86, note 67. Also in *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 107; *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 148 (example in Dirck van Delf).

appears several times in a sexual function: on the *Paradise* panel in a favourable sense<sup>84</sup>, in *Garden* and *Hell* with an unfavourable connotation<sup>85</sup>. For further instances of the ass in Bosch's work, see the index of *Judgem.*, under ass.

So here again we have a combination of war and unchastity.

In the Vienna picture all the figures in and at the assault apparatus have been heavily restored.

Bosch repeatedly censured warfare and the misconduct of soldiers. See for instance *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 56/70 and *Tuin* p. 121.

Other moralists of the Low Countries did likewise. In addition to the examples given in preceding publications on Bosch, I have the following to add.

Jacob van Maerlant already warned those in power:

<i>Heren sullen sijn in der hoede</i>	[Rulers should be on their guard
<i>Te sturtene van menschen bloede . . .</i>	Against the shedding of human blood . . .
<i>Want het God allene bestaet,</i>	For the right is God's alone on high,
<i>Dat hi sterven doet den man.</i>	That he cause the man to die.] <sup>86</sup>

*Die Spiegel der Sonden* (11, col. 239) vehemently denounces soldiers who rob innocent country people: *die onnosel lantlude, diet irste ontgelden altoes, ende dies geen sake en sijn, die werden verbarnt, oer coern verderft opt velt* [the simple peasant folk, who are always the first to suffer, and who have no part in it, they are burnt, their corn destroyed on the field]. The writer's attack is made in conjunction with his discourse on the sin of wrath. The soldiers *sijn arger dan die duvel vander hellen, want inder hellen en doet hi nyemant quaet, noch en piniget hem, hi en heves verdient* [are worse than the devil of hell, because in hell he (i.e. the devil) does nobody harm, nor torments him, unless he has deserved it].

In the *Doctrinael des Tijts* (p. 183) soldiers who plunder merchantmen and peasants are satirized.

Cornelis Everaert in his playlet *Crych* uses the word *crych* in its double meaning of 'war' and 'getting' (rapacity)<sup>87</sup>.

The *Summa der Godliker Schrifturen*, published in 1523, warns the ruler who wages war for the purpose of increasing his territory, that he should bear in mind the Last Judgement (p. 190 f.): *Ende een heer sal altyt dencken datter een Coninck boven hem inden hemel is, voer welcken alle menschen moeten reden geven int wterste ordeel vanden minsten gedachten ende wercken die si gedaen hebben* [And a lord shall always remember that there is a King above him in heaven, before whom all men must give account in the last judgement of the least of their thoughts and the works they have done].

One often gets the impression that these writers directed their attacks only against the atrocious excesses of war, but that they approved of the proverb: *Die eerlic oerloecht die sal goet loen ontfaen* [Who wages war honestly will be well rewarded]<sup>88</sup>. Erasmus, however, went much further in his abhorrence of armed conflict. In his *Querela Pacis* the only war he can condone is a defensive one against the Mohammedan Turks who wish to dominate Christian Europe.

Bosch was in a position to witness the miseries of war from close up. The

<sup>84</sup> *Tuin*, p. 26.

<sup>85</sup> *Tuin*, p. 55, 56, 57 and 99.

<sup>86</sup> *Heimelykheid der Heimelykheden*, line 643 ff.

<sup>87</sup> *Everaert*, p. 593.

<sup>88</sup> *Proverbia seriosa*.

people of 's-Hertogenbosch had to suffer, for instance, the outrages of Maximilian's soldiers<sup>89</sup>.

In the far background, before a high crag, the mast and rigging of a ship stand out. The top end of the mast pierces the breast of a sinner. An arrow is stuck into his anus and comes out at his neck. In Berlin the arrow enters the left buttock. Black crows fly around the sinner<sup>90</sup>. A yellow-green flag flies from the mast. A mop is upright beside the mast. To the right of the mop is a stick. Instead of this stick Cranach has painted a trident<sup>91</sup>, and to the right of it a stick.

<sup>89</sup> Ao. 1484: Hermans *Geschiedkundig mengelwerk* 1, p. 219.

<sup>90</sup> Black crows and ravens in Bosch's work can be: symbols of the devil (e.g. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 36/45); depicted at places of execution (e.g. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 30/36); shown with a part of the corpse of a criminal (e.g. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 58/74 and 126/167, note 31), or with a live animal (*Judgem.*, p. 237 n. 140), or with parts of a dead animal (skeleton of a horse: back of *Haywain*; pieces of a wild boar: right wing *Hermit Saints* triptych). They can also have a sexual function (e.g. *Tuin*, p. 53) and allude to inebriety (e.g. *Judgem.*, p. 67). Dionysius the Carthusian compares sinners who postpone the doing of their penance till to-morrow and therefore go to hell, with ravens that call 'cras, cras' (= to-morrow, to-morrow). He goes on to say: *Ende want si nu metten raven liever singen dan metter duyven voor hoer sonden suchten ende trueren, daer omme moeten si met den helschen raven in ewicheit suchten ende karmen* [And because they now prefer to sing with the ravens rather than to sigh and sorrow with the doves for their sins, therefore must they sigh and moan eternally with the infernal ravens] (*Spiegel der liefhebbers*, A 14, opposite B). Examples of the pejorative use of *kraai*, *raaf*, *roek* [crow, raven, rook] that I have not yet noted in previous publications: On the back of Bosch's *Adoration* in the Prado crows fly near the devil who is taking away the soul of Judas. A raven croaking on the roof of a house in which the master or mistress lies ill, means that the patient will die (*Die Evangelien vanden Spinrocke*, c. 111'). In Marnix's *Byen corf* the raven is a symbol of greed to which is coupled cruelty (p. 417), and the crow alludes to sorcerers and practitioners of black magic who have dealings with the devil (p. 424). An early 16th-century poem contains a passage which accords well with Bosch's black birds at a place of execution (*Onuitgegeven gedichten van Anna Bijns*, p. 347):

*Luyart, luyart, singhen de crayen al,  
Als zy opt rat staen knickoesen en picken;  
Tes al speck dat wy hier layen al,  
Singhen de roecken, die tsmans vleesch  
slicken.*

[Lazybones, lazybones, sing the crows there,  
When on the wheel they stand bobbing and  
picking;  
'Tis all bacon that we load here,  
Sing the rooks when the man's flesh they are  
eating.]

*Knickhosen* (*knik-kozen*?) perhaps means: *knikkende praten* (i.e. to bob the head up and down while talking): *W.N.T.* VII, part II, 4670.

<sup>91</sup> The soul of Tondalus sees devils in purgatory who carry *vorken mit drien tacken* [forks with three prongs] (Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 35) and *iseren gloienden drietackenden grepen* [glowing three-pronged iron claw-hooks] (p. 95). On a misericord in Oirschot a devil has a trident in his claw (P.H. van Moerkerken Jr. *De satire in de Nederlandsche kunst der middeleeuwen*. Amsterdam 1904, p. 126). In the Middle Ages pitchforks with two or three prongs were used as weapons of attack: Poschenburg, p. 169. Which explains why the Master E.S. could arm a Roman soldier with a three-pronged fork: Geisberg, p. 53, no. 1.

On Cranach's triptych devils carry also a two-pronged fork (*Judgem.*, p. 179), likewise very commonly used by soldiers as a weapon in mediaeval times. So the painter of an *Ecce Homo*, attributed by some to Bosch, shows a Roman soldier carrying a two-pronged pitchfork (Johnson Collection, Philadelphia; also in the variant in Indianapolis). Some examples of pitchforks as weapons of devils: In the *Last Judgement* in Dantzig, by Hans Memlinc, devils carry the two-prong. Thomas van Cantimpré (*Biënboec*, p. 268)

Bosch is here denouncing a pugnacious merryman who took part in a licentious feast in which a boat was involved (see Elaboration VII).

The 'cannon' and the crossbow of the war-machine and the crossbow between the shields are directed against three sinners speared to a tree. One wears a soldier's helmet<sup>92</sup> and is looking at the menacing contraption (with Cranach he stares pensively straight ahead). The lowest is vomiting blood.

In designing this scene Bosch could have been stimulated by depictions he had seen of the execution of the 10,000 martyrs on Mount Ararat. In such pictures several of the victims are shown spiked on thorns<sup>93</sup>.

From the left three devils are approaching the sinners.

The foremost is riding an animal that is covered with a red cloth. Only its head is visible, blue in colour, and sticking out like a tortoise's head with lean, wrinkled neck, from under the cloth which is shaped like the carapace of a tortoise.

The right leg and the hands of the devil are encased in armour. In his right hand he has a spear and on his left arm he bears a shield with the depiction of a toad on it. With the spear he is threatening the helmeted sinner.

He wears a large, grey-blue (in Berlin grey-purple) shoulder-cape with hood and on the hood he has a red bonnet which on top changes into the brown head of a lion. This has a fish in its mouth. The face of the devil is blue.

With this devil Bosch satirizes the mounted soldier, the cavalryman. In Bosch's time soldiers were a terror to townspeople and peasants<sup>94</sup>.

The combination of this kind of hat with a shoulder-cape occurs more than once. It appears on a lansquenet who is in the retinue of Maximilian I in an engraving by Hans Burgkmair<sup>95</sup>, on a soldier in an engraving by Hans Sebald Beham<sup>96</sup>, on an armed peasant riding a horse in a woodcut by Hans Tirol<sup>97</sup>, and on a hunter armed with a spear and mounted on a horse, in a miniature in the *Breviarium Grimani*<sup>98</sup>.

The bonnet by itself is shown i.a. on a lansquenet in a pen-drawing after a work by Memling<sup>99</sup> and on a soldier in the triumphal march of Maximilian I<sup>100</sup>.

The toad points to spiritual impurity<sup>101</sup> and the lion to wrath<sup>102</sup>. The fish

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relates that Michael and a devil once fought for the soul of a deceased monk, and that the devil used a *griep*, that is a *greep*: pitch- or manute-fork with two or three prongs. In *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 111, devils pitch sinners to each other *mit scarpen vorcken* [with sharp forks].

<sup>92</sup> In Cornelis Everaert's play *Dryakelproever* (Ao. 1528) such a soldier's helmet is called a *staele huve* [steel bonnet].

<sup>93</sup> Mural painting in the church of Bathmen, second half 15th century (rep.: Hoogewerff I, p. 291). Netherlandish miniatures (rep.: Hoogewerff I, p. 290. Byvanck en Hoogewerff, pl. 179, D). For German woodcuts on the subject, see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 257/339 (54) and 260/339, note 54.

<sup>94</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 56/70; *Tuin*, p. 121. Addition: Horsemen who plunder and wage war are satirized in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 263.

<sup>95</sup> Hirth I, ill. 103.

<sup>96</sup> Van Marle. *Iconographie* I, p. 313, fig. 305.

<sup>97</sup> A. Bartels. *Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit*. Leipzig 1900, ill. 116.

<sup>98</sup> Van Marle. *Iconographie* I, p. 237, fig. 227.

<sup>99</sup> Voll, p. XLII.

<sup>100</sup> M. A. Racinet. *Le costume historique*. Tome IV, *Europe, Moyen Age*. Paris 1888. Planche: Allemagne. Costumes du peuple.

<sup>101</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29.

<sup>102</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 69.



being devoured by the lion could be a variant of the small fish being eaten by a big one, which signifies that the strong oppress the weak<sup>103</sup>. Human devils with blue-coloured body-parts have already been discussed<sup>104</sup>.

We now look at the riding-animal. As stated, a blue tortoise-like head with a lean, wrinkled neck appears from under a red cloth which has the shape of the shell of a tortoise.

A cloth was in former times a symbol of the female sex, and *doekachtig* [cloth-like] meant: inclined to skirt-chasing. Bosch used this symbolism in several instances<sup>105</sup>. The red colour could here indicate passion.

A tortoise used in an unfavourable context occurs in three works of art which show the influence of Bosch:

It is present in a *Party of Merry-makers in an Egg* (Lille), a work which reverts to an original Bosch<sup>106</sup>. In a *Flagellation of Christ* by a follower of Bosch (Museo de San Carlos, Valencia) an executioner wears on his arm a small round metal badge on which a tortoise is depicted<sup>107</sup>: this animal has little claws and a fairly long tail-piece. In his *Luxuria* Bruegel included two tortoises with very long tails.

Bosch himself made a drawing of the head of a tortoise coming out of a horse's skull (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin). The little creature has claws as in the *Flagellation*. A horse's skull, with Bosch, is the sign of licentious merrymaking and folly<sup>108</sup>. An underpainting on our centre panel, near the ploughing dragon, shows a tortoise-like being with a head which tapers off into a point<sup>109</sup>.

In the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Bosch's *Hermit Saints* triptych (Venice) a little imp that has the long bill and neck of a bird and the back of a tortoise is moving along tortoise-wise on human legs. On the shell of its back lies a ball from which spikes radiate like wheel-spokes, and its bird's head has a crest consisting mainly of pins placed spoke-wise. The tail is formed by a prickly

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<sup>103</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 29/35. On the left wing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon Bosch shows a fish being devoured by a large one. The saying *De grote vissen eten de kleine* [The big fish eat the small] occurs also in the singular: *Seer schoone spreekwoorden*, no. 500; *W.N.T.* XXI, col. 993. *Sidrac* (p. 62) truthfully remarks: *Want en ware gheen gerechte, die liede soud en sij na die wise vanden visschen: die stercken soud en eten die crancken ende de groote soud en eten die clene* [For were there no food, people would be like the fishes: the strong would eat the weak and the big would eat the small]. For this motif see also *Judgem.*, p. 376.

<sup>104</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 37.

<sup>105</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/87; *Tuin*, p. 54 (9), 90 (8); *Judgem.*, p. 117, 184 and 263.

<sup>106</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 38.

<sup>107</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen* 1967, p. 20.

<sup>108</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/87, 163 f./213 f., 203/269 (37). *Tuin*, p. 107 (2). Additions: Horse's skull on back of little devil in *Last Judgement* attributed to Jan Mandijn (see *Judgem.*, p. 388). Horse's skull in front of a bird on which an unchaste woman-sinner is riding in a *Visio Tondali* by an imitator of Bosch (*Judgem.*, p. 388). At the foot of the cross in a *Crucifixion* by Jacopo de' Barbari lie two human skulls and a horse's skull: inventory of paintings of Margaret of Austria, dated 9 July 1523 (see *Judgem.*, p. 327 n. 8). Tremayne, p. 305-327, no. 139. On the *St. Egidius* panel of Bosch's *Hermit Saints* triptych a horse's skull with the lower jawbone missing, lies in the lower right-hand corner. It is one of the many symbols used in an unfavourable sense on this panel (*Judgem.*, p. 362). The large arrow stuck in a horse's skull in an allegorical satire on Shrovetide revelry, attributed to Huys (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 163/215 (20); rep.: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 131/76 and 83), alludes to inebriety and overeating (*Judgem.*, p. 90).

<sup>109</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 201.



plant-growth with little round berries. Instead of wings the creature has on either side of its body a curved feeler with little globules.

It is a *speeck vogel* [spoke bird], i.e. a jester, fool or dunce<sup>110</sup>. The bird's long bill and neck and the prickly tail have sexual meaning.

The tortoise was, and still is, a well-known symbol of inertia. This is presumably its function in the satire of the *doren* [yolks/fools] in the egg.

In *Leviticus* 11:29 the animal is classed as unclean. This is probably the meaning it has in the *Flagellation* and the *Luxuria*, and also with the horse's skull, the ploughing dragon, and in the *Hermit Saints* triptych.

As a symbol of impurity in our picture it is in keeping with the cloth which covers it. Also in the *Luxuria* and with the dragon it is placed in a lewd context. The blue colour of the head could point to deceit.

Behind the rider follows a devil clad in the armour of a knight. He, too, carries a spear in his right hand. He is probably also mounted, though one does not see the animal. On his helmet is placed a light-blue wooden disc, an executioner's board, such as is also depicted in the *Hell*-scene of the *Garden* triptych<sup>111</sup>. On such a board parts of the body were hacked off or displayed. In the *Hell* a severed hand is pinned to the disc. On our centre panel a sliced-off head lies on it, the victim having been blindfolded before execution. In this devil Bosch mirrors knights who commit ruthless deeds in war-time and act like executioners.

The devil's helmet is a pot-helmet<sup>112</sup>. This type was an early heraldic helmet. Memlinc painted one with feathers and a star on it, another with a squirrel, and a third with a claw<sup>113</sup>. He also depicted one which has as crest a hand holding some sort of compass<sup>114</sup>. On a French seal from 1427 a pot-helmet is surmounted by a fish<sup>115</sup> and on a German gravestone a bird functions as crest<sup>116</sup>.

Following the devil with the executioner's board is another fiend clad in knight's armour. The top of his helmet is turned into a bird of fantasy with a long bill, a symbol of unchastity. This demon is probably a satire on knights who satisfy their lewd lusts in war-time.

The helmet here is a grilled helmet. This type has no visor that can be moved up and down, but fixed iron bars, and we find it used in tournaments where the fighting was done with club and sword<sup>117</sup>. In a drawing from 1471 a knight in such a tournament wears this helmet with a swan on it as crest<sup>118</sup>.

The grilled helmet was likewise used for heraldic purposes. Rogier van der Weyden, for instance, painted one with a swan, and another with the upper body of an angel on it<sup>119</sup>.

Bosch shows a devil with this headpiece also on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>120</sup>. Here the crest is a little arm wielding a knife. The painter derived this from a real cimier, which represents a knight's

<sup>110</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 77/99 and 85/108.

<sup>111</sup> *Tuin*, p. 89.

<sup>112</sup> See Demmin. *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 423.

<sup>113</sup> Voll, p. 37, 68 and 129.

<sup>114</sup> Davies II, Pl. CCCLXXXIII.

<sup>115</sup> G. Demay. *Le costume au moyen âge d'après les sceaux*. Paris 1880, p. 225.

<sup>116</sup> Schultz, fig. 551.

<sup>117</sup> Demmin. *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 511.

<sup>118</sup> Von Hefner-Alteneck, no. 138.

<sup>119</sup> Beenken, ill. 116 and 60.

<sup>120</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 15/27.

armour-clad arm holding a sword<sup>121</sup>, Perhaps Bosch intended it to picture a word meaning pugnacious scoundrel, some compound word with *-ridder* [-knight] as the second part, preceded by a derogatory qualification.

The two devils in armour on our centre panel could perhaps be associated too with the 16th-century expression *in het harnas zijn*, meaning to be up in arms, to be furious<sup>122</sup>.

Our writing moralists repeatedly fulminated against knights who robbed and murdered<sup>123</sup>.

Jan de Weert, for example, in his discourse on avarice, denounces the robber-knight in these words (l. 640 ff.):

<i>Ander heeren sijn van selken ambachte, Dat sy riden ghewapender hant Ende halen die rike liden opt lant Verradelijc uut haren huze Ende slaense in stocken<sup>124</sup> met groeter confusen Op haer casteelen oft op haer borghen, Daer sy dan sitten ende leven in sorghen. Sy pijnse dan met tormente so groet, Dat si dikwile bicant sijn doet, Om van hem goet te hebben oft scat</i>	[Other lords are of such employ That they ride with weapon in hand And haul the rich on the land Out of their homes treacherously And put them in stocks very shamefully In their castles or in a fortress, Where they then sit, and live in distress. Then pain is inflicted with torment so great, That they often come close to death's gate, To get from them possessions or treasure.
<i>.....</i>	<i>.....</i>
<i>Dit selve doen sy oec den coepman; In bosschen, in velde sy comen daer an, Daer hy wandelen waent met vreden, Daer comen sy dan op hem ghereden; Sy slaen, sy steken, sy nemen hem tsyn. Dit willen dan luden van wapen sijn Ende zelen goede lieden heeten!</i>	The very same to the tradesman, too, In wood and field they come and do, Where he expects to walk in peace They come and ride him down; They strike, they stab, they take his own. Such the folk claiming rank of arms then, And wish to be called good gentlemen!]

He also censures the mercenary knights who wage war as hirelings (l. 658 ff.):

<i>So waer dat sy oerloghe weten, Daer verhueren sy haer lijf Om te doden, te roven man ende wijf, Om die steden te bernen, ende te verraden Die hem noyt niet en misdaden.</i>	[If they know about war anywhere, They hire out their bodies there To kill and to rob woman and man, To burn the cities, and to betray Those who harmed them in no way.
<i>.....</i>	<i>.....</i>
<i>Haer ambacht dat is roef ende moert, Dat leeren sy haren kinderen voert.</i>	Murder and robbery is the work they do And this they teach their children too.]

The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford has a sketch-sheet with studies which by some are attributed to Bosch, by others regarded as copies of lost originals by the master<sup>125</sup>. One of the sketches shows two monsters who each have a pot-helmet, and another monster who has a grilled helmet. Each of the three helmets is surmounted by a fighting soldier. Here, too, satire on war.

Devils in the form of armed soldiers occur also in a Middle Dutch exemplum

<sup>121</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 61/79 (180).

<sup>122</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 61/79 (177). *Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 59.

<sup>123</sup> See for example the passages from Maerlant and Willem van Hildegaersberch which Jacobs quotes in Jan de Weert, p. 16, and also Boendale's *Jans Teestye*, cap. xi (*Vander lantsheren state ende hare gebreke*).

<sup>124</sup> And immobilize them in prison-blocks.

<sup>125</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 62.

(*Dat sterf boeck*, 18<sup>v</sup>). In the Middle Ages people were familiar with the depiction of 'the knighthood of the devil'<sup>126</sup>.

Immediately to the right, obliquely below the three riders, a naked little brown devil with his head in a helmet has a cleaver raised up in both hands, ready to strike the body of a sinner lying in front of him.

The little demon has the wing-feathers of an imaginary bird growing on his arms, and his hands are stuck into black-red (in Berlin black) leather gloves.

The helmet is derived from a protective head-and-neck piece described by Demmin as a 'Französische eiförmige Eisenkappe (pot en tête, bicoque) mit Seitenklappen, Scharniersturz und Halsberge'<sup>127</sup>. It was used in the 15th century.

On a sheet of drawings in the manner of Bosch an imp wears a similar helmet<sup>128</sup>, also with holes for the eyes, nose and mouth<sup>129</sup>. Some of these drawings, and perhaps all of them were made after original sketches by Bosch. On the helmet sits an owl (symbol of stupidity, folly, etc.). The helmet is pierced by an arrow (*bout*, also a term for a drunkard). Attached to the arrow is a rope which has a little stick fastened to it that passes through the body of a dead toad (impurity). The helmet rests on two human arms the hands of which are stuck in pattens. *Op platijnen gaan, lopen* [to go, to walk, on pattens] meant: to make a lot of noise<sup>130</sup>. In this little demon a stupid, bibulous, indecent, rowdy soldier is satirized.

Sticking out at right angles to the edge of the blade is a long sharp spike. On a *Christ before Pilate*, probably the work of a follower of Bosch (Museum of Historic Art, Princeton, New Jersey), a soldier or an executioner carries a halberd on which a spike is fixed in the same way<sup>131</sup>.

The sinner the devil is aiming at has a snake twisted round his body. He has no head. His arms lie next to his body (in Berlin only the left arm; Cranach shows more of this arm than Bosch does: it almost touches the left arm of another man).

The upper part of a right arm, belonging in the Vienna picture to another sinner, but in Berlin probably to the sinner with the snake, has been crushed by a piece of rock. The lower part with the hand sticks up from behind this rock. To the right of it hell-fire issues from the ground.

In the demonic tormentor is represented the cruelty (cleaver) and unchastity (bird's wing) of the soldier. The nakedness was probably intended by Bosch to suggest especially a *bloote boef* [bare rascal] or *naakte boef* [naked rascal]. These were 16th-century terms for armed scoundrels in 's-Hertogenbosch and

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<sup>126</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 104/134 (21). Cf. the scenes in the background of the *Hell of the Garden* triptych (*Tuin*, p. 125) and in the background of our centre panel (*Judgem.*, p. 208).

<sup>127</sup> Demmin. *Ergänzungsband*, p. 122.

<sup>128</sup> This type of helmet is illustrated in Demmin. *Ergänzungsband*, p. 122.

<sup>129</sup> *Old Master Drawings* vi, pl. 46.

<sup>130</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 58/73 f. (59). *Tuin*, p. 90 (7), 109 (8). *Bezwaren*, p. 36. For the patten as symbol of illicit love and unchastity, see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 57/41 (24), 203/269 (40), 211/280 (69), 214/280 (note 69). *Tuin*, p. 109 (8)? *Bezwaren*, p. 36. Addition: The goose and the hen serving as riding animals in an erotic scene have pattens under their feet (Pieter Huys, *Last Judgement*, Prado; see *Judgem.*, p. 68 n. 345; 100 n. 74). Pattens as symbols of pure love appear in Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini and his bride*: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 214/280 (69).

<sup>131</sup> De Tolnay 1937, ill. 96. For similar halberds see: Demmin. *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 804.

surroundings<sup>132</sup>. They included also soldiers who harassed the civilians<sup>133</sup>, and armed burghers who molested the clergy<sup>134</sup>. The bird-feathers on the arms remind us of the 16th-century word *vechtvogel* [lit.: fight-bird] to describe a pugnacious character<sup>135</sup>. The distinguishing features of a devil in charge of a sinner of course reflect the latter's vices.

The snake round the sinner's body can signify his unchastity<sup>136</sup>. In descriptions of hell and purgatory sinners, and among them the unchaste, are often tormented by snakes<sup>137</sup>.

Nearer to the front a naked blue-grey human devil whose head is a fantastic combination of what seems to be the features of the heads of a toad, a dog and an ape, is sticking a dagger into the throat of a sinner lying on the ground in a posture that occurs more than once in Bosch's work<sup>138</sup>. Here, too, we are probably intended to recognize a *blote of naakte boef* [bare or naked rascal]<sup>139</sup>.

The whole of the section dealt with above forms a unity in regard both to composition and to symbolism. It is the punishment of sinners who are guilty of the sin of Ira, together with a whole series of secondary sins.

The devils concentrate on inflicting their torture on a number of sinners who are spiked to a tree or lying on the ground. Behind and to the right of the war-machine they are conducting other sinners to the place of retribution. Pugnacity in taverns, rapacity and war are satirized.

Somewhat apart from this, to the extreme right in the background of the section, is the scene, already referred to, with the mast and rigging of a ship, i.m.o. a satirical allusion to the pugnacity associated with merry-makers who lark about in a wheel-drawn or waterborne boat and with players of a rough game involving an attack on a boat. This is also a type of Ira, but then somewhat different from that of the other sinners.

Here and also elsewhere in the triptych Bosch combined wrath with other sins. This was also done by various writing moralists. According to Dirc van Delf (II, p. 177) and Jan de Weert (l. 1272 ff.) Gula leads to Ira and Luxuria. *Die Spiegel der Sonden* says that *gramschap* [wrath] issues from Superbia and Invidia (II, col. 232) and *vechten, toorne* [fighting, anger] from Luxuria (II, col. 40). According

<sup>132</sup> Hermans. *Kronyken* I, p. 118 and 221; II, p. 380.

<sup>133</sup> Hermans. *Kronyken* I, p. 221 (Ao. 1518).

<sup>134</sup> Hermans. *Kronyken* II, p. 380 (Ao. 1525).

<sup>135</sup> *W.N.T.* XVIII, 979.

<sup>136</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 58.

<sup>137</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 58.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. the man whose throat is being cut on the centre panel of Bosch's *Haywain*; the sinner through whose throat a devil is sticking a knife in Bosch's *Hell* in Venice; the devil lying on his back in the fruitskin on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Bosch in Lisbon (rep.: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 13/29); and the lecher lying on his back to the right of the big mussel in the centre of the foreground of Bosch's *Garden (Tuin)*, p. 48, note 7). A cat-devil is cutting someone's throat on the right wing of the Lisbon triptych (*Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 22/65).

<sup>139</sup> Gossart, p. 227, says that on our centre panel armed devils 'écouchent les âmes des gourmands et leur coupent la tête, les dépècent et les jettent au feu'. He is probably referring to the scene with the hack-axe and dagger. But in this there is no question of the sin of Gula. Delevoy, p. 109, is of the opinion that on the panel we see 'l'abattoir où sont dépecés les luxurieux'. Does he, too, have this scene in mind? Delevoy and Gossart each thinks that the detail he is referring to, is derived from the *Visio Tondali*. In the hack-axe and dagger scene there is, however, no trace of such borrowing.



to Jan Praet (p. 61) Ira and Avaritia often go together. In the *Summa der Godliker Schrifturen* (p. 172) the writer reproaches young men because in them *toernicheyt* [irascibility] is coupled with *dronckenscap ende onsuverheyt* [drunkenness and indecency].

The torments that Bosch subjects his 'irates' to, are very different though from those described by the writing moralists<sup>140</sup>. With Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 650) *trecken <si> hem selven die oghen uut ende willen hem selven verscoeren* [they pull out their own eyes and attempt to tear themselves to pieces]. With Jan van Ruusbroec they devour and rend each other like raging dogs<sup>141</sup>. The *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 160) agrees to some extent with Dirc and Jan and adds that they are attacked by lions, worms, bears and dogs.

The soul of Tondalus sees how homicides, especially the killers of a father, mother or brother, persons therefore who may be counted guilty of the sin of Ira, are punished in purgatory. Across a valley full of burning coals lies a glowing iron lid. On it the souls are roasted. They melt and drip through the lid, as through a cloth, into the coals. There they regain their former figure and the torture begins anew<sup>142</sup>.

He also sees killers punished in hell. There the black giant Lucifer, who has 1000 hands and 1000 feet, lies on a red-hot grill. He wrings the sinners to shreds and blows them away into flames issuing from a pit. When he inhales, the sinners are drawn into his mouth<sup>143</sup>. This punishment is meted out not only to homicides, but also to blasphemers, adulterers (i.e. Luxuria), thieves and robbers (i.e. Avaritia), the arrogant (i.e. Superbia), and the greedy *prelaten ende die mechtigen vander werelt* [prelates and the mighty of the world] (i.e. Avaritia again)<sup>144</sup>. In regard to the punishment of Ira, Tondalus finally sees in the terrestrial paradise a king who has to wear a hairy garment on the upper part of his body, above the navel, for three hours every day, because he had once ordered a count to be killed.

*Sidrac* (p. 173) describes an infernal punishment meted out to those who are guilty of Ira, Superbia, Gula, Invidia, Avaritia and Luxuria (Accidia is not mentioned). This collective punishment is *dat hem thoeft sal sijn neder weert ende die voete op weert ende die rugge deen iegen dandre* [that their head shall be down and the feet up and the backs one against the other].

Several Middle Dutch manuscripts tell us that they who sin against the fifth commandment are guilty of Ira (Jacobs, in Jan de Weert, p. 126 f). According to the *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 200 f) the punishment for the transgressors of this commandment is that they are melted in a terrifying fire, after which they regain their normal form, just to be cast anew into the fire.

Two 15th-century printed French collections of punishments in hell which have occasionally been associated with Bosch are *Le Traité des Peines de l'Enfer* (Paris 1492)<sup>145</sup> and *Le Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers* (Paris 1493 and 1498)<sup>146</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> Middle Dutch literature contains many descriptions of punishments inflicted in hell. But often it is not stated to which particular sin a punishment was applicable. See Elaboration X.

<sup>141</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 75: *Van den Kerstenen Ghelove*.

<sup>142</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 31.

<sup>143</sup> Idem, p. 109 ff.

<sup>144</sup> Idem, p. 119.

<sup>145</sup> See E. Mâle. *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*. Cinquième édition. Paris 1949, p. 471 ff. and *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 65 f.

<sup>146</sup> Gossart, p. 223 f. *Ontc./Deciph*, p. 276/363 (41-46). In the first edition (1491) the



In *Le Traité* the irate find themselves in a dark cellar where they are hacked to pieces and then welded together into formless lumps. In *Le Compost* they are likewise in a dark cellar, where they are put on tables 'comme d'une boucherie', and pierced with swords and knives. This last reminds one of the punishment of *Ira* in the *Hell* of Bosch's *Table*. There a sinner is lying on a large rectangular table-top. A devil is sticking a sword into his left thigh.

We shall now look at what is happening in the immediate foreground, to the left of the three devils lifting up the big knife (see ill. 12).

Here a devil is walking along the edge of an abyss carrying a pedlar's pack-basket on his back. In it are a sinner and a devil. The latter (with cat-toad-head; in Berlin ape-head) has his clutches on the former and wants to throw him out, into the pit yawning before the unfortunate.

The pedlar-devil has the aspect of a maimed beggar. His right foot has been hacked off, probably in punishment of a misdeed. Mediaeval and 16th-century sources testify that as a result of the then pertaining extremely severe criminal procedures the country was overrun by an army of beggars with severed ears, fingers, thumbs, hands or feet, and with eyes pierced out. The application of harsh punitive measures for what sometimes were small transgressions, was in turn caused by the fact that especially in the 15th and 16th centuries vagrants were a veritable plague on the population<sup>147</sup>. Bosch more than once satirized these beggars. In the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon, for instance, there is a devil with a hurdy-gurdy, who has a maimed right leg: a mocking representation of a minstrel-beggar<sup>148</sup>.

With our beggar the mutilated lame leg is kept off the ground by a rope round the neck of the devil. On the leg a plaster has been laid. Blood oozes from under it.

The devil is walking on two crutches of which the one under his right arm has its tip stuck into a piece of bone. A crutch with such a bone-piece appears several times in the drawings which Bosch made of ordinary beggars<sup>149</sup>. The bone served to protect the wood against wear and tear<sup>150</sup>.

The beggar-devil wears a white hood and his basket is grey-brown. Pedlars, they were really itinerant tradesmen, sometimes descended to the level of vagrant beggars<sup>151</sup>.

The creature is identified as a devil by his long, yellow bird's bill, his naked, blue body (in Berlin it is grey), a metallic crescent moon with its sharp points appearing like claw-nails out of the stump-foot, and a claw-hook stuck through the handle of the basket, in the same place, therefore, where it is not uncommon to see the big ladle that pedlars used to carry with them<sup>152</sup>.

The bird's bill could point to rascality and unchastity, the nakedness to

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infernai punishments are not included yet: Mâle. *op. cit.*, p. 474. Facsimile edition: P. Champion. *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers. Reproduction en fac-simile de l'édition de Guy Marchant (Paris 1493)*. Paris no date.

<sup>147</sup> See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 52/66.

<sup>148</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 51/65.

<sup>149</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 135 (Printroom, Brussels); Baldass 1943, no. 131 (Albertina, Vienna).

<sup>150</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/95.

<sup>151</sup> *W.N.T.* VIII, part 1, 81: *Placcaeten van Brabant* (Ao. 1562): Cremers. Van den Eerenbeemt, p. 14.

<sup>152</sup> Examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 225/299.

poverty caused by squandering and profligacy<sup>153</sup>; the colour blue could be a symbol of what is deceitful<sup>154</sup> and the crescent moon of profligacy<sup>155</sup>. The claw-hook, of course, is a well-known implement of hell.

The blue body in Vienna shows patches of white and pink rash and the grey body in Berlin has white rash. Here probably an allusion to leprosy rather than the Spanish pox<sup>156</sup>.

In the 16th century the city fathers of Antwerp repeatedly had difficulties with run-away lepers (forced to live in huts outside the city), who attempted to hide their disease and came begging among the burghers<sup>157</sup>.

The sinner *vult de korf* [fills the basket] by taking up all the room in it. The figurative meaning of the expression was: to fill the stomach, to eat abundantly. The literal representation of the saying was used by Bosch and others, to satirize indigent folk who spent their money on choice food, or to censure persons who became poor because of their wastefulness<sup>158</sup>.

The plaster in Bosch's work will be dealt with on p. 305 f. and 398. In my opinion the plaster below the 'knee' of the human tree in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych could be an indication of gluttony. On our beggar-devil the plaster could very well also have this connotation. It is in full accordance with the 'filled basket'.

The peculiarities of his two guardian devils and the place where he has been put, reveal the nature of the sins committed by the condemned man.

He was a rascal and a cheat and he sank into poverty through the wasteful, licentious and unchaste life he led. He became a vagrant beggar who encountered the law. He probably contracted leprosy.

He is not part of the Ira group: the pedlar-devil is walking past the devils with the big knife, in a direction opposite to theirs. But he too was a frequenter of dubious taverns.

No specific deadly sin is given prominence in his case. He represents the downfall of a licentious and unchaste squanderer<sup>159</sup>.

Peter Balten in his *Village Fair* (Rijksmuseum, moved to Toneel[Theatre]-

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<sup>153</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 115/151 (49-53), 120/151 (55); a bare bird meant a destitute person: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 18/22 (1). Cf. *twie bare vogels* [two naked birds], i.e. two beggars (Samuel Coster. *Werken*. Edit. R.A. Kollewijn. Haarlem 1883, p. 49). For nakedness and poverty see: *Judgem.*, p. 95 n. 49.

<sup>154</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 37. The statement by Münz (1954, p. 11) that I am of the opinion that 'seine blaue Farbe darauf beruht, dass das Blauwerden des Betrunkenen in damaligen Sprichworten vorkommt' is incorrect.

<sup>155</sup> For the crescent moon see Elaboration XI.

<sup>156</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 246 ff., 305.

<sup>157</sup> Fr. de Potter. *De leproos in de middeleeuwen*. Het Belfort. *Tijdschrift toegewijd aan Letteren, Wetenschap en Kunst* VI (1891). First half-year, p. 172.

<sup>158</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 168 f./219 f. More examples in *Judgem.*, p. 274. Also our writing moralists warned that excessive eating and drinking leads to poverty. E.g. *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 30), which says i.a.: *Die warckman die hem droncken pleech te drincken sal seldom tot rijcheit komen . . . die gulsige: wat hi inder weken wijndt, des sonnendages geeft hijt al den sack, dat is die buyck, die herde onsekeren bodem heeft* [The working man who is in the habit of drinking himself drunk, will seldom come to riches . . . the glutton: what he gains during the week, on Sundays he gives it all to the sack, that is the belly, which has a very uncertain bottom].

<sup>159</sup> The face of the sinner is positively not a portrait of Bosch, and C.A. Wertheim Aymès (*Die Bildersprache des Hieronymus Bosch*. Den Haag 1961, p. 23) is mistaken in thinking it is.

museum, Amsterdam) shows an actor playing the role of the pedlar in the Middle Dutch farce of *Playerwater*<sup>160</sup>. The content of this little play is briefly as follows:

A husband Werrenbracht lets himself be deluded by his wife into believing that she is ill and can be cured only by 'playerwater'. He sets out to search for this miraculous drink and his wife profits from his absence by receiving her paramour, a priest, in her home. On his way Werrenbracht meets a dealer in poultry who puts him wise to his wife's deception. Werrenbracht is now put into the man's fowl-carrier, a kind of basket that he carries on his back, and in this way re-enters his own home that evening, where the dealer partakes of the meal with the woman and the priest. When the betrayed husband hears the derisive songs that his wife and the priest sing about him, he jumps out of the basket and gives them a thorough hiding with a stick<sup>161</sup>.

In the painting one sees the dealer with an enormous basket on his back, from which the head of Werrenbracht appears. A large ladle is stuck through the handle of the basket.

Bosch could very well have seen a performance of the farce, which dates from the 15th century and, as the painting shows, was still being played in the 16th. Was it perhaps the scene with the pack-bearer that prompted him to design his devil-pedlar with the sinner in the basket? It could be, but the motif of a devil who carries sinners to hell in a basket occurs already in miniatures prior to Bosch's time<sup>162</sup>.

In a previous publication I once asked whether in this sinner Bosch was censuring impoverished actors who played *Playerwater* at fairs<sup>163</sup>. A study of the details of the scene now answers the question in the negative.

To the left of the beggar with his pedlar's pack stands a big green dragon-devil. See ill. 16. He has stuck a knife through his own throat and is breathing fire in the direction of a sinner who has been placed in a wooden cask or vat (at the hoops a few brush-strokes of the underlying design are visible). The sinner is submerged up to his neck in the burning pitch. Infernal toads crawl and swim around in it. A toad is climbing up on the outside of the cask. From behind the vessel, on the ground to the left, a lizard-like animal is coming into view.

Elsewhere on the same panel are two more large dragon-devils like the one just mentioned. Bosch painted one of them next to a naked tavern-wench and the other driving a plough<sup>164</sup>. In both these cases they are phallic symbols. The one

<sup>160</sup> For this painting and its variants see: *Judgem.*, p. 130 n. 276.

<sup>161</sup> Leendertz. *Dramatische poëzie*, p. 160 ff.

<sup>162</sup> E.g.: In a miniature in the *Getijdenboek van Yolande de Lalaing* (Utrecht work, 1460–65) a devil with a fox's head carries sinners in a basket on his back. He is taking them to the portals of hell. Rep.: *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, ill. 87. Another example: De Tolnay 1937, pl. 127a: British Museum, Ms. 29, 433, fol. 89 r. Also in a mural painting of the Last Judgement dating from the last quarter of the 15th century, in the church of Poortugaal (on the island of IJsselmonde). Rep.: Hoogewerff II, p. 132. Idem in the church of Delden, from ca. 1500.

<sup>163</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 229/300, note 86.

<sup>164</sup> In *Tuin*, p. 26 (4) I compared these three with a dragon-like animal (which I incorrectly called a salamander-like beast) in the *Paradise of the Garden* triptych, and with a dragon in a medaillon on the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado, by Dirk Bouts (*Tuin*, ill. VIII).



16. Sinners in cask, on bench, in egg, Bosch (p. 113)

at the cask, it seems to me, has the same function<sup>165</sup>. In 15th- and 16th-century Dutch the cask or vat was a symbol of the vagina<sup>166</sup>. Toads and lizard point to unchasteness and impurity. The dragon as a symbol of unchastity occurs also in *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 81: *dair wort die luxurie ghelijket bijden drake die vuerighe vlamme wt spuwet. Soe fel is sij buten allen anderen sonden dat sij die ghene al verbernt die mit haer omme gaen* [there luxuria is equated to the dragon that spews out fiery flames. So fierce is lechery more than all other sins that she entirely burns up all who keep company with her].

The sinner is someone who has been intimate with women of ill-repute. That the phallic symbol has injured itself is perhaps an indication that the man has contracted a venereal disease. The spots and dots on the tail of the dragon (especially distinct in the Vienna picture) probably signify the Spanish pox (*Judgem.* p. 246 ff.).

Burning pitch is a common motif in descriptions of hell<sup>167</sup>. So are vats (in which sinners are tormented)<sup>168</sup> and dragons (who punish the damned)<sup>169</sup>.

Dragons were also depicted by Bosch in the *Luxuria* of the *Hell* on his *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*, in the background of his *St. Christopher*, in a drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, and in the background of the right wing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon. Only the last-named shows any resemblance to the trio on our centre panel.

A greater likeness exists between these three and two dragons in a drawing in the Louvre (dragons conveying sinners to hell), to which I have already drawn attention (*Judgem.*, p. 31).

But there is again much less affinity between our three dragons and the dragons on a sketch-sheet in the Printroom of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, where the work was at one time incorrectly attributed to Bosch, but is now regarded as dating from the first quarter of the 15th century<sup>170</sup>.

The scene being enacted to the left of the cask, on and in front of a kind of bed, has already been discussed by me in a previous publication (*Tuin*, p. 83-85). The following is a revised version with many additions.

A fat sinner is sitting on a rectangular, red bench, a kind of bed. He wears black half-boots. Hanging from a little metal chain attached to his black hooded cape (of a kind that could be worn by worldlings as well as ecclesiastics<sup>171</sup>) is a small metal shield: yellow-green, with horizontal red bar. In his right hand the sinner holds a letter with a red seal imprinted on it.

In the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych we see a sinner in lewd surroundings who has exactly the same kind of letter and who also wears a small metal shield, the colour in this case yellow, with a horizontal black bar. In his earthly existence he

<sup>165</sup> The dragon in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych, shown in the vicinity of a sow with piglets and a porcupine, could also have a sexual function, but then in a favourable sense. Just like many other animals on this panel it can be a propagation symbol: *Judgem.*, p. 339.

<sup>166</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 211/280 (73 and 74); 222/295 (at 24); *Tuin*, p. 46 (5).

<sup>167</sup> E.g. *M.W.* VI, 217 and 218; *Leuvense Bijdragen* IV, p. 238. Also current was the expression *int pec bliuen* [lit.: remain in the pitch], i.e. stay stuck in a bad plight: *M.W.* VI, 218.

<sup>168</sup> Soens. *Beginsel*, p. 29.

<sup>169</sup> E.g.: Boendale. *Der Leken Spiegel* I, p. 49. *Dat sterf boeck*, 41'. *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 113. Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 245.

<sup>170</sup> *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 68.

<sup>171</sup> The man has thin greyish hair. It is not clear whether he wears the tonsure.



was the handyman of an unchaste abbess, probably serving her as notary<sup>172</sup>. His emblem is presumably his badge of office<sup>173</sup>.

A devil with a humanoid body and an ape-snout, and wearing a helmet with a spike and an armoured collar, is holding up the sinner, who has his terror-stricken face turned to another devil. This one has slashed the man's belly with a knife and blood is flowing from the wound.

The second devil has the head of an elephant, of which the trunk turns into a snake's head at the tip. In Vienna the elephant as well as the snake has an eye, in Berlin only the snake has it. The devil's huge ears are reminiscent of an open mussel-shell and at the same time of butterfly-wings. The head, which is covered by a black cloth with white spots (in Berlin the cloth is plain black), has two human arms with red sleeves, in front of the ears. The right arm holds the knife, which has one notch in its edge<sup>174</sup>. The monster has its two legs crossed: one is a diabolic leg with a brown claw-foot, the other a brown human leg in a long, green boot. In Berlin we see a long green tail instead of the demon-leg. The Vienna picture originally also had the tail, but this has been overpainted. The monster probably had two legs and a tail to start with. Or does the Cranach show the original state? An arrow pierces the thigh of the devil's human leg.

In front of the bed a naked bird-devil with a head resembling a phallus is walking towards the sinner. It is followed by two 'young ones', suggestive of testiculi. These were originally planned further back: lines of the underlying design are visible. Heinz's idea that Bosch first intended to paint more than two is i.m.o. not correct. Neither can I see the big bird as a plucked duck<sup>175</sup>.

The devils attending to the sinner once again tell us something about the nature of the man's sin. The pointers are mainly to unchastity.

A bird, in language and art, could be a phallic symbol, a function which is here accentuated by the two young ones<sup>176</sup>.

These two little birds in their shape and gait strongly resemble half-grown *kwartelkoningen* [corn-crakes] (*Crex crex*) and the big one looks like a diabolical enlargement of one of this species. It is said that the bird was called

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<sup>172</sup> Tuin, p. 82 f. The mediaevalist Prof. D. Th. Enklaar (in a letter to me) also saw him as *haar aardse handlangers, notaris of iets dergelijks* [her secular assistant, notary or something similar]. Reuterswärd, p. 137, incorrectly regards him, and also the notary on our centre panel, as a messenger.

<sup>173</sup> Enklaar, too, was of this opinion in his letter: *Het schildje lijkt mij wel een ambtsteken te kunnen zijn* [It seems to me that the little shield could well be a badge of office]. In the 16th century officers did wear such little shields. See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 53/62, note 7. Additions: A woodcut in Jacobus de Theramo's *Das Buch Belial genant* etc.

(Augsburg, J. Bämler, 1473) shows a lawyer-devil who has a letter of credence in his hand and wears a small shield hanging on a little chain on his left breast. In another woodcut he is showing this letter (here clearly provided with a seal) to God. Ills. Haslinghuis, opposite p. 48. He is Lucifer's law-agent, furnished with a written power-of-attorney authorizing him to act in the name of the prince of hell. An advocate could therefore, as officer in the service of a lord, wear a shield as badge.

In a painting by Goessen van der Weyden an unarmed man in the company of soldiers pursuing St. Dymphna has a small shield at his left shoulder. Is he an officer of the law? Rep.: Van Puyvelde. *Peinture*, p. 377, fig. 198.

<sup>174</sup> For the nick see *Judgem.*, p. 91.

<sup>175</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1959, p. 233.

<sup>176</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 30 n. 61. Also in our plastic art: a Flemish miniature in a 15th-century manuscript shows a winged phallus which has the legs of a bird: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 19/26 (27).

*kwartelkoning* [lit.: quail-king] because it arrives and departs together with the quails (*Coturnis coturnix*, also called *wachtels* and *kwakkels*), and was therefore held to be the leader of the flight<sup>177</sup>.

Now the quail was regarded as an amorous bird, because the males were easily lured into the net of the fowler when he imitated the call of the female. This explains the 16th-century expression *quackelen int groene* [quailing in the green], which meant having sexual intercourse<sup>178</sup>, and also why Cranach shows two quails with a naked spring-nymph<sup>179</sup>.

In a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, formerly in the Gutmann Collection, Haarlem (now in a private collection, Nashville, Canada), a bird clearly intended as a corn-crake, with four young ones, walks not far from a naked woman<sup>180</sup>.

In Bruegel's *Luxuria* the bird which is followed by five young ones and is walking towards a similar bird (this one with extended wings scraping the ground), likewise resembles a corn-crake of diabolic design.

A fat naked bird on two legs, which occurs on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges<sup>181</sup>, shows that the imitator of Bosch who painted it, was influenced by the bird on our centre panel. Another follower, of whose *Last Judgement* triptych Hieronymus Cock made an engraving, also put such a bird on the centre panel<sup>182</sup>.

The mussel was known as a vagina symbol in the Low Countries<sup>183</sup>. Butterfly-wings remind us that in these regions in the 16th century the names of butterflies were sometimes given to orchids (of which the stems and bulbous roots were popular aphrodisiaca)<sup>184</sup> and that the words *capelle* [butterfly] and *mot* [moth] were then also used as terms for a prostitute<sup>185</sup>. The function of the snake has already been noted several times<sup>186</sup>.

In the Dutch language a cloth was a symbol of the female sex<sup>187</sup>. The white specks on it point perhaps to the Spanish pox (*Judgem.*, p. 246 ff.). The boot can have reference to drink<sup>188</sup>. The arrow can have a phallic function and it can signify a dissolute fellow<sup>189</sup>.

In the Low Countries of the 16th century the elephant was a symbol of both stupidity and strength<sup>190</sup>. Both connotations are applicable here.

<sup>177</sup> *W.N.T.* VIII, part 1, 709.

<sup>178</sup> Van Autenboer, p. 250.

<sup>179</sup> Rosenberg, ill. 40.

<sup>180</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967. no. 4 (p. 67).

<sup>181</sup> Janssens de Bisthoven, pl. XXIX.

<sup>182</sup> Baldass 1943, ill. 55.

<sup>183</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 198/259; *Tuin*, index sub *mossel*. Addition: A *Temptation of St. Anthony* which De Tolnay regards as an authentic Bosch (rep.: De Tolnay 1965, p. 254) and which is in the Walter P. Kreiser Collection in New York, shows a man-devil whose nose is a spoonbill's beak with an eel in it (signifying inebriety). The demon carries a large mussel on his back. Pinched between the two halves of the shell lies another man-devil. See also *Judgem.*, p. 91 f.

<sup>184</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 107/140 and 108/141.

<sup>185</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 108/141 (32) and *W.N.T.* IX, 1172; *Tuin*, p. 48 (2). See Elaboration XII.

<sup>186</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 57 f., 109.

<sup>187</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 105, 263.

<sup>188</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 127 f.

<sup>189</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 89 f.

<sup>190</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 212/281, at note 77. The elephant in the *Paradise* of Bosch's *Garden* triptych is one of the animals which there help to illustrate God's benediction (see

There are other examples of an elephant, or part of it, occurring in an unfavourable sense in the plastic arts of the Low Countries in Bosch's time.

Among the infernal monsters that were carved on the choir-stalls of the St. Jan's cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch in the 15th century, there is also an elephant, according to Witsen Elias<sup>191</sup>. It stands next to a buffalo with a human head.

In a *Last Judgement*, painted probably in the end of the 15th century on a wall of the church in Tienhoven, district Ameide, a devil standing next to a cauldron in which sinners are being tormented, has the head of an elephant<sup>192</sup>.

A devilish imp who is helping to carry a large beer-jug in Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Prado, has the trunk of an elephant for a tail. Here the trunk signifies addition to drink.

Was Bosch, when he constructed his devil with its elephant's head, its arms, leg and claw, inspired by depictions he had seen of Ganesa or Ganapati, the god with the head of an elephant in Indian mythology<sup>193</sup>?

The posturing of the arm with the knife, of the leg, and of the left hand was readily copied by imitators of Bosch, e.g. in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* attributed to Pieter Huys<sup>194</sup>, in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* forming the centre panel of a triptych<sup>195</sup>, in a *Christophorus with the Child Jesus*<sup>196</sup>, and in the centre piece of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych.

The wounded sinner is being held by an ape-devil. The ape could have diverse pejorative meanings, i.e. strife, quarrelling and unchastity<sup>197</sup>. The animal wears a collar of armour and a helmet with a spike. This, too, can signify strife, and in addition unchastity. Parts of a suit of armour and instruments of assault, when shown with Bosch's devils, can point not only to discord, cruelty, pugnacity, etc., but also to sexual aggression<sup>198</sup>. Even the letter with the seal could if necessary still fall within the sphere of unchastity: one thinks of the expression *den brieve beseghelen* [to seal the letter]<sup>199</sup>.

All this could lead to the conclusion that the notary has led an unchaste life and has even assisted in drafting letters for questionable purposes, like the

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*Genesis* 1:28), whether as sexually symbolic in a favourable sense (propagation symbol) or as one of the beasts over which the human couple will have dominion. A mediaeval and a 16th-century example of the elephant used in a favourable sense in Dutch literature, are, mediaeval: *Heimelijkheid der Heimelijkheden*, line 1901 (chastity), and 16th-century: *Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 53: *Elephant/gedechtenisse ende veel gueder duechden* [Elephant/memory and many good virtues]. In a woodcut from 1536 Pudicitia sits on an elephant (Nijhoff. *Houtsneden*, pl. 400-401).

<sup>191</sup> Witsen Elias, p. 36.

<sup>192</sup> Rep.: Hoogewerff II, p. 87.

<sup>193</sup> See for instance the image reproduced in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 15 (1938), p. 8. The opinion of Beins that Bosch designed his monster after having seen an ethmocephalic misbirth (in which the nose has the form of a trunk) appears to me to be unacceptable. See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 307/398, col. 1 (fig. 337).

<sup>194</sup> S.J. Graaf van Limburg-Stirum Collection, Huize Spijkerbosch, Olst. Photo in Rijksbureau: Friedländer Records.

<sup>195</sup> Collection Dr. Karl Ringwald, Cologne. Photo in Rijksbureau: Friedländer Records.

<sup>196</sup> Collection Oskar Reinhart am Römerholz, Winterthur. Rep.: Friedländer v (Lemmens), plate 84, no. 96.

<sup>197</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29.

<sup>198</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 90 (at note 20), 93. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 65/82 (19, 20); *Tuin*, p. 84 (8).

<sup>199</sup> Colijn van Rijssle. *Spiegel der Minnen*, line 3720.

notary in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych. The latter lent his services for drawing up a document involving immoral activities<sup>200</sup>.

However, in my opinion the deadly sin of *Luxuria* can in this case then be coupled to another cardinal sin, namely *Avaritia*. For this transgression was one that our moralists did indeed accuse notaries of. Jan de Weert tells us in his *Nieuwe Doctrinael* (p. 212) that avaricious parish priests act as notaries and draw up testaments. And in *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 265 f.) avarice is laid at the door of *valsche notarië, die valsche instrumenten of bullen maken, of den datum anders dan hi hoert te maken, of ander luden teiken of zeghel of ander luden hant conterfeiten, daer dicke veel quaets of gecomen is in menigen landen* [false notaries, who make false instruments or bulls, or make the date different to what it should be, or counterfeit the mark or seal of other persons, which has often caused much harm in many regions].

In Everaert's *Tspel van een sanders Welvaren* (composed in 1511) a notary is compared to a vulture (Everaert, l. 102). When Lucifer in *Een Spel van Sinnen van de Hel vant Brouwersgilde* (written ca. 1560) dictates to his secretary the list of those who deviate from the straight and narrow path *deur gierricheijt, die wortel van allen quaet* [through greed, the root of all evil], he also names the notaries (Ernē, p. 10, l. 309).

Our notary will have received substantial payment for his services.

Is the note with the seal a codicil to a will? Such an addendum in the form of a note with the seal of the testator was affixed to the testament of the priest Johannes Huls by a notary in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1373<sup>201</sup>.

Also our writing moralists coupled *Luxuria* with *Avaritia*.

In *Dat Bouck der Bloemen* (p. 86) we find a statement about the acquisitive man: when he *siyne begerte van goede vercreghen hevet soe wil hij ghenoechte hebben ende geeft hem tot oncuysheit. Soe dattet luxuria al verteert dat ghiericheit in ghebrocht heeft* [has satisfied his desire for possessions, he then wants to enjoy them and surrenders to unchasteness. So that *luxuria* consumes all that avarice has gathered]. Jan de Weert writes (l. 1214 ff.):

<i>En es cume soe sconen wijf,</i>	[There's hardly such a woman of beauty,
<i>Sine hout te cope ziele ende lijf</i>	Who's not ready to sell soul and body
<i>Den ghenen die hem ghelt wilt geven.</i>	To him who offers her money].

The *Doctrinael des Tijts* (p. 139) has this to say in connection with avarice: *Daer is oec concupiscency, geheten vleysche licke begeerte, daer of dat comt overspul, ende te begeren een ionge maecht of een ander mit sondige practijcken* [There is also concupiscence, called carnal desire, which leads to adultery and to desiring a young virgin or another <woman> in sinful practice]<sup>202</sup>.

Jan Deckers says in *Die Dietsche Doctrinale* (p. 62) that love must not change into avarice and unchastity.

Do the little shields of the two notaries (in *Last Judgement* and *Hell*) have a satirical function of their own as well?

May we perhaps reason as follows?

Under a portrait of Philip the Fair the armorial bearings of Austria is depicted

<sup>200</sup> *Tuin*, p. 85.

<sup>201</sup> Mosmans, p. 43. According to Mosmans the notaries of 's-Hertogenbosch gave little reason for complaint, this in contrast to many lawyers in Italy and France (p. 15 f.).

<sup>202</sup> Cf. the scene on the hay-wagon on the centre panel of Bosch's *Haywain* triptych. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 16/19 (66).



and under a portrait of his sister Margaretha of Austria those of Lorraine<sup>203</sup>. The shields of Austria and Lorraine also appear in a miniature in a manuscript which describes the triumphal entry of Philip's wife, Johanna of Castile, into Brussels in 1496<sup>204</sup>. In each case the coat-of-arms is the same as that of our two notaries, but the colours are different: a white bar on a red field.

Now some notaries were appointed by imperial authority<sup>205</sup>. Bosch could therefore have taken the Austrian escutcheon of Emperor Maximilian I as these notaries' badges of office, but if this is so he changed the colours.

In the *Last Judgement* the colours are yellow-green and red. Bosch and others used the combination of yellow and red to indicate folly and unchastity (*Judgem.*, p. 194). In the *Hell* the colours are yellow and black. Yellow by itself in mediaeval times occurs as a symbol of what is unchaste (*Judgem.*, p. 194). Black could here be a symbol of the devil and death.

Reasoning like this, one could regard the little shields of the two notaries as the badges of office of imperial notaries, with the colours changed to indicate that these individuals have brought dishonour on the escutcheon of their lord by foolish, indecent and wicked deeds.

The roof of a tent in which an amorous couple are indulging in food and drink (in a detail of Bosch's *Satire on Merry-makers in and at a Water*, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.)<sup>206</sup> is decorated with a coat-of-arms which, like that of the notary in the *Hell*, has a black bar on a yellow field. However it is not an emblem to be worn, but a fairly large shield painted on the linen of the tent and with a wreath of small flowers around it. Here, too, I would say that we are intended to recognize persons who are a discredit to the arms of Maximilian.

Imperial military tents and pavilions for entertainment could display a shield with the Austrian coat-of-arms<sup>207</sup>. At a hunting-feast given by Maximilian a man and a woman are sitting and eating in a tent with a coat-of-arms on it<sup>208</sup>. Was Bosch therefore satirizing persons who indulge in debauchery in such a tent? Is it being used here by a woman of easy virtue? Is it a tent in the train of the army?

Eisler believes that the coat-of-arms painted on the tent is that of the Bergh family of 's-Hertogenbosch and The Hague, and that it belongs to the man in the tent<sup>210</sup>. It would then be a nobleman who is being satirized here. But the person is positively not someone of superior birth, and I find it hard to believe that in the merry-maker and accomplice of an unchaste abbess Bosch would have wished to ridicule a member specifically of the Bergh family.

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<sup>203</sup> Davies I, pl. xxvii and xxviii. Below another picture of Philip there is a coat-of-arms with the left half showing the arms of Austria and the right those of Old Burgundy. Rep. *Het Gulden Vlies. Vijf eeuwen kunst en geschiedenis*. Tentoonstelling in het Stedelijk Museum voor Schoone Kunsten. Groeningemuseum, Brugge. 14 juli-30 september 1962, Catalogus. Brugge 1962, p. 142.

<sup>204</sup> Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Ms. 78 -D- 5. Fol. 61<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>205</sup> Mosmans, p. 13.

<sup>206</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 199/262.

<sup>207</sup> B. Tschachtla. *Berner Chronik 1470*. Zürich 1933, Tafel 77. O. Benesch. *Oesterreichische Handzeichnungen des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg im Breisgau 1936, ill. 57.

<sup>208</sup> See illustration referred to in preceding note.

<sup>209</sup> My previous opinion (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 157/208) that the shield is a magnified minstrel's or beggar's distinctive, I now regard as hardly probable, because of its resemblance to that of the notary in hell.

<sup>210</sup> Eisler, p. 45.



Let us look for a moment at another little shield with a heraldic motif, as depicted by Bosch in several instances. It is a small shield on which not a horizontal bar, but a chevron is shown.

In the *Invidia* of the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* a man looks avidly at a red carnation, a symbol of love, which a woman holds in her hand<sup>211</sup>. The flower is probably intended for someone else. In Bosch's time a cultivated carnation was called a *kei* or *keiken*, words which could also be used for a fool or a stupid person. Carnal love is therefore here represented as foolish and stupid. Now in the glass of the window above the woman we see a small green shield with a brown chevron. To the left of it is another little shield, but the mark on it is indistinct.

In the *Luxuria* of the *Table* a woman also holds a red carnation in her hand. Here again a little shield has been depicted, namely on a wine-jar: a red chevron on a white field.

Imitators likewise worked with such a small shield.

In a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, attributed to Pieter Huys, an imp wears one<sup>212</sup>. In a *Temptation of Job* a devil-messenger who brings Job a sealed letter and carries a spear in his hand, has such an emblem on his right breast<sup>213</sup>. Here it is a messenger's badge (see *Judgem.*, p. 187). I do not know what the colours on these two are.

I do not believe that in the above examples Bosch and his imitators wished to represent a particular coat-of-arms which they 'diabolized' by changing the colours. For they also used the chevron by itself, and in no way associated with a shield, to convey an unfavourable meaning:

The bird-devil who is consuming a sinner in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych has over his breast a white band decorated with red chevrons (*Tuin*, p. 94). In this sinner Bosch satirizes a frequenter of taverns of ill-repute, who spends a lot of money on excessive eating and drinking.

Grey chevrons can be seen on the grey paving in the *St. Hieronymus* (Venice), on to which an idol is toppling from a pillar (does this allude to the saint's struggle against heathendom in Rome, after his departure from the desert?).

In a depiction of *Hell* or *Purgatory* by an imitator a table is placed inside something that could be a gigantic jar. This object is decorated with a band of chevrons round its edge. Parallel to it walks a line of little toads<sup>214</sup>.

In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Rijksmuseum; for the main part an

<sup>211</sup> *Taal*, p. 70; *Bezwaren*, p. 24; *Tuin*, p. 164 (1). A carnation which is used as a symbol of carnal love occurs also in the following places: in the *Luxuria* of the *Table* (see text, further down) together with a pheasant's feather on the cap of a woman holding a song-book; in the *Concert in an Egg* (Lille) by an imitator of Bosch; and behind the ear of a meretrix in a *Merry Company* by Jan Massijs (*De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 158, ill. 170). The woman in Bosch's *Invidia* sits behind an osier *horde* or *hurde* [approx.: lattice]. This screen was perhaps a symbol of laziness: *Bezwaren*, p. 17. Such a *horde* was also called a *tralie* [approx.: trellis]. *Tgbevecht van Minnen* (after the Antwerp post-incunabulum of 1516, published by Robrecht Lievens. Leuven 1964, p. 59, line 396 ff.) says of a young man in love, that at the house where his beloved lives, he looks *door die tralie* [through the trellis]. Then he sees that she is busy, spindling her yarn.

<sup>212</sup> S.J. Graaf van Limburg-Stirum Collection. Huize Spijkerbosch, Olst. Photo Rijksbureau, Friedländer Records, sub Huys.

<sup>213</sup> Colección de Doña Dolores Fernandez. Madrid. Photo Rijksbureau, idem.

<sup>214</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 30. *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 43. Museo Lazaro Galdiano. Madrid.

adaptation of a detail of the centre panel in Lisbon) the platform on and near which the distribution of food and drink takes place, is decorated with chevrons<sup>215</sup>. This is also the case in the Brussels version<sup>216</sup>. In the *Party in an Egg* (Lille) a monk has chevrons on his back.

A single chevron, not on a shield, also occurs with Bosch and others:

In Bosch's *Ecce Homo* (Philadelphia) Pilate has a large compressed chevron on his breast. In a woodcut in the incunabulum *Sonderentroost* (Haarlem, Bellaert, 1483) the Pharaoh who is present at the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea wears a large compressed chevron on his breast-armour<sup>217</sup>.

In the *Hell* of an imitator (right wing of a *Last Judgement* triptych formerly in the L. Maeterlinck Collection in Ghent) a board or a flag with a chevron on it, hangs from a house<sup>218</sup>.

It is clear enough therefore that the chevron by itself, and not only on a little badge or shield, could have a pejorative connotation. In heraldry such a derogatory meaning is not found.

Perhaps we may reason as follows: A chevron has the form of a wedge. A synonym of *wig* [wedge] in Middle Dutch was *kegel* [cone]<sup>219</sup> and *kegel* also meant *kei* [a stone]<sup>220</sup>. A *kei* was a well-known symbol of folly<sup>221</sup> and the word was also used for i. a. a fool or a stupid person. Bosch and others could then have regarded the chevron (wedge, cone) as a figure of folly.

This fits in well with my explanation of the red carnation in the *Invidia* and the *Luxuria*. Another name for this flower was *kei* and Bosch accordingly uses it here to picture folly. As we have seen, in both these depictions also a chevron has been painted.

I therefore regard the chevron on the shield-badges as a symbol of folly. Does the horizontal bar on the shields of the notaries and of the amatory tent have a figurative meaning as well? I doubt it. There was the familiar expression: *bij heeft een balk in het wapen* [he has a bar in his coat-of-arms], meaning: he is a bastard. But this bar was a thin oblique stroke to the left<sup>222</sup> and therefore does not resemble the bar on our shields.

In passing I would draw attention to a certain resemblance between the two notary-shields and messengers' boxes (boîtes de messagers). These were small boxes of leather or metal in which tiny notes were kept. 'Cette correspondance, souvent officielle, jamais prolixe, prenait la forme de très petits plis qui s'enfermaient dans une petite boîte fermée à clef et fixée à la ceinture. Elle portait toujours les armoiries du seigneur ou de la ville à qui appartenait le

<sup>215</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 52.

<sup>216</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 63.

<sup>217</sup> M.J. Friedländer. *Dutch and Flemish woodcuts of the fifteenth century*. London 1925, pl. 13.

<sup>218</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 39.

<sup>219</sup> *M.W.* III, 1272.

<sup>220</sup> *M.W.* III, 1272, 1273.

<sup>221</sup> *Ontc. /Deciph.*, p. 206/272 f.

<sup>222</sup> *W.N.T.* II, part 1, 926. The little shield of the lawyer-devil discussed in note 173 has a bar sinister. In Rhetorician plays some devils are clothed like *basterde duvels* [bastard devils] or like *eenen basterden vyant* [a bastard fiend], e.g. in R. Lawet. *Gheestelick Meyspel van TReyne Maexsele ghezeyt de Ziele* (edited by L. Scharpé. Leuven-Amsterdam 1906, p. 14 and 114). Is the lawyer such a 'bastard devil'? Haslinghuis, p. 178, however, thinks that this kind of stage-devil was intended to be a mixture of devil and jester. If this surmise is correct, the jester-devil on our right panel could be such a 'bastard fiend'.

messenger'<sup>223</sup>. In the Musée Cluny I saw such a little box, shaped in front like a shield-badge and fitted with a clip on top. It is of gilded copper, has a coat-of-arms on the front and dates from the end of the 14th century<sup>224</sup>.

The fact, however, that the shields of the notaries are worn at the height of the left breast, that no clip is seen on top, and that the letters here are much too large to be kept in a messenger's box, leads me to reject the idea that the shields are such receptacles.

Behind the scene with the bed and the cask stands a devil whose upper body is concealed in a large egg. An ape-like head peers through an opening. The eye is turned to the right and watches the sinner with the shield-badge. The demon's naked legs, spotted with white nodules, are stuck through the shell. The feet are shod in red half-boots. A long arrow goes right through the egg.

In the 15th and 16th centuries the egg was known in the Low Countries as a symbol of licentiousness, folly and unchastity<sup>225</sup>. The arrow [*pijl* or *bout*] could in those times be used as a phallic symbol, while the word *bout* also had the meanings of dissolute fellow and leg-of-meat (as favourite food of spendthrift merry-makers)<sup>226</sup>. The boot occurred as a symbol of addiction to drink<sup>227</sup> and the ape as a figure of unchastity, folly, and quarrelling or strife<sup>228</sup>.

The devil's upper body is contained in the egg like a *dooier* [yolk].

Because the word *door* was a homonym, meaning both yolk and fool, there are a number of instances in Dutch plastic art where the egg and the fool are found together. Bosch and imitators have given visual representations of this pun in depictions of merry-makers gathered inside an egg<sup>229</sup>; they are *doren* [yolks/fools], and Bruegel, too, did this in the engraving of the *Heks van Mallegem* [approx.: Witch of Crazy-ham], where a fool in a large egg is being cut of the stone<sup>230</sup>.

In the egg-demon on our central panel a *door*, that is a fool, is being satirized<sup>231</sup>.

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<sup>223</sup> *Manuel d'archéologie française depuis les temps mérovingiens jusqu'à la renaissance*. Tome III. Le costume, par Camille Enlart. Paris 1916, p. 416 ff. Sometimes they were worn on the breast: R.E.J. Weber. *De bodebus als onderscheidingsteken van de lopende bode*. *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandsche Oudheidkundige Bond* 65 (1966), p. 7.

<sup>224</sup> Many examples of messenger's boxes in Weber's article, referred to in preceding note. For the little messenger's case in the Musée Cluny see his ill. 22 and 23.

<sup>225</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 144-146/191-194. On p. 144/191 I gave examples of egg-shells as an attribute of merry-makers. I have not yet mentioned elsewhere that the word *dopmaker* [shell-maker], literally: someone who makes shells -through eating many eggs- had the connotation in the 16th century of wastrel, gorgier: *Kamper Spreekwoorden*, p. 38: *Het is een Dopmaker. Een Opmaker* [It is a shell-maker. A dissipator]. For the erotic symbolism of the egg see also *Tuin*, index sub *ei*.

<sup>226</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 89 f.

<sup>227</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 127 f.

<sup>228</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29.

<sup>229</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 199/263: merry-makers in an empty egg-shell. The egg in which merry-makers are sitting in a painting by an imitator of Bosch (Lille) is regarded by A. Boczkowska, incorrectly in my opinion, as an attribute of the moon: *The lunar symbolism of the ship of fools by Hieronymus Bosch. Oud Holland* LXXXVI (1971), p. 68.

<sup>230</sup> Rep.: Van Bastelaer. *Estampes*, no. 193. Cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 145/193 (34, 35).

<sup>231</sup> Other demonic imps that can be explained in this way: A little devil in an egg in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch (formerly Fr. Gutmann Collection, now private collection in Nashville, Canada; *Ontc./Deciph.*, 188/242 and ill. 32/97 and 79); in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* on a tapestry in the Royal Palace in Madrid, made in



17. Hunter-devil, bodiless imps, spiked sinners, Bosch (p. 125, 135)

He represents i.m.o. the sins of unchastity, folly and licentiousness, and as such belongs with the sinners on the bed and in the cask. The nodules on his legs could be an indication of the Spanish pox (see *Judgem.*, p. 246 ff.).

To the left of the bed (ill. 17) is an infernal imp with many legs, two pairs of which are visible. These four legs are shod in black boots.

The legs support the green flower of an orchid and out of this rises a black human face with long, curly hair, fiery eyes and a metallic disc as head-covering. In Vienna the eyes are fixed on a hunter-devil approaching with a sinner. In Berlin the glance goes past him.

In the Low Countries of the 16th century several kinds of orchids were much sought after as aphrodisiacs. The *Cruydtboeck* of Dodonaeus confirms that: *De Wortelen van het eerste geslacht (d.i. Cynosorchis . . . Hontscullekens) van Standelcruyt . . . hebben groote cracht om den mensche tot oncuysche lusten te verwecken* [The Roots of the first genus (i.e. Cynosorchis . . . Dog's balls) of Standergrass . . . have great potency to stimulate the human being to lewd lusts]<sup>232</sup>. We accordingly find several instances in which Bosch uses an orchid-flower to convey an unchaste sense<sup>233</sup>. This is what he does here too.

The metal disc could be a visual representation of the word *schijf* [disc]. Bosch i.m.o. more than once pictured this word, doing it with stone slabs in the form of table-tops (= *schijven*) and with shooting-targets<sup>234</sup>, with wooden table-tops<sup>235</sup> and with the metal disc from a suit of armour<sup>236</sup>.

The word *schijf* was often used in a sexual sense in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch. It could mean i.a. *genitale muliebre* and *mamma*<sup>237</sup>.

There is no body between the head and the legs. Bosch was here obviously influenced by mediaeval depictions like the 13th-century Flemish miniature of a head which has a jester's cap on it and is supported on a single leg<sup>238</sup>, and French miniatures in a 1363 manuscript showing creatures with their heads resting on their thighs<sup>239</sup>.

This type occurs several times in the work of Bosch and his imitators.

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Brussels shortly after 1550: Lafond, at p. 81; in a triptych with *St. Hieronymus, St. Christopher and St. Anthony*, which likewise reveals influence of Bosch (Museum Mayer van den Bergh, no. 363; the imp has a round face like a ball: it is a *sottebol* [lit.: foolish ball, i.e. fathead, fool, buffoon]); in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator (Madam D.M. van Buuren Collection, Brussels: *De eeuw van Bruegel*, ill. 8; this imp, too, has a large, round head); in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* attributed to Gillis Mostaert (art firm P. de Boer, Amsterdam, Summer exhibition 1937). In Bruegel's *Fall of the angels* we see peeping from an egg a young bird (symbol of ignorance and folly, cf. the young, still callow bird in the *Conjuror* in St. Germain-en-Laye: *Tuin*, p. 162). Beside it, sticking out from the shell is a dry branch (likewise a symbol of folly: *Judgem.*, p. 34) and also a serrated knife. Folly and bellicosity are censured in this little devil.

<sup>232</sup> R. Dodonaeus. *Cruydt-Boeck, volgens sijne laetste verbeteringe*. Leiden 1608, p. 401, b. See further *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 107/139 (3 and 4).

<sup>233</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 107/139. For orchid-flowers in Bosch's work see the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.* sub *orchidee*/orchid.

<sup>234</sup> *Tuin*, p. 29-32.

<sup>235</sup> *Tuin*, p. 112 (2), 118.

<sup>236</sup> *Tuin*, p. 85 (7). For yet another way, see Elaborations XIII and XV.

<sup>237</sup> *Tuin*, p. 32.

<sup>238</sup> Rep.: Maeterlinck. *Peinture*, ill. 105. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/54 f. (45).

<sup>239</sup> Rep.: *Les Heures de Marguerite de Beaujeu*. Paris 1925. Avertissement par Mme Th. Belin. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/54 (49).



A head on two legs is shown walking in a drawing, attributed by some to Bosch, in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford<sup>240</sup>.

On a sheet with sketches by Bosch in the Louvre there is in the centre, left, a devil with his head on two legs. He wears a filled sack-cap and has a foolish drunken expression on his face<sup>241</sup>.

An engraving probably done after designs by Bosch shows all kinds of creatures, poor devils, who are playing the fool with parts of a knight's suit of armour<sup>242</sup>. One of them has his head directly on the two legs.

An imp on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges has a head with sack-cap on two legs<sup>243</sup>.

A similar imp can be seen, top right, in the border round a *Conjuror* in a private collection in California<sup>244</sup>.

The *Temptation of St. Anthony* that was formerly in the Fr. Gutmann Collection in Haarlem contains an imp depicted as a head on five legs<sup>245</sup>.

An imp consisting of a head on two legs with an open sack-cap serving him as a cloak, is shown walking in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Berlin<sup>246</sup>.

In Bruegel's *Ira* a head-on-two-legs wearing a soldier's helmet, walks along in a procession of figures that symbolize bellicosity.

In *St. Anthony burying St. Paul of Thebe* (Maarten de Vos; see *Judgem.*, p. 51f.) a soldier consists of a head on two legs. On his cap he wears a pennant with a scorpion depicted on it (treachery: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 149/197) and through the edge of his cap a big arrow is stuck. This is word-play, for *bout* [arrow] also means dissolute fellow, as well as leg-of-meat, the favourite food of spendthrift merry-makers.

Adriaan van Ostade still made use of the type. He drew a manikin with his head on his legs. The back of the head is also the buttocks. In the anus is a little pipe. The figure carries a small broom on his head. The caption reads:

*Olijke Schrobber die gaat heen,  
En beschrobt nu yder een.*

[Poorman Scrubber he goes on  
And now scrubs everyone]<sup>247</sup>.

*Schrobber* was a word for a broom and for an impoverished person, and *beschrobben* meant not only to scrub but also to 'clean out', that is, to fleece, someone<sup>248</sup>. What we have here is a pauper bent on 'sweeping' people's money.

These little figures are all without a *romp* [trunk] or *lijf* [body]. They are '*lijffloos*' ['body-less']. *Lijffloos* in the 15th century could mean insignificant, trivial, worthless<sup>249</sup>. This is what Bosch and his imitators could have been picturing.

In the little devil on our centre panel also other expressions could have played

<sup>240</sup> Rep.: Baldass 1943, no. 141.

<sup>241</sup> Rep. Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 149.

<sup>242</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 201 ff/264 ff. Rep.: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 43/112 and 20.

<sup>243</sup> Janssens de Bisthoven, pl. xxiv.

<sup>244</sup> Rep.: Brand Philip, in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1958, p. 30.

<sup>245</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Kataloos* 1967, no. 4 (p. 67).

<sup>246</sup> Rep.: Idem, no. 5 (p. 68).

<sup>247</sup> M. de Meyer. *De volks- en kinderprent in de Nederlanden*. Antwerpen-Amsterdam 1962, ill. 50, no. 2.

<sup>248</sup> *W.N.T.* xiv, 1079.

<sup>249</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/53 (31-33). *M.W.* iv, 615. Cf. *W.N.T.* viii, part II, 2386: *lijffloos* = *machteloos* [powerless], *hulpeloos* [helpless] (17th century); 2387: *zonder stevigheid* [lacking firmness], *onbetekenend* [insignificant] (17th century).

a part. The demon has an enormous head. There was a saying: *Hy is cort voert boeft* [lit.: He is short for the head, which one could interpret as: the body is too short in relation to the head], which was applied to a short-tempered person<sup>250</sup>.

The creature has black curly hair and a swarthy complexion.

In the incunabulum *Dat boeck vanden proprieteyten der dinghen* (Haerlem, Bellaert, 1485) Bartolomeus den Engelsman says on p. 88<sup>a</sup> that choleric people are *doncker bruun van verwen, swart in den haer ende cruust* [dark brown of hue, black of hair and curly]. *Cruus* or *cruust* meant curly as well as hot-tempered, irascible<sup>251</sup>.

The little demon is therefore represented as a cholericus. The fiery eyes and angry line of the mouth bear this out<sup>252</sup>.

The fiery eyes could, however, have the additional connotation of unchasteness, because a tract on facial features, dating from 1351 says: *Die rode berrende ogen heeft, betekent quaetmoedech ende luxuries* [Who has burning eyes, means bad-tempered and lascivious]<sup>253</sup>.

To have 'four white feet' meant in the 16th century to be faultless, incapable of making a mistake<sup>254</sup>. Our devil has four black boots. Does this mean that he is full of faults<sup>255</sup>?

In my opinion, however, the boots are primarily meant to denote addiction to

<sup>250</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/53 (36). *Doctrinael des Tijts*, p. 158. Bosch renders the word *voor* [for] in the sense of: in proportion to.

<sup>251</sup> *M.W.* III, 2183. Cf. *W.N.T.* VIII, part 1, 482: *krul* = *gekruld van haar en boos, verstoord* [with curly hair, and angry, cross] (16th century).

<sup>252</sup> Here the black colour of the face therefore indicates a choleric temperament. In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/94, I pointed out that in the Low Countries of mediaeval times a black complexion in man and devil could allude to unchastity. Besides, black is a colour that a man-demon readily adopts. Some examples: Kiliaen: *moonken peck* = piceus daemon. *W.N.T.* III, part II, 3618: *Iemand den zwarten duvel op den hals binden* [lit.: to bind the black devil on someone's neck] is to make a scapegoat of him. Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 107 (*Tondalus' Visioen*). *Middelnederlandse Marialegenden* I, p. 439: the devil as *swarte tyran* [black tyrant]. And in the lore of character reading a dark complexion could be the mark of moral turpitude in general. For does not *Die Dietsche Lucidarius*, p. 44 tell us:

<i>Die poetertieren sijn in haren sin</i>	[Those putrid in their minds
<i>Hebben vele quaetheden in;</i>	Harbour evil of many kinds;
<i>Donckere ansicht hebben si,</i>	Dark of countenance are they,
<i>Mit valschen opsien, dat segic di.</i>	With a false glance, to you I say.]

Man-devils with black faces were painted by Bosch also, i.e., on our right panel (*Judgem.*, p. 265), in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/94) and in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the *Hermit Saints* triptych in Venice: on rock left of the little book.

<sup>253</sup> *Belgisch Museum* 3 (1839), p. 232.

<sup>254</sup> Marnix. *Byen corf*, p. 394: *onse L. Moeder de H. Roomsche Kercke, die de vier witte voeten heeft, ende en kan niet missen* [our Dear Mother the Holy Roman Church, which has the four white feet, cannot fail]. Marnix's book contains many folksy expressions.

Other 16th-century examples: *W.N.T.* XXII, 350.

<sup>255</sup> Bosch painted another demonic imp on four legs (but this one with an upper body) on the fragment of the *Last Judgement* in Munich. An imp with upper body and four legs appears on the drawing in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Beins thinks that Bosch got the idea of the four feet or legs by seeing misbirths with four legs (*duplicitas posterior*). See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 306/397 col. 1 f.

drink<sup>256</sup>. One can think of the expressions: *Si ghieten den dranc door hoor keel als door een laerse* [They pour the drink through their throats as through a boot] (*Des Coninx Summe*, 41<sup>b</sup>) and *een laars aanhebben* [lit.: to have on a boot], i.e. to be drunk<sup>257</sup>, as well as the term *bierlaers* [lit.: beer-boot], which could mean beer-jug and also drunkard<sup>258</sup>. Then there is the word *boot* which in the 16th century was a homonym for boat, boot and wine-butt<sup>259</sup>.

In my discussion elsewhere of the boot as a symbol of inebriety in the works of Bosch and imitators, the following examples have not yet been mentioned:

In Bosch's *Gula* (*Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*) a boot is hooked over an upright of the back of the chair on which a man is sitting with a drinking-vessel in his hand.

In the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Venice a spoonbill-devil wears boots (spoonbill = addiction to drink).

In Bosch's *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt an executioner wears a boot (inebriety) with an arrow (*bout* = inebriety, choice food) stuck through it.

In the centre piece of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych there is a devil whose knife-wielding arm, one leg, and left hand, are in the same posture as those of the elephant-devil in our picture<sup>260</sup>. He wears one high boot, and another lies on the ground in front of him.

In a *Last Judgement* by an imitator of Bosch a little fiend is on his way to where sinners who are guilty of gluttony and inebriety are receiving their punishment: he has on black boots and his body is in a beehive (resp.: addiction to drink and gluttony)<sup>261</sup>.

Our swarthy devil therefore informs us that the sinner allotted to him for punishment is unchaste, insignificant [a no-body], hot-tempered, quarrelsome and addicted to drink<sup>262</sup>. His charge is being brought to him by a hunter-devil.

The hunter-devil's naked body is partly covered by a blue cloak (in Berlin blue-green) which tapers off at the back into a long devil's tail. In his right hand he carries a bow and in the belt round his waist an arrow is stuck. Over his left shoulder he has a mopstick with what is clearly a woolly type of swab at the end. The monster has a spoonbill's beak<sup>263</sup> and he is a hunchback.

The sinner is hanging length-wise on the mopstick, hands and feet tied together over it with ropes. An arrow pierces his body.

<sup>256</sup> For the boot in Bosch's work, see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/53, *Tuin*, p. 114 and 115. For further references see also index of *Judgem.*, sub boot.

<sup>257</sup> *W.N.T.* VIII, part 1, 855.

<sup>258</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/53 (43); *Tuin*, p. 115 (2).

<sup>259</sup> *Tuin*, p. 112.

<sup>260</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 116.

<sup>261</sup> Painting attributed to Jan Mandijn, C. Marshall Spink Collection, London. Rep.: *The Connoisseur* CXLV, June 1960, p. 78. In *St. James and Hermogenes* (Valenciennes) a devil wears a helmet and parts of a suit of armour. Spurs are attached to his boots. This shows that in him it is a horseman who is being satirized, a cruel soldier. Probably also a woman-rider. See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 56/70 f. and *Tuin*, p. 120 and 121. The imp in the fragment of the *Last Judgement* in Munich who has spurs on his bare feet and a crescent moon on his sack-cap is obviously a woman-rider.

<sup>262</sup> Without providing proof for it, Madam Poch-Kalous (1961, p. 15; 1967, p. 20) assumes that the little demon represents Avaritia: Die Verdoppelung der Beine aber drückt – wie die roten, vorquellenden Augen – die sündige Gier aus.

<sup>263</sup> It is not the bill of a duck, as Gibson, p. 60, thinks.

The devil's bow, arrow and mop, and the sinner's hands and feet were originally designed higher up, as underlying brush-strokes indicate.

The spoonbill in the Low Countries of the 16th century was a symbol i.a. of addiction to drink. It presumably got this meaning because the Dutch name for it, *lepelaar*, meant one who uses a spoon [for scooping up liquid; lit.: a spooner], i.e. someone who is fond of drink, a toper. The word was associated with *lepel lecken* [to lick spoon], meaning i.a. to lap up, to drink<sup>264</sup>. With Bosch the spoonbill can occur also as a symbol of unchastity<sup>265</sup>, a function to which the bird's long bill will undoubtedly have contributed.

The bow, which shoots away arrows, is in 16th-century Dutch language and with Bosch and Huys a symbol of waste<sup>266</sup>.

The colour blue, too, probably has symbolic value here. It can signify deception<sup>267</sup>.

A hunchbacked devil with the head of an animal appears also in front of the wagon in Bosch's *Haywain*. In figure, bearing and gait it shows a marked resemblance to our hunter-devil.

Does the hunched back denote deformity not only in the physical but also in the spiritual sense? In German folklore 'gelten Bücklige als von Gott gezeichnet, denen man aus dem Wege gehen soll'<sup>268</sup>.

The arrow through the sinner's body can be a visual representation of the word *bout* [arrow] in its other meaning of dissipated fellow, and it can be a phallic symbol<sup>269</sup>.

Mop and Turk's head were attributes of merry-makers in the 16th century and could accordingly acquire a diabolic meaning with Bosch. See for these objects in the oeuvre of Bosch and his imitators the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin*, *Martelares* and *Judgem.* under *zwabber*, *ragebol*, *stok met knoedelvormige verdikking*, and *mop* and *stick with squabby head*. They refer i.a. to *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 150 ff./198 ff. and *Tuin*, p. 101.

In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 151/199, I noted a number of instances in which it is fairly clear what the squabby part at the end of the stick is composed of. Among them was the mop we are discussing. Here the substance is woolly. Elsewhere it is cloth-like.

The mop or Turk's-head occurs many times on our triptych. The one the spoonbill-devil carries is the most clearly depicted.

To the mops and Turk's-heads dealt with in my previous publications the following can be added:

Round the depiction of the *Crowning with Thorns* (Prado) Bosch painted angels fighting devils at the Last Judgement. A toad-like devil has a Turk's-head with him<sup>270</sup>.

<sup>264</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/31. See also note 271 below and Elaboration XIV.

<sup>265</sup> *Tuin*, p. 22, 25 and 34 (14): sexual symbols in a favourable sense. *Tuin*, p. 53, 55, 56, 59, 106, 114, 115 and 121: in an unfavourable sense. Addition: Elaboration XIV: lower righthand corner of *Merry-makers in an Egg* (Lille).

<sup>266</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 57/71 (25 and 28), 103/132 (11-13). For bow and arrow with Bosch, see the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, sub *boog*/bow and *Tuin*, sub *pijl en boog*. See also *Judgem.*, p. 219.

<sup>267</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 37.

<sup>268</sup> A. Wuttke. *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*. 3. Bearbeitung von E.H. Meyer. Berlin 1900, 307.

<sup>269</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 89 f.

<sup>270</sup> Clear rep.: Castelli, Tav. 26.



In the *Hell of the Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* devils carry a mop or Turk's-head and a sinner hangs on one.

In a scene in which inebriety and gluttony are satirized a roast chicken is spitted on a mop or Turk's-head which sticks up from a tavern-table and has a little sausage hanging from it (*Temptation of St. Anthony*, formerly art firm Ehrich, New York, now Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri)<sup>271</sup>. In a depiction of hell or purgatory a female prostitute-devil is embracing a sinner. Near by is a hollow tree (vagina symbol). Attached to it is a Turk's-head with two little square flags hanging on it. A crescent moon is depicted on the one and a star on the other<sup>272</sup> (Sijpesteijn Castle, Loosdrecht<sup>273</sup>).

In a little boat near a brothel-scene a woman has three mops or Turk's-heads with her (*Temptation of St. Anthony*, Rijksmuseum, no. 588 A 3)<sup>274</sup>.

A horned imp shown entering the chapel of St. Anthony which is being desecrated by devils, carries a mop (*Temptation of St. Anthony*, formerly Fr. Gutmann Collection, Haarlem)<sup>275</sup>.

In *St. Christopher with the Child Jesus* by Jan Mandijn, the saint is surrounded by devils. Among their attributes is a Turk's-head on which hang a wine-jar and a *wijnkrans* [tavern-bush in the form of a garland] (Hermitage, Leningrad).

In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 151/199, I pointed out that in Bruegel's *Fight between Carnival and Lent* and in Balten's *Kermesse*, in which the play *Playerwater* is being acted, lepers carry a Turk's-head with them, probably because, as an attribute of Carnival merry-makers, it could serve as a festive token also in the lepers' procession at the fun-fair.

There are many versions of the *Kermesse* which shows the farce *Playerwater* being staged. Most of these are attributed to Pieter Bruegel the Younger<sup>276</sup>. All of them are regarded as derived from a painting by Pieter the Elder and the one in the collection of the Count von Croy, Merfeld, Westphalia, has indeed at one time or another been held to be an original Bruegel. In some variants the lepers do not have a Turk's-head with them. In the Westphalia picture, however, there is one that shows up clearly, and in the Balten painting (Rijksmuseum, now in Toneel [Theatre] museum, Amsterdam) even two of them. In the last case two lepers, a man and a woman, standing in front of a May-tree in the background, have a Turk's-head with them, and more to the right another woman-leper, who is receiving beer in a dish from someone inside a tavern, also has a Turk's-head. See ill. 18.

Taking all this into consideration, the hunter-devil expresses that the sinner he is carrying was addicted to drink, that he was licentious, wasteful, unreliable and morally deformed.

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<sup>271</sup> Rep.: De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, ill. 23. It is the painting mentioned in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/31 (54) and in note 264 above.

<sup>272</sup> For crescent moon and star see *Judgem.*, p. 380 ff.

<sup>273</sup> Photo Rijksbureau, Box H. Bosch. Allegorie. Helse voorstellingen. Etc.

<sup>274</sup> In a variant that in 1962 was in the possession of the art firm L.N. Malmedé, Cologne, there is also a man sitting in the boat and there is only one Turk's-head.

<sup>275</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 4 (p. 67).

<sup>276</sup> Many versions are noted in G. Marlier, *Pierre Brueghel le Jeune*. Edition posthume mise au point et annotée par Jacqueline Folie. Bruxelles 1969, p. 294-305. Many loose photographs in Rijksbureau Friedländer Records, Bruegel, and in Box P. Bruegel I and II, *Kermessen*. Etc. In the Hermitage, Leningrad, I saw another version with a Turk's-head. For Peter Balten and the farce of *Playerwater*, see: Van Puyvelde. *Schilderkunst*, p. 89 f.





18. Lepers with Turk's-head, in Kermesse, Balten (p. 130)

Bosch made several depictions of hunter-devils<sup>277</sup>. This is not surprising because the motif of the devil on the hunt for souls occurs fairly often in Middle Dutch literature<sup>278</sup>.

Immediately behind the sinner follows a devil consisting of a head joined to a pair of feet. He wears a grey-blue (in Berlin grey-purple) open sack-cap which at the same time serves as a cape or cloak<sup>279</sup>. From this headgear emerge two long, fanciful feathers, one blue-black and the other red-yellow. The cloth of the cap cum cape has a slit through which a knife in a sheath is stuck. The point of the knife has penetrated the leather and made a hole in the sheath. Behind the handle a patch of material on the garment protects the fabric against friction caused by the hilt.

In the Low Countries a feather in a hat or cap was in former times a symbol of extravagant living, as the expression *veer voeren* [lit.: bear feather] testifies, for it meant not only wearing a feather in the hat, but also leading a lavish life<sup>280</sup>.

On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges, the work of an imitator, we also see an imp wearing a large open sack-cap from which a big feather sticks out (the head here rests on legs, not feet).

The knife denotes pugnacity, e.g. in taverns<sup>281</sup>. That it has cut through the sheath indicates that extravagance and licentiousness impoverish the sinner. A fool in Bruegel's *Dean of Renaix* has under his arm a long knife of which a part has gone right through the worn sheath. Here, too, i.m.o.: licentiousness resulting in poverty<sup>282</sup>.

The little demon walks on bare feet. One is reminded here of the refrain of a drinking song from about 1500:

<i>Hi, laet ons drincken en clincken.</i>	[Hey then, let us drink and clink.
<i>En laet ons maken den dobbelen haen</i> <sup>283</sup> .	Let's make merry at double cock.
<i>Mijn keelken moet wijnken drincken,</i>	Through my gullet the wine must sink,
<i>Al sou mijn voetken baervoets gaen.</i>	Though my foot go bare without shoe or sock] <sup>284</sup> ,

Also in accordance with this are the words in a 16th-century play: *Wij verdroncken eens de schoenen uyt onse hyelen* [We (i.e. the pot-companions) once drank the shoes off our heels]<sup>285</sup>.

The feet are large and conspicuous. Were people at that time already familiar

<sup>277</sup> For hunter-devils in Bosch's work, see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 58/74, 93/117, 277/364 (63); *Tuin*, p. 92, 94 (5).

<sup>278</sup> *Tuin*, p. 94 (5). An example also in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius van Heisterbach (XI, c. 20): Wybrands. *Dialogus*, p. 65. The scene in the *Hell* of Bosch's *Haywain* triptych showing a man being attacked by hunting-dogs, somewhat resembles depictions of Aktaion being ravished by his hounds. Had Bosch seen such a picture and did he derive from it the posture of the sinner and dogs, and also the idea of furnishing the devil to the left, above the scene, with the head and upper body of a deer?

<sup>279</sup> For the open sack-cap with Bosch and others see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 182/236.

<sup>280</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 118/155 (109). Cf. *idem*, p. 58/73. My opinion (*idem*, p. 118/155, that the feathers in our *Last Judgement* are those of a pheasant, is incorrect.

<sup>281</sup> Examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 14/21.

<sup>282</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 14/21 (96).

<sup>283</sup> *maken den dobbelen haen* = *bijzonder goede sier maken* [be exceptionally gay].

<sup>284</sup> *Antwerps Liedboek*, no. CLXXIV.

<sup>285</sup> Kalff. *Trou*, p. 11, line 225 (*Esbatement vande Schuyfman*).

with the expression *Hij leeft op grote (of brede) voet* [lit.: He lives on a great (or broad) foot], i.e. he leads a prodigal life<sup>286</sup>?

Higher up, in my discussion of the imp whose head is on his legs and who therefore has no *romp* [trunk], I drew attention to the term *lijffloos*, which could mean insignificant, trivial, worthless<sup>287</sup>. *Lijf* in Middle Dutch was also a word for trunk<sup>288</sup>, that is, the body without the head, arms or legs. In this second little demon the head is attached directly to the feet, with hardly any leg, so that even more than strictly the trunk is missing. However, the term *lijffloos* would be applicable here as well.

A head on feet without legs at all is apparently an infrequent motif in the works of Bosch and imitators. The only example I can point to is a procuress's head, on legless feet in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* which forms part of Bosch's *Hermit Saints* triptych in Venice<sup>289</sup>.

The devil with the knife therefore testifies that the sinner was a pugnacious, worthless addict to drink whose prodigality reduced him to poverty.

In Vienna the devil looks at the sinner (in Berlin he looks to his right). That there is a connection between the two bodiless devils and the hunter-devil carrying the sinner is especially obvious in the Vienna picture.

The three demons whose attributes tell the story of the sinner's bad life, act the parts of, respectively, a hunter returning with his kill, a landowner ready to receive it, and a servant who will skin and prepare it.

Did Bosch get the idea for this composition from a marginal miniature of a hunting scene with hunter, lord and man-servant? Just as i.m.o. he did see a depiction of Mary and the Child Jesus on the ass, together with Joseph (*Flight to Egypt*), and from it got the idea for his composition of a group of devils on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon: woman and child on the rat, together with the shield-bearer with cap and grey beard<sup>290</sup>.

The analysis of the three devils shows that in this scene no specific sin is conspicuous. The sinner here is a quarrelsome man, addicted to drink, licentious, unreliable and unchaste, who has become insignificant and poor as a result of wasteful and extravagant living. The accent falls on his hot temper, inebriety and prodigality.

As in the scene with the pedlar-devil the fate of a licentious squanderer is here demonstrated.

Behind the left half of the red bed and behind the whole foreground to the left of it, there is a vertical rise in the ground of about one metre (see ill. 19). In this low perpendicular wall, to the extreme left, at the edge of the painting, there is a hollow in which a humanoid imp is sitting with a whip. He is on the look-out, ready for work.

More to the right is a second opening in the wall. Appearing from it are the head and right hand of a sinner lying on his back. With the hand he is trying to grasp the stem of a plucked flower, with leaves on it. In Berlin there is no flower-stem. There the hand is not grasping at anything, but feeling for support on the stony wall. A bird-devil with a diabolic tail is pecking with its long bill at the

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<sup>286</sup> Cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 118/155 (112).

<sup>287</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 126.

<sup>288</sup> *M.W.* IV, 604.

<sup>289</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 81/103 (38), 158/208 (3); *Judgem.*, p. 34.

<sup>290</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 88/113.

mouth of the sinner. The creature has spots on its back and nodules on its tail, which is indicative of the disease of the Spanish pox (*Judgem.*, p. 246 ff.).

To the left, above the openings in the wall, a toad-like devil has his claws on a sinner and is pushing him into a pit. Behind this duo a crag rises steeply to a great height.

The three openings are the only places in the painting that in any way resemble graves. Should Bosch really have intended them to be burial pits, he certainly did not depict the two persons as rising from their opened graves. Indeed the resurrection has already taken place and judgement passed. The graves, if such, are being used for the torment of the two sinners.

Or are they not graves at all, but intended by Bosch as 'in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains' where according to *Revelation* 6:15 sinners will try to hide themselves on the Day of Judgement? If so, their attempt has been in vain and now retribution is catching up with them.

The whole of this scene is concerned with the sin of unchastity.

The expression *een bloem plukken* [to pluck a flower] had a sexual connotation in Middle and 16th-century Dutch<sup>291</sup>. A flower could symbolize the female genitals in 15th and 16th-century Dutch<sup>292</sup>. The long bill and neck of the bird had phallic significance.

In the lower right-hand corner of Bosch's *Garden of Unchastity* Eve has a small flower (pansy?) in or on her mouth. It has a sexual meaning here, like the two apples she has with her and like the round discs with their nipple-like protuberances on the glass in front of her<sup>293</sup>.

The motif of the plucked flower in this sense is already an old one in the plastic arts, for in a miniature of about 1170 in the *Hortus Deliciarum* unchastity is represented by a woman who holds in her hand a stalk with little flowers on it<sup>294</sup>. In *Tuin*, p. 38 (5) and 39 (5) I gave two Dutch examples from the 16th century. Another is the one in *The Prodigal Son with the Prostitutes*, attributed to the Monogrammist of Brunswick (Musée Carnavalet, Paris) where a whore offers a picked pansy to a visitor<sup>295</sup>. A 15th-century German example can be found in an engraving by the Master E.S.<sup>296</sup>. A jester lifts up the dress of a wanton woman and so exposes her genitals. She has her left hand on a large coat-of-arms decorated with small fanciful flowers.

In our picture hollow places also have a sexual function. The words *gat* [hole] and *diepte* [depth, a deep] were used in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch to indicate the vagina<sup>297</sup>.

The toad is a symbol of impurity and lewdness. The phallic connotation of the whip is demonstrated i.a. in the superstition that the cracking of whips on the Eve-of-the-Fast and in the Walpurgisnight [a witches' sabbath] can make women fertile<sup>298</sup>.

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<sup>291</sup> Examples: *Tuin*, p. 38 (5). Addition: *Die Rose van Heinric van Aken*. Etc. Edit. Eelco Verwijs. 's-Gravenhage 1868, p. 243: *die rose plucken* [to pick the rose].

<sup>292</sup> *Tuin*, p. 39 (5).

<sup>293</sup> *Tuin*, p. 37 ff.

<sup>294</sup> Van Marle. *Iconographie* II, p. 48 and fig. 88.

<sup>295</sup> *De eeuw van Breugel*, no. 251.

<sup>296</sup> Geisberg, Bl. 219.

<sup>297</sup> Examples: *Tuin*, p. 19 (1). Addition: *t swarte gadt* [the black hole] (*Koninklijke Souvereine Hoofdkamer De Fontaine. Jaarboek* VIII -1950-, p. 29. Cf. man in pit on centre panel of *Garden* triptych: *Tuin*, p. 42 (10), 47 (2).

<sup>298</sup> *Handwörterbuch* VI, 1472.

The elongated rock rising steeply from the piece of ground with the hollows, has a thick head. It resembles, particularly in Berlin, a phallus with glans penis and Bosch undoubtedly intended it as an allusion to the male member (see ills. 11 and 20).

Adjoined to it, as it were, is the rock on the left panel from which the four streams in Paradise spring (*Judgem.*, p. 64) and which Bosch has suggested is tainted by sin, for he has placed a porcupine and a lizard on it. These animals are i.m.o. indicative of unchastity.

In the Vienna depiction the tall rock has been tampered with by a restorer and there is no depiction on it, but in Berlin we see a she-devil in the form of a tavern-keeper who is beating with a little stick on a round, concave-convex copper object (a basin). Above her head, fixed in the rock-face is a stick on which hang a small white flag and a round, concave-convex copper object (likewise a basin).

The little flag is a tavern-vane. Bosch painted other such square vanes on diabolic brothel-taverns, namely on the left wing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon and on our centre panel<sup>299</sup>.

Copper basins were often depicted in connection with taverns. The following are some examples:

In a print by P. van der Borch (second half 16th century) three basins hang from the lean-to roof over a tavern-door<sup>300</sup>. Above the door of a tavern in the background of Rogier van der Weyden's *St. Luke painting the Holy Virgin*, five copper basins hang on a stick<sup>301</sup>. In Rogier's *Peter Bladelin* altarpiece a stick with four basins on it projects from a little window under an overhang<sup>302</sup>. On a house (probably a tavern) in the background of *Mary with the Child Jesus* by the Master of Flémalle there is a stick with four basins<sup>303</sup>.

What purpose did these basins serve? Could they be lifted off the stick and used as dishes to eat from? It would appear that they certainly had this function in the engraving of the *Kermesse of St. George*, where large basins stand on a board in front of the window of a tavern<sup>304</sup>.

Bruegel uses similar basins also as barber's bowls: there are two in his painting of the *Proverbs* and one in his *Superbia* drawing where a basin hangs on a stick outside a barber-devil's shop where one can also have one's hair washed.

In the *Last Judgement* in Berlin the diabolic female tavern-keeper is i.m.o. beating the basin in order to attract customers to her ill-famed pothouse.

On that part of the terrace which is immediately behind the left half of the bed and the three devils with the sinner, we see the following (ill. 17):

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<sup>299</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29; *Judgem.*, p. 193. Cf. the little square flags with crescent moon and star, discussed in *Judgem.*, p. 381. Two little square flags with nothing on them can be seen in an engraving of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* made in 1561 by Hieronymus Cock after a work by an imitator of Bosch (Hollstein III, p. 133). An amorous couple are in a kind of bath-house (unchastity). This is crowned by a funnel (inebriety), from which appears a hand raising up a long knife (pugnacity). The two little flags, without stripes or device, are fixed to the funnel.

<sup>300</sup> G. van Rijnberk. *Geneesheer en geneeskunst in Nederlandsche prentverbeeldingen. Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* LXV, 1921, p. 1876.

<sup>301</sup> Eisler, pl. CIV. V. Loewinson-Lessing et N. Nicouline. *Le Musée de l'Ermitage. Leningrad. Les Primitifs Flamands*. Bruxelles 1965, pl. c.

<sup>302</sup> Lassaigue, ill. on p. 96.

<sup>303</sup> Davies I, pl. CLII.

<sup>304</sup> Van Bastelaer. *Estampes*, ill. 207.



A bare, thorny tree has a sinner in its branches, and at its roots a fire is burning. A bird-devil sits on a branch and with its long, pointed bill pecks into the man's armpit<sup>305</sup>.

To the right of the tree the ground rises somewhat to form a rocky curve. On this sits a lizard-like devil who is raising up its head to the legs of the sinner. In Vienna it has white, and in Berlin yellow, nodules on the legs. Its back is covered with rose-coloured nodules.

A toad-like devil with a long tail and bristly long hair is cutting off the left arm of the sinner with a knife.

An object in the shape of a metal mirror hangs over his back on a leather strap. A broad, wavy band for dancing with, passes over his forehead and flutters down on either side of the mirror. The toad-devil rides on a female sinner with long, fair hair, who looks fearfully to the right (in Berlin the expression is resigned). She is partly covered by a red cloth which trails behind her. On the part spread over the ground sits a sinner.

A little demon consisting of a posterior, two legs with feet, and an arm with a hand, has pierced the breast of this sinner with the rapier-like extension to a fanciful weapon: a kind of sword that broadens under the hilt into an axe-like blade and has a long, sharp point in front. On the blade is a small ring, a little circle. The blade was originally meant to be slightly bigger. Composition strokes are visible.

A green, sack-like cloak covers the imp's buttocks, thighs and knees.

On his 'back' hangs a lute with six (in Berlin at least nine) strings. The black-blue boot on his right foot is broken: the toes are sticking out.

It looks as if there is a slight dip in the ground to the left of the little demon.

In this scene we are confronted with punishment of the sins of *Luxuria* and *Superbia*.

Bird-with-long-bill and lizard we have already learnt to recognize as phallic symbols. The nodules allude to the Spanish pox. In regard to the bare, thorny tree and the bristly hair, *doorn* [thorn] and *stekel* [prickle] come to mind in their 16th-century connotations of male member<sup>306</sup>.

The fire at the foot of the dead tree can be the fire of lust that consumes the sinful man. In *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 44) *Luxuria* is compared to a fire, and Jan de Weert (I. 1020) says that *Luxuria rijst met enen stinckende brande* [rises with a stinking blaze]. In a 16th-century Rhetorician play sinners are described as *onvruchtbare bomen* [barren trees] and *verdorde telligen* [withered shoots]<sup>307</sup>.

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<sup>305</sup> This bird-devil somewhat resembles the bird-like creature that occurs on the sheet of sketches, attributed by some to Bosch, in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Baldass 1943, no. 141, third row from top, second from left. On the reverse of this sheet (bottom row, right) is an imp that also occurs in the *Last Judgement* fragment in Munich (bottom, extreme right).

<sup>306</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 70/82 (21); *Tuin*, p. 18 (2).

<sup>307</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 97/123 (28). A withered (not hollow) tree can also be a symbol of the male member. A large dry branch or tree has this function in the obscene context of mussel and bellows (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 97/123) in works by Bosch and Bruegel. So has the bare tree-stump on which an owl sits in a work by an imitator of Bosch (*Judgem.*, p. 359). A tree, without a hole, is given the form of a phallus by imitators of Bosch: A naked manikin is shown climbing in it (cf. the manikin climbing in the rigging of a broken mast on the left panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 35/44), e.g. in *St. Christopher with the Child Jesus* in the Oskar Reinhart Collection, R  merholz,

That the bird is pecking specifically into the armpit of the sinner, is perhaps an allusion to his sloth. Harrebomée and the *W.N.T.* sub *oksel* [armpit] refer to the expression *Het schuilt hem onder de oksel* [lit.: It is hiding under his armpit], meaning: He is a lazybones, loth to lift his arm. But these sources give no date. In the *Haagse Bijbel* (part 2, 37<sup>b</sup>) the translation of *Proverbs* 26:15 reads: *Die traghe berghet sijn hande onder sijn noxel* [The sluggard hideth his hand under his armpit]<sup>308</sup>.

Pointed implements, like a spear and a knife, could be used in a phallic sense in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch<sup>309</sup>. Perhaps they have this connotation here, too, in addition to being instruments of torture.

In former times a cloth in the Low Countries was symbolic of the female sex<sup>310</sup>. The sinner sitting on the cloth could be a *doekman* [lit.: cloth-man, i.e. a man for the women, a skirt-chaser]<sup>311</sup>.

The devil is riding the woman. This evokes the obscene meaning which the verb 'to ride' had in 16th-century Dutch<sup>312</sup>.

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Winterthur, and in the Dr. Karl Ringwald Collection, Cologne. There is further the remarkable tale told by Thomas of Cantimpré, monk of Brabant: A brother in a monastery once had a vision in which two monks who led unchaste lives were changed into trees *als duck inden dromen pleech* [as often happens in dreams] and *die bomen vielen ter eerden, ende die uterste sterte vanden bomen worden mitter vrouwelike scemelheit gebonden* [the trees fell to earth, and the tails at the end <i.e. the roots> of the trees were bound in the female privy parts] (*Biënboec*, p. 398).

<sup>308</sup> *M.W.* IV, 2565. The bible dates from 1360: *M.W.* x, p. 82, no. 75, and p. 322.

<sup>309</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 65/82 (19 and 20); *Tuin.*, p. 84 (8).

<sup>310</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 71/88 (87); *Tuin.*, p. 54 (9).

<sup>311</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/87 (86).

<sup>312</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 71/87 (79); *Tuin.*, p. 54 (5). In Marnix's *Byen corf*, p. 417, lechers have a mare in their coat-of-arms. *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 184, says in its discussion on unchastity: *... ghien dier en begheert mit sinen gade te menghen nae dattet vrucht ontfanghen heuet dan alleen die meerien paerden ende die menschen* [ ... no animal desires to have intercourse with its mate after it has received the fruit except only the mare-horses and the human beings]. In Bosch's *Terrestrial Paradise* (Venice), inhabited by people who have not yet been entirely cleansed of their sins, horses are part of the scene. In Cranach's *Fall of Adam and Eve* (1526) a horse is present: Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 161. There is a horse in the *Paradise* of Bosch's *Garden* triptych (*Tuin.*, p. 26) and in the *Garden* itself there are several (i.a. *Tuin.*, p. 54): all sexual symbols, favourable in the *Paradise*, unfavourable in the *Garden*. Dirck van Delf (II, p. 178) says that unchastity causes man to lose his reason and he then becomes *als een mule ende een paert, daer ghien verstant in en is* [like a mule and a horse, wherein there is no reason]. This expression, as *Die Dietsche Lucidarius*, line 230 ff., indicates, is derived from *Psalm* 32, verse 9:

*Hier omme David noch heeft gheset:  
Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus,  
Quibus non est intellectus.  
Niet en gheloeft als mulen, als paert,  
Daer men verstandenes nie en waert;*

[This is why David, too, said:  
Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus,  
Quibus non est intellectus.  
Do not like mules, like a horse, believe,  
In whom reason we never perceive;]

The saying is also used in connection with unchastity by the author of a Middle Dutch exemplum. The devil in the shape of an unchaste woman comes to a monk and makes him *als een paert ende mule daer gheen verstant in en is* [like a horse and mule in which there is no reason] (*Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 181). *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 455, says that the devil induces people to this: *dat sij niet en dencken dan haer wellust te voldoen, als een paert ende een mule* [that they think of nothing but to satisfy their lust, like a horse and a mule].

The toad was a figure of impurity and lewdness.

The metal object on the back of the devil astride the woman-sinner has the same form as that of a mirror which a devil holds up to a woman decking out herself in the *Superbia* of the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*. But in our *Last Judgement* the metal has lost its lustre. It no longer reflects the image.

It is becoming clear now that the warning here is not only against *Luxuria* but also against *Superbia*. The scene is really an elaboration of Bosch's *Superbia* in the *Hell* of the *Table*. There a devil holds up a mirror to a naked woman who has a man sitting next to her. The toad on the genitals of the woman and the bird at the anus of the man signify unchastity<sup>313</sup>. In her earthly life the woman bedizened herself to attract men. Our female sinner in the *Last Judgement* has been guilty of the same thing. Women's frippery is a stimulus to men's lust, says *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 54).

In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 416) there is a warning against dolling up in front of the mirror: *Veel ydelheit gheschiet omtrent den hoefde in wasschen, in kemmen, in vlechten ende oeck in spieghelen, daermen gode zeer mede vertoornt* [Much vanity comes into play around the head, with washing, with combing, with plaiting and also with mirroring, with which one greatly angers God]. Much more detail is given by Godschalc Rosemondts van Eindhoven in his *Boecxken vander Biechte ende van die seven Dootsonden* (Antwerpen 1517, see Tinbergen in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 158), when he informs us what a repentant woman sinner is expected to say in her confession: *ic heb grote hoverdie gehat in mijn gestijfde doecken, in mijn lange sleipen, ringhen, keten, ghesteente ende ander costelike iuwelen, in mijn schoon haer, voerhoeft, smal lichaem, witten hals en handen, bruin ogen ende ander schoonte ende gaven des lichaems . . . mij schoon toe te maken ende een half ure oft meer mij staen paleren inden spiegel, mijn haer uut mijn voerhoeft mit groter pine getrocken, mijn haer ghewasschen . . .* [I was very vain about my starched kerchiefs, my long trains, rings, chains, precious stones and other costly jewels, about my lovely hair, forehead, slender body, white throat and hands, brown eyes and other beauties and gifts of the body . . . decking myself out finely and standing a half-hour or more preening myself in front of the mirror, my hair plucked out with great pain from my forehead, my hair washed . . .].

What strikes one is that the mirror hangs like a shield on the back of the devil. Was Bosch thinking of the shield as a symbol of the female sexual organ, a function which it had in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch<sup>314</sup>? In the *Garden of Unchastity* we see a convex metal shield on the back of a fanciful animal that is composed of sexual symbols<sup>315</sup>.

The devil riding the woman wears a dance-band. In the Low Countries of the 16th century people did dance with such long bands<sup>316</sup>. This is why Bosch painted dance-bands on the Jews who dance before the Golden Calf on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>317</sup>.

<sup>313</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 173/226.

<sup>314</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 65 (2).

<sup>315</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 65.

<sup>316</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 95/120 (34). In Memlinc's *Adoration of the Magi* (Prado, ca. 1470) a white flag is carried in the retinue of the Moorish king and on it is depicted a Moor dancing with two dance-bands: Lassaigue, ill. on p. 135. A reminiscence of the Morris dance?

<sup>317</sup> For dance-bands in the work of Bosch and imitators, see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 94/120; *Judgem.*, p. 142. Additions: Sinner with dance-band in Bosch's *Hell* in Venice. In a

The woman-sinner belongs to the same type as her fellow sufferer who is being ridden by a spurred cavalier in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych (*Tuin*, p. 116). There a devil-cleric is calling this to the attention of a sinner who wears the tonsure. It all accords well with the following passage in *Die Evangelien vanden Spinrocke* (p. c.iii<sup>v</sup>): *Eens papen meissen die in haer sonden verduert tot ter doot toe weet dat si tsduvels paert is ende men en derf voer haer niet bidden* [A priest's girl who persists in her sin until death knows that she is the devil's horse and one is not allowed to pray for her], and with the statement by the Flemish writer Columbanus Branckx: *Oneerbaar dochters ende vrouwen, die met priesters misdoen, worden alle 's duivels jachtmerrien* [Immoral daughters and women who transgress with priests, all become the devil's hunting-mares]<sup>318</sup>.

The two women, like the other prostitute-sinner on our centre panel who is being led to the dance by a devil (*Judgem.*, p. 154, 158), have fair, yellow hair. Bosch sometimes uses the colour yellow for an obscene meaning. Perhaps because the word *geel* [yellow] in Middle Dutch also meant *geil* [lascivious] and because a yellow band could be a distinctive of prostitutes<sup>319</sup>.

However, in love poems by Dutch Rhetoricians the woman often has yellow hair<sup>320</sup>. Could the choice of this colour have been due to a belief that internal bodily heat causes hair to become yellow<sup>321</sup>? The *beete natuere* [hot nature] of such persons could have been figuratively interpreted as the fire of love?

Our female sinner has committed immoral acts with the two men and she has also abandoned herself to vain, voluptuous dances<sup>322</sup>. The minstrel who used to provide the music on such occasions is alluded to by the imp with the lute. A lute, moreover, was a vagina symbol in the 15th- and 16th-century Low Countries<sup>323</sup>.

The minstrel-devil can be compared, in regard to his form, with a demonic imp who likewise consists of a posterior with two legs and an arm with a hand, and who also wears a green garment, in a *Last Judgement* attributed to Jan Mandijn<sup>324</sup>. On his derrière this one has a cock's tail (the cock was a symbol of

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*Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator a little demon has his arms stuck through a large funnel (addiction to drink: *Judgem.*, p. 89) which hangs over the upper part of his body. In his right hand he holds a knife, in his left a fist-shield (pugnacity). A long dance-band passes via his shoulders through the funnel. Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri. De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, ill. 23.

<sup>318</sup> Wybrands. *Dialogus*, p. 65.

<sup>319</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29; *Tuin*, p. 98, 125, 130.

<sup>320</sup> E.g.: *Antwerps Liedboek*, no. cxxx. *Styevoort* ix, 64 and xc, 27.

<sup>321</sup> *Sidrac*, p. 156, no. 242.

<sup>322</sup> Benesch (*Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* xxvi -1957-, p. 110) erroneously says: the slothful are torn in pieces by demons, and the covetous pierced with spears.

<sup>323</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 193/252, 196/252 (84); *Tuin*, p. 101 (9). For the lute with Bosch and imitators, see the indexes in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.*, sub *luit*/lute. Additions: On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges (work of an imitator) an owl sits in the round opening of a lute. Compare the owl in the round opening of the fountain from which the four rivers spring in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych: *Tuin*, p. 24. The owl in the hole is here a sexual symbol in a favourable sense (Be fruitful and multiply). On a tapestry with a *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Brussels work, shortly after 1550, Royal Palace, Madrid; rep.: Lafond, at p. 81) a prostitute-devil stands in a rocky cavity. From the rock protrudes a claw-hook on which hang a deer pierced by an arrow, and a lute.

<sup>324</sup> C. Marshall Spink Collection, London. Rep.: *The Connoisseur* cxlv, June 1960, p. 78.



i.a. pugnacity and unchastity: *Judgem.*, p. 64), and in his hand he holds a knife. He is thrusting it at the buttocks of a sinner who has his head and arms concealed in a bag (*sack* [bag] = prostitute, and *in de zak gejaagd* [chased into the bag] = brought to grief)<sup>325</sup>. This sinner wears boots (addiction to drink) and beside him sits an imp whose head is that of a bird with a very long bill.

The two little monsters have no head and no upper body. *Hoofdeloos* [headless] meant: without sense, unwise<sup>326</sup>. The word *lijf* [body] was used also for only the upper body<sup>327</sup>. The imps are then *lijffloos* [body-less] as well, that is: insignificant, of no consequence (*Judgem.*, p. 126).

The two each have but one arm. Is this intended as word-play on *een arm* [one arm] in its meaning of a poor, unhappy person<sup>328</sup>.

Bosch and other 15th- and 16th-century moralists often satirized wandering entertainers (music-makers, singers, conjurors, rope-dancers, etc.). Especially the minstrels (musicians and singers) had to undergo criticism, i.a. because they performed in low-class taverns, played dance music and induced young men and women to sing indecent songs<sup>329</sup>. Sometimes they are accused of squandering the money they earn and thereby always being in a state of penury<sup>330</sup>. The lute-player on our centre panel is such a wastrel. The broken boot testifies to this. In the *Gula* on the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* we see three spendthrifts: two men and a boy. All three have the toes of one foot sticking through a worn shoe. Here money is being wasted on overeating and excessive drinking.

Also elsewhere did Bosch satirize the dance, e.g. on our centre panel where a prostitute-sinner is being led to the dance by a devil (sins of unchasteness and vanity) and on the back of the *Haywain* triptych (sin of folly)<sup>331</sup>. This is in keeping with what mediaeval moralists wrote about the subject.<sup>332</sup>

Dancing leads to unchastity, preaches *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 61), and *een Venus rondelen reien* [to dance a little Venus roundelay] could mean: to have sexual intercourse<sup>333</sup>. *Voorsienicheit Godes* (p. 175) says of the *coene hovaerdighe vrouwen die gaerne dansen* [bold proud women who are fond of dancing] that in hell they are *van ontelliker scaren der duvelen ende onbekender helscher dieren . . . iammerliken ghebeten ende ghescoert* [by innumerable hordes of devils and strange infernal animals . . . pitifully bitten and torn]<sup>334</sup>. In this case therefore pride is associated with dancing. *Ongeordenierde spronc is altoes inder dorper hellen put* [Unseemly hopping is always into the vile pit of hell] says *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 59). In an *Exposicie op et Pater Noster* (folio 96; Tinbergen, in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 176) we read: *Also als Christus uutgherecket was an der cruce in die ere godes, also uutreken die dansers hoer armen in die eer des duvels* [Just as Christ was spread on the cross in honour of God, so the dancers spread their arms in honour of the devil]. Such a dancer with outstretched arms appears on the ruin which Bosch painted on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon. Thomas van Cantimpré

<sup>325</sup> *Tuin*, p. 52 (13). *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 188/242 (5).

<sup>326</sup> *M.W.* III, 572. *W.N.T.* VI, 979.

<sup>327</sup> *M.W.* IV, 601.

<sup>328</sup> *M.W.* I, 459.

<sup>329</sup> See i.a. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 153/201 ff.; *Tuin*, p. 98 ff., 114 (5).

<sup>330</sup> E.g. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 49/61 (3), 50/64 (38).

<sup>331</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 228/304 (142).

<sup>332</sup> Examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 153/202 (14), 230/304 (note 142).

<sup>333</sup> *Everaert*, p. 175.

<sup>334</sup> Especially this piece of writing vehemently fulminates against dancing: p. 171-176.



wrote that it is *veel zwaerre sonde te dansen dan gemeen dootsonde* [much heavier sin to dance than common deadly sin] (*Biënboec*, p. 143).

A short sharp point sticking up at right angles to the blade of the hack-and-thrust weapon is of the same kind as the one we have already noted on the cleaver wielded by a previously discussed devil (*Judgem.*, p. 108). It was pointed out there that similar spikes sometimes occurred on halberds and that Bosch could have derived them from this source.

On the hack-blade of the weapon we see a small ring, a little circle.

Bosch put this mark also on the iron of a fanciful scythe-axe which a Jew holds in his hand in a drawing that i.m.o. should be regarded as a fragment of a *Carrying of the Cross*<sup>335</sup>. He did the same on the cowl of a monk-devil on the left panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>336</sup>. On the costume of a Jew in the above-mentioned drawing are little rings (on that of another Jew crescent moons)<sup>337</sup> and on a small pennant carried by a devil in the *Hell of the Garden* triptych there is also a little circle<sup>338</sup>.

In his *Crowning with Thorns* (Prado) Bosch painted a little ring with seven rays, here probably as a sign of the sun and of gold<sup>339</sup>.

In my opinion the master's intention in the above instances was to let the crescent represent the moon, and the circle without rays, the earth, i.e. the world.

We have already noted that on Bosch's knives the world could be represented by the letter M. But the fanciful weapons and the flag which we are discussing would be too small to carry the mark M, unless this letter was enlarged out of all proportion. Also, on a monk's hood an M makes less sense than a circle, the latter being more in accord with the context here; and as a decoration on the Jew's garment little rings are more pleasing to the eye than letters.

With the circle, as with the M, Bosch could have signified the world, which rewards its servants with the punishments of hell.

I think that also Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsaenen painted a small circle to symbolize the world. Swinkels points out that on the centre panel of a triptych by this artist there is a boy, sitting to the right in front of Mary with the Child Jesus, who has candles, coins and a knife with him<sup>340</sup>, and the writer argues convincingly that this is a dead son of the couple who commissioned the painting. On the blade of the knife, says Swinkels, is a small circle with an arrow through it (p. 153). Is this the house-mark of Jacob Cornelisz, asks Professor Timmers. Von Wurzbach, however, reproduces quite different marks of this painter (*Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon* III, p. 292). Is the little circle not rather a symbol of the world and is not the meaning of the arrow through it that the world with its cares no longer exists for the youngster? The knife itself then would allude to the cutting off of the thread of life. Are the candles and the coins presents from the boy to the Child Jesus?

<sup>335</sup> Morgan Library, New York. Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 148. For my explanation of this drawing see *Tuin*, p. 118, 159-161 and ill. xxviii.

<sup>336</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/30 f. (35-45); *Tuin*, p. 118.

<sup>337</sup> *Tuin*, p. 160.

<sup>338</sup> *Tuin*, p. 125 (1).

<sup>339</sup> D. Bax in *Oud Holland* LXVIII, p. 207: on the trumpet of the man upper right. P. Gerlach is mistaken in saying that I see in him a portrait of Bosch (*Jeroen Bosch. Zelfportretten. Brabantia* 24 -1975-, p. 52).

<sup>340</sup> K. Swinkels. *Het triptiek van Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsaenen in de Maria-kapel te Aarle-Rixtel. Brabants Jaarboek* 1950, p. 150 ff.

In connection with the dance-band it may be noted that in the Vienna picture, below the long feathers of the little devil who consists of a head and two feet, the sketch of a large, very wavy band is visible. It touches the lower edge of the panel.

In *Martelares*, p. 24 f., I took it to be a banderol and compared it with the banderol depicted by Bosch above an owl on the right leg of the trousers of an unconscious man (centre panel of the *Crucified Woman-martyr* triptych). The meaning of this banderol escapes me.

But is the wavy band in our *Last Judgement* not in fact a dance-band? Was it Bosch's original intention perhaps to fill the empty space below the feathers with a large dance-band as a symbol of licentiousness?

A similar wavy band, which in my opinion is a dance-band, occurs in the *Last Judgement* fragment in Munich. It lies on the ground in the lower right-hand corner and the colour is red.

To the left of the lute-carrying devil an insect-like demon with the head of a rat, the tail-quills of a porcupine and with white spots on its back and legs, is peering over the edge of the steep rise in the ground. A fanciful bird-devil with a long bill and neck and with white spots on its back is approaching it from the left.

Insect, rat, porcupine and long-billed bird we have already encountered in their obscene function<sup>341</sup>. Here too the white spots can be an indication of the Spanish pox.

The rat-porcupine-insect-devil links the group to the right of him with what is happening down below. The bird-devil is the connection between this lower group and the large Gula depiction which we shall next study in detail.

But before proceeding to this, let us look briefly at the combination Superbia-Luxuria and also at what our writers on morals tell us about the finer details of the punishments for the sin of Superbia.

In Bosch's work the combination is represented also in the woman-sinner being led to the dance on our centre panel (*Judgem.*, p. 154), in the woman-sinner who, on our right panel, is being forced to sing a song (p. 226), and, as we have already seen, in Eve on the left panel (p. 58), as well as in the *Superbia* depiction in the *Hell* of the *Table* (p. 138).

As to the punishments which the writers describe:

Boendale (*Der Leken Spieghel*, p. 52) lets those guilty of arrogance burn in a fiery blaze, with Ruusbroec they are used as *voetghetert der duvels ende der verdoemder menschen* [footmat of the devils and the damned human beings]<sup>342</sup>, while Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 650) says they get hanged. In *Sidrac* (p. 173) they undergo the collective punishment mentioned in *Judgem.*, p. 110: *dat hem thoest sal sijn neder weert ende die voete op weert ende die rugge deen iegen dandre* [that their head shall be down and the feet up and the backs one against the other]. In *Le Traité* devils torture them on wheels placed on high mountains, and in *Le Compost* they are hanged on iron staples let into the rocks.

In *Tondalus' Visioen* there is a very long table in Purgatory which stretches like a bridge from one mountain to another over a stinking, dark vale. This bridge is 1000 strides long and one foot wide. Many souls fall off it. The valley, through which flows a river of brimstone, is where the proud are kept<sup>343</sup>. The

<sup>341</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 27 ff., 41, 61 f., 30 n. 61.

<sup>342</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 75: *Vanden Kerstenen Ghelove*.

<sup>343</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 37 and 39.

soul of Tondalus sees that in hell they undergo the same punishment as the homicides<sup>344</sup>.

*Voirsienicheit Godes* goes into more detail. Lucifer inhales them, torments them in his insides, and then puffs them out again. In the depths of hell they also serve as a *voetscamel* [footstool]. Others are in a deep gorge of sulphur and pitch (p. 156 f.). Particular attention is given to those who prided themselves on their beautiful clothes and ornaments, and on their lovely hair and faces. They have to wear fine costumes and ornaments. These burn their bodies and the garments are pierced by glowing nails. After this punishment their clothes are taken off, so that they stand naked. The devils then mock them. The demons comb their hair with hooks and claws and drag along the women-sinners by their hair. The unfortunates are also hanged by their hair. The hideous faces of the devils are their mirrors, long glowing nails their hairpins. Their faces are burnt black. Glowing gold and silver ornaments torment them (p. 195 f.). On p. 137 we read that the bodies of persons who have *hoevaerdighe cledinghe ende cierheit gemynt* [loved fine clothing and adornment] and *oec oncuusheit ghepleghen* [also committed acts of unchastity] are *swart verbrant ende blaerich, sonderlinghe in dat vercierde aensichte* [burnt black and blistered, especially in the made-up face], and in addition become *onreyn, vlymich ende stinkich* [unclean, slimy and stinking].

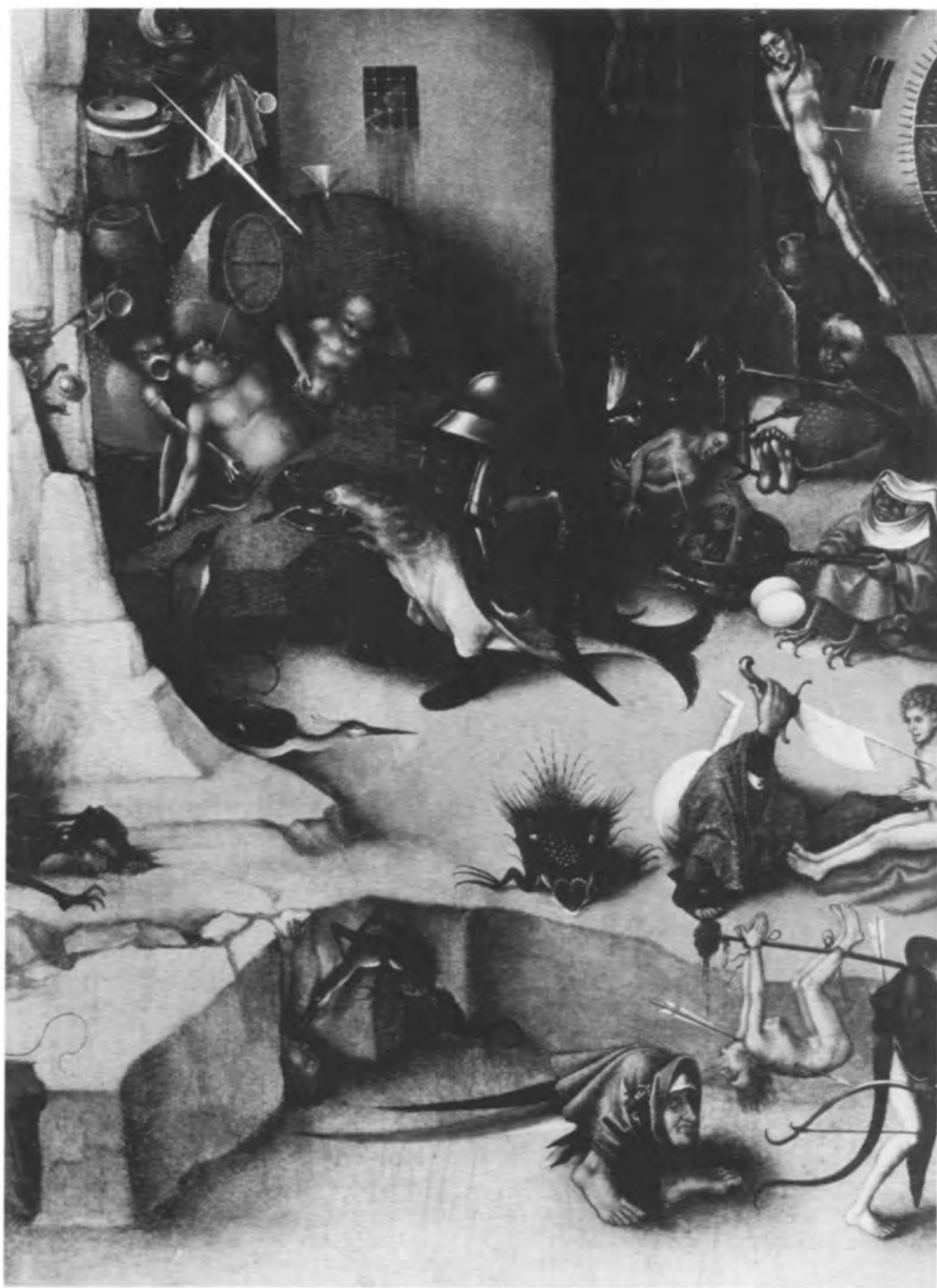
As in the *Ira* it is clear that Bosch in his *Last Judgement* is hardly in agreement with the punishments as described by the moralists.

In the sinners in the foreground together with their accompanying devils the following types are satirized:

- P. 89-93      Profligates in taverns who are given to fighting, quarrelling, strife and unchastity.
- P. 93-95      The armed vagrant, half robber, half beggar, who squanders in taverns whatever money he can lay hands on.
- P. 95-103     Soldiers with their weapons, representing war with its attendant unchastity.
- P. 103-104    The pugnacious merryman who participates in a licentious feast in which a boat is involved.
- P. 104-106    The lascivious mounted soldier.
- P. 106        The knight who in war-time acts like an executioner.
- P. 106        The knight who during the war satisfies his lewd lusts.
- P. 107-109    Cruel and unchaste foot-soldiers. In this group *Ira* is satirized together with a whole series of secondary sins, especially unchastity.
- P. 111-112    The vagrant beggar who has come into conflict with the law and has become impoverished through a wasteful, licentious and unchaste life, spent i.a. in infamous taverns.
- P. 113-115    The man who frequents women of easy virtue: satire on Luxuria.
- P. 115-119    The notary who leads an unchaste and avaricious life: satire on Luxuria and Avaritia.
- P. 123-125    With these two also satire on i.a. folly and licentiousness.
- P. 125-133    The quarrelsome, inebriated, licentious, unreliable and unchaste sinner who has become an insignificant pauper through wasteful and prodigal living. The accent falls on his hot temper, addiction to drink and wastefulness.
- P. 133-135    Lechers, frequenters of ill-famed taverns: satire on Luxuria.
- P. 135-139    The woman who commits immoral acts (here with two men), and who abandons herself to vain, voluptuous dances: satire on Luxuria and Superbia.

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<sup>344</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 119. See *Judgem.* p. 110.



19. Tavern scene: gluttony, Cranach (p. 145)

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## The centre panel:

### III. the earth: middle distance

On the terrace, to the left and a little further back, is a kind of table, rectangular and green. At it sits a fat sinner. To the right of him stands a red-brown man-devil who has a cat-like head and who carries on his right shoulder a green wine- or beer-cask. Out of the bung-hole liquid is pouring into the mouth of the sinner. See ill. 19.

Behind the cask is a wall in which there is a window with a grill. From between the bars a devil is excreting some kind fluid into the cask through a blue funnel on top of it. The liquid, which passes by way of the funnel and the cask into the sinner's mouth, appears to be urine.

A grey-green man-devil with a cat's head is holding up the sinner to prevent him from falling over. This devil has wings which resemble an orchid-flower as well as butterfly-wings<sup>1</sup>. The wings are red, with yellow spots at the tip.

A fanciful bird-devil with a long bill and neck is leaning over the edge of the table, under the right arm of the sinner, and is looking up at him (in Berlin he looks in a different direction). A second fictive bird-devil, this one with a long tail, is peering over the short side of the table.

A devil is placing a pewter platter on the table with his mouth. On it lie two animals, one a lizard-like creature, the other toad-like (in Berlin fish-like?).

The body of this devil is that of a fish with bird's wings and his feet are encased in black boots. His head has the snout, eye and mouth of a rodent, a rat-like animal. One tooth is visible.

On the back of the fish sits a little demon. This being consists of a man's head with a soldier's helmet on it and presumably two legs. One sees only the left leg,

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<sup>1</sup> Photographs of the Berlin depiction give the impression that he has a narrow band round his upper arm, but there is in fact no band at all.



of which the thigh and the knee are protected by armour. The shank and foot are not covered. The foot is turned into a devil's claw. In Vienna this claw grasps something, probably a piece of earth. In Berlin it is empty.

We have here a punishment of the sin of Gula. The sinner has been guilty of excessive eating and drinking and is now paying the penalty by being forced to consume infernal foods and fluids.

Writing moralists frequently mention this form of punishment, but they by no means always attach it to the sin of Gula. In *Dat sterf boeck*, for instance, a woman who used to show off her fine clothes is made by devils to drink *siedende pec ende gesmolten swavele* [seething pitch and molten sulphur] (65'), and the demons force a tyrannical, avaricious duke to drink glowing pitch and sulphur and to eat dragons, toads and snakes while seated at a red-hot table (79'). And misers, according to Ruusbroec<sup>2</sup> and Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 650), as well as in *Dat sterf boeck* (13') and *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 164), have to drink glowing molten metal or boiling pitch and stinking sulphur and tar. But it is mainly those who have made an idol of their stomachs who have to undergo this punishment. So, for instance, in Ruusbroec<sup>3</sup> and *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 168). In close agreement with the scene on our panel is the statement in *Dat sterf boeck* (96', 97') that such sinners are placed at a glowing table and served with toads, dragons, snakes, *lindwormen* [tapeworms, here a kind of dragon or snake] and lizards as food, and that devils pour boiling pitch, sulphur and oil, and molten lead into their mouths from burning casks<sup>4</sup>. These gluttons are also accused of unchastity in *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 170) because of: *hoer omhelsen, hoer cussen ende hoer onsuver ende oncuuske tastinghe ende handlinghe* [their embracing, their kissing and their impure and unchaste fondling and touching]. In *Van Bacchus alder dronckaerts Godt*, a poem from the beginning of the 16th century, drunkards after their death arrive in 't huys van Nobis [the house of Nobis], that is, the tavern where the devil is host, *Ende drincken daer Solpher ende Peck, Ende zijn der boozzer gheesten gheck* [And drink there Sulphur and Pitch, And are the evil spirits' fool]<sup>5</sup>.

In the *Hell of the Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* Bosch depicted the punishment of Gula by placing a man at a tavern-table on which disgusting food and drink is served to him. Imitators of Bosch did likewise, e.g. in the *Hell* of the *Last Judgement* triptych after which Hieronymus Cock made an engraving. There the man is accompanied by light women and musicians, all devils. In the *Last Judgement* (Baytown-London) devils bring infernal food and drink to sinners sitting at a rectangular table. One of the unfortunates has his hand stuck in a drinking vessel. *Sinen poot steken in* [lit.: to stick his paw into, *poot* here being really the rude term for hand] meant: to concern oneself with, to get involved in, to have a hand in (something)<sup>6</sup>. The long knives of two of the sinners and of a devil allude to pugnacity, result of the imbibing of strong drink

<sup>2</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 75: *Vanden Kerstenen Ghelove*.

<sup>3</sup> Idem.

<sup>4</sup> Already mentioned in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 277/264. De Tolnay (1937, p. 35; 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 360), Combe (1946, note 92) and Delevoy, p. 109, are incorrectly of the opinion that 'la table des gourmands' on our centre panel is derived from *Le Compost*. De Tolnay (*Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, 1961, p. 48) is wrong in stating that our triptych shows a 'man outstretched on a wooden bench into whose mouth boiling lead is being poured'.

<sup>5</sup> *Dichten*, p. 182.

<sup>6</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 114/149 (26-28).

in taverns. Bruegel, too, in his *Gula* drawing lets sinful persons eat and drink at a tavern-table in the company of devils.

The motif of the excreting imp and the cask was used by an imitator in a *Christ liberating the Patriarchs*<sup>7</sup>.

In the *Hell* of Bosch's *Garden* triptych sinners at a table are getting infernal drink to swallow. The satire here is directed at inebrious, unchaste and pugnacious frequenters of taverns who have taken part in the cruel sport of goose-pulling. This is not a condemnation of *Gula* in particular<sup>8</sup>.

The funnel serves to catch the fluid and to introduce it into the cask. But because it has been given a blue colour the question arises whether Bosch used the object also in a symbolic sense: as we have already learnt, the funnel could be a symbol of unreliability and the colour blue could point to deceit<sup>9</sup>.

The sin of gluttony and inebriety is here presented by Bosch in conjunction with the sins of unchastity and licentiousness.

The cat in the 15th and 16th centuries was a figure of i.a. unchastity and folly<sup>10</sup>

The combination of orchid-flower and butterfly-wings occurs more than once in Bosch's work, and then with an obscene connotation<sup>11</sup>. The reason for this is that in the Low Countries of the 16th century orchids were popular aphrodisiacs and were given the names of butterflies, and butterfly-names were regarded as synonyms of the words folly and prostitute<sup>12</sup>. The yellow spots probably allude to the Spanish pox<sup>13</sup>.

A bird-devil, often with a long bill, is a phallic symbol which we have already come to recognize as such. Lizard and toad are not only unclean, infernal foods, but also symbols of moral turpitude, i.a. of unchastity.

The fish in the Low Countries of the 16th century could signify folly and licentious merrymaking, and it was a phallic symbol<sup>14</sup>. Our fish could well be a *kabeljauw* [cod]. Another name for it was *gulle*, and *gule* meant boozier<sup>15</sup>. The black boots of the fish remind us that the boot was used to indicate addiction to drink<sup>16</sup>, and the bird-wings that *vogel* [bird] also meant rascal<sup>17</sup>, while the rat-snout alludes to the rat as a figure of unchastity and cunning<sup>18</sup>.

Bosch painted a winged fish with human legs also in front of the hay-wagon in his *Haywain*. In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator there is a large fish with bird-wings and small paws<sup>19</sup>. A fish, without wings, on human legs occurs

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<sup>7</sup> R. Jeffcoat Collection, Cape Town. Later sold in London. D. Bax. *Ou-Nederlandse skilderye in Suid-Afrika 1450-1550. Standpunte* XIII (1960), Nuwe Reeks 27, p. 7-19; 28, p. 37-51. Ills. in no. 28, opp. p. 15 and 30.

<sup>8</sup> *Tuin*, p. 110-114. *Taal*, p. 62.

<sup>9</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 89, n. 3, and p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 90.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 107 f./140.; *Tuin*, p. 47 f. See Elaboration XII.

<sup>12</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 107 f./140 f.; *Tuin*, p. 47 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 246 f.

<sup>14</sup> For the symbolism of the fish in the works of Bosch and imitators, see: *Judgem.*, p. 89 n. 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 73/92 (38, 40).

<sup>16</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 127 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 30. Baltrušaitis (*Rêveils et Prodiges*, p. 299) incorrectly calls him 'un poisson-canard'.

<sup>18</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri. Rep.: De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, ill. 23. Winged fishes without legs also occur in the works of Bosch and imitators. E.g.: Centre panel and right wing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, Lisbon:

in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* which forms part of the triptych with the *Crucified Woman Martyr*<sup>20</sup>. This little devil is also present on a tapestry woven after a composition by Bosch (*Temptation of St. Anthony*, Royal Palace, Madrid, rep.: Lafond, at p. 81). In the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Bosch's *Hermit Saints* triptych (Venice) the wingless fish does not have human legs, but human arms with beast-like hands. It is pouring liquid from a metal can into a glass. At its side hangs a sword.

The head of the left of the two cat-devils in our Gula scene strongly resembles the head of the cat-devil who assists in drawing the hay-wagon (*Haywain*).

The soldier's helmet and parts of armour can be associated with the pugnacity which is induced by drink, while the dark face of the soldier is reminiscent of the *doncker bruun* [dark brown] of the choleric temperament<sup>21</sup>.

The devil holds something in his claw, i. m. o. a clump of earth. Is he going to let the gourmand eat a piece of vile earth? This kind of food is unknown to me from written descriptions of hell.

The head of the soldier is clamped between the two thighs. The figure belongs to the type of head-and-legs that has already been discussed<sup>22</sup>. It is *lijffloos* [body-less, represented here as no-body], a word which meant insignificant, trivial, worthless.

The motif of a soldier seated on a fish which has two legs, had already made its appearance in the end of the 13th century, as a marginal decoration in the *Heures de Théroutanne*<sup>23</sup>.

The fanciful bird-devil with the long bill and neck which, as we have already noted, is walking towards the Luxuria-Superbia scene, has just left the group of the Gula-punishment. Here again, Bosch suggests a relation between Gula and Luxuria.

Behind the wall with the barred window is a second wall. Laid across the two is a rectangular stone slab serving as a roof. Under it a female devil clothed like a housewife is busy in her kitchen. She has an ape-like face and at her side hangs a skimmer (in Berlin also a knife).

With both hands on its handle she causes a small mill-stone to rotate over a larger one placed on a wooden support: this is a hand-mill in which corn could be ground. The hand of a sinner is being ground down and blood instead of flour is streaming into an earthenware pot of which three short legs are visible.

This scene therefore fits in with the preceding one. Here, too, punishment of the sin of Gula is the main feature: the hand which has all too readily brought to the mouth foodstuffs prepared from flour, is here itself being ground to 'flour'. At the same time, however, Bosch with subtle symbolism again suggests something of the unchaste sphere of tavern-life with its gormandizing and guzzling: the ape occurred as a figure of unchasteness<sup>24</sup> and the mill in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch served as a sexual symbol<sup>25</sup>.

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*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 103/131 and 123/161. *Paradise and Garden of Garden* triptych: *Tuin*, p. 22, 34 (14) and 63. *St. Christopher*, Rotterdam: *Tuin*, p. 170 (2). *Temptation of St. Anthony*, Rijksmuseum, no. 588 A 3: here a monk-devil with an owl on his head sits on the fish. The fish is flying towards a *duifhuis* [dove-house], i. e. a brothel.

<sup>20</sup> *Martelares*, p. 13 and pl. 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 127.

<sup>22</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 126.

<sup>23</sup> Baltrušaitis. *Moyen Âge*, p. 17, fig. 7.

<sup>24</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29.

<sup>25</sup> *Tuin*, p. 29 (1).

Under the rectangular stone shelter, to the far right, between the two walls, a wood-fire is burning under a huge cauldron. In the 'kettle' sinners are being cooked. They are looking at an unfortunate man lanced lengthwise on an enormous turn-spit (in Berlin not only at him). A small spit is pierced through his belly, entering the body at the navel. A snake is curled round his body and a large toad is doing a hand-stand on the sinner's head, with its belly against the spit.

Three sinners hang above the cauldron in the smoke of the wood-fire, two with their heads held up, one with the head down.

A demon-cook wearing a black cape with hood, a type of garment also worn by secular persons, sits on the ground. He is turning a spit stuck through a sinner and is pouring over the latter's head a glowing liquid from a huge black ladle. To the cook's right, on an abutment of the wall stands an earthenware jug, it probably contains the infernal liquid.

Nearer to the front a female devil-cook sits on the ground. She wears a white headcloth fastened with a copper pin. Her dress is of a red colour and her feet look like those of a toad<sup>26</sup>. On her left lies a large cook's cutter in a leather sheath and on her right lie two huge eggs ready for breaking into the iron pan which she is holding over a fire with both hands and which contains the head, a hand, a knee, and a leg with its foot, of a sinner. She is going to make an enormous meat-omelet of the meat and the eggs.

The two demon cooks deserve a closer look.

The male has a blue face and blue feet, the rest of the naked body is brown. The face has white nodules and the brown skin, particularly the belly, blue-white ones. Bosch was here thinking of the Spanish pox, which must be taken to mean syphilis or, according to Essed, *framboesia tropica*<sup>27</sup>. The devil in Matthias Grünewald's *St. Anthony* (Colmar) who has sores with scabs that are greyish green and have an 'auréole rouge vineux', is suffering from the last-mentioned disease, according to Essed<sup>28</sup>.

Bauer writes about the demon-cook: *De afzichtelijk gezwollen buik en de wangen overdekt met blaren, aangezicht en voeten blauw, de benen verschrompeld, de perkamentkleurige handen, het zijn alle kenmerken van een zware moederkorenvergiftiging* [The hideously swollen belly and the cheeks covered in blisters, the blue face and feet, the shrivelled legs, the parchment colour of the hands, they are all characteristic of a serious case of ergot-poisoning]<sup>29</sup>.

Now the outward appearance of Bosch's devils tells us something about the sins of the convicted persons in their care. But contracting ergotism is no sign of a sinful life. What does point to it are syphilis and *framboesia tropica*. In fact, many devils on our triptych have spots and nodules, and always in an immoral sphere. Surely they are not all suffering from ergotism? Besides, the swollen belly can be indicative of gluttony and the colour blue of what is deceitful.

The demon-cook has white hair. He is an *oude vyant* [old fiend]<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> According to Beins (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 307/398 col. 2, fig. 500) the feet are those of a duck or a goose and he suggests that Bosch derived them from misbirths with syndactylous or web-footed deformities. This last is definitely wrong. As for the feet, although they have but three toes, they look more like a toad's than those of a duck or goose. But in any case the symbolic meaning of duck and goose is just as applicable here. See *Judgem.*, p. 56 and 100 n. 74.

<sup>27</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 249.

<sup>28</sup> Essed, p. 258.

<sup>29</sup> Marijnissen c.a. *Jheronimus bosch*, p. 211.

<sup>30</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 163 f.



Looking at the female cook we see that her headdress resembles that of the woman in the *Gula* of Bosch's *Table* who is carrying a dish of poultry to the table. With our she-devil the long piece of cloth, which in the *Gula* scene hangs down behind the woman's shoulders and back, has been taken up and fastened with a pin. Pins, but then much smaller ones, are also worn in the white headcloth of the young woman that Rogier van der Weyden painted round about 1435 (Museum Dahlem, Berlin). Bosch's pin is probably a parody of the real thing.

In Bruegel's *Fight between Carnival and Lent* a woman sitting on a little chair in the street, is baking doughballs and waffles over a small fire. Beside her on the ground lie egg-shells. Bosch was no doubt influenced by a type like this.

So in this section, too, those being punished are gluttons receiving their due. Persons who have indulged excessively in food boiled in a cauldron, roasted on a spit, smoked over a wood-fire and fried in a pan are now themselves being boiled, roasted, smoked and fried.

In Middle Dutch descriptions of hell and purgatory these punishments are also described. But in most cases the sin to which they are applicable is not mentioned.

In the *Spel van den Heiligen Sacramente van der Nyeuwervaert* an imp announces that a cauldron in hell has been filled with sinners and snakes<sup>31</sup>. In *Die eerste Bliscap van Maria* Lucifer gives orders to prepare cauldrons in hell for the torture of sinners<sup>32</sup>. And the nun Jacomijne Costers in 1489 saw in a vision of hell a cauldron full of sulphur and pitch in which sinners were being boiled<sup>33</sup>. Particular sins are not mentioned<sup>34</sup>.

In *St. Patricius' Vagevuur* the knight Owein sees sinners spiked on glowing spits. These are turned by devils and the victims are basted with molten metal. Nothing is said about the nature of the sin<sup>35</sup>. In *Voirsienicheit Godes* the avaricious (p. 66) and the unchaste (p. 68) are punished on a turn-spit.

Knight Owein also sees sinners hanging with their heads or their feet down over a fire, and others being roasted in pans<sup>36</sup>. Here again no particular sins are mentioned. Neither is there any reference to specific transgressions when Lucifer in the above-mentioned *Bliscap* says that pans must be made in hell for the torment of sinners<sup>37</sup>, nor when the *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 114) tells us that sinners hang in *stanck ende in roeck* [in stench and in smoke]. On p. 200 of the latter work, however, we read that persons who have not honoured their parents are *opghehangen al naket* [hanged all naked], on p. 196 that women hang by their beautiful hair because of the pride they took in it, and on p. 179 that lechers hang by their immoral limbs, in unbearable heat and cold. Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 650) lets the arrogant be hanged<sup>38</sup>. *Sidrac* says (p. 173) that persons who are guilty of *Ira*, *Superbia*, *Gula*, *Invidia*, *Avaritia* and *Luxuria* are punished by hanging them upside down, two-and-two with their backs together.

<sup>31</sup> Soens. *Beginsel*, p. 103.

<sup>32</sup> Idem, 29.

<sup>33</sup> *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 295.

<sup>34</sup> Delevoy, p. 109, incorrectly thinks that the cauldron on our centre panel is derived from *Tondalus' Visioen*. In this story no cauldron or kettle in any way features prominently.

<sup>35</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 276/363 (40). Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 253.

<sup>36</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 253.

<sup>37</sup> Soens. *Beginsel*, p. 29.

<sup>38</sup> De Tolnay (1937, p. 35; 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 360) and Combe (1946, p. 81) believe that the motif of being hanged is derived from *Le Compost*, but it occurs, as we have seen, in many other places.



Sinners in a cauldron, on a spit, and hanged by the feet or the neck, occur also in miniatures before Bosch<sup>39</sup>. Not, it seems to me, with a clear reference to any one sin. Obviously these tortures were not associated with a particular transgression.

Bosch himself was not consistent either: in the *Hell* of his *Table* those guilty of Avaritia are tortured in a cauldron and on a turnspit<sup>40</sup>.

In this section of the Gula-satire on our centre panel it is again possible to recognize allusions to unchastity.

Bosch and others pictured the spit in a number of instances as a symbol of gluttony<sup>41</sup>, but in the 16th century it could also be used in a sexual sense<sup>42</sup>. Snakes and toads are not only unclean animals, but also symbols of unchastity<sup>43</sup>. The toad is doing a hand-stand on the head of the sinner. In the *Garden of Lusts* men, women, a siren and a bear are standing on their hands in the same way, which brings to mind 16th-century expressions like *een toerkin spelen*, *een toerken leren* [playing a little trick, teaching a little trick] and the 17th-century saying *kunstjes doen* [doing little stunts], which all have an obscene meaning<sup>44</sup>. The nodules can be an indication of a venereal disease.

The scene can also bring to mind gluttons who have indulged their appetites in the dubious sphere of taverns. Perhaps Bosch was alluding to the fact that they did this especially at Carnival time. The woman in Bruegel's *Fight* with whom I compared our female devil-cook, is baking her doughballs and waffles for Carnival. Many examples testify that in the 16th century eggs were especially popular as Carnival fare<sup>45</sup>. And the spit plays an important rôle in 16th-century depictions of Carnival<sup>46</sup>.

Some resemblance to the piece of satire we are discussing is found on a derisive depiction of Gula in a *Last Judgement* which is attributed to Jan Mandijn<sup>47</sup>. We see there: a huge egg on a spit being turned over a fire; a she-devil with a

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<sup>39</sup> E.g.: Hanged by the feet or neck, *Psalter of Gloucester*, ca. 1200 (Baltrušaitis. *Réveils et prodiges*, ill. on p. 129). In cauldron, *Getijdenboek van Yolande de Lalaing*, Utrecht work, ca. 1460-1465 (*Judgem.*, p. 113 n. 162). Hanged, in cauldron and on spit, 15th-century manuscripts of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (Verdeyen en Endepols 1, at p. 52, 54 and 193; A. de Laborde. *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin*. Paris 1909, plance LXI, LXVIII, XCIX; Bosch was perhaps acquainted with one or more of the manuscripts, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 244/320).

<sup>40</sup> In *Le Traité* avaricious sinners are plunged into boiling metal and Mammon tortures them with an iron turn-spit. In *Le Compost* they are punished in cauldrons full of boiling oil and molten metal. In *Voorsienicheit Godes*, as we have seen, the misers are punished by being roasted on a spit. In the *Hell* on his *Table* Bosch accords with these descriptions. This is why Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 44, and Gibson, p. 56, saw the kettle on our centre panel as a punishment of Avaritia, and why Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 57, regard also the spit as instrument of torture for the avaricious. De Tolnay (1937, p. 35; 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 360) thinks that the hanged persons are intended to be 'les coléreux'. But on our centre panel the whole scene with the man on the table, the figures hanging in the fireplace, the sinners in the cauldron, on the spits and in the frying-pan, forms a unit. It is all part of Gula.

<sup>41</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 98 f./125, 53/63 (note 15); *Tuin*, p. 98.

<sup>42</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 99/125 (60, 61).

<sup>43</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 57 f., 29 f.

<sup>44</sup> *Tuin*, p. 46 (7), 58 (3, 4, 5), 60 (3), 62 (7), 63 (7), 65.

<sup>45</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 144/191.

<sup>46</sup> E.g.: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 36/103, 48/104 and 25, 132/75 and 87; p. 98/125.

<sup>47</sup> C. Marshall Spink Collection, London. Rep.: *The Connoisseur* cxlv, June 1960, p. 78.

skimmer; a cauldron containing parts of the bodies of sinners, above a fire; sinners who hang in a large funnel.

It is only to be expected that all kinds of Bosch motifs recur in the works of his imitators. In a *Last Judgement* in Bruges, for instance, a sinner on a spit is being basted by a devil, and some of the condemned hang under a lean-to. In the *Last Judgement* (Baytown-London) liquid is being poured over a man on a spit and sinners hang above a fire. And in the *Hell* of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych one sees sinners in a cauldron, a victim on a spit, a hanged man, and a glutton at a table.

In the empty space to the right of the huge spit and the demon-cook Bosch originally designed a large kitchen grill with pieces of a human body lying on it, including a head. However, this sketch was not executed but overpainted.

The grill is a feature of hell also in the literature and the miniature art of the Middle Ages. In the *Maria Bliscap* mentioned above, Lucifer orders the making of *ruesters* [gridirons] as penal instruments<sup>48</sup>. In *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 18) sinners are roasted on grills. Likewise in the miniature of *Hell* by Jean Le Tavernier from Oudenaerde (1455: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 89/156).

The whole of this censure of Gula has been placed by Bosch in the sphere of the tavern. The same was done by the writer of *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 290-292). According to him gluttony is encountered chiefly in the tavern and there the gorgers come into contact with other vices: swearing, fighting, gambling, stealing and murdering. The tap-house is accordingly *des duvels scole ende des duvels kerc ende des duvels apoteke* [the devil's school and the devil's church and the devil's shop].

Our moralizing authors repeatedly write about the connection between Gula and Luxuria. Jan Praet (p. 78), Jan de Weert (line 1272 f.), and the authors of *Dat Bouck der Bloemen* (p. 79 and 82) and *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 39 and 50) say that gluttony leads to unchastity. In *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, for instance, we read: *Als die buyc vol spijsen is, soe werden die sprancelen der lusten ontfencket* [When the belly is full of food, then are kindled the sparks of the lusts] and *Also mogelijc als men tvuer wt blasen mach dat inden stroe bernet, soe moeghelijc wart een minsche der oncusheit te wederstaen die vol ghegeten ende ghedroncken waer* [Just as possible as blowing out the fire that burns in the straw, so possible would it be for a person who had eaten and drunk to the full, to withstand unchastity].

According to Dionysius the Carthusian what excites unchastity is: *ongemanierde vervullinghe des lichaems, sonderlinghe van beten spijsen ende drancken* [rude stuffing of the body, in particular with hot foods and drinks]<sup>49</sup>. In his *Rijcke der Ghelieven* Ruusbroec says that two of the four things which prevent man from communion with God are: *in gulsicheyt bliven* [to remain in gluttony] and *leven in oncuyscheit* [to live in unchastity]<sup>50</sup>. The *Exposicie op et Pater Noster* compares *oncuysche gulsighe menschen* [unchaste gluttonous persons] to vile, unclean dogs<sup>51</sup>.

But also other evil consequences of too much eating and drinking are brought forward. Dirc van Delf (II, p. 176-178) points out, not only that Gula leads a man to unchastity, but also that it engenders in him anger and stupidity: *sijn sinnen warden vernevelt, dat hi ghen cuyscheit en hantiert . . . hi wil kyven*

<sup>48</sup> Soens. *Beginsel* p. 29.

<sup>49</sup> *Die spiegel der bekeeringhen*, d 4<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Ruusbroec I, p. 81 and 90: *Van den Rijcke der Ghelieven*.

<sup>51</sup> *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 175.

*ende vechten, oncuusch mit vrouwen wesen* [his senses are fuddled, so that he observes no chastity . . . he wants to quarrel and fight, be unchaste with women/. He is overwhelmed by *domheit van synnen, als hi so beestelic wert, dat hi synre reden uitgaet* [dullness of sense, when he becomes so beastly that he goes out of his mind].

*Een Fundament van der Kerstenre Geloven* says that from the sin of gluttony issue: *lodderheit, lasterlike vele callen, onbequemelike vroude, onreynicheit, plumpicheit des gedachten* [voluptuousness, much slanderous talk, improper delight, impurity, grossness of thought]<sup>52</sup>. *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 136 ff.) couples Gula with *die sonde der quader tonghen* [the sin of evil tongues].

Indulging in fine food and drink causes poverty according to *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 30), and Jan Deckers (p. 270) is of the same opinion. He writes:

<i>gheen armoede en es soe quaet,</i>	[no poverty so bad there is,
<i>Alse die wt leckernien gaet;</i>	As that caused by delicacies;
<i>Die mint lekkere morsele</i>	Who loves the luscious titbit
<i>Moet armoede hebben vele</i>	Must suffer much penury for it]

and later adds:

<i>overtollich ate ende dranc</i>	[excessive food and drink
<i>Maect sin ende lichame cranc</i>	Make mind and body sick
<i>Ende bederft die ziele mede</i>	And spoils the spirit too].

Dirc van Delf (II, p. 176) regards drunkenness as a *dochter of telg* [daughter or sprig] of Gula, and for Anna Bijns the consequences of drunkenness are: unchastity, strife, waste and unhealthiness<sup>53</sup>.

One could go on like this. Moralists accuse the gluttons of making an idol of their stomachs. The author of *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 25) even says: *Dese afgoderie is voel arger dan daer die heydene in leven. Want die heyden aenbeden gout, silver of gesteente Ende die gulsige minschen aenbeden oeren vuylen buyck boven gode den scepper, die niet en is dan eerde, mist ende vuylheit* [This idolatry is much worse than that which the heathen live in. For the heathen worship gold, silver or precious stones And the gluttonous persons worship above god the creator, their vile belly, which is nothing but earth, dung and dirt]. *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 285) states: *si maken van haren buke horen god ende en houden reden noch mate, ende daer om sullen si inder ander werlt sonder mate pijn moeten liden* [they make of their belly their god and keep to neither reason nor moderation, and therefore in the other world they will have to suffer pain without moderation].

A remarkable observation is that pride drives man to gormandize, because to eat and drink much and well is a status symbol (*Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 36).

What information do the writing moralists give us on the punishments that hell holds for gluttons?

In *Dat sterf boeck* (36<sup>v</sup>) they suffer hunger and thirst, which is never appeased. With Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 650) they have *overgroten hongher ende dorst, datsi daer of sterven willen* [excessive hunger and thirst, so that they want to die of it]. Ruusbroec says that *hare spise ende hare dranc sal sijn solfer ende wallende pec* [their food and their drink will be sulphur and simmering pitch]<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Jan de Weert, p. 47 and 81.

<sup>53</sup> *Onuitgegeven gedichten van Anna Bijns*, p. 351 ff. Ref. XLIII.

<sup>54</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 75: *Van den Kerstenen Ghelove*.

In *Le Traité* gluttons are seated at a table on the banks of a stream. They are forced to consume horrible beasts and their own limbs. In *Le Compost* they are likewise sitting at a table by a river. They are stuffed with toads and other poisonous animals and get drenched in the water of the stream.

Closer to Bosch's way of seeing it, is the passage from *Dat sterf boeck* which has already been noted (*Judgem.*, p. 146). *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 167-171) goes into great detail. Some gluttons burn in a great fire and suffer eternal hunger and thirst. Others sit at a glowing table and have to eat toads, snakes, dragons and other unclean animals. From burning vats they get boiling sulphur, pitch, oil and fat poured into their bodies. These gorgers and guzzlers are accused of unchastity: *hoer omhelsen, hoer cussen ende hoer onsuver ende oncuske tastinghe ende handelinghe* [their embracing, their kissing and their impure and unchaste fondling and touching] (p. 170). Here, too, one is reminded of Bosch's treatment of the subject.

*Sidrac* (p. 173) lets the same punishment be meted out to gluttons as he does to the arrogant, the envious, the greedy, the unchaste and the manslayers: *dat hem thoest sal sijn neder weert ende die voete op weert ende die rugge deen iegen dandre* [that their head shall be down and the feet up and the backs one against the other].

On the bluish stone slab resting like a roof on the two bluish stone walls, the following scene is being enacted (ill. 20):

A sinner lies in a lazy posture on a rectangular red couch.

A she-devil who wears a whore's double-pointed headdress strokes his back<sup>55</sup>. An enormous toad of a devil sits behind him and a lizard-like devil is creeping towards him over the edge of the bed. The head of a second toad-like monster is coming into view from beneath the bed. In Berlin there are two devils under the bed, one with an ape's head, talon-claws and a long tail, the other with a kind of bird's head.

More to the right a female sinner is moving forward. She has very long, light-blond hair and a snake with insect's legs is reaching up over her body. She is doing a dancing-step and is being led in this by a huge dragon-devil, who has his back to the viewer and who holds the girl's left hand lightly in his own left fore-paw. In the right fore-paw he carries a kind of torch. Over his long, light rose-coloured cloak hangs a black shoulder-cape with a decorative diamond pattern outlined in white on it. In Berlin there are no lozenges, but white spots.

His hindlegs are encased in black boots. In front of these boots one seems to see the claws of a third pair of legs in the Vienna depiction (not so in Berlin). Did Bosch start by not painting boots, but legs with claws, and are these now beginning to show up again?

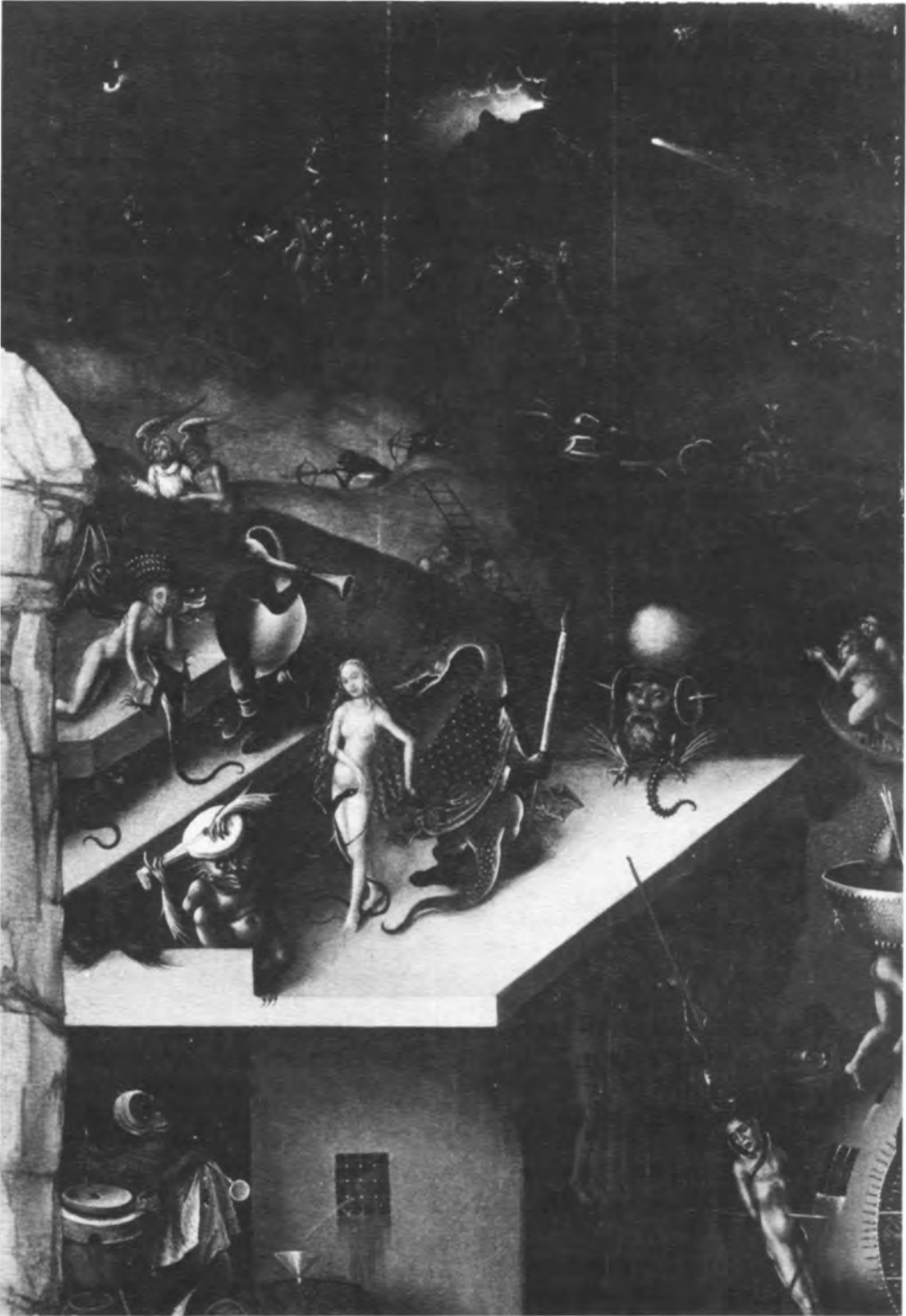
On the tail are white spots.

The woman-sinner and the devil are treading a measure to the music which is being provided by two demon minstrels<sup>56</sup>.

In the one whose body has a blue colour (in Berlin black-blue-green and white-blue-green) the snout turns into a kind of flute on which he plays. The tops of his high boots are turned back. In Vienna the flap-over of the right boot is yellow, that of the left ochre; in Berlin both are ochre-coloured. For the rest the boots are black. To each of the flaps a leather-like tab is attached. In Vienna

<sup>55</sup> For the double-pointed headdress, see: *Judgem.*, p. 45 n. 164, 192 f.

<sup>56</sup> Not correct is Benesch's statement (*Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* xxvi -1957-, p. 110: An attractive woman . . . The beauty makes the jealous demons quarrel.



20. Brothel scene: lust, Cranach (p. 154)



the colour of these is brown, in Berlin ochre. In Berlin this musician stands on an elevation.

The second devil, of human aspect and predominantly grey in colour, plays on a lute held on his head<sup>57</sup>. The instrument probably has four strings (in Berlin three).

To the left of him a part cat-, part bear-like devil leans lazily on his elbows over a kind of parapet at the edge of the stone slab. With his left hand he supports his head. It is strange that the width of this raised edge is not indicated either in Vienna or in Berlin.

At the back, to the far right, stands an imp whose head, which is that of a man with a grey moustache and beard, is attached to two toad-like paws. From these paws long feelers sprout to left and right. A long diabolic tail with white nodules on it is slung forwards between the paws.

The imp wears a tall bulbous red cap which at each ear has a flat metal disc with a sharp metal point sticking out from its centre. The metal is grey in colour, therefore no doubt steel.

This scene brings us once again into the sphere of the dubious tavern. The female sinner is a meretrix, the sinner a customer.

Toad, lizard, ape, bird, snake, insect and dragon, placed in the direct proximity of the sinful man and woman, all have unchaste connotations (see above).

The dragon-devil strongly resembles the one who is with the sinner in the cask (discussed higher up<sup>58</sup>) and the one in the plough scene (to be discussed lower down<sup>59</sup>), except that these two dragons, in Vienna as well as in Berlin, have two pairs of paws and are not 'clothed'.

The torch that the dragon carries is of the same type as those shown in miniatures that illustrate a description of the Triumphal Entry into Brussels of Johanna of Castile, spouse of Philip the Fair, in 1496<sup>60</sup>. Here they are carried by members of the city council. They are larger than Bosch's, but have the same form. The top piece, which is attached to a stave, contains the combustible material. Torches were used i.a. at dances.

The diamond pattern on the shoulder-cape of the dragon-devil, could very well prove to have an obscene connotation as well. For *ruten* (*ruiten*), as a noun meaning diamond-shapes, lozenges, was also the form of a verb which meant to have sexual intercourse<sup>61</sup>, and *ruit* could further mean a scabby eruption<sup>62</sup>. The white spots on the cape and tail could point to the Spanish pox<sup>63</sup>.

Musicians did indeed perform in brothels. *Dese musijckers, die den hoerhuijsen verstercken en leven als beesten . . . ja vroeten in oncuysheijden gelijken een verken, en die onsen heer dick een droncken tenoor singen* [these

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<sup>57</sup> Combe (1946, note 91) calls this little demon 'le frère de celui, tout semblable, de l'Arche de Noé'. What he is referring to here is probably the minstrel-devil with the lute in the depiction of *Earth occupied by Angels changed into Devils*, the companion-piece of the side-panel that shows Noah's Ark: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no 53. But there is really still a big difference.

<sup>58</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 113.

<sup>59</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 204.

<sup>60</sup> Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Ms 78-D-5. Folio 9<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup> and 19<sup>r</sup>. In *Tuin*, p. 91 (6), I was mistaken in seeing the torch as an enlarged tavern candle.

<sup>61</sup> *M.W.* vi, 1722.

<sup>62</sup> *W.N.T.* XIII, 1779: 16th century.

<sup>63</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 246 f.

musickers, who support the warehouses and live like beasts . . . yea, root in lecheries like a pig, and who often sing our lord a drunken tenor] is what we read in a 16th-century play<sup>64</sup>.

Moreover, flute and lute in the Netherlands of the 15th and 16th centuries had obscene meanings: the first was a symbol of the male member and the second of the female genitals<sup>65</sup>.

The boots of the one musician probably point to inebriety<sup>66</sup>. This hypothesis is supported by the leather tab on the flap of each boot. For the word *lappen*, which as a noun meant pieces, tabs, is also a verb, which in Middle Dutch meant to lap up, to drink, and a *lapaert* [lapper] was a drunkard<sup>67</sup>.

Actually bootmakers did sometimes attach a small piece of leather to the upper edge of boots in the 15th century, to facilitate pulling them on<sup>68</sup>. Bosch has turned this lip into an enormous flap for the purpose of the pun explained above.

Is the sinner who is lying on the bed, being punished not only for the deadly sin of Luxuria, but also for the deadly sin of Accidia?

The lazy postures of the man and of the hairy cat-bear-devil are conspicuous.

We have already come to know the cat as a symbol of folly and lust<sup>69</sup> and the bear as a figure of unchastity and ire<sup>70</sup>.

But there is also in North Holland the expression *zo slaperig als een kat* [as sleepy as a cat], meaning very sleepy<sup>71</sup>. And in the incunabulum *Van de proprieteiten der dinghen* we are told that the bear can sink into an exceedingly deep sleep<sup>72</sup>, while Maerlant knows this animal as a symbol of sloth<sup>73</sup>.

In *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 176 f.) as in *Dat sterf boeck* (117<sup>v</sup> ff.) Accidia is coupled with Luxuria. In the former, for instance, we read: *Die traghe menschen die hier hoer ghemac des vleyskes in deser tijt ghesocht hebben in langhe te slapen, in sachte te legghen; Die des nachts hoer oncuysche ghenoechte ende spele ghepleghet hebben . . . si legghen inder hellen so swaer als loet . . .*

<sup>64</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 153/202 (18). For satire on music-makers, see *Judgem.*, p. 139 f.

<sup>65</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 233, 240, 34 n. 85, and 139 n. 323. Flute: *Tuin*, p. 66 (2). Combination of flute and lute: In an engraving by the Master E.S. a jester with a flute stands beside a naked woman who plays on a lute: Geisberg, Bl. 127.

<sup>66</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 127.

<sup>67</sup> *M.W.* IV, 153. *Lappen* also meant: to beat. The expression *door de billen lappen* [lit.: to beat through the buttocks] was visually represented by Bosch in two drawings:

*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 188/243 (10-14). It is obvious that Bosch represented some words in more than one of their literal meanings in order to convey the same figurative sense, e.g. *schijf* depicted as a disc, a table-top, a target-board, the solid wheel of a wagon; *aal*, depicted as an eel, a shoemaker's awl, excrement, ale; and *lappen* as leather tabs and as the action of beating. It is interesting to note that one of Bosch's characters who *ze door de billen lapt* [slaps them through the buttocks] is a minstrel.

<sup>68</sup> Example: P. Lacroix, A. Duschesne et F. Seré. *Histoire de la chaussure depuis l'antiquité la plus reculée jusqu'à nos jours* etc. Paris 1862, on p. 69.

<sup>69</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 90.

<sup>70</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 49.

<sup>71</sup> *W.N.T.* VII, I, 1790.

<sup>72</sup> Bartholomeus Engelsman. *Van den proprieteiten der dinghen*. Haerlem 1485, boek XVIII, capittel CVI. Also Plinius says this and for Juvenalis the bear is an image of the person who is fast asleep. This is why a bear is pictured with a man who personifies sleep in a dictionary of emblemata of which the Dutch translation was revised by Poot (Poot II, p. 410).

<sup>73</sup> *Heimelijkheid der Heimelijkheden*, line 1900.

*onmachtich in allen leden . . . Dit bedde is altoes hiet ende roet als een  
barnende coel . . . ontellike venijnde dieren ende onreyne wormen die daer over  
crupen ende lopen* [The indolent persons who sought the comfort of their flesh  
here in the temporal by sleeping long, by lying softly; Who at night used to  
indulge in their unchaste enjoyment and play . . . they lie in hell as heavy as lead  
. . . powerless in all limbs . . . This bed is ever hot and red as a burning coal . . .  
unspeakable venomous animals and unclean worms that crawl and walk over it].

*Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 50) explicitly declares that idleness leads to  
unchastity. *Dat Bouck der Bloemen* (p. 79) says: *Vliet ledicheit soe sal die lust  
van uncusheit vergaen* [Flee from idleness thus will the lustful desire disappear].  
Jan de Weert (line 988 f.) writes about *Traechheit* [Sloth]:

*Si doet oec ledighe, traghe gheselle  
Hem an quade wive bestellen*

[She also causes idle, lazy men  
To entangle themselves with wanton women].

and goes on to remark that women become prostitutes through laziness (line 973  
ff.).

Is our female sinner, who has much in common with the blonde on whom the  
toad-devil with mirror and dance-bands is riding<sup>74</sup> and whom we took to be a  
victim of Superbia and Luxuria, also being punished for the two deadly sins of  
unchastity and pride? Both women are guilty of having tittivated themselves in  
order to entice men and of having enjoyed idle, voluptuous dancing. They have  
taken pride in the beauty of their bodies<sup>75</sup>.

Considering the dragon and the woman, and also the combination of Luxuria  
and Superbia, we are involuntarily reminded of the Middle Dutch exemplum  
which tells of a holy man who in a vision saw how two dragons screened the  
entrance to hell with a big net. One of the creatures was unchastity and the other  
*ijdel glori* [lit.: idle glory], that is, Superbia, and the net was feminine finery<sup>76</sup>.

The motif of a bed on which a sinner must lie in hell, is one which occurs  
frequently in the writings of our moralistic authors. Devils prepare it for a  
woman who has shown off her beautiful clothes (*Dat sterf boeck*, 65<sup>v</sup>), for a rich  
man<sup>77</sup>, for a lecherous knight (*Biënboec*, p. 290), and for *oncuysche siele* [the  
unchaste soul] in general (*Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 179. *Dat sterf boeck*, 120<sup>f</sup>).  
In the last three instances the sinner has with him on the bed, as in Bosch's  
depiction, an enormous toad. It is his 'sweetheart'. Both Bosch and Cranach  
show the animal covered in white spots: allusion to the Spanish pox (*Judgem.*,  
p. 246 ff).

We observe that the netherworld of Bosch frequently corresponds to that of  
the writers. In one exemplum a devil looks forward to enjoying the fun of the  
fair in hell with a woman sinner<sup>78</sup>. In another a sinner on a bed in hell is forced  
to be sexually active with whore-devils in the shape of snakes and worms while  
infernal minstrels make music<sup>79</sup>.

In the *Hell* of his *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* Bosch places a bed in the  
Luxuria depiction. A man and a woman lie in it. With them are a dragon and

<sup>74</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 136.

<sup>75</sup> Gossart (p. 102) already saw in the woman with the dragon a sinner being punished for  
her pride. But the dragon is not an 'affreux serpent vêtu de pourpre et tenant le flambeau  
de l'hymen'.

<sup>76</sup> *Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 316.

<sup>77</sup> *Idem*, p. 299.

<sup>78</sup> *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* II, p. 24.

<sup>79</sup> *Tuin*, p. 114 (5).

another devil. Imitators of Bosch likewise made the bed serve the purposes of unchastity: in the *Hell* fragment in the Wildenstein Gallery, New York<sup>80</sup> and also in the *Hell* of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych<sup>81</sup>, we see a man on a bed together with a meretrix wearing the double-pointed headdress.

Given the clue by Combe, I already in an earlier publication compared the flute-devil on our panel with a monster that has a clarinet-snout in a depiction in the 15th-century *Missel de St. Étienne* in Dijon<sup>82</sup>. Combe himself rightly saw that our dancer was related to the naked woman in the little painting *Liebeszauber* in the Museum der Bildenden Künste in Leipzig<sup>83</sup>. It is said to have been painted by a master from the lower Rhine region, about 1480. It shows influence of the art of Jan van Eyck. Bosch could perhaps have seen the picture of such a nude painted by Van Eyck or an imitator.

What remains to be looked at in this scene is the imp with the big bulbous cap.

At the height of each ear he has a flat metal disc with a sharp metal point sticking out from the centre.

In *Tuin* I discussed a number of such 'prickles' which occur in Bosch's work<sup>84</sup>. They include five metal discs with spikes. In my opinion they are derived from the metal discs with metal points that served as protective plating in a suit of armour, i.a. at the armpits<sup>85</sup>.

The projections appear to me to be a visual representation of the word *vinne* [fin] which in the 16th century was a synonym of words meaning prickle or sharp point<sup>86</sup>. The devils wearing the *vinne* are *vinnich* [fin-ish], meaning prickly and sharp, but also vicious and cruel. The expression in the eyes of the little demon on our panel is indeed that of an irritable and vicious person.

The environment in which some devils wearing a *vinne* are shown is of a dubious kind, as also in the case under discussion. In these instances the *vinne* could have an erotic connotation. For *vinne* in the 16th century could also mean the male sex organ<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 45.

<sup>81</sup> De Tolnay mistakenly sees a nun in the meretrix-devil with double-pointed headdress in Vienna, in New York, and in the engraving: *Record of the Art Museum*. Princeton University. 1961, p. 48.

<sup>82</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 265/349 f. (121), ill. 111/161 (in error for 160).

<sup>83</sup> Combe 1946, p. 62, note 93. See also *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 251/334.

<sup>84</sup> *Tuin*, p. 92 f. In *Judgem.*, p. 389, attention is drawn to a devil whose hat consists of a metal disc of armour with a sharp point (on a sketch-sheet attributed to Bosch; not mentioned in *Tuin*).

<sup>85</sup> *Tuin*, p. 93 (7). Additions: Concave disc with long sharp point, on the head of a soldier in Bosch's *Ecce Homo* in Philadelphia. Disc with sharp pin as shoulder protection of a soldier in the same *Ecce Homo*, and also in a drawing of the *Carrying of the Cross*, in Sacramento, by an imitator of Bosch (rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 41 and p. 182). As protection of the right breast in a drawing of the *Carrying of the Cross*, erroneously sometimes attributed to Bosch (rep.: De Tolnay 1965, p. 327). Two little discs with a sharp point as protection of the breast of an executioner in a *Crucifixion* by Gerard David (Davies I, pl. CCLXXI). Demmin, *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 424, gives the illustration of a disc which served as protection of the armpit on a German knight's suit of armour from the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century.

<sup>86</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 65/82 (17, 18).

<sup>87</sup> *Venus vinneken by donckere vinden* [To find the little Venus-fin in the dark] (*Tspel van Sinte Trudo*, line 2756, in Kalff. *Trou*).



Now a round plate with a sharp spike in the centre also occurs in depictions of target-blocks used in target-shooting.

A woodcut in the *Cronike van Vlaanderen* (printed by Willem Vorsterman in Antwerp in 1531) shows a target-shooting contest (ill. 21)<sup>88</sup>. A jester is spurring on the participants. Each target-block has a disc with a centre pin fixed to it. A similar disc with pin is also attached to a block in the depiction of a village fair by Peter Balten, mentioned higher up, in the Toneelmuseum [Museum for the Theatre] in Amsterdam. The pin here is clearly a metal one.

This kind of pin was called a *doelpen* [target-pin]<sup>89</sup>, also a *schiet pinne* [shooting pin]<sup>90</sup>. The aim in shooting was to hit it.

Also the target-pin could serve to convey a figurative meaning and there are cases in which it is difficult to decide whether the object was intended to be a target-pin or the protective armour-plate.

I believe that in the following instances we should interpret it as a target-pin:

1. A 16th-century painting which reveals influence of Bosch and which Baldass took to be a copy of part of an altarpiece that Bosch made for the St. Jan's church, shows Abigail kneeling before King David. A military headman in the retinue of David wears on his breast a target-pin on which a toad is spiked<sup>91</sup>.
2. In *St. James and the Sorcerer* (Valenciennes Museum), by an imitator of Bosch, a soldier-devil wears a large disc with a pin on his back<sup>92</sup>.
3. In Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Prado a disc with a pin hangs on the back of an imp who is carrying a large beer-jug.
4. In the centre part of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych a demon carries on his head a fairly thick disc with a pin that has an angular<sup>93</sup> base. Fastened to the pin is a cord on which hangs a small ball (merrymaker's attribute). The demon has a long knife at his right side and an arrow is stuck through his left leg. Another imp, whose beard is part of a fish, turns his backside to him. Stuck on this posterior is a disc with a curved spike projecting from it<sup>94</sup>. Related to these two demons are two infernal imps in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* (in 1951 in the possession of Dr. Karl Ringwald, Cologne). Here the pin on the backside disc is a straight one, and each of the two pins has a cord with a small ball hanging on it<sup>95</sup>.

The imp with part of a fish as his beard and with a round board pressed against his bottom occurs also in the *St. Christopher with the Child Jesus* in the collection of Oskar Reinhard am Römerholz, in Winterthur<sup>96</sup>. Here the pin is straight.

<sup>88</sup> Nijhoff. *L'Art typographique* 11, sheet 258.

<sup>89</sup> Noordewier, p. 39.

<sup>90</sup> Marnix. *Byen corf*, p. 73.

<sup>91</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, opposite p. 220.

<sup>92</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 8 (p. 72).

<sup>93</sup> It is worth noting that in a Dutch play of 1642 diabolic *sinnekens* [personifications, 'vices'] attack each other with crutches and with *een vierkante houten pin (aan het voorhoofd) omtrent een hant lang, graeu geschildert, al of het stael waer* [a square wooden peg (on the forehead) about the length of a hand, painted grey, as if it were steel]: W.M.H. Hummelen. *De sinnekens in het Rederijkersdrama*. Groningen 1958, p. 60. The pin here therefore serves as a weapon of attack. Did the writer derive and adapt this from the imps of Bosch or his imitators?

<sup>94</sup> For this couple, see: *Judgem.*, p. 89 n. 4.

<sup>95</sup> Photo in Rijksbureau: Friedländer Records.

<sup>96</sup> Rep.: Friedländer v (Lemmens), plate 84, no. 96.

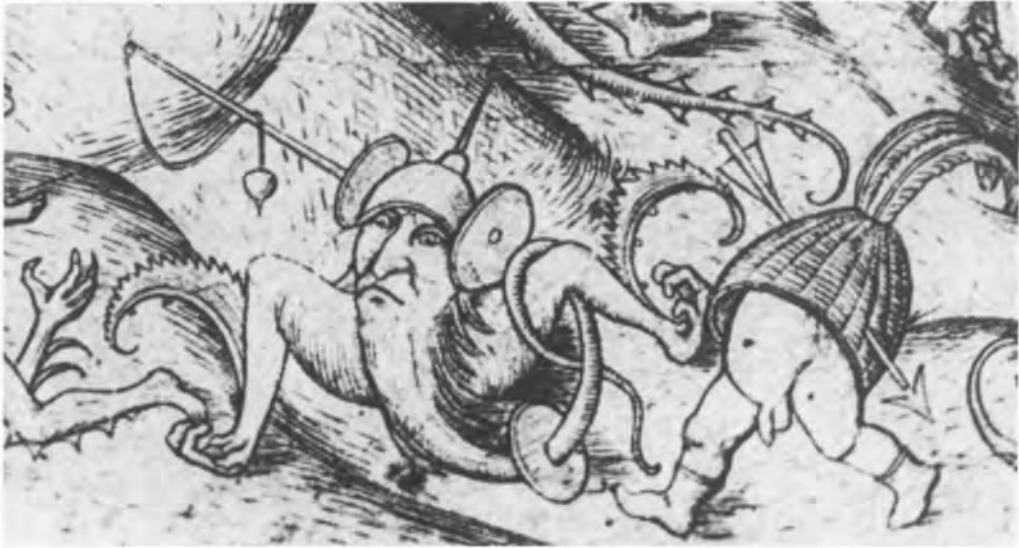




21. Target-shooting, woodcut 1531 (p. 160 n. 88)



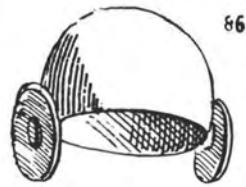
22. Spiked disc, Flemish miniature (p. 163 n. 97)



23. Spiked disc, du Hameel (p. 163 n. 99)



24. Executioner on left wearing bulbous cap, 15th c. miniature (p. 164 n. 108)



25. Helmet, 15th c. (p. 164 n. 112)

5. Such a sturdy disc with a spike also appears in a miniature (ill. 22)<sup>97</sup>. It is Flemish work of about 1500. An old man is pursuing a woman who holds a spindle in her hand and on whose bottom a cushion has been bound. His head is stuck through a round bulbous object with a broad rim (a basket?) and on his right arm hangs a long knife. He wears boots with spurs and the target-pin is fastened to the lower part of his back. The man is probably a lascivious, licentious old greybeard. For the head stuck through a basket, see:

*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 169/221 (35, 36 and 38). The motif is perhaps symbolic of waste.

6. In an engraving of *St. Martin with beggars*, by an imitator of Bosch, a beggar-woman plays on a harp (female genitals) on which stands a disc with a pin<sup>98</sup>.

None of the above instances were discussed by me in *Tuin*. Neither were the following examples which I take to be protective armour-plates rather than target-pins.

1. In Bruegel's *Luxuria* an imp showing his genitals wears a helmet fitted on both sides with a disc with a pin. This is an adaptation of a kind of helmet which had two round plates fixed to it on either side for protection of the ears (see p. 164 n. 112).

2. In Du Hameel's engraving of the *Last Judgement* a soldier-devil wears a helmet with two little metal discs at the height of the ears. Projecting from one of them is a long spike on which hangs a rope with a leaden ball on it<sup>99</sup>. The small pin has here been transformed into a long stave (ill. 23).

3. In a drawing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, attributed to Jan de Cock, a female devil wears the twin-pointed whore's headdress which here has on either side, as on a helmet, a little plate with a pin<sup>100</sup>. On the headgear is a small pennant.

4. In Bruegel's *Superbia* a man-devil sitting opposite a woman-devil has a metal disc with a pin set in the place of the male member. This comes out clearly in the engraving made after the drawing.

Where the depictions of the target-pin and the protective plates for helmet or armour are intended to be symbolical the words *vinne* [fin] and *vinnich* [lit.: finish, sharp] are always applicable.

We return to the little devil with the large bulbous cap. His toad-like paws point to uncleanness and unchastity. The tail can be a phallic symbol<sup>101</sup>. The white nodules on it probably point to the Spanish pox<sup>102</sup>. In Hieronymus Cock's engraving one little demon also has such a tail.

Our imp's moustache and beard are grey-white. He is therefore intended to

<sup>97</sup> Jeanne Ladamirant. *Trois manuscrits à miniatures de l'école flamande conservés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*.

Facsimile xvii (1936). Bruxelles-Rome 1936, fig. 8. Bibl. Vat. Fonds Chigi, ms. c. viii.

234. The authoress regards the manuscript as belonging to the Ghent-Bruges school of the end of the 15th century. It is 'un important corpus musical qui réunit des messes et motets d'auteurs flamands et bourguignons'. The manuscript includes many comic representations that have nothing to do with the text.

<sup>98</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 92. For the harp, see: *Judgem.*, p. 233 n. 113. Sometimes, however, the harp is no more than just an instrument used by beggars and music-makers: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 301/393 col. 1 f.

<sup>99</sup> Lafond, at p. 82. See also *Judgem.*, p. 230.

<sup>100</sup> Printroom, Uffizi, Florence. *Oud Holland* xlv (1928), ill. on p. 243. For the pennant and for this drawing, see: *Judgem.*: p. 255.

<sup>101</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 37 n. 99.

<sup>102</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 246 no. 15.

represent an old man. Bosch gave white hair also to his devil-cook (*Judgem.*, p. 149) and his giant-devil (*Judgem.*, p. 262). In his *Temptation of St. Anthony* (left panel of the *Hermit Saints* triptych in Venice) a devil has a white beard and moustache. A devil with grey-white hair occurs in a *Christ liberating the Patriarchs*, painted by an imitator<sup>103</sup>.

Bosch is here in accord with the common parlance of his day. For in the Low Countries the devil was indeed called: *de oude*, *de oude knecht*<sup>104</sup>; *de oude jongen*, *oude Joost*, *oude Jochem*<sup>105</sup>; *de oude man*<sup>106</sup> [the old one, the old henchman; the old boy, old Justus, old Joachim; the old man]. The adjective has its origin in the Middle Dutch term *die oude viant* [the old fiend]<sup>107</sup>. What it really meant was that the devil had been the enemy of man since the days of old, that he had been about for a very long time. In this way his image could become that of an aged figure.

In regard to the tall bulbous cap: a Flemish miniature from the second half of the 15th century, which depicts Christ tied to the flagellation pole, shows an armoured executioner with such a cap (ill. 24)<sup>108</sup>. Was it a type of headgear worn sometimes by the executioners of Bosch's day, and does it on our panel signify cruelty? What certainly is worthy of note, is that the word *bollaert* [puffed up person; from *bolle* = ball, bulbous thing] was a homonym of *bollaert*, from *bodelaert* [officer of the law], which in Middle Dutch meant executioner<sup>109</sup>.

Executioners often kept a brothel as a side-line<sup>110</sup>. Would the little demon with the vicious look in his eyes and furnished with erotic symbols be an allusion to an executioner-whoremaster? We have already recognized the woman-devil in this scene, far left, as a prostitute-devil. And is also Ira, in addition to Luxuria, being represented in the demon?

Executioners were despised characters<sup>111</sup>. Bosch has also depicted the imp as having 'no body'. He is *lijfloos* [without body], meaning insignificant, trivial, without standing, of no real value (*Judgem.*, p. 126).

I have mentioned that a type of helmet actually did exist to which two round plates were attached for protection of the ears. Demmin gives a 15th-century example of it (ill. 25)<sup>112</sup>. The helmet itself is ball-shaped. A Roman soldier wears one in a Bosch-like (but pre-Bosch) miniature which depicts the capture of Christ in Gethsemane (Book of Hours, probably Delft, about 1470)<sup>113</sup>. So does a Roman soldier in a miniature of Christ before Pilate, in a North-Netherlandish manuscript from 1460<sup>114</sup>.

Such an ear-protector (but not attached to a helmet) was depicted by Bosch

<sup>103</sup> Formerly in the R. Jeffcoat Collection, Cape Town. See *Judgem.*, p. 147 n. 7.

<sup>104</sup> Van den Bergh, p. 28.

<sup>105</sup> Niermeyer, p. 30.

<sup>106</sup> J. R. W. Sinninghe. *Hollandsche sagenboek. Legendes en sagen uit Noord- en Zuid-Holland*. 's-Gravenhage 1943, p. 151.

<sup>107</sup> *M. W.* ix, 430.

<sup>108</sup> P. Durrieu. *Heures de Turin*. Paris 1902, pl. xviii: Flemish school; 1450-1475?

<sup>109</sup> *M. W.* i, 1355. P. van Heynsbergen. *De pijnbank in de Nederlanden*. Groningen 1925, p. 26: *bollaert* = *beul* [executioner] (Utrecht, 1461).

<sup>110</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 59/75 (79-80).

<sup>111</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 59/76 (87-96).

<sup>112</sup> Demmin. *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 523.

<sup>113</sup> *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, ill. 89.

<sup>114</sup> A. W. Byvanck. *Noord-Nederlandse miniaturen*. iv. *Enige onlangs bekend geworden handschriften*. *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 1953, ill. at p. 35.

himself on an executioner in the *Carrying of the Cross* in Ghent.

These little discs, however, have no pins.

Presumably placing the discs specifically on the *bollaert's* ears was something Bosch borrowed from the abovementioned type of helmet.

As I interpret the scene being enacted on the stone roof, the sins playing a rôle in it are Luxuria, Accidia, Superbia and Ira. It is worth noting that in a Middle Dutch legend of the Holy Virgin, Mary says that all temptations issue from four sins: unchastity, sloth, pride and wrath<sup>115</sup>.

For punishments which according to writing moralists will be meted out to the proud and wrathful, see *Judgem.*, p. 142 and 109 f.

As for Accidia: *Voirsiemichheit Godes* and *Dat sterf boeck* are more or less in agreement. From the former I have quoted (*Judgem.*, p. 157). It is in close accordance with how Bosch sees it.

Ruusbroec says of the lazy: *haer lichamen selen < sijn > swaerre ende onbeweechlijckere dan molensteen, ende alsoe oft si met yseren ketenen ghebonden ende ghehecht waren* [their bodies will < be > heavier and more immovable than millstone, and as if they were bound and fastened with iron chains]<sup>116</sup>. Dirck van Delf (III B, p. 650) states: *< si > legghen onder alle die voeten, die hem pijn aendoen of doghen, ende werden van hem allen vertreden* [ < they > lie under all the feet which cause them pain and hurt, and are trodden on by all of them].

In *Le Traitê* the indolent are bitten by snakes in dark regions. Little serpents sometimes pierce their hearts like an arrow. A winged creature devours the sinners and excretes them. Pregnant souls bring forth snakes which tear them to pieces. In *Le Compost* sluggards are bitten in a dark hall, to within the heart, by snakes.

There is, therefore, quite a measure of variation in the punishments. In the *Hell* of his *Table* Bosch presents yet another kind of torment. There a she-devil beats the bottom of a sinner lying face down over an anvil. A winged devil holds down the unfortunate. Near by a fire burns on a blacksmith's fireplace under a chimney-piece. A sinner is trying to hide in a hole in the furnace. It appears to me that with this punishment of Accidia Bosch had in mind also Luxuria<sup>117</sup>, just as, when painting the roundlet with Superbia, he brought unchastity into the picture<sup>118</sup>.

Behind the wall and the terrace we see the water of a river. In it stands a large, blue-coloured, metallic, hollow object. An axle passes horizontally through it. At either end the axle has a wheel, and these are set in motion by sinners on the inside of the rims, one sinner to each wheel. By treading on the rim they cause the wheel to roll. To do this they have to plant their feet on iron spikes pierced through the broad felloes. See ill. 26.

The sides of the wheels are covered by gratings, so that each sinner is therefore in a sort of prison cell.

Tied to a bar in the left wheel is a rope that goes up, passes loosely over a sinner's arm, and then drops down again to the right wheel (in Berlin the rope is not fastened to the wheel but round the neck of the sinner treading it). What the rope is attached to on the right wheel one cannot see.

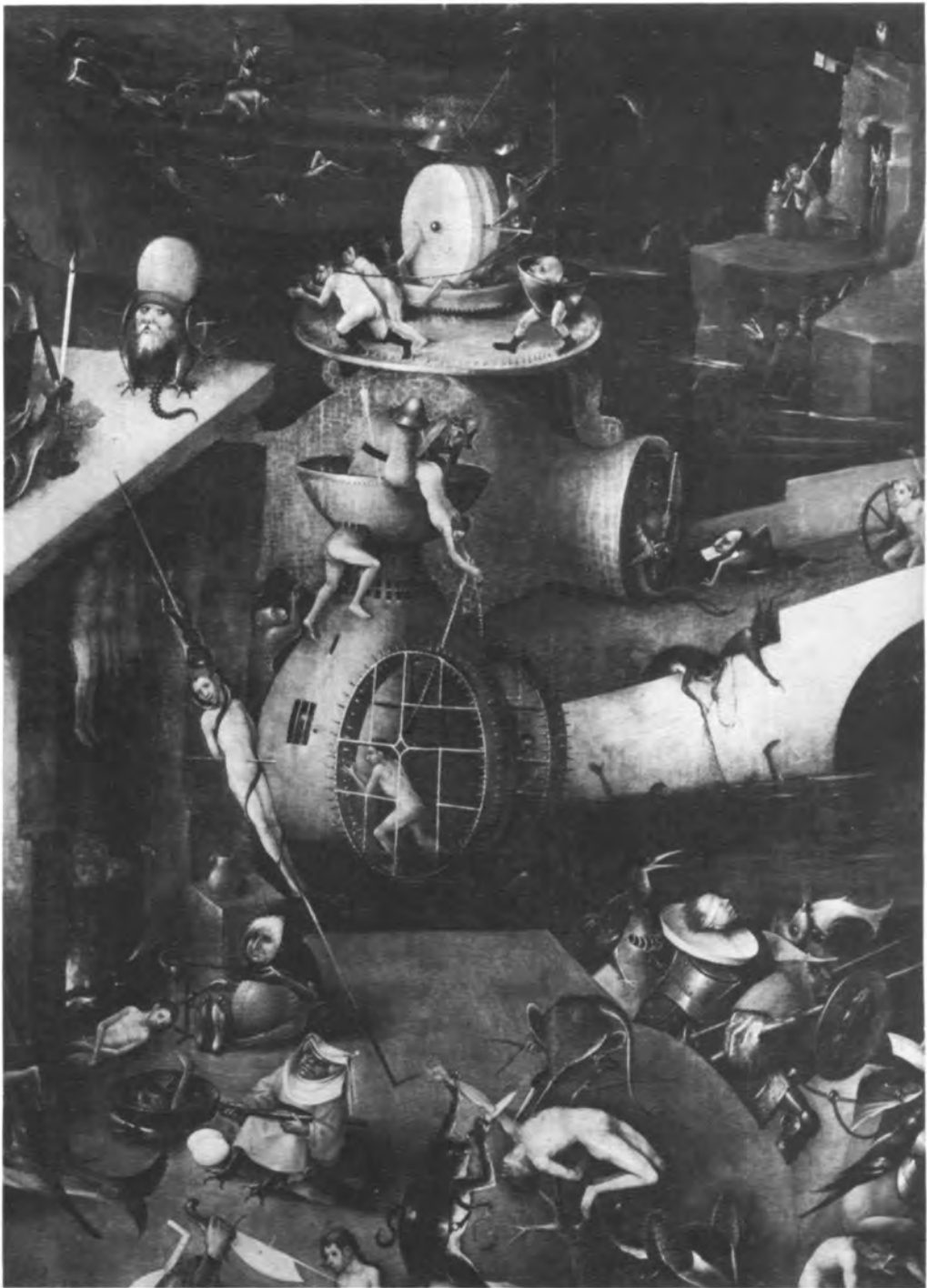
<sup>115</sup> *Middel-nederlandse Marialegenden* II, p. 56 (CCL).

<sup>116</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 75: *Van den Kerstenen Ghelove*.

<sup>117</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 199.

<sup>118</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 138.





26. Infernal tread-wheel machine, Bosch (p. 165)

The sinner at the top is being held by two devils while he leans out over the edge of the large hollow object. He is in a position to stop the wheels from turning, by pulling at the rope. But there is no strength in his hands to do this.

In Berlin the sinner does not make contact with the rope. Here it passes through a ring fixed to the metallic top of the hollow object. There is a similar ring also to the left. In the Vienna depiction a much more moving effect is created.

The two devils wear iron head-coverings.

In Berlin ox's horns project from the helmet of the one on the left, while the one on the right does not wear a helmet but a round head-covering with feelers on top of it. Both these diabolic headpieces are derived from what was actually worn in the 15th century. A helmet-like iron hat with two horns projecting from it is depicted on a French seal from 1427<sup>119</sup>. A 15th-century German knight's helmet also has two horns<sup>120</sup>. A knight in a tourney held in Munich in 1500, likewise wears such a decoration on his helmet<sup>121</sup>. The round cap with feelers is a Burgundian head-covering that was worn by men and women alike<sup>122</sup>. A devil in Bosch's *Hell* (Venice) also wears a Burgundian cap with feelers. Here a long, narrow, serrated strip of cloth hangs from the flat round headgear.

One of the devils is brownish and naked. He has an ape-toad-like head and is laughing at the impotence of the sinner. The other wears a red coat with white spots on the sleeves and has a long bird's bill. A large arrow is stuck in his girdle. Cranach (inadvertently? painted the arrow outside the belt. In posture and in shape this devil does somewhat resemble the Roman soldier, bottom right, in Bosch's *Ecce Homo* in Philadelphia, and in its variant in Indianapolis<sup>123</sup>.

An ape-like devil with white spots on his body has stuck a stick into the anus of a fourth sinner and with it is pushing him up through a hole to get him to the two devils. In Berlin it is a short Turk's-head which the ape-devil is thrusting at the man's bottom.

The intention is no doubt to throw the two sinners into the torture machine, from the top, so that they can be crushed by some internal apparatus driven by the turning wheels.

Behind a barred window in the belly of the infernal contraption we see the head of a fifth sinner. Perhaps he has already undergone the process and is waiting for a repetition of the punishment. Boendale (*Der Leken Spiegel* 1, p. 50) tells of punishments in purgatory and hell in which sinners are boiled,

<sup>119</sup> Rep.: G. Demay. *Le costume au moyen âge d'après les sceaux*. Paris 1880, p. 135.

<sup>120</sup> F. Hottenroth. *Trachten, Haus-, Feld- und Kriegsgeräthschaften der Völker alter und neuer Zeit*. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart 1884 and 1891. Volume II, plate 43.

<sup>121</sup> H.A. Klinkhamer. *Kleederdragten, zaamgelezen uit eenige zeldzame prenten, berustende op 's Rijks Museum te Amsterdam*. Amsterdam 1863, plate 3. E. Diederichs. *Deutsches Leben der Vergangenheit in Bildern*. Vol. 1. Jena 1908, ill. 721: copperplate engraving of the monogrammist MZ.

<sup>122</sup> Man: *Belgisch Museum* 1 (1837), at p. 26, 28 and 32: plates made after miniatures in a 15th-century manuscript of the *Brabantsche Yeesten*. Woman: J. Geffcken. *Der Bildercatechismus des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther*. 1. Die zehn Gebote mit 12 Bildtafeln nach Cod. Heidelb. 438. Leipzig 1855.

<sup>123</sup> Rep. Philadelphia: note 85 above. Rep. Indianapolis: *De eeuw der Vlaamse Primitieven*. Tentoonstelling in het Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeningemuseum, Brugge. 26 juni - 11 september 1960. Catalogue, p. 163.

roasted, melted or beaten flat. But afterwards *so sijn si weder . . . also si te voren waren* [they are again . . . as they were before].

In the river the churning action of the wheels cause planks to be tossed about in the water where sinners are swimming. Two of the unfortunates are trying to escape being hit by the planks. In Berlin, it seems, there are no planks.

Bosch probably got the idea for this motif of sinners treading big wheels to set them in motion, from seeing men actually doing it in real life, as a method of winding up the rope or ropes attached to whatever had to be hoisted from the ground (see the reproduction of part of a 14th-century miniature from a manuscript of the *Weltchronik* by Rudolf von Ems<sup>124</sup> and that of a miniature from a Flemish calendar from the beginning of the 16th century<sup>125</sup>, ill. 27 and 28).

Is the metallic object in which sinners are ground down a grotesque imitation of a handmill used in Bosch's time for grinding mustard-seed, corn, etc.<sup>126</sup>? I have not come across an illustration of such a *querne* [lit.: churn], but one can well imagine the upper part as being funnel-shaped as in our painting, like the top of a coffee-mill, and that the grains were poured into this.

A treadmill which was similar in form to our infernal machine has never come to my notice.

Neither have I found any mention in Dutch moralistic literature of the punishment of walking in a treadmill or of being crushed or minced inside a tread- or handmill<sup>127</sup>.

Ape, toad, bird, white spots on sleeves and body, and stick in anus, point to unchastity. Iron helmets and ox-horns signify pugnacity. Arrow (*bout*, meaning also roast leg) and Turks's-head indicate licentiousness.

To the right of the torture machine flows the river, from right to left, past the bank on which the punishment of Ira is depicted.

A tributary which flows into this stream is spanned by a bridge (see ill. 13). Under this bridge lies a boat with a toad-like devil in it. Above the part of the vaulting to the right is a brush-stroke which shows that Bosch originally designed the arch higher up.

From the boat a net stretches to the left where its other end is held by a toad-like devil leaning far forward over the parapet. He is trying to catch two sinners in his net. We see a leg of one of them and a hand of the other. Against the side-wall, where the net is, an underlying sketch is becoming visible, but I cannot make out what it represents.

<sup>124</sup> Schultz, fig. 89.

<sup>125</sup> B. Riehl. *Studien über Miniaturen niederländischer Gebetbücher der 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts im Bayerischen National-Museum und in der Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München. Abhandlungen der K. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften* III Kl. XXIV Bd. II Abt. München 1907, p. 435 ff. Tafel IV, no. 8. Hs. Cim. 47 der Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, München. Wheels that were set in motion in this way are also depicted in the background of Memlinc's *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in the St. Jans-hospitaal in Bruges and in the background of the portrait of Jan Fernaguut painted by Pieter Pourbus (Groeningemuseum, Bruges).

<sup>126</sup> *M.W.* VI, 888: *mostaertsquerne; hantmolens . . . daer mede sy luyden het harde koorn . . . malen* [mustard churns; handmills . . . with which these folk the hard corn . . . grind].

<sup>127</sup> According to Benesch (*Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* XXVI - 1957-, p. 110) Owein is described in *St. Patricius' Vagevuur* as seeing a 'gigantic iron treadmill with glowing nails'. It would appear that Benesch is here mistaken. In the Middle Dutch manuscripts of *St. Patricius' Vagevuur* there is, at any rate, no mention of a treadmill.



27. Hoist operated by tread-wheel, 14th c. (p. 168 n. 124)



28. Hoist operated by tread-wheel, 16th c. (p. 168 n. 125)

A cat-like devil with long ears is advising the toad-devil. Further away, to the left of the net, there are more sinners in the water. We see a head with a hood, an arm and a knee.

Over to the right we see two other sinners in the stream (in Berlin only one) and also a little rock sticking up out of the water. Still further to the right the river narrows to a mountain stream which comes dashing down between rocks and which perhaps has its source in the large lake depicted in the background to the right.

Near the bridge and the little boat, between the stone side-wall and a rock, stands an imp in a grey-black garment with hood (in Berlin no hood). He carries a mop and beside him is a large, toad-like animal. This man-devil is looking with great interest at the fishing scene.

Here again we have the motif of hell-ship, mop, devils and sinners<sup>128</sup>.

But the indices of pugnacity are absent. Those of unchastity (toad and cat) and licence (mop) are, however, present.

In this scene Bosch is probably censuring licentious merry-makers in a boat<sup>129</sup>. Does the fact that it is a net the devils are making use of, indicate that Bosch had in mind *netteboeven* [net-roguers] in particular? They, too, were folk of the light and loose life who would certainly have qualified as members of the crew of a merry-makers' boat. For they were vagrant beggars, quacks, trick artists, etc. who went about with a net. This was a knotted string begging-bag, which when empty sometimes served also as a piece of clothing or a head-covering. It was possibly used on occasion as a mask as well, to protect the beggar from identification<sup>130</sup>. The net-roguers were of ill repute, so that in a 16th-century *referein* [type of line-repeating poem] they were mentioned in the same breath as *rabbauwen* [vagabonds, tramps], and *lichte schuten* [lit.: light boats, i.e. fast fellows, libertines, revellers]<sup>131</sup>. In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 272) they are grouped with persons who succumb to the sin of greed. They swindled the people where they could. Their net accordingly became a symbol of deceit in the 16th century<sup>132</sup>.

In Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon the demon imps who are catching fish in a net were interpreted by me, on various grounds, as a satire on such net-roguers<sup>133</sup>. On our centre panel it was probably again these rascals which Bosch had in mind.

Apart from this, the net by itself, in its usual sense of a snare, also occurs as a symbol of deceit. This is presumably the case in the saying *Hij ziet hen in zijn net te krijgen* [He manages to get them into his net]<sup>134</sup>.

Devils catching sinners in a fish-net is a motif used also by the author Jan Praet (p. 93). He sees the sinner as someone fishing inside the (drag)net of the devil. In this way Satan easily catches him.

A bridge similar to the one on our centre panel was painted by Bosch also elsewhere: in the *Hell* of the *Haywain* triptych as well as in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych, on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (background left), and on the centre panel of the *Adoration* in the Prado

<sup>128</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 364.

<sup>129</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 367.

<sup>130</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 72/90 f.

<sup>131</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 78/91 (13).

<sup>132</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 72/91 (18).

<sup>133</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 72/90 f.

<sup>134</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 78/91 (21).



(background right)<sup>135</sup>. It is clearly a type of bridge he knew from his surroundings.

Let us look now at the next scene.

To the right of the devil with the mop and the toad-creature a fanciful bird with a long bill and tail sits on a rock. Between this rock and the one to the right of it another fanciful bird with a long bill is appearing from a crevice. In Berlin the figure seems to be a lizard stretching out its head towards a sinner's head. In Vienna the sinner's head is absent.

In the place of the first rock and of the water below it Bosch originally painted the huge head and neck of a goose. Some of the blue colour in the head is still distinguishable. The opened beak is pointing straight up. It reminds one of the open beak of the woody goose which is part of the human tree in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych, but there the head hangs down.

This goose-devil was overpainted again by Bosch<sup>136</sup>.

The two long-billed birds have their heads turned in the direction of an iron wheel with iron spikes, a contraption which the water of the stream sets in motion (see ill. 35). Two sinners are being tortured on it. A devil who in Vienna is toad-like, in Berlin bird-like, has the arm of one of them in his grip. Of the other only the two legs are visible in Vienna, while in Berlin also the left hand is seen. These limbs stick out above the water.

On either side of the wheel the rocks rise to a great height. Perhaps it is here, in the inner darkness of the gorge, that the water of the lake reaches it and rushes down, but we do not see this. What is shown, is a sinner falling backwards while being dragged down by a blue, toad-like devil. Below him two demons are jumping down, one with the head of a toad (in Berlin of a beast of prey) and the other ape-like, while they excrete (in Berlin this is not so) on the upper of the two sinners being broken on the wheel. The apelike imp carries a mop.

A fanciful bird is stretching out its long neck and bill towards the sinner who is being dragged down and who is going to fall on the spikes of the wheel.

Above this a rectangular, red, wooden plank is clamped between the rocks. Stuck right through it is a huge, double-edged blade (the part under the plank is also visible). It has no hilt. On the lower edge of the plank there is a row of metal spikes (in Vienna 11, in Berlin 13).

At the top end of the plank a winged devil, in Vienna toad-like and in Berlin resembling a beast of prey, is pulling apart the legs of a sinner (man or woman), so that when he slides down over the plank the unfortunate soul will be sliced in two by the blade. On top of the rocks small, indefinable imps are looking on. In Berlin they are absent. Approaching through the air is a flying eel-like imp with small wings. This, too, is absent in the Cranach.

So much for the description.

An infernal punishment by means of a turning iron wheel, on the spikes of which sinners are tortured, is described in Middle Dutch moralistic literature. The knight Owein sees it in *St. Patricius' Vagevuur* (the specific sin is not mentioned)<sup>137</sup> and in *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 159) it features as a punishment

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<sup>135</sup> The opinion of Baltrušaitis (*Rêveils et prodiges*, p. 293) that the bridge in the centre of the *Temptations of St. Anthony* in Lisbon is 'le même pont que dans l'Enfer de Vienne' is not correct.

<sup>136</sup> For goose, see: *Judgem.*, p. 100 n. 74.

<sup>137</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 256. *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 18. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 276/363 (39).

of *hatighe ende nidighe menschen* [spiteful and envious people], i.e. of Invidia<sup>138</sup>.

In no other work of Bosch which has come down to us, is this punishment depicted, but it does occur in the following: the *Hell* of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych (not clear to which sin it is being applied; the retribution here is coupled to the punishment with the upright millstones which is the lecher's lot; see *Judgem.*, p. 181); the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges, where it forms part of an infernal brothel (see *Judgem.*, p. 181 and 266 no. 8); the *Last Judgement* (Baytown-London; see *Judgem.*, p. 174); and Bruegel's *Christ liberating the Patriarchs*<sup>139</sup>.

A wheel with a sinner on it occurs twice in a depiction of the stage scenery for the production in 1547 of a mystery play at Valenciennes<sup>140</sup>, a town which at that time still belonged to the Low Countries. Here the punishment is not associated with a particular sin.

Birds, i.a. with a long bill and tail, lizard, toad and ape again point to unchastity. The mop signifies licentiousness. The beast of prey pugnacity.

Bosch's spiked wheel is turned by water. Does this, too, have symbolical significance? In the Low Countries a water-mill could function as a symbol of loquacity. It does this in *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 475) and in Bruegel's *Magpie on the Gallows*<sup>141</sup>. In the background of Memlinc's *Vanitas* (represented as a woman with a mirror in her hand) in the museum in Strasburg, we see a water-wheel which i.m.o. here points to idle babbling. A similar wheel appears also in the drawing by the Master of the Hausbuch which will be referred to in the discussion of the bulrush (*Judgem.*, p. 291). Its significance is, no doubt, the same as with Memlinc.

Did Bosch have in mind this meaning when he painted his wheel? It fits in well with the atmosphere of the dubious tavern which will be alluded to in what follows. It also goes with the sin of Invidia, for slanderous gossiping is repeatedly identified by our writing moralists as a characteristic of the envious<sup>142</sup>.

The rectangular wooden plank can be compared with rectangular stone slabs, either having some sort of support or not, which Bosch has depicted in strongly erotic settings<sup>143</sup>. Such a rectangular stone slab is also seen to the left of our

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<sup>138</sup> In *Le Traité* the arrogant are tortured on wheels placed on high mountains. See *Judgem.*, p. 110. What Benesch writes about the scene on our centre panel is wrong: The cliffs, on whose slopes the proud are pinned with iron spikes (*Konsthistorkisk Tidskrift* xxvi -1957-, p. 109). Dollmayr (p. 343), De Tolnay (1937, p. 69, note 118; cf. De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 360) and Delevoy (p. 109) are mistaken in their opinion that Bosch derived the wheel from *Le Compost*.

<sup>139</sup> The sinners are spiked on a water-wheel. In the immediate vicinity stands a large wine- or beer- jug, an imp strikes a bell with a hammer, and a fish lies on a lean-to roof. The fish has the eyes and teeth of a human being or other mammal, and long ears. Water issues from its mouth. Does the jug point to addiction to drink, and the striking of the bell [*lui(d)en* = to ring, *luien* = to laze] to laziness [*luiheid*]? Must we associate the fish with the expression *Hij is vis noch vlees* [He is neither fish nor flesh], i.e. he is unreliable; you don't know what to make of him (16th-century examples in *W.N.T.* xx1, 1006 f.)?

<sup>140</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Fonds français, no. 12536.

<sup>141</sup> *Bezwaren*, p. 7.

<sup>142</sup> E.g.: Jan de Weert, line 864 f. and p. 68 (*Een Fundament van der Kerstenre Geloven*), 69 (Dirck van Delf, *Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove*).

<sup>143</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 29 ff. *Garden* triptych: *Tuin*, ill. x, xi, xv. *St. Hieronymus* (Ghent): ill. xiii. *Haywain* triptych: ill. xviii. *Last Judgement* triptych: ill. xix.

wooden plank as part of a smithy. It is behind the furnace, and the chimney above the furnace goes right through it.

Bosch i.m.o. derived this motif from rectangular wooden tops of tavern tables<sup>144</sup> which were called *schijven* [slabs, discs], as were the tops of round tavern tables<sup>145</sup>. And the word *schijf*, as we have already learned, was sexually charged in the 16th century. It could, in its meaning of *schietschijf*, i.e. shooting target, denote i.a. the female sex organ<sup>146</sup>.

The sword stuck through the wooden board on our centre panel and the wide-spread legs of the sinner stress the sexual significance of the wooden slab. The metal pins on the edge of the plank are suggestive of the word *vinne* [fin]<sup>147</sup>.

The schijf brings with it again a whiff of the tavern. Contributing to this is the flying eel-like imp in the vicinity of the board. For *aal* [eel] could also mean ale (beer), as well as awl and excrement, and Bosch and imitators represented this meaning a number of times by depicting one of the homonymic objects, i.e. by painting an eel or an awl, or by drawing excrement<sup>148</sup>.

A small winged snake is depicted in the 15th-century Netherlandish drawing of hell (Louvre) already mentioned in *Judgem.*, p. 31, and it also appears as a strange species of animal in the *Hortus Sanitatis*, a book on natural history that was printed in Mainz in 1491, with illustrations which are attributed to the Master of the Hausbuch (Erhard Reeuwich of Utrecht?)<sup>149</sup>. A winged eel occurs in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Jan Wellens de Cock<sup>150</sup>.

In Bosch's *Hell on the Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* the punishment of Ira is represented by a devil who is about to cut off the arm of a sinner with a big knife. This sinner lies on a very large rectangular wooden table-top. Does this, too, allude to the word *schijf*? *Schijf* [the board used in target-shooting]<sup>151</sup> takes us into the sphere of aggression.

I would sooner say though that Bosch's depiction is derived directly from representations of a devil who hacks off parts of the body of a sinner who lies on a rectangular table-top on trestles. In a miniature of 1455 Jean Le Tavernier from Oudenaerde shows us such a punishment<sup>152</sup>. Bosch has omitted the trestles.

Is the scene with the turning wheel and the pierced table-top mainly a punishment of Invidia cum Luxuria et Ira?

In a number of instances the retribution for a particular sin, as depicted on our triptych, accords with what the *Voorsienicheit Godes* prescribes for the same transgression. Is this also the case with the punishment on the wheel, which in

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<sup>144</sup> Examples of rectangular wooden tavern-tables as depicted by Bosch: *Tuin*, p. 89 (2) and 110.

<sup>145</sup> *M.W.* VII, 591.

<sup>146</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 125. *Tuin*, p. 32.

<sup>147</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 159.

<sup>148</sup> For examples, see: *Bezwaren*, p. 2. Additional examples in regard to the eel: *Judgem.*, p. 117 n. 183, 184 n. 197, 392, 395; and in a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, attributed to Huys or Mandijn, Cels Collection, Uccle-lez-Bruxelles, where an eel (symbol of inebriety) hangs beside a basket (symbol of gluttony); ill. Lafond, at p. 54. Additional example in regard to the awl: in an engraving by the 16th-century monogrammist FB a shoemaker's awl lies on the ground in front of a drunkard drinking from a tankard (Delen II, pl. xxxii, no. 1).

<sup>149</sup> Rep.: Baltrušaitis. *Réveils et prodiges*, p. 263. Data: idem, p. 263 and 361 (66-68).

<sup>150</sup> Nijhoff. *Houtsneden*, pl. 162.

<sup>151</sup> *Tuin*, p. 32.

<sup>152</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 89/156, lower right.

the manuscript is meted out to the envious? Of the more or less prominently placed scenes on the centre panel this is the only one that I can associate with Invidia. That Dutch moralists sometimes saw envy as closely related to unchastity is evident from this rhyme:

*Wat tempteert den mensche meest?  
Luxurie, Nyt maect hem tempeest*<sup>153</sup>

[What tempts man above all things?  
Lust with Spite the tempest brings].

This couple causes him misfortune.

The association is also suggested in the following detail of the *Invidia* on Bosch's *Table*. To the far left a man looks desirously at a red carnation (symbol of love) that a woman holds in her hand. I have pointed out that carnal love is here pictured as something stupid and foolish (*Judgem.*, p. 121). The flower is probably intended for someone else. The man is made envious by his lust.

A similar idea was represented by Bruegel in his *Invidia* drawing. Here the allegorical figure of Envy bites into a heart. She is seen as *de harte knaeghster Haetennijd* [the heart-knawer Hate-and-spite, i.e. Envy], which is what Vondel later called her in a poem in honour of Erasmus<sup>154</sup>. The she-devil of unchastity (identifiable as such by her woman's breasts, deer's antlers of dry branches, and orchid-butterfly-wings) is giving Envy another heart to consume. This belongs to a man whom Unchastity has in her power. Luxuria therefore enables Envy to chew at the heart of the man, which means that the man will become envious because he is lustful and desires the love destined for another.

Envy gnawing at the heart of the envious person was already how Jan de Weert saw it (783 ff.):

*Nyt dats een sweer al vol rouwen,  
Die therte doet te stucken knouwen  
Den ghenen diese binnen houdt*

[Spite that's an ulcer full of rue  
That gnaws the heart to pieces too  
Of him who harbours it].

A connection was felt to exist also between Ira and Invidia. From envy issues wrath, says *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 232). Jan de Weert even discusses *hate ende nie* [hate and spite] under *Gramschap* [Wrath] (line 1487, cf. the variant).

In the *Last Judgement* (Baytown-London), by an imitator of Bosch, the rectangular table-top on which a sinner lies, is combined with the turning wheel below it on which another sinner is spiked. The imitator obviously derived this from our centre panel. To the left of the Baytown-London table-top stands a large wine-jar. Looking through a hole in it is a meretrix and close to her head a tavern-flag sticks out from the jar. To the right of the table-top and the wheel is a dry, hollow tree from which the armoured leg of a soldier rises up. A little demon holds a rope leading from the foot of the soldier to the waist of the sinner on the table-top.

Wine-jar with meretrix and tavern-flag point to Luxuria. Table-top and soldier's leg to Ira. And does the turning wheel signify Invidia? If so, then here, too, we would have a punishment of Invidia cum Luxuria et Ira.

The works of our writing moralists contribute nothing of special interest in regard to the punishment of the envious, with the exception, already mentioned, of one of the measures described in *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 158 f.). Such sinners, it says, are hanged on burning hooks in huge wheels. The wheels

<sup>153</sup> W.L. Braekman, in *Verslagen K.V.A.v.T.e.L.* 1969, p. 85: a manuscript from ca. 1450 containing Middle Dutch didactic poems and rhyming proverbs.

<sup>154</sup> *De Werken van Vondel* (WS), vol. II (1928), p. 417.



revolve over a fire in such a way that one half is always in the flames. Two wheels are placed next to each other and they turn in opposite directions. Devils torture the sinners hanging on the hooks. According to the manuscript, other souls guilty of envy have to fight each other, clad in glowing armour and with fiery weapons in hand, while devils beat them.

With Ruusbroec the envious lie close together like things being cooked in a pot<sup>155</sup>. With Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 650) *doersteken* <si> *hem selven mit groven strenghen* [<they> pierce themselves with coarse cords] (or should one read *stenghen* [stakes]?). Dirc also judges (II, p. 221) that persons who break the commandment not to kill are envious: (*Du en selte niemant dootslaen: in dijnre herten, haet, nijt, wrock ende avegunsticheit te dregen* [Thou shalt kill no one: in thy heart to carry hate, spite, rancour and envy]). And *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 200 f.) lets those that break this commandment melt in a terrible fire. After which they regain their former body just to be melted down again.

*Sidrac* (p. 173) tells us that the envious undergo the same punishment as those guilty of Ira, Superbia, Gula, Avaritia and Luxuria: hanging by the feet, two by two with the backs together.

In *Tondalus' Visioen* traitors are perhaps grouped with the envious (see *Judgem.*, p. 379). In purgatory the soul of Tondalus sees traitors being punished in the following way: A narrow road crosses a mountain. On one side there is a fire of sulphur, stinking and dark, on the other frozen snow and hail. The souls who pass along this way are tormented by devils wielding glowing iron hooks and three-pronged forks. The demons use the forks to cast the souls on to the fire of sulphur and from there into the snow and hail. Then back again<sup>156</sup>.

Jan van Boendale lets the envious be burnt in a fire (*Der Leken Spieghel* I, p. 52).

In *Le Traité* they are plunged into an ice cold stream and then cast by Beelsebuth into a lake of fire. This monster also delivers them up to Lucifer, who devours them and spews them out again. In *Le Compost* the envious stand up to their navels in a frozen river. A very cold wind hits their upper bodies. If they want to shelter against the gusts of the storm, they have to duck under the ice.

In the *Hell* of his *Table* Bosch presents something different again. There the envious are partly buried in the ground and being attacked by dogs<sup>157</sup>. Compare Dirc van Delf's *die hont der nidiheit* the dog of spite/ (*Judgem.*, p. 38, note 109).

To the back of the rocky gorge with the stream, is a road leading to the bridge. From the right approaches a procession of devils and sinners (see ill. 35). They are on the way to a huge earthenware pot. It is a scene I have discussed in *Tuin*, p. 86-88. What follows is a restatement, with amplifications.

Already on the bridge is the under-carriage of a wagon which serves to convey sinners to the place of execution. It can be compared with the wagon in which the good and the bad murderer are being transported in Bruegel's *Carrying of the Cross*. On our under-carriage are three sinners. Two of them, one in front, one at the back, have their left hand stuck through the axle-hole of, respectively, the left front and the left back wheel. They function as living axles. A devil with

<sup>155</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 75: *Van den Kerstenen Ghelove*.

<sup>156</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 33, 35 and 39.

<sup>157</sup> In the works of writing moralists the dogs of hell are often mentioned. See *Judgem.*, p. 37-39 n. 107-118. The soul of Tondalus sees lechers in purgatory being tormented by dogs.



a plate of armour on his head (in Berlin the metallic nature of the disc shows up more clearly) is looking at the sinner at the back. On our right panel a devil also wears such a plate of armour as a head-covering<sup>158</sup>.

A fantastic animal with the beak of a spoonbill follows behind this group. It is partly covered by a red cloth. The spoonbill in the Low Countries could signify addiction to drink<sup>159</sup>. With Bosch it was sometimes also a symbol of unchastity<sup>160</sup>. The creature is *doekachtig* [lit.: cloth-like], i.e. fond of women<sup>161</sup>.

Sitting astride the animal is a sinner and a she-devil. The conical headdress with a veil attached to it identifies the latter as a prostitute-devil. Generally Bosch gives a double-pointed head-covering to this type of devil-woman. But one of the three whore-devils in the water on the far side of the bridge, who are taking a sinner along with them, also has the single cone with the veil<sup>162</sup>.

The meretrix-devil wears a brown garment with white spots. These indicate the Spanish pox<sup>163</sup>.

On the mounted sinner's left is a bird-devil, on his right a demon who wears on his dog's head a helmet with a long sharp point at the top. It could be this figure who holds up a stick to which is attached a large charter with a round red seal dangling on it. The letters on the document are undecipherable<sup>164</sup>. Instead

<sup>158</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 243.

<sup>159</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 128.

<sup>160</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, 24/31. *Tuin*, 53, 55, 56 and 59.

<sup>161</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 105.

<sup>162</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 42 ff., 192, and 245. *Tuin*, p. 86 f.

<sup>163</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 246 ff.

<sup>164</sup> Writing which Bosch intentionally depicted as illegible, appears also in the following: the document containing the sentence passed on a sinner, on our right panel (*Judgem.*, p. 227); the charter near the extractor of teeth in the foreground of the centre panel of the *Haywain* triptych (*Judgem.*, p. 179, note 166; Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 41); the charter of a sinner who has had a love-affair with an abbess, in the *Hell of the Garden* triptych (*Tuin*, p. 83; Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 73); the letter brought by a devil-messenger to fellow-devils, on the left wing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 10/14; Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 96). What Bosch certainly did



29. Writing on missive, in *Temptation of St. Anthony*, Bosch (p. 177 n. 164)

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ρεοτιο

30. Interpretation of writing in ill. 29 (p. 177 n. 164)

IMAINOSI  
IMAINOSI

31. Interpretation of writing on missive, in copied variant of *Temptation of St. Anthony* (p. 177 n. 164)

of the stick with the charter, a stick with a toad spitted on it is held aloft in the Berlin picture.

In the *Hell* of Bosch's *Garden* triptych a charter occurs in the unschaste atmosphere of a scene with an abbess and her lover<sup>165</sup>. Here, too, the attributes of bird and helmet are present. In both cases the bird could indicate unchastity and the helmet aggression in the sexual sense. The plate of armour of the devil standing in front of the bird on our central panel, can also have this meaning. The dog in Bosch's time could, as we have seen, be a symbol of unchastity.

The parchment charter with its inscription, raised up like a flag, could also have been intended to have a sexual sense, because in 16th-century Dutch

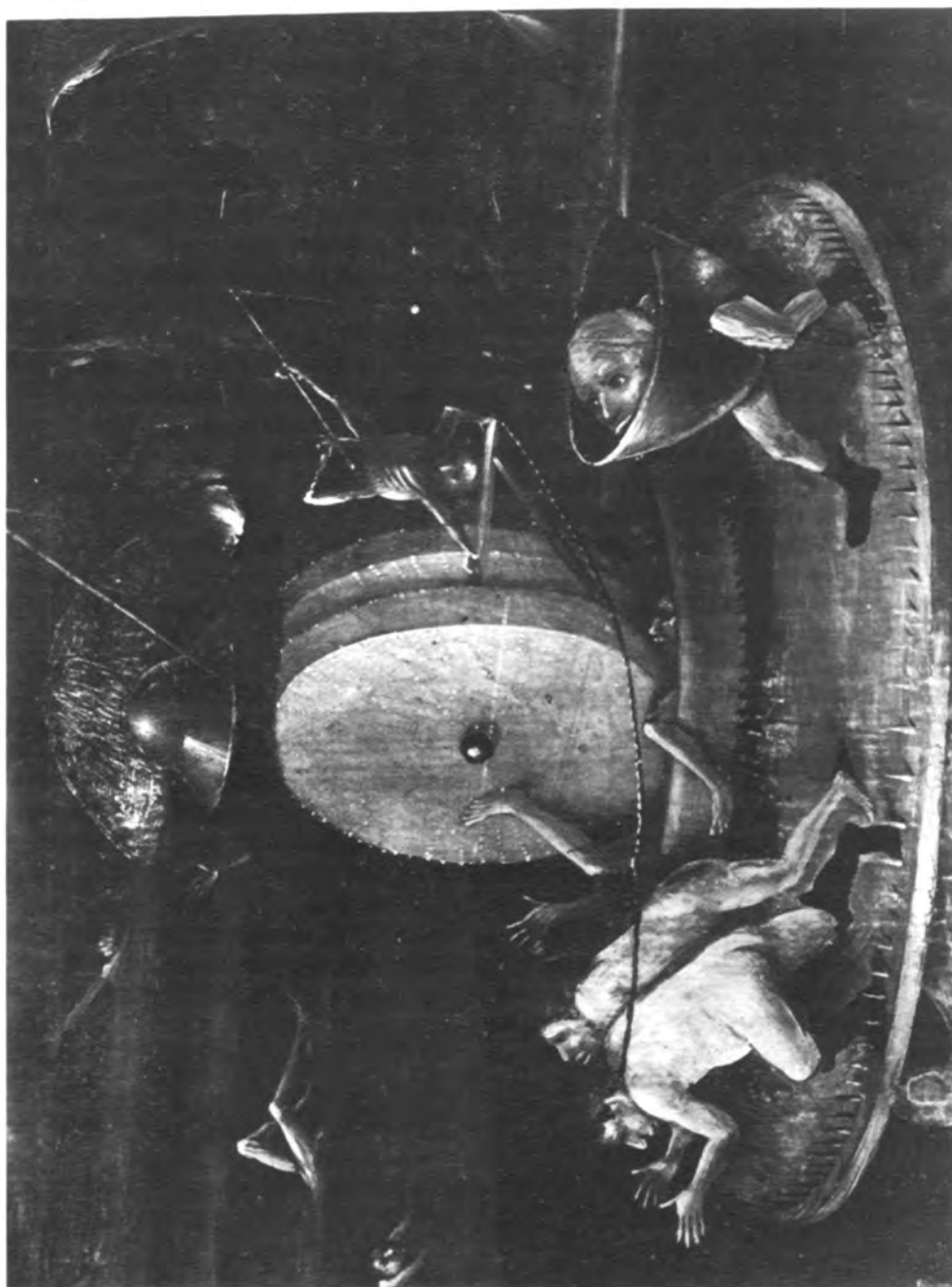
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intend to be legible, is the writing on the cover of the last-mentioned letter. There the word 'protio' appears in mirror-writing being the abbreviation of 'protestatio'. See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 10/14, *Taal*, p. 70 and *Judgem.*, ill. 29 and 30. It is strange that Marijnissen (Marijnissen e.a. *Jheronimus bosch*, p. 82 and 107, note 299) cannot recognize this. With 'protestatio' in mirror-writing is meant that the devils are staging only the semblance of a real protest against the torment of the saint. They want exactly the opposite: to aggravate the holy man's distress with a mock protest.

On the copy in Brussels of a variant of the Lisbon triptych the writing is not the mirror-image of 'protio' but something quite different. My reproduction of it in *Judgem.*, ill. 31, top, shows how I read it. In my opinion it represents IMANNO51. Quite clear are the characters IMA..051. The squiggle before the 1 is a 5, as we find it written more than once on 16th-century paintings. See, for instance, A. von Wurzbach. *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, II, Wien und Leipzig 1910, p. 112: dates on paintings by Jan Massijs (1561 and 1565). In IM I see the initials of Jan Mandijn (1502 - ca. 1560). This painter signed his copy of Bosch's *Christ on the way to Golgotha* also with IM: *De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 151 ill. 124. So I would say that it was Mandijn who in 1551 made the copy from a variant of the Bosch *Temptation of St. Anthony* now in Lisbon. It is not a copy made directly from the Lisbon altarpiece itself, because the divergences are too numerous. There are in existence many copies of this triptych or of parts of it, some quite freely done. Perhaps Bosch himself also made replicas (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 133/177). It is highly probable that the Lisbon painting was already in Portugal by 1551. A legal document, drawn up in 1571, provides proof that in Lisbon, before 1571, the Portuguese diplomat and humanist Damião de Gois presented to the nuntius Montepulciano (probably the later Pope Marcellus II) two paintings by Bosch, namely a *Temptation of Job* and the *Temptation of St. Anthony* which is now in the museum in Lisbon. He had earlier bought the two together for close on 200 crusados, a considerable sum. De Gois lived for many years in the Southern Low Countries, from 1523 to 1534 in Antwerp and Leuven, and from 1538 to 1545 in Leuven, with the last months spent in Antwerp. He knew the Low Countries very well and at the end of 1538 or the beginning of 1539 he married Johanna van Hagen, who lived in The Hague and was the sister of the scholar and art-lover Splinter van Hagen, a Hollander who had already come to know De Gois earlier in Italy. In 1545 De Gois returned to Portugal. In his Flemish years he bought many works of art in the Low Countries. The two Bosch pictures were undoubtedly among them. In fact he possessed yet a third painting by Bosch, namely a *Crowning with Thorns*. This he donated, probably in 1560, to the church in which he wished to be buried at Alenquer, his birthplace. It is not known in which year(s) he bought the three paintings. He probably took them to Portugal in 1545. See F.V. Engelenburg, *De schilderijen-verzameling van Damião de Gois, Oud-Holland* XIX (1901), p. 193 ff. and E. Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Gois, The life and thought of a portuguese Humanist, 1502-1574*, The Hague 1967.

The inscription on the fountain in Bosch's *Terrestrial Paradise* in Venice, is i.m.o. likewise intended to be legible. See *Judgem.*, p. 349 n. 11.

<sup>165</sup> *Tuin*, p. 82 ff.



32. Sinners turning upright mill-stones on spiked disc, Bosch (p. 181)

*schrijven in mijn francijn* [to write in my parchment] was a suggestive invitation that a maid could extend to a man<sup>166</sup>.

Behind the red cloth garment covering the riding-animal a sinner is being held fast by a devil with a rat's head. To the left of this devil walk two toad-like devils and a third one who has a claw-hook. On his rat's head he wears a blue hood. To the right of the sinner walks a devil in armour who has the head of a bear<sup>167</sup>.

The motifs of rat, toad, and blue colour have occurred and been noted several times already. A bear in armour can surely be nothing but a symbol of wrath<sup>168</sup>.

Behind the sinner a heron-devil has his head and neck stuck through the much enlarged handguard of a spear and in this way is represented as himself serving as the spear. This is probably a visual image of the word *steekvogel* [lit.: thrust-bird], which meant: aggressive person<sup>169</sup>. Such a thrust-bird was painted by Bosch also on the centre panel of his *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>170</sup>.

Behind the thrust-bird walks a she-devil with the (here grey-white) headdress of a procuress<sup>171</sup>. She gestures with her hands as if about to speak. In Berlin she has her mouth open as if saying something. A few indefinable devils carrying torches walk on her right hand. In Berlin these demons are not there. Instead, one sees a claw-hook, a mop, a two-pronged fork and a halberd, all raised up.

The procuress is followed by a large number of sinners. To the left of them a

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<sup>166</sup> *Tuin*, p. 85 (1). To the examples given there of the obscene function of *schrijven* [to write], the following can be added: *metter groeter pinnen schrijven in Venus capitule* [to write with the large pen in Venus's chapter] (Colijn van Rijssle. *Spiegel der Minnen*, line 3484). The charter with a round, red seal hanging from it, near the tooth extractor in the foreground of the centre panel of the *Haywain* triptych, is probably a forged document and derived from real life. In this scene of the extractor of teeth with his female patient we have a denunciation of the quack's greed for money and perhaps also of the unchaste longings of the woman. For an explanation of this scene see *Bezuwaren*, p. 45 and 46, and for the allusion to unchastity, *idem*, notes 154 and 155. I have not yet pointed out that also in the Dutch language of the 16th century the tooth extractor appears as a symbol of avarice. *Hy es veel te vreck en te erch een tanttreckere* [He is much too miserly and too much a toothdrawer] says an actor in the play *Tafelspel van Al Hoy*, p. 11, line 180.

<sup>167</sup> Madam Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 24) was referring to the devils in this group when she wrote that 'Sünder . . . von mäuse-, ratten- und schweinsköpfigen Dämonen begleitet werden'. But only for the 'rattenköpfigen' is this correct. She explains the rat here as a symbol of deceit, and says she found this meaning in Ruusbroec's '*Liber de spirituali Tabernaculo*, Kapitel 135' (1967, p. 35, note 74). Combe too (1946, p. 61, note 86) invokes this chapter. He says that the rat being ridden by a woman on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (for explanation of this scene see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 86-88/109-113) is a symbol of 'toutes les faussetés que rejettent avec horreur les familiers de la foi chrétienne (Ruusbroec . . . *Tabernacle spirituel*, chap. 135)'. The two authors must be referring to Ruusbroec's *Van den Gheesteliken Tabernakel* (Ruusbroec II). But in cap. 135 there is no mention of a rat. In cap. 136, however, something is said about mice and moles: *al dat onder de eerde woent, alse muse ende molle, die waren onreine den Joden ende verboden ter spisen* [everything that lives under the ground, as mice and moles, such were unclean to the Jews and forbidden as food]. Ruusbroec says nothing further about the mice, but the blind moles are for him symbols of rich misers who do not see that a person *titeleke dinghe versmeden soude, omme eweghe dinghe* [should despise temporal things for <the sake of> eternal things].

<sup>168</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 49.

<sup>169</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 67/85 (46-48).

<sup>170</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 67/85.

<sup>171</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 33 ff.



33. Horse-drawn oil-press with upright mill-stones, façade stone (p. 181 n. 182)

claw-hook, a mop, a stick with a long, triangular pennant on it, and spears, are held high. In Berlin: a mop, a three-pronged fork, a stick with a toad on it, a yellow-green pennant, and spears.

To the right of them a rocky wall rises steeply to a great height. In Berlin a sinner is being cast down from it by a devil of whom we see only a pair of legs. Has this little scene been overpainted in Vienna?

Bear in armour, thrust-bird, stick with pennant, two-pronged and three-pronged fork, halberds and spears point to aggression, to pugnacity. The mop signifies licentiousness. The torches could relate to Carnival<sup>172</sup>, but also to processions. From a description of a procession in honour of the Holy Sacrament of Amsterdam, as it was held round about 1550, it is evident that devils taking part in the ceremony carried pitch-torches<sup>173</sup>.

The sins which are represented in this big procession are unchastity, aggression (in some cases in an erotic sense), inebriety and licentiousness. Here again we enter the sphere of the dubious tavern.

The whole train is moving in the direction of an enormous green earthenware pot or jar<sup>174</sup>. The sinners who are with the 'wagon' have brought the vehicle to a

<sup>172</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 103/131. For torches near prostitute-sinner see *Judgem.*, p. 156.

<sup>173</sup> w.s. (Wallich Sywaertsz) *Roomsche mysterien*: etc. Amstelredam 1604, p. 46<sup>v</sup>. Haslinghuis, p. 195.

<sup>174</sup> Benesch erroneously writes: The bridge leads directly into the cavity of the devil's mill described by Brandan (*Konsthistorik Tidskrift* xxvi -1957-, p. 110). Gossart, p. 222, says that in *Navigatio Brandani* a devil appears in the guise of a miller: 'Il broie sous sa meule éternelle bijoux, trésore, gloire et vanité', and refers to H. Zimmer, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Litteratur* xxxiii (1888), p. 129 and 257 and Dollmayr, p. 327. This miller and his mill, however, have nothing in common with



halt, not directly opposite the mouth of the pot but slightly to the side of it. A *pot* [pot, jar] in the 16th-century Low Countries was a well-known symbol of the vagina<sup>175</sup>.

On the jar lies a circular wooden *schijf* [slab, disc] with iron spikes around its edge. See ill. 32.

Just as he did with the rectangular *schijf*<sup>176</sup>, Bosch depicted a round one a number of times in a strongly erotic setting. Such a round slab could be of wood or stone and without a support or with it<sup>177</sup>. He derived the motif i.m.o. from the round wooden tops of tavern-tables or from the top of the kind of table placed in a love-tent out-of-doors<sup>178</sup>. Such a round top was called, like the rectangular one, a *schijve*. This word, however, being also the term for the disc or board used as a shooting target, had the further connotation of the female sexual organ<sup>179</sup>.

The disc in our picture has its edge pierced by iron spikes which, like the spikes on the rectangular *schijf* on the same panel, suggest the word *vinne* [fin]<sup>180</sup>.

Placed in the centre of the disc is a red basin in which lie pieces of the bodies of sinners. These are being crushed by two red millstones (combination of female and male sex organ<sup>181</sup>) which are attached to each other and are standing upright on their edges. Clamped between them on the near side are two wooden beams, the lower serving as a strut to the higher one on which a grey, humanoid imp is standing on his head. His hind paws grip a stick from which hangs a cord with a little white ball on it. Fastened to the upper beam is a rope. Two sinners are pulling it and in this way causing the millstones to revolve on their rims.

The motif of sinners setting in motion two standing millstones between which beams are clamped, was probably suggested to Bosch by seeing the interior of a horse-drawn oil-mill. Compare Bosch's depiction with the representation of such an interior on a 1628 façade-stone from Edam, reproduced in this book<sup>182</sup>.

On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges two upright millstones are likewise being turned in a basin by sinners. In the *Hell* of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych this is done not in a basin but in a round, shallow mortar.

A cord with a small ball hanging on it was often depicted by Bosch and others in an environment of licentious merrymaking<sup>183</sup>. It played a rôle in the activities

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the scene on our centre panel. Besides, in the Middle Dutch manuscripts of the journey they are not even mentioned (*Van Sente Brandane*. Edited by E. Bonebakker. Amsterdam 1894).

<sup>175</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 99.

<sup>176</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 173.

<sup>177</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 29 (3, 5; ill. x, xi), 111, 112 and 118.

<sup>178</sup> Examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 97/123 (15-18), 186/242 (38). *Tuin*, p. 30 (1). For examples of tables with round tops in the work of Bosch, see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 121/153 (note 90).

<sup>179</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 125, 173.

<sup>180</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 159.

<sup>181</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 148.

<sup>182</sup> *Judgem.*, ill. 33. Reproduced from G. van Arkel en A.W. Weissman. *Noord-Hollandsche oudheden*. Part III. *Waterland*. Amsterdam 1897, p. 47. It seems that Dollmayr (p. 343) was of the opinion that Bosch derived the millstones from *St. Patricius' Vagevuur*. This chronicle, however, makes no mention of them, at any rate the Middle Dutch texts do not.

<sup>183</sup> Examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 141 f./187 f. For this motif, see the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.* under *snoer met balletje*/cord with small ball.

of Carnival revellers and May-feast celebrators<sup>184</sup>. The latter sometimes decorated their May-tree with it<sup>185</sup>. As a result of the uninhibited behaviour which often accompanied these festivities, the motif became for Bosch a symbol of licence or wild revelry, alluding sometimes to unchastity<sup>186</sup>. The humanoid imp standing on his head on the beam can be compared with a little demon doing a hand-stand on a *schijf* [disc, table-top] in each of three paintings by imitators of Bosch<sup>187</sup>. It is also comparable with a naked lame beggar who is doing the stunt on a wine- or beer-cask<sup>188</sup>.

The three on the disc are i.m.o. satirical representations of acrobats of the kind that performed their tricks on top of a tavern-table<sup>189</sup>. The author of the 16th-century play *Die Trauwe* likewise saw in these entertainers a diabolic element. For in a quarrel between two of his *sinneken* [comic impersonations on the stage, here little demons; cf. the 'vices' in English morality plays], the one says to the other: *Neve, u op een rondeelken!* [Coz, thou on a roundlet!] and the other replies: *Neen, u op een zeelken!* [No, thou on a ropelet!]<sup>190</sup>, which i.m.o. means, respectively: You go and do acrobatics on a round table-top, and: You go and dance on a tightrope.

In our imp on the beam Bosch could be censuring an entertainer who performed his tricks on occasions of unbridled festivity. At the same time one could be reminded of the unchaste meaning of *een toerkin spelen* [play a little trick] and *kunstjes doen* [do little stunts]<sup>191</sup>.

A third sinner is also walking on the disc. His upper body is encased in an upside-down soldier's helmet through which his legs are stuck. He wears black boots like the left of the two sinners drawing the millstones. All we can see of a fourth sinner, who is probably lying on the disc, is a raised hand appearing from behind the basin, to the left of the wheels.

There is yet a third beam clamped between the millstones, on the far side. On it hangs a soldier's helmet. Through this is stuck a stick with a rope attached to it, on which a large, hinged pot that contains fire is swinging.

A large hinged pot, known as a kettle, occurs frequently in the works of Bosch and others as a symbol of gluttony and licentious merrymaking, during Carnival for instance<sup>192</sup>. The burning fire places it in a hellish atmosphere.

The soldiers' helmets can point to pugnacity, possibly also in the sexual sense, and at the same time they can be an indication that the sinners on the disc include not only licentious merry-makers but also soldiers. Both of these types were notorious as customers of dubious taverns. The boots could allude to addiction to drink.

The motifs of earthen pot, disc with spikes, entertainer, and stick with small

<sup>184</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 141/187 (11), 141/187 (6, 8), 142/188 (12).

<sup>185</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 142/188 (12); *Tuin*, ill. xxii.

<sup>186</sup> *Tuin*, p. 62.

<sup>187</sup> *Temptation of St. Anthony* (formerly in the P. Gutmann Collection, Haarlem; now in private collection Nashville, Canada). *St. James the Greater and the magician Hermogenes* (Museum in Valenciennes). *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Vienna. Rep.: Lafond, at p. 56).

<sup>188</sup> Engraving of *St. Martin and the beggars*. Rep.: Lafond, at p. 92.

<sup>189</sup> See Elaboration xv.

<sup>190</sup> O. van den Daele en Fr. van Veerdegheem, *De roode roos. Zinnespelen en andere toneelstukken der zestiende eeuw* etc. Bergen 1899. *Die Trauwe*, line 334 f. For *rondeel* in its 16th-century meaning of 'small round table', see: *W.N.T.* xiii, 1076.

<sup>191</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 151.

<sup>192</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 180/234; *Tuin*, p. 94 and 101. *Bezwaren*, p. 48. *Judgem.*, p. 271.

ball on cord, are also present in the drawing of the human tree, attributed to Bosch, in the Albertina.

In this drawing I see a symbolic satire on licentious celebrators of the May festival, but not placed in hell<sup>193</sup>.

A disc with spikes lies on the head of a drunkard, whose body resembles that of the human tree in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych but does deviate from it in important details (in the drawing the right paw, for instance, does not have the shape of the ligneous neck and head of a goose). On the disc stands an earthenware jug with a ladder rising up from inside it. A man has climbed up the ladder and is leaning over to grasp a tautly stretched rope. Another man whose head is visible above the rim of the jug, looks up and holds the ladder straight. The jug also has a stick projecting from it, on which hangs a cord with a small ball at its end.

In earlier publications I suggested that in the ladder (*ladder* or *leer*, with *leer* also meaning learning, instruction) and the jug (*kan*, a word which is also the auxiliary verb can) some punning expression or proverb could be concealed<sup>194</sup>. I referred to the following stereotype sayings with *leer* and *kan*, which were used to retort to someone who said *Ik kan niet* [I cannot]: *Zet de kan van je, En de leer an je* [lit.: Put the jug/ 'can', ability, from you, And the ladder/learning, instruction, to you], meaning: stop referring to your (non) ability and start learning; and *Die geen kan heeft, moet de leer gebruiken* [Who has no jug/ 'can', ability, must use the ladder/learning, instruction]<sup>195</sup>, and I presumed that it could well be said of the humanoids on the ladder and in the jug that in their case *de leer komt uit de kan* [the ladder/learning or knowledge comes out of the jug/ 'can', what they can do best], meaning: their wisdom is drawn from drink.

But there is no proof for the existence of this last saying, and the other expressions with *kan* and *leer* do not seem to be very old.

This, together with all the motifs that the drawing and the scene on our centre panel have in common, and also the presence in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych of an earthenware pot in a strongly erotic sphere where a sinner is climbing up a ladder<sup>196</sup>, leads i.m.o. to another explanation.

The interpretation I would now give is that in the drawing the disc with spikes and the pot have the same meaning as these objects have on our centre panel, and that the two men with the ladder, small ball on cord, and tightly stretched rope, just like the imp doing a hand-stand on our centre panel, are intended as a satire on licentious and unchaste entertainers, in this case persons who performed their tricks on a ladder and a tightrope.

Here, too, could be applicable the obscene meaning of *een toerkin spelen* [play a little trick] and *kunstjes doen* [do little stunts], since a ladder in the 16th-century Low Countries was a symbol of adultery, *trapken* [little ladder] also a word for a lustful girl, and *leer* [ladder] a homonym of *leer* [leather], which was used as a vulgar term for the female sex organ<sup>197</sup>.

<sup>193</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 185/237 (7-9), 198/261 (37).

<sup>194</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 186/241; *Tuin*, p. 117 (3).

<sup>195</sup> Harrebomée 1, 378: 19th-century examples.

<sup>196</sup> *Tuin*, p. 117.

<sup>197</sup> *Tuin*, p. 117 (1-5). My question whether the disc with spikes was perhaps a *schijffloop*, that is, part of the driving-wheel of a mill (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 186/240, note 29) and whether the ladder and the disc could have some connection with the cruel sport of goose-spinning (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 186/241, note 33) must i.m.o. be answered in the negative.

A disc with spikes which occurs in a *Resurrection* painted by an imitator of Bosch, also has an obscene connotation<sup>198</sup>. One of the four Roman guards at the grave of Christ wears on his head a 'hat' consisting of a round slab with sharp points and, rising from its centre, a tightly twisted cloth with a large arrow stuck through it. Here again the disc is the round top of a tavern-table representing the word *schijve* [disc], while the sharp points on it allude to the word *vinne* [fin]. The cloth is symbolic of the female sex (*Judgem.*, p. 105). The large arrow stands for the word *bout*, which besides arrow, bolt (a phallic symbol) meant dissolute fellow, as well as roast leg, favourite food of spendthrift merry-makers. On the shield of another guard a road (unchastity) is depicted.

It is clear that the jug with the disc and millstones on our centre panel is the place of execution for licentious lechers and that the procession of sinners described above is being conducted to it<sup>199</sup>.

Standing in the mouth of the jar is a devil who has a staff in his left hand, a knife in his right, and on his head a flat hat<sup>200</sup>. In Berlin this man wears a cap with ruffles, like those of a Burgundian noble in a copy of a painting by Jan van Eyck (see *Judgem.*, p. 223).

His upper body is that of a man and he has a green-blue face with a red beard and moustache (in Berlin no beard or moustache). The lower body consists of a double tail (in Berlin a single one).

The staff i.m.o. indicates that he is a high-ranking officer of the law<sup>201</sup>. I would say that also his hat denotes this, for it is identical to the hat that Pilate wears in an *Ecce Homo* in which he appears holding a wooden staff in his hand<sup>202</sup>.

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A *schijfloop* has a different appearance and whereas a ladder certainly was used for goose-spinning, a solid wooden disc was not. What was spun round was a wagon-wheel with spokes.

The motif of an earthenware jug with a ladder standing in it occurs also on a sketch-sheet with five drawings made by an imitator of Bosch (Oppenheimer Collection, London; rep.: De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, no. 56, p. 437). The sketch in the lower left corner of the sheet shows a demonic imp with a laughing expression on his face (he seems to be drunk), who is lying with his head against a jar out of which a ladder rises up. An arrow appears from behind his head. (The arrow could be a phallic symbol and the word *bout*, for an arrow, had the additional meanings of dissipated fellow and leg of meat as a dish favoured by spendthrift merry-makers.) What we have here is i.m.o. a satirical depiction of an unchaste, drunken entertainer.

It seems that the sketch in the lower right-hand corner, companion to the former, also alludes to inebriety. A man lying under a lean-to roof holds an eel in his right hand. *Aal* [eel] also meant ale, beer, *Judgem.*, p. 173.

<sup>198</sup> Photo Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague: L. no. 17296. Dutch art-dealer(?), 1934.

<sup>199</sup> Gossart, p. 102, mistakenly writes: 'Une meule qui broie les corps est tournée par les Paresseux.'

<sup>200</sup> The motif of a jar in horizontal position with a demonic imp standing in the mouth, was also used by Bosch in his *St. Christopher* (Rotterdam): *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 233/309. On the centre panel of a *Last Judgement* triptych (Bruges) by an imitator, we see a large jug lying on its side, and in the opening a tavern-table at which a sinner is sitting on a wine- or beer-cask.

<sup>201</sup> For officers of the law of higher rank who are depicted with a staff of office, see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 57/72, at notes 35-39.

<sup>202</sup> According to Hoogewerff it was the work of an artist of Haarlem who had undergone the influence of Dirk Bouts. Rep.: Hoogewerff II, p. 231. Albrecht van Beieren, Count of Holland, wears a flat hat and carries a staff and a dagger in a small sculptured effigy for a



A messenger-devil with insect-like arm-paws and a demon's tail, comes running forward to hand the 'officer of the law' a letter with a stamped seal on it. He holds this in his mouth. The imp wears the top of a messenger's cloak with a little yellow metal messenger's badge attached to it (in Berlin no badge). See the representations of such messengers in a Dutch statute book of c. 1508<sup>203</sup>, reproduced here as ill. 34.

It seems to me that Bosch got the idea for the whole scene with procession, messenger, high-ranking law-officer, and place of execution from a judicial practice in the duchy of Brabant that Pouillet describes as follows: *La règle était, en Brabant, que le droit de faire mettre à mort ou de faire mutiler un condamné n'appartenait qu' au duc seul*<sup>204</sup>. La plupart des seigneurs, même haute justiciers après que leurs échevins avaient prononcé la sentence capitale, devaient conduire le condamné, en habits de lin, à la limite de leur juridiction, et de livrer à l'officier ducal du quartier<sup>205</sup>.

The officer with the staff in the opening of the jug is i.m.o. derived from the type of 'officier ducal du quartier'. The messenger is bringing him a letter in which the sentence that has to be executed, is made known.

It is remarkable that here, too, just as in the case of the two notaries<sup>206</sup>, the letter with a seal stamped on it occurs in an unchaste setting. Here, too, the expression *den brieve beseghelen* [to seal the letter] could be applicable.

The messenger is the servant of a 'haut justicier' or of an 'échevin'. Now the assistants of a sheriff or a bailiff were sometimes keepers of brothels<sup>207</sup>.

Amsterdam in 1475 issued an order that public women were to be lodged exclusively with the assistants of the sheriff<sup>208</sup>, and in The Hague the bailiff's men were in charge of the brothels in the beginning of the 16th century<sup>209</sup>. Bosch's messenger-devil can therefore also have a connotation of unchastity.

The only devils in the procession and at the place of execution who more or

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tombstone, South Brabant 1476 (J. Leeuwenberg en W. Halsema-Kubes. *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum*. 's-Gravenhage 1973, p. 40). Was he here represented as administrator of the law?

<sup>203</sup> W. Nijhoff. *L'art typographique* 1: Zwolle – Os van Breda v, fig. 18 and 19. For similar capes and shields, see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 10/14, note 5.

<sup>204</sup> In 's-Hertogenbosch and a couple of other places this was not the case, but Bosch would naturally have known the practice from elsewhere.

<sup>205</sup> E. Pouillet. *Histoire du droit pénal dans l'ancien duché de Brabant. Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* xxxiii (1865-1867), p. 263. Also in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych sinners are being conducted to an instrument of torture by a procession of devils: *Tuin*, p. 123. *Sidrac*, p. 49, says that after death the sinner's soul is taken to hell by devils *alsoe gelijc alsemen leedt de mesdadeghe ten gherechte weert met grooten geselscape van rechtersknappen* [in the way that the criminal is led towards justice with a large company of minions of the law]. An exemplum also shows the influence of the judicial practice: in *Dat sterf boeck*, 128<sup>v</sup>, the servant of a deceased cardinal who had committed the sins of avarice and unchastity, sees a procession of devils who ride on animals. Following them are two devils on foot with the cardinal between them. They are taking him to Christ, who will pronounce sentence on him. Processions of devils with sinners occur in a number of visions. Vauquelin, for instance, a priest in the bishopric of Lisieux, is said to have had a vision in 1091 in which he saw a procession of devils with i.a. unchaste women on horses and greedy knights (Verdeyen en Endepols 1, p. 36).

<sup>206</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 116 and 119.

<sup>207</sup> Fokker 1, p. 423.

<sup>208</sup> Van der Valk, p. 142.

<sup>209</sup> Fokker 1, p. 424.



Dit sijn die statuten en lantrecht  
 vanden landen vā west vrieslant



34. Messengers carrying letters, c. 1508 (p. 185 n. 203)

less clearly indicate in their appearance what the profession of their charges were, are a procuress, a prostitute, some soldiers, a messenger, a high law-officer and an entertainer. Now *Des coninx Summe* (p. 261-272) accuses persons in exactly these occupations, of avarice: *coppellersen, lichte wiven, krijgslieden, boden, drossaters, net boeven* [procuresses, light women, soldiers, couriers, sheriffs (i.e. persons substituting for the lord of the land), net rogues]. The sinners on our panel who are being conducted to the place of punishment and those already there, have been guilty of unchastity, pugnacity, addiction to drink and licentious behaviour. Do we have to see in this a combination of *Luxuria* and *Avaritia*<sup>210</sup>?

<sup>210</sup> The high-ranking officer of the law who has to execute the sentence and the messenger who brings him the letter containing the judgement, could be merely exercising their function of avenging devils. But Bosch could of course have intended them to be also satirical figures of avaricious law officers. Such a grasping lawyer who lets himself be bribed, is the magistrate that Bosch painted (or designed) in the *Avaritia* on his *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*. Magistrates who impose unjust sentences are warned by Jan Deckers in his *Dietsche Doctrinale*, p. 206, in no uncertain terms:

Wiste een scepen wat hi ware,  
 Hi soude beven altoes van vare  
 Soe wannen hi sitten ghinghe  
 Tien ordele in ghedinghe:  
 Dan soudi trecken vore sine oghen  
 Dordeel dat onse here sal toeghen  
 Ten ionxten daghe, daer hi al,  
 Doeght ende archeit, lonen sal.

[If a judge knew what he were,  
 He'd always be trembling with fear  
 Whenever he proceeds to sit  
 In a case of law, for judging it:  
 Then in his mind's eye he'd see  
 What our Lord's judgement is going to be  
 On the youngest day, when, all alike,  
 Virtue and vice, He will requite.]

An interesting detail is that the tree behind the ships has a hole in it from which water is flowing. It could be a lime-tree, that is, a tree under which legal actions could be performed. The hole and the water in it indicate that the tree is rotten inside, symbolizing the illness from which the judiciary is here shown to be suffering.

In the scene with the notary on the bed this connection was i.m.o. also recognizable. We noted there that *Des Coninx Summe* brands as avaricious also the *valsche notarii* [false notaries]. In our procession a large charter which in some way is related to unchaste acts, is held aloft. Here, too, one could interpret it as alluding to an avaricious notary who, like the one in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych, has assisted in drawing up a document permitting someone to benefit from illicit love<sup>211</sup>.

Bosch and imitators depicted a number of devil-messengers with a letter:

On the left panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon, Bosch shows one with a badge and a messenger's cape<sup>212</sup>.

In a *Christ in Limbo* attributed to Jan Mandijn, a devil with badge and cape gives a letter to a she-devil whose attire is that of a young woman of standing<sup>213</sup>.

Among the diabolic creatures tormenting Job is a messenger with a badge on which a chevron is depicted. He is bringing a sealed letter to Job<sup>214</sup>.

In a *Hell* or *Purgatory*, also by an imitator, a devil hands a sealed letter to a sinner. Another devil with a halberd follows the messenger. Does the letter contain the condemnation<sup>215</sup>?

A little demon that holds in his hand a long thorny stick (he is therefore playing the part of an officer of the law) and wears on his breast a metal badge with chevron, brings a sealed letter to another devil in a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, which is credited to Pieter Huys<sup>216</sup>.

Maybe the following proverb is sometimes applicable in such cases: *Daer de duvel niet comen en can daer seynt hi sijn bode* [Where the devil cannot come there he sends his messenger]<sup>217</sup>.

In discussing the notary (*Judgem.*, p. 119) I gave examples of the combination Avaritia-Luxuria in the works of our writing moralists. In the procession towards the jug there are also soldiers. According to Jan Praet Ira and Avaritia often go together (*Judgem.*, p. 109), and *Een Fundament van der Kerstenre Geloven* teaches that from *giericheit* [greed] issues *gewelt* [violence]<sup>218</sup>.

We do not see the end of the procession. It seems to go on and on. Also in accordance with this is what *Dat Boec van der W'raken* says:

<i>Dat om ghene dinc en varen</i>	[That for nothing else do go
<i>Meer volx ter hellen gloede</i>	More folk into hell's glow
<i>Dan om begherten wille van goede;</i>	Than for desiring to possess;] <sup>219</sup>

When we examine how the avaricious are punished in Middle Dutch writings, we find that Bosch went his own entirely different way.

With Jan van Ruusbroec they are *doergoten . . . ende vervult met berrenden vlammen, also met gloeyende selver ende gout ende als gesmolten metael* [permeated . . . and filled with burning flames, as with glowing silver and gold

<sup>211</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 119, 177. *Tuin*, p. 83.

<sup>212</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 10/14.

<sup>213</sup> Captain Mesham Collection. Photo in Rijksbureau: Friedländer Records.

<sup>214</sup> Doña Dolores Fernandez Collection, Madrid. Photo in Rijksbureau: Friedländer Records. For the chevron, see: *Judgem.*, p. 121 f.

<sup>215</sup> Sijpesteijn Castle, Loosdrecht. Photo in Rijksbureau. Box: Bosch: *Allegorie. Helse voorstellingen*. [Allegory. Depictions of hell.] Etc.

<sup>216</sup> Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, no. 25.

<sup>217</sup> *Proverbia seriosa*.

<sup>218</sup> Jacobs, in Jan de Weert, p. 47 f.

<sup>219</sup> Snellaert. *Nederlandsche gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw*, p. 336.

and as with molten metal]<sup>220</sup>. In *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 163 f.) they lie in *enen diepen dale in ghesmouten ende siende metale als yser, koper, sulver, gout ende tinne . . . Dese ellendighe, vracke sielen wert oec dicwile alle dese voirscreven metale al siende hiet mit gloyende ketelen ende emmeren inden live ghegoten* [in a deep valley in molten and seething metal such as iron, copper, silver, gold and tin . . . These miserable, greedy souls also often have all these aforesaid metals, all boiling hot, poured into their bodies from glowing kettles and pails]. With Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 650) the avaricious have *pick, zwavel, tarre inden live ghegoten* [pitch, sulphur, tar poured into the body] and also in *Dat sterf boeck* (13<sup>v</sup>) devils fill *hen den hals mit siedende pec ende mit stinckende zwavel* [their throats with boiling pitch and with stinking sulphur].

According to an *Exposicie op et Pater Noster* (fol. 95: Tinbergen, in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 180) an avaricious bailiff was tortured after his death by two devils in a very dark room. They poured molten gold and silver (the money he had robbed from the poor when alive) into his mouth, *ende dat hem beneden weder uutghinc, storten si hem anderwerf in sinen mont* [and what went out of him below, they poured once again into his mouth].

The soul of Tondalus, however, sees in purgatory something quite different: A beast larger than any mountain, with eyes like fiery volcanoes, has its mouth stretched wide open. A good ten thousand armed men could go into it. Between the upper and lower front teeth stand two giants, one upright on his feet, the other upside-down on his head. They serve as two pillars dividing the space between the jaws into three entrances. A fire burns inside the monster. The souls of misers and avaricious persons are driven into the mouth by devils and they pass into the belly of the creature. Tondalus, too, arrives inside the belly and is there tormented by dogs, bears, lions, snakes and *ontelliken anderen ongehoerden beesten* [innumerable other unheard-of beasts]<sup>221</sup>.

Tondalus sees other places, too, where avaricious souls are punished. In purgatory he comes to a well which is as large as a lake. A storm causes great waves, so that one cannot see the sky. Fearsome animals are in the water where they devour sinners. A narrow bridge, twelve miles long, crosses the lake. Thieves and robbers (covetous persons, therefore) have to walk over the bridge, from which sharp nails stick up, and they then fall into the waves<sup>222</sup>. Because Tondalus once stole a cow (which he fortunately returned again to its owner) he has to lead a wild cow over the bridge. He succeeds in doing this. While so engaged he meets a sinner who has to carry a heavy sheaf of corn across the bridge. They pass each other without knowing how they managed it. The sheaf, too, was what the other had once stolen<sup>223</sup>. Tondalus also sees that in hell

<sup>220</sup> Ruusbroec III, p. 75: *Van den Kerstenen Ghelove*.

<sup>221</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 39 ff. Jan van Boendale lets those who gave nothing to the poor and were therefore miserly, be tortured by dragons and snakes (*Der Leken Spieghel* I, p. 53).

<sup>222</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 51 ff.

<sup>223</sup> In *Tuin*, p. 126 at the top, I pointed out that in a scene on the *Hell* panel of the *Garden* triptych some influence of this passage could perhaps be traced. The opinion of De Tolnay (1965, p. 25) that the bridge and the chalice thief riding an ox in the foreground of the *Hell* of the *Haywain* triptych (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 101/128, note 12; 263/346, note 43; *Tuin*, p. 120; *Bezwaren*, p. 4, note 21) are derived from the passage, is not correct (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 276/362, notes 27 and 28). Also R. Verdeyen made this assumption: *Hieronymus Bosch en het Visioen van Tondalus*. *Tijdschrift voor Levende Talen — Revue des Langues Vivantes* XVI -1950-, p. 504 ff. According to him the pierced

thieves, robbers, greedy prelates and other persons wielding power have to undergo the same punishment as that meted out to homicides<sup>224</sup>, and that outside the wall of the terrestrial paradise men and women who have not given sufficiently to the poor, stand in the rain and the wind suffering hunger and thirst<sup>225</sup>.

In *Tondalus' Visioen* traitors are probably counted among the avaricious (see *Judgem.*, p. 379).

In purgatory the soul of Tondalus sees that traitors are given the punishment described in *Judgem.*, p. 175).

In *Sidrac* (p. 173) the avaricious get the same punishment as those guilty of Ira, Superbia, Gula, Invidia and Luxuria (see *Judgem.*, p. 110).

As for the two French works, *Le Traité* says misers are plunged into boiling metal and tortured on an iron roasting-spit, while *Le Compost* declares that they are punished in cauldrons full of boiling oil and molten metal.

The punishment in the cauldron and on the spit are the lot of the avaricious in the *Hell* of Bosch's *Table*.

In the sinners in the middle distance, together with their devils, the following persons are satirized:

- P. 145-148 A man who has indulged in excessive eating and drinking, at the same time succumbing to unchastity, licentious behaviour and pugnacity. Mainly a satire on Gula.
- P. 148-154 Persons who have excessively enjoyed food prepared from flour, or boiled in a pot, roasted on a spit, smoked over a wood-fire or fried in a pan. In addition they led unchaste lives. What we are intended to recognize here are in the first place gluttons who have indulged their appetites in dubious taverns. Mainly a satire on Gula.
- P. 154-165 A prostitute and a customer of a brothel-tavern (with music-makers and an executioner-brothelkeeper). Satire on Luxuria, Accidia, Superbia and Ira, especially Luxuria.
- P. 165-168 Unchaste, pugnacious and loose-living men.
- P. 168-170 Licentious and unchaste merrymakers in a boat (net-rogues?).
- P. 171-174 Men who were guilty of the sins of Invidia (?), Luxuria and Ira.
- P. 175-180 Men, including soldiers, who in ill-famed taverns, with whores and procuresses, gave themselves to unchastity, pugnacity, drink and dissipation and as a result came into conflict with the law.
- P. 180-186 Licentious and unchaste entertainers and soldiers, who sinned in taverns of ill-repute and were punished by the law.
- P. 184-186 Perhaps also satire on officers of the law themselves.
- P. 186-187 Luxuria is prominent, but Avaritia could also be present. So could Ira.

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sinner could, nota bene, be Tondalus! At most, a reminiscence of what he had read could have given Bosch a certain stimulus. Closely related to the passage is a story in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* (Wybrands. *Dialogus*, p. 98): *Een zekere Gosschalk uit Utrecht zag hoe in het vagevuur Helias van Rhenen, burggraaf van Horst, achterstevoren zittende op een koe reed, die hem aanhoudend met haar boren in den rug stiet: de heer van Rhenen had in zijn leven op onrechtvaardige wijze de koe eener weduwe zich toegeëigend.* [A certain Gosschalk from Utrecht saw how Helias van Rhenen, viscount of Horst, rode on a cow in purgatory, sitting back to front, while she stabbed him continuously in the back with her horns: the lord Van Rhenen had in his life wrongfully appropriated to himself a widow's cow.]

<sup>224</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 109 ff. *Judgem.*, p. 110: description of the punishment.

<sup>225</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 125.



35. Scene on and around bridge, Bosch (p. 171, 175, 191)



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## The centre panel:

### IV. the earth: background

We return to the bridge built over the tributary. This side-stream stretches up into the background. To the right are rocks and behind these the stream bends to the right. There it joins a lake. See ill. 35.

In the water near the rocks are sinners who are holding up a hand in a vain attempt to be rescued from the glowing liquid. In Berlin there is only one sinner and here only his head is still above water, no hand. Red gleams play on the water of the tributary as well as on that of the river in front of the bridge.

Although this is still the earth, Bosch lends to its background the features of a landscape in hell or in purgatory: a bridge and a river of burning water in which sinners swim are well-known components of such scenes.

The soul of Tondalus sees in purgatory a bridge of 1000 steps long and a foot wide, which spans a valley, and another bridge, two miles long and with nails sticking up from it, which crosses a pit as large as a lake<sup>1</sup>.

In *St. Patricius' Vagevuur* the knight Owein sees a bridge laid across a river of boiling water<sup>2</sup>. In another version the bridge crosses a stinking and burning river<sup>3</sup>. The *Vierde Martijn*, a poem written in the autumn of 1299, mentions a ceaselessly burning stream in hell<sup>4</sup>. And in *Tgevecht van Minnen*, printed in 1516, carnal desire causes a lover to forget God, and this lands him *in der*

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<sup>1</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 37 and 51. Gossart (p. 227), Combe (1946, p. 29, note 92), Delevoy (p. 109; his description: 'le pont hérissé de clous' is incorrect; there is no such bridge on our triptych), and Baldass (1959, p. 233) are wrong in saying that the bridge on our centre panel is derived from *Tondalus' Visioen*.

<sup>2</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 20.

<sup>4</sup> W. Asselbergs. *Het landschap van de Vierde Martijn. Verslagen K.V.A.v.T.e.L.* 1964, p. 258.

*helsche beken* [in the streams of hell]<sup>5</sup>. The water is not necessarily always hot: Owein also sees sinners punished in the ice-cold water of a river<sup>6</sup>.

Another sinner is being brought along to join those already in the water. He is coming out of the fissure between the rocks and is accompanied by two prostitutes, identifiable as such by their double-pointed headgear. Behind the second meretrix walks another sinner, followed by his own demon, a prostitute with a single-pointed headdress to which a veil is attached. This she-devil is not present in the Berlin depiction.

On the flat rock above this group sits a bagpiper-devil, leaning with his elbow on a beer- or wine-cask<sup>7</sup>. The bung has been removed and from the hole flows infernal liquor. On the cask stands a wine- or beer-jug.

The demon-bagpiper is sitting at the entrance to a cave<sup>8</sup>. In the opening stands a prostitute-devil with the double-pointed headdress, and projecting from the rock-face, high above the entrance, is a stick with two little flags on it. In Berlin the stick is clearly seen to be placed in a hole. One little flag is ochre (grimy yellow? - in Berlin it is purplish-white) and the other of a red colour. An owl sits on top of the rock<sup>9</sup>.

There is a second opening in the cave, to the right, further back, and in it is a sinner accompanied by a prostitute-devil with double-pointed headdress. Close to this cavity stands the dry hollow trunk of a tree.

In this scene sinners who have frequented brothel-taverns are about to be punished.

The headdress with a single point has already been discussed exhaustively in *Judgem.*, p. 42 ff. The double-pointed one was given some brief attention in *Judgem.*, p. 42, 44, 45 n. 164 and 154. There we noted the double-pointed bonnet of a public woman following in the train of Charles the Bold's army, and that of a whore-devil in a scene on our centre panel satirizing Luxuria coupled with Accidia. In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 97/122 (3-13), *Tuin*, p. 97, 110 and 112, and *Martelares*, p. 11, I gave many other examples. To these can now be added the following instances of where the twin-peaked head-covering is worn by a prostitute-devil: in a depiction of *Hell* which is in a private collection in Madrid<sup>10</sup>; in another depiction of *Hell* in the Wildenstein Gallery in New York<sup>11</sup>; in a *Christ in Limbo* which was formerly in the Jeffcoat Collection in Cape Town<sup>12</sup>; in a drawing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, attributed to Jan

<sup>5</sup> *Tgheveecht van Minnen*. Edited according to the Antwerp post-incunabulum of 1516 by Robrecht Lievens. Leuven 1964, p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols 11, p. 265.

<sup>7</sup> The explanation given by De Tolnay 1937, p. 35 is quite wrong: 'le petit personnage mélancolique accoudée au centre de la composition, et dans lequel l'artiste a voulu se peindre'. P. Gerlach errs in thinking that I suggest that the bagpiper is a portrait of Bosch: P. Gerlach, *Jeroen Bosch. Zelfportretten*. *Brabantia* 24 (1925), p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> This momentarily recalls the lookout-man in *Tspel van Sinte Trudo*, l. 3484 (in Kalff, *Trou*) who stands guard at the gateway to the *helsghe spilloncke* [hell's cavern].

<sup>9</sup> Reminiscent of this scene is the following depiction in a tapestry representing a *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Royal Palace, Madrid; Brussels work, shortly after 1550; Lafond, at p. 81): A female devil in the shape of a whore stands in the cavity of a rock. Projecting from the rock is a claw-hook on which hang a lute and a heart pierced by an arrow. Beside it is a devil with a bagpipes.

<sup>10</sup> Rijksbureau: Friedländer Records.

<sup>11</sup> De Tolnay erroneously regards her as a nun: *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* xx (1961), p. 48. Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 45.

<sup>12</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 147 n. 7.

de Cock, in the Uffizi<sup>13</sup>; in the water in the cavity of a rock on a tapestry depicting the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, in the Royal Palace in Madrid<sup>14</sup>; on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges where the wearer stands beside a sinner lying in bed; in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Jan Mandijn<sup>15</sup>, where she is beside a man with a mussel-shell; in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Van Buuren Collection in Brussels<sup>16</sup>, beside a monk-devil who shows her his naked backside; in the lower right corner of the *Merrymakers in an Egg*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, where two whore-devils are seen wearing the headgear; in the *Hell of Cock's* engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych in which there are at least five meretrices with this head-covering; in the *Temptation of Job* in the museum of Douai, on a prostitute-devil who has a bundle of keys on a strap attached to her girdle<sup>17</sup>.

A bagpipes was a symbol of the male member<sup>18</sup> and the word *muizelaar*, meaning player on the bagpipes, is still current in an obscene sense in Flanders to-day<sup>19</sup>.

A beer- or wine-cask with the liquid running from its open bunghole, was depicted by Bosch also in front of the brothel in his *Pedlar* (Rotterdam)<sup>20</sup>. In both cases the motif of the missing bung (the liquor is spilled) is a symbolical allusion to what a prostitute is: open to all.

A beer- or wine-cask and a beer- or wine-jug are of course part and parcel of a brothel-tavern<sup>21</sup>, but it is interesting to note that the butt and the jug also occur as allusions to the vagina<sup>22</sup>.

The two little flags, of which in the Vienna picture the one is ochre (yellow with a film of dirt on it?) and the other red in colour, should be compared with the vane consisting of two bands, one ochre-coloured (is the ochre here a red become grimy?) and the other yellow, which in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon is attached to the cave-dwelling of the saint, changed by devils into a house of ill-fame<sup>23</sup>. As on our centre panel, a cask with a jug on it stands beside the entrance to the diabolic brothel.

<sup>13</sup> Rep.: *Oud Holland* XLV (1928), p. 243.

<sup>14</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 81.

<sup>15</sup> *De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 152, ill. 125.

<sup>16</sup> Idem, no. 41, ill. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 19/26 (35), 229/298 (note 60). For the bagpipes in works by Bosch and imitators see the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin and Judgem.*, sub *doedelzak*/bagpipes and *doedelzakspeler*/bagpiper, and *Bezwaren*, p. 44. Another example: On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges the round top (*schijve*) of a tavern-table whose edge is pierced by spikes (*vinnich* [fin-ish, sharp]), has on it a large bagpipes around which sinners are forced to dance. The *schijve* [disc] forms the roof of a love-tent in which a female prostitute-devil with double-pointed headdress stands next to a sinner lying in bed. To the left of the tent is a lute with an owl in a round opening in it, and to the right a harp with a sinner hanging on it. Lute and harp signify the female sexual organ, bagpipes and owl the male member.

<sup>19</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 22/26 (35).

<sup>20</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 222/295.

<sup>21</sup> Beer- or wine-casks occur repeatedly in works by Bosch and his imitators. E.g.: On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges sinners are tormented in and at a large beer- or wine-vat, and a sinner sits on such a cask at a tavern-table placed in the mouth of a large jug lying on its side.

<sup>22</sup> *Cask: Judgem.*, p. 115. *Jug: Judgem.*, p. 99 f., 181.

<sup>23</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29.

It seems that the vanes in the two paintings are the signs of a brothel-tavern. In 1565 it was forbidden in 's-Hertogenbosch to hang *enige vanen oft wapenen oneerlijcke oft scandeloes zynde . . . vuyt oft voir eenige huysen ofte cameren, dair zy souden willen theeren oft drincken* [any vanes or arms (arms = escutcheons?, or forbidden weapons?) being indecent or scandalous . . . from or before any houses or chambers where they (i.e. merry-makers) might wish to feast or drink]<sup>24</sup>. Our little flags are i.m.o. such 'scandalous vanes'.

As for the colours of the vanes in Vienna and Lisbon: yellow in the Middle Ages did occur as an allusion to unchastity<sup>25</sup> and the combination red and yellow in the 16th and 17th centuries was associated in some way with folly<sup>26</sup>. Also with unchastity, because an old folk-song says of a woman of easy virtue *si is van loser aert, daeromme draghetsi bruin, root ende gheel* [she is of loose nature, therefore she wears brown, red and yellow]<sup>27</sup>. In connection with this Van Duyse observes that red and yellow were colours worn by women of loose morals and refers the reader to Götzinger's *Reallexikon*, sub *Frauenhaus*.

In the background of Bosch's *Adoration* (Prado) the colours occur in a lecherous setting. We see there a tavern with a part of its roof turned into a *duifhuis* [dove-house], symbol of a brothel<sup>28</sup>. A man and a woman are looking at it, standing where a sharp rise in the ground forms a terrace<sup>29</sup>. He has his arm round her waist. Beside them a halberd is propped against the side of the terrace. This weapon undoubtedly has the same meaning here as the spear with the couple in the doorway to the brothel-tavern in Bosch's *Pedlar*. Next to the tavern in our picture a sign-board hangs on a wooden pole. As in the *Pedlar* it has the depiction of a swan on it<sup>30</sup>, and here, too, a wine-butt stands next to the

<sup>24</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29.

<sup>25</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29 (12, 13, 14). See also *Tuin*, p. 98.

<sup>26</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29 (15-19). Additions: G. Kalff (*Opkomst, bloei en verdwijning van de hofnar*, Amsterdam 1954) points out that a red cloak with yellow hood was a garment worn by mediaeval jongleurs already from the 12th century (p. 81), that a fool in the *Breviarium Grimani* wears a half red, half blue doublet on yellow trousers (p. 82), that a jester in a depiction of a deer-hunt, from the workshop of Cranach (1529), is clothed in yellow and red (p. 82) and that the rustic figure which at times has been attributed to Pieter Bruegel and to Jan van Eyck (incorrectly i.m.o.; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and which could prove to be a jester, wears a red cap and a red-and-yellow garment (p. 86). According to M. Sabbe (*Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, Antwerpen 1924, p. 187) lunatics from *het dwinghuys van St. Rochus* [lit.: house of restraint of St. Rochus, i.e. an asylum] in Antwerp were included in the annual Antwerp Procession in the 15th and 16th centuries. They were called *Zottekens* [little fools] and wore, in any case in the beginning of the 15th century, a garment of which the colours were yellow and red. This clothing was provided by the civic authorities. In a *Kermesse of St. Bavo*, attributed to P. Balten (Art firm Paul Larsen; *The Connoisseur* cxliv, October 1959, p. xxxvii) a jester is garbed in red and yellow. In the Pushkin Museum in Moscow a painting by Teniers shows a jester with bauble in hand and wearing a hood and a cloak in the colours yellow, red, ochre and green. The same jester occurs in another depiction by Teniers, a scene at a fair, also in the Pushkin Museum, and here hood and cloak are yellow, red and green.

<sup>27</sup> In a manuscript of songs, in Weimar, written in 1537 and 1540 by two inhabitants of Zutphen. Fl. van Duyse. *Het oude Nederlandsche lied*. Deel 1. 's-Gravenhage-Antwerpen 1903, p. 439.

<sup>28</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> Good reproductions of this scene: De Tolnay 1965, p. 304 and Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 105.

<sup>30</sup> For swan, see: *Judgem.*, p. 310 f.

tavern. Round the corner of the terrace, to the right, a man is peering at the couple. Is he the betrayed spouse<sup>31</sup>? At the foot of the terrace, to the left, a dog stands looking in the direction of the man and the woman. Is the animal here a symbol of unchastity<sup>32</sup>? A man is leading an ass towards the tavern. The cloth over the beast is red with yellow (golden) stripes running obliquely across it and has a yellow band round its edge. On the red sections between the yellow stripes small white crescent moons are depicted. A little ape sits on the cloth. The ass is here a symbol of stupidity<sup>33</sup> and unchastity<sup>34</sup>, the little ape of folly and unchastity<sup>35</sup>, the half-moons signify licentiousness<sup>36</sup>, and the colour combination of red and yellow points to folly and unchastity.

In this scene Bosch is satirizing unchastity and contrasting it with the purity of Mary in the foreground. In the middle distance between Mary with the Magi and the brothel-tavern, two groups of oriental soldiers are advancing on each other. For a battle? If so, then this is also by way of contrast to what is happening in the foreground. One of the cavaliers is blowing on a musical instrument on which a little flag hangs. Depicted on it is a crescent moon. Behind the scene with the dubious tavern and the ass, is a hillock on which stands an idol. The image is crowned with a crescent moon. In these two instances the crescent is i. m. o. the sign of Mohammedanism<sup>37</sup>.

We return to our *Last Judgement* triptych.

In Berlin, as we have noted, one little flag is purplish white and the other red.

The combination white-red also had some connection with folly. The dwarf who played a part in the tournament held on the occasion of the marriage of Charles the Bold (1468), was robed in a long garment, one half of it white damask, the other crimson satin<sup>38</sup>. In the 'Schembart Lauf' (masked parade on the Eve-of-the-Fast) in Nuremberg a 'Narrenfresser' [jester-gobbler] who walked in the procession, devoured or sold red-and-white striped dolls<sup>39</sup>. And in Bruegel's *Triumph of Death* a jester has a cap and an upper garment with a white-and-red diamond pattern.

We noted earlier, likewise in the Berlin depiction, that a small white flag was the sign on a tavern kept by a she-devil<sup>40</sup>. Does the colour white also have some special significance here? White, red and green occur as colours of folly in a *referein* [line-repeating poem] from the beginning of the 16th century (*Styevoort* LXXXV, line 44 f.). In it the colours of the pebbles which fools are said to have in their heads, are described as: *meesten deel wit, nochtans oec groyn en root* [the most part white, yet also green and red]. As for the combination red and yellow (or gold): flags with these colours occur in mediaeval plastic art in a symbolic anti-Christian sense<sup>41</sup>.

The owl on top of the brothel-tavern is no doubt meant to be an allusion to

<sup>31</sup> Compare the deceived husband on top of the hay in Bosch's *Haywain: Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 16/19 (66).

<sup>32</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 37 f.

<sup>33</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 101 f.

<sup>34</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 101, 220.

<sup>35</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 29.

<sup>36</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 381.

<sup>37</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 382.

<sup>38</sup> Kalff (see note 26 above), p. 82.

<sup>39</sup> Idem, p. 73.

<sup>40</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 135.

<sup>41</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29 (21).



the male member, a connotation which this bird had in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch<sup>42</sup>. And the hollow, dry tree-trunk close to the cavity in the rock will probably have been intended to signify the female genitals<sup>43</sup>.

All the sinners in this scene, with one exception, are in the water. In the Dutch language of former times water could have an erotic function. There are i.a. the 16th-century expressions *In de vloet terden* [to tread into the stream] and *In 't beekken springen* [To jump into the brook], which mean to fall in love, and the 17th-century saying *swemmen als een swaen* [to swim like a swan], that is, to make love<sup>44</sup>.

To the right of the brothel-cave, at the foot of a rock, we see a lean-to with a thatched roof on wooden poles. A diabolic blacksmith with a white hood, a rat-like head and a blue body is using a hammer to fit a horseshoe to the heel of a woman-sinner. She has long, fair hair, like the dancer on the stone roof-slab<sup>45</sup> and the woman being ridden by the toad-devil<sup>46</sup>. In Vienna she has her eyes cast down, in Berlin she is looking straight ahead.

More to the front a bare, bird-like imp, who resembles the bird with the two young ones near the notary on his hell-bed<sup>47</sup>, is peering over the edge of the rocky platform at a sinner in the water who has his hand stretched out in the hope of being rescued.

To the right of the lean-to a smith-devil with a tail, who is clothed in a brown garment and a brown hood (in Berlin the latter is black), and who wears a white apron, is aiming his hammer at the footsole of a naked man. Sparks are flying from the man's buttocks, but not from the foot. The smith has therefore just struck the man's behind and is now about to start on the foot. There is no horseshoe here. In Berlin the demon-smith is aiming at the buttocks, from which sparks are already flying. Also from the foot? Or is it spots that we see on the garment of the smith? Here there is no horseshoe either.

The sinner is lying face down over a red anvil. At the back a fire is blazing in the furnace of the smithy. Above it is a chimney-piece into which the flames disappear. This chimney passes through a stone slab. The flames reappear above the slab.

In the fireplace parts of a sinner's body are being burnt. Behind the chimney-piece and under the sloping stone slab at least two sinners lie waiting their turn to be punished. In Berlin there are at least four. The colour of the furnace, chimney, and slab is blue.

While the thatched roof of the lean-to reminds one of an overhang under which horses are shod outside the actual blacksmith's workshop, the anvil, furnace and chimney allude to the smithy itself.

On the rock above the two smith-devils sits a humanoid imp without body or arms. His head is placed on his buttocks. He has a long tail. In Berlin he wears a pointed little cap, in Vienna a flat cap, black-blue in colour, with a broad blackblue band under the chin. The cap in Vienna is decorated in front with two little crescent moons of copper.

This scene is again of a clearly erotic nature.

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<sup>42</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 359. Madame Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 25) incorrectly regards the owl here as 'das Attribut der Pallas Athene, den Vogel der Weisheit'.

<sup>43</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 235.

<sup>44</sup> *Tuin*, p. 51 (7, 8).

<sup>45</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 154.

<sup>46</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 136.

<sup>47</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 116.

*Met Adams voorhamere smeden* [To forge with Adam's sledge-hammer] in the 16th century meant to have sexual intercourse and *hamerken* [little hammer] was a term for the male sex organ<sup>48</sup>. The sinner being burnt in the fire reminds one of the expression in *Venus forneys blijven* [lit.: to remain in Venus's furnace]<sup>49</sup> where *forneys* has the meaning of smith's furnace<sup>50</sup>.

The woman sinner is depicted here in the rôle of a mare being shod. In the Dutch of former times *merrie* [mare] was used in obscene expressions<sup>51</sup>. And in the Middle Dutch work *Die Rose* intercourse with a woman is described as *met die hamerkine sine paerde beslaen* [to shoe his horses with the little hammer]<sup>52</sup>.

The woman's heel is being fitted with a horseshoe, which also has the effect of giving it extra weight. She was perhaps a *lichthiel* [light-heel], i.e. one with light heels [and therefore easy to tip over backwards]. Huygens uses this word for a despicable female<sup>53</sup>. It is probably synonymous with *korthiel* [short-heel], which was a term for a woman of easy virtue<sup>54</sup>. There was also the saying *zich een hoefijzer aandoen* [to get oneself shod with a horseshoe], meaning to become pregnant out of wedlock<sup>55</sup>.

The smith-demon at the anvil has already hit his victim on the buttocks. *Billen*, as verb, in the 16th century meant not only to beat someone on the *billen* [buttocks], but also to have intercourse<sup>56</sup>. The smith beats alternately on the heel and the buttock. Is this a visual representation of the verb *hielebillen* (*hillebillen*), which actually means *de hiel billen*, that is, to sharpen the grooves of a mill-stone, but in the 16th century was also understood as *zich met de hielen tegen de billen slaen* [to hit one's heel against one's buttocks], that is, to gambol and frisk, which in turn was used in the obscene sense of 'playing Venus's game'? A *hillebil* was an unworthy man or woman<sup>57</sup>.

The stone slab pierced by the chimney represents the word *schijf* in the meaning of the female genitals<sup>58</sup>. Furthermore the word *schouw* [chimney-piece] itself also had this meaning in the 16th century<sup>59</sup>.

Rat, bird and long tail have already become known to us in their obscene sense.

The colour blue which occurs several times, can be symbolic of deceit.

One imp is without a trunk or arms and is therefore *lijfloos* [here understood as bodiless, without body], meaning insignificant, trivial<sup>60</sup>.

The two copper crescent moons signify licentiousness<sup>61</sup>.

Bosch derived this type of head on a bottom-with-legs, from miniatures and

<sup>48</sup> Colijn van Rijsele. *Spiegel der Minnen*, line 1715 and 3719.

<sup>49</sup> Idem, line 3214.

<sup>50</sup> *W.N.T.* III, part 3, col. 4634 (b).

<sup>51</sup> 17th-century examples: *W.N.T.* IX, 595. Cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 71/87 (79) and *Tuin*, p. 54 (10).

<sup>52</sup> *Die Rose van Heinric van Aken*. Etc. Edited by Eelco Verwijs. 's-Gravenhage 1868, p. 239.

<sup>53</sup> J.A. Worp. *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*. VIII. Groningen 1898, p. 76.

<sup>54</sup> 16th-century examples: *W.N.T.* VII, part 2, 5720. Cf. *kortgehiel*, *korthielig*: *W.N.T.* VI, 726; *W.N.T.* VII, part 2, 5716.

<sup>55</sup> *W.N.T.* VI, 794.

<sup>56</sup> *W.N.T.* II, part 2, 2698.

<sup>57</sup> *W.N.T.* VI, 751.

<sup>58</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 125, 173.

<sup>59</sup> *Haer schou laten vaghen* [To let her chimney-piece be swept]: *W.N.T.* XIV, 950.

<sup>60</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 126.

<sup>61</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 381.

wood-carvings<sup>62</sup>. He used it also for a little demon in a scene satirizing feigned charity (centre panel *Temptation of St. Anthony*, Lisbon)<sup>63</sup>, as well as on our right panel<sup>64</sup>. Also on a sketch-sheet now in the Louvre<sup>65</sup>. An imitator applied it in a tapestry showing the *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Royal Palace, Madrid; Lafond, at p. 81). Another one did likewise in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* which in 1970 was in the Galerie Heinemann in Wiesbaden<sup>66</sup>.

In our literature on hell we are told about anvils on which sinners are hammered. Sometimes the sin the unfortunates are guilty of is not specified, e.g. in Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 649), sometimes it is: the soul of Tondalus sees in purgatory a large number of souls being welded together on an anvil *in enen cloet* [into a ball]. There must have been a hundred of them so beaten together. Because he has been unchaste, Tondalus also has to undergo this punishment<sup>67</sup>.

In some instances the anvil itself is not present, but the hammering the devils give the sinners is compared to a smith's blows on the anvil. Boendale in one case makes the comparison without naming the particular sin to which the punishment is applied (*Der Leken Spiegel* I, p. 50), but elsewhere (p. 53) he does specify: *omdat si en wouden doghen niet penitencie ende ander verdriet door die minne van onsen here* [because they would not endure penitence and other sufferings for the love of our lord]. In *Dat sterf boeck* (120<sup>v</sup>) it is especially men and women guilty of unchastity who are being beaten by devils *also ongenadeliken als een smit sijn ijser op dat anbeld slaat* [so unmercifully as a smith hammers his iron on the anvil]. In *Sidrac* (p. 173) those sinners who *niet en wouden setten haren lichame omme taerbeidene omme die minne Goids* [did not want to put their bodies to labour for the love of God] are beaten by devils *alsoe zere oft smede waren die smeedden een yser* [so greatly as if it were blacksmiths forging an iron].

In the plastic arts of the Low Countries the motif was applied even before Bosch's time: Jean Le Tavernier from Oudenaerde in 1455 shows devils beating a sinner who lies across an anvil in the fireplace of a smithy<sup>68</sup>. On one of Bosch's own sketch-sheets three devils are hammering away at a sinner lying on an anvil (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin). In these cases it is not clear what the sin is supposed to be.

On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges, where the smithy is close to a brothel and one of the devils wears deer's antlers, Luxuria is the sin being punished. In the *Hell* of Bosch's *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*, on the other hand, it is Accidia. In both scenes a demon-smith is beating the buttocks of a sinner who lies on an anvil beside a furnace with a chimney-piece<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/54 (48 and 51), ill. 96/67 and 21.

<sup>63</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/53.

<sup>64</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 260.

<sup>65</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, ill. 149: upper left.

<sup>66</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 395.

<sup>67</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 95 ff. This is why Gossart (p. 229: *les forgerons infernaux*), De Tolnay (1937, p. 35, note 118: *le démon maréchal ferrant*; 1965, p. 360) and Combe (1946, p. 29, note 92: *les démons ferrant les pieds des damnés*) believe that the forges are derived from Tondalus' *Visioen*. But Bosch could have found the motif also elsewhere. It is already an old one. Verdeyen en Endepols I, p. 33, give us a tale of the 10th century according to which Ugo, marquess of Brandenburg, saw a smithy in a forest, where black devils were busy forging souls on an anvil. The sin they were guilty of is not mentioned.

<sup>68</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 89/156.

<sup>69</sup> A forge in hell is mentioned in *Tspel van den Heiligen Sacramente van der Nyeuwervaert*, line 829 (Leendertz. *Dramatische poëzie*). In Bernhard von Breydenbach's

In our literature on hell and purgatory the theme of a female sinner being beaten by a blacksmith-devil is one I have not come across. In the depiction of the *Last Judgement* by an imitator of Bosch, in the cathedral of Tudela (Navarra), a devil with the horns of a roebuck is shoeing a female sinner. A pig stands beside her. The allusion here is i.m.o. to the sin of Luxuria.

Bosch gave the punishment in the smithy in the *Hell* of his *Table* the caption Accidia. It is therefore interesting to note that on our central panel the bagpiper-devil at the brothel-cave, to the left of the blacksmiths, is in a conspicuously sleepy posture<sup>70</sup>. Was it perhaps Bosch's intention with the whole of this scene on and at the rocks to represent the combination Luxuria-Accidia, as in my opinion he does, too, on the stone platform above the Gula scene? Accidia leading to Luxuria? And does the Accidia scene in the *Hell* of the *Table* demonstrate the connection between Accidia and Luxuria<sup>71</sup>?

Let us look now at what is going on behind the stone slab serving as a roof, on which the woman sinner is being led to the dance, and behind the disc with the mill-stone. See ill. 36.

Partly concealed behind the ridge of a low hill a devil carrying a ladder and wearing a brown garment with a black hood – whether this has a tail one cannot see – is conducting a sinner to the right.

In the opposite direction a naked man is being led away by an angel and being pursued by ape- and cat-like imps armed with crossbows and a spear<sup>72</sup>. In Berlin one of two little demons who carry crossbows has horns on his head<sup>73</sup>. The angel is clothed in white, has white wings and wears a small golden cross as diadem. *Hoe soetelic dat die enghelen gaen sellen onder die uutvercoren, recht als die dienaren des gheweldigheyns rechters bescuddende hoers heren volc* [How sweetly the angels will go among the chosen, right as the servants of the almighty judge protecting their lord's people] says a sermon. But also: *Hoe eysselic dat dat lopen der duvelen sijn sal onder die arme verdoemde sondaren inden vervaerliken dach des oerdelis* [How fearsome will be the going of the devils among the poor damned sinners in the awful day of judgement]<sup>74</sup>.

The damned soul is looking backward in the direction of the saved one with the angel. *De een zal aangenomen en de ander zal verlaten worden* [The one shall be taken and the other left] (*Matthew* 24:40; *Luke* 17:36).

*Die heylighe bevarden tot dat heylighe grafft in iherusalem.* Mentz, Eerhaert rewich van utrecht, 1488, 47<sup>r</sup>, we read: *Zeer duuster ghelicken een schorsteen der hellen* [Very dark like a chimney in hell].

<sup>70</sup> Depicted as sleepy is also the devil in the *Last Judgement* in Baytown-London: he is armed with a ladle and sitting at a beer- or wine-cask.

<sup>71</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 165. Because of the forge in the Accidia depiction in the *Hell* of the *Table*, Combe (1946, p. 81) and Baldass und Heinz (1968, p. 44 and 57) believe that the forges on our centre panel were also intended to refer to Accidia. Madam Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 24) sees them as a punishment of Superbia and Avaritia. She does not say why. I can put forward nothing in support of her presupposition. Gibson (p. 56) mentions Ira, but gives no reason. Was he thinking of *Le Traité*, in which devils weld together into formless lumps the pieces into which irate souls have been cut?

<sup>72</sup> Reuterswärd (p. 47) incorrectly takes the saved soul to be that of Tondalus.

<sup>73</sup> There are other devils with horns on their heads in Bosch's work. For the most part the horns look like those of a billy- or nanny-goat, such as we see in the background of the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych. Is Bosch here merely using a traditional type of devil, or do the horns allude to adultery? See *Tuin*, p. 127 (5).

<sup>74</sup> *Jhesus collacien*, p. 193.



36. Background scenes, centre panel, Bosch (p. 199)



The devil is taking the sinner towards the disc lying on the jug. Is the ladder for letting him climb up to it? Has it an additional symbolic connotation? As we have seen, the ladder could be a symbol of adultery<sup>75</sup>.

Must the bows and the spear be seen simply as weapons which the devils are using in their attempt to wrest the saved soul from the angel? Or do they tell us something about the transgressions of this man who has so narrowly escaped perdition? For they could point to pugnacity. Was the man inclined to fight, but not to such an extent that the devil is allowed to lay hands on him?

To the right, above the saved soul, the lines of the underpainting are becoming visible.

With the naked eye one can distinguish the upright figure of a devil, the clearest part being the belly and the legs. Prof. Franz Mairinger made an infra-red photograph of this section, which has been published and described by Madam Poch-Kalous<sup>76</sup>.

Standing in the water is a humanoid devil with a fat belly and thin legs. His arms terminate in beast's claws and on his behind he has feathers like the tail of a cock. Beside him we see a stake with a hook, and on it a wheel. Near him is also a tortoise-like creature with a tapering head. And perhaps the head of a sinner who is drowning. Further, a devil with a bird's head. Above the dragon with his plough, which we shall look at presently, we discern a group of naked sinners<sup>77</sup>.

The unfavourable meanings of cock, tortoise and bird have already been discussed<sup>78</sup>.

Still further back to the left, are a dry tree and a gallows. Devils are preparing to hang a sinner<sup>79</sup>. Among them one can distinguish: an imp with a helmet and a shield (or is it a wing?) who is riding on a dragon-like animal; an ape-toad-devil who is climbing up the ladder; a toad-like creature; demonic imps with bird-, ape-, rat-, and fish-heads; and a little devil with an ape's head on which he wears as a hat a little metal disc with a sharp point on it. Sticking up out of this fairly indistinct group, and to the right of the gallows, is a mop. In Berlin the group includes also a demonic pig-head, dog-head, and goat-head.

To the right of this devils are taking a second sinner to the gallows. One is toad-like and has on his head the feelers of an insect. Another is a bird with human head and legs. He carries a crossbow over his shoulder. On his legs he has boots (not in Berlin?). A third has the head of a goat (in Berlin of an ape). There are more of them (not in Berlin), but they are indistinct.

The withered tree near the gallows is a scene from real life. Criminals were indeed hanged on dry trees in mediaeval times<sup>80</sup>. The tree also has symbolical

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<sup>75</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 183.

<sup>76</sup> *Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien. 1872–1972*, p. 202, ill. on p. 200.

<sup>77</sup> Mairinger also made infra-red photographs of other underpaintings on the triptych. Of these, however, no reproductions or descriptions are given. Madam Poch-Kalous found that these underpainted sketches were stylistically related to drawings by Bosch which are in the Akademie der bildenden Künste and in the Albertina. Heinz classifies these drawings among the 'Werke der Reife' and the 'Spätwerke' (Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 252).

<sup>78</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 64 f., 105, 30 f. and 30 n. 61.

<sup>79</sup> In *Tuin*, p. 93 I incorrectly wrote that it was a woman sinner.

<sup>80</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 100/123 (29). *Tuin*, p. 121 (3). Examples of a dry tree used by Bosch in this function: *Tuin*, p. 120 and 124.

meaning here, for in the 16th century dry trees, when they did not occur in typically unchaste surroundings, could symbolize worthlessness<sup>81</sup>.

With the motifs of helmet, shield, dragon, ape, toad, bird, rat, fish, metal disc with sharp point (*vinne* [fin]), mop, dog, goat, insect, crossbow and boot, we have already become familiar. They allude to pugnacity, unchastity, licentiousness and addiction to drink, which are the evils the two sinners are now to be punished for.

In the 15th and 16th centuries in the Low Countries the pig could be a symbol of i.a. addiction to drink, gluttony, immoderacy, lust, unchastity, filth, impurity and laziness<sup>82</sup>.

A gallows in hell is a well-known figure in literature. In *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 166) robbers and murderers, and in *Dat sterf boeck* (10<sup>v</sup>) oppressors of widows and orphans, are hanged on it. It occurs in the work of Jan Praet (p. 103), in the *Cancellierboeck* (p. 151 and 186) and in Dirc van Delf's writings<sup>83</sup>, but here particular sins are not specified.

Bosch also painted a gallows in the background of the *Hell* of his *Garden* triptych. In this connection I have pointed out that punishment by the gallows was mainly given in very bad cases of theft, but that it could also be imposed as the penalty for other transgressions, e.g. assault and murder<sup>84</sup>. In the background of the *Hell* on Bosch's *Table*, however, the gallows is not associated with a particular sin. The instrument is featured also in the work of imitators, namely in the *Hell* of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges and in Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych. In these there is no clear indication of a specific sin connected with it.

To the right of the gallows-scene and somewhat lower down, a brown-yellow dragon-devil with wine-red (in Berlin purple-pink) butterfly's wings, four legs and a fiery breath, is driving a plough drawn by two sinners. Riding on the one on the left is a diabolic peasant-woman who is urging the pair on to greater speed with a stick. Two sinners lie under the plough. One of them is being cut by the plough-share.

Other sinners are in the furrows that have already been cut. They are going to be ploughed under.

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<sup>81</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 34 n. 85.

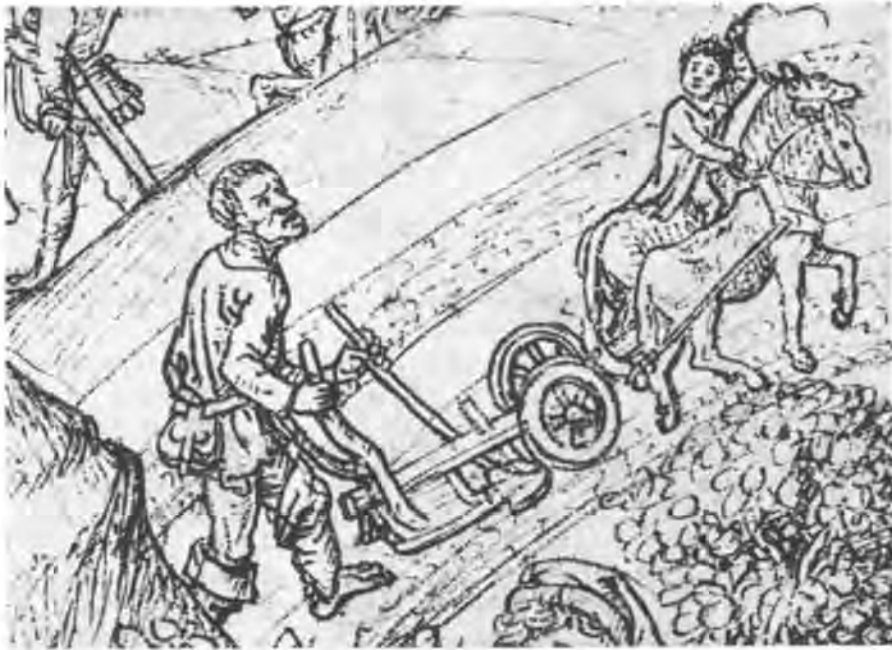
<sup>82</sup> For the pejorative connotations of the pig in works by Bosch and others see the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin*, *Martelares* and *Judgem.*, sub *varken*/pig, etc., *zeug*, *zwijn*, and *Bezwaren*, p. 47 f. Especially *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 49 f./62 f.

Additions: Addiction to drink: *Dichten*, p. 182. Van den Dale. *Die Stove*, line 142 (cf. line 202). Voracity: *Everaert*, p. 71. Guzzling: *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 281. Gluttony: Ruusbroec III, p. 194 (*Een Spiegel der Eewigher Salicheit*). Avarice: *Everaert*, p. 227 (arising from gluttony). Lust: De Vries, p. 55 (Van Manders *Uytleggingh op den Metamorphosis P. Ovidii Nasonis*). Unchastity: Dirc van Delf's *Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove* (Tinbergen in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 148). Marnix. *Byen corf*, p. 417. Filthiness: *lupende soch et des duvels draf* [sly sow eats the devil's hogwash] (*Proverbia seriosa*). Licentiousness: in connection with high-ranking clergy (in Moll. *Kerkgeschiedenis* II, 1, p. 127: Peter van Hoorn). In *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 93, we find a whole string of pejoratives directed at the pig: the animal is *onreyn*, *stinckende ende vuyl*, *onscamel*, *gulsich*, *oncuytsch*, *ontierich*, *ende sonder eenighe doecht also langhe als levet* [unclean, stinking and filthy, shameless, greedy, lewd, disgraceful, and without any virtue as long as it lives].

<sup>83</sup> Jan de Weert, p. 154.

<sup>84</sup> *Tuin*, p. 123 f.

<sup>85</sup> Eug. de Bock. *Colijn van Rijssle en andere Rederijkers*. Antwerpen 1958, p. 141.



37. Ploughing scene, Master of Hausbuch (p. 204 n. 90)

At the end of the land being ploughed lies the large light-blue top of a globe, segment of a spherical object (not shown in Berlin). The plough is being drawn towards it.

On the near side this land borders on a lake which is connected with the tributary stream flowing past the bagpiper and the blacksmith. On and at the rocks, which in the Berlin picture rise from the water, but in Vienna are still on the land, fanciful birds with long bills are sitting. To the right of a rock sinners are standing in the water (in Berlin they are on the rock).

In many 15th- and 16th-century Dutch expressions the plough occurs in an erotic sense: *in Venus ackere den ploech mennē* [to drive the plough in Venus's field]<sup>85</sup>; *ploegen op Venus ackere* [plough on Venus's field]<sup>86</sup>; *jonge paerden inden ploech spannen* [to harness young horses (meaning young women) in the plough]<sup>87</sup>; *Ick en sal niet meer Venus acker labueren, Want mijn voorpeert is blind, ten wilt niet voort* [I shall no longer labour <on> the field of Venus (here especially in the sense of ploughing it), because my leading horse is blind, it refuses to go forward]<sup>88</sup>.

Bosch shows the devils working the plough as he must have seen farmers doing

<sup>86</sup> *Onuitgegeven gedichten van Anna Bijns*, p. 293.

<sup>87</sup> Colijn van Rijssle. *Spiegel der Minnen*, line 3487.

<sup>88</sup> *Spelen* Antwerpen 1561, mij (verso). Labour on the land was the source of yet other erotic expressions in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch: *Venus acker bouwen* [to till Venus's field] (*Styevoort* CCXI, 61); *Venus acker vernouwen* [renew the field of Venus] (*Styevoort* XLVII, 57); *Venus acker besaeyen* [sow Venus's field] (*Hasseltse 'historiael' spelen*. Edited by K. Ceysens. Leuven-Amsterdam 1907: *Coninck Balthasar*, line 66); *een stoppelken mayen By Venus amoureuse dieren* [mow a little stubble With the amorous creatures of Venus] (*Everaert* XVII, 95); *tulas swingen* [flail the flax] (*Carton* LXXI, 2); *in venus lamoen gaen by een vrouwen* [to go between the shafts of Venus by a little dame] (*Styevoort* CVI, 69).

it in the neighbourhood of 's-Hertogenbosch. A woodcut in a German post-incunabulum of 1518 shows us a way of ploughing in the days of Bosch: the farmer walks behind the plough and drives it. It is drawn by two horses harnessed to it in front. A man with a whip sits on the left horse, guides it and urges on the animals<sup>89</sup>. In the *Saturnus* depiction by the Master of the Hausbuch the plough is also drawn by two horses while a farmer walks at the back. On one of the horses a youngster sits holding a whip<sup>90</sup>. See ill. 37.

Bosch's plough belongs to a type that occurs a number of times in 14th-, 15th- and 16th-century depictions<sup>91</sup>. It can be compared with i.a. the plough in Bruegel's *Icarus*. In both pictures the tail, the moulding-board, the share and the coulter are clearly distinguishable<sup>92</sup>.

The big dragon-devil is closely related to his confrères on the same panel, namely the one with the sinner in the cask and the one with the prostitute-sinner. At the plough, too, the demon has a phallic function, further accentuated by the butterfly-wings<sup>93</sup>.

The globular segment to which the plough is proceeding, suggests a mamma. Objects in the shape of a ball, or of a segment of a sphere, occur as sexual symbols in Bosch's *Garden of Lusts*<sup>94</sup>.

The sexual function of birds with long bills in Bosch's work has already been dealt with.

The sinners are therefore being punished for an unchaste life.

The sexual significance of the plough also finds expression in certain popular customs that Bosch could have been acquainted with.

As late as the beginning of the 19th century it still happened in the neighbourhood of Nijmegen that country folk punished a man who had committed adultery, by harnessing him to a plough. Likewise, round about 1825, a farmer of Beek, in the district of Ubbergen, who had had illicit relations with the wife of another, was taken from his bed, harnessed to a plough and fairly roughly handled in the process<sup>95</sup>. This practice must have been a very ancient folk custom.

Was Bosch influenced by such a traditional punishment-by-the-people when he designed his scene, and did he have in mind male adulterers in particular?

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<sup>89</sup> Eugen Diederichs, *Deutsches Leben der Vergangenheit in Bildern*. Band I. Jena 1908, ill. 177.

<sup>90</sup> Bossert und Storck, Tafel 6.

<sup>91</sup> P. Lindemans, *Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Brabantse ploeg*. In: *Volkskunde* 60 (1959), p. 97 f., ill. VI-XII, especially VII and VIII. A. Bartels, *Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit*. Leipzig 1900, ill. 6 and 9.

<sup>92</sup> For these terms, see Lindemans in *Volkskunde* 60, p. 97.

<sup>93</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 113 and 156. Compare this dragon with the one that the nun Jacomijne Costers saw in a vision in 1489: *eenen vreeselijcken draeck met twee verveirelijcke vleugelen seer groot en met eenen eyschelijcken serpentelijcken steert* [a terrible dragon with two fearsome wings very large and with a horrible serpent's tail]. From its eyes *quamen groote virige vlammen, die van gedaenten waren als virige sweerden* [came big fiery flames that had the aspect of fiery swords]. (*Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 283). It was the devil. An imitator of Bosch painted a dragon with wings and four legs in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* which is in the F. van Lanschot Collection in 's-Hertogenbosch (*Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 7).

<sup>94</sup> E.g. *Tuin*, p. 18, 31, 66. See also the segment of a sphere in the *Marriage in Cana*: *Tuin*, p. 156.

<sup>95</sup> W. van de Poll, *In den ploeg spannen. Herinnering aan een oud-Geldersch volksgebruik*. *Geldersche volks-almanak van het jaar 1887*, p. 167.



The absence of a female sinner is conspicuous.

However, another popular custom also comes to mind.

In Germany in the 15th and 16th centuries a plough was sometimes paraded in a Carnival procession. This occasioned excessive behaviour so that it was sometimes forbidden to go round with the plough, for instance in Ulm in 1530<sup>96</sup>.

The implement was sometimes drawn by young girls as this was believed to increase the fertilizing power of the plough. Hans Sachs and German chronicles of the 15th and 16th centuries tell of nubile maidens who, having found no husband in the preceding year, were put to the plough<sup>97</sup>.

In Ulm not only the 'herumfaren des pflugs' but also the 'herumfaren mit den schiffen' during Carnival was prohibited because of the dissolute behaviour it engendered<sup>98</sup>.

Parading with a ship during Carnival and on other festive days was well-known also in the Dutch-speaking regions and Bosch has biting satirized merry-makers in a boat, either on account of the bad behaviour sometimes displayed by the crew of such a fun-vessel, or (and) because a boat in general was a symbol of uninhibited festive doings<sup>99</sup>. It could be that going about with the plough, with its attendant frolics, was practised in our regions as well, and that Bosch in designing his plough-scene had in mind also this folk custom with its sexual connotation.

The plough as a symbol of the fertilizing force in the sexual act, is depicted on a window-pane in the Bomann Museum in Celle, in Hanover. It shows a bridal couple cutting a furrow in a field with a plough drawn by four deer<sup>100</sup>. The deer, too, has a sexual function here, intended in a favourable sense (see *Judgem.*, p. 52).

Has the she-devil been given the clothes of a peasant woman because of her connection with the plough, an agricultural implement, or is it also intended to indicate that the sinners are farming folk?

The motif of the devil ploughing in hell can be found also in Dutch writing in Bosch's time, namely in a poem by Anthonis de Roovere<sup>101</sup>. Here it is not related to a specific sin.

Above the plough-scene and the ball-segment we see a company of devils, fairly indistinctly portrayed, driving a whole crowd of sinners from left to right into the lake. In Vienna one can distinguish an ape, mops, spears and a clawhook. In Berlin, an ape, a goat, clawhooks, mops, spears, a three-pronged fork and a skeleton-like devil standing on a lean riding-animal<sup>102</sup>.

This last figure has a fleeting resemblance to Death as represented by Bruegel in his *Triumph of Death*, armed with a scythe and seated on a thin horse,

<sup>96</sup> *Handwörterbuch* VII, 6.

<sup>97</sup> *Idem* VII, 7.

<sup>98</sup> Van de Poll, in *Geldersche volks-almanak* (1887), p. 174. J. Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie*. 4th edition, edited by E.H. Meyer. 3 vols. Berlin 1875-1878. I, 219; III, 87.

<sup>99</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 367.

<sup>100</sup> Communicated by F. de Fremery, in *Nehalennia* I (1956), p. 127.

<sup>101</sup> J.J. Mak. *De gedichten van Anthonis de Roovere. Naar alle tot dusver bekende handschriften en oude drukken*. Zwolle 1955, p. 237: *ploeghen int helsche vier* [ploughing in the fire of hell].

<sup>102</sup> In the engraving made after Cranach's copy the group is very obscure and the skeleton on the horse is indistinguishable. According to Münz this engraving was made in the first half of the 19th century: *Judgem.*, p. 18.



although there seems to be a closer relationship between Bruegel's figure and that of Death with bow and quiver, riding on a horse, in the fresco from ca. 1445 in the Palazzo Sclafani in Palermo<sup>103</sup>.

Was Bosch influenced by depictions of Death as Conqueror, sitting on a lean horse<sup>104</sup>? Or did he know *Revelation* 6:8? It says there i.a.: And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him.

Also elsewhere we find Death presented as a devil: in the *Passion de Semur* (ca. 1430?) and the *Spandauer Kerstspel* (16th century)<sup>105</sup>, in a woodcut in Jan van den Dale's *De Ure van den Doot* (ca. 1516)<sup>106</sup> and in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* credited with the name of Jan Mandijn<sup>107</sup>.

That hell contains a lake is known from descriptions of the infernal regions. In *De Spiegel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse*, p. 240, for instance, we read:

*Die verdoemde sullen inden mere  
Der hellen zijn met lucifere*

[The damned ones in the mere  
Of hell will be with Lucifere].

Also *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 281) speaks of *dat meer der hellen* [the lake of hell].

In *St. Patricius' Vagevuur* men and women, young and old, sit naked and with bent backs on a mountain. A storm coming from the north blows them into a stinking river of icy cold water<sup>108</sup>. Influence of this on our scene is hardly acceptable<sup>109</sup>.

Bosch placed two lakes in the *Hell* of his *Garden* triptych<sup>110</sup>. He put another one in the *Hell* of our *Last Judgement* triptych, which we shall look at when discussing the right panel (*Judgem.*, p. 273).

On the lake, above the rock with the brothel-cave, a burning ship is sailing to the right. It is being steered by a toad-like devil (in Berlin the head is that of a goat) and many sinners are in it. Before the mast flares a hellish fire. Approaching this ship head-on is a big fish with its jaws wide open. On its back lies a round disc with upright spikes set round its edge. On the disc is erected a gallows on which hangs a sinner. Black birds are flying round him (not in Berlin). Also on the disc are three sinners sitting near an infernal blaze. In Berlin there are more than three.

Ship, toad, goat, fish and disc with spikes allude to licentiousness, unchastity and pugnacity. Gallows and fire to punishments in hell. Black birds (crows) were often seen with corpses of executed persons and therefore do not necessarily have an unchaste function here.

Are these sinners being punished for having been wild revellers who belonged to the crew of a boat on wheels or on the water, in which they promenaded through the city on festive occasions, or because they were participants in a rough game in which a boat was attacked<sup>111</sup>?

<sup>103</sup> De Tolnay already noted affinity with the fresco. Rep.: Van Marle. *Iconographie* II, p. 369.

<sup>104</sup> Van Marle. *Iconographie* II, fig. 402; P. 370; fig. 405; fig. 407.

<sup>105</sup> Haslinghuis, p. 155.

<sup>106</sup> Nijhoff. *L'Art typographique* II, sheet 245.

<sup>107</sup> Galleria Barberini, Rome: Castelli, Tav. 51.

<sup>108</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 265. Something similar in *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 19.

<sup>109</sup> It seems that Dollmayr, p. 328, considered the possibility of derivation. See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 276/362 (32), 281/362 (32).

<sup>110</sup> *Tuin*, p. 124 and 127.

<sup>111</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 368.

A diabolical fish-ship is also present on the centre panel of Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (*Judgem.*, p. 365 no. 7), on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges (*Judgem.*, p. 366 no. 18) and in a drawing by another imitator (*Judgem.*, p. 366 no. 17).

Of a somewhat different nature is a little boat full of fishes that is being carried by a large fish (sketch-sheet with demonic creatures in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; studies by Bosch or copies of original sketches)<sup>112</sup>. A little sailing-boat goes past it.

It is not clear whether the lake with the boat and the fish in our picture joins the other lake to the right, behind the rocks beside the red, rectangular plank<sup>113</sup>.

Behind the lake into which the sinners are being driven and on which float the boat and the fish, there is a wall with, on the left, a burning gateway. Devils are driving sinners into the flames and smoke. In Berlin one can distinguish toad-devils, goat-devils and a dwarf-demon. Also devils in armour? In Vienna the diabolical are indistinct.

Punishment by water and punishment by fire placed in such close proximity we find also in a description in *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 190), where those guilty of breaking the second commandment *worden wt die eene pine in die ander sonder ophouden gheworpen, als in vuer ende in water ende in ys, ende onder den verwoeden beesten ende onder den hongherighen wormen ende onreynen* [are cast from the one torment into the other without cease, as in fire and in water and in ice, and under the raging beasts and under the hungry worms and the unclean]. But there is no question here of influence on Bosch's scene.

Punishment simply by hell-fire, that is, not in combination with some other torment, is so commonly featured in Middle Dutch literature, that it is really superfluous to give examples. We need refer only to *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 200), where those guilty of breaking the fifth commandment are *gheworpen in een onlidelic vuer opdat hoer leden dan moghen weder vergaderen als ghebroken loet of tynne, niet op dat si dan ghesont moghen wesen mer dat mense dan weder quellen ende pinighen mach* [cast in an unbearable fire in order that their limbs can then come together again like broken lead or tin, not for the purpose of healing them, but that they may again be tormented and tortured].

A devil holds up a mop in front of the gateway. A raised portcullis is visible. A gateway with portcullis, fire behind it, and a mop in front (here across the shoulder of a devil) is also depicted in the background of the *Hell of the Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*. A gateway with portcullis occurs, too, in the purgatory scene forming part of the *Vision of Tondalus*, painted by an imitator (Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid)<sup>114</sup>. Neither in the hell- nor in the purgatory-scene is there any indication of a specific sin.

To the left of the devils and sinners at the burning gateway, an angel is leading a crowd of dozens of saved souls away to the left. To the right of the group stands a cross. In Berlin the cross is not in this place and the angel cannot be clearly seen. Here the saved souls are walking in the direction of a cross consisting of luminous dots.

<sup>112</sup> Rep.: Baldass 1943, no. 140. De Tolnay 1965, p. 322, no. 12. *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 198.

<sup>113</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 171. In the engraving made after the painting by Cranach, there is a clear connection.

<sup>114</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 149.

Soldiers on horseback, with helmets and lances, all of them devils, are menacing the blessed ones from the side. They have taken their stand in-between the rocks and resemble in disposition and equipment a group of cavaliers in a drawing by the Master of the Hausbuch, namely in his *Kaiserliches Feldlager*<sup>115</sup>, top left. In Berlin these horsemen are absent. Instead we see there devils with a ladder, mop, spears, etc. A sinner impaled on a long stick is being raised up.

Somewhat higher up to the right a war-machine for the attack is being put in motion. Two large wheels and a screen-plate (*schutdak*; German: Schirmdach; French: blinde) are visible. The construction shows its derivation from actual engines of war. It was subsequently 'adapted' by imitators of Bosch: on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges, in a *Christ opening the gates to Limbo* (Harrach Collection, Vienna: Lafond, at p. 41), in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Walter P. Kreisl Collection, New York)<sup>116</sup>, in the surround of a conjuring scene (private collection, California)<sup>117</sup>, and in Bruegel's *Ira*.

A fire is burning close to the contraption and behind it walk sinners accompanied by devils on horseback and on foot. A white banner is carried in the procession. Further away a large fire blazes.

The mounted soldiers, the war-machine, and the devils on horseback and on foot with their flag, indicate war.

Are the saved souls persons who have fought as befits Christians (there is a cross near them) while the damned are soldiers who waged war in a cruel way?

A group of soldier-devils on horseback and on foot is also figured in the background of the *Hell* of Bosch's *Garden* triptych. The symbolic significance in this case appears to differ from that in our picture<sup>118</sup>.

The large fire is one of the many conflagrations seen in the background of the *Last Judgement*. This brings to mind the following passages in *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 67 and 70), in which it is said of the judging Christ:

<i>Hi sal -I- vier van boven doen komen</i>	[A fire from above He'll ordain that day,
<i>Also als ic hebbe vernomen,</i>	So have I heard it say,
<i>Ende doen verbernen sciene</i>	And cause to be burned very fast
<i>Alle die werelt met enen viere.</i>	The whole of the world in a fiery blast.
<i>Gelike dat wilen die diluvie ginc</i>	Like the deluge rose in time gone by
<i>Boven alle bergen -XV- cubitus,</i>	Above all mountains, fifteen cubits high,
<i>Ende geduerde -XL- dage aldus;</i>	And for forty days remained so;
<i>Also sal 't fier boven alle berge gaen.</i>	Thus will the fire over all summits go.]

Behind the wall with the burning gateway, already mentioned, there is yet another lake. On its furthest shore are low rocks and high rocks. Behind the low section a great fire is burning. From a high rock a devil is casting sinners into the scalding lake.

To the right a very high rock has been turned into a kind of ruined castle in and behind which a huge fire blazes. In the 'castle' and on it devils are in action. In Vienna we see two little black figures in the large window-opening<sup>119</sup> and three more imps can be discerned, one with a stick and another who has the head of a goat. All of them are indistinct.

<sup>115</sup> Bossert und Storck, Tafel 60.

<sup>116</sup> De Tolnay 1965, ill. on p. 254.

<sup>117</sup> Rep.: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1958, p. 30.

<sup>118</sup> See *Tuin*, p. 125. Baldass und Heinz 1968, ill. 74.

<sup>119</sup> Such a large window-opening with a round arch is also shown in a structure in the

The Berlin variant is somewhat different and more detailed. Projecting from the tower-like part of the 'castle' is a stick with a tavern's garland-sign on it. Above it ass-devils are blowing on trumpets. Under the garland-sign stands a devil holding a stick with three sharp points, and there is a dog sitting on its haunches. In the large window-opening a devil leans on a dry branch. He has a letter in his hand, and on his head wears the antlers of a deer.

In this version Bosch satirizes a tavern of ill-fame. In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 292) a tavern is called *een slot des duvels* [a castle of the devil]. Bosch is sure to have known this figure of speech. Hence the castle-like aspect of the place of torture.

The devils with the trumpets are proclaiming that the tavern's garland-sign has just been hung out, which means that wine has arrived and is for sale. The deer's antlers signify that the wearer's function here is an obscene one<sup>120</sup>. In early Dutch a letter could serve as a symbol of the vagina<sup>121</sup>. The devil of unchastity can, moreover, be playing the part here of a procurer who brings together a man and a woman by means of a letter. This motif was well-known in the Low Countries<sup>122</sup>.

In the *Hell* of his *Last Judgement* triptych Lucas van Leyden painted beside a satanic citadel the figures of a trumpet-blowing devil, a hell-hound lifting up a wine-jug from which yellow fire issues, and a devil making notes on a piece of paper. Here the writer is the devil's secretary and the trumpet-blower the castle's *wachter op de tinnen* [look-out on the battlements]<sup>123</sup>. They are therefore figures of a different kind from those in Berlin.

On a high rock to the left of the 'castle' there is both in Vienna and in Berlin a devil who holds over the fire a mop on which hangs a sinner<sup>124</sup>. In the Berlin version the victim is no doubt intended to be a frequenter of ill-famed taverns.

To the right of the 'castle'-rock the lake extends into the far distance. In the middle of this stretch a rock juts out from the water. In front of it sinners are swimming.

In the background high rocks form stony towers. A mop with two sinners hanging on it, sticks out from a rock and near it sits an owl with fiery eyes (these sinners, the mop and the owl are absent in Berlin).

Below the mop with the two unfortunates there is, in any case in Vienna, a devil with a stick over his shoulder who is standing on a rock, and sinners are falling from rocks into the water, two devils are taking sinners down from rocks, and black birds are flying around.

In Berlin sinners fall from rocks, a stick with three sinners hanging on it projects from a rock, and a devil is dragging a sinner across the top of a rock. This last unfortunate has his legs tied to a mop. It is quite clear that there are no black birds here.

Mingling with the darkness is the glow of fires. Up to its top edge at the right, though, the painting remains predominantly dark.

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background of the *Hell* of Bosch's *Haywain* triptych. There, too, the silhouette of a demon is seen against the blaze raging behind him.

<sup>120</sup> For the deer as a symbol of unchastity, see *Judgem.*, p. 50 ff.

<sup>121</sup> *Tuin*, p. 84 (9), 85 (1). *Judgem.*, p. 118; see also 185 ff.

<sup>122</sup> D. Bax. *Skilders wat vertel*. Oxford University Press. Kaapstad-Londen-New York 1951, p. 12.

<sup>123</sup> See Haslinghuis, p. 207.

<sup>124</sup> A sinner hanging on a mop is depicted also in the background of the *Hell* of the *Haywain* triptych and in the background of the *Hell* on the *Table*.



We now return to the gallows-scene on the extreme left.

Behind it is a valley, partly bounded by rocks, with fires burning here and there. Behind this lies a second valley, for the greater part encircled by rocks. Here, too, fires are raging.

It is well-known that valleys and dales frequently figure in descriptions of purgatory and hell. It is not necessary therefore to accept, as Gossart (p. 227) and Combe (1946, p. 29, note 92) do, that the infernal valleys in our triptych are borrowed from *Tondalus' Visioen*.

The whole of this section is almost devoid of devils. The only exceptions are two imps with dog's heads (in Berlin goat's heads) who are in charge of a sinner they are forcing to carry a ladder (they are probably taking him to the gallows), a little demon with an ape's head, who is on a high rock and holding a spear from which a sinner is suspended in the smoke of a fire, and to the right of this, on a rock, an imp with ass's head (in Berlin a goat's head), next to a sinner. To the right of these rocks black birds are flying.

Dog, goat, ape, spear, ass and black birds are by now old acquaintances.

It is to this comparatively quiet part that the angel is taking the host of blessed souls. From here they will follow the way along which the other saved ones (top left, in the air) have already preceded them.

In the sinners peopling the background, with their guardian devils, the following persons are satirized:

- P. 191-196 Men who have frequented brothel-taverns.
- P. 196-199 A woman and several men who have led a wanton life. Satire on Luxuria, probably coupled with Accidia.
- P. 201 An adulterous (?) man.
- P. 201-202 Two men who have been guilty of i. a. pugnacity, unchastity, inebriety and sloth.
- P. 202-205 Unchaste men. They have perhaps committed adultery. At the same time perhaps satire on licentious behaviour on the occasion of 'going round with the plough'.
- P. 205 A large crowd of licentious and unchaste sinners.
- P. 206 Licentious, unchaste and pugnacious men, who were probably part of the crew of a boat on wheels or on water. Or, less probably, participants in a rough sport in which a ship was attacked.
- P. 207 A large crowd of licentious and unchaste sinners.
- P. 208 Soldiers who have waged war in a cruel way.
- P. 209 Frequenters of a dubious tavern.
- P. 209 Sinners who are punished for no obvious reasons. Probably licentiousness and unchastity.
- P. 210 Three licentious and unchaste sinners.

Arrived at the end of our analysis of the depictions on the centre panel, we come to the conclusion that Bosch has not clearly shown up every one of the seven deadly sins among those already being punished on earth shortly after pronouncement of judgement.

Luxuria is everywhere. Ira (p. 109) and Gula (p. 146 and 150) receive proper attention. Superbia (p. 137 and 158), Accidia (p. 157 and 199) and Avaritia (p. 119 and 186) are present in a small way, and then always in close association with Luxuria. Invidia is hardly shown (p. 172, perhaps not at all?).

In our discussion of the left panel it became apparent that Bosch regarded Luxuria as the chief sin, introduced on earth by the fall of the angels and the fall of Eve (see i. a. p. 58 and 69).



He would therefore have been in agreement with Jan de Weert who in his treatment of the seven deadly sins, wrote:

*Die duvel verblijft hem om sonde gheene* [The devil is delighted by no sin known,  
*Meer dan om luxurie alleene.* More than by lechery alone]<sup>125</sup>.

There were some other Dutch moralists who also put Luxuria first. According to *Die Spieghel der Sonden* (II, col. 42) the devil rejoices most of all when the sins of unchastity and idolatry are committed. And *Dat Bouck der Bloemen* (p. 83) regards as the most deadly sin *oncuysheit des vleesch* [unchasteness of the flesh] and *hooverdie der ghedachten* [arrogance of thought].

Bosch's profound interest in sexuality (which is evident also in other of his works) contributed to his attention being fixed mainly on Luxuria. The dreaded disease of the Spanish pox, which we shall deal with more fully in our discussion of the right panel (*Judgem.*, p. 246 ff.) was i.m.o. also a factor which made him give Luxuria prominence of place.

On our centre panel Luxuria, Ira and Gula stand out most clearly. They are also the most sensational of the deadly sins. Invidia on the other hand is the least in evidence, perhaps because envy is so closely connected with greed.

We have already taken note of what writing moralists, especially in Middle Dutch works, regarded as punishments for each of the sins of Ira, Gula, Superbia, Accidia, Avaritia and Invidia.

To complete the survey with Luxuria, a summary now follows of those punishments which, according to such authors, lechers would have to undergo in purgatory and hell.

In Boendale's *Der Leken Spieghel* (I, p. 53) they are tormented by a vile stench. Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 650) warns that they *werden doer horen buuck ghesteken, recht als braden diemen specket, ende die wormen crupen doer haer ghemacht* [are pierced through their bellies, even as roasts that are larded, and the worms crawl through their genitals].

In Tondalus' *Visioen* Luxuria is given a great deal of attention. In purgatory the soul of Tondalus is no less than three times brought among lechers.

1. Flames flare from a house as big as a mountain and as round as an oven. In front of the entrance-gate stand devils with axes, knives, saws, chisels, picks, scythes, spears, etc., with which they skin, behead or dismember the unfortunates. Thereupon they throw them into the fire inside the house. There fierce dogs attack the sinners and worms gnaw at their genitals. The devils beat Tondalus with their weapons and throw him into the fire (Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 65 ff.).

2. A beast that has two legs, two wings, a long neck, iron claws and an iron beak from which a flame spurts, sits over a well that is frozen over. The creature consumes lechers. When these have been digested in its stomach, it drops them into the well *ende daer worden sij weder vernuwet tot den pinen* [and there they are again renewed to the pains]<sup>126</sup>. The sinners (men and women) become pregnant and give birth to snakes with red-hot heads and sharp beaks with which these animals rend the bodies of the sinners. In their tails they have sharp nails which they use as stings. The sexual organ of the sinners, man or woman, changes into a snake which tears open their belly. Tondalus has to undergo a

<sup>125</sup> Jan de Weert, p. 238, variant after line 1191.

<sup>126</sup> Influence of this passage is probably to be perceived in the scene with the eating and excreting bird-devil in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych. See *Tuin*, p. 94 ff. Roggen first pointed this out. See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 280/361 (19).

part of this punishment, that is, up to and including giving birth to the snakes (Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 81 ff.).

3. Devils cast souls into a fiery oven. When the sinners have been melted down, they are transferred on to an anvil by devils with tridents, who weld them to each other: a good 20 or 30 or 100 together in one lump. Devils toss such a chunk to other demons who catch it in iron tongs and once more cast it into a fire. The sin of these damned souls is not named, but when Tondalus has to undergo the same torture the reason given is that he has been unchaste (p. 97) (Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 91 ff.).

In hell itself, into which Tondalus' soul takes a peep from a distance, *overspoeltes* [adulterers] are among those who are punished in the manner as described above for the homicides (*Judgem.*, p. 110).

In the terrestrial paradise which serves as a place of purification, there is a part where a king has to stand for three hours every day up to his navel in a fire because he has besmirched the sacrament of wedlock (Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 139).

According to *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 178-185) the limbs of lechers have glowing nails struck through them. Worms, snakes and other animals crawl in and out of their rotten body-parts. Devils beat them with red-hot clubs. They are also hanged by their unchaste members in unbearable heat and cold. An abominable toad is put into bed with them. This is their sweetheart or lover. Women of the highest nobility are forced to have intercourse with the most reprobate of men. Both suffer great pain in the act. In *Dat sterf boeck* (119<sup>v</sup>-128<sup>v</sup>) the punishments are almost the same. The sinners' limbs are all nailed on to something. From the parts with which they have committed immoralities, issues a dreadful stench. Animals suck or pluck at their genitals.

Devils beat the sinners with glowing clubs, like smiths hammer an anvil. Lechers are also placed on a bed together with an enormous toad (the sweetheart or lover) that torments them. Another punishment is that they are forced to have intercourse with one another. In this they suffer intolerable pains. Diabolic hunters with their dogs also pursue an unchaste female sinner.

In *Sidrac* (p. 173) they who *ghenoechte hadden . . . metter stinckender luxuriën* [enjoyed pleasure . . . with stinking lechery] suffer a stench *die soe groet es dat geen dinc soe zere stincken en mach . . . die nemmermeer en indt* [which is so great that no thing could stink so much . . . which nevermore ends]. But in addition lechers also get the treatment which Sidrac describes for sinners guilty of Ira, Superbia, Gula, Invidia and Avaritia (*Judgem.*, p. 110).

In *Le Traité* the lechers are thrown into a pit and there guarded by Hasmodée. Snakes and toads hang on their genitals and consume these. In *Le Compost* lechers are punished in wells which are filled with fire and sulphur and situated in a plain.

What the descriptions of punishments in these writings yield towards understanding the depiction on our centre panel, has already been indicated. In the discussion of the right panel, details from the texts will likewise be brought to bear.





38. Hell-panel, Bosch (p. 215)

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## The front of the right panel

At the beginning of our discussion of the front of the left wing, Münz's communication about the cleaning of the front of both of the wings was quoted.

About the front of the right wing in particular, he added the following: 'Der Flügel erwies sich nach Entfernung des Firnisses als in wesentlichen Teilen gut erhalten, so sehr z.B. die Übermalung des Bodens die Wirkung beeinträchtigt'<sup>1</sup>. Heinz rightly remarked about the interior of the two wings that they 'an vielen Stellen durch Übermalungen den originalen Charakter eingebüsst haben'<sup>2</sup>.

But in spite of the earlier reconditionings the panel has remained the work of Bosch (and his assistant?). In fact, there are parts that have hardly been retouched or not at all. See ill. 38.

In the foreground lies a huge green fish in whose mouth are still visible the head and right hand of a sinner he is busy swallowing. Across the body of the fish lies a plank with iron spikes sticking up from it. Pressing a sinner into these sharp points is a female demon whose headdress (a black hood over a white cloth) was of a type worn sometimes by procuresses<sup>3</sup>. She has an ape-like face and orchid-butterfly wings. These wings are partly covered with yellow dots. She

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<sup>1</sup> Münz 1954, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> A black or dark-coloured hood over a white head-cloth is worn by: a procuress-beggarwoman-devil on the centre panel of Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 40/50 and ill. 14/19), the procuress-devilwoman on the right panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych by Cranach (*Judgem.*, p. 235), the procuress-devilwoman in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht (Cat. no. 1044), the pilgrimess-devil, Sister Lute, in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Pieter Huys (*Judgem.*, p. 255), and the pilgrim-devilwoman in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Jan Mandijn (*Judgem.*, p. 256).



wears a white apron and at her right side hangs a key (in Berlin this key is absent). A large arrow pierces the thighs of the sinner.

To the left of the procuress-demon stands a child-devil (a young boy with demonic claws) clothed in black, with a white bonnet. On his head is a little stick from which hangs a small red ball on a string.

At the tail of the fish we see a diabolic animal, a toad with a kind of lizard's tail which is dotted with nodules. In front of the creature a small hell-fire is burning. In Vienna the flames appear from behind the fish's tail, but in Berlin they come from a black, pointed torch balanced on the tail.

The right side of the fish-tail grows into a longer point than on the left and looks like a halved moon-crescent. In Berlin the fish's gill has the form of a whole crescent; in Vienna this is somewhat less clear.

We have already encountered the fish as an allusion to folly and licentious merry-making and as a phallic symbol, the crescent as a sign of licentious merry-making, the ape as signifying folly, unchastity and strife, the orchid-butterfly wings as an obscene motif, the light dots as an indication of the Spanish pox, the arrow [*bout*] as signifying a dissipated fellow and as a symbol of the phallus<sup>4</sup>, the cord with small ball as pointing to licentious merry-making, sometimes with a connotation of unchastity, e.g. in association with Carnival and May-feast revellers. Toad and lizard can allude to uncleanness, nodules to the Spanish pox.

The torch played a part in Eve-of-the-Fast doings<sup>5</sup> and it was used for lighting up taverns. It is possible that Bosch also had in mind a play on words. For the word *torke* or *turke* meant torch as well as Turk<sup>6</sup>. In the Dutch literature of the beginning of the 16th century the Turks were identified with the servants of Lucifer<sup>7</sup>.

When these data are put into context with the copulatrix and the youth, the obvious inference is that the two sinners are men that a procuress has provided with the facilities for improper conduct with a young boy on the occasion of some uninhibited feast.

This type of sinner is not unknown in Dutch literature on the devil. In the 16th-century play *De Christelycke Ridder* a devil summons to him sinners that he wants to use for *deucht bedwingen* [suppressing virtue]. Among them are

<i>Kinder-verleyders,</i>	[Seducers of children,
<i>Hoeren, Boeven, met 't lyf vol pocken,</i>	Whores, Villains, with body full of pox,
<i>Bordeel-Brocken.</i>	Brothel-Chunks] <sup>8</sup> .

In his *Byen corf* (p. 453) Marnix includes such *Kinder verleyders* [child seducers] among those guilty of sexual indecency. In Middelburg in the end of the 15th and during the 16th century, punishment was meted out to persons who had committed immoral acts with minors and to those who had been accessories<sup>9</sup>.

The key which the procuress-demon carries is that of the house or room which she puts at disposal for immoral purposes. Also elsewhere on this panel, and likewise in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych, a key occurs in an unchaste context<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 89 f. For arrow through part of body, see Elaboration xvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> *M.W.* VIII, 579, 580.

<sup>7</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 147/195 (34, 35).

<sup>8</sup> Schotel, p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> Fokker I, p. 426.

<sup>10</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 255-7. *Tuin*, p. 107.

Worth noting is that in 16th-century Dutch *sleutel* [key] could also signify the male member<sup>11</sup>.

There are three other paintings in which I found a procuress become brothel-mistress with keys:

An imitator of Bosch painted the *Trials of Job* (Musée de Douai)<sup>12</sup> which shows Job sitting on a dunghill in the harassing presence of male and female devils. Among them is a procuress who wears the double-pointed headdress and has keys attached to a girdle round her waist. That this type is figured as one of Job's demons is due to the belief that Job suffered from syphilis.

In another painting of the *Trials of Job* (Max de Coninck Collection, Dieghem-les-Bruxelles)<sup>13</sup>, also by an imitator, there is likewise a procuress with keys. She has a round bonnet on her head. Job's body is covered with syphilitic sores.

In an *Interior of a brothel*, attributed to the Monogrammist of Brunswick (Museum Dahlem, Berlin)<sup>14</sup> a prostitute is beating a woman who is lying on the ground and who has on her belt a bunch of keys. She appears to be a whore-mistress.

In other pictures we find reminiscences of some of the details in our foreground scene.

The head and bonnet of a laughing imp in the lower right corner of the *Last Judgement* fragment in Munich and the head and headdress of a female devil-beast to the right above it, resemble, respectively, the head and bonnet of the young boy and the head and headdress of the demon-procuress.

The imitator of Bosch who painted *St. James and Hermogenes* (Valenciennes), depicted in it a demon-boy whose head, bonnet and small arms (here however with normal hands) are derived from our child-devil.

In the *Hell* of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych a prostitute-devil with double-pointed headdress is holding down a sinner who is lying with his back on a bed of nails.

Somewhat to the back is a section in which two enormous target-blocks, standing on opposite sides, to right and left, bracket the scene between them. They can be compared to the shooting-targets shown in a miniature in *The Luttrell Psalter*<sup>15</sup> (see ill. 39), in two engravings after works by Bruegel<sup>16</sup>, and in an etching by Teniers<sup>17</sup>.

This scene has already been dealt with in *Tuin*, p. 30, note 6. What follows is a recapitulation with many additions.

On the ground in front of the target-block to the right stands a large earthenware wine- or beer-jug. A devil with fanciful bird's wings and with a helmet over his bird's head is rising up out of it. At, or in, the place where the creature's beak should be, are small feathers. In Berlin an eye is visible, not so in

<sup>11</sup> *Tuin*, p. 107 (4).

<sup>12</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> *De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 250.

<sup>15</sup> E. G. Millar. *The Luttrell Psalter*. Etc., London 1932, p. 47, fig. 147b; see also *Tuin*, ill. XIV.

<sup>16</sup> Van Bastelaer. *Estampes*, ill. 44 and 208.

<sup>17</sup> *Tuin*, ill. XVII.



39. Shooting targets, 14th c. miniature (p. 217 n. 15)

Vienna. The devil's left arm is that of a human. A wrist-protector is fastened to it with a little band<sup>18</sup>.

The helmet, an imaginary one, looks like a visor-helmet without the adjustable visor<sup>19</sup>.

The demon is shooting with a hand-bow<sup>20</sup> and arrow at a sinner standing with his back against the target-block on the left, which is coloured red. Stuck in the handle of the jug are four arrows.

Under the feet of the victim lies a toad-like demon whose back is covered with white spots (an allusion to the Spanish pox), a toad sits on the sinner's head, and another is transfixes to his breast by an arrow. A snake is entwined round his body.

The target-blocks are thick wooden slabs going up into a pointed arch in front.

On the left block sits a bird of fantasy with a long tail and bill. To the right of this block lies an object that in Berlin is clearly a metal pot. It could be this in Vienna too. In *Tuin* (p. 30) I thought, probably incorrectly, that it was a soldier's helmet. In this object sits an ape-like imp that has its eyes directed towards the viewer and that holds up a stick on which another bird of fantasy with long bill and tail is sitting. Another devil (in Berlin dog-like, in Vienna more ape-like) is stretching out his arms to this bird.

<sup>18</sup> For types of mediaeval wrist-protectors in the Low Countries, see: E. van der Looy van der Leeuw. *De boog*. In: *Oude Kunst*, December 1919, no. 3, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> A visor-helmet which has the form of our helmet is illustrated in Demmin, *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 511, no. 49 (German, 15th century).

<sup>20</sup> For the ordinary bow of the Middle Ages in the Low Countries, see: Van der Looy van der Leeuw (note 18), p. 1 ff. and A.M.C. van Asch van Wijk. *De Schut- of Schutten-gilde in Nederland (Voet- en handboog, banier). Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*. Volume three. Part two. 1850, p. 22. Bosch has decorated the strip of the bow with protrusions.

Behind the wine- or beer-jug a sinner is down on his knees. His right buttock (*bout*) is pierced by an arrow (*bout*) and appearing from behind his thighs is the right hand of another sinner, clutching the empty air. In Berlin the head of this figure is visible under the belly of the kneeling man. In Vienna this part was later tampered with. It now looks like two hands appearing from under the jug.

The archer-devil, jug and sinners are in front of the target-block on the right. This in Vienna is light blue and in Berlin wine-red in colour. A sinner has been hung upside down with his back against it and his knees folded over the top edge. His feet are held by a black- (in Berlin brown-) hooded female devil, who on her head balances a metal wine- or beer-jar. In Berlin she has a satanic little left claw, not so in Vienna. In the *Hell* of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych a female prostitute-devil holds fast the hind-part of a naked sinner who is hanging with his head and hands down.

A hairy devil with one goat's horn on his duck's head, and two devils with long ass's ears, are standing by and grinning. Behind this trio a mop is raised up.

In Berlin the devil with the duck's bill has no horn. He wears a black hood that tapers into a tail with sharp little side-pieces (a demon in the *Last Judgement* fragment in Munich has a tail with similar lateral 'thorns') and a brown cloak. Instead of the two devils with ass's ears Cranach shows a quite different couple. The figure on the left carries a cross-bow and a shield, and he wears a round cap which has a pear-shaped protuberance going up into a point on it. The one on the right wears a little white cap with two ox-horns on it.

A similar round cap with a pointed protuberance is worn by Pilate and two of the Roman soldiers in Bosch's *Ecce Homo* in Philadelphia (also in the variant in Indianapolis) and by a man with a grey beard behind the wagon in Bosch's *Haywain*. The ox-horns should no doubt be seen as those of a bull.

In Vienna there are a few more devil-shapes behind the two with the ass's ears, but they are quite obscure. In Berlin they are not shown at all.

Behind the devils is a wall, and a bear-like black demon is throwing a sinner over it to have him ready as the next victim for the target-block. With his left leg the bear-monster is kicking another sinner back into the depths behind the wall. In Berlin it is a female sinner. Behind her Cranach shows another of the damned ones, probably a man.

It is clear that this whole scene brings us into the atmosphere of the dubious tavern and of eroticism.

Suggestive of the alehouse are the large earthenware wine- or beer-jug and the woman with the black hood on which she balances a metal beer- or wine-jar. She is no doubt a devil-tapstress. The arrow (*bout*) in the right buttock (*bout*) is also part of this scene because it is a motif signifying lavish spending<sup>21</sup>: it can be associated with the 16th-century saying *het eene bautken naar dandere senden* [to send the one arrow after the other], i.e. to exhaust one's means. In the sinner one *bout* [arrow] has been sent after the other *bout* [hindquarter]. The expression was visually represented in the same way by Bosch in his *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>22</sup>.

*Bout* could further mean dissipated fellow. The four arrows [*bouten*] in the ear of the jug could signify that the two sinners on the target-blocks and the two at the jugs are four dissolute characters.

The mop is a symbol of licentious merry-making.

<sup>21</sup> This arrow is not a symbol of the plague as Reuterswärd (p. 136) thinks.

<sup>22</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 57/71.

The targets, too, fit the style of life in a tavern, for it was exactly in taverns that one customarily found them put up for the amusement of the public. See the examples in the works of Bruegel and Teniers.

These boards should, however, be seen primarily as belonging to the erotic sphere. For *schietschijf* [shooting-disc or target-board] in 16th-century Dutch was a term for the female sexual organ<sup>23</sup>.

The birds with long bills and tails, the bird's head and wings, the toads, the snake, the ape, the metal pot, the dog, the goat's horn and those of the bull can also allude to unchastity<sup>24</sup>.

Duck and ass we have come to recognize as symbolic of stupidity<sup>25</sup>. But these animals also have an erotic connotation.

In Bosch's *Garden*, for instance, two ducks and a drake occur in an unchaste setting<sup>26</sup> and on a choir-stall in Breda from ca. 1475 the lower body of a naked man changes into a duck<sup>27</sup>.

Maerlant presents the ass as a symbol of lust<sup>28</sup>. According to *Dat sterf boeck* (151<sup>v</sup>), God on the Day of Judgment will say to adulterous women: *O hoe hebt ghy verwandelt uwen vrouweliken ende wijsliken naem in enen naem des mulen ende der eselinne* [Oh, how you have transformed your womanly and wifely name into a name of mule and jenny-ass]. In Brabant in former times it was a custom on Old Year's Day that folk went about disguised as asses, just like the people of Texel disguised themselves as bears at Christmas-time and those of Werdenfeld (Germany) wore deer-masks at Shrove-tide, and like people in Switzerland imitated a goat during the Christmas festival<sup>29</sup>. In all these cases the

<sup>23</sup> *Styevooort* IV, 10. Still used in this sense in a 17th-century folksong: Fl. van Duyse. *Het oude Nederlandsche lied*. Part 1. 's-Gravenhage-Antwerpen 1903, p. 806, c. 9.

<sup>24</sup> For the pot, see: *Judgem.*, p. 181, and for the bull as symbol of unchastity: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 94/119, 101/128 and 210/277 (23), *Tuin*, p. 57. Additional examples of bull: Ruusbroec IV, p. 94: *Vanden XII Beghinen: die beeste es onsuver ende coen van naturen* [the beast is by nature unclean and bold]. Marnix, *Byen corf*, p. 417: lechers have a bull in their escutcheon. In the *Paradise* panel of Bosch's *Garden* triptych as well as in the *Paradise* depiction with Adam and Eve in the fruitskin (Vienna; *Judgem.*, p. 340), the bull together with the other animals in the scene, helps to illustrate God's benediction (*Genesis* 1:28), serving either as a sexual symbol in a favourable sense (proliferation) or as one of the beasts over which the human couple shall have domination (*Tuin*, p. 21 and 34, 25). The devil often appears in the shape of a bull: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 101/128, *Tuin*, p. 151 (3). Additional examples: *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* I, p. 234. *Voorsienicheit Godes*, p. 172. For thief with stolen chalice on bull (Bosch and others), see: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 101/128, 276/362, *Tuin*, p. 120, *Bezwaren*, p. 4 (21). Ox-horns on helmet as symbol of pugnacity: *Judgem.*, p. 168. Ox, bull, cow as symbol of addiction to drink: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 226/301 f., *Bezwaren*, p. 11 (48). Additional examples of addiction to drink: In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Pieter Huys, dated 1547 (see *Judgem.*, p. 391), a drunken monk seated on an ox is riding over a bridge. In his hand he holds a stick with a fish hanging on it (sign of licentious merrymaking). The ox is drawing a cart from which emerges something that looks like the tail of a large fish. In the background of a conjuring scene by an imitator of Bosch (Philadelphia, Museum of Art; another version previously in Munich), an ox and an ass are shown with a book of music: symbols of stupidity and folly (*Bezwaren*, p. 19).

<sup>25</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 56, 100 and 101 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Tuin*, p. 46, 52, 53.

<sup>27</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/94 (56).

<sup>28</sup> *Heimelijkheid der Heimelijkheden*, line 1902. Also in his *Der Naturen Bloeme* II, line 249.

<sup>29</sup> J. Pieters. *Het uitgaan met de beer in het Dendermondse*. *Volkskunde* 53 (1952), p. 211-214.



animal concerned is a symbol of the uninhibited life-force and of fertility.

Eroticism in our scene is accompanied, as so often with Bosch, by cruelty (bellicosity). Which accounts for the bear-like devil (the bear being a symbol i.a. of Ira and Luxuria), for the helmet and armour of the archer, and for the cross-bow and shield of another devil. The bird-devil wearing helmet and armour may perhaps also be associated with the expressions *in 't harnas vliegen* [lit.: to fly into armour], that is, to flare up in anger<sup>30</sup>, and *hy is terstont int harnas* [lit.: he is immediately in armour], that is, up in arms, enraged on the least pretext<sup>31</sup>. Another association could be with the word *vechtvogel* [lit.: fighting bird], meaning an aggressive person<sup>32</sup>.

What we have here is i.m.o. a satire on the licentious soldier who frequents dubious taverns and there satisfies his carnal passions using brute force.

It could be that the sin of sloth (Accidia) is at the same time also being censured. For in *Die Spiegel der Sonden* (II, col. 159) we read about *der ledighen minschen* [the idle people] that *si hem selven leveren oeren vianden sonder weren, ende setten hem recht als een teyken, daer scutten nae plegghen te schieten inder dolen om van alle siden gescoten te wesen. Hier aff inder bibelen steet: Sinen boge soe spien hi ende hevet my geset als een teyken daer men nae schiet* [they deliver themselves to their enemies without resistance, and set themselves up exactly like a target which shooters aim at in the archers' house, to be shot at from all sides. Of this the Bible says: He hath bent his bow, and set me as a mark at which one shoots]. And a little further on we read: *Ledicheit brenget oec oncuyscheit in* [Idleness also introduces unchastity].

Current in the 16th century was the expression *S. Luyaerts booghe afschieten* [lit.: to shoot off St. Lazybones' bow], meaning: to stretch oneself<sup>33</sup>.

In a tapestry woven after a design by Pieter Coecke an ass draws Accidia, and Goltzius depicted the animal as a symbol of Desidia<sup>34</sup>. *Dat boeck vanden proprietyten der dinghen* says of bears in their winter sleep: ... *die eerste vierthien daghen slapen si also vast datmen se niet wecken en mach al waert datmen se wondede* ... [ ... the first fourteen days they are so fast asleep that one cannot wake them even though one wounded them ... ]<sup>35</sup>.

The following scene, too, has already been discussed in *Tuin*, p. 104-105, note 1. A recapitulation with many additions follows here. See ill. 40 and 41.

A little more to the back, in the middle of the picture, a long-tailed chief of the demons, with a claw-hook in his hand, is sitting in the entrance to a diabolic structure<sup>36</sup>. From his green turban-like headgear is draped a kind of green cloak.

<sup>30</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 61/79 (176).

<sup>31</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 61/79 (177).

<sup>32</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 109.

<sup>33</sup> Marnix. *Byen corf*, p. 304.

<sup>34</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 71/86 (67).

<sup>35</sup> Bartolomeus engelsman. *Dat boeck vanden proprietyten der dinghen*. Haerlem 1485, boek XVIII, capittel cvi. It seems that Bosch must have known this edition, for it contains two woodcuts which are closely related to details in the work of Bosch. See *Judgem.*, p. 343.

<sup>36</sup> De Tolnay (1937, p. 39, note 118; 1965, p. 360) incorrectly calls this 'le bâtiment circulaire en forme de four' and judges it to be derived from the fire-spewing hell-house, as large as a mountain and as round as an oven, in *Tondalus' Visioen*. For this hell-house see *Judgem.*, p. 276. The error was repeated by Combe (1946, p. 62, note 92). Also incorrect is Gossart's opinion (p. 229) that the devil chief derives from the *Visioen van Tondalus*.

On the 'turban' little toads are dancing round a fire, and round the edge of the arched door to the building a whole string of toads has been painted (they have white spots on their backs: allusion to the Spanish pox). Through an iron grating one sees into the belly of the devil where a fire is burning.

In Vienna the monster's legs end in the claws of a bird and his tail is a barbed point. The Lucifer who is depicted on the title-page of *Der zielen troost* (Hendrik Eckert van Homberch, Antwerpen 1509) is also enthroned on a seat in hell and also has bird's-claws instead of feet, and in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch, a devil sitting on the ground has a barbed tail<sup>37</sup>. A crowned Lucifer with bird's-claws sits in the *Hell* of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych. Here, too, devils are bringing sinners to him.

In Berlin the legs of the demon chief are humanoid. They are encased in a kind of shoe with a very long point. Here the tail has no barb. The pointed shoes, like those of the jester-devil to the right of him, are a reflection of similar shoes worn by people of the 15th century<sup>38</sup>.

The toads, of course, again point to uncleanness.

The turban-like head-covering with a kind of cloak hanging from it, resembles a headdress which 15th-century Dutch miniators sometimes depicted on oriental figures. One of the eminent Huns under whose supervision Ursula and her virgins are put to death in Cologne, wears one (ill. 42)<sup>39</sup>. So does one of the Maccabees in miniatures from 1431<sup>40</sup> and 1445<sup>41</sup>.

In the *Hermit Saints* triptych (Venice) Bosch shows St. Hieronymus as hermit in the desert of Chalcis, to the east of Antioch, near a column from which an idol is toppling. This heathen god also wears such a headdress. The toppled idol is a symbol of the heresy and heathendom by which Hieronymus was beset. As anchorite (ca. 377) he opposed Arianism<sup>42</sup>, later, when he was in Rome for the second time (382-385) he opposed paganism there<sup>43</sup>, and in 395, in Palestine, he was threatened by an incursion of the Huns<sup>44</sup>. To me it seems no coincidence that the headgear of the idol is more or less the same as that of the distinguished Hun in the miniature by Willem Vrelant. When depicting this idol Bosch probably had in mind heathen from the east and therefore gave him an oriental headdress. Perhaps it was inspired by the headgear of the Bedouin.

What the demon chief on our right panel has on his head could be a caricature of such a heathenish headpiece.

Behind the hellish creature many sinners are crowded together (in Berlin only a few) and in front of him, to the right, an unfortunate soul is listening to his sentence being read out. A heron-like bird is sticking his bill into the anus of this sinner, who with his right hand is holding the bird's long beak<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> F. van Lanschot Collection, 's-Hertogenbosch (previously Thyssen-Bornemisza, Lugano). Rep.: Friedländer v (Lemmens), no. 91.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. a miniature by Loyset Liédet: see note 62.

<sup>39</sup> V. Leroquais. *Le bréviaire de Philippe le Bon. Bréviaire parisien du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris-Bruxelles-New York 1929. Planches documentaires. Pl. 4: work by Willem Vrelant.

<sup>40</sup> Byvanck, fig. 57. Utrecht work.

<sup>41</sup> Byvanck en Hoogewerff I, pl. 113. Utrecht work.

<sup>42</sup> Paul Monceaux. *Saint Jérôme. Sa jeunesse, l'étudiant et l'ermite*. Paris 1932, p. 215.

<sup>43</sup> *Saint Jérôme. Lettres*. Texte établi et traduit par Jérôme Labourt. Tome I. Paris 1949, p. xvii.

<sup>44</sup> F. Cavallera. *Saint Jérôme. Sa vie et son oeuvre*. Louvain 1922. Vol. I, p. 179.

<sup>45</sup> My description in *Tuin*, p. 104, note 1, is wrong.

This is a depiction of the motif bird-at-anus. With Bosch and imitators it has unchaste connotations in several instances<sup>46</sup>. In such cases the bird is sometimes a phallic symbol. Sometimes, however, the bird represents the word *kaasjager* [lit.: cheese-chaser], a term that was applied to a man who ran after women<sup>47</sup>. Another word for the human posterior was *kaas* [cheese; the buttocks resembling balls of cheese], a term also applied to the female genitals<sup>48</sup>. On our right panel the motif signifies that the sinner was a woman-chaser.

To the right of the sinner stands an executioner-devil. He wears an executioner's sword<sup>49</sup>, a bonnet trimmed with tabs, a long garment, and a large boot on his left leg. His headdress is reminiscent of a bonnet worn by a Burgundian nobleman in a copy of a painting by Jan van Eyck or of a work that originated in the vicinity of the Van Limburg brothers, and which represents a hunting feast<sup>50</sup>. An executioner in Bosch's *Carrying of the Cross* in Ghent also has such a bonnet. Was this headgear 'herabgesunkenes Kulturgut' in Bosch's time? This type of bonnet worn by nobles in the first half of the 15th century sometimes had a tapered elongation hanging down from it. Examples can be seen i.a. in French tapestries from ca. 1450<sup>51</sup>.

A sword pierces the upper body of the sinner, which could allude to a mortal fight in a tavern. Applicable here, as so often with Bosch, is the proverb: *per quae peccat quis, per haec et torquetur*.

In the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych an imp thrusts a sword through the breast of a sinner who has obviously been guilty of fighting in taverns<sup>52</sup>.

The sinner on our right panel is blindfolded, which means that he has been handed over to the executioner. Close to the sinner being punished in the *Hell* of the *Garden*, as just mentioned, is a fellow victim who was also blindfolded before his head was hacked off by an executioner's sword<sup>53</sup>. Another blindfolded and severed head occurs on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges. Here the sinner has been pierced from behind with a sword through his back.

On his left our woman-chaser and fighter is accompanied by a kind of jester-devil. This demon wears a long knife on a shoulder-belt, carries a round mirror in his left hand (in Vienna the object is not as distinct as in Berlin), and he has a tail, while from his ape-like head the legs of a hen stick out like horns<sup>54</sup>. Upper body and arms are disfigured by black spots and the body below the waist is covered with yellow-white nodules.

<sup>46</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 173/225 ff.; *Tuin*, p. 56, 57, 60, 61, 107.

<sup>47</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 174/226 (20).

<sup>48</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 174/226 (21).

<sup>49</sup> On a sheet of sketches, formerly attributed to Bosch, but now regarded as work dating from the first quarter of the 15th century (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam; *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 210, no. 68) there is the figure of a man likewise in a long garment and with a large double-edged sword at his left side. He too could be an executioner.

<sup>50</sup> Rep.: P. Post. *Ein verschollenes Jagdbild Jan van Eycks*. *J.d.p.K.* LII (1931), p. 129, figure in centre; see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 246/326 (11 and 12).

<sup>51</sup> Van Marle. *Iconographie* I, p. 12 (fig. 9) and 25 (fig. 21). Cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 88/113 (117). Influence of Burgundian fashion on Bosch: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 88/113 (117 and 118), 246/326 (12); *Tuin*, p. 99 (2).

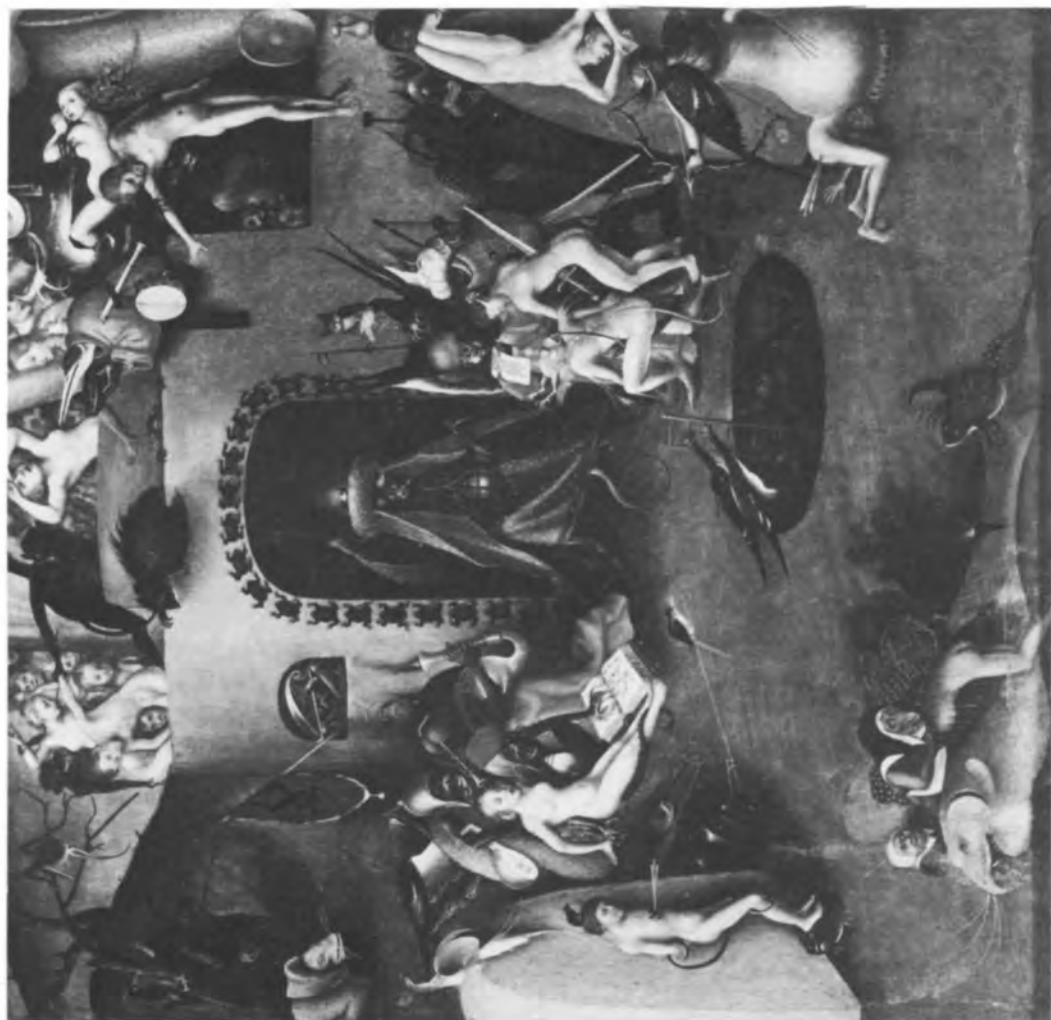
<sup>52</sup> *Tuin*, p. 89.

<sup>53</sup> *Tuin*, p. 90.

<sup>54</sup> In *Tuin*, p. 104, I incorrectly thought that they were the legs of a cock. There are no spurs.



40. Hell, central scene, Bosch (p. 221)



41. Hell, central scene, Cranach (p. 221)



Bosch presumably got his jester from the stage. For in the Low Countries jester-devils did play a part in processions<sup>55</sup> and on the stage<sup>56</sup>. A jester shown as a diabolic figure (for he serves to mock a saint) is depicted in a miniature of ca. 1460 by Jean Fouquet. It represents the martyrdom of St. Apollonia as a scene in a play<sup>57</sup>.

A real jester sometimes wore a cock's head on his cap as a symbol of folly<sup>58</sup>. In the Low Countries the hen could have this meaning too<sup>59</sup>. The long knife of the jester-devil points to pugnacity in the sinner and the ape's head to the man's stupidity, unchastity and quarrelsomeness.

Spots and nodules allude to the Spanish pox.

The demon-jester wears shoes with long points. This footwear is also seen on a jester in the *Luxuria* of Bosch's *Table*. Here a second fool is beating this jester with a large ladle (symbol of gluttony) on his naked behind. They are amusing an amorous couple sitting in a love-tent. Standing in the back of the tent is another pair of lovers. An engraving in Jodocus Badius Ascensius's edition of the Latin translation of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* shows a fool beating with a bellows (symbol of i.a. folly) on the naked posterior of a jester<sup>60</sup>. Bosch evidently borrowed the action from the part played by a jester in a performance.

Bosch's *Luxuria* has a fleeting resemblance to a tableau which was presented on a platform in honour of the triumphal entry of Johanna of Castile, spouse of Philip the Fair, into Brussels in 1496: five amatory couples are feasting in a hall where also a jester, a musician, a wine-pourer, a serving-man, a serving-maid, a buffet and a bed are present. The jester points to a young man and a young woman who are embracing each other beside the bed. The house to which the apartment belongs is called *Domus Delicie et Iocunditatis*<sup>61</sup>. There is therefore no question of satire here. The scene is a glorification of love of a decidedly physical nature.

Our jester's bare head with the hen's feet growing out of it reminds one of a jester's cap. A devil in *St. James and Hermogenes* (by an imitator, Valenciennes), who is identified as an inebriate by his spoonbill's beak and a spur on each calf (*kuythane*: lit.: calf-cock, i.e. boozier, *kuyt* being a kind of beer), wears a little round jester's cap on his head. From it sprout two thin horns with nodules.

The posture of the legs and feet of our jester-devil is the same as that of the kneeling figures in several 15th-century North and South Netherlandish miniatures<sup>62</sup>.

The front of the mirror which the jester-devil has in his left hand is turned towards a naked female sinner who, to the left of the chief of the demons, is singing a song to the accompaniment of diabolic musicians. Although the singer

<sup>55</sup> Soens. *Beginnel*, p. 134.

<sup>56</sup> Haslinghuis, p. 192. For the possibility that our jester-devil is a *bastaerde duvel* [bastard devil], see *Judgem.*, p. 122, note 222.

<sup>57</sup> Rep.: Van Puyvelde. *Schilderkunst*, ill. 46. *Getijdenboek van Etienne Chevalier*, Chantilly. Already noted in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 262/345 f. (42) and 272/358 (28).

<sup>58</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 143/190 (1-9).

<sup>59</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 200/264 (54, 55). *Judgem.*, p. 68 and note 344.

<sup>60</sup> Maeterlinck. *Peinture*, p. 220, fig. 188. Bellows: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 171-3/223-5.

<sup>61</sup> Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Ms. 78-D-5. Fol. 58<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> E.g.: Delaissé. *Miniatures médiévales*, no. 37: Utrecht miniature from 1460. P. Durrieu. *La miniature flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne (1415-1530)*. Bruxelles et Paris 1921, Pl. xxiv, xxv (Loyset Liédet).

is not looking at the mirror, it certainly is meant for her. This is evident from the composition, which relates the group round the male sinner to the one round the female sinner. One may even accept, I think, that the man and the woman have been partners in sin.

The mirror is a symbol of vanity, which is a sin forming part of Superbia.

The mirror of vanity is depicted by Bosch also elsewhere.

In the *Superbia* of the hell-medallion on his *Table* he shows a devil holding up a round mirror to a naked couple. A bird is sticking out its long bill and neck towards the man's behind and a toad sits on the woman's pudendum. Just as on our right panel, a combination of Superbia and Luxuria.

In the *Superbia* as one of the seven deadly sins in the big circle on the *Table*, a she-devil holds up an oval mirror to a woman putting on a fine headdress and mirroring herself while doing so.

In the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych a devil shows his behind, on which a circular mirror has been placed, to a female sinner<sup>63</sup>. In it she sees her own face next to the ass's head of another devil. In *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 196) it is said of vain women that in hell *is boer spiegel dat wrede aenschijn ende dat ontideliken anscouwen der wreder duvelen* [their mirror is the cruel aspect and the unbearable sight of the brute devils].

On the centre panel of our *Last Judgement* triptych a devil riding on a female sinner carries an oval mirror on his back<sup>64</sup>.

In the *Superbia* in a painting of the *Seven Deadly Sins* an imitator of Bosch depicted a woman holding an oval mirror in her hand<sup>65</sup>.

The motif of a jester with a naked woman was used by the Master E.S. and by Israhel van Meckenem<sup>66</sup>. In an engraving by the former the woman has a mirror in her hand in which is reflected the face of the jester<sup>67</sup>. This signifies her own folly.

On the 16th-century stage devils of vanity appeared with mirrors as 'attributes'<sup>68</sup>

In front of the group formed by the executioner, jester and sinner, stands a devil wearing spectacles. The cap on his head is red and he has on a red coat. He is reading out the sentence pronounced by the chief devil. On the document no legible words or letters can be seen. Hanging down from it is a yellow seal.

The devil has large wings. In Berlin they are those of a bird, in Vienna more like a butterfly's than a bird's.

Also this figure could well have been derived from the stage. In Dutch dramatic literature a known character was the *secretarius van der hellen* [secretary of hell], whose task it also was when occasion demanded, to read out a letter from his lord, the chief devil<sup>69</sup>. Or is Bosch's demon *die procurator vander hellen* [the procurator of hell], that is, the public prosecutor? This personage also appears in a 16th-century Dutch stage-play<sup>70</sup>.

Such stage-devils wore masks.

<sup>63</sup> *Tuin*, p. 96 and 97.

<sup>64</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 138.

<sup>65</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 159/210 (31). Rep.: *The Studio*, October 1938, p. 196.

<sup>66</sup> Geisberg, Bl. 127, Bl. 144 A, no. 2, Bl. 218.

<sup>67</sup> *Idem*. Bl. 218.

<sup>68</sup> Haslinghuis, p. 196.

<sup>69</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 11/15 f. (16). In the 16th-century *Tspel van Sinte Trudo* there is a reference to the *secretarius* [clerk] or the *griffier* [registrar] of Lucifer: Kalff, *Trou*, line 1809 f.

<sup>70</sup> *Spel van sinnen van de Groote Hel*: Ern , p. 45. See also *W.N.T.* XII, 4271.

Haslinghuis (p. 152) says that in French plays devil-figures representing attorneys, notaries and clerks took part.



42. Turban as oriental headdress, 15th c. miniature (p. 222 n. 39)

Actors playing the part of devils were provided with *dievelshoofden* [devils' heads] in Thielt in 1448, and in Brussels in 1559 and 1566 with *duyvelshoofden* [devils' heads] specially made for them<sup>71</sup>.

In 1546 it was recorded in Mechelen that *de hoofden van de duivelen* [the heads of the devils] had been painted. These were for demons performing in a play about Mary Magdalene<sup>72</sup>.

Devils in processions sometimes also wore masks. Thus Juan Luis Vives in his publication of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (Basileae 1522) tells us that devils in the procession which was held in 's-Hertogenbosch during the consecration festival of the St. Jan's cathedral, were masked<sup>73</sup>. And Wallich Sywaertsz writes that round about 1550 the procession in honour of the Holy Sacrament of Amsterdam included devils who had *een groot schrickelijc Grijns voor t'aenghesicht* [a large fearsome Grin (i.e. grinning mask) before the face]<sup>74</sup>.

Especially in the Vienna picture the impression is created that the executioner-devil and the secretary-demon are wearing masks.

Do the spectacles of the 'secretary of hell' have a symbolic function as well? In the 16th century a pair of eyeglasses could be a symbol of deceit in the Low Countries<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Van Puyvelde. *Schilderkunst*, p. 235 and 259. Illustration of a devil-mask from Ghent, in: E. de Bock. *De Nederlanden. Overzicht van de geschiedenis, de beeldende kunsten, de bouwkunst en de letterkunde*. Antwerpen 1949, opposite p. 129.

<sup>72</sup> Van Autenboer, p. 129.

<sup>73</sup> S.A. Vorsters. *Juan Luis Vives in de Nederlanden. Verslagen K.V.A. v. T.e.L.* 1964, p. 86.

<sup>74</sup> W.S. (= Wallich Sywaertsz). *Roomsche mysterien*: etc. Amstelredam 1604, p. 46v.

<sup>75</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 78/93 (48). The type of spectacles depicted by Bosch was used in the second half of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. Each of the two lenses is set

The bird-wings could point to roguery and unchastity and the butterfly-wings to folly and unchastity<sup>76</sup>.

The bonnet of the secretary in combination with the spectacles occurs also elsewhere: they are worn by St. Augustine (block book *Defensorium inviolatae virginitatis B. Mariae*), by an apostle at the death-bed of Mary (painting by Hans Multscher, Ulm, 1440-1476), and by a scribe with Jesus in the temple (German wood-carving, end 15th century)<sup>77</sup>. All of them 'learned' men.

An exemplum in which God is the judge has some resemblance to our scene<sup>78</sup>. For in it a bishop who has led an unchaste life appears *mit verbonden ende bedecten aensicht* [lit.: with bound and covered face] and is accused of all kinds of sins by devils in the form of *sarianten mit wreden aensichten* [sergeants with cruel faces] (*sarianten* could mean i.a. armed servants), after which God condemns him.

Also related to our scene is a detail on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* in Bruges, the work of an imitator of Bosch. In it a sinner is being punished. The knife with which a part of his body is to be cut off, is lying ready. A devil is reading the sentence from a document with a seal.

Behind the three devils with our sinner stands a devil who has long pointed bird's wings and whose head is encased in a grilled helmet. The crest on the helmet is a left fore-arm and hand, on which sits an owl with some kind of deer's antlers on its head (in Berlin these horns do not appear). From the fingers of the hand hangs a cord with a small yellow ball on it. To the left behind the helmet a claw-hook is raised up.

Bird, owl and deer can allude to unchastity<sup>79</sup>. The helmet can denote pugnacity, the cord with ball licentious merrymaking<sup>80</sup>.

A crest in the form of an arm with a hand holding something was frequently pictured. Thus in a 15th-century French miniature the hand holds a head<sup>81</sup>, in a 15th-century mural decoration in Pistoria a staff and a club<sup>82</sup>, and in a 16th-century table-cloth (showing the arms of the Gifford family) a pair of deer's antlers<sup>83</sup>.

In another of Bosch's works there is a grilled helmet with a crest on it which consists of a little arm wielding a knife, and I have pointed out elsewhere that the master could have got this idea from a real cimier showing a knight's armour-clad arm holding a sword<sup>84</sup>.

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in its own frame, which has a little pin or bar fixed to it. The two bars are joined by means of a hinge. It is therefore possible to adjust the glasses by bringing the lenses nearer to, or further away from, each other. Such glasses are clearly illustrated in G. Prausnitz. *Das Augenglas in Bildern der kirchlichen Kunst im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert*. Strassburg 1915, ill. 3, 7 and 20.

<sup>76</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 30, 27.

<sup>77</sup> Prausnitz (see note 75), ill. 1, 15 and 19.

<sup>78</sup> *Middel nederlandse stichtelijke exempelen*, p. 97, XIII. Cf. *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* II, p. 75 ff. Here the angels are bringing him to God.

<sup>79</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 30 n. 61, 359, and 50 f.

<sup>80</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 106 f. and 181 f.

<sup>81</sup> Demmin. *Zweiter Ergänzungsband*, p. 109, ill. 51 iv.

<sup>82</sup> M.A. Racinet. *Le costume historique*. Tome IV. *Europe, Moyen Age*. Paris 1888, Planche 18.

<sup>83</sup> *Betoverend steekspel*. Exhibition catalogue. Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen. Rotterdam. 14 December 1963 - 19 January 1965, ill. 1.

<sup>84</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 106 f.

Did Bosch perhaps derive his arm with the hand holding an owl, from a crest in which a falcon sits on the hand?

To me it seems acceptable that he is here showing the owl (symbol of unchastity and folly) as the antithesis of the noble falcon. He has replaced the falcon's leash (see the bird on the hand of St. Bavo, on the exterior of our right wing) with the cord-and-ball of unfavourable connotation.

An owl by itself as the crest on a helmet occurs on a sheet of Bosch-like sketches<sup>85</sup>. Here it is a symbol of folly.

To the left of our helmet is visible a part of a bear-like head (not in Berlin), and above the executioner's bonnet a brown pointed hat trimmed with black feathers (in Berlin only the feathers).

Probably belonging to the devil wearing the feathered hat, is a stick to which is fastened a rope with a large ball on it. This object is seen most clearly in the Berlin depiction. There the ball is metallic and it has a spike or sharp point at the bottom. It is a kind of whip or scourge which in Middle Dutch was called *eene scorgye ende eene bal* [a scourge and a ball]<sup>86</sup>. Without the stick it was known as a *loodwapper* [approx.: leaden whopper]<sup>87</sup>.

Such a stick to which a metal ball with a metal point is attached by means of a rope or wire, is shown with an executioner in Bosch's *Carrying of the Cross* in Ghent (two metal rings are placed between the ball and the top of the stick, and the cord seems to be of metal), and in Du Hameel's engraving of the *Last Judgement* it sticks out from the helmet of an executioner (?)-devil<sup>88</sup>. In a Cranach depiction an executioner near Christ has a stick with a chain hanging on it, to which is attached a ball with spikes<sup>89</sup>.

It would appear that executioners in Bosch's time sometimes made use of a *scorgie met bal* [scourge with ball].

To the right two devils are looking on. In Berlin they are absent. They have mask-like heads (like the pair with the ass's ears to the right of them, who, however, are part of the target-shooting scene and have already been dealt with). One of them has the horns of a goat, and probably wings on his body; the other wears a blue bonnet on his head. The goat was a symbol of unchastity<sup>90</sup>, the blue bonnet of unreliability<sup>91</sup>.

Stage-devils are known to have worn masks with horns<sup>92</sup> and ass's ears<sup>93</sup>.

In the Vienna depiction, therefore, six mask-like heads occur, and we have ascertained that devils in processions and on the stage sometimes wore masks.

In a fascinating description of a procession in Ghent, which took place in the first half of the 16th century, Van Vaernewyck records that in it the spectators saw *een belle ende veel danssen van duvelen, seer consticht ende verscrickelic toeghemaect* [a hell and much dancing of devils, got up very artfully and fear-inspiring]. The hell was drawn along on a sled. The author praises the man who designed and costumed the devils: *Daer was ooc eenen duvelmakere, woonachtich te Crommenhessche, die dese maniere van duvelen uutstelde ende*

<sup>85</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 108.

<sup>86</sup> *M. W.*, VII, 676.

<sup>87</sup> *M. W.*, IV, 790.

<sup>88</sup> Lafond, at p. 82. See also *Judgem.*, p. 163.

<sup>89</sup> Jahn, Tafel 52.

<sup>90</sup> *Tuin*, p. 55 (8). *Judgem.*, p. 49.

<sup>91</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 13/18 (58-60). *Judgem.*, p. 37.

<sup>92</sup> Endepols, p. 76. Haslinghuis, p. 190.

<sup>93</sup> Soens. *Beginsel*, p. 135. Haslinghuis, p. 191, note 1.



*zeer aerdich ende constich daer af was* [there was also a devil-maker living in Crommenhessche, who displayed this kind of devil and was very ingenious and artistic in it]<sup>94</sup>.

Elsewhere I have pointed out that Bosch borrowed various things from processions<sup>95</sup>. He must therefore have been well acquainted with them. That he uses procession-masks on his hell-panel probably does not mean that he wished to satirize the licentious behaviour for which procession-days were notorious, but if this should have been his intention, he would have been in accord with his contemporary and compatriot Dionysius the Carthusian, who accused his fellow-citizens of abusing the processions, demeaning the days of celebration to days of public disorder, drunkenness and strife<sup>96</sup>.

Whatever the case may be, the scene with the blindfolded sinner is in the first place a satire on Luxuria and Ira.

At the feet of the trio and their victim is a round pit. In it are two birds of fantasy with long bills and tails, a toad with a tail, a kind of lizard, a demonic beast with bird's wings and with fire coming out of its mouth, a snake-like devil-creature with a thin, sharp bird's bill and a devil-animal of which only a kind of scorpion's tail and two insect-legs are visible.

The two fanciful birds are looking intently at the devils and the sinner. They are here no doubt symbols of unchastity. Quite in keeping with this are the toad-, lizard-, and snake-forms. A scorpion could allude to falsity and unchastity<sup>97</sup>.

Apparently this section has undergone a great deal of restoration. In Berlin we see something quite different, which does not mean to say that originally the Vienna depiction did fully agree here with the Berlin representation.

In the Cranach a devil with bird's wings and a toad's head is holding a ladder sticking up out of the pit. In the pit are sinners. To the right is a blindfolded head towards which a devil-animal is stretching out its rat's head.

The ladder is probably meant for the blindfolded sinner with a sword through his body, who as we have seen was a woman-chaser and a pugnacious fellow. The blindfolded head in the pit shows that another has already preceded him.

Elsewhere in Bosch's work the ladder sometimes has a decidedly unchaste function. It could be a symbol of i.a. adultery<sup>98</sup>. In the Cranach depiction it should perhaps rather be seen as an allusion to the punishment of standing on a

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<sup>94</sup> M. van Vaeckenwijk. *Van die beroerliche tijden in die Nederlanden, en voornamelick in Ghendt, 1566-1568*. Edited by F. Vanderhaeghen. 5 vols. Gent 1872-1881. Vol. 1, p. 60 ff.

<sup>95</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 272/358 (30-39).

<sup>96</sup> Moll. *Kerkgeschiedenis*, p. 29.

<sup>97</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 150/197; *Tuin*, p. 58.

<sup>98</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 101/127 (1, 2), 108/141 (at 42). *Tuin*, p. 117. *Martelares*, p. 11. Addition: In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch, in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht (Cat. no. 1044) the saint is being tormented by the proximity of a love-pavilion or brothel-tent with its customers and by a prostitute-devil who is accompanied by a procuress-devil. The meretrix holds in her hand a ball (mamma, mons Veneris: *Tuin*, p. 18; 39, note 4) with an owl (male member) standing on it. Near to the two diabolic women the saint's pig is being plagued by two imps. One of them is standing on a ladder and throwing a ball-shaped fruit (same connotation as the prostitute's ball) at the animal. The other has horns on his head and is directing a short mop (licentiousness) at the pig's hindquarters. Horns (cf. *hoornen aent hoofst stellen* [to put horns on <someone's> head] and *horendraegher* [horn-wearer]: *Tuin*, p. 127, note 5) and ladder point to adultery. Precious vessels and money lying on the ground between the two diaboli signify worldly wealth which facilitates adultery.

ladder. In Maastricht, for instance, this punishment was inflicted in the 15th century as a penalty of disgrace<sup>99</sup>. Mention of a disgrace-penalty is also made in a Middle Dutch exemplum which tells of a count who with the whole of his family stood *op een leder midden inder hellen* [on a ladder in the centre of hell] because he had had in his possession properties that his great-grand-father had stolen from the church<sup>100</sup>.

The spots and nodules on divers devil-animals in Bosch's pit and the spots on the body of the devil with the ladder in the Cranach painting can allude to the Spanish pox.

The pit is a well-known motif in Middle Dutch literature on hell and purgatory.

The soul of Tondalus sees a pit in purgatory, as big as a lake and full of monsters. Across the pit is a narrow bridge two miles long<sup>101</sup>. In another place in purgatory is a pit above which an enormous bird-devil sits<sup>102</sup>. Close to hell Tondalus sees a great square pit with a column of fire and smoke rising from it. In the flames sinners and devils are cast up. They fall back again into the pit<sup>103</sup>. The knight Owein sees in purgatory a pit which is perhaps an entrance to hell<sup>104</sup>. From this pit male and female sinners are thrown up in flames and then drop back into it again. Dirc van Delf (III B, p. 649) says that there is a pit in hell.

In *Dat sterf boeck* (79<sup>r</sup>) a tyrannical, avaricious duke is in hell cast into a red-hot pit in which he has to take a bath. This must be associated with the wells in a bath-house. The knight Owein saw such a bath-house in purgatory<sup>105</sup>. In its floor were round wells filled with molten metal and standing in them were sinners young and old, male and female.

In *Le Traité* and *Le Compost* lechers are punished in pits.

With the pits referred to above, Bosch's infernal hole has but little in common. It is, however, closely related to a pit described in a legend of Mary. A nun sees in a vision that there is a pit in hell in which serpents and snakes torment sinners. Out of it came *Morianen die vol vuers waren* [Moors that were full of fire], that is, black fiery devils, who cast sinners into the depth. The victims for whom this punishment is reserved, are those who *leven nae genoechten hoers vleisches* [live for the pleasures of their flesh]<sup>106</sup>.

A pit as a place of torture occurs also elsewhere in Dutch plastic art. A *Last Judgement* drawing (probably after a work by Dirk Bouts) shows sinners in a pit<sup>107</sup>. On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges a bird-devil casts a sinner into a pit.

Bosch's intention in the Cranach variant was probably to show that the sinner is sentenced to undergo the penalty of disgrace on the ladder, which is to be followed by decapitation. The head and the body will then be cast into the pit.

<sup>99</sup> Ch. J.M. Ruys de Beerenbrouck. *Het strafrecht in het oude Maastricht*. Maastricht 1895, p. 103.

<sup>100</sup> *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 300, note 4. This story was already told in a sermon by Hildebrand, who later became Pope Gregorius VII (Verdeyen en Endepols I, p. 35: *Het visioen van een geestelijke* [The vision of a cleric]).

<sup>101</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 52. See *Judgem.*, p. 188.

<sup>102</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 81 ff. See *Judgem.*, p. 211 no. 2.

<sup>103</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 99 ff.

<sup>104</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 271 and 301. Compare *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 20.

<sup>105</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 259 and 261.

<sup>106</sup> *Middelnederlandse Marialegenden* II, p. 232 (CCCLII). Cf. *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 292 and 295.

<sup>107</sup> Schöne, ill. 45<sup>a</sup>.

To the left of the doorway to the infernal structure a minstrel-devil is squatting cross-legged in a niche in the wall. He is playing a harp and he has an indefinable animal's head with sharp teeth<sup>108</sup>. Projecting from the niche is a stick to which is attached a green tavern-banner. This has a toad depicted on it and a little yellow ball hangs down from it.

At the foot of the wall are three other minstrel-devils.

The one on the left is clad in green, has a lute under his arm, bird-wings on his back, a white hood over his head, and his face is perhaps that of a rodent.

Of the second figure the most prominent part is the buttocks. Stuck between them is a flute or trumpet which the demon is playing and through which he is blowing diarrhoeal faeces on to the head of a female sinner. His upper body is clothed in a dark-brown garment (in Berlin it is dark-green) on which grows a plant with sharp points. On his naked behind are many yellow spots or nodules.

The third 'body' consists of part of a bagpipes with an eye in it and with hands playing on a pipe of the instrument. An infernal flame issues from this pipe. Below the 'bagpipes' a red cloth conceals the rest of the body.

The woman sinner is being supported by a devil with a stickle-tail, an ape-like face, long white hair and a red cap. His black jerkin is partly closed in front with a cord drawn across his yellow belly. With his paw he is pointing out the notes in a book of songs (there are no words or letters to the music) and singing. Also the lute-playing fiend is singing. The female sinner is being forced to join in the song.

The young woman is probably a wench from a dubious tavern. The flag is no doubt a tavern-sign. It can be compared with a red flag which has a white swan on it, and which hangs from a brothel-tavern in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch<sup>109</sup>, and also with a flag showing two crossed tobacco-pipes, which sticks out from a 17th-century inn<sup>110</sup>.

The cord with small ball hanging under the banner signifies licentious merrymaking.

The four musician-devils can be associated with those minstrels who used to perform in alehouses and who, as we have seen, had a bad name<sup>111</sup>. Moreover, their musical instruments had obscene connotations: flute and bagpipes in the 16th century occur as symbols of the male sexual organ<sup>112</sup>, lute and harp as symbols of the female genitals<sup>113</sup>.

The singing devil reminds one of singers of bawdy songs in taverns<sup>114</sup>. Remarkable is the combination of cap, long hair and open jerkin with cord. This

<sup>108</sup> Combe's description (1946, p. 80) is not correct: 'harpe divine . . . jetée par une fenêtre par un démon'.

<sup>109</sup> Rijksmuseum. Cat. 588 A 3.

<sup>110</sup> M. de Meyer. *De volks- en kinderprent in de Nederlanden*. Antwerpen-Amsterdam 1962, p. 584.

<sup>111</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 140.

<sup>112</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 157 and 193.

<sup>113</sup> Lute: *Judgem.*, p. 34 n. 85. Harp: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 69/88. *Tuin*, p. 99. *Judgem.*, p. 163 n. 98 and 193 n. 18.

<sup>114</sup> *Tuin*, p. 98 f. In *Tuin*, p. 105, I suggested that he might be a brothel-keeper. But I would now say that he should rather be seen as a singer-devil. Dionysius the Carthusian teaches that a person should make confession if he has enjoyed listening to *onhoesche sange, ydel liedekijns ende vander vleyscelijker minnen, snaerspul ende des gelijcs* [improper songs, frivolous ditties and singing about carnal love, playing on the strings, and such-like] (*Vanden loefliken leuen*, I 7<sup>v</sup>), and he says that *minnelike liedekens, onreyn sprake, ende sommige melodie* [love-songs, indecent speech and some melodies] induce unchastity (*Die spiegel der bekeeringen*, d 4<sup>v</sup>).

is also the aspect of a lute-player in a *Garden of Love* (see ill. 46), engraved in Florence ca. 1465-1480<sup>115</sup>. According to Hind the engraving shows influence from the north.

For what could be the symbolism of the cord, see *Judgem.*, p. 245.

Not only in Italy, but also in the 15th-century Low Countries we find examples of the little cap worn on long hair<sup>116</sup>.

The posture of the young woman is more or less the same as that of two women on our centre panel<sup>117</sup> and of a female sinner on the right wing of Bosch's *Garden* triptych<sup>118</sup>. The last-mentioned female has been found guilty of the sins of Luxuria and Superbia<sup>119</sup>. This is also the case with the woman on our right wing and with the woman in the *Superbia of the Hell* on Bosch's *Table*<sup>120</sup>. These two sinners I have compared, in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 262/345 (41), with a lascivious female in a *Purgatory* by Jean Colombe from about 1485. But Bosch was not influenced by this miniature.

The motifs toad, bird and ape fit well in these surroundings. The yellow spots on the posterior point to the Spanish pox. In the rank growth on the back of the devil with the bare buttocks, I see a visual representation of the word *ruit*, that in the 16th century could mean not only weeds or tangled growth, but also a scabby rash<sup>121</sup>.

Also in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych Bosch satirized musicians and singers who performed in low-class public houses<sup>122</sup>. Here devils force sinners to sing a song. This kind of punishment in hell is also mentioned in a 16th-century stage-play<sup>123</sup>. This enforced singing of secular songs as a punishment in hell, must however not be confused with the uttering of imprecations and complaints by sinners. In a Middle Dutch exemplum devils bring the soul of the unchaste bishop Udo to *den prince lucifer* [the prince Lucifer], who orders them to let Udo drink *een potken vol pees ende sulphur* [a cannikin full of pitch and sulphur] and to let him bath in *een bad met heeten pecke ende met gloeyende sulphur* [a bath with hot pitch and fiery sulphur]. *Doe udo sach dat hij verdoemt was, so vermaledide hij god ende alle heilighen ende alle creaturen. Doe riep lucifer: Och hoe wel kan hij zinghen onse liet* [when Udo saw that he was

<sup>115</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 245.

<sup>116</sup> A Dutch example from 1496: Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Ms. 78-D-5, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>, Brussels' secretarius mounted on a horse. For this manuscript see *Judgem.*, p. 94, note 43. For the type of cap, see *Martelares*, p. 45 (4 and 5).

<sup>117</sup> Woman beside a posterior into which a 'May' is being struck (Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 70). Woman inside vegetal glass ball, with mouse (Idem, no. 71).

<sup>118</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 73. Shown in the same posture are Adam in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych and the man who has fainted at the foot of the cross of the woman martyr (*Martelares*, p. 23, note 5). This posture and others related to it were perhaps derived by Bosch from attitudes which the lover assumed with his lady, as depicted by the Master of the Gardens of Love, Reeuwich and the Master E.S. See *Tuin*, p. 21 (5 and 6).

<sup>119</sup> *Tuin*, p. 97 (2 and 4).

<sup>120</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 138.

<sup>121</sup> *W.N.T.* XIII, 1779. Cf. *ruit* [diamond; diamond pattern] in *Judgem.*, p. 156 and 257.

<sup>122</sup> *Tuin*, p. 98 f. Lenneberg (*Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights. Some musicological considerations and criticisms. Gazette des Beaux-Arts. 6<sup>e</sup> Période. Tome LVIII. 103<sup>e</sup>*

Année. 1961, p. 135-144) is wrong when he writes that in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 153f./201. I said 'that musicians were traditionally viewed as companions of the devil'. Of course there were many musicians who were held in high honour. In my discussion I was dealing with the wandering minstrel, the vagrant entertainer.

<sup>123</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 277/363 (47).



doomed, he cursed God and all the saints and all creatures. Then Lucifer called out: Oh, how well can he sing our song]<sup>124</sup>. *Des Conincs Summe* (p. 316) tells us of complaints uttered in hell by *menich keyser, hertoghe, coninc ende grave* [many an emperor, duke, king and count]. They lament: *Wapen! wapen! dat wi ye gheboren worden! Och arm, o wee, o wi ende emmer o wach! Wat baet ons armen onsalighen kattiven nu, dat wi groot, rijk, edel ende machtich onder die menschen gherekent waren? nu sijn wi ewelic ende ymmermeer in deser pinen* [Woe! woe! that we were ever born! Oh pity, oh woe, oh alas and evermore alack! Of what avail to us poor miserable wretches now, that we were deemed great, rich, noble and powerful by the people? Now we are forever and eternally in these torments]. Etc. Then follows the comment: *Dit sijn die liedekijn ende dit is die sanc, die men inder hellen singhet* [These are the ditties and this is the chant that is sung in hell].

Bosch makes it plain that also the woman sinner is awaiting sentence by the prince of hell.

In this scene there is again some noticeable agreement with motifs in an exemplum. For a Brussels manuscript tells the story of *die prince der duvelen* [prince of the devils] who, seated on a throne, sees a sinner approaching, forces the poor soul to sit down in his fiery chair, and puts devils beside him to blare into his ears on trumpets, because he had listened to *ydele cantilene of sanghen* [idle chants or songs]<sup>125</sup>.

There is also a fleeting resemblance to a misericord in the parish church of Ludlow (Shropshire, England): a devil, accompanied by another with a bagpipes, is carrying a tavern-prostitute to a third devil who is reading from a roll and consigning her to hell<sup>126</sup>.

The mirror in the hand of the jester-devil shows that in the scene with the woman of easy virtue not only Luxuria but also Superbia is being satirized<sup>127</sup>.

To the left above the group with the tavern-wench stands a dry, hollow tree in which a she-devil wearing a white head-cloth is sitting (ill. 43). In Vienna there are two curved horns on the head-covering. Not so in Berlin. There a black hood has been put over the white cloth.

The Vienna figure can be compared with a prostitute- or procuress-devil in the *Hell of the Garden* triptych, whose head is also covered by a cloth with two horns<sup>128</sup>. In both cases the horns point to adultery<sup>129</sup>.

The white-black headdress in Berlin was one which Bosch and imitators more than once depicted on women who were no better than they should be<sup>130</sup>.

The woman, both in the Bosch and in the Cranach, is i.m.o. a procuress.

The hollow tree with Bosch and Bruegel is a symbol of the female sexual organ. To the examples of this motif given in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 108/141 (44-48), several others can be added. On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges a sinner who functions as the tongue of a bell, stretches out his hands towards a mussel. Between the two halves of the shell a knife is stuck.

<sup>124</sup> *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* II, p. 75 ff. Compare Haslinghuis, p. 99.

<sup>125</sup> *Middel nederlandse stichtelijke exempelen*, p. 101. Cf. *Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 297.

<sup>126</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 115/163.

<sup>127</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 138 and 227.

<sup>128</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 73, to the right of the huge stool over the cesspool. *Tuin*, p. 97.

<sup>129</sup> *Tuin*, p. 54 (7), 127 (5).

<sup>130</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 215 n. 3.





43. Scene around hollow tree with procuress, Bosch (p. 235)

The bell hangs on a hollow tree. For the meaning here of bell, tongue, mussel and knife, see *Tuin*, p. 105. One of the devil-scenes pictured around a conjuring performance (private collection, California) shows a hollow tree, likewise near to a knife stuck between the two parts of a mussel-shell<sup>131</sup>. In the Sijpesteijn Castle at Loosdrecht there are two side-panels with scenes of hell or purgatory depicted on them and in one of these a female devil wearing a single-pointed prostitute's headdress is embracing a sinner at a tavern-table. By it stands a hollow tree. Attached to the tree is a Turk's-head on which hang two little square flags. The design on one of them is a crescent moon and on the other a star<sup>132</sup>. See also *Judgem.*, p. 196, for hollow tree.

The dryness of our tree can indicate worthlessness<sup>133</sup> and folly<sup>134</sup>. Willem van Hildegaersberch lets a dry tree signify a woman who leads a disreputable life, and for him bad people are *dorre telghen* [dry shoots]<sup>135</sup>.

A large woodpecker-like bird and a black bird are sitting near the hollow in the tree-trunk, and other black birds are flying at them.

A bird in or at a hole often has sexual meaning in Bosch's work<sup>136</sup>. Apart from this, black birds, i.a. black crows, were well-known symbols of the devil in mediaeval times<sup>137</sup>.

In regard to the woodpecker, a bird resembling it occurs in Bosch's *Garden* in unchaste surroundings<sup>138</sup>. On the right wing of his *Adoration of the Magi* a woodpecker-like bird sits at a hole in a dry tree<sup>139</sup>. This detail forms part of the depiction of evil on earth on this panel: bear attacking man, wolf pursuing woman, wild sow with piglings, crows (one of them sitting on the sow), place of execution<sup>140</sup>. The lamb and the shepherd's crook on the other hand allude to the safety that can be felt in the care of Christ.

<sup>131</sup> Rep.: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1958, p. 30 (article by L. Brand Philip).

<sup>132</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 381.

<sup>133</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 34 n. 85.

<sup>134</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 34 n. 85.

<sup>135</sup> Willem van Hildegaersberch, p. 194 and 193.

<sup>136</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 215/285 (10). *Tuin*, passim, i.a. p. 27 and 28.

<sup>137</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 36/45.

<sup>138</sup> *Tuin*, p. 52.

<sup>139</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 106.

<sup>140</sup> Meanings of bear: *Judgem.*, p. 49. Dirc van Delf knew the wolf as a figure of wrath (*Des Coninx Summe*, p. 148). In the 17th and 18th centuries wolves still attacked people in the rural regions of Flanders (*Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* xvi 1961-, p. 175).

A wild boar (wild sow) also occurs in other of Bosch's works: in the *Wedding in Cana* (its head: licence leading to lewdness, *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 216/288), on the *Paradise* panel of the *Garden* triptych (wild sow with piglets: *Tuin*, p. 26 and 34; proliferation symbol in favourable sense), on the *Garden* panel itself (unchastity: *Tuin*, p. 55 and 58), on the right wing of the *Hermit Saints* triptych (Venice: head and two legs, crow pecking at one of the legs) and in *Terrestrial Paradise* (Venice). Goltzius (?) presents the wild boar as a symbol of unchastity (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 216/288). This is probably also the meaning the animal has in a *Fall of Man* by Lucas Cranach (Friedländer and Rosenberg, ill. 161). With Marnix (*Byen corf*, p. 409) it functions as a symbol of blasphemy.

In the *Terrestrial Paradise* (Venice), which shows us the abode of souls of the dead that have not yet been wholly purged of worldliness, a bird sits on a wild boar (*Judgem.*, p. 349). A crow on the back of a boar appears to be true to nature. Erasmus tells us in his colloquium *Amicitia* (written in 1531) that a raven sometimes perches on the back of a pig to peck at something edible between the bristles on the skin. Bosch painted a crow or a raven on the back of a bear near the scene of an attack in the background of the right

The woodpecker, too, is a diabolic bird. In *Tspel van Sinte Trudo* devils are called *helsghe spechten* [hellish woodpeckers]<sup>141</sup>. In the play *De Christelijcke Ridder* the devil summons to him a number of animals that all have diabolic meaning in this context, and he says, i.a.: *Comt Speckvogels, Craeyen tot desen stonden* [Come woodpeckers, crows, at this hour]<sup>142</sup>. Marnix makes the woodpecker a symbol of the magician who consorts with the devil<sup>143</sup>.

At the foot of the tree an imp crouches in a kneeling posture. His fish's head with whiskers protrudes from a green garment that covers his human backside and legs<sup>144</sup>. The edge of a little black cap is visible on the head.

The imp *bukt* [is down on his knees]. Everaert uses the verb *hukken* in the sense of kneeling<sup>145</sup>. Kiliaen gives the noun *hukker* in the figurative meaning of someone who does evil in secret<sup>146</sup>. In spoken Dutch in Flanders to-day a *hukker* is a person who taries in a tavern. In *den Hukkere* [approx.: In the Stoooper, In the Croucher] was (is?) the name of a tavern in Rumbek<sup>147</sup>.

The fish in its pejorative meanings has already come to our notice several times.

The little monster has no trunk, he is *lijffloos* [lit.: body-less], a word that originally meant lifeless, and then insignificant, trivial<sup>148</sup>.

Satirized here is an inferior, worthless type, whose evil deeds are done in secret, especially in a disreputable tavern.

At the top of the tree, on a branch, sits a demonic animal beside a huge tongue-shaped leaf which is attached to the branch or to the animal or to both. The creature has the body of a beetle, a fanciful tail, and the head of a bird with a long bill. The legs on its right side are visible. There are three of them. At the 'shoulders' the wing-plates (grown into a single shield?) turn into two horns. On these and on the shield are white spots.

In Berlin there is no leaf, the animal has two big insect-like clutches instead of twice three little legs, the horny protuberances are absent, and the bird's head with its long bill is much more distinct. On the neck of the imp are white dots.

In Vienna this is one of the parts where the right panel has been reconditioned and touched up. Whether what we see now is the original representation in every detail, is not quite certain.

Yet another scene in which Bosch painted a diabolic animal with the body of a beetle and the head of a sharp-billed bird, is that in the *Hell of the Haywain* triptych, where it is sitting on the edge of a round tower which is being built by devils. Here the body looks like that of a lady-bird, orange-red with black spots.

Now *torre* [beetle] (scarabeus) in 16th-century Dutch was also a by-form of

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wing of the *Crucified Woman Martyr* triptych (*Martelares*, p. 38 and plate XIII). Here the bear is a symbol of wrath.

The *Proverbia communia* (ca. 1495, no. 102) and the *Proverbia seriosa* (ca. 1497) record the saying: *Als die wolf out wort riden hem die crayen* [When the wolf grows old, the crows ride him], *riden* [ride] here in the sense of plague, torment. I do not believe that Bosch's depictions have anything to do with this proverb. For unfavourable meanings of crow, see *Judgem.*, p. 103 n. 90.

<sup>141</sup> Kalff. *Trou*, line 3488.

<sup>142</sup> Schotel, p. 149.

<sup>143</sup> Marnix. *Byen corf*, p. 424.

<sup>144</sup> Madam Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 26) incorrectly calls the creature 'die grosse Maus'.

<sup>145</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/27 (4).

<sup>146</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/27 (5).

<sup>147</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/27 (6).

<sup>148</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 126.

*toren* [tower] (*turris*)<sup>149</sup>. But *toren* also meant wrath. And a then current expression was *Des duivels toren bouwen* [lit.: to build the devil's tower], meaning to live in continual strife with someone in the house<sup>150</sup>. Furthermore, the word *vogel* [bird] was used to denote a rascal<sup>151</sup>.

Did Bosch have in mind these words with their various connotations, as well as the expression with its figurative meaning? He did have a strong tendency towards charging an image with its associations.

The beetle-bird of the *Haywain* triptych sits on a tower being built by devils. Is it here a symbol of wrath? And does the beetle-bird on our right panel signify the same thing? Here, too, it sits close to a tower-like structure.

But this is not all there is to the creature.

The tree-leaf in Vienna has the form of a tongue. In Middle Dutch the tongue that says ugly things, i.e. the false tongue, is called *dat evel blat* [the evil leaf] and *dat quade blat* [the bad leaf]<sup>152</sup>. And *Des Conincs Summe* (p. 300) labels scandalmongers as *des duvels wevel of torren* [the devil's weevils or beetles].

That Bosch gave his beetle-bird horns, is perhaps explained by the fact that the antennae, feelers, etc. of insects were indeed called horns<sup>153</sup> and that horns indicate aggression. They are, however, also indicative of adultery<sup>154</sup>.

Do the white spots on horns and shield point to the Spanish pox? A *kevere* [beetle] meant adulterer<sup>155</sup> and *horninc* [little horn] a child conceived in adultery<sup>156</sup>.

Is the beetle-bird in combination with the leaf the satirical figure of an aggressive, evil-speaking adulterer?

The next scene (ill. 44) has been discussed by me in *Tuin*, p. 102 and 103. What now follows is a recapitulation with many additions.

On top of the infernal structure stands a large, red bath-pavilion through the open front of which we see a huge bath-tub. The drapes of a bath-tent which screen a bath with sinners in it was painted by Bosch also in the *Hell* of his *Garden* triptych<sup>157</sup>.

In the Middle Ages the *badstoven* [lit.: bath-stoves, i.e. public bath-houses with stoves for heating the water] were notorious as hotbeds of immorality. In the 14th century a bath-house in Antwerp was the same thing as a brothel<sup>158</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> Kiliaen, p. 679.

<sup>150</sup> *W.N.T.* III, part 2, col. 3620: source not cited.

<sup>151</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 64/78 (136).

<sup>152</sup> *M.W.* I, 1289.

<sup>153</sup> *W.N.T.* VI, 1091.

<sup>154</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 235 and note 129.

<sup>155</sup> *M.W.* III, 1410, 1411.

<sup>156</sup> *M.W.* III, 598.

<sup>157</sup> *Tuin*, p. 102 and 102 (1). In form a bath-house-tent resembled a love-tent or a brothel-pavilion: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 97/123 (15-18), 186/242 (38). Additional example of brothel-tent as depicted by Bosch and imitators: the one in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch, in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht (cat. no. 1044), complete with meretrix, customers and a little dog (here symbol of unchastity), which is placed on top of the hollow tree in which the saint sits.

<sup>158</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 112/143 (61). Illustrations of bath-houses: *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 90/60 and 92/157; p. 109/143 (62-64). *Tuin*, ill. xxxvi and xxxviii; p. 102 (1). In addition: Nijhoff. *L'Art typographique* II, sheet 24, no. 15 (woodcut in *Der scaepherders kalengier*, Antwerpen, Adriaen van Bergen, 1520). In a *referein* [line-repeating poem of the Rhetoricians] from the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century

Bosch's intense abhorrence of these institutions is evident from the fact that in two of his depictions of hell a bath-pavilion features as a place of torture. An imitator of Bosch also placed a bath-house in hell: see Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych. In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* another imitator shows us an amorous couple together in a bath-house<sup>159</sup>. As already mentioned, the knight Owein in *St. Patricius' Vagevuur*<sup>160</sup> sees a caldarium in purgatory. In its floor are round wells filled with molten metal (here then no bath-tubs). In these stand male and female sinners, old and young. The particular sin for which they are being punished is not mentioned. In the case of Bosch's unfortunates, Luxuria is implied, but in respect of the devils who torture them, probably also Avaritia. Indeed, *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 272) says that persons who *ghemeen stove houden* [keep public bath-houses] are guilty, together with *lichte wiven* and *coppellersen* [light women and procuresses], of avarice.

Inside the bath-house on our panel and standing beside the many male and female sinners in the tub (their number and position are not the same in Vienna and Berlin), is a she-devil, identifiable as a prostitute by her double-pointed headdress. A black cat-like devil is stepping into the bath and dragging along with him a sinner who heads a whole line of doomed souls of both sexes (above the woman with uplifted hands the Berlin depiction has the figure of a sinner which the Vienna picture has not). Accompanying the group is a black, ape-like devil.

Through the open part of the tent come flames and smoke.

More to the front, leaning far over the parapet of the infernal structure, is a bird-like devil with long hairs on his body (he somewhat resembles a nestling)<sup>161</sup>, while a toad-devil, with his little claws clutching the wall, raises himself up to look over the edge.

To the right of the last figure a bird-devil who is enveloped in a green robe offers a bowl of infernal drink to a woman-sinner in the tub, who recoils in horror. Of a sinner who is apparently trying to lever himself up and out of the bath (or has he fallen backwards into it?) we see only the left leg and its foot hanging over the edge. The rest of his body seems to be concealed behind the drape of the tent.

A flute and a tambourine or small drum which he carries with him, identifies the devil with the bowl as a musician.

Music-makers did indeed perform in bath-houses<sup>162</sup>, and not only in Bosch's work but also in Dutch literature we find the motif of a devil as serving-man in an infernal bath-pavilion: in a stage-play the punishment that Lucifer is going to pronounce on an erring devil, is: *dienen moet ghy int stove* [serve thou shalt in the bath-house]<sup>163</sup>.

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(*Styevooort* CLXXXIX, str. 2), the visit of a *gheselleken* [young fellow] to the little women of easy virtue is described. His purpose is i.a. to *spelen int bat* [play in the bath] and to drink wine with the *huijsduyven* [house-doves] (see *Judgem.*, p. 33).

<sup>159</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 135 n. 299.

<sup>160</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 232.

<sup>161</sup> That there is also something toad-like about it, as I said in *Tuin*, p. 102, seems incorrect.

<sup>162</sup> See the miniature reproduced in F. Winkler. *Der Leipziger Valerius Maximus*. Leipzig 1921, IV b: minstrel with lute, and the woodcut in *Der scaepherders kalengier* mentioned in note 158: two minstrels.

<sup>163</sup> *Tspel van Sinte Trudo*, line 2049: Kalff. *Trou*.





44. Bath-pavilion and giant-devils, Bosch (p. 239, 244)



45. Bath-pavilion and giant-devils, Cranach (p. 244, 260)

The flute and the long bird's bill have already become familiar to us in their obscene meanings<sup>164</sup>.

Other words for tambourine were *bom* and *bonge*<sup>165</sup>. The last word and the verb derived from it could be used in a vulgar sense in Middle Dutch<sup>166</sup>.

The flat bowl is a kind of wine-bowl that Bosch has depicted more than once<sup>167</sup>. Drinking wine from a shallow bowl was quite customary in the Low Countries in the 15th and 16th centuries<sup>168</sup>. In the context of the scene on our panel the wine-bowl being offered can be associated with the coarse expression *den meyskes den wyn scincken* [lit.: to pour the wine for the maidens]<sup>169</sup>. Jan Deckers (p. 271) wrote:

<i>Vele wijns gedroncken, dat wet,</i>	[Much wine drunk, know ye,
<i>Grenct des menschen ziel ende lijf, ...</i>	Injures man's soul and body, ...
<i>Luxurie can hi bringhen toe.</i>	It can result in lechery.]

Dionysius wrote: *Want niet en is den duveln alsse vriendelic ende lief als dronckenscap ende onsuverheit* [For nothing is so pleasing and sweet to the devil as drunkenness and impurity]<sup>170</sup>. He set himself particularly against wine-drinking, i.a. by saying: *wanneer dat inden glase sijn verwe blencket, sachtelic gaet hi in. Mer inden laetsten sal hi biten als die slange, ende als dye serpent sal hy wyde wtstorten dat venijnt* [when in the glass its colour glows, sweetly down it goes. But in the end it will bite like the snake, and like the serpent will it strew the venom widely out]<sup>171</sup>.

On the infernal structure, along the right side of the pavilion, another group of sinners is approaching, the foremost being a woman (here again the number of doomed souls in Berlin is not the same as in Vienna)<sup>172</sup>. Another woman sinner is being thrown over the side of the structure by a devil. A male sinner looks on in horror and the first female, in front of him, draws back as far as she can from the devil.

This demon has a toad-like body, a red ape's face and the claw of a beast of prey. As a head-covering he wears a piece of a suit of armour, namely a metal knee-plate, painted white (see the knee-plate of the armoured giant-devil close by). Hanging from it, in any case on the right side, along the monster's cheek, is a piece of cloth, and from under the 'hat', at the back, two feathers appear.

In Berlin the face is not visible and the body not toad-like.

Toad alludes to uncleanness, ape i.a. to folly, beast of prey and piece of armour to fighting (also in the erotic sense), cloth to womanizing<sup>173</sup>, and the wearing of long feathers to luxurious living<sup>174</sup>. In this devil an unchaste soldier is being satirized, in the female sinner a prostitute in a bath-house.

<sup>164</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 157 and 30 n. 61.

<sup>165</sup> *W.N.T.* III, part 1, 321.

<sup>166</sup> Carton, 96 and 202.

<sup>167</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 107/140.

<sup>168</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 107/140 (9, 11, 15). A drinking-bowl can also be seen in the woodcut mentioned in notes 158 and 162 above.

<sup>169</sup> *Styevooort* I, 33. For other expressions see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 107/140. To these can be added: *Ghy schonckt hem de koele wijn al op zijn bedde* [You poured him the cool wine all on his bed] (*Haerlems Oudt Liedt-Boeck*. Etc. Haerlem, Vincent Casteleyn, n.d. (1630?), p. 60).

<sup>170</sup> *Vanden loefliken leuen*, I 1'.

<sup>171</sup> Idem, K 7'. On the use of wine: K 7'-L 1'.

<sup>172</sup> In *Tuin*, p. 103, I mistakenly saw them as standing in the bath-tub.

<sup>173</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 105.

<sup>174</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 132.

On the roof of the bath-pavilion we see a fire burning in a kind of chimney-pot with openings in its side suggesting a grate (allusion to the stove which heats the water in a bath-house?). Here the Berlin depiction shows an ape-like head looking out.

On top of the 'chimney' a minstrel-devil kneels, his body bent forward over the flames and smoke. In Berlin he has sharp, narrow wings on his back. Here clouds of smoke come from his upper body. Or is it smoke from the fire?

Bosch more than once painted the combination fire and smoke<sup>175</sup>. Fire can then symbolize carnal love and smoke impurity.

The back and behind of the minstrel-devil show a white rash (not in Berlin), indicative of the Spanish pox. In his anus a trumpet is stuck<sup>176</sup> on which he plays with his feet, transformed into a devil's claw-hands (in Berlin only one hand). A damaged black flag is attached to the instrument. On it is painted a brown mark, in Berlin a toad.

A toad-devil with a long stick in his paws is jumping about on the roof of the pavilion. This is an acrobat-devil. He must be compared with the humanoid devil doing tricks on our centre panel<sup>177</sup>. Besides musicians there are sure to have been other entertainers as well, who sometimes gave performances in bath-houses. The back of the toad has spots on it.

Behind the group of sinners to the right of the bath-tent we see a wall forming part of the infernal structure at the back. (This wall is absent in Berlin.) To the right of it, and with her belly half concealed behind it (in Berlin the whole belly is visible), a gigantic she-devil is placed. She wears the single-pointed headdress which with Bosch and Cranach is the mark of a prostitute-devil<sup>178</sup>. On the point there is a metal key in Vienna, and in Berlin a dark-brown little flag. In Berlin fire comes from the hat, not so in Vienna. See ill. 44 and 45.

Bosch has given the brown conic hat an edging of black fur; with Cranach also the edge is brown.

The edge of a white head-cloth is visible under the headdress.

On the nose, the cheek and at the upper lip (in Berlin not the last) are white nodules. Projecting from the mouth are two feelers, of the kind which Bosch also elsewhere put on the heads of animals in order to mark them as devils<sup>179</sup>. In Berlin the antennae appear from the right side of the demon-woman's nose.

This creature is thrusting out her breast and her belly. The robe she wears is brown and in Vienna it has a stand-up red-brown collar at the chin and cheek. Above and below the waist the garment is decorated with a diamond-shaped design (in Berlin only above the waist). In Vienna there are dots in the diamonds, not so in Berlin.

The garment is open at the bosom. The bare flesh that is exposed has the form of a woman's breast with a white nipple (in Berlin this last is more distinct than in Vienna)<sup>180</sup>. Small, white nodules appear all over the skin.

<sup>175</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 99/126 and 122/159. *Tuin*, i.a. p. 94 and 101. *Judgem.*, p. 136.

<sup>176</sup> Combe (1946, p. 81) incorrectly describes the use of the trumpet of the musician who is with the female singer and that of his fellow-minstrel on the tent as: 'l'usage dérisoire et scatologique des trompettes du Jugement'.

<sup>177</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 182.

<sup>178</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 42 ff.

<sup>179</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 290 n. 16.

<sup>180</sup> A she-devil in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych also has but one breast: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 73 (bottom left). *Tuin*, p. 90 (12).

Above and below the open part the garment is laced with a cord<sup>181</sup>,

Breast and belly together form one great bulge.

The devil-woman is bringing her hands forward from the height of her waist. On her left hand and on the thumb and index finger of her right hand red spots show up (in Berlin only on the left hand).

To return to the cord which laces the bodice at the top and the bottom.

Several 15th-century depictions show ladies wearing a cone-hat and a garment which laces up in front above the waist.

Such a lady appears in two Florentine engravings from ca. 1465-1480 (ill. 46 and 47). One of these represents a love-garden<sup>182</sup>, the other an amorous couple with a musician<sup>183</sup>. Hind says there is influence from the north discernible in these engravings (Germany, Low Countries, France)<sup>184</sup>.

In a Flemish or Northern French tapestry from the end of the 15th century, which has proverbs depicted on it, a woman dressed in this fashion holds her hand tightly on the purse of a man standing next to her<sup>185</sup>. Grauls pointed out that the proverb represented here is *Hier is de liefde up de ziede daer de tasse hanget* [Here love is on the side where the money-bag hangs]. She is therefore a woman whose love can be bought.

In two engravings by Israhel van Meckenem (died 1503) the same headdress and garment are shown in a frivolous setting, namely in the *Morris-dance* and the *Dance of the daughter of Herodias*<sup>186</sup>.

That this mode of dress did not invariably have amorous connotations, at least not round about 1470, is evident from the portrait that was painted ca. 1468 of Margaret of York, spouse of Charles the Bold<sup>187</sup>.

In all these instances a veil is draped from the cone-hat. This is missing in the Vienna and Berlin depictions.

It seems to me that Bosch derived his lace-ups and pointed hat from a fashion of the 15th century, first introduced by ladies of high standing and then copied by less honourable women<sup>188</sup>.

But he probably also had in mind the word *snoer* [cord, lace] when he painted the two laces. For this was a term for a prostitute. Early 16th-century examples of it are found in song no. XLI of the *Antwerps Liedboek: Dat vrouwen . . . was dubbelder dan een snoer* [The little woman . . . was more double-dealing than a whore], in a play by Everaert: *een quade snoere* [a bad prostitute], and in J.B. Cannart, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het oude strafrecht in Vlaenderen*, 3rd edition, Ghent 1835, p. 120, where a woman is described as being *een quade puppe, hoere en snoere* [a bad doll, whore and strumpet].

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<sup>181</sup> I was wrong previously (*Tuin*, p. 103) when I took the combination of breast, laces, standing collar, garment and spots to be a winnow from which infernal snow, instead of chaff, was falling and thought of possible influence from stories about Vrouw Holle [a Germanic fairy-tale figure].

<sup>182</sup> Hind. *Early Italian engraving*. Part I. Vol. II, Plate 145 (A IV 17).

<sup>183</sup> Idem, Plate 146 (A IV 18).

<sup>184</sup> Idem. Part I, Vol. I, p. 92.

<sup>185</sup> J. Grauls. *Een vijftiendeuws spreekwoordentapijt*. *Artes Textiles* III (1956), ill. 6 and p. 24. Museum E. Stewart Gardner, Boston.

<sup>186</sup> A. Warburg. *Israhel van Meckenem*. Bonn 1930, Tafel 28 and 30.

<sup>187</sup> Probably Flemish work. Adhémar. Vol. I, Pl. v.

<sup>188</sup> Middle Dutch moralists satirized persons from the lower classes who tried to ape the rich in their dress. See Jacobs in Jan de Weert, p. 32, note 2, and Jan de Weert, line 885 ff.

<sup>189</sup> *Everaert*, p. 39.



Further, a cord could be the mark of a prostitute. We know, at least, that in accordance with an ordinance issued in 1475 public women in Lyon had to wear on the sleeve of their left arm 'une esquilette rouge pendant en double du long du bras, demy pied', that is, a long red cord. Such a cord was also prescribed for the prostitutes in Nevers and Amiens<sup>190</sup>. Were the authorities thinking of the 'line of scarlet thread' that the harlot Rahab was to bind in her window to safeguard herself and her family (*Joshua* 2)? Was this distinctive also used in the Low Countries? Is this why the author of *De Kluchte van den vermaerden Philosoph Diogenes* (Gent, L. van Paemel, first half 19th century, p. 10) describes a prostitute as *een meysken van het snoer* [a maid of the cord]<sup>191</sup>? And is the *siden snoerken* [silken cordlet] that the lady of Luxemburg received from her lover after he had become disillusioned with her, such a token? She afterwards becomes a light woman who can be found *te Lutsenborch op de mueren, int heymelic ende int openbaer* [in Luxemburg on the walls, in secret and in public]<sup>192</sup>.

As noted, the garment of the she-devil is open at the breast. Dionysius the Carthusian says that open garments lead to unchastity. He speaks of clothing that becomes conspicuous by *te seer open te wesen, of op te slippen* [being too much open, or slipping up]<sup>193</sup>.

Our giantess-devil, whom I take to be a diabolized whore, has white nodules on her nose and cheek, at her upper lip, and on her breast, as well as red spots on her hands.

In many places on the centre panel and the right wing Bosch has depicted devils with component parts that are disfigured by spots and nodules.

The following is a list of instances:

1. White spots on the thigh, and black ones under the jaw of a humanoid fish-devil: *Judgem.*, p. 88.
2. Yellow spots on the thigh of a humanoid toad-devil: p. 90. Nodules on the long point of his shield: p. 90.
3. White and pink patches on the body of a pedlar-beggar-devil: p. 112.
4. Spots and dots on the tail of a phallus-dragon: p. 115.
5. White specks on cloth of elephant-devil: p. 116.
6. White nodules on the legs of an egg-devil: p. 123.
7. Spots on the back and nodules on the tail of a bird-devil: p. 134.
8. White and yellow nodules on the legs, and pink ones on the back of a lizard-devil: p. 136.
9. White spots on back and legs of an insect-like devil which has the head of a rat and the tail-quills of a porcupine: p. 142.
10. White spots on the back of a bird-devil with a long bill: p. 142.
11. Yellow spots on orchid-butterfly-wings of a man-devil with a cat's head: p. 145.
12. White nodules on the face, and blue-white ones on the belly of a cook-devil: p. 149.
13. White spots on cape and tail of dragon-devil dancing with a prostitute: p. 154.
14. White nodules on tail of a devil who is probably an executioner-whoremaster: p. 156.
15. White spots on back of enormous toad with prostitute-devil: p. 158.
16. White spots on the sleeves of a coat worn by a lecher-devil with a bird's long bill: p. 167.

<sup>190</sup> U. Robert. *Les signes d'infamie au moyen âge*. Paris 1891, p. 183.

<sup>191</sup> *W.N.T.* xiv, 2386.

<sup>192</sup> *Antwerps Liedboek*, no. xxiii, 24 and 25. The whores often lived near the city-walls: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 97/123 (23). A meretrix-devil who carries a ball (mamma, mons Veneris) with an owl (male member) standing on it, has a cord in her hand: *Temptation of St. Anthony*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht; *Judgem.*, p. 231, note 98.

<sup>193</sup> *Vanden loefliken leuen*, I 2<sup>v</sup>.

17. White spots on the body of an ape-like lecher-devil: p. 167.
18. White spots on the garment of a prostitute-devil: p. 176.
19. Yellow dots on orchid-butterfly-wings of procuress-devil: p. 215.
20. Nodules on tail of toad-lizard-devil: p. 216.
21. White spots on back of toad-demon: p. 218.
22. White spots on the backs of many toads: p. 222.
23. Yellow-white nodules and black spots on the body of a jester-devil: p. 223.
24. Spots and nodules on divers devil-animals in a well: p. 232.
25. Yellow spots or nodules on the posterior of a minstrel-devil: p. 233.
26. White spots on horns and shield of a beetle-bird-devil: p. 238.
27. White rash on back and behind of a minstrel-devil: p. 244.
28. Spots on back of toad: p. 244.
29. White nodules on nose, cheek, breast, and at upper lip, and pink spots on hands of prostitute-devil: p. 244-5. White nodules on stickles at her mouth: p. 255.
30. Specks on tail and sack-cap of devil in whom an unchaste, armed vagrant is satirized: p. 260.
31. White spots on back of lizard-devil: p. 262.

All these devils are associated with unchastity, some to a greater, others to a lesser extent, but most of them very closely indeed. The least would be no. 3, it seems.

Bosch is here i.m.o. consistently alluding to the Spanish pox, except perhaps in the case of no. 3, where one would be inclined to think of leprosy.

In order to understand this constant reiteration, we must turn our attention for a moment to the diseases called syphilis, Spanish pox, framboesia tropica and leprosy.

Fokker<sup>194</sup>, Van der Valk<sup>195</sup> and Essed<sup>196</sup> have written about the history of syphilis in the Low Countries. What follows is based on their studies.

After the discovery of America in 1493 a syphilis epidemic raged in Europe. It is uncertain whether this disease had already occurred in the old world before this time.

According to the Spanish doctor Rodrigo Ruiz Diaz de Ysla, born 1462, the new disease was introduced into Spain in 1493 by members of the crew of Columbus's ships. They had been on the island Espagnola (Haiti). In the army that the French king Charles VIII mustered against Naples in 1494 there were many Spaniards afflicted by the disease. De Ysla wrote his treatise before 1521. It was printed in 1539.

According to the physician and historian Reynier Snoy (born Gouda ca. 1477) and the historian Johan Reygersbergen (born Cortgene in 1500) the disease was brought to the Low Countries by Spaniards who disembarked in Arnemuiden on 10 June 1496 from the ship in which Johanna, the Spanish bride of Philip the Fair, arrived.

There is also the opinion that soldiers taking part in the campaign of Charles VIII in Italy during the years 1494 and 1495 contracted the disease from women

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<sup>194</sup> A.A. Fokker. *Geschiedenis der syphilis in de Nederlanden*. In: *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*: iv (1860), p. 419 ff. (i. De prostitutie) and v (1861), p. 451 ff. (ii. De syphilis in de Nederlanden).

<sup>195</sup> J.W. van der Valk. *Bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis der syphilis in ons land*. Amsterdam 1910.

<sup>196</sup> W.F.R. Essed. *Over den oorsprong der syphilis. Een kritisch-historisch-epidemiologische studie, tevens ontwerp eener nieuwe theorie*. Amsterdam 1933.



46. Ladies of fashion in love-garden, 15th c. engraving (p. 245 n. 182)



47. Lady of fashion in love-garden, 15th c. engraving (p. 245 n. 183)

who had been in contact with Spanish mercenaries, and that these soldiers brought it back with them to the Low Countries.

In any case, syphilis occurs in the Low Countries after the first half of 1496. After ca. 1520 the epidemic nature of the disease disappeared. Yet in 1530 the burgomaster of Leiden, Willem van Oy, could still declare that the region of Holland had up to date been ravaged by the Spanish pox for already 40 years<sup>197</sup>.

That in most cases the disease was spread through sexual intercourse was noticed already at an early stage. In the Low Countries it was known as the Spanish pox.

Most remarkable is the insight shown by the physician Paulus van Middelburg (1445-1534), who worked mainly in Italy, and who predicted 'eine schlimme epidemische Krankheit in der Genitalsphäre' in an incunabulum which was printed in Antwerp in 1484<sup>198</sup>.

The affected persons were covered *over al de leden met knobbels en rooven, mismaakt, als melaatz* [over all the limbs with knobs and scabs, disfigured, as though leprous]<sup>199</sup>. In woodcuts from the end of the 15th century we accordingly see parts of the bodies of sick persons covered with small round spots and nodules<sup>200</sup>. See ill. 48 and 49.

Essed thinks it is possible that the epidemic disease which struck Europe was not syphilis but framboesia tropica. This, too, is very easily transmitted through the contact in sexual intercourse. The body parts most subject to the appearance of the framboesia papules are face, breast, arms and legs. The colour of the scabs is yellow, but sometimes also green, and from brown to black<sup>201</sup>.

It was believed that Job suffered from syphilis. This explains why a syphilitic rash was called *Hiobs-Blattern* [Job's leaves] in a Low German prayer from the end of the 15th century<sup>202</sup>, and why the Spanish pox was sometimes referred to as St. Job's disease in the Low Countries of the 16th century<sup>203</sup>. Marnix in his *Byen corf* (p. 359) says that St. Job is invoked against the *Pocken* [pox].

This is also why imitators of Bosch represented Job with syphilitic sores<sup>204</sup> and depicted a procuress-devil beside him<sup>205</sup>.

As for leprosy, this was a common disease in the Low Countries during the 15th and 16th centuries.

The medical man Jodocus Lommius (Van Lom, born 1500 in Buren, Guelders) writes about lepers in these regions that in the first stage of the illness the top part of the body erupts in many spots and that these are sometimes blackish, sometimes black-yellow or whitish<sup>206</sup>. Other sources speak of lepers in the Low

<sup>197</sup> Ligtenberg, p. 294.

<sup>198</sup> Sudhoff. *Erstlinge*, p. 6. K. Sudhoff. *Aus der Frühgeschichte der Syphilis*. Leipzig 1912, p. 159 f.

<sup>199</sup> Fokker II, p. 453.

<sup>200</sup> Sudhoff. *Erstlinge*, Tafel XIX, XX and XXII. K. Sudhoff. *The earliest printed literature on syphilis being ten tractates from the years 1495-1498*. Florence 1925, fig. 3 and p. 25. Compare H. Hausteiner. *Die Frühgeschichte der Syphilis 1495-1498*. *Archiv für Dermatologie und Syphilis*. Band 161 (1930), p. 267.

<sup>201</sup> Essed, p. 148 f.

<sup>202</sup> Sudhoff. *Erstlinge*, Tafel XXII.

<sup>203</sup> Fokker II, p. 452.

<sup>204</sup> Groeninge Museum, Bruges, no. 22. Lafond, at p. 33: Max de Coninck Collection. Dieghem-les-Bruxelles.

<sup>205</sup> Lafond, at p. 32: Musée de Douai; at p. 33: Max de Coninck Collection.

<sup>206</sup> Israëls, p. 162.

Countries whose skin was flecked all over with red and black spots, or showed red pimples and yellow scabs<sup>207</sup>.

In the Low Countries lepers who were given permission by the authorities to beg, were provided with a leper's clack to warn passers-by of their presence, and with a bowl in which they could collect food or money<sup>208</sup>. A 16th-century engraving which reverts to a depiction by Bosch or one of his imitators, shows a devil who is leprous and furnished with clacker and begging-bowl<sup>209</sup> (ill. 50). The piece of lead attached to the bowl is a token that the leper being satirized in the devil, has been given permission to beg<sup>210</sup>. Some of the pustules are realistically depicted, others have a diabolic aspect.

With Bosch and imitators the outward aspect of a devil mostly tells us something about the sins of the particular person he is with. The spots and excrescences caused by the Spanish pox naturally point to an unchaste life. The spots and pustules indicating leprosy likewise signify sinful behaviour.

A moralist compared the sins with which persons contaminate each other, with leprosy:

*Ghelijc dat liede besmet werden  
Die hore wandelinghe berden  
Met hem, die malaets sijn,*

[Just as persons become infected  
Who continue to be connected  
With those who are leprous,

*Alsoe werdt, des sijt ghewes,  
Een mensche besmet vanden andren,  
Daer si tsamen willen wandren.*

Just so, you may believe 't,  
A man is infected by another  
When they keep company together]<sup>211</sup>.

Accordingly we find expressions like *quade malaetschap der hovaardijen* [evil leprosy of pride] and *malaetschip der onreynicheit* [leprosy of unchasteness]<sup>212</sup>, and we are told that *Malaetscheit bedudet alle doetlicke sunden* [Leprosy means all deadly sins]<sup>213</sup>.

It was with lechery in particular that leprosy was associated. *Oncuysheit maect den mensche lasaers ende blint* [Unchasteness makes man leprous and blind] declares a manuscript cited but not identified in the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (IV, 161; X, 334)<sup>214</sup>. And according to *Israels al onze oude Nederlandsche medici vermelden de hevige geslachtsdrift bij de Leprozen* [all our old Dutch medical men mention the intense sexual passion of the Lepers]<sup>215</sup>.

It is therefore not so strange that in the 16th century the Spanish pox was sometimes compared to leprosy. In his colloquium *Adolescentis et Scorti* (Of youth and the whore; 1523) Erasmus writes about the leprosy called the Spanish scab, and Coornhert refers to *Die pockige Lazarie, of Lazarische pocken, een*

<sup>207</sup> Fr. de Pottet. *De leproos in de middeleeuwen*. Het Belfort. Tijdschrift toegewijd aan Letteren, Wetenschap en Kunst v (1890). Tweede half jaar, p. 339 and 342 ff.

<sup>208</sup> Israels, p. 169. Fr. de Potter. *De leproos in de middeleeuwen* (vervolg). Het Belfort vi (1891). Eerste half jaar, p. 170 f.

<sup>209</sup> G. van Rijnberk. *Geneeskunst en geneeskundigen in Nederlandsche prentverbeeldingen. 7. De melaetschen en de lazarusklep*. In: *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* LXVII (1923). Eerste helft I, p. 35.

<sup>210</sup> See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 156/206 (37, 38); *Tuin*, p. 100; *Judgem.*, p. 305.

<sup>211</sup> Jan Deckers, p. 87, line 899 ff.

<sup>212</sup> *M. W.* IV, 1057.

<sup>213</sup> Idem.

<sup>214</sup> According to *Sidrac*, p. 69, a child will suffer from the itch or leprosy if it is conceived during menstruation, that is, through unchaste intercourse of the parents.

<sup>215</sup> Israels, p. 163.





48. Diseased persons, 15th c. woodcut (p. 249 n. 200)



49. Diseased persons, 15th c. woodcut (p. 249 n. 200)



50. Leprous devil, 16th c. engraving (p. 250 n. 209)



51. Female demon with key on hood, Huys (p. 255 n. 237)

*ghemeene plaghe der Onkuyschen* [The poxy Lepra or Lazarous pox, a common plague of the Unchaste]<sup>216</sup>. Theophrastus Paracelsus (1493-1541) even thought that syphilis was caused by leprosy<sup>217</sup>.

The tainted she-devil prostitute stands beside the bath-house.

In his colloquium *Diversoria* (Taverns; written in 1523 according to Smith)<sup>218</sup>, Erasmus notes the connection between bath-houses and the Spanish pox<sup>219</sup>. In a 17th-century Dutch translation [here quoted in English] we read: Nevertheless 25 years ago nothing was more pleasurable to the Brabanters than the public bath-houses, but these are now no longer used, because the new venereal diseases have indeed taught us to avoid them<sup>220</sup>. Erasmus therefore avers that in 1523 the people of Brabant were no longer frequenting bath-houses because they were afraid of contracting diseases there.

However, at the time when he wrote this, there were still enough people suffering from the illness. Erasmus warns particularly against some frequenters of German taverns<sup>221</sup>. These customers, he says, have the Spanish, and others call them the French pox, which is common among all of them. To consort with these I regard as being no less perilous, than to be tainted with leprosy: for you now to divine what difference there is between this insidious evil and the plague<sup>222</sup>.

In the same year, in his *Adolescentis et Scorti*, he lets a young man say to a meretrix<sup>223</sup>: If the lepra, which they call the Spanish scab, has not already infected you, you will not for long be able to escape it<sup>224</sup>. And also that when her beauty has faded she is sure to become a procuress<sup>225</sup>, and: when this status has befallen you, is there anything at all more treacherous, anything that comes closer to diabolic evil<sup>226</sup>?

Is Bosch's demon-giantess at the bath-house a prostitute become procuress? To me it seems that she is indeed a satirical figure representing one of the

<sup>216</sup> D. Coornhert. *Wercken*. Amsterdam 1630. Part 1, 242<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>217</sup> Van der Valk, p. 17.

<sup>218</sup> Preserved Smith. *A key to the Colloquies of Erasmus*. Cambridge 1927, p. 21.

<sup>219</sup> Erasmus. *Opera Omnia* 1, col. 717: Atqui ante annos viginti quinque, nihil receptius erat apud Brabantos, quam thermae publicae: eae nunc frigent ubique. Scabies enim nova docuit abstinere.

<sup>220</sup> *Coloquia Familiaria, of Gemeensame 't Samen-spraken* . . . door D. Erasmus van Rotterdam. 't Haerlem 1634, p. 147: *Nochtans voor 25 Jaren was by den Brabanders niet aengenamers als de openbare badt-stoven, maer die worden nu niet ghebruyckt, want de nieuwe lempten hebben wel geleert ons daer van te onthouden.*

<sup>221</sup> *Opera Omnia* 1, col. 717: Certe plerique scabiem habent Hispanicam, sive, ut quidam vocant, Gallicam, cum sit omnium nationum communis. Ab his, opinor, non multo minus esse periculi, quam a leprosia. Iam tu divina, quantum discriminis sit in pestilentia.

<sup>222</sup> *Coloquia Familiaria* (see note 220), p. 147: *de Spaensche, ende andere heetense Fransche pokken, die by allen ghemeen is. Met deze te verkeeren meen ick gheen minder perijckel te wesen, als die met Lasarie besmet zyn: raedt ghij nu wat onderscheyt daer is tusschen die loose ramp ende de pest.*

<sup>223</sup> *Opera Omnia* 1, col. 719: Quod si nondum ejus leprae contagium, quam vocant scabiem Hispanicam, alligit te, non diu poteris effugere.

<sup>224</sup> Erasmus. *Samenspraken* IV, p. 51: *Indien de lepra, die men de Spaansche schurft noemt, u nog niet besmet heeft, ge zult er niet lang kunnen ontsnappen.*

<sup>225</sup> *Opera Omnia* 1, col. 719: Fies ex meretrice lena. Non omnibus contingit ista dignitas: et si contingat, quid sceleratius, aut quid diabolicae malitiae vicinius?

<sup>226</sup> Erasmus. *Samenspraken* IV, p. 52: *en zoo deze waardigheid u te beurt valt, is er wel iets schelmachtigers, iets dat meer weg heeft van duivelsche boosheid?*

*meyskens net, schoon geblancket* [smart girls, with fine make-up] who have taken to the streets and of whom a poet says:

<i>Dus treden wi voort, hoort dit appoort,</i>	[Thus we go our way, hear this lay,
<i>Ende krijghen voor ons gelucken</i>	And get for enjoyment
<i>Die pocken aent boort, ende worden gesmoort,</i>	The pox for pay, our body's decay,
<i>So dat wi danssen op cruycken.</i>	So that on crutches we dance.
.....	.....
<i>Dus worden wi lau, int werck seer flau,</i>	So cool off we do, working very faintly too,
<i>Verleapt ende afgebraeyen.</i>	Faded and burnt out.
<i>Die tanden grau, die lippen blau,</i>	Teeth of grey hue, the lips all blue,
<i>Dan moeten wi coppelen draeyen.</i>	At last as couplers we must tour <sup>227</sup> .

Also elsewhere in Bosch's work devils are depicted with spots and nodules on parts of their body or on something in their immediate vicinity. Such are: three of the devils drawing the wagon in the *Haywain* triptych and a couple on the *Hell* panel of the same painting<sup>228</sup>; some demons on the left panel of the *Hermit Saints* triptych in Venice; several in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>229</sup>; one in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych<sup>230</sup>. But nowhere do we find them in such numbers as on the *Last Judgement* triptych<sup>231</sup>.

In the Madrid, Venice and Lisbon paintings, too, it is for the most part easy to see that the devils concerned have some connection with unchastity. Therefore I am inclined to interpret also these cases as allusions to the Spanish pox rather than leprosy, although as pointed out, also leprosy was formerly sometimes associated with unchastity.

The earliest of the works mentioned is thought to be the *Haywain* triptych (or the original of it if the two variants should be copies). Heinz places it at the beginning of the *Werke der Reife*. De Tolnay thinks it originated between 1485 and 1490, Cinotti says between 1500 and 1502<sup>232</sup>. If the Spanish pox did indeed reach the Low Countries only after the middle of 1496, and if Bosch is alluding to this disease, 1496 is the earliest year in which the triptych could have been painted.

I have made no special investigation of the occurrence of spots and nodules on and near devils in the works of imitators of Bosch. It was by chance that I noted that in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Joachim Patinier, strongly influenced by Bosch, a female devil whose face and headcloth resemble those of a procuress<sup>233</sup>, has pustules on the oval-shaped part of her body<sup>234</sup>.

<sup>227</sup> *Antwerps Liedboek* no. CLXXI, str. 4 and 6. *appoort* = what is brought in, what is reported; *voor ons gelucken* = instead of our former prosperity; *worden gesmoort* = undergo a sweat-cure (against the 'pox'); *cruycken* = *krukken* [crutches]; *verleapt* = without strength; *afgebraeyen* = *afgebraden* [lit.: fried out, melted down, rendered devoid of fat]; *coppelen draeyen* = turn out couples, i.e. work as procuresses.

<sup>228</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 43 and 44.

<sup>229</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, no. 9/4, 10/12, 16/35 and 36, and 17/39. Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 95, 96, 98 and 99.

<sup>230</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 73.

<sup>231</sup> The skin covered with spots and pustules of devils in the *Haywain* triptych, the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon and the *Last Judgement* triptych in Vienna, is incorrectly described by Reuterswärd (p. 135) as: *die schleimige, gefleckte Oberfläche des Fliegenpilzes*.

<sup>232</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 56 and 251.

<sup>233</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 33.

<sup>234</sup> *De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 191 (ill. 51).

Do the two feelers which in Vienna appear from the mouth of the prostitute-devil and in Berlin from behind the right side of her nose, have yet a further function, besides being the antennae which Bosch sometimes puts on the heads of animals to signify their diabolic nature?

On every one of the four feelers are white nodules, like those the woman has on her face. Should we associate this with 1 *Corinthians* 15:56: The sting of death is sin? The sin (here unchastity) is the prickle or sting with which death terminates our life. Do the prickly feelers with nodules allude to syphilitic sores in and at the mouth?

In Vienna the feelers come out of the mouth. In *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 303 ff.) procuresses and scandalmongers are counted among the liars who commit a deadly sin because they wilfully and knowingly lie to damage a person and bring shame on him. The author says of evil-speakers (p. 308): *hoer tonghen sijn . . . stekende als elsenen* [their tongues are . . . pricking like awls]. Did Bosch in painting the feelers as coming out of the mouth have in mind also the mendacity of procuresses?

On the pointed headdress of the giantess-devil in the Vienna picture there is a key, in Berlin a dark-brown little flag.

A small flag occurs also on the double-pointed headgear of the prostitute- or procuress-devil in a drawing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, supposedly by Jan de Cock<sup>235</sup>.

These two flaglets could be reduced versions of tavern-flags and at the same time a play on the word *vaan* [flag, vane] which was also the term for a measure of beer<sup>236</sup>.

Explaining the key is not so simple.

An interesting depiction in which a key plays a part, is the following:

In a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, attributed to Pieter Huys, we see a female devil who has the head of a fox. Fastened to the dark hood which covers her white headcloth is a key. She has a lute under her arm and carries a stick over her shoulder. On it hangs a calabash-flask and also a letter with two seals<sup>237</sup> (ill. 51).

She must be compared with a female devil in the underpainting on the centre panel of Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>238</sup>. The latter wears a headdress like that of Huys's she-devil, has a lute under her arm, and a head which turns into a spoonbill's beak. She stands beside two humanoid devils sitting at a table in a love-pavilion, one with a beaker in his hand.

Both these demonic females are satirical depictions of a *suster Lute* [sister Lute], as the lute indicates, that is, a runaway nun or beguine, or a woman pretending to be a member of a religious order<sup>239</sup>. The fox's head is a symbol of cunning, the spoonbill of addiction to drink.

<sup>235</sup> Rep.: *Oud Holland* xlv (1928), on p. 243.

<sup>236</sup> *Onc. /Deciph.*, p. 35/44 (75), 73/93 (46) and 103/132. *Tuin*, p. 109.

<sup>237</sup> Rijksbureau: Friedländer Records. Mandijn-Huys cover. See *Judgem.*, p. 65 n. 319. For her headdress see *Judgem.*, p. 215 n. 3.

<sup>238</sup> *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Tentações de Santo Antônio. Jheronimus Bosch. Exposição. Documentação do tratamento. Exame de pintura e do desenho subjacentes pelo Instituto José de Figueiredo (Temptation of Saint Anthony. Jheronimus Bosch. Exhibition. Documentation of treatment. Exam of underlying painting and drawing by the Instituto José de Figueiredo.)* Lisboa. Outubro 1972.

<sup>239</sup> *Onc. /Deciph.*, p. 193/252 (86 and 87). For Sister Lute in combination with Brother Lollard (a brother of charity), see: *Onc. /Deciph.*, p. 75/97 (99) and 76/97 (103). In the farce *Truwanten*, line 74 ff. (Leendertz. *Dramatische poëzie*) lollards [loll-friars] are



The stick with the calabash-flask and the letter with the seals can indicate that Huys's Sister Lute is at the same time a satirical picture of a pilgrim-woman leading a bad life.

Pilgrims reaching Santiago de Compostela were given a certificate testifying that they had completed the pilgrimage in the prescribed fashion. This testimonial usually took the form of a small sheet of parchment with a seal on it<sup>240</sup>. Such documents were sometimes faked. Probably Sister Lute is carrying a false letter and seal.

In a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, credited to Jan Mandijn, a she-devil has the same kind of headdress as that worn by the Huys and Bosch females<sup>241</sup>. Attached to it are St. James's shells and crossed pilgrim's staves, supposed to have been received in Santiago, but these emblems, too, were often counterfeited. She carries a plate with a horse's skull on it, a symbol of licentious merrymaking and folly<sup>242</sup>. Censured here is an unworthy pilgrim-woman.

The two female pilgrim-devils (Huys and Mandijn) bring to mind Willem van Hildegasberch's complaint that *vrouwen veel after lande lopen* and *gaen om oflaet, mar sy vercopen dicwyl eer ende salicheit* [women often roam the country . . . seek indulgences, but they frequently sell honour and salvation]<sup>243</sup>.

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shown in the company of beguines and both are accused of laziness and addiction to drink. In a *tafelspel* [play presented during a meal] two beguines and two lollards serve God *al met den eerse* [all with the arse] (*Dichten*, p. 77). However, according to A. Mens (*Oorsprong en betekenis van de Nederlandse Begijnen- en Begardenbeweging*. Antwerpen 1947, p. 286) the charge of unchastity levelled against the beguines is exaggerated. In the *Cancellierboek*, p. 192, *dits een lollaert* [it's a lollard] means: he is a hypocrite. Moralists set their faces against nuns who were lazy (*Sermoenen van Jan Brugman*, p. 187 and 190) and who bedizened themselves (Ruusbroec III, p. 119: *Vanden VII Sloten*). Ruusbroec has a warning for nuns who lead a worldly life: with the devil they will *eweleece drinken inde onreynne camere der hellen* [eternally drink in the unclean chamber of hell] (idem). In his *Van VII Trappen in den Graed der Gheesteleker Minnen* (Ruusbroec III, p. 233) he accuses bad nuns of succumbing to every deadly sin except Ira. Examples of satire on nuns in the works of Bosch and imitators: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 29/36 and *Bezwaren*, p. 43 f. (licentiousness, avarice, unchastity). Erasmus castigates unchaste nuns in his colloquium *Virgo Misogamos* (1523).

<sup>240</sup> Maes. *Strafbedevaarders*, p. 28.

<sup>241</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 26/33 (90). Rijksbureau: Cover Jan Mandijn. Round about 1940 the painting was with an art firm in New York (509 Madison Ave.). The headdress consists of a white cloth with a dark-coloured hood over it. See *Judgem.*, p. 215 n. 3. This headgear is also worn by a beggar-nun who goes arm-in-arm with a beggar-monk in a copperplate engraving from 1538, by Cornelis Massys (Hollstein x1, p. 203).

<sup>242</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 163 ff./213 ff.

<sup>243</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 28/32 (note 72). Perhaps also Maarten de Vos satirized a woman-pilgrim, and then one who had become a beggar-woman. In his painting which shows i.a. how St. Anthony carries St. Paul of Thebe to his grave, demonic beings attempt to aggravate the saint by their presence. See *Judgem.*, p. 52 n. 221. One of the demons is a she-devil with hood, calabash-flask and spoon. She reads from a book, probably the book of St. Anthony, and on that part of her hood which covers her right shoulder, she wears a little shield with three windmill-crosses on it. Is this a beggar's badge and do the crosses allude to folly? For other illustrations of what could be pilgrim-beggars with beggars' badges see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 157/207, at notes 49 and 56. For the windmill as symbol of folly, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 110/144f., and 122/159. For the book of St. Anthony, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 82/100 (4). In one scene in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* triptych in Lisbon devils have got hold of this book (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 80/100), and in another the saint holds it, opened in his hands (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 108/142). The *Temptation of St.*

Should we now interpret the key on the hood (in the Huys depiction) as a pilgrimage token, a distinctive like the shells and the crossed pilgrim's staves? I do not think so, because a single key as a pilgrim's emblem is unknown to me. What did exist was the token of two crossed keys awarded to successful pilgrims to Rome<sup>244</sup>.

On the other hand, a key on a headdress is also elsewhere shown in dubious surroundings. In another *Temptation of St. Anthony* attributed to Pieter Huys, there is not only a minstrel-devil who has a key on his hood, but also a diabolic imp with a company of merrymaking devils in an ill-famed tavern, who has one on his cap<sup>245</sup>. To this can be added the lame soldier-devil in Bruegel's *Ira* who wears on top of his helmet a little flag with a key depicted on it. Is it an allusion to the tavern-flag and to the key of the wine-cellar? And is the satire here directed against a crippled soldier who crazed by drink still wants to fight? He is drawing his long knife to attack another devil. Do the keys of Huys's minstrel-devil and tavern-imp also point to the wine-cellar?

Should the meaning of the key of the Sister Lute (Huys) and that of the prostitute-devil (Bosch) rather be sought in the erotic sphere? Is it the key to the room of unchastity? And has it therefore the same function as the key on the girdle of the she-devil in the foreground of our right wing?

The diamond pattern on the garment of our giantess-devil also occurs, as we have already noted, on the shoulder-cape of the dragon-devil leading an unchaste female sinner to the dance<sup>246</sup>. As pointed out the verb *ruten* [homonym of the noun *ruten*, meaning diamond-shapes] was a term for having sexual intercourse. Perhaps this is what led Bosch to use this particular pattern on the garments in question. But with the giantess-devil, tainted by the Spanish pox, another sense of the word *rute*, a noun meaning scabby eruption, could also be applicable<sup>247</sup>. Erasmus called the Spanish pox *scabiem Hispanicum* and *scabia nova*<sup>248</sup>.

To the right of the bath-house scene, with his back turned to what is happening in and around it, stands an enormous devil, painted green from top to toe<sup>249</sup>. He wears a suit of armour and at the neck can be seen part of a coat of mail. His one visible arm is stunted, consisting of only the upper part, which ends in a devil's claw. The Berlin picture shows a complete limb with also the lower arm. The claw is holding on to the edge of a shield. The knee is protected at the side by a large metal knee-plate. The piece of armour covering the shoulder is shaped like a little wing.

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*Anthony* in Venice (*Hermit Saints* triptych, left wing) shows an imp reading it in order to aggravate the saint's torment. Another little demon on the same panel has a booklet lying open in front of him. Satire on a cleric with his breviary? See *Judgem.*, p. 387. In the *Temptation* in the Walter P. Kreisler Collection in New York (rep.: De Tolnay 1965, p. 254) Antonius as well as a little demon is reading a book. Here the imp is mocking the saint by aping him.

<sup>244</sup> Von Sales Doyé II, p. 159. A. Franz. *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*. Band II. Freiburg im Breisgau 1909, p. 275. *Handwörterbuch* IX, col. 69.

<sup>245</sup> S.J. Graaf van Limburg-Stirum Collection, Huize Spijkerbosch, Olst. Rijksbureau: Friedländer Records.

<sup>246</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 156.

<sup>247</sup> *W.N.T.* XIII, 1779: 16th-century example. Cf. *Judgem.*, p. 234 n. 121: *ruit* = weed or tangled growth; also: scabby rash.

<sup>248</sup> *Adolescentis et scorti: Opera Omnia* I, col. 719. *Diversoria: Opera Omnia* I, col. 717.

<sup>249</sup> Previously dealt with in *Tuin*, p. 31 and 103 (3).

The legs below the knee are behind the wall and cannot be seen. From the devil's uncovered head, thrown backwards, a shock of long, wavy hair hangs down. In it, slightly above the forehead, an arrow is stuck into the skull and from the open mouth come infernal flames in which we see the two legs of a sinner<sup>250</sup>. In Berlin there is a cut in the nose from which blood flows to the eye and past it. In the Cranach one also sees the bare head of a sinner to the right behind the neck of the giant-devil. Is he next in turn to be devoured?

The giant soldier-demon belongs, with the previously discussed bear-devil who is throwing a sinner over the wall in the direction of a target-block<sup>251</sup> and the ape-toad-devil also already dealt with, who wears the knee-piece of a suit of armour as head-covering and is throwing a female sinner down from the infernal structure<sup>252</sup>, to a group which forms the link between the bath-house scene, in which the military element is of minor importance, and the scene with the shooting-targets where eroticism is coupled to the brute force of licentious soldiers<sup>253</sup>.

In the soldier-devil the sins of unchastity and licentiousness are signified by the arrow and the bird's wing. This last motif has already been dealt with several times. The *bout* [arrow] can be compared with the arrow in the forehead of the giant-devil down on his knees on the left panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon. In both cases the arrow can point to unchasteness and licentiousness and the upsetting effect these sins have on the brains of those who fall victim to them<sup>254</sup>. As we have noted repeatedly, the arrow was a phallic symbol and the homonymous *bout* could mean dissipated fellow.

In the Vienna picture the head of the armoured giant has been well preserved. The expression of the face is quite moving. Is it that of a lunatic, or does it convey inexpressible suffering? When we compare this head with that of the giant-devil on the left wing of the Lisbon triptych, we find that the latter has ruder and more rustic features than the former.

One of the sinners standing in the group to the right of the bath-house pavilion on the infernal structure, is stretching out both hands (one hand in Berlin) towards the arrow. It is a gesture of desire rather than abhorrence. Is he longing for the intoxication of sex and drink?

Here again it is worth noting what Erasmus writes. In his colloquium *Militis et Carthusiani* (Of the soldier and the Carthusian) which like *Adolescentis et Scorti* and *Diversoria* was written in 1523, the Carthusian says to the soldier suffering from the Spanish pox<sup>255</sup> [translated from the Dutch version]: But with what

<sup>250</sup> In *Tuin*, p. 31, I incorrectly stated that there was only one leg. Madam Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 27) writes: 'Der grüne Seelenfresser öffnet seinen Mund und verschluckt einen Sünder, den er, wieder ausgestossen, neuerlich verschlingen wird', and seems to think (p. 27, note 87) that Bosch borrowed this from *Tondalus' Visioen*. However, the motif of the devil devouring a sinner is so common that it is not necessary to refer to Tondalus in particular. Incorrect is the opinion of Münz (1954, p. 11): 'Der grüne Ritter. . . mag eine besondere Allegorie des Höllenrachsens sein'.

<sup>251</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 219.

<sup>252</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 243.

<sup>253</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 221.

<sup>254</sup> See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/30 (32 and 33).

<sup>255</sup> *Opera Omnia* I, col. 710. Quas vero manubias uxori tuae, liberisque tuis referes domum? lepram? Nam ista scabies nihil aliud est, quam leprae species; nisi quod ideo non vitatur, quia multorum est communis, praecipue nobilium: at ob hoc ipsum magis debebat vitari. Nunc istud malum adfricabis iis, qui tibi debuerant esse carissimi: et ipse per omnem vitam putre cadaver circumferes.

booty for your wife and children will you return home from the war? Leprosy? for this scab is nothing but a kind of leprosy; except that just because this disease is common to many, especially among the nobles, it is not avoided: but exactly for this reason one should the more endeavour to escape it. Now this disease you will pass on to those who should be most precious to you; and you yourself, you will your whole life long carry about with you nothing but a rotten cadaver<sup>256</sup>.

Has syphilis affected the brain of Bosch's soldier (dementia paralytica)?

The devil in the Vienna picture can be compared with a drawing of a devil in the Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum (ill. Baldass 1943, no. 145). It was probably done by an imitator of Bosch. The nose, eye and hair look like those of the Vienna figure. In the Boymans drawing sharp teeth like those of a wild boar protrude from the mouth. In Middle Dutch there was the expression *fellen tant togen* [show vicious tooth], meaning: to reveal a cruel nature<sup>257</sup>.

Our giant-devil devouring a sinner has a fleeting resemblance to miniature depictions of giant demons who swallow sinners<sup>258</sup> and of cyclops who eat human beings<sup>259</sup>.

Here then we have on the same panel a devil-giantess and a devil-giant depicted next to each other. The first is a prostitute-procuress-demon and the second a soldier-devil. Did Bosch give the two figures who symbolize, respectively, unchastity and pugnacity (here accompanied by lechery and licence) their enormous dimensions and place them in immediate proximity to each other because he had in mind Venus and Mars, who frequently occur in each other's company, for instance in the 16th-century play *Van Mars ende Venus hoe sij 't samen boeleerden* (Of Mars and Venus, how they committed adultery together), and who by virtue of their divinity stand out like giants above ordinary men<sup>260</sup>? Mars and Venus certainly did appear as giant figures carried in processions in the Low Countries, though apparently without any diabolic significance<sup>261</sup>.

In Middle Dutch literature *Vrou Venus* [Dame Venus] occurs as a devil, namely in the song of *Danielken* [little Daniel] and in an exemplum<sup>262</sup>.

Bosch's use in general of giant male and female devils will be discussed later<sup>263</sup>.

To the left of the bath-tent, but a little higher up, a sinner is riding on a fanciful bird with a pointed bill, long neck and long tail. Behind this bird walks a smaller one. On the head of the sinner in the Berlin picture a large toad is doing a hand-stand.

<sup>256</sup> Erasmus. *Samenspraken* iv, p. 40.

<sup>257</sup> *M.W.* viii, 70.

<sup>258</sup> E.g. the miniature which shows Lucifer on the gridiron in *Les très riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. Musée Condé, Chantilly.

<sup>259</sup> Rep.: Maeterlinck. *Peinture*, fig. 154. A drawing by an imitator of Bosch shows a sinner being devoured by a gigantic diabolic monster who has the legs of a bird and a head with the eyes and ears of a dog (?) (*Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 64). Cf. the bird-devil devouring a sinner in the *Hell of the Garden* triptych.

<sup>260</sup> Published in: *Den Handel der Amoureuſheit. Poëtelyck geïnventeert etc.* door Heer en Meester Johan Baptista Houwaert. Rotterdam, Jan van Waesberghe, 1621. The author is perhaps Jan Smecken.

<sup>261</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 267.

<sup>262</sup> *Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 160.

<sup>263</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 265 ff.



Hanging over the shoulders of the sinner is a *cagie*, a carry-perch for falcons<sup>264</sup>. On it sit four falcons (in Berlin the two birds on the right wear hoods, while the second from the right in Vienna could perhaps also be hooded) and a grey-brown humanoid imp with a white hood (in Berlin he has two grey wings). See ills. 45 and 52.

This imp's hood is the same in Vienna and Berlin, but in the Cranach its form has been preserved more distinctly. It is not a falcon's hood<sup>265</sup>. What it is, I do not know.

The falcon occurs in an unchaste sense in the expression *dat valckje vangen* [lit.: to catch the little falcon]<sup>266</sup> and in the *Hell* of his *Garden* triptych Bosch gives a falcon's hood an obscene function<sup>267</sup>. In both cases the falcon is a symbol of the male member. This is also the meaning it has on our right panel, like the two birds of fantasy.

The carry-frame, the humanoid imp sitting on it, and his hood, undoubtedly have special significance, but I can put forward no hypothesis.

To the right of the sinner on the bird is a little man-demon with no trunk or arms. His head is placed on his behind. He has a speckled tail and wears black boots, closely-fitting long hose and, on his left side, a straight sword (in Berlin it is curved).

His head-covering is a large, black sack-cap decorated, more or less in the middle, with a white band, and between this band and the bottom of the sack are white specks (in Berlin there is a red glow over the cap). At the ear and along part of the cheek a white cloth shows. It is the edge either of a skull-cap worn under the sack, or of a broad band attached to the sack-cap on the inside and passing under the chin.

In the works of Bosch and Bruegel the sack-cap occurs a number of times<sup>268</sup>. In these cases it is worn mostly by unfavourable types, with Bosch i.a. by beggars.

The demonic imp is *lijffloos* [body-less], that is, insignificant, trivial<sup>269</sup>. His sword indicates pugnacity. The specks on the tail and the sack-cap can allude to the Spanish pox.

He is clearly the demon belonging with the sinner on the bird. In this sinner Bosch censures unchastity. Does the bodiless imp give us the further information that the man was also an armed vagrant, half robber, half beggar, a notorious type in Bosch's day<sup>270</sup>?

The sack-cap is of the filled, not the empty kind<sup>271</sup>.

Discussing another of Bosch's wearers of the filled sack-cap in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 123/161, I asked whether there was current at the time an expression *de muts vullen* [to fill the cap], synonymous with recorded variants like: filling someone's *kap* [hood], *kovel* [cowl], *kaproen* [kind of head-covering], *kaper* [hood] and *tote* [poke-bonnet] (with hay), all meaning to swindle or cheat someone. Does

<sup>264</sup> For a 16th-century illustration of such a *cagie*, see: *The Burlington Magazine*, Nov. 1949, p. 320 (Bruegel?); for 17th-century ills.: painting by Philips de Koninck in Mauritshuis, The Hague; painting by Meindert Hobbema in Galerie der Akademie, Vienna.

<sup>265</sup> For illustrations of this, see: *Tuin*, xxxviii, xxxix and xl, and *Judgem.*, ill. 57.

<sup>266</sup> G. Kalff. *Het lied in de middeleeuwen*. Leiden 1884, p. 193.

<sup>267</sup> *Tuin*, p. 115.

<sup>268</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 181/235 (4-10).

<sup>269</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 126.

<sup>270</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 95.

<sup>271</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 181/234 f.





52. Giant-devil on knees, Bosch (p. 260)

the filled sack-cap of our imp indicate that the sinner has been a cheat or is being cheated by the devil?

I give preference to the following possibility.

Apparently the Middle Dutch term for a sack-cap was *sac*<sup>272</sup>. Now this word also meant belly, and *den sac vullen* [to fill the sack], i.e. one's own, meant to fill the belly with food and drink<sup>273</sup>. Does the filled sack-cap therefore tell us that the sinner was also guilty of Gula? And is the white band round the sack-cap the visual representation of the word *sacbant* [sack-band], which meant belly-band, girdle<sup>274</sup>, with which Bosch wished to express that the sack-cap here stood for the filled belly?

On the further side of the demon-giantess with the conical hat is a pool, and in the Vienna depiction, to the left of her head, a sinner's hand and head are sticking up out of the water. A gigantic man-devil has crawled up out of the pool on to the left shore. See ill. 52.

He is lying forward on his knees. A brown-black cloth covers a part of his head and back. Other parts of his clothing are a dark grey kind of shawl which appears from under the cloth and is shaped like a fish-tail, a green cloak, and dark-blue hose visible on the left thigh and knee. The cloak has a side-split which at the top end can be laced up with a yellow (in Berlin yellow-green) cord that passes through eyelets on either side. But the split is open. In front of it lies the tip of the fish-tail.

The face of the giant-devil is blue-black-green. The eyes shoot off sparks (not in Berlin). White hairs appear from under the cloak and hang over the forehead.

From the mouth a lizard and a toad are falling. Their postures in relation to each other resemble those of a dog- or dragon-like animal (cf. the dogs of hell attacking a chalice thief in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych; *Tuin*, p. 119) and a rat-like creature, who are attacking each other in the foreground of the centre panel of the *Hermit Saints* triptych in Venice<sup>275</sup>. In Berlin there is a difference: here we see a toad and a snake instead of a toad and a lizard. On the back of the Vienna lizard are many white spots, probably an allusion to the Spanish pox.

Two other toads (in Berlin again a toad and a snake) have already jumped out of the mouth of the giant and are falling in the direction of a pewter wine-bowl floating like a little boat in a shallow pool. In Berlin the bowl is on the ground.

In the bowl are four sinners (in Berlin six heads of sinners) and three devils, two of them distinguishable as a toad and a toad-like creature with goat's horns on its head. Of the third only a tail is visible. In Berlin the devils in the bowl are a lizard, a snake and a toad. None of them have horns.

Two of the sinners in the bowl are stretching out a hand towards the water where infernal flames are reaching it from a fire under the cloth that covers the man-devil. In a widening flare the blaze streams on to the water. More or less where it reaches the ground a toad is lying.

In Berlin the last-named two sinners and the band of fire are absent. Instead of the flaming stream we see the left arm and hand of the giant devil. These are not shown in Vienna, which is probably due to faulty restoration.

In Berlin the giant demon holds a snake in his hand. To the left of it sits a toad. The demon's hand rests on the ground. To the left of the arm there is a

<sup>272</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 123/161 (30).

<sup>273</sup> *M.W.* VII, 66.

<sup>274</sup> *M.W.* VII, 67.

<sup>275</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 85.

grey cloth. On this cloth and on the one to the right of the arm (that is, the shawl in the shape of a fish-tail) a bird's wing has been depicted.

On the back of the giant lies a large, red, woody ball with metal spikes sticking out of it. Four demonic imps are rolling it over the bodies of two sinners. The outer left imp has a long bird's bill, four paws and a long, straight, sharp-pointed tail (in Berlin the tail is not straight and the imp has the legs and feet of a human being).

To the right of this little monster are two toad-like imps in the Vienna picture. In Berlin they are not toad-like. There the left of the two has a goat's horn, the head of a rodent, the legs of a human being and the tail of an ape. The one on the right is very obscure here.

To the right of the three just described, a fourth imp, both in Vienna and in Berlin, completes the quartet pushing along the ball. There seems to be not much difference between the two depictions. The one in Berlin is the most distinct: it shows the head of a human being with a fool's cap on it, a tail and human legs.

Behind the demon-giant's head, slightly to the left, the flames of an enormous fire flare up from behind a low rocky protuberance (in Berlin there is no rock).

In this section we are again in the sphere of what is unchaste.

A cloth in former times was a symbol of the female sex. Describing a man as *doekachtig* [lit.: cloth-like] meant that he was a skirt-chaser, and a man who had a way with women was called a *doekman* [lit.: clothman]<sup>276</sup>.

Bosch gave the shawl appearing from under the cloth the shape of a fish's tail because the fish was also a phallic symbol. It is not by chance that the tip of this tail lies in front of the split in the garment with its loosened lace, for this alludes to the female genitals<sup>277</sup>. The cord itself is probably also meant to activate its association with a meretrix<sup>278</sup>.

The pewter wine-bowl points to addiction to drink<sup>279</sup>.

The motifs of toad and lizard are indications of uncleanness and unchasteness, the snake signifies seduction and unchastity, the bird and goat's horn, unchastity.

The enormous ball on the giant's back I take to be a kegelbal [skittle-ball], which Bosch has turned into an instrument of torture by putting metal spikes in it. For we know that a large, spherical wooden ball was used in skittles in the 15th century<sup>280</sup>. There is one depicted in an engraving from 1480-1490, by the Master FVB who may have worked in Bruges<sup>281</sup>. It shows skittles being played in front of a tavern and two peasants who quarrel about the game and lash out at each other. See ill. 53.

The motifs of bird, toad, goat's horn, ape and fool's cap, as components of the figures of the imps propelling the ball, are all consistent with the tavern sphere, like the pewter wine-bowl. Moreover, the giant can be interpreted as a *hukker*, meaning both someone humped down on hands and knees and a person who stays put in a tavern<sup>282</sup>.

<sup>276</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 68/87 f. (84-87). *Judgem.*, p. 105.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. *splitruiter* [lit.: split-rider] = woman of light virtue (*W.N.T.* XIV, 2889).

<sup>278</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 245 f.

<sup>279</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 243.

<sup>280</sup> In the *klootspel* [a ball-game; more like bowls?] on the other hand, the ball was an oval one: *M.W.* III, 1582.

<sup>281</sup> Delen I, Planche LXI, 2.

<sup>282</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 238.



53. Skittles, 15th c. engraving, Master FVB (p. 263 n. 281)

The giant has crawled out of the water on to the shore. Not so far removed from him is the armoured giant-devil in green. Was Bosch perhaps thinking of the following two devils which Dirc van Delf (II, p. 183) mentions in the same breath: *Behemoth . . . een beest . . . hi woent in vuchthighen steden . . . een duvel die den mensch doet lekker wesen van spijs ende gulsich, ende haer lust wecket in vuchtheden van dranck ende daer na comen <doet> in oncuuschede and Appolyon . . . gewapent mit yseren pansyer . . . die duvel des toorns* [Behemoth . . . a beast . . . he lives in damp places . . . a devil that makes humans to relish luscious food and be gluttonous, and awakens their desire for the wetness of drink and after that makes them fall into unchastity], and [Apollion. . . armed with iron suit of armour . . . the devil of wrath]? That is: Gula and Ira, with Gula clearly linked to Luxuria.

The giant is spewing toads, etc. Is this a satire on the glutton who vomits?

On p. 259 I coupled the armoured demon to the giantess-devil and compared them to Mars and Venus. Bosch could of course have known both combinations (Apollion and Behemoth, Mars and Venus), and have been influenced by them.

The kneeling giant has white hair on his head, fiery eyes and a very dark face.

We have already looked at examples of devils with white or grey hair and I have pointed out that also our language sometimes describes the devil as aged. This is no doubt due to expressions like *de oude viant* [the old enemy], meaning that he has since time immemorial been the enemy of man<sup>283</sup>.

Black giant-devils occur in Middle Dutch literature. In *Dat sterf boeck* for example, such a demon visits a knight (16') and another punishes a lecherous man (127'). There are also black devils with fiery eyes: In *Der Ystorien Bloeme* a devil is described as blacker *dan ooit moer van moriane* [than ever mother of moor] and having fiery eyes<sup>284</sup>. The soul of Tondalus sees in purgatory devils who are black like coal and whose eyes burn like lamps<sup>285</sup>, and in hell he sees Lucifer as a black giant<sup>286</sup>. But for the rest these diaboli do not look like our crawling titan at all.

In old Dutch folk-tales toads come out of the mouth of a magician and a magician causes someone to spit out toads<sup>287</sup>.

What has been said in the foregoing three paragraphs demonstrates that a number of motifs assembled in this giant-devil were in general use in Bosch's time and commonly understood.

Bosch depicted gigantic figures also in other works but nowhere so many together as on our right wing, where three are shown<sup>288</sup>. On the left and centre panels there are none. Yet the enormous figures do not upset the balance of form and colour of the whole.

<sup>283</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 163 f.

<sup>284</sup> *Der Ystorien Bloeme. De legenden der Apostelen in Dietsche dichtmaat*. Edited by A.C. Oudemans Sr. Amsterdam 1857, line 2540-2552.

<sup>285</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 107.

<sup>286</sup> Idem, p. 109 ff.

<sup>287</sup> J.R.W. Sinninghe. *Katalog der niederländischen Märchen-, Ursprungssagen-, Sagen- und Legendenvarianten*. Helsinki 1943. FF Communications no. 132. Bl. 96 (676).

<sup>288</sup> The opinion expressed in Baldass und Heinz 1959, p. 233, that 'die Riesen des Höllenflügels' could be borrowed from *Tondalus' Visioen*, is incorrect.



The other male and female giant devils in Bosch's work are:

1. The human-tree devil in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych (Prado).
2. A human tree in which licentious merry-makers are satirized (drawing, Albertina). See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 185/237 (7-9), 186/240-1 (28-33), 198/261 (37), *Judgem.*, p. 183 and 371. The human tree here is not really a devil, but an allegorical figure.
3. A soldier-devil carrying a ship with sinners and devils (drawing, Akademie, Vienna). See *Judgem.*, p. 364.
4. A kneeling giant-devil with an arrow in his forehead (left wing *Temptation of St. Anthony*, Lisbon). See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/27ff

Giant-devils occur also in the works of Bosch's imitators and in those of Bruegel:

5. A demonic human tree which is a satire on a spendthrift merry-maker who has been reduced to poverty (part of a sketch-sheet with drawings which derive from depictions by Bosch. Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden. Baldass 1943, no. 150). See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 186/241f. (34-38).
6. A demon-giantess hunting with bow and arrow, who carries one of her victims between her teeth and with her right hand drags along another. See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 187/241, note 34.
7. A human-tree devil in whom gadabouts are satirized (part of a sheet of sketches by an imitator of Bosch; Oppenheimer Collection, London; *Judgem.*, p. 372).
8. On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges a giant-devil is devouring a sinner. A tavern of ill repute forms part of the giant's body. A prostitute looks through a window in it.
9. In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Madam D.M. van Buuren Collection, Brussels) the body of a giant-devil who figures in a *Gula* depiction is partly concealed in the trunk of a tree<sup>289</sup>.
10. In a *Christ entering Hell* (Harrach Collection, Vienna) a giant-devil is part of a satire on *Luxuria*<sup>290</sup>.
11. In an engraving of *St. Christopher and the Child Jesus*, attributed to Du Hameel, a giant-devil fully clothed and wearing a hood is being carried towards the saint by naked manikins wearing hoods (all devilish imps) under the leadership of a clothed imp who wears boots with spurs<sup>291</sup>.
12. A giant-devil in Bruegel's *Ira* is a satirical representation of a pugnacious fellow.
13. The figure of a giant in Bruegel's *Desidia* represents sloth.
14. A giant-devil in Bruegel's *Gula* forms part of a tavern.
15. In the engraving made after Bruegel's *Patientia* two giant-devils are depicted together with small devils<sup>292</sup>.
16. A conjuror-devil is shown as a giant in Bruegel's *St. James and the magician Hermogenes*.

What induced Bosch to depict a male or female devil as a giant or giantess?

He must of course have known the motif of the giant-devil in Middle Dutch literature. Two examples have already been mentioned, both from *Dat sterf boeck* (*Judgem.*, p. 265). There are other instances. In a legend of Mary a devil appears as a gigantic monk<sup>293</sup>. Thomas of Cantimpré tells of a monk-devil who was so big that *hi ruerde dat overste vanden huse* [he touched the top of the house]<sup>294</sup>. The figure also appears in old Dutch folk-tales. There is for instance

<sup>289</sup> *De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 41 (ill. 8).

<sup>290</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 41.

<sup>291</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 83. For the engraving see Elaboration IX.

<sup>292</sup> Van Bastelaer. *Estampes*, ill. 124.

<sup>293</sup> *Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 173. *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* 1, p. 292. *Vaderlandsch Museum* 1, p. 333.

<sup>294</sup> *Biënboec*, p. 195.

the giant-devil who with his plough once dug the bed of the river Dender at Hekelghem in Flanders<sup>295</sup>.

Perhaps mediaeval folk began believing in the existence of giant-devils when views such as were expounded by Athenagoras round about A.D. 175 in his *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, became known: some of the angels fallen from heaven afterwards consorted with women on earth and their offspring was a race of giants, of a devilish kind. 'The souls of the giants are the demons which entice men into lust'<sup>296</sup>.

But giant-devils also made their appearance in north-western European Christendom when, after the Christianization of the heathen population, some gods of German mythology took on this shape.

In the plastic arts of the Low Countries giant-devils are fairly rare before Bosch's time, it seems. One example is Lucifer on the gridiron, as depicted by the brothers Van Limburg in *Les très riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. Sometimes devils conveying sinners to hell tend to be enormous, e.g. in the wood-carving of the *Last Judgement* in the St. Jan's cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch<sup>297</sup>.

Giant-devils were sometimes also seen in processions. In any case in Nuremberg in 1518 a sled was drawn along on which there was the image of a huge devil devouring a small naked woman<sup>298</sup>. But were such devils also a feature of processions in the Low Countries? Giants and giantesses certainly did form part of processions in these regions during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries<sup>299</sup>. It does not seem though that they included diabolic figures.

In the water to the right of the giant-devil are two sinners. We see the head of one and an arm of the other (see ill. 44 and 45).

Behind this arm a low wall rises from the water. A snake whose body must be imagined as lying over and behind this wall, is stretching out its head and neck towards the arm.

Straddling the snake's neck, and with his left foot resting on the wall, is a naked humanoid devil. His long right arm ends in a left hand in which he holds a long knife (in Berlin there is nothing in this hand). The index finger is bent.

The little demon's head, shoulders and breast are concealed in a large soldier's helmet. His left arm could also be hidden inside it. A right leg is not visible. Did Bosch perhaps envisage the imp as a bizarre combination of a head, a trunk with its posterior, a left leg and a right arm with a left hand on it?

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<sup>295</sup> Van den Bergh, p. 191. M.D. Teenstra. *Volksverhalen en legenden van vroegere en latere dagen, uit meest Nederlandsche schrijvers en mondelinge mededeelingen verzameld. Spookverschijningen*. Groningen 1843, p. 47.

<sup>296</sup> Jung. *Fallen angels*, p. 122. English translation of a sentence from the *Supplicatio*. Verdeyen en Endepols I, p. 13 and 14, mention a giant-devil who appeared in a vision experienced by three monks (4th century) and one in the vision seen by St. Anthony (beginning 5th century).

<sup>297</sup> J.S. Witsen Elias en H. Sibbelee. *De schoonheid van ons land. Beeldhouwkunst. Koorbanken, koorhekken en kansels*. Amsterdam 1946, no. 17.

<sup>298</sup> K. Drescher. *Das Nürnbergsche Schönbartbuch*. Weimar 1908, p. 15.

<sup>299</sup> C. de Baere. *Onze Vlaamsche reuskens. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de Vlaamsche folklore*. Amsterdam 1942. A. Viaene. *Een reuzin in de ommegang te Diksmude. 13 Juni 1381*, in *Biekorf. Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Folklore* LIX (1958), p. 304. M. Catteeuw. *Reuzenstad Diksmude*, in *Biekorf* etc. LXI (1960), p. 406. Moll. *Kerkgeschiedenis*, p. 25: giant and giantess in procession in Dordrecht, 15th and 16th century.

In Berlin there is, instead of the low wall, a boat, the prow of which is seen to the right of the humanoid imp. Here the figure's left leg and behind, and also the neck of the snake, rest on the edge of the boat. Sitting in the boat is a sinner. In this place the Vienna picture has the head of a sinner appearing from behind the wall.

The demon is pierced by an extremely long arrow which enters the body at the anus (in Berlin to the right, beside the anus?) and goes right up and through the helmet, above which its point sticks up in the air. From the point is suspended a cauldron in which a female sinner wearing a white headcloth is being boiled, for the cauldron hangs above a fire which is burning behind the low wall (in Berlin behind or in the little boat). Four black birds are flying about in the flames<sup>300</sup>.

On the helmet sits a female sinner with a white headcloth. On her head stands an owl, at her side, to her left, lies a bow (in Berlin there is no bow), and a salamander-like diabolic animal with a red comb stands behind her back. See ill. 54.

Sticking out to the right from behind the devil in the helmet is a big mop. In Vienna it is not possible to see what is holding it up, in Berlin it seems to come from the boat.

On the handle of the implement a blindfolded sinner with a very much swollen belly has been hanged. A stick has been stuck into the top part of the belly. Five fanciful birds with long bills encircle the man and four of them are pecking at him. Two are sitting on the mopstick (in Berlin the upper one does not have a long bill), two are in the air and the fifth is standing on something, in Vienna perhaps on a rock, in Berlin certainly on the tip of the stem of the little boat.

In the section with the humanoid imp in the helmet there are again overpainted parts in the Vienna picture. It seems to me that the original depiction here was likewise a boat, not a wall.

In this scene we have once more a condemnation of unchastity, pugnacity and licence.

Soldier's helmet and long knife indicate pugnacity<sup>301</sup>. The arrow, too, can point to this while at the same time signifying something more.

In the *Hell* of his *Garden* triptych Bosch also depicted a little man-devil with an arrow sticking in his anus. In dealing with it<sup>302</sup> I pointed out that the word *bout* had the different meanings of arrow, dissipated fellow and male member. Also that the expression *een bout in 't gat steken* [stick an arrow in the anus] was

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<sup>300</sup> In my opinion Beins (fig. 215) is mistaken in believing that Bosch designed the little demon after having seen a misbirth without head, or without trunk (Acardiacus): *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 305/397, col. 1. In *Ontc.*, p. 306, I incorrectly stated that the naked little figure is partly concealed in a kind of hive [instead of a helmet] and that a wicker basket hangs on the point of the arrow [amended in *Deciph.*]. Also Baltrušaitis (*Moyen Âge*, p. 225) errs when he says that the imp is derived from a Japanese example. See *Martelares*, p. 52. He is wrong, too, in thinking that the little monster is inserting his upper body into a church bell.

<sup>301</sup> An enormous soldier's helmet lies on a diabolic engine of attack in the following depictions: on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges, in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Walter P. Kreisler Collection in New York (De Tolnay 1965, p. 254), and in the grisaille round *The Conjuror* in a private collection in California (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1958, p. 30).

<sup>302</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 109.



54. Scene around imp in helmet, Bosch (p. 268)

used in an obscene sense, and that the saying *bij heeft de bout in het gat* [he has the bolt (= arrow) in the anus] meant: he has been plunged into disaster. All this is i.m.o. also applicable to the imp on our right panel.

The motif of arrow-in-anus can be compared with that of stick-in-anus<sup>303</sup>, thorn-in-anus<sup>304</sup>, flute-in-anus<sup>305</sup>, and trumpet-in-anus<sup>306</sup> occurring elsewhere in the work of Bosch.

It can be compared, too, with the stick in the anus of a sinner on the *Hell* panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges. The man is standing on the back of another sinner, who functions as his horse, and on his own back stands a bird with a sharp bill. A devil in armour who is mounted on a third sinner has a torch in his hand, his crest is a swan, and he is about to tilt the sinner with the stick in his behind off his 'horse'.

Another comparable example is the axe in the anus of a sinner in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the collection of Madam D.M. van Buuren in Brussels<sup>307</sup>. A bird (a magpie) sits on the axe.

The imp on our right panel has points of resemblance with a scene in a tapestry showing the *Temptation of St. Anthony* and woven after a work by Bosch (Royal Palace, Madrid; Lafond, at p. 81). In it a little demon whose upper body is covered by a helmet appears in an unchaste setting. An arrow is stuck in his behind and the creature has a bow in his right hand.

On our right wing the arrow not only pierces the sinner's body, but also goes right through his helmet. Bosch and his imitators more than once made use of this figure of an arrow piercing a head-covering. In Bosch's *Gula* (*Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*) it sticks through a hat hanging on a wall. It pricks through the headcloth of an executioner in Bosch's *Crowning with Thorns* in London and through the hat of an executioner in his painting of the same subject in the Prado, as well as through an executioner's hat in the *Crowning with Thorns* in Antwerp (not his own work). On a sketch-sheet that was formerly attributed to Bosch (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Baldass 1943, ill. 141) it pierces a head-covering of which the top part is a large round fruit (melon?). An arrow sticks through the helmet of a demonic imp in a drawing by an imitator<sup>308</sup>. An owl sits on the helmet. Attached to the arrow is a rope fastened to a little stick that penetrates the body of a dead toad. In Bosch's *Gula* the implied connotation of the arrow (*bout*) is that of roast leg, a favourite food of merry-making spendthrifts<sup>309</sup>; in the other instances it represents the word *bout* in its sense of dissipated fellow.

A remarkable aspect of our imp on the right panel is that he has a left hand on his right arm and that the index finger is bent. He is *slinks*, that is, left-handed, preferring to use the left hand. But *slinks* also meant wrong, bad<sup>310</sup>. He is a *slinkaerd*, that is a left-handed person, but also a sly individual<sup>311</sup>. The bent

<sup>303</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 19/26 (23).

<sup>304</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/94 (63).

<sup>305</sup> *Tuin.*, p. 101.

<sup>306</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 244.

<sup>307</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 361.

<sup>308</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 108 n. 129.

<sup>309</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 169/222 (43-45).

<sup>310</sup> *W.N.T.* xiv, 1813, 1814.

<sup>311</sup> *W.N.T.* xiv, 1808 (Kiliaen).



finger can be associated with the verb *linken*, which meant bending, crooking, a finger<sup>312</sup>, but also: deceiving<sup>313</sup>.

Worth noting in this regard are the series: *link*<sup>314</sup>, *lorts*<sup>315</sup>, *lucht*<sup>316</sup> meaning left-handed; *linken*, *lortsen*<sup>317</sup>, *luchten*<sup>318</sup> meaning to deceive; and *linker*<sup>319</sup>, *lortser*<sup>320</sup> meaning deceiver.

The snake here can be interpreted as a phallic symbol<sup>321</sup>, but also as a figurative representation of venomous aggression. Bosch painted it as such on the helmet of a devil on the left wing of his triptych with the *Crucified woman martyr*<sup>322</sup>. In our painting, too, it is shown near a helmet.

The cauldron hanging from the point of the arrow should be compared with the kettle which, on our centre panel, hangs on the stick that is thrust through a soldier's helmet<sup>323</sup>. There, and also elsewhere in the work of Bosch and others, I see it as signifying gluttony and licentious merrymaking, i.a. at Carnival. The same meaning should i.m.o. be attached to it in the scene under discussion.

The woman sinner with the white headcloth who is sitting on the helmet is doomed to undergo the same fate as that of the other female with the white headcloth, who is already in the cauldron. They were wenches in a dubious tavern. The cloth of the sitting woman resembles that worn by the wench in the doorway of the tavern in Bosch's *Pedlar* (Rotterdam) and that of a woman from the lower classes as shown on the right wing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>324</sup> and in the *Gula* of the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*.

A naked female sinner (or devil?) wearing the same cloth sits on a large soldier's helmet on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges. Here the helmet is placed on a diabolized war machine. This probably alludes to light women who follow in the train of an army. Cornelis Everaert calls such a strumpet a *crychsvrouwe* [lit.: war-woman] and tells her that she should rather go begging<sup>325</sup>. Public women accompanying the army of Charles the Bold are depicted in a Swiss miniature from 1483<sup>326</sup>.

In a *Last Judgement* attributed to Jan Mandijn sinners who have given vent to their passion for fighting are tortured in a helmet into which a knife is stuck<sup>327</sup>.

We have already learnt that the owl can be a phallic symbol as well as a figure of light-shyness and folly.

A bow with which arrows are being shot off could in 16th-century Dutch

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<sup>312</sup> *M.W.* IV, 662.

<sup>313</sup> *W.N.T.* VIII, part 2, 2438.

<sup>314</sup> *M.W.* IV, 662.

<sup>315</sup> *M.W.* IV, 778.

<sup>316</sup> *M.W.* IV, 863.

<sup>317</sup> *M.W.* IV, 805.

<sup>318</sup> *M.W.* IV, 864.

<sup>319</sup> *W.N.T.* VIII, part 2, 2439.

<sup>320</sup> *M.W.* IV, 1806.

<sup>321</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 57 f. and 109.

<sup>322</sup> *Martelares*, p. 10 f.; plate XVI.

<sup>323</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 182.

<sup>324</sup> *Onic./Deciph.*, p. 123/161.

<sup>325</sup> *Everaert*, p. 213.

<sup>326</sup> Catalogue. Bernisches Historisches Museum. *Die Burgunderbeute und Werke Burgundischer Hofkunst*. 18. Mai – 20. September 1969, p. 33.

<sup>327</sup> C. Marshall Spink Collection, London. Rep.: *The Connoisseur* CXLV, June 1960, p. 78.

language and in works by Bosch and Huys, signify wastefulness<sup>328</sup>, but *boogschutter* [archer] and *schieten* [to shoot] sometimes had a sexual connotation in 15th- and 16th-century Dutch<sup>329</sup>.

The top part of the arrow sticking out above the helmet has reference to the two females, whereas the bottom part is associated with the male devil. The function of the point has been specially accentuated in Vienna by placing it near an opening in the rock (in Berlin there is no corresponding opening).

Mediaeval folk believed that the salamander's bite was poisonous<sup>330</sup>. The red comb on the reptile looks like that of a cock. In the Low Countries of the 16th century this bird was a symbol of folly, unchastity and pugnacity<sup>331</sup>. All three meanings fit in well here. The red comb is specially mentioned in the phrase: *dat haenken mitten roden camme . . . daer aldus veel hennekes nae lopen* [the cockerel with the red comb . . . that many little pullets run after]<sup>332</sup>. In the *Last Judgement* fragment in Munich a devil walking on pattens (symbolic of unchastity and boisterous noise<sup>333</sup>) wears a cock's comb and tail<sup>334</sup>.

The mop on which the blindfolded sinner hangs and the little boat from which the implement sticks up are symbols of licentious merrymaking<sup>335</sup>. They are consistent with the cauldron in the same scene.

The five birds around the sinner allude to his unchaste conduct. Here Bosch perhaps had in mind also the motif of birds flying at an owl<sup>336</sup>. In such cases the owl is mostly symbolic of light-shyness, of some sin or other that cannot bear the light of day, or of the light-shy person.

The face of the sinner is bearded and somewhat resembles that of the good murderer in the right upper corner of Bosch's *Carrying of the Cross* in Ghent.

A stick is pierced through the well-filled belly of our man hanging on the mop. On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges an arrow is stabbed into the fat belly of a sinner who is being conducted to a place where lechers are punished, and a mast is stuck through the rotund belly of another sinner who lies in a boat with a wine- or beer-jug close by. The first is a lecher being punished, the second a glutton. The hanged man could have been guilty of *Luxuria* as well as *Gula*.

Summing up, we could say that with this whole scene Bosch satirizes life in dubious alehouses, which were breeding places of unchastity in its various forms. The customers include soldiers, and the immorality is coupled with licentiousness, squandering and over-indulgence in food and drink: *Luxuria*, *Ira* and *Gula*. Perhaps excesses during folk festivals was what was uppermost in Bosch's mind here. Clues to this would be the cauldron, the mop and the boat.

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<sup>328</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 57/71 (25 and 28), 103/132 (11 – 13). *Tuin*, p. 114 and 121. *Judgem.*, p. 129.

<sup>329</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29 (29), 27/29 (29).

<sup>330</sup> *Der Naturen Bloeme* vi, 593: *sine maniere gaet voor alle venijnde diere* [its nature surpasses that of all venomous animals].

<sup>331</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 64.

<sup>332</sup> *Tuin*, p. 56 (5). Cf. a comparison made by Willem van Hildegaersberch: *Judgem.*, p. 65 n. 311.

<sup>333</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 367.

<sup>334</sup> A devil with a cock's tail can also be seen in an underpainting on our centre panel. See *Judgem.*, p. 201.

<sup>335</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 129 and 367. In the *Hell* of the *Haywain* triptych a sinner also hangs on a mop. Close by a large cauldron hangs on another mop.

<sup>336</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 359 f.

The unfortunates being punished are in the water, in a boat (or behind a wall), in a cauldron, on a helmet and on a mop.

Behind and to the right of the wall (in Berlin the boat) and also behind the blaze to the left of the kneeling giant-devil, there is a large expanse of water. As we have already remarked in dealing with the centre panel (*Judgem.*, p. 206), a lake occurs more than once in descriptions of hell.

In this lake, to the right, above the owl and the hanged sinner, a spur of land or an island rises from the water. On the land is a dry tree with a ladder put up against it. A sinner has been hanged on one of its branches. In Berlin two sinners are hanging on it. A devil with goat's horns on his head is standing on the ladder and other horned devils are bringing sinners (in Berlin only one) to him. They carry a mop, a spear and a claw-hook (in Berlin only a mop and a claw-hook). Beside the fire above which the sinner hangs, a devil is standing (not in Berlin). Behind the spur of land or island there is the blaze of an enormous fire.

The motifs of dry tree in which someone is hanged<sup>337</sup>, goat's horns, mop, spear and claw-hook have already been discussed.

Obliquely in front of the spur, to the left, lies a ship<sup>338</sup>.

Sinners are sitting high up in a metal crows-nest. A ladder reaches to this perch and at the foot of it stand sinners waiting their turn to go aloft. In Berlin one sinner only is standing at the foot of the mast. The others are sitting.

In order to get to the sinners in the crows-nest a winged goat-devil is climbing up a rope which connects the stem of the boat, left, to the masthead (in Berlin it is an insect-like devil who is working himself up the rope like an acrobat). Ready to follow him is an ass-devil with a long horn on his forehead. He is standing below and holding on to the rope (in Berlin the creature has no horn; is it here a dog-like demon?). The two devils are going to punish the sinners in the crows-nest.

To the right of the ass an ape-devil is looking in his direction. To the right of the ape a goat-devil is lifting up with his left paw one end of a heavy wooden pole. This pole passes through the rectangle formed by parts of two rungs of the ladder, the piece of the left upright between these parts, and a section of the mast. The goat-devil is heaving up his end of the pole, to tip it over so that its other end will hit the heads of the sinners in the stern, to the right.

In Berlin the ape-devil is absent and the pole becomes a spar fixed to the mast. Instead of the goat-devil there is a rat-devil, but he is not holding the spar. He is looking towards the sinners in the stern, but they are in no danger of being hit by a yard-end. A flag flutters from the stern (not so in Vienna).

Near the ship sinners are swimming. One of them is being clutched by a toad-devil who is peering over the side of the ship, to the right of the standing goat-devil. The toad-devil is absent in Berlin.

In my opinion Bosch is here censuring merry-makers who either (a) went on the spree in a boat, mounted on a wagon or actually in the water, or (b) practised a rough sport in which a ship was attacked and defended, or (c) who were revellers who had nothing to do with a boat, but were by Bosch depicted as being in it because a boat in general could be a symbol of licentious festive doings<sup>339</sup>. I give preference to the second hypothesis.

With the sinners in the crows-nest Bosch could be satirizing the defenders of

<sup>337</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 201. See also p. 297.

<sup>338</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 365 no. 6.

<sup>339</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 367 f.

the boat in such a rough game (cf. the crows-nest with its content on the ship in Bruegel's *Ira*)<sup>340</sup>. Climbing to the masthead, and tipping over a pole (a loosened spar?) on to the heads of attackers, could be seen as part of this game.

But the crows-nest could also be suggestive of something else. The sinners fill the crows-nest entirely. This perch is called in Dutch the *mastkorf* [lit.: mast-basket]. *De korf vullen* [to fill the basket] meant to overindulge in eating and drinking [*korf* being a term for belly]<sup>341</sup>. *Mast*, again, meant not only the mast of a ship, but also mast as pigs-feed<sup>342</sup>. The expression *de varkens op de mast drijven* [lit.: to drive the pigs on to the mast] meant to send the pigs into the wood in autumn to feed on acorns and beech-nuts<sup>343</sup>. Accordingly *hem masten* [masting himself] was said of someone who fed himself very well indeed<sup>344</sup>. Bosch could therefore also be condemning the sin of Gula in the sinners on top of the mast and in those waiting to be sent *op de mast* [on to the mast].

Goat, insect, dog, ape, rat and toad are motifs with which we have already become familiar enough. They are entirely in accord with the sphere of abandon and unchastity in which boisterous folk festivals took place.

Only the ass-devil with his long horn must be looked at more closely.

The ass, as we have seen, is a symbol of stupidity<sup>345</sup> and lust<sup>346</sup>. In the present scene Bosch has turned the animal into a unicorn to accentuate the unchaste element, for mediaeval symbolism uses the ass pejoratively as a figure of unchastity<sup>347</sup>.

In the late Middle Ages people believed that a type of ass with a single horn existed in India. Erasmus at any rate tells us in his colloquium *Astragalismos, sive talorum lusus* (*Het Bikkelspel* [The knuckle-bone-game], Bazel 1529) that the knuckle is not found in any animal with unsplit hooves, except in the Indian single-horned ass (excepto asino Indico unicorno)<sup>348</sup>. Did this belief have any influence on Bosch in his design of the type of demon with an ass's head which has one long straight horn?

The fire and smoke to the left, on the further side of the crawling giant-devil, resemble a volcanic eruption.

Mediaeval writers did indeed associate volcanoes with hell and purgatory. Mount Etna in Sicily, for instance, was held to be an entrance to purgatory: *Uit dien berghe siet men sulfer bernen. Daer werden oec die sielen ghepynt thent hen gheholpen werdt* [Out of this mountain one sees sulphur burning. There too the souls are tormented until they are attended to]<sup>349</sup>.

<sup>340</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 367.

<sup>341</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 93.

<sup>342</sup> *M.W.* IV, 1209, *W.N.T.* IX, 292.

<sup>343</sup> *W.N.T.* IX, 292.

<sup>344</sup> *W.N.T.* IX, 293.

<sup>345</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 101.

<sup>346</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 102 and 220.

<sup>347</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 210/279 (44-47). *Tuin*, p. 55, 56 and 57. The following example can be added to those given in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 210/279, of the pejorative function of the unicorn: In a mural painting of the Last Judgement, ca. 1500, in the Guild Chapel in Stratford-on-Avon (rep.: Haslinghuis, at p. 112), a devil with a horse's head and a single horn is carrying away a sinner who is being punished for Superbia.

<sup>348</sup> Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* I, col. 839.

<sup>349</sup> H.J.E. Endepols. *Bijdrage tot de eschatologische voorstellingen in de Middeleeuwen. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* XXVIII (1909), p. 87.

The *Spiegel Historiae* even places more than one volcano on the island of Sicily:

*In Cycilien, dats menigen cont,  
Bernen berghen talre stont  
Ende heeten die potten van Vulcane.  
Dat vier wasset emmer ane:  
Want sore meer te tormenten in vallen  
So si meer wassen ende wallen.*

[In Sicily, as many people know,  
Are burning mountains ever aglow  
And pots-of-Vulcan is their name.  
Always higher grows the flame.  
For the more falling in there to be tormented  
The more are the fires fed and augmented]<sup>350</sup>

But what we see on the further side of the giant-devil, where the fire and smoke are, is not an entrance to hell.

Out of the boiling water behind the spur of land and the ship sinners are fleeing toward the ground to the left. They have reached the shore. This detail resembles the scene in and at the water in front of a mill in the background of the *Hell of the Garden* triptych<sup>351</sup>.

Further to the back the lake is bounded by a low ridge towards which the above-mentioned sinners are heading and where another group is vaguely discernible.

In Berlin a large banner sticks out above this last group and devils walk and ride beside them. What the riding-animals are, cannot be defined. This detail of the Berlin picture shows some resemblance to the procession with the flag in the background of the *Hell of the Garden* triptych, which is moving across a bridge in the direction of a water-wheel. In the latter case the demons are clearly armed and some ride on horses. I took this to be a representation of the *ridderschap van de duivel* [knighthood of the devil]<sup>352</sup>.

On the extreme left, at the foot of the ridge, sinners are struggling in a pulpy mass. This detail, especially in the Berlin version, is reminiscent of what takes place in the background of the *Hell of the Garden* triptych, in the water in front of the bridge, to the left.

To the right the lake is bordered by cavernous rocks and fires.

The whole section here at the top is very dark, darker than the top part of the *Hell* in either the *Haywain* or the *Garden* triptych. In Berlin it is even darker than in Vienna.

According to *Die Dietsche Lucidarius* (p. 60) hell contains certain regions where there is

*... deemsterbede soe groot;  
soe dicke dat men se tasten mach,  
ende die geduret nacht ende dach.*

[ . . . . . darkness so great;  
so thick that touch it one may,  
and it continues night and day]<sup>353</sup>.

This absence of light is a torment to the sinners<sup>354</sup>. Eternal night is only here and there illumined by fires. This is also the case in the top part of our right panel.

In the glow of the fires we see the following:

<sup>350</sup> Idem.

<sup>351</sup> *Tuin*, p. 124. Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 74.

<sup>352</sup> *Tuin*, p. 125.

<sup>353</sup> The same in *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 106: *In die helle is voirt een ewich nacht, nimmermeer dach, ende duusternisse alsoe groet dat men se tasten mach mit handen* [In hell there is further eternal night, nevermore day, and darkness so great that one can touch it with the hands].

<sup>354</sup> Jan van Boendale (*Der Leken Spiegel* 1, p. 54) says that there are sinners who remain in darkness forever because they were not willing to accept the true faith and to turn to the Godly light.



Above the masthead, but then of course further to the back, sinners are falling into flames which issue from a fire on the ground where there are rocks. In an opening in a rock, to the right, are a devil and a sinner (not so in Berlin). The flames reach a great height, and from behind an enormous crag they finally shoot up into a fiery peak in the sky.

To the left and right of this tapering flare near the upper edge of the panel, is a ruin.

The left part of it stands on a hill. A goat-devil has placed a ladder against it. A mop sticks out from the ruin and a sinner hangs on a sort of gallows erected on top of the ruin. On this gallows stands a little goat. To the right of the ruined part is a goat-devil with a ladder. At the foot of the hill is water in which sinners are swimming. On the near side of this pool two rather stumpy rocks rise up. A fire shooting into the air from inside the ruin sends lateral rays through two openings in these rocks.

In Berlin this whole scene is very obscure. Here, too, the motifs of ruin, ladder, goat-devil, mop and fire are present. Inside the ruin are devils, and other demons are bringing a sinner to the ruin.

At the ruined part, on the right, we discern a ladder, two devils with goats-horns<sup>355</sup>, and four sinners. A fire is raging behind the ruin. To the left of this scene stands a high rock on which a fire is burning. To the left of this fire is a stake with a wheel on it<sup>356</sup>. A sinner lies on the wheel. To the right of the fire a goat-devil holds a mop on which two sinners have been hanged.

In Berlin the representation is more or less the same, but more obscure.

The two parts of the ruin scene, the one with the gallows and the other with the wheel and stake, are derived from real places of execution at ruined structures.

Bosch painted ruins in the background of the *Hell*-panels of the *Haywain* and *Garden*<sup>357</sup> triptychs and also in the background of the centre panel of our *Last Judgement* triptych<sup>358</sup>. But in none of these do they figure as places of execution.

These ruins and the two on our right panel are somewhat reminiscent of the fire-belching house in purgatory which in *Tondalus' Visioen* is as large as a mountain and round like an oven<sup>359</sup>.

The motif of the ruin is used by Bosch as a symbol of downfall and destruction. The motifs of goat and mop at the ruins on our right panel point to unchastity and licentiousness.

In the Vienna picture, right at the top, near the upper edge of the panel, a humanoid devil in armour is flying through the air with a stick that has a blue-green little banner attached to it. He is sitting on an elongated fiery mass and he has little wings. This detail has apparently not undergone restoration.

This armoured man-devil with flag must be compared with the men on

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<sup>355</sup> On the horns of the devils in the background of the Vienna depiction there are in some cases tiny 'claws' (like those of insects?).

<sup>356</sup> Wheels on stakes set on a high rock also appear in the *Hell* of Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych. Nearby is a gallows.

<sup>357</sup> *Tuin*, p. 127 and 128.

<sup>358</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 208.

<sup>359</sup> *Ontc. / Deciph.*, p. 276/362 (25). *Tuin*, p. 128. Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 65 ff. In and about this house lechers are being punished. See *Judgem.*, p. 211. There is much greater similarity between Tondalus's house and the burning round tower in the background of the *Hell* on Bosch's *Table*.

horseback with banners, who ride through the air as demons on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon. They are *nachtridders* [knights of the night], a word that was used for evil spirits who ride through the air by night, as well as for young men whose quest is women and wine<sup>360</sup>. The rider in the Vienna picture is also such a knight of the night.

In Berlin there is something quite different. Here two little figures of sinners are walking in the air beside two infernal balls of light streaking through space. The front light leaves a red glow in its wake<sup>361</sup>.

Nowhere else in the works of Bosch and his imitators have I come across the motif of two sinners walking up in the air.

In connection with the two fire-balls one is reminded of what Brother Gheraert wrote about the devils in the air:

<i>Si connen oec wel maken vier,</i>	[They can also make fire appear,
<i>Dat ons vlamme dinct schinen hier,</i>	Looking like flames to us here,
<i>Dat si schieten onderlinghe.</i>	Which they shoot at each other] <sup>362</sup> .

Are the two sinners being terrorized by the streaking lights of hell?

Or should we see the fire-balls as fallen angels, that is, as devils? *Sidrac* (p. 41) says that in their fall from heaven a number of the rebellious celestials were cast *in de felle locht, daer sy bernen alse een vier* [into the fierce air, where they burn like fire]. He also teaches (p. 107) that *die ghene die bleven in de locht* [those who stayed in the air] and from whom *claerheit* [brightness] shines, endeavour to get back into heaven. But the angels of God *slaense met viere* [strike them with fire] and this fire *baert hem alse een sterre* [manifests itself as a star]. Mortals call this fire a shooting star. Our two fire-balls are probably not intended to be shooting stars.

In the sinners, together with their guardian devils, on the front of the right panel, we have a satirical castigation of the following:

- P. 215-216 Two men who used the services of a procuress to commit indecent acts with a youth during an uninhibited feast.
- P. 217-221 Licentious soldiers who satisfied their carnal lusts with brute force in dubious taverns. Perhaps the sin of sloth is included in the satire here.
- P. 222 Sinners (behind the demon chief) being punished for their sins (not clearly defined).
- P. 223-231 An unchaste man who fought in low-down alehouses: Luxuria and Ira. At the same time satire on the licentiousness which reigned on days of a procession?
- P. 231-232 Unchaste sinners.
- P. 226-227/ 233-235 A woman of easy virtue from a tavern of ill repute in which musicians and singers performed: Luxuria and Superbia.
- P. 235-239 A scene without a sinner, but in which the devil-creatures are references to a low-class tavern associated with a procuress and lechers who were aggressive and contrived to do evil in secret.
- P. 239-244 Men and women who behaved indecently in bath-houses where musicians

<sup>360</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 103/132 (9, 10) and 104/134.

<sup>361</sup> In the engraving after the Cranach painting, made according to Münz in the first half of the 19th century (*Judgem.*, p. 18), these two sinners are not shown, but in their place we see a devil standing on a mountain-top. More minor errors were made by the engraver in this upper part of the right panel. Apparently he could not clearly distinguish every detail in the dark section.

<sup>362</sup> *Natuurkunde van het geheel-al*, p. 116, line 711 ff.

- and entertainers gave performances. Women who worked in these bath-houses. Avarice and pugnacity are also satirized. Mainly Luxuria.
- P. 244-257 People who get the Spanish pox in bath-houses, alluded to by the presence at the bath-house of a demonic giantess-procuress who is afflicted by this disease.
- P. 257-259 Unchaste and licentious soldiers: Ira and Luxuria.
- P. 259-262 An unchaste armed vagrant, half robber, half beggar: Luxuria and Ira. Perhaps also satire on Gula.
- P. 262-265 Men who frequented taverns which offered skittle-play and there indulged in unchastity and gluttony.
- P. 267-272 Light women and customers of taverns of ill repute, i.a. soldiers: Luxuria, Ira and Gula. Perhaps particularly on the occasion of popular festivals.
- P. 273 Licentious men.
- P. 273-274 Unchaste and gluttonous gadabouts who took part in a rough game in which a ship was attacked and defended, or who painted the town red in a boat on wheels or on the water.
- P. 275 Crowds of sinners punished for sins not clearly defined.
- P. 276 Unchaste and licentious sinners.

Among the sinners being punished on the centre panel and right wing, there are no clerics, unless we accept that the notary appointed by imperial authority is one, which is possible<sup>363</sup>.

This is remarkable, because in some of his other paintings Bosch sharply castigated the clergy, from high to low (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 283/370), and most of all on the centre panel of the *Haywain* triptych.

Conspicuous too in our picture, is that where the satire touches secular persons, members from the upper classes of society are almost totally disregarded. Exceptions are the knights who in war-time behave like executioners and satisfy their lewd lusts (*Judgem.*, p. 106). Another instance is perhaps the high-ranking officer of the law, but it remains questionable whether this demonic creature refers to a sinner (*Judgem.*, p. 186 n. 210): he could be functioning merely as the devil-executor of the judicial sentence. In a couple of his other paintings Bosch clearly did aim his satire at sins of the elite (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 283/370).

His main target in our triptych, and also in other works, was indisputably the lower classes) (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 283/370) and yet precisely in that other *Last Judgement* standing to his name, of which a fragment is preserved in Munich, this is not the case. There even an emperor, a king, a cardinal and a bishop are 'going to the devil'.

How must we explain this? Did Bosch compose two variants (Vienna and the original of the Berlin copy) for someone who gave him the commission with the instruction that the clergy and secular notabilities were to be left out of it as far as possible?

The sinners on our triptych are for the most part frequenters of taverns and brothels (bath-houses), women of easy virtue, pleasure-seekers taking part in uninhibited folk festivals, soldiers and armed vagrants (half robber, half beggar). The viewer is warned particularly against the Spanish pox.

The sins which Bosch criticizes show very little diversity: they are mainly unchastity, licentiousness, folly, prodigality, bellicosity and gluttony (including

<sup>363</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 115 f. and 119 n. 205. Mosmans, p. 53-58, gives many examples of clerics who in the 15th and 16th centuries were by imperial authority appointed to the office of notary.

inebriety). Also the symbolic figures he uses are frequently the same, e.g.: arrow, disc (board), bird, crescent moon, mop, cloth, spots. But the scenes which he composes with these elements offer a great deal of variety.

In dealing with the centre panel it became clear that i.m.o. Luxuria was omnipresent among the sins represented by the devils and their charges who were still on earth after the judgement, that Ira and Gula were fairly well to the fore, that Superbia, Accidia and Avaritia occupied a modest place and then always in association with Luxuria, and that Invidia hardly comes into the picture (perhaps not at all?).

On our right panel, too, that is, in hell, Bosch has again i.m.o. not given the same attention to each deadly sin. Here once more Luxuria is everywhere. In the scene with the target-blocks it seems to be associated with Ira (p. 221) and Accidia (p. 221), in the section with the pierced male sinner and the singing female sinner, with Ira (p. 223) and Superbia (p. 227), in the bath-house representation, with Avaritia (p. 240), in the detail of the carry-perch for falcons, with Ira (p. 260) and Gula (p. 262), in the crawling giant-devil, with Gula (p. 265), in the part where an arrow is pierced through an imp and his helmet, with Ira and Gula (p. 272), and in the scene with the ship and crows-nest, with Gula (p. 274). In the armour-clad giant-devil Ira predominates (p. 257-258).

As on the centre panel Ira and Gula follow Luxuria in importance. The attention that Superbia, Accidia and Avaritia get in hell, is even less than on earth. Invidia I could not find at all.

On earth and in hell, therefore, little or no allusion is made to Invidia.

My analysis of the Lisbon *Temptation of St. Anthony* showed that also in this triptych there is no question of a well-balanced systematic approach to each of the seven deadly sins. I wrote: Luxuria, Gula and Ira occur in numerous variations. Desidia, Avaritia and Superbia appear much less frequently; Invidia it seems, not at all (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 132/175).

It is known that Johannes Cassianus (died ca. 440) identifies eight chief sins in his *Collationes Patrum*, namely Gula, Luxuria, Avaritia, Ira, Tristia, Accidia, Vana (or Inanus) Gloria, and Superbia<sup>364</sup>. Actually the total here is but six, because Tristia is a form of Accidia and Vana Gloria of Superbia. This author therefore omits Invidia.

That these *Collationes* were very well known in the Low Countries is evident from the existence of several manuscripts of a Middle Dutch translation. Jacobs (p. 45) mentions three manuscripts from the second half of the 15th century. This of course does not prove that Bosch was conversant with such a manuscript, but it does show that in his time there were writings in which Invidia was not regarded as of much consequence. Perhaps envy plays such a small part in Bosch's work because this sin is so closely associated with Avarice (*Judgem.*, p. 211)<sup>365</sup>.

<sup>364</sup> Jacobs, in Jan de Weert, p., 50 ff. M.W. Bloomfield. *The seven deadly sins. An introduction to the history of a religious concept, with special reference to Medieval English literature*. Michigan 1952, p. 69 ff.

<sup>365</sup> This equation of Invidia and Avaritia is probably present in a passage in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 403. Here the devil specifies which sins a person's nature makes him most inclined to commit. The 'colericus' is easiest moved to *toorn ende twist* [rage and conflict], the 'sangwijn' [sanguine] to *vrolicheit ende oncuysheit* [gaiety and lechery], the 'fleumaticus' [phlegmatic] to *gulsicheit ende traechheit* [gluttony and sloth], and the 'melancolicus' to *nijdicheit ende droefheit* [envy and depression]. Avarice is not mentioned. Does it coincide with spite?



Also Dionysius the Carthusian pays but little attention to envy, at least in his *Vanden loefliken leuen der gheechteder menschen* there is hardly any mention of it. In this work he sums up all the different things a person can confess to when he has sinned *inden seven dootlike sonden* [in the seven deadly sins]<sup>366</sup>. He then deals with arrogance, wrath, greed, sloth, gluttony and unchastity. Envy (spite) is not mentioned. He does apportion a few sentences on p. M2 to *haat* [hate] which in the context is somewhat in the nature of envy<sup>367</sup>.

We noted that among the sinners and their tormenting devils on our triptych also Accidia is not much in evidence. Apparently some other moralists, too, regarded this sin as of small importance. *Sidrac* (p. 173), at least, does not include those guilty of it among the sinners being punished in hell. And several Middle Dutch writers do not count Accidia among the chief sins against which the ten commandments are directed<sup>368</sup>. What they do specify are Avaritia, Gula, Luxuria, Superbia, Ira and Invidia. In contrast to this Dirc van Delf characterizes the period between Christ and the Day of Judgement as the era of Accidia<sup>369</sup>.

Now that we have discussed the triptych in its opened state, some remarks of a general nature remain to be made.

Studying the opened triptych carefully we become aware of the original way in which a beautifully unified whole has been created out of the component parts.

The light section with the fall of the angels on the left wing continues into the light part left and centre of the top section on the centre panel, with its ascending saved souls and the judging Christ. The obscure top part of hell joins up with the dark background of the earth on the centre panel and the dark part of the sky to the right above it.

The main section with the clearly defined figures, which passes through all three panels (paradise, earth and hell), is bordered along the top by red colours. The line runs from the rose-coloured garment of the angel driving Adam and Eve out of paradise, via the red bed on which a lecherous lazybones lies, the tall round red bonnet of an executioner-brothelkeeper-devil, the red millstones on the jug and the red plank with the sword and spikes (all on earth), to the red ball on the body of the crawling giant-devil in hell. This line therefore goes upwards from left to right in a kind of wave.

Above it is the broad band of the background of paradise, the background of earth, with the dark part of the sky to the right, and the background of hell, with a sky of stygian darkness above it. This band, too, has a wavy motion going upwards from left to right.

Finally there are the bright parts of the sky, with angels, the ascending blessed ones, and Christ sitting in judgement. The lower border of this section undulates upwards from left to right.

Inside the section with the clear figures there are again certain colours which contribute to the harmony of the composition as a whole.

There are the reds: e.g. in paradise, the robe of God the Son with the newly created Eve; on earth, the cloth on which a pierced sinner sits, the garment of

<sup>366</sup> *Vanden loefliken leuen*, M 1<sup>v</sup>-M 5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>367</sup> Compare *haat en nijd* [hate and spite] (*Judgem.*, p. 174) and Ruusbroec's dictum (iv, p. 215: *Vanden XII Beghinen*) that *Tooren ende haet sijn dochter der nidiicheit: die es moeder alre quaetheit* [Rage and hate are daughters of envy: which is the mother of all evil].

<sup>368</sup> Jacobs, in Jan de Weert, p. 109-145.

<sup>369</sup> Tinbergen, in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 148.



the female devil-cook, the apparel of the riding-animal on which a soldier-devil is mounted, the bed of the notary, a shield beside the war-machine, the wing-like attire of a devil and the wicker hive in which the upper body of an imp is concealed; and in hell, the shooting-target on the left, the bonnet and coat of the devil reading out a sentence, the drape covering the bagpiper-devil, and the large bath-pavilion.

But the many greens here are the most remarkable.

On earth: the table and cask of the glutton, the garment of the luteplayer with one arm, the huge jug lying on its side, the wooden breastwork sections of the assault-machine, the dragon beside the cask and the ape-devil helping to wield the knife. In hell: the fish in the foreground, the headdress and cloak of the chief devil, the garment of the luteplayer-devil, the clothing of the kneeling imp with a fish's head, the attire of the minstrel-devil with the tambourine, the entire figure of the giant soldier-devil, and the cloak of the giant-devil crawling on hands and knees. There is also much green in the paradise scene on the left panel: grass, water-plants, the foliage of trees and shrubs.

Corresponding very well with the massive rock formation on the right side of the centre panel, are the several huge forms on the right wing: the infernal structure with its bath-house on top, the armour-clad giant-devil, the giantess-devil with cone-hat, and the crawling giant. De Tolnay (1965, p. 34) ascribes to the demonic structure and giant figures in the hell-scene 'übermässigen Proportionen', but they do fit harmoniously into the composition of the triptych as a whole. In this design there is the tendency towards small forms on the left and high-rising huge figures on the right. This is in full accord with the wavy movements from left to right which reach their summit in the top right-hand corner of the centre panel and the top section of the hell-scene.

On the left, the part of the earth with the clearly defined figures is sharply separated from paradise by a rock and a building with a flat roof, yet it is this rock which nevertheless forms a connecting link with the paradise-scene, because it adjoins the rock immediately on the other side in the Garden of Eden (see *Judgem.*, p. 135).

Bosch has in our triptych made much more use of the colour green for devils and demonic objects than in the triptychs of the *Haywain*, *Temptation of St. Anthony* and *Garden of Lusts*. He also used more blue, but not to the same extent as green, e.g. blue faces and bodies of devils, blue 'treadmill', blue funnel, blue cloak.

In regard to the colour blue I have more than once pointed out that it can function as a symbol of what is deceitful or treacherous (e.g. *Judgem.*, p. 37).

Also the colour red, which in our triptych is given to devils' clothing and other diabolic things, can have an unfavourable connotation. In *Isaiah* 1:18 the sins of man are called scarlet. In a tract on physiognomy from about 1351 we read: *Rode varwe es een teken van dulheiden ende van gramscapen ende van scalcheiden ende van verradenissen* [Red colour is a sign of madnesses and of angers and of evils and of treacheries]<sup>370</sup>. Ruusbroec calls Lucifer *den roeden fellen draec* [the red fierce dragon]<sup>371</sup>, after *Revelation* 12:3. The red [rooi] of the basket made me think of *rooi* in the meaning of poverty (*Judgem.*, p. 94).

Was the colour green, given to devils, to their clothing and to diabolic objects, also intended to have symbolic value?

<sup>370</sup> *Belgisch Museum* 3 (1839), p. 232.

<sup>371</sup> Ruusbroec IV, p. 116: *Vanden XII Beghinen*.

The word *groen* [green] had all kinds of unfavourable meanings: *overmoedig* [foolhardy], *onervaren* [inexperienced] (Middle Dutch examples: *W.N.T.* v, 828), *zot, mal* [foolish, mad], *minziek, geil* [amorous, lustful] (17th-century examples: *W.N.T.* v, 825 and 827). Green is also the colour of folly in the expression: *Er is geen gek zoo eêl, of hij draagt groen of geel* [No fool so noble is, but he green or yellow wears] (*Tuinman* II, p. 83; *W.N.T.* IV, 665). Red, yellow and green are the colours of a fool in Bruegel's *Fight between Carnival and Lent*. Green is one of the colours of a jester in Teniers's work (*Judgem.*, p. 194 n. 26). In a *referein* [a particular type of line-repeating poem practised by the Rhetoricians], which dates from the beginning of the 16th century, the (fictitious) stones which fools are supposed to have rattling in their heads, are described as follows (*Styevooft* LXXXV, line 44f.):

<p><i>Die keyen syn oock wonderlyc van coluere mer meesten deel wit, nochtans oec groyn en root.</i></p>	<p>[The stones are wonderful too in colour though mostly white, yet also green and red].</p>
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The use of the expressions *iemand groen op het lijf vallen* [lit.: to fall green on someone's body], meaning to pick a fight with him, and *iemand groen op het lijf zijn* [lit.: to be green on someone's body], meaning to hate him (*W.N.T.* v, 831) was perhaps in some measure also due to the association of unripe fruit falling on someone's head. I do not believe that these sayings explain the green colour of the giant soldier. This devil is indeed *groen op het lijf* [green on the body] and the type of person he represents (the unchaste and licentious soldier) was certainly a hated figure. But the expressions do not seem old enough.

Very important is the observation in *W.N.T.* v, 822, that the colour green was regarded as inherent in all things relating to deceit, falseness and treachery. According to the *W.N.T.* the reason for this was perhaps that snakes were often thought of as green and that the father of lies, Satan, manifested himself in Paradise in the shape of a snake.

Current in the older form of Dutch was the expression: *Dat zeide de duivel en hij schilderde zijn staart gras-groen* [lit.: So said the devil and he painted his tail grass-green]<sup>372</sup>.

In German folk-belief green is often the colour of the devil and of witches, probably under influence of the green hue of the demons of nature<sup>373</sup>.

Vondel clothes the leaders of the rebellious angels in *groene lievereien* [green liveries]. According to Molkenboer green here points to the Turks whose flag was of that colour<sup>374</sup>. Vondel lets the army of these angels launch their attack in the formation of a crescent moon, which is a further allusion to the Turks according to Molkenboer<sup>375</sup>, who writes [here translated from the Dutch]: For the Turks, as Mohammedans, follow the example of Lucifer, since they set themselves against the true religion, Christianity.

All this is true, but Vondel will also have been acquainted with other

<sup>372</sup> Communicated by J.R. Eilers Koch in *De Navorscher* x (1860), p. 170.

<sup>373</sup> *Handwörterbuch* III, col. 1182.

<sup>374</sup> Vondel's *Lucifer*. Edited by N.A. Cramer and B.H. Molkenboer. Zwolle 1935, lines 1779 (with note, p. 133) and 1825. Compare *Handwörterbuch* III, col. 1180: In das Gebiet der Farbensymbolik fällt die Schätzung der grünen Farbe bei den Mohammedanern als der Farbe des Propheten. Einen grünen Turban tragen fromme Derwische, die sich der Verwandtschaft mit der Prophetenfamilie rühmen können, grün ist auch der Sandschak-Scherif, die Fahne des Propheten.

<sup>375</sup> Vondel's *Lucifer*, line 1760.

unfavourable meanings of green and the crescent moon. I have shown that almost all derogatory associations with the crescent can be traced back to the pejorative connotation that the Turkish emblem had for the Christian world in the 15th century (*Judgem.*, p. 380).

It is clear from the foregoing that the green colour of devils on our triptych very possibly has a derogatory meaning.

De Tolnay (1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 360) comes to the conclusion that the triptych is not an original work because of 'die steife Handschrift, die unbeholfene Zeichnung der Figuren und die Mangel an Ausdruck in ihren Gesichtern' and declares 'selbst die besten Partien <sind> leblos im Vergleich mit Boschs Originalen'.

I do not agree with this. With very few exceptions the parts that have been well or fairly well preserved (that is, where there has been no retouching by a restorer) are manifestly by the hand of the master, e.g. the fall of the angels in the sky on the left panel; many of the figures and objects in the foreground and middle distance of the centre panel, i.a. the group with the large knife, the demonic imp with his upper body in the basket-hive, the group of four armed devils (three wearing a helmet and one a hat); some scenes in the background, i.a. the one with the ploughing dragon; the grisailles with Bavo and James on the backs of the wings. The exceptions are the parts painted by a collaborator, e.g. the rectangular section with the shields on the backs of the wings; also the figures of God the Son, of Adam and Eve, and of the woman-snake on the left wing – or have these been touched up by a restorer?

As for De Tolnay's remark about 'der Mangel an Ausdruck in ihren Gesichtern', I feel that it is precisely of this 'Ausdruck' that Bosch gives striking examples.

Looking at Bosch's triptychs in which devils occur, we note that in the *Haywain* triptych, in the triptych with the *Crucified Woman Martyr* and in the *Hermit Saints* triptych, not one of the devils has been depicted with a real-life human head and features expressive of true feeling, and not caricaturish.

In the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon there are two such real heads: that of the giant-devil on the left panel with the arrow in his head, and the head of the trunkless beggar-devil in the middle of the centre panel. In the *Garden* triptych there is one, namely that of the human tree.

Our *Last Judgement* triptych has five such heads: four on the centre panel, all belonging to trunkless devils, the four with, respectively, the orchid-flower, the sack-cap, the soldier's helmet and the tall round cap (*Judgem.*, p. 125, 132, 145 and 156), and one on the right wing belonging to the giant-devil in the suit of armour. These five heads could only have been painted by someone who had made a special study of facial expressions.

And do not the face of St. Bavo and that of the beggar, on the back of the right wing, belong to the finest portraits that Bosch ever executed? How much better they are than those of the donors on the inner and outer panels of the wings of the *Adoration* triptych in the Prado!

In such well-preserved parts as are clearly not the work of a collaborator, there is also no question of 'steife Handschrift' and 'unbeholfene Zeichnung'. One needs but to study the fall of the angels and the background of the St. James grisaille.

Incomprehensible to me is also that Baldass could write (1968, p. 46): 'Die einzelnen Sünder zeigen niemals die Verzweiflung, die wir auf den

Höllenflügeln in Venedig feststellen konnten, sondern alles geht sachlich und bühnenhaft vor sich'.

The faces of the sinners do precisely express all kinds of feelings<sup>376</sup>.

On the right wing: despair (woman in bath-tent and man against right-hand target-block), stupor or dull acceptance (man left of tent, man being thrown over the wall to the right of tent, man against target-block on left), prayer (woman left of tent), forced participation (singing woman with song-book), fright (woman with hands thrown up, left of tent), remorse (man with hand to his cheek, right of tent), longing (man with outstretched arms, right of tent).

On the centre panel: terror in various degrees (notary on bed, woman being ridden on, man in pack-basket, man being threatened by big knife, man on sharp-billed bird to right of the war-machine), fright (man on mop being carried by spoonbill-devil), appeal (man in cask), misery (man getting foul liquid spurted into his mouth), consciousness of wicked deeds (man on cloth of woman being ridden), resignation (men on roasting-spits), stupor or dull acceptance (woman and man on flat roof-top), unconsciousness (man whose throat, and man whose arm is being cut off).

Worth noting are the expressions of two of the three sinners spiked on the thorn-tree. They were once cruel soldiers. Recklessness and defiance are featured on their faces.

In all these facial expressions, sometimes given emphasis by posture and gesture, Bosch was working from real life.

He knew well that on the faces of those who had to suffer the punishments of secular justice, one could read all kinds of things: dull acceptance, resignation, introspection, longing, fright, fear, pain, indifference, defiance, remorse, despair. And that intense emotions are by no means always expressed in a contorted, emotional way.

In regard to introspection one is reminded of what is said in *Dat sterf boeck* (100') and in *Voirsienicheit Godes* (p. 150): that the damned *eeuwelijck ghedencken sullen hoer sonden die sij ye ghedaen hebben* [will eternally remember all the sins they have ever done].

The looks on the faces of the sinners in the *Fall of the Damned* and in the *Hell* in Venice, and also in the *Hell* of the *Haywain* triptych, show but little variation. These works were indeed also composed long before the *Last Judgement* triptych. The *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych offers more differentiation in facial expressions. But to my mind Bosch plumbs human feelings to a greater depth in his Vienna picture.

What is not in accordance with real life is that the genitals of the sinners are depicted indistinctly or not at all. The same is true of the sinners in the *Hell* on the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*, in the *Hell* of the *Haywain* triptych, in the *Fall of the Damned* and *Hell* (both in Venice), and in the *Hell* of the *Garden* triptych. The reason is that Bosch avoided 'sensual' depiction. He did not wish to offend with direct representation. Symbolically, however, he permitted himself great freedom.

This toning down of the sexual organs is not found in descriptions of infernal punishments in Middle Dutch writings. On the contrary, here the infliction of pain on the private parts plays a big role.

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<sup>376</sup> In Berlin these faces are in the manner of Cranach and do not give us a good idea of what they looked like in the painting which Cranach copied.







55. St. James and St. Bavo, backs of panels, Bosch (p. 287)

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## The backs of the wings

On the back of the left wing the apostle St. James the Elder or the Greater is portrayed, and on the back of the right wing St. Bavo (ill. 55).

In Berlin we see something quite different: the exterior of the left wing shows Christ as Man of Sorrows and that of the right wing Mary as Mother of Sorrows. Perhaps it was not Cranach himself who painted these representations but someone from his school. They are not derived from examples by Bosch.

The backs of the Vienna triptych are grisailles and in good condition.

The life of St. James the Greater or the Elder<sup>1</sup> is described in a couple of Middle Dutch writings.

The *Passionael of Gulden Legende*, for instance, tells us that James the son of Zebedee first preached in India and Samaria<sup>2</sup>. Then he went to Spain: *so wort hi te lesten geseint in spaengen dat hi twoort gods prediken soude. Ende doe hi sach dat hi daer geen profijt en dede ende hi daer ix iongeren vergadert had, soe liet hi daer ij dat si daer preken souden, ende nam dander vij mit hem ende gincker mede in iudeen. Mer jan beleth seit, dat hy daer mer een bekeerde* [so at last he was sent into Spain that he should preach the word of God. And when he saw that he was doing no good there and had gathered there nine followers, he then left two there that they should preach there, and took the other seven with

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<sup>1</sup> He should not be confused with the apostle James, the son of Alpheus, who was called by Paul the brother of the Lord. He is known as James the Less, or the Younger.

<sup>2</sup> *Passionael of gulden legende*. Somer stuck, C xij'. Vitae also in: *Der Ystorien Bloeme. De legenden der Apostelen, in Dietsche dichtmaat*, Edited by A.C. Oudemans Sr. Amsterdam 1857, line 1649-1958. *Spiegel Historiae*. Eerste deel, eerste partie, achtste boek, III-VIII.

him and went with them into Judea. But Jan Belet says, that he converted but one there]<sup>3</sup>.

From Spain therefore to Judea. It was here that the encounter with the magician Hermogenes took place, which was made the subject of a painting by a follower of Bosch<sup>4</sup>.

In Judea James was beheaded. This, according to the *Passionael*, happened on August the 8th. No mention is made of the year<sup>5</sup>.

Followers of the apostle placed his corpse in a ship and, aided by an angel, brought the deceased to Galicia in Spain. Here he was buried in the palace of Queen Lupa, who accepted Christianity and converted the palace into a church.

Such is the account in the *Passionael*.

The place where the holy man was buried gradually faded from memory and was forgotten.

Early in the 9th century, perhaps in 830, light from the stars is said to have miraculously pointed to the spot where the body of the apostle lay. The grave was found by bishop Teodomiro of Iria. King Alfonso II had a church built over the tomb, and this was later replaced by a large cathedral, the pilgrims' church of Santiago de Compostela.

Already at the end of the 8th century St. James the Greater was regarded as the patron saint of Spain. That he also became the tutelary saint of pilgrims was due to his being regarded as the first apostle to undertake missionary journeys.

Santiago developed into a famous place of pilgrimage. As a thanksoffering for the capture of Granada, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile founded the Hospicio de los Reyes in Santiago, where poor and sick pilgrims could find shelter. The building was begun in 1501 and was completed in 1509<sup>6</sup>.

Since as early as the 13th century St. James has often been represented as a pilgrim on his way to Santiago de Compostela<sup>7</sup>. It is as such that Bosch, too, shows him on the back of the left panel.

He wears a long pilgrim's robe and carries over his shoulder an iron-tipped pilgrim's staff (the top part of the staff was first designed somewhat lower down) over which hangs a cloak. He is further provided with a traveller's satchel, a knife in a sheath, and a pouch-book, while on his back a pilgrim's hat adorned with the St. James's shell is held in place by a cord or strap which passes under the chin. The head of the apostle was originally designed somewhat higher up.

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<sup>3</sup> Jan Belet = Joannes Belet, professor of theology in Paris in the 12th century. *Der Ystorien Bloeme* agrees with his view:

<i>Si waren verbert so utermaten,</i>	[Callous were they so greatly,
<i>Dat hise moeste geworden laten,</i>	That he had to let them be,
<i>Want hine conster maar -j- bekeren.</i>	For only one could he convert.]

<sup>4</sup> Good rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> It is assumed that at the command of Herod Agrippa he was put to death by sword in A.D. 44. The Western Church celebrates his day of commemoration on the 25th of July. The *Passionael* says that *die kercke <ordineerde> datmen syne feeste viere soude op den achtsten dach van augusto* [the church <ordained> that his feast should be held on the eighth day of August].

<sup>6</sup> Literature on the pilgrimage to Santiago: Maes. *Strafbedevaarders*. H.J. Hüffer. *Sant'Jago. Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Jacobuskultes in Spanien und dem Römisch-Deutschen Reich*. München 1957. Mâle. *Saint Jacques le Majeur*. T.D. Kendrick. *St. James in Spain*. London 1960.

<sup>7</sup> Detzel II, p. 136.

It is necessary to take a closer look at some parts of his equipment.

The leather sheath is already old and worn: the point of the knife has penetrated it. We see the same thing on a devil on the centre panel of our triptych and on a fool in Bruegel's *Dean of Renais*, and in these instances it is a symbol of poverty. With St. James it signifies apostolic poverty (*Matthew* 10: 9-10), as does his going barefoot.

The pouch-book is attached to St. James's girdle. A knot can be seen below his right arm. Such a 'Beutelbuch' is described by Alker as follows: 'Beutelbücher sind bekanntlich kleinformatige Bücher, meist Gebet- oder Andachtsbücher, bei deren Einband man das Leder des Deckelbezuges (bzw. eine zweite Hülle über dem eigentlichen Einbandleder) am unteren Schnitt so weit verlängert hatte, dass man das Ganze am Ende zusammenfassen und so in der Hand halten oder auch mittels eines Knotens oder Hakens am Gürtel tragen konnte. Der Hauptzweck dieser Art des Bindens war sicher die Möglichkeit des bequemen Tragens. Es handelt sich also um ein Buch, das äusserlich die Form einer Art Beutel hatte'<sup>8</sup>. These books were used from ca. 1300 to ca. 1600. Alker notes 307 early depictions of them. He describes (p. 38) the example in our grisaille as follows: 'An der rechten Seite seines Gürtels baumelt ein Messer und ein grosses Beutelbuch mit dem Vorderschnitt nach rechts. Der Beutel ist durch den Gürtel durchgezogen und endet in einem Knopf. Das Leder des Oberschnittes steht um ein Drittel der Buchhöhe vor. 1 Schliesse.'

Bosch also provided his *St. Anthony* in the Prado with a pouch-book, and a follower did likewise in his depiction of the same saint<sup>9</sup>.

According to Detzel, Guercino portrayed St. James as holding in his left hand a book which represented the gospel from which he preached on his travels as a missionary<sup>10</sup>. Maria Kreitner tells us that the saint is sometimes depicted 'mit dem allgemeinen Apostel-attribut: dem Buch'<sup>11</sup>.

In regard to the shell on the hat, Von Sales Doyé has this to say: 'Die Muscheln an Pilgerhüten stammen von der Bekehrung eines galizischen Fürsten, der in die Nähe der Reliquien des hl. Jakobus kam und plötzlich mit Muscheln ganz bedeckt war, während eine Stimme von oben sagte, dass die Muscheln zum immerwährenden Andenken an die Tugenden des hl. Jakobus von Pilgern getragen werden sollen'<sup>12</sup>, and Maes writes [translated from the Dutch]: This shell commemorated a knight of the Pimentel family who followed the body of the apostle which was carried by his followers to Galicia, and who had to wade through an arm of the sea near to Comina, and was when he arrived, with his horse, covered with sea-shells'<sup>13</sup>.

These pilgrim-shells were sold at Santiago, but also in Paris, where i.a. at the Pont-au-Change shells of the same size and form as those offered for sale in Compostela were made from lead and zinc<sup>14</sup>.

In the foreground is a small pool or spring. Bosch included the motif in his depiction because springs where miracles were believed to have occurred were

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<sup>8</sup> H. Alker, *Das Beutelbuch in der bildenden Kunst*. Konkordanz und Ergänzungen zu O. Glaunings beschreibendem Verzeichnis. In: *Festschrift Ernst Kyriss*. Stuttgart 1961, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> Friedländer v (Lemmens), Plate 82, no. 91.

<sup>10</sup> Detzel II, p. 137.

<sup>11</sup> M. Kreitner, *Heilige um uns*. Wien-München 1956, p. 182.

<sup>12</sup> Von Sales Doyé I, p. 540.

<sup>13</sup> Maes, *Strafbedevaarders*, p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> Idem.

consecrated to St. James<sup>15</sup>. The two St. James-shells placed at the edge of the water show that the little pool is such a fount of St. James.

At the source are animals which have a distinctly diabolic connotation:

Beside the water, bottom left, sits a frog with demonic antennae on its head. Above it, to the left, is an ordinary frog. The feelers on the one indicate that the little creatures here have an unfavourable sense<sup>16</sup>. Other examples of the pejorative function of the frog in the Low Countries during the Middle Ages and 16th century have been noted in *Judgem.*, p. 39-41.

Just left of the St. James's shell on the left a lizard is creeping<sup>17</sup>. These animals, too, could have a derogatory meaning. In descriptions of hell they often occur as devils and as diabolic food which sinners are forced to eat<sup>18</sup>, and in Mediaeval plastic art they are sometimes used in an unchaste sense<sup>19</sup>.

Higher up, to the right, not far from the saint's left foot, a small snake with a dark back and light-coloured belly lies on its right side, probably dead. One eye is visible.

Perhaps one may interpret all this as follows:

Frogs, lizard and snake are round the edge of the spring of St. James, between the traveller and the water. They symbolize the dangers which threaten the pilgrim on his way to Santiago de Compostela. But the snake dies when the saint approaches it, that is: St. James helps the pilgrim to combat the evils<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> *Handwörterbuch* IV, col. 622.

<sup>16</sup> Pairs of antennae with diabolic connotation on animals in Bosch's works: porcupine (*Temptation of St. Anthony*, Lisbon: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 108/141; *Martelares*, p. 12), porcupine (*Temptation of St. Anthony*, *Crucified Woman-martyr* triptych: *Martelares*, p. 12), toad-like creature with two little paws, small fanciful wings, wispy tail, and band round middle (foreground *Temptation of St. Anthony* on *Hermit Saints* triptych). The winglets are those of a butterfly, with terminal *pennen* ['quills', spikes]. Perhaps this is a visual representation of the word *pennenvogel* [lit.: quill- or spike-bird], a term for a butterfly (*M.W.* VI, 245). For butterfly see *Judgem.*, p. 27. Two feelers with a phallic connotation: on porcupine (here in favourable sense) in *Paradise of Garden* triptych (rep: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 66) and on rabbit in *Garden (Tuin)*, p. 59). Was Bosch, when he applied the motif of his diabolically intended feelers, influenced not only by the traditional horns of the devil, but also by 16th-century animal names starting with *boren* [horn] and denoting a venomous creature: *boren-bie* [lit.: horn-bee], i.e. hornet, *boren-slanghe* [horned snake], *boren-toren* [wasp]? See *Martelares*, p. 13 (1). As for the frog with its little 'horns', Bosch could have derived it from *Der Naturen Bloeme*, book VII, line 856-871, where Van Maerlant states that there is a species of frog which has two little horns. The ash of the creature must be taken as medicine against poison. With its horns this frog does *vele quaets* [much evil].

<sup>17</sup> Baldass und Heinz (1968, p. 109) mistakenly see one of the frogs and the lizard as, respectively, a toad and a salamander. Incorrect, too, is their remark (1968, p. 57): 'Schlangen, Kröten und Eidechsen im Vordergrund'. Also Madam Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 11) was in error when she referred to 'Kröten, Eidechsen und Schlangen'.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. *Dat sterf boeck*, 40<sup>v</sup>; 96<sup>r</sup>, 97<sup>v</sup>. Other examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 110/146 (86).

<sup>19</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 110/146 (90). For the *hagedis*/lizard in Bosch's work, see the indexes in *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.*

<sup>20</sup> A story about James the Less or the Younger in the so-called *Kindheidsevangelië* says that he was bitten by an adder and that Jesus healed the wound (Bakels I, p. 276). James the Greater or the Elder is of course a different person, but did Bosch perhaps interchange the two? Had he heard of an apostle James who had survived the bite of a snake and was it this that induced him to place precisely a little snake in front of St. James? There are more examples of mistaken identity in the arts. Mantegna, for instance, confused the greater St. James with the less, when he was painting the death of the first in a chapel of



Some stones and a little twig lie on the road the apostle is following. Do these also have a figurative meaning? A stone or pebble was a symbol of folly and stupidity<sup>21</sup>. A dry twig, too, could be associated with folly<sup>22</sup> while at the same time it could signify inferiority<sup>23</sup>.

Bulrushes grow beside the spring. The plant on the left has a stem with a dark-brown, cylindric inflorescence. Does this have symbolical significance here as well?

The bulrush sometimes occurs in an unfavourable sense both in the language and in plastic art.

Popular names given to it in the Dutch-speaking regions are i.a. *duivelsknuppel*, *duivelsroede*, *duivelsstok*, *duivelskop* and *duivelsknop* [cudgel, rod, stick, head, knob, of the devil] Also: *zotsknodde*, *zotsknop* [fool's club, fool's knob]<sup>24</sup>.

The pedlar on the exterior of Bosch's *Haywain* triptych, in my opinion the ascetic man avoiding sin<sup>25</sup>, is surrounded by pejorative symbols: parts of a horse's skull, crows, barking dog, attack by robbers, dancers, white heron, cracked bridge, duck, and, far right at the bottom: bulrushes.

In *die blau schuifje* [the blue boat] with its cargo (a satire on merry-makers in an engraving of 1559 by Hieronymus Cock) bulrushes grow near the vessel<sup>26</sup>. The engraving probably reverts to a work by Bosch.

In two drawings that belong together and were executed by the Master of the Hausbuch, a young woman and a young man are on their way to join a ribald company. All kinds of unfavourable symbolic figures form part of the depiction, among them a bulrush and a bird of prey attacking a duck<sup>27</sup>. A minstrel's genitals can be seen: it is significant here that in the 16th century the word *kolve* could mean bulrush as well as *glans penis*<sup>28</sup>.

In some depictions of *St. Christopher carrying the Christ-child through the water*, i.a. in Bosch's painting in Rotterdam, the moral dangers by which man is beset are symbolically represented<sup>29</sup>. Another example of this is a painting attributed to the German Master of the Augustinian Altar of 1487 in which Dutch influence is evident<sup>30</sup>: in it we see a lizard, mussel-shells and a snail as symbols of evil, and also a bulrush.

Because scenes of the Passion sometimes showed Christ holding in his hand a bulrush (*zotsknodde*, *zotsknop* [fool's club, fool's knob])<sup>31</sup>, to illustrate how he was mocked, the plant also acquired the name of *Eccehomoriet* [Ecce homo

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the Eremitani church in Padua: Mâle. *Saint Jacques*, p. 9 f. However, a little snake as a symbol of the sinful world has been depicted by Bosch also elsewhere. There is one lying on the ground beside the pedestal of the falling idol on the *St. Hieronymus* panel of the *Hermit Saints* triptych, and another lies on the ground to the left of a crow pecking at a wild boar's torn-off leg, in the foreground of the *St. Egidius* panel of the same triptych.

<sup>21</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 206/272 (25-29).

<sup>22</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 34 n. 85.

<sup>23</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 34 n. 85.

<sup>24</sup> Heukels, p. 262 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 298.

<sup>26</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 38/109; text p. 199/263.

<sup>27</sup> Bossert und Storck, Tafel 31 and 32.

<sup>28</sup> *W.N.T.* VII, part 2, 5120.

<sup>29</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 233/309.

<sup>30</sup> Behling, Abb. LXXIII.

<sup>31</sup> *De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 379: Executioner with bulrush mocks Christ. Engraving after Jan Gossaert

reed]<sup>32</sup> and *kruisriet* [cross reed]<sup>33</sup>. In this way the bulrush became part of a hallowed scene, so that it is not strange that another Flemish popular name for it is *duivelsbender*, that is, devil-banisher<sup>34</sup>.

Understandable too, then, that in some paintings the bulrush can allude to the death of Christ. It does this i.m.o. in the following instances.

In a *Visitation of the Blessed Virgin*, dating from 1505 and at one time attributed to the Master of the Hausbuch<sup>35</sup>, a bulrush stands next to a yellow iris. Bulrushes grow in a *Baptism of Christ*, credited to the name of the Cologne Master of the Bartholomew Altar<sup>36</sup>. In a painting by an anonymous Fleming<sup>37</sup> bulrushes are shown beside John the Baptist who is pointing to the Lamb of God.

Do bulrushes in the following works likewise allude to Christ's death on the cross: a *Conversion of Saul* (engraving by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet)<sup>38</sup>, a representation of the *Death of St. Ursula* (painted by the Flemish Master of the Legend of St. Ursula, ca. 1485)<sup>39</sup>, and several depictions of *St. Christopher with the Christ-child*, in which the plant does not occur together with unfavourable symbols (left panel of a triptych from the school of Geertgen tot St. Jans<sup>40</sup>, woodcut by Jobst de Negker<sup>41</sup>, and two engravings by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet<sup>42</sup>)?

It seems to me that the bulrushes at our spring of St. James, like the frogs, lizard and snake, are indicative of the evils that beset the way of the pilgrim.

Dangers are evident also elsewhere on this panel.

In the middle distance, to the right, at the height of the saint's head, a pilgrim has been attacked by a robber and murderer, who is raising a knife to kill him. The pilgrim's hat and staff lie on the ground together with two small objects.

These last are oval-shaped and a string or strap is attached to one of them. They appear to be pieces of a pouch or purse that has been pulled apart. In Bosch's *Haywain* (Madrid) a beggar-pilgrim (his cap adorned with St. James-shell and crossed staves) carries a pouch on a strap<sup>43</sup>. Long, pear-shaped purses are shown in the depiction of an indoors wedding-dance, attributed to Bruegel<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Heukels, p. 263.

<sup>33</sup> E. Paque. *De Vlaamsche volksnamen der planten van België, Fransch-Vlaanderen en Zuid-Nederland, met aanduiding der toepassingen en der genezende eigenschappen der planten*. Namen 1896, p. 225.

<sup>34</sup> Is. Teirlinck. *Flora diabolica. De plant in de demonologie*. Antwerpen-Santpoort n.d., p. 288.

<sup>35</sup> Behling, p. 99 (Abb. 31). The yellow iris, according to the authoress, is a symbol of the purity of Mary. Does the popular name *maagdenkruid* [lit.: virgin's herb] for the yellow iris (Heukels, p. 126) also point to association with Mary? In *Den grooten Herbarius met al sijn figueren Die Ortis Sanitatis ghenoeemt is*, 1514, the yellow iris is called *gheele lelien* [yellow lily] and the lily is an attribute of Mary. Is the yellow iris in Gerard David's *Baptism of Christ* (Groeninge Museum, Bruges) also a reference to the mother of Christ?

<sup>36</sup> Rep.: *Oud Holland* LVI (1939), p. 45.

<sup>37</sup> Van Schoute, Pl. IV, No. 92.

<sup>38</sup> Bierens de Haan, ill. 31.

<sup>39</sup> Lassaigue, ill. on p. 153.

<sup>40</sup> Hoogewerff II, ill. on p. 207.

<sup>41</sup> Rep.: *Oud Holland* LIX (1942), p. 119.

<sup>42</sup> Bierens de Haan, ill. 32 and 33.

<sup>43</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1959, ill. 26.

<sup>44</sup> *De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 56, ill. 205.

In a rocky cave someone is keeping himself half-concealed, probably the bandit's companion. Apparently they live there.

To the left of the rock in front of which the murderous assault is taking place stands a dry tree. With Bosch a withered tree can be a symbol of worthlessness, here surely a reference to the small value of the human body<sup>45</sup>.

Bosch depicted a similar scene on the right wing of the triptych with the *Crucified Woman Martyr*. Here a robber has raised his sword to cut down a pedlar and a second bandit stands in the opening of a cave<sup>46</sup>. An assault by robbers was painted by Bosch also on the exterior of the wings of the *Haywain* triptych. In this case the attack symbolizes the evil of malevolence, particularly that of avarice<sup>47</sup>.

The motif of assault and robbery, used as a symbol of the wicked snares in a sinful world, occurs also in Middle Dutch literature. In *Seneca leren* a son tells his father that he has been attacked in a wood by three strong robbers who have taken from him everything he possessed. This causes the father to reflect that such felony proves that our way through life is beset by dangers:

<i>Ik sie onse leven ende micke</i>	[I see our life and ponder
<i>Ende vinde onse weghe al vol stricke;</i>	And find our way full of snares;
<i>Hens gheen wonder al worden wi gevaen.</i>	No wonder if we're caught unawares] <sup>48</sup> .

In *Dat sterf boeck* murderers who assault and rob represent evils which man falls prey to when he deviates from the straight and narrow path: *Nu moet hem een ygelic mensce hoeden die in desen goeden wege wanderende is, dat hi in genen anderen wegen en bestaet te gaan dan den rechten pat. Want anders coemt hi onder die moerdenaers die hem vermoerden ende hi en can niet wedercomen inde rechten wech daer hy te voren in wanderde.* [Now must every man take heed, who is on this good road, that he venture in no other ways to go than the right path. Because otherwise he comes among the murderers who slay him and he cannot turn again into the right road which he walked in before]<sup>49</sup>.

Bosch's intention with the assault scene on our left panel was i.m.o. to show not only that a pilgrim to Santiago could become the victim of a murderous attack, but also that man in general on his way through life is assailed by evil.

This motif occurs also in *Des Coninx Summe* (p. 474). Here man is compared with a pilgrim who travels safely as long as *ghelove en minne* [faith and love] are his guides, but when this is not the case, runs the risk of becoming the victim of murderers and robbers, that is, the devil.

The assault-and-robbery theme was also visually represented by the Master of the Hausbuch (here again the victim is a pilgrim)<sup>50</sup> and by the illustrator of Rodoricus Zamorensis's *Spiegel des menschlichen Lebens* (Augsburg, Günther Zainer, 1475)<sup>51</sup>. These two depictions have indeed something in common with Bosch's scene on the back of the Vienna panel.

That persons doing a pilgrimage were exposed to great dangers on their long journeys, is well-known. This is why St. James in a wondrous tale about him, in

<sup>45</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 34, note 85.

<sup>46</sup> *Martelares*, p. 37, plate XIII.

<sup>47</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 228/304; ill. 125/47. *Bezwaren*, p. 13. Cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 93/118 (8 and 9) ill. 124/46.

<sup>48</sup> *Seneca leren*, p. 28, l. 572 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *Dat sterf boeck*, 136.

<sup>50</sup> Bossert und Storck, Tafel 10.

<sup>51</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 93/118 and ill. 124/46. Cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 125/47.

which he appears to Pope Calixtus II who is writing a book about his miracles, instructs the prelate as follows:

*Die ghene die wilden beweren  
Minen wech, ende die ook helden  
Quade herberge, saltu scelden.*

[Those who wanted to obstruct  
My path, and who also held  
Bad tavern, them shall you reprehend]<sup>52</sup>.

Likewise in the middle distance, but to the left of the saint, we see a grave with a low wooden cross and a pilgrim's staff planted at its head. It is the last resting-place of a pilgrim who died during his journey. Perhaps Bosch had in mind here a Middle Dutch exemplum which tells of a pilgrim who was killed and robbed by murderers. They then buried him and stuck his staff into the ground<sup>53</sup>.

Below the grave there is a dry tree with a pied crow sitting on a branch<sup>54</sup>. We have already learnt to recognise the dry tree as a symbol of worthlessness of the human body and Bosch often depicted crows as preying on corpses<sup>55</sup>.

Behind the tree an underpainting of branches is becoming visible. Between the tree and the grave lies a bone, perhaps a human one.

Behind the high rocks where the assault is taking place, a crow sits on a dry branch of a tree. Left of the tree stands a cross. This, too, probably indicates a grave, although one sees no mound. Dry branches, like dry trees, could signify worthlessness<sup>56</sup>.

Above the grave two men are laboriously climbing down a sloping path. They are followed by a dog.

The one in front has a deformed left leg and walks on crutches. The other holds on to his companion's back and his head is bent down: he is evidently blind. The first has a water-flask on his right side and a sack-cap on his head, the second a long stick over his shoulder and a jug on his back.

These are i.m.o. two vagrant beggars, types of the kind that Bosch depicted on sketch-sheets now in Brussels and Vienna<sup>57</sup>. Comparable are two couples in particular, one on the sheet in Vienna: a hurdy-gurdy man with a little dog on a lead and, holding on to him, a man with a withered left arm and left leg, and one on the sheet in Brussels: a beggar who is pushing along another unfortunate, whose left leg has been amputated and who has the withered limb hanging round his neck.

In *Ontc./Deciph.* I pointed out that in the 15th and 16th centuries wandering beggars sometimes pretended to be pilgrims who had visited a shrine, that of St. James, for instance, in order to get alms more easily<sup>58</sup>. They would dress as pilgrims, carry the pilgrim's staff in the hand, and on their heads wear the pilgrim's hat adorned with emblems that were supposed to have been awarded

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<sup>52</sup> *Spiegel Historiael*. Derde deel, vierde partie, derde boek, p. 397. Commencing here is a series of stories, only fragmentarily preserved, about miracles of St. James, as adapted by Lodewijk van Velthem from the Latin of Vincentius Bellovacensis's *Speculum Historiale*.

<sup>53</sup> *Middel nederlandse Marialegenden* I, p. 382.

<sup>54</sup> Baldass und Heinz (1959, p. 42) and Münz (1954, p. 8) incorrectly defined the bird as a magpie.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 30/36, 58/74 and 126/167. *Martelares*, p. 38. I cannot agree with Madam Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 11) that the combination dry tree and crow is here a symbol 'für das allgemeine Ende, den Tod der Welt'.

<sup>56</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 34, note 85.

<sup>57</sup> Rep.: Baldass 1943, no. 130 and 131. The sketches in Vienna are sometimes regarded as copies.

<sup>58</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 25/33 and 26/33 (72-86).

to them at the holy places, but were in fact bought elsewhere<sup>59</sup>. The engraving of the blind falling into a ditch, probably after a composition by Bosch, shows four of these figures, of which the two in the foreground wear the St. James-shells and crossed pilgrim-staves on their hats<sup>60</sup>.

Examples of mendicant-pilgrims with St. James-shells, not yet mentioned in *Ontc./Deciph.*, are the following:

On the centre panel of the *Haywain* triptych Bosch has depicted a beggar-pilgrim with a St. James-shell and crossed staves on his bonnet (he has succeeded in grabbing some hay, an allusion to his avarice)<sup>61</sup>, and in a *Feast of St. Martin*, attributed to Pieter Bruegel II, a number of fighting vagabonds include a male and a female beggar who are furnished with St. James-shells<sup>62</sup>.

However, it could also happen that bona fide pilgrims, including those going to St. James, had to beg for food along the way, and having acquired the habit, ultimately became professional beggars themselves. Hans Sachs lets such types speak in the following rhyme:

*Wir Jacobs brueder mit grossem hauffen  
Im Land sind hin und her gelauffen  
Vom Sanct Jacob, Ach, und gen Rom.  
Singen und bettlen one schom  
Gleich anderen presthafften armen.  
Oft thut uns der Bettel Stab erwarmen  
In Haenden; alsdenn wir es treibn  
Unser lebtag faul Bettler bleibn.*

[We James-brethern in numbers grand  
To and fro have roamed the land  
From James the Saint, Aix, and to Rome.  
Singing and begging without shame  
Like other worthy poor-folk do.  
Oft beggar's staff brings warmth into  
Our hands; if then we make it our aim  
Lazy life-long beggars we remain]<sup>63</sup>.

In the couple struggling downhill Bosch i.m.o. has depicted St. James-pilgrims who have become professional beggars. Here again he demonstrates one of the hazards of pilgrimage.

It was not always easy to distinguish between the genuine pilgrim and the simulated one, as is evident from a 15th-century expression: *men sal ten ioncsten dage wel sien wie een goet pelgrim is* [on the youngest day will indeed be seen who the good pilgrim is]<sup>64</sup>.

The vagrants have just passed a man sitting under a tree. He wears a cape with a hood and on his left breast a more or less triangular badge. His long stick leans against the tree and his water-jug or flask hangs on a branch. In his hand he holds a piece of bread and to the right of him something is lying on the ground that could also be a piece of bread. The man is obviously taking a rest and having a meal.

This figure is i.m.o. derived from the following miraculous tale that we find recorded in the *Passionael of Gulden Legende* (Somer stuck, cxv<sup>v</sup>) by Jacobus de Voragine:

*Also Calixtus die paeus seit Soe was een man van verselay die tot sint iacobs wert ginc ende hem ontbrac gelt Ende doe hi hem scaemde te bidde ende hi onder een boem lach ende sliep so droemde hem dat hem sinte iacob voede*

<sup>59</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 28/32 f., note 76.

<sup>60</sup> Rep.: Baldass 1943, no. 10.

<sup>61</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1959, no. 26.

<sup>62</sup> Rijksbureau: *Bruegel. Box: Herbergen, vechtpartijen* [Taverns, brawls], etc. Formerly in the C.J.K. van Aalst Collection.

<sup>63</sup> Hirth III, no. 1162.

<sup>64</sup> *Proverbia seriosa*. The indecent conduct of bad pilgrims could have given rise to the obscene sense in which the pilgrim's staff and the pilgrim's pouch is used in *Die Rose van Heinrich van Aken*. Etc. (Edited by Elco Verwijs. 's-Gravenhage 1868, p. 239-241).



*Ende doe hi ontspranc so vant hi tot synen hoofde een gersten brood: ende daer levede hi xx dage of tot hi thuus quam nochtans at hi al daer of wat hys mocht Ende des ander dages daer na so vant hijt in sinen sac al heel* [As Calixtus the pope says: There was a man of Vézelay who went towards Saint James and he was short of money. And when he was ashamed to beg and lay under a tree and slept, then he dreamed that Saint James fed him. And when he awoke he found beside his head a barley-bread: and on this he lived twenty days until he arrived home, yet he ate thereof all that he wanted and afterwards the next day he found it quite whole in his sack].

The good pilgrim therefore is ashamed to beg and gets his reward from St. James who provides him with sustenance for twenty days, while he sleeps under a tree. Bosch has painted the virtuous pilgrim enjoying his meal under the tree. He tells the viewer: It is wrong to beg. Do not do it. St. James will come to your aid.

It is probably this miracle to which allusion is made in the following statement in the *Cancellierboeck* (manuscript from the second half of the 15th century; p. 192): *Wy syn, dat sullic bestaet te ghaen tot Sinte Jacob mit luttel gelts; nochtan versuyten onse here soe, dat hem niet en ghebrict* [We see that certain persons venture to go to St. James with little money; yet our lord sustains them so that they lack nothing].

Rising steeply behind the tree is a high rock on top of which grow two trees and some brushwood. One of the trees is dry and hanging in it is a corpse towards which crows are flying. Four pilgrims carrying long pilgrims' staves are walking in the direction of the two trees. The one in the lead is pointing to the corpse<sup>65</sup>.

About this scene Münz writes in his catalogue (1954, p. 8): 'Links oben ist ein Gehängter zu sehen – es ist dies die einzige Szene, für welche die 'legenda aurea' die Quelle sein könnte, da San Jago einen unschuldig Gehängten wieder zu neuem Leben erweckte'.

There is good reason to believe that this detail, too, illustrates the story of a miracle recorded in the *Gulden Legende*; but that it is the only scene on the panel which could have had its origin in a story from the *Passionael*, as Münz claims, is as we have seen, incorrect.

Enklaar once noted a number of Middle Dutch versions of the story of the hanged man<sup>66</sup>. To these can be added the adaptation that Lodewijk van Velthem made of the Latin text of Vincentius Bellovacensis<sup>67</sup>.

The version in the *Passionael of Gulden Legende* (Somer stuck, C xiiij') reads: *Als Calixtus die paeus seit So toech sint iacobs wert een duytsch man mit sinen zone int iaer ons heren M ende LXXXVIII. Ende hi toech in die stat van Telosanen: ende omdat hi daer herbergen woude Ende die weert maecten droncken: ende hi stac al heymelic in sijn male een silueren nap. Ende doe si des morgens waren gegaen so volchde hise na ende dedese weder bringen als dieuen: Ende hi seide hem op dat si hem een zilueren nap ontstolen hadden Ende doe seiden si Is datmen die nap onder ons vint so hanget ons Ende doemen die nap inder malen geuonden had, so leydemense voordien rechter te hant, ende men gaf vonnisse over hen Ende al datse hadden gaf men den weert. ende men wijsde den een vanden ij te hangen Mer doe den vader voor den zone. ende die zone*

<sup>65</sup> Clear rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 56.

<sup>66</sup> D. Th. Enklaar. *Studiën over het Antwerpsche Liedboek. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* LXII (1943), p. 185 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *Spiegel Historiae*. Derde deel, vierde partie, derde boek, p. 400.

voor den vader hangen wilde, die strijt van hen tween was groot, mer ten lesten bincmen den zone Ende die vader ginc voort tot sinte iacobs weert Ende na xxxvij daghen quam die vader weder ende quam daer sine zone binck ende hi beweenden alte zeer Ende sine zone die gehangen was, begonste hem te troosten ende seide, mijn lieue vader en weent niet, want mi en was nye also wel, want tot nu so heuet mi sint iacob gehouden ende geuoedet mit hemelscher spisen Doe dat die vader hoorde liep hi ter stat wert ende dat volc quam ende deden des pelgrimes zone of gesont, ende si hingen den waert [As Calixtus the pope says Then a Dutch man with his son set forth towards Saint James in the year of our Lord 1088<sup>68</sup>. And he went into the city of Telosanen; because he wished to lodge there. And the innkeeper made him drunk; and he secretly hid in his bag a silver mug. And when they had departed in the morning he then followed them and had them brought back as thieves: And he spoke against them that they had stolen from him a silver mug And then they said Is it that the mug is found with us then hang us And when the mug had been found in the bag then they were brought before the judge forthwith, and sentence was pronounced on them And all that they had was given to the innkeeper, and one of the two was condemned to hang But the father then for the son and the son for the father wished to hang. The dispute of the two of them was great, but at last the son was hanged And the father went on towards Saint James And after 37 days the father returned and came where his son hung and he wept over him sorely And his son who was hanged, began to console him and said, my dear father do not weep, for never was it so well with me, for up till now Saint James has kept and fed me with heavenly food When the father heard that he ran to the city and the people came and took down the pilgrim's son in good health. And they hanged the innkeeper].

Bosch has depicted the moment when the father and other pilgrims, on their return from Santiago de Compostela, are approaching the place where the corpse of the son hangs on a dry tree. It was indeed practice to hang criminals on a dry tree<sup>69</sup>.

Bosch could have read the two stories in the *Passionael of Gulden Legende*, of which several editions were printed in the Low Countries in the 15th century.

Enklaar (p. 186) has drawn attention to a communication by Hermans that on the 1st of May, 1525, there was played in the market-place of 's-Hertogenbosch *die legende van sint iacob apostel* [the legend of St. James the apostle]<sup>70</sup>. Bosch could have derived the data for the back of his left panel also from a similar stage-play.

Behind the high rock with the hanged man is another crag. Here, on a stone ledge, stands a man who carries a stick. He is probably a pilgrim, arrived at a difficult pass in the mountainous country. With this, as with the crag where the hanged man is, Bosch demonstrates the problems posed by the terrain that pilgrims have to traverse. In the *Gulden Legende* the story of the hanged son is located in Telosane, probably a corruption of Tolosa. This is generally thought to be the French Toulouse, but there is also a Tolosa in Spain, situated at the foot

<sup>68</sup> According to Caesarius van Heisterbach they came from Utrecht: J. Strange, *Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*. Coloniae, Bonnae et Bruxellis 1851. *Distinctio octava, capitulum LVIII*.

<sup>69</sup> *Judgem.*, i.a. p. 201 f.

<sup>70</sup> Hermans, *Verzameling van Kronyken, Charters en Oorkonden* 1, p. 90. Also communicated by M. Heyer, *Iets over middeleeuws toneel*, in *Tijdschrift voor Taal en Letteren* xxix (1941), p. 128.

of the Pyrenees<sup>71</sup>. Bosch's rocks are more in keeping with the Spanish Tolosa than with Toulouse, which in fact lies in a fertile valley.

Behind the rock with its single pilgrim on the ledge, is a fairly low hill. On top of it stand two persons. At its foot a tree grows and here, too, we see figures standing about. More to the right someone is riding on a white horse.

Are these people inhabitants of the town in the distance?

They do not appear to be pilgrims, for none of them has the staff. I know of no story about St. James that would explain the little scene. St. James is indeed said to have appeared on a white horse during the battle of Clavijo against the Moors in 845 and to have led the Spaniards to victory<sup>72</sup>. But with Bosch there is no sign of combat. According to another tale a young man on a runaway horse was rescued by St. James<sup>73</sup>. But Bosch's horse is moving quite calmly.

Is the white horse with its rider here perhaps symbolic of the good, in contrast to the symbols of evil elsewhere on the panel? In the Christian Middle Ages a white horse could have a favourable meaning. In a moving exemplum of a dead knight (manuscript in the Royal Library, Brussels) it is a white horse, led by a white greyhound, that successively brings a dead knight from terrestrial paradise to the land of the living and back, a living knight to terrestrial paradise and back, and a dead knight to the earthly paradise<sup>74</sup>. In an exemplum in the *Biënboec* a helpful knight, in whom we are to see an angel, rides on a white horse, and in another legendary story a white horse heals all the sick horses brought to him. Perhaps this is still residue of the pagan-Teutonic belief that white horses were holy and that Wodan rode through the air as a wild hunter on a white horse<sup>75</sup>.

The town of which the roofs and towers are visible in the distance was probably not intended by Bosch to represent the pilgrims' destination, Santiago de Compostela, for seen from a distance the main feature of Santiago is a towering mass of granite<sup>76</sup>, while this town lies at the base of foothills. Presumably it was meant to be Tolosa.

Baldass rightly pointed out that the saint has the same posture and gait as the pedlar on the back of the *Haywain* triptych<sup>77</sup>. Elsewhere I wrote the following about this pedlar: The artist here portrayed a human being who is proceeding apace along life's road. The problems of existence vex him: he has before him a cracked bridge, behind him a barking dog. Parts of a skeleton remind him of the transience of all things. He turns away from the sins symbolized by a robbery (the evil of malevolence) and by dancers (the evil of folly), vices leading to punishment by what is shown in the background, the gallows<sup>78</sup>. I contrasted him with *The Pedlar* in the Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum, who in my opinion succeeds in avoiding the sin of unchastity, but cannot overcome the evil of

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<sup>71</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*. Julii. Tomus sextus. Parisiis et Romae 1868. Vigesima quinta dies. P. 51.

<sup>72</sup> Detzel II, p. 137. A miniature in the *Breviarium Grimani* shows St. James astride a white horse single-handedly fighting the Moors (Mâle. *Saint Jacques*, p. 14). Barend van Orley painted the left wing of an altarpiece with the representation of St. James, seated on a white horse with sword in hand, as killer of the Moors (Enschedé Museum).

<sup>73</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, etc., p. 66.

<sup>74</sup> De Vooy. *Middeleeuwse schilderijen*, p. 131-139.

<sup>75</sup> *Biënboec*, p. 130 f.

<sup>76</sup> Macs. *Strafbedevaarders*, p. 33.

<sup>77</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1959, p. 41.

<sup>78</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 227/304; *Bezwaren*, p. 13.

inebriety<sup>79</sup>. I concluded that Bosch painted two types of men: the ascetic, able to avoid sin, and the more human, who is fallible, and aware of it<sup>80</sup>.

James the pilgrim belongs to this second type<sup>81</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 222-230/293-304. *Bezwaren*, p. 1-14. In *Bezwaren*, p. 14, I pointed out that the contra-distinction unchastity-inebriety also found expression in the Dutch language of the Middle Ages and 16th century.

<sup>80</sup> In Ruusbroec we find a related contrast (iv, p. 283: *Vanden XII Dogheden*). He describes two kinds of people: the one is subject to no or hardly any temptation, the other is only too well acquainted with the snares laid by the devil: he is *beweecht, het si van toerne, of van ydelre eren, of van onkuuscheit, of in gulsicheit* [moved by wrath, or idle glory, or unchastity, or greed], but he fights against them.

Dionysius the Carthusian (*Die spiegel der bekeeringhen*, a iij<sup>e</sup>) simplifies the two types of men and defines them as *die rechtvaerdighe* [the righteous] and *die sondare* [the sinner]. He lets the former say to the latter: *Hoe langhe salstu wandelen biden onrechten wech der sonden? Waerom so kiestu doncker weggen die leydende syn totten lande dat bedect is met duysterheyt der doot? Doet op die ogen des herten ende aenmerct waer du henen treckes*. [How long will you walk along the crooked road of sin? Why do you choose dark ways that lead to the land that is covered with the darkness of death? Raise up the eyes of the heart and observe where you are going.]

Bosch painted his ascetic character on the back of the *Haywain* triptych as a contrast to what the front showed. Ruusbroec (iii, p. 224 f.: *Van VII Trappen in den Graed der Gheesteleker Minnen*) likewise sets the voluntary poor man over against the avaricious person: *Die willegh arm mensche leeft vri ende sonder sorghe van allen eerdschen goede dies heme nooed es, want hi es .i. wijs coepman . . . Maer die ghiereghe mensche es herde onvroed: hi gheeft den hemel omme die eerde, nochtan dat hise verliesen moet*. [The willingly poor person lives free and without care for all his worldly needs, for he is a wise merchant . . . But the greedy person is very unwise: he gives heaven for earth, notwithstanding that he must lose it.]

Ruusbroec, too, regarded the pedlar as a symbol of man journeying through life. For he compared the godfearing person on life's road to an itinerant merchant and the soul in heaven to the settled inhabitant of a city: *Ende hier-omme moten wi ons nu gevoelen als coepliede hier in der tijt; ende also porteren daer-boven in der stat van Jherusalem* [And therefore we must feel ourselves, here in time, as merchants (itinerant merchants, as the *M.W.* iii, 1846, correctly interprets *coepliede* here); and up there in the city of Jerusalem, as settled inmates] (Ruusbroec ii, p. 133: *Van den Gheesteliken Tabernakel*).

Perhaps Ruusbroec's *wijs coepman* [wise merchant] likewise refers to a pedlar.

<sup>81</sup> Jan van Boendale had already made the distinction between the man who is able to protect himself against all sin, and the man who succeeds in avoiding unchastity, but succumbs to other sins. See *Taal*, p. 62. Boendale. *Der Leken Spiegel* iii, p. 115.

Boendale says here that the sin of unchastity is the least of the seven deadly sins, and follows this up with:

*Daeromme es beter een oncuisch man  
Die hem van andren zonden hoeden can,  
Dan hi es die cuischlijc leeft  
Ende hem tandren sonden gheeft.  
Hijs wel ghetelt metten vroeden,  
Die hem van allen wel can hoeden!*

[Thus better is an unchaste man  
Who from him other sins can ban,  
Than that man is who chastely lives  
And himself to other vices gives.  
The one who's counted with the wise,  
Can keep from evil in every guise!]

Boendale here therefore divides men into three types: the unchaste who avoid other sins; the chaste who sin in other ways; and the blameless who know how to guard themselves from all sin. Bosch i.m.o. shows us types 2 and 3 in his two pedlars.

What has been said in notes 80 and 81 does not prove that Bosch had read Boendale and Ruusbroec. Only that motifs closely related to those he used, occur also in the works of writing Dutch moralists of the time.



On the back of the right wing St. Bavo has been portrayed.

The life of this Dutch saint is recorded in detail in the Middle Dutch *Leven van Sinte Amand*, part I, lines 3738-6014 and part II, lines 1-4386<sup>82</sup>.

We are told there that as a young man Bavo was Count of Haspengouw [Hesbaye] and Count Palatine of the Rhine. He was a heathen and it pleased him to plunder and murder. His wife had died and their only child was a daughter, named Adeltruut.

Once Bavo seized a merchant, robbed him of his goods and locked him in a dungeon. However, because Adeltruut pleaded for the man, Bavo released him again, but kept his possessions. In Ghent the merchant related his experience to St. Amandus, who was the spiritual head of the bishopric of Tongeren-Maastricht, which included Haspengouw. He told the prelate, among other things, that Adeltruut had shown interest in Christianity, upon which Amandus decided to attempt to convert father and daughter.

The missionary succeeded in this, and in addition he converted Geertruut, daughter of the Count of Nivelles, with whom Bavo was in love. So a convent was established in the town of Nivelles (in the Walloon region of Belgian Brabant), with Geertruut as abbess and Adeltruut as a nun.

Bavo now endeavoured to make reparation for all the injustices he had done

*Ende daer na gaf hi, onghelooghen,  
Ende deelde den aermen al sijn goed.*

[And after this he gave, it is no lie,  
And dealt to the poor all his property.]

Next he appointed a blood relation who was a Christian to succeed him as Count of Haspengouw, put on pauper's clothes and went to live in a sanctum adjoining the church of Torhout in West Flanders. Later, however, at the request of St. Amandus, he became a monk in the monastery of St. Peter in Ghent.

There he led such a pious life that his prayer for the revival of a dead man was granted by Christ. To escape the honours of the inhabitants of Ghent he fled from the monastery and went to live in a hollow beech-tree in the forest of Mendonk, to the north-east of Ghent.

There Amandus sought him out and brought him back to the monastery, where for some time he was subject to visitations of the devil. But he withstood Satan's temptations and did not fear his horrors.

Bavo allowed himself to be humiliated by the merchant whom he had held captive in his younger years. He let the man bring him to the monastery as a thief and suffered him to lock his feet in a block in his cell. Here again it was St. Amandus who brought him back to a more normal existence.

Once more God wrought a miracle in answer to a prayer by Bavo: a child who had been drowned in the river Scheldt by a devil, was brought back to life.

Thirty days before his death an angel appeared to him to foretell the event. Shortly before he died his spirit left the body and appeared to St. Amandus, St. Livinus, St. Gertrudis (Gertruut) and Adeltruut, whereupon it re-entered the body. Before he passed away Bavo told the mourners at his bed-side where his spirit had been.

On his grave many of the sick, the lame and the blind were healed, barren women became pregnant, lunatics were delivered of the devil, and even drowned persons were occasionally brought back to life.

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<sup>82</sup> *Leven van Sinte Amand, Patroon der Nederlanden, dichtstuk der XIV<sup>e</sup> eeuw*. Edited by Ph. Blommaert. 2 vols. Gent 1842-1843.



Dus was hi van allen dinghen  
Voor Gode een groot advocaet,  
Ende een verbidder in elken staet,

[Thus was he in all things  
Before God a great advocate,  
And interceder in every state,]<sup>83</sup>

This is said in a poem which was written by Gilis de Wevel who completed it on 27 January 1366 (1367) in Bruges. The author was probably a monk.

According to other sources Bavo was converted between 647 and 650, died in 653 or 654 and was buried in the basilica of St. Peter in Ghent. His commemoration day falls on the first of October. He was originally known as Bavo, but at his baptism received the name of Allovinus<sup>84</sup>.

The life of St. Bavo as recorded by Gilis de Wevel deviates here and there from the *Vita Bavonis*, which in the form known to us, is a product of the first half of the 9th century<sup>85</sup>. It was written probably in Ghent.

The *Vita* tells us that after the death of his wife, Bavo wished to marry no other woman and went to St. Amandus. The latter converted him to Christianity whereupon Bavo gave away his possessions to the poor<sup>86</sup>. Which differs therefore from what Gilis de Wevel says. According to him Bavo as a widower was in love with Geertruut and led the life of a marauding knight.

Eigenberger describes the saint in Bosch's portrait of him as 'tief erschüttert durch den Tod seiner Gattin'<sup>87</sup>. But neither in the *Vita* nor in Gilis's account do we read that he was greatly moved by her death. My own interpretation of the expression on St. Bavo's face is also not that he is deeply affected by the loss of his wife, but that he is pondering the sins of his life.

Let us now consider Bosch's depiction in detail.

Bavo is a fairly young man still, with a sympathetic face. He wears a sword at his right side where he also carries his purse<sup>88</sup>, and he has golden spurs on his feet. On his left hand a hooded falcon is perched. Its head was originally designed higher up. Bavo holds the cord, which is attached to the bird's left leg by means of a small yellow disc and a little grey ring.

Swaen, noting that St. Bavo is shown with a sword and a falcon, explained that this is due to tradition, because it was customary in the Middle Ages to accord to saints of noble or royal lineage a sword and a falcon as the attributes of their high birth<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> *verbidder* = *voorbijder* [leader in prayer]; *in elken staet* = in alle omstandigheden [in all circumstances].

<sup>84</sup> Dom Renierus Podevijn, O.S.B. *De oorspronkelijke 'Vita Bavonis'. Ons Geestelijk Erf* xv (1941), p. 62 ff.

<sup>85</sup> See previous note. The *Vita Bavonis* appears in: *Acta Sanctorum*. Ordinis S. Benedicti. Domni Joannis Mabillon. Etc. Volumen secundum. 1936 edition, p. 397 ff. Dutch translation: J. van Brabant. *Sint Bavo. Edelman, boeteling en monnik*. Wilrijk 1967, p. 51 ff.

<sup>86</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, etc., p. 397.

<sup>87</sup> Eigenberger, p. 47 f.

<sup>88</sup> In *Tuin*, p. 94, I gave several examples of this type of money-bag as depicted by Bosch and also an example in a 15th-century North-Netherlandish miniature.

<sup>89</sup> A.E.H. Swaen. *De valk in de iconographie*. Maastricht 1926. Th. Wright (*Histoire de la caricature et du grotesque dans la littérature et dans l'art*. Traduction d'Octave Sachot. Deuxième édition. Paris 1878, p. 196) wrote that in the 15th century noblemen sometimes carried a falcon on the hand 'comme signe extérieur de gentilhommerie', also when going to church, and J. van Brabant (*op. cit.*, p. 43) mentions that Salic law already recognised the trained falcon as a sign and symbol of noble birth and status. In Middle Dutch moralistic literature the falcon is sometimes a symbol of arrogance (*Dat*



56. Figure resembling St. Bavo, in copy of lost painting (p. 304)

He informs us that artists from the Low Countries sometimes represented also St. Cecilia and St. Jerome of Noordwijk with a falcon<sup>90</sup>, and that a saint on the left panel of the Sforza triptych in Brussels, a work attributed to a follower of Rogier van der Weyden, carries the bird on his left hand<sup>91</sup>. The figure is thought by some to be St. Bavo or St. Julian the Hospitable<sup>92</sup>. But according to Swaen the latter is never shown with a falcon. So he is sure to be St. Bavo. In my opinion this is the more probable because the holy man here, just like Bosch's St. Bavo, is putting his right hand in his purse, which is an allusion to Bavo's charity.

On our panel the saint's legs and feet are encased in what appears to be a covering of smooth metal which is yet supple. It is a pair of close-fitting hose, drawn tightly over the feet and legs. A clear depiction of this type of leg-wear can be seen on a soldier on the *Altar of St. John* in Augsburg ('Oberdeutsch' work from ca. 1490-1500)<sup>93</sup> and on an executioner in the *Martyrdom of St. Agnes*, attributed to the Master of the Turin Adoration<sup>94</sup>. That knights did indeed attach their spurs to such hose is evident from a miniature by Jan Le Tavernier of Oudenaerde<sup>95</sup>, from a miniature in the *Miracles de Notre Dame*<sup>96</sup>, and from the *Triumphal March of Maximilian I*<sup>97</sup>.

Bavo has thrown a cloak over his upper garment and on his long curly hair he wears a small flat bonnet.

The combination of flat bonnet and long curly hair is also seen on a well-to-do young man who, in a coloured drawing from the second half of the 15th century, stands in a garden with a musical instrument in his hand and a sword hanging in front of his right leg<sup>98</sup>, and on a young man of distinction who is paying court to a young woman in an engraving from 1499 by Mair von Landshut<sup>99</sup>.

A sword worn on the right side was not such an uncommon occurrence. It can also be seen, for instance, on a young man in the engraving of *Virgil in the Basket* by Lucas van Leyden (1525)<sup>100</sup>, on German soldiers in drawings from the beginning of the 16th century<sup>101</sup>, and on King Clovis where he wears the

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*Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 62) and the hawk (*die heren op hoer hant voeren* [that gentlemen carry on their hand]) one of rapacity (Willem van Hildegabersberch, p. 210 f.). Perhaps with his falcon Bosch was alluding to Bavo's rapacity and arrogance before his conversion. The bird is here certainly a symbol of 'ydel glorie': *Judgem.*, p. 310.

<sup>90</sup> Swaen, *op. cit.*, p. 20 and 25.

<sup>91</sup> Swaen, *op. cit.*, p. 30. I can add that in the *St. Hippolytus* by Hugo van der Goes in the church of St. Salvator in Bruges, the Saint also has a falcon on his hand: Schöne, ill. 68, b.

<sup>92</sup> *Catalogus der oude schilderkunst*. Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België. Brussel 1949, p. 134.

<sup>93</sup> P. Post. *Das Kostüm und die ritterliche Kriegstracht im deutschen Mittelalter von 1000-1500*. Berlin 1928-1939, Pl. 106 g, no. 12.

<sup>94</sup> Hoogewerff v (1927), p. 35.

<sup>95</sup> L.M.J. Delaissé. *La miniature flamande à l'époque de Philippe le Bon*. Milano 1956, Pl. 13.

<sup>96</sup> H. Omont. *Miracles de Notre Dame*. Tome I. Paris n.d., pl. 54.

<sup>97</sup> P. Lacroix et A. Duchesne. *Histoire de la chaussure*. Paris 1862, p. 75.

<sup>98</sup> Von Hefner-Altenneck, no. 48.

<sup>99</sup> Schultz, fig. 413.

<sup>100</sup> J.H. der Kinderen-Besier. *Mode-Metamorphosen. De kleding onzer voorouders in de zestiende eeuw*. Met medewerking van Cato Neeb. Amsterdam 1933, p. 120.

<sup>101</sup> Demmin. *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 953.

costume of a Burgundian prince in a French miniature<sup>102</sup>. Was left-handedness more common among soldiers in the 15th and 16th centuries than to-day?

Bosch or an imitator who was very close to him once depicted a figure that in hairdress, posture of the head, and clothing, had much in common with our St. Bavo. This was in a painting that has since been lost, but of which there is an extant copy in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (panel, 29 × 24 inches). The Friedländer Records in the Rijksbureau has a photograph of it, here reproduced as illustration 56. As De Tolnay has already observed, the scene represents *Christ and the adulterous woman* (John 8:1-11)<sup>103</sup>. The story is well-known: The scribes and Pharisees bring a woman taken in adultery to Jesus in the temple of Jerusalem. They say that according to the law of Moses she should be stoned and ask him what he thinks. Jesus stoops and writes on the ground with his finger. When they insist on an answer, he says: He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone. After which he stoops down again and writes on the ground. Conscience-stricken, they depart, leaving the woman alone with Jesus. He asks her whether no one has condemned her. She replies: Nobody, and he tells her: Neither do I, and adds: Go, and sin no more.

That this is indeed the subject of the painting is indicated by the stone in the hand of the man to the left of the woman, with his back to the viewer, by the stones in the basket which a man carries on his head, and by the inscription (not legible in the photograph). But who is the kindly man with his arm round the waist of the woman? According to De Tolnay, one of the Pharisees, but this seems hardly probable.

The couple are represented as persons from the very affluent class of society.

In my opinion the man is Lazarus and the adulterous woman is Mary Magdalene.

In his study *Saint Mary Magdalene in mediaeval literature* (Baltimore 1950, p. 32) H.M. Garth writes that Mary Magdalene 'was usually identified as the woman taken in adultery'. Jacobus de Voragine says of Mary Magdalene that she was *van alte edelen geslachte* [of exceedingly noble descent] and that Martha was her sister and Lazarus her brother. He lets us see Lazarus as a knight and Mary Magdalene as a noblewoman<sup>104</sup>. This is what Bosch does too. Which explains why Lazarus resembles the nobleman St. Bavo in regard to bonnet, hose, hairdress and posture of the head, and why his sister, the adulterous Mary Magdalene, is clothed like a lady of high birth<sup>105</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> P. Lacroix, *Moeurs, usages et costumes au Moyen Age et à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Paris 1871, p. 61.

<sup>103</sup> De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 379 and ill. 10.

<sup>104</sup> *Passionael*, Somer stuck ciiii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> I can imagine someone wanting to identify the man with his arm round the waist of the adulterous woman as John the Evangelist. I have already pointed to a belief current in the Middle Ages that in the marriage in Cana the bride was Mary Magdalene and the groom John the Evangelist (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 219/290, note 7). Jacobus de Voragine, among others, mentions this view: *Somige seggen dat maria magdalena was iohannes euangelisten bruut die hi getrouwet had doe hem cristus uter brulofte riep Ende dat si hier om had al te grote onwaerdicheit: dat cristus haer brudegom ontnomen had dat si wech ginc ende gaf haer seluen tot alle genoechten: mer om dat niet tamelic en was dat sint Jans bekeringe werden soude een saec van maria verdoemenis. daer om bekeerdese cristus mit ontfermherticheit tot penitencien.* [Some say that Mary Magdalene was John the Evangelist's bride whom he had married when Christ called him from the wedding. And that because of this she took very great offence: that Christ had taken from her <her> bridegroom, so that she went away and gave herself up to all pleasures: but because it was not seemly that St. John's conversion should become a cause of Mary's

There are a couple of further resemblances between figures in the above-mentioned copy and persons in works by Bosch: the woman's face resembles that of the young woman in the *Conjuror* (Saint Germain-en-Laye; indeed, both are 'fools'), and the Pharisee with the goatee looks like the Pharisee(?) touching Christ's thigh in the *Crowning with Thorns* in London (see *Judgem.*, p. 39 n. 111).

As I see it, Bavo is standing in the entrance to a church.

To the left lies a beggar who wears a close-fitting hood on his head. His right hand is deformed, growing at an angle to the wrist. On the fore-arm there is a plaster. No wound can be seen.

In his left hand the man holds a beggar's bowl. To its edge is attached a cord on which hangs a small piece of lead in the form of a half-ball.

A beggar's bowl with cord and small ball, together with a beggar's crutch was painted by Bosch also in the *Hell* of his *Garden* triptych, where two sinners are being punished for mendicity<sup>106</sup>, and in the *Haywain* triptych in the Prado, where it belongs to a sick beggar lying on his back (centre panel, to the left)<sup>107</sup>. In a woodcut of *St. Martin with beggars*, one of the paupers has beside him a bowl to which a small round object of metal (a lead) is attached by means of a little strap or chain<sup>108</sup>. In a tapestry which shows *St. Anthony departing to solitude*, woven in Brussels shortly after 1550 and now in the Royal Palace in Madrid, two beggars are each sitting beside a bowl with a little ball, while a third has the ball in his mouth<sup>109</sup>.

The little piece of lead is the token that the mendicant has received permission from the authorities to beg<sup>110</sup>.

Baldass in 1959 was of the opinion that the beggar on our panel is a leper<sup>111</sup>. It seems to me that he based this conclusion on the plaster dressing. However, in the case of the presumably leprous pedlar-beggar-devil on the centre panel, Bosch indicates this disease not merely with a plaster, but also with patches of a white and pink eruption on his body<sup>112</sup>.

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damnation. Therefore Christ with compassion converted her to penitence.] (CVIII<sup>v</sup>).

This means that after his marriage to Mary Magdalene, John left his wife. She thereupon led an unchaste life. But Christ pardons her. Is therefore the man tenderly holding her round the waist, not Lazarus, but husband John? I do not think so, because if one identifies the man as the evangelist, one cannot explain his knight's apparel.

Bosch painted John the Evangelist as the bridegroom in his *Marriage in Cana* (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 216/287). Is it Mary Magdalene that he shows here as the bride?

<sup>106</sup> *Tuin*, p. 100.

<sup>107</sup> *Tuin*, p. 100 (2).

<sup>108</sup> Nijhoff. *L'Art typographique* 1, sheet 101: illustration in *Breviarium Traiectense* (AO. 1508), printed by Jan Seversz. at Leiden.

<sup>109</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 79.

<sup>110</sup> See *Tuin*, p. 100.

<sup>111</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1959, p. 42.

<sup>112</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 112 and 246 no. 3. Further, in regard to a supposed depiction of a leper by Bosch: Lotte Brand Philip (*The Prado Epiphany*, p. 268) sees the half-naked man who is looking in Mary's direction from inside the stable, as the Jewish Messiah, here represented as the Antichrist. She finds that he 'is characterized as a leper by the white color of his skin and by a large sore on his leg'. E.H. Gombrich (*The evidence of images*, Paper 2. *Interpretation. Theory and practice*. Edited by Charles S. Singleton. Baltimore 1969, p. 81) sees him as Herod, because according to Josephus Flavius, Herod was afflicted by a skin disease. But the symbolism elsewhere in and in front of the stable is in better accord with the Jewish Messiah-Antichrist view than with the Herod interpretation.



Such large plasters were certainly worn by beggars who were not lepers. In a North-Netherlandish painting from approximately 1510, entitled *The Seven Works of Charity* (Enschedé Museum), a poor man is given shelter for the night in a hospice, and he has no less than three plasters on his cranium. In his *Carrying of the Cross* (Ghent) Bosch shows the bad murderer with such a plaster on his head. These dressings serve, of course, to protect wounds, sores, etc.<sup>113</sup>.

Our mendicant has a cloth spread out in front of him and on it lies a severed left foot with a wound in it which has obviously been made with some sharp object.

There are more examples in Bosch's work of the display, on a cloth beside a beggar, of such a foot or leg that has been hacked or twisted off<sup>114</sup>. This is true to life, for beggars did sometimes exhibit a severed foot or leg on a cloth in order to excite pity. The cloth was also for the passers-by to throw their coins on<sup>115</sup>. In our picture it serves the same purpose: St. Bavo has dropped three small pieces of money on it. The beggar is clearly pleased with the alms.

Such beggars gave out that they were the innocent victims of a miscarriage of justice and that their foot or leg had been cut off, or severed by constriction, as punishment for a misdeed they had not committed<sup>116</sup>. In the case of our beggar the executioner had, after severing the foot, transfixed it with some spiked object to a place where it could be seen by the public and so act as a deterrent<sup>117</sup>. Afterwards the foot (dried out by sun and wind) was returned to, or retrieved by, its owner. This at least is what the beggar tells his audience. However, the foot might not be his own foot, but that of some other person who has suffered the punishment. For we know that frauds were practised in connection with such exhibits. The *Liber Vagatorum*, for instance, tells us of a beggar who sat before the church *ende dese hadde van eenen diefeenen schenckel aan die galge af ghesneden, ende hadde desen schenckel voor hem liggende, ende hadde zijnen goeden schenckel met banden op gebonden* [and this man had cut off a shank from a thief on the gallows, and had this shank lying before him, and had his

<sup>113</sup> Do the painters show these plasters on the head to signify that the wearers have been too fond of visiting the tavern? Godschalc Rosemondts van Eindhoven says in his *Boecxken vander Biechte ende van die seven Dootsonden* (Antwerpen 1517; see *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 159) that *hoofdsweere* [head-ulcer] is the result of *brassen, scossen ende brossen* [carousing, guzzling and boozing]. There is yet a fourth instance in which Bosch painted a plaster: see Elaboration xvii.

<sup>114</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 51/66 (60, 62, 63). Cf. *Tuin*, p. 85 (8), *Bezwaren*, p. 49 (174). I have not yet noted the following: beggar with foot on cloth in a drawing in the Albertina (Baldass 1943, ill. 131) and beggar with twisted off foot on cloth, with leg-iron beside it, in a tapestry showing *St. Anthony's departure to solitude* (Royal Palace, Madrid, Lafond, at p. 79). A hacked-off foot hangs on a cord round the neck of a beggar, and the same hangs on the stick of a flag which displays the device of two beggar's crutches (*St. Martin and beggars*, engraving by Hieronymus Cock after a work by Bosch: Lafond, at p. 92). A severed leg with its foot hangs round the neck of a beggar on a sketch-sheet in Brussels (Baldass 1943, ill. 130).

<sup>115</sup> Examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 51/66 (61). I have not yet noted the two cloths on which maimed beggars have received money, in an engraving by Hieronymus Cock after work by Bosch (Lafond, at p. 97). The engraving is an adaptation of the drawing mentioned in note 114 (Albertina).

<sup>116</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 51/66 (64, 65): *Liber Vagatorum*, p. 21.

<sup>117</sup> For the severing of limbs by hacking or cutting, as carried out by the executioner of Haarlem in the 15th and 16th centuries, see: C.J. Gonnet. *De meester van den scherpen zwaarde te Haarlem*. Haarlem 1917, p. 7 and 19.

sound shank bound up with bandages]<sup>118</sup>. It would be difficult to accept that our mendicant is not really minus a foot, for as the little leaden seal shows, he has official permission to beg and will therefore have been thoroughly examined by the civic authorities. However, the foot in front of him need not necessarily be his own<sup>119</sup>.

Bavo has already given money to the maimed beggar and is now putting his hand in his purse for something for the old beggar-woman to the right. She is kneeling on the floor, wears a headcloth with a hood over it, her cloak is patched and she holds out her left hand for the money.

Baldass and Heinz have rightly pointed out that the head of the beggar-woman resembles that of a man in a drawing by Bosch, in San Francisco<sup>120</sup>.

The beggar-woman can be compared with the devil-woman on the centre panel of Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon, in whom the artist satirizes an old beggar-woman turned procuress<sup>121</sup>. She stretches out her right hand to receive a bowl of food. In both figures the hand is distinctly empty. Perhaps one may associate this with the 16th-century expression: *daer en schuylt niet in den poot* [lit.: nothing is concealed in the paw, i.e. the hand], which meant: the person is destitute<sup>122</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> De Meyere en Baekelmans, p. 22. Executioners are known to have traded in all kinds of remains of the executed. They sold them i.a. to prostitutes, who believed that body parts of a thief, especially the hand, brought customers. Eg. I. Strubbe. *Zwarte kunst te Brugge in 1544. Volkskunde* 54 (1953), p. 99-101.

<sup>119</sup> V.H. Bauer (*Afbeeldingen van het Antonisvuur in het werk van Hieronymus Bosch*, in: Marijnissen a.o. *Jheronimus bosch*, p. 212) is mistaken in thinking that the loss of a foot means that the man here must be seen as a victim of erysipelas (ergotism, St. Anthony's fire). Neither can I share Steppe's opinion (*Jheronimus Bosch, Bijdragen* 1967, p. 34) that the severed foot in *St. Anthony's departure to solitude* (see note 114) has been amputated on account of its being affected by this disease. Why then is it shown with the leg-iron? This is the shackle in which it was clamped and squeezed off. Such a clamp is seen also with the beggar-devil with severed foot on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 51/66, at note 61). The *Liber Vagatorum* describes such beggars in the chapter *Van den Klinckeneeren* (p. 21): *Die eene van deze en heeft geen en voet, die andere en heeft geen en schenckele, en die derde geen hant of armen. Item sommige van deze hebben ketenen bij haar liggende ende segghen dat si ghevanghen gelegen hebben om onschult.* [One of these has no foot, the next has no shank, and the third no hand or arms. Likewise some of them have chains (in our case a fetter – Bax) lying beside them and they say that they have lain captive innocently]. There is nothing about St. Anthony's fire in this chapter. It is, indeed, mentioned in the short chapter *Van den Burckaerten* (p. 48): *Dese zijn die bedeleers die haer handen in eenen hantschoen steken, ende hangen die met eenen bant aen haren hals. Ende dese spreken dan dat si Sinte Antonis vier, oft quaet oft van eenen anderen heylighen hebben.* *Nochtans en is 't niet dan bedroch.* [These are the beggars who put their hands in a glove and let it hang in a sling round their neck. And these then pretend that they have St. Anthony's fire or illness, or <that> of another saint. Yet it is nothing but deceit.] But no example is given of beggars who display a severed foot or leg which they pretend has been affected by the disease.

<sup>120</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1959, p. 85, ill. 239.

<sup>121</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 40/49 ff. (6-17), ill. 14/19. Perhaps the beggar-woman with St. Bavo was also once a procuress. See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 46/51 (note 11). She is not a witch, as Baldass (1943, p. 72) and Combe (1947, p. 80) supposed.

<sup>122</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 40/51.(17). The beggar-woman with St. Bavo holds the index-, the middle- and the ring-finger close together, keeping the thumb and little finger somewhat away from them. Bosch probably derived this type of hand from Bouts. See *Tuin*, p. 139 (2).

On her right shoulder she carries a small naked beggar-boy who is also stretching out his hand to Bavo. He has his eyes cast down as though somewhat shy. On his head stands a little bowl of porridge. A spoon is stuck in it and some of the contents is dripping over the edge.

This beggar-urchin must be compared with a beggar-child imp on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon, where he stands near a beggarwoman-devil who has another beggar-child imp in her arms<sup>123</sup>. The standing little beggar-devil is naked except for a short cape and on his head he carries a bowl of porridge. A spoon is stuck into it and porridge is spilling over the edge. I have pointed out that in the 16th century porridge was a luxury that spoilt children were sometimes treated to<sup>124</sup> and I interpreted the motif of spilt porridge as a symbol of waste.

Of the beggar-urchin on our panel it could also be said that Bosch censures him because as a poor child he is not prudent, but spends the money he is given on rich food and then messes with it. Or rather: the old woman is blamed for wasting the money, for the child is in her care.

In his *Prudentia* Bruegel shows a youngster turning away from a dish of food with a spoon in it and dutifully putting a coin in his money-box<sup>125</sup>. Our beggar-babe, on the contrary, is having his full begged penny's worth of eats.

He can also be compared with a naked youngster that a beggar-woman carries on her shoulders in a depiction of *Carnival* of which the original was a painting by Bosch and of which several copies have been preserved<sup>126</sup>. This child, too, has a bowl on its head, but without a spoon.

On the beggar-woman's left stands a second beggar-child. He has raised his left hand and is looking up at the saint. He is barefoot, has tousled, uncut hair and wears a coat that has been mended. He resembles the poorly clad youngster in the *Gula* of Bosch's *Seven Deadly Sins*, who is stretching out his hands towards the jug of beer beside a feasting man.

The beggar-woman has two children with her. Our plastic artists have given more examples of beggars, men as well as women, with their own or borrowed offspring beside them<sup>127</sup>. Our folk literature, too, describes these people. They include those *die ionghe kinderen leenen op aldersielen dach, oft op andere heylige dagen ende dese setten haer voor die kercken, ghelijc oft si vele kinderen hadden, ende sy spreken dattet moederloose oft vaderloose kinderen zijn, ende het is al geloghen* [who borrow young children on All Souls' Day, or on other holy days and place themselves in front of the churches as though they had many

<sup>123</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 86 f./110 f., ill. 17/39.

<sup>124</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 86/110 (84, 85).

<sup>125</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 86/110 (82). In the lower right-hand corner of Jan Steen's *Feast of St. Nicholas* (Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum) a coin has been stuck in a money-box (symbol of saving). In front of it stands a round disc on which are one half-burnt candle and what remains of four others already quite burnt out (symbol of waste).

<sup>126</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 91/110 (75), ill. 36/103.

<sup>127</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 86/110 (76) and 91/110 (76). A gipsy-man and two gipsy-women in Bosch's *Haywain* also have beggar-children with them: *Bezwaren*, p. 46 f. I have not yet noted the symbolically depicted beggar-woman who sits in a large cauldron with her legs stuck through it and who has two beggar-children with her. On her head stands a beer- or wine-jug and she is playing a harp (*St. Martin and the beggars*, engraving by Hieronymus Cock, after a work by an imitator of Bosch. Lafond, at p. 92; *Judgem.*, p. 163 no. 6).

children, and they say that these are motherless or fatherless children, and it is all lies]<sup>128</sup>.

Also in this depiction of alms-giving to the poor Bosch is really not entirely sympathetic towards the beggars. He shows up the one boy (or if one prefers, the beggar-woman who carries him) as wasteful.

Elsewhere I have pointed out that Bosch liked to satirize beggars<sup>129</sup>. And in the 15th and 16th centuries they were indeed a veritable plague on the population.

Because of Bosch's less than sympathetic depiction of the beggars with St. Bavo, one is inclined to view the saint himself as in some measure being reproached by the artist: is he not giving away money to people who do not deserve it! In another work too, after which Hieronymus Cock's engraving of *St. Martin and the beggars* was made, Bosch depicts a holy man giving alms to *Cruepel Vuijl arm gespuijs* [Maimed, dirty, poor rabble], a class undeserving of it<sup>130</sup>.

All the same, Bosch will no doubt have agreed with his mediaeval Dutch fellow moralists, who taught:

<i>Die Gode wille volgen na</i>	[Who the follower of God would be
<i>Sal gheven, alsict versta,</i>	Must give, as I have learnt to see,
<i>Beide den goeden ende den quaden;</i>	To good and bad all equally;
<i>Want God met siere ghenaden</i>	For God, so merciful is he,
<i>Doet sine sonne vroech ende spade</i>	Makes his sun to rise and fall
<i>Schinen op goede ende op quade.</i>	On good and bad folk one and all] <sup>131</sup> .

Moralists who came after Bosch continued to satirize beggars. Thus Everaert in his plays presents the mendicants as personifying envy<sup>132</sup> and avarice<sup>133</sup>, and Bruegel includes a beggar with his begging-bowl in his drawing of *Avaritia*<sup>134</sup>.

There were writers who regarded charity as a mere palliative measure. They advocated the employment of beggar-children in factories (Vives, in 1525, in his *De subventionem pauperum*, a disquisition on relief work that he dedicated to the senate of Bruges<sup>135</sup>), and putting lazy healthy beggars to work as labourers (Coornhert, in his emblemata *Vande ghierighe bedelaar* [Of the greedy beggar]<sup>136</sup>). The depiction in the emblemata shows a beggar with his bowl in his hand. A cord with a leaden token is attached to the receptacle, which means that the man has been given permission to beg, although he is quite fit for work, according to Coornhert.

Bosch's representation of the distribution of money to the poor, as shown on the back of our panel, is quite in keeping with the way in which the distribution of food and drink to the needy was depicted by other primitives, e.g. by the Master of Alkmaar and by an unknown Master from the second half of the 15th

<sup>128</sup> De Meyere en Baekelmans, p. 50 (*Liber Vagatorum*). See also *Dichten*, p. 105 ff.

<sup>129</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 52/67; *Tuin*, p. 100. *Judgem.*, p. 111.

<sup>130</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 92.

<sup>131</sup> *Die Dietsche Doctrinale*, p. 36, line 726 ff.

<sup>132</sup> Everaert, p. 146.

<sup>133</sup> Idem, p. 214 f.

<sup>134</sup> De Tolnay. *Drawings of Pieter Bruegel*, ill. 47.

<sup>135</sup> S.A. Vorsters. *Juan Luis Vives in de Nederlanden. Verslagen K.V.A.v.T.e.L.* 1964, p. 101.

<sup>136</sup> D. Vz. Coornhert. *Recht ghebruyck ende misbruyck van tydlycke have*. Leyden, Christoffel Plantyn, 1585. Emblemata vi.



century. But it differs entirely from the manner in which Bosch himself painted the distribution of food and drink in the middle of the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon, which is a satire on feigned charity<sup>137</sup>.

St. Bavo is alone with the beggars. No one witnesses his generosity. This is as it should be, says *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 437 f.: *men <sal> die aelmis doen oetmoedelic ende devotelic, so dat een daer niet in en soke ydel glorie, ende dat hi niet en lake den armen dien hise geeft, ende dat een si buten dootsonden, anders en coomt die aelmis niet tot salicheit* [one <must> do the almsgiving humbly and devoutly, so that one does not seek in it idle glory, and that he does not belittle the poor person to whom he gives it<sup>138</sup>, and that one should be free of deadly sin, otherwise the alms does not achieve blessedness]. The writer refers to *Matthew* 6:3: *Alstu aelmisse duetste, so en laet dijn luchterhant niet weten, wat dijn rechterhand doet* [When you do alms, so let not your left hand know what your right hand does], and explains: *alstu dijn aelmis doen sultste, sich dat ydel glorie, diemen verstaet bider luchterhant, daer niet mede en si ghemenghet, mer dat si ghedaen wort met rechter meningen, diemen verstaet bider rechterhant* [when you do alms you shall see to it that idle glory, which is what one understands by the left hand, be not mingled with it, but that it is done in the right spirit, which is what one understands by the right hand].

It is worth noting that Bavo has a falcon sitting on his left hand, here i. m. o. a symbol of 'idle glory'. It is sitting with its back to the beggar-woman and the two children: 'idle glory' is here not 'mingled' with the alms-giving.

Through the church entrance we look out on to a street. There are probably stone steps leading down from the porch into this street. See ill. 57.

The nearest house on the left (the one most clearly depicted) is a tavern. This is indicated by the beer- or wine-cask at the corner and the swan on the sign-board.

A swan was depicted by Bosch also on the sign-board of the brothel-tavern in his *Pedlar* (Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum)<sup>139</sup> and on that of the tavern placed in a dubious context in the background of the centre panel of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Prado)<sup>140</sup>.

In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* which is possibly a copy of a lost painting by Bosch (Rijksmuseum)<sup>141</sup> we see a swan on a flag which sticks out from a symbolically represented brothel.

In former times the swan often appeared on signboards of taverns in the Low Countries, including inns of good repute<sup>142</sup>. Because the bird with its long neck can dive deeply into the wet, it became the symbol of a real *nathals* [wetneck], that is, a lover of drink<sup>143</sup>.

However, the swan served also as a symbol of unchastity in the Low Countries<sup>144</sup>. Bredero, for instance, used the words *swaen* [swan] and *swaentje* [little swan] in the sense of meretrix.

At the alehouses in Bosch's *Pedlar* and *Adoration* and at the brothel in his

<sup>137</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 44/58 (95-97).

<sup>138</sup> On Bavo's face no trace of criticism or of contempt for the beggars is discernible.

<sup>139</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 222/295.

<sup>140</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 96/120 (26). *Judgem.*, p. 194.

<sup>141</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 98/124 (45). *Judgem.*, p. 33 no. 1.

<sup>142</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 94/120 (26).

<sup>143</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 94/120 (28).

<sup>144</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 94/120 (21-25).





57. Vestibule of church, open to street, Bosch (p. 310)

*Temptation of St. Anthony*, the swan signifies not only addiction to drink, but also unchastity. This is i.m.o. likewise its function on our St. Bavo-panel. For here, just as in the *Pedlar*<sup>145</sup>, and as at the devil-brothel on our centre panel<sup>146</sup> and the one on the left wing of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon<sup>147</sup>, stands a beer- or wine-cask that is without its bung: symbol of a prostitute, open to all.

The tavern is i.m.o. also a brothel. The woman leaning out of the window in front of which a wooden shutter has been flapped down to serve as a counter, could be a prostitute. Her headdress resembles that of the meretrix in the doorway of the tavern in Bosch's *Pedlar*.

Facing the 'counter' is a man sitting on a kind of bench of which two legs are visible. The man leans with his right elbow on the counter. He wears a long, dark garment and a dark hat with a broad brim. On his left a white dish with something in it stands on the bench. The man is probably a customer who has ordered something to eat or drink and is being served through the window.

Overhanging the window and the door is a lean-to roof<sup>148</sup>.

In the background of the right wing of Rogier van der Weyden's triptych with *The Adoration of the Magi* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) one sees two beggars: the one inside the vestibule has two crutches and is leaning against a pillar, while the other sits outside the entrance to the temple of Jerusalem, here represented as a Western European church in the Romanesque style. The clothing of this second beggar is very similar to that of our man on the bench. Both wear a dark cloak and a dark hat with a wide brim. See ill. 58.

In the *Hell* of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges there is likewise a beggar-devil who sits at the entrance to a diabolic structure<sup>149</sup> and whose hat and garment resemble those of the person at the tavern.

I therefore see our figure as a beggar. With the money he has begged he is buying something at a dubious tavern, perhaps a bowl of wine. Here, too, a satirical aside on beggary.

Not far from the bungless cask walks a hen with chickens. Six are clearly visible, perhaps there are two more.

The hen is often represented as protecting her chickens and so symbolizing mother-love. Thus we read in the *Rijmbijbel*:

*Jherusalem, hoe dicken wildic ghewillike  
Dijn volc vergadren, dies ghelike  
Dattie binne hare kiekine broet,*

[Jerusalem, how often would I willingly  
Have gathered your people, in such a way  
As the hen her brood of chickens]<sup>150</sup>,

<sup>145</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 222/295.

<sup>146</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 193.

<sup>147</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29.

<sup>148</sup> Compare the combination of lean-to roof, open window and flapped down shutter with the following description in J. ter Gouw's *De Volksvermaken* (Haarlem 1871, p. 645): *de zware luifels, waaronder de winkelwaren in de open vensters op de neêrgeslagen luiken, die op 't breede pothuis rustten, waren uitgestald* [the heavy lean-to roofs under which the merchandise was displayed in the open windows on the lowered shutters which rested on the broad *pothuis*]. The *pothuis* [lit.: por-house] was a low structure adjoining a building, and half below the level of the street on to which it faced. It served as a small workshop, e.g. for a cobbler. Bosch does not show a *pothuis*. The shutter here rests on what looks to me like wooden props.

<sup>149</sup> De Tolnay 1965, p. 201.

<sup>150</sup> *Rijmbijbel* II, line 25554 ff.



58. Vestibule of church, open to street, Van der Weyden (p. 312)



59. Philip the Fair, stained glass, c. 1497 (p. 317 n. 172)

(cf. *Matthew* 23:37), and in a Middle Dutch translation of Boëthius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*: *dat ons god besorghen sal, ia min begheven dan de moeder tkind, de henne tkiekin of eenigherande dier sijn quic of ionc* [that God will care for us, yea, less forsake us than the mother the child, the hen the chicken or any kind of animal its little one or young]<sup>151</sup>.

Accordingly Bosch has i.m.o. placed a hen with her chicks here as a symbol of maternal love, which protects (and as such is akin to the Bavo-figure dispensing charity), in contrast to carnal love signified by the brothel-tavern.

Of the house adjoining the tavern nothing in particular can be said.

The next building has a large lean-to shelter over the window, with a smaller 'shelf' sticking out at the height of the sill. To the right of this house walks a man with a large white sack on his back. Has he just left the house? A dog trots out in front of him.

A similar figure with a heavy bag on his back is also part of the scene in the *Invidia* on the *Table of the Seven deadly Sins*. Here, from left to right, we see the following: A man is looking at a carnation that a woman holds in her hand (a symbol of love; the man is shut out and is jealous of the person for whom the flower is intended)<sup>152</sup>. A man holds a bone in his hands and dogs are greedy for it although they already have bones of their own. This man and his wife are in their turn envying the nobleman with a falcon on his hand. The nobleman on the other hand covets the man's wife. The little claw-hook in his money-pouch indicates that he is of a grasping nature. And finally there is the man carrying the bag, who shows no involvement with the other figures.

Does he too, as a *sackedragher*, *pijnre* [sack-carrier, labourer] from the lower classes who has to work hard, in some way reflect *Invidia*? Are Jan van Dale's words (ca. 1516) applicable here: *Ghi arme arbeyders, ghi menschen mate, Dick nidich* [You poor labourers, you humble people, Often envious]<sup>153</sup>? Or does the fact that he is so markedly turned away from the others mean that Bosch intended him to be a contrasting figure: the common man working too hard to have time for envy?

I am inclined to interpret the pack-bearer, at least the one on the St. Bavo-panel, in a favourable sense and to see him as the opposite of the beggar at the tavern. This carrier of sacks is also a poor man, but he is not lazy, he works hard for a living. The dog, too, walking so calmly along with him, seems to have a favourable meaning, perhaps faithfulness<sup>154</sup>. The dog is faithful to his master (the sack-man), as the latter is loyal to his employer?

The posture of Bosch's two sack-bearers and the way they carry their burden reminds one of the attitudes in which carriers are depicted on the panels of the *St. Elizabeth Flood*<sup>155</sup>.

<sup>151</sup> Boecius. *De Consolatione philosophie*. Ghend, Arend de keyser, 1485. Tweeste Bouc. De vijfste Prose. Afdeling: *Wat begheert ghij dan also ghuffelic tgoed van fortunē?* [Section: Why then do you so greedily desire fortune's goods?] *Quic*: the young of an animal.

<sup>152</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 121.

<sup>153</sup> *W.N.T.* 1, Supplement, 1637.

<sup>154</sup> *Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 67.

<sup>155</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 250/333 (135). Rep.: Hoogewerff 1, p. 503. Compare the posture of the mussel-bearer in Bosch's *Garden of Lusts* and the way in which he carries his burden (*Tuin*, p. 48). The sack-carrier in Bruegel's *Avaritia* (a thief) does not show influence of Bosch's bearers. The sack is too large and the whole too caricaturish.

Beyond the third house is a side-street to the left. Further on there seems to be a large building with two gable-tops and a gateway.

Baldass und Heinz rightly pointed out that the street with its houses is reminiscent of Jan van Eyck's street, so rich in detail, painted on the exterior of the *Lamb of God* in Ghent<sup>156</sup>. This i.m.o. is again an indication of influence of the Van Eycks and their followers on Bosch.

The depictions with St. James and St. Bavo on the backs of the wings are grisailles. The one with St. Bavo has been illumined with gold in two places: the spurs and the little ring have this colour. It is something we see also in Flemish miniatures. Thus in a Brussels illumination from 1462 showing David Aubert presenting a book to Philip the Good, the duke is painted in grey colours with a touch of gold here and there, e.g. in the chain of the Golden Fleece<sup>157</sup>.

Goldscheider and Heinz, as we have noted, are of the opinion that the *Last Judgement* triptych in Vienna was painted partly by Bosch and partly by a collaborator. Goldscheider believes that the scenes with James and Bavo are not the master's own work: 'perhaps only copies based on drawings by him'<sup>158</sup>. Heinz, however, who knows the panels well from having seen them so often, regards them as executed by Bosch himself<sup>159</sup>. I studied them in 1954 and in 1963 and agree with Heinz.

Below each of the two portraits a rectangular section has been painted containing a shield with a decorative design in the form of a crescent over it. The shields are blank. These rectangular parts appear to me to be the product of a hand weaker than that of Bosch. Here, indeed, an assistant could have been at work.

Blank escutcheons do occur elsewhere too. In Rogier van der Weyden's *Mary with the Child Jesus* (Städelsches Institut, Frankfurt) two of the three shields are blank<sup>160</sup>. Neither Beenken nor Destrée explains this. I would say that at the time Rogier did not know which coats of arms the donors wished to have displayed and so left the spaces to be filled in later by someone else. Bosch's assistant has no doubt left our shields empty for the same reason<sup>161</sup>.

It is worth noting that in the printer's mark of Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, of Leiden, as it appears in the book *Miraculen van onse lieve vrouwe* (Ao. 1503), there are two escutcheons which not only have the same form as those of Bosch,

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<sup>156</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1959, p. 42. Baldass noted this already in 1943, p. 60, and added that one could also compare the cityscape on the right wing of the *Merode Altar* by the Master of Flemalle (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). However, the relationship here is less clear.

<sup>157</sup> Delaissé. *Miniatures médiévales*, no. 41. In 1962 Miss Sulzberger pointed out that in his grisaille painting in general, Bosch was influenced by Flemish miniature art: S. Sulzberger. *Notes sur la grisaille. Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. vi<sup>e</sup> période. Tome 59 (1962), p. 120. S. Sulzberger. *Jérôme Bosch et les maîtres de l'enluminure. Scriptorium. Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits*. xvi (1962), p. 46 ff.

<sup>158</sup> Linfert, p. 115.

<sup>159</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 58.

<sup>160</sup> Beenken, ill. 53, p. 59 ff. J. Destrée. *Rogier de la Pasture – Van der Weyden*. Tome premier. Paris et Bruxelles 1930, p. 112.

<sup>161</sup> I cannot accept the explanation given by Reuterswärd, p. 276. He does not find it strange that Bosch left the shields blank: 'Im Gegenteil hätte es wie eine Tautologie gewirkt wenn Bosch die Wappen von Habsburg und Kastilien hinzugemalt hätte. Die leeren Schilder hängen unter den Heiligen, dem Jacobus Spaniens und dem Bavo der Niederlande, was besagt, dass diese nun selber eine heraldische Funktion erfüllen.'





60. Philip the Fair, portrait on diptych, 1494 (p. 317 n. 171)

but also hang on straps and are likewise blank<sup>162</sup>. Nijhoff offers no explanation. The printer's mark of Govaert Bac in *Elegantiarum viginti praecepta* (ca. 1510) also shows a shield hanging on a strap. But here a coat-of-arms is displayed on it<sup>163</sup>.

The shield below St. James is however not entirely without trace of design on it. At the top a curved blue line can be discerned and on the shield two very roughly drawn intersecting strokes, each with a little cross-stroke at the bottom. They remind one of two crossed pilgrims' staves, a well-known attribute of pilgrims to St. James<sup>164</sup>.

But so crude are these indications of pilgrims' staves that they cannot have been done by an artist. Perhaps they were the attempt of someone just trying to show how he thought the escutcheon should be filled in with an attribute appropriate to St. James.

The two shields show darker touches at the top edges and at the bottom, probably so shaded to suggest curvature.

The question has been asked why precisely St. Bavo should have found a place in the *Last Judgement* triptych. Glück in 1904 believed that he is placed here as 'der Schutzpatron der Niederlande', next to St. James, the patron saint of Spain<sup>165</sup>. Others have reiterated this: Eigenberger (1927), Baldass (1943, p. 241: he names Henri Hymans as his source, but I cannot find the place where Hymans is supposed to have said this), Brans (1948)<sup>166</sup>. Lafond (1914, p. 55) called St. Bavo 'patron des Flandres', Münz (1954, p. 8) qualified him as 'einen niederländischen Nationalheiligen' and Cinotti (1966, p. 108) as 'protettore delle Fiandre'.

But as patron of the Netherlands or of Flanders he is not known to me. The misrepresentation is no doubt due to the fact that he is the guardian saint of the bishopric and city of Ghent, as he is of the city and diocese of Haarlem, and that in both cities a cathedral is consecrated to him<sup>167</sup>. Furthermore, relics of Bavo are kept in the cathedral of St. Donatus in Bruges<sup>168</sup>, and on the 1st of October solemn celebrations in his honour are held in the bishoprics of Bruges and Ghent<sup>169</sup>.

Now, in the face of St. Bavo I see a resemblance to that of Philip the Fair as it appears in some of his portraits<sup>170</sup>, e.g. on a diptych in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (1494)<sup>171</sup> and in a stained-glass window from the Chapel of Burgundy in Antwerp (ca. 1497)<sup>172</sup>. See, respectively, ill. 60 and 59.

<sup>162</sup> Nijhoff. *L'Art typographique* I, p. 98.

<sup>163</sup> Nijhoff. *L'Art typographique* II, p. 1.

<sup>164</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 295. One sees them also, together with shells, on the hat of a St. James pilgrim in a drawing formerly attributed to Bruegel: L. Münz. *Bruegel. The drawings*. Complete edition. London 1961, no. 99.

<sup>165</sup> *J.d.k.p.K.* xxv (1904), p. 181.

<sup>166</sup> Brans, p. 53.

<sup>167</sup> K.C. Peeters. *Sint Bavo in het volksleven. Volkskunde*. Jrg. 66 (nieuwe reeks 24) - 1965-, p. 67.

<sup>168</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*. Editio novissima, curante Joanne Carnandet. Octobris. Tomus primus. Parisiis et Romae 1866. Gloria posthuma Sancti Bavonis, p. 291.

<sup>169</sup> See note 167.

<sup>170</sup> Onghena, p. 51, points out that most of the portraits of Philip were not done from life, because only as an exception did the sovereign pose for an artist.

<sup>171</sup> Rep.: Onghena, no. IV.

<sup>172</sup> Rep.: Onghena, no. XI a. J. Mosmans (*Jheronimus Anthonis-zoon van Aken alias*

Philip was indeed more than once represented as a saint, namely as St. Adrian (Onghena, p. 350) and twice as St. George (idem, p. 118 and 282).

He knew 's-Hertogenbosch well: he visited the city at least five times. In May 1481, as a three-year-old, he was knighted in the St. Jan's cathedral, after which he was admitted to the Order of the Golden Fleece<sup>173</sup>. From the 2nd of February 1494 till after Easter he stayed there with his step-mother Maria Blanca, daughter of the duke of Milan<sup>174</sup>. On 15 December 1496 the city paid homage to him as a duke<sup>175</sup>. In January 1497 he met his father there<sup>176</sup>. And in 1504 he was in 's-Hertogenbosch on account of the war against Guelre. His troops invaded this duchy. At the end of that year also Maximilian and Maria Blanca arrived and the illustrious company remained in the city for the whole of the winter<sup>177</sup>.

It is probable that it was then, in 1504, that Philip commissioned Bosch to paint a *Last Judgement* triptych. In any case, in September of that year he paid to 'Jeronnimus Van aeken dit bosch paintre dem(eurant) au bois le duc' 36 pounds as an advance on the painting of 'ung grant tableau de peinture de neuf pietz de hault et unze pietz de long Ou doint estre le Jugement de dieu assavoir paradis et Infer que icellui S(eigneu)r lui avoit ordonné faire pour son tres noble plaisir'<sup>178</sup>.

What became of this great triptych is not known<sup>179</sup>. It is not the painting in Vienna: the measurements are different and I am unable to accept the hypothesis of Reuterswärd that Bosch deviated from an order for a work of ca. 280 × 340 cm. (for which he had already received part payment) and, instead, delivered a painting of ca. 168 × 247 cm. The latter is also not a reduced copy of the former. It is not a copy at all: this is proved by the many places where the underpainted design has become visible. Neither is it, as madam Poch-Kalous has suggested, a specimen piece to show Philip the Fair what the painting could look like. A 'proof' was not executed in such great size and detail.

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*Hieronymus Bosch. Zijn leven en zijn werk.* 's-Hertogenbosch 1947, p. 54) sees Philip the Fair portrayed in the prince with a sceptre who rides behind the wagon in Bosch's *Haywain*, and to whom i.m.o. the flag with three golden lilies on a dark field belongs (Mosmans, p. 71, mistakenly took the lilies to be a Golden Fleece chain or a rosary). I see the man rather as the king of France (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 252/324 f., note 2). Also Onghena, p. 341 f., judges it to be uncertain that the monarch is Philip the Fair.

<sup>173</sup> Hermans. *Kronyken*. Eerste stuk, p. 67 (Aelbertus Cuperinus. *Die chronicke van der vermaerder ende vromer stadt van Tsertogenbosch*. Hermans. *Geschiedkundig mengelwerk* 1, p. 217 (*Kronijkje der Stad en Meijerij van 's Hertogenbosch, 1476-1501*).

<sup>174</sup> Hermans. *Geschiedkundig mengelwerk* 1, p. 227.

<sup>175</sup> Hermans. *Kronyken, Charters en Oorkonden*, 1, p. 29 ff.: *Die Chronieke vander Stat van Tsartogenbosch*, int corte, van hartoghe Jan van Brabant, die eerste van dien name, af, tot coninc Phillips tiden toe, die was hartoge van Brabant en coninck van Engellant, sub 1496 (*Tuin*, p. 175). Hermans. *Kronyken* 1, p. 69. Hermans. *Geschiedkundig mengelwerk* 1, p. 226.

<sup>176</sup> Hermans. *Geschiedkundig mengelwerk* 1, p. 229.

<sup>177</sup> Idem, p. 72.

<sup>178</sup> Pater Gerlach. *Studies over Jeronimus van Aken (alias Bosch)* 11, in *Spiegel der Historie* 2 (1967), p. 663 (here: Jeronimus), 669, note 321 (here: Jeronnimus). Pater Gerlach. *Jeronimus van Aken alias Bosch en Onze Lieve Vrouwe-Broederschap*, in *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen* 1967, p. 55 (here: 'Jeronnimus, de(meurant)' and, surely a slip, omission of 'de hault et unze peitz'). In *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van Brabant* LIV (1971), p. 68, Father Gerlach again spells 'Jeronnimus'.

<sup>179</sup> L. Maeterlinck incorrectly states that in 1515 it was in the possession of Margaret of Austria: *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* XXIII (janvier-juin 1908), p. 146.

Buchner in 1934 thought that the fragment in Munich of a *Last Judgement* by Bosch was part of the large triptych of 1504-5<sup>180</sup>. But there is no certainty about this<sup>181</sup>.

Did Philip the Fair give Bosch a second commission to paint a *Last Judgement* triptych? With himself on it as St. Bavo? He died in September 1506 (in Burgos), only two years after the initial instalment on the first was paid, so that this is not very likely. In fact, an altarpiece completed before his death would not have had St. James on it as his counterpart, but his spouse Johanna, as on the wings of the *Last Judgement* triptych which once hung in the court of justice in the city hall of Zierikzee and is now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schoone Kunsten in Brussels<sup>182</sup>.

After an intensive study of the *Last Judgement* triptych by Bosch and of the so-called copy of it by Cranach, which I did in Vienna and in East Berlin, I feel that the following conclusions are warranted:

The work in Vienna is not a copy. This is evident from the many underpaintings from which in some cases the overpainting differs greatly, especially on the centre panel.

This triptych was not done entirely by the same hand. The two decorative rectangles, in any case, with their shields, were depicted by an artist other than the one who executed the best preserved parts of the altarpiece (and these include the scenes with St. James and St. Bavo).

The work in Berlin is not a copy of the Vienna triptych: it contains too many divergent details (all noted in the foregoing). Yet also the discrepancies have for the most part a typically Bosch aspect, and in such cases are not Cranach's inventions<sup>183</sup>.

Accordingly it appears to me that what Cranach produced was a copy of another triptych which in minor points differed from the painting in Vienna, and that therefore two *Last Judgement* triptychs were produced in the workshop of Bosch, with dissimilarities, here and there, between the two.

Now why would the patron who commissioned the triptychs wish to have Philip the Fair painted on the altarpiece in the guise of St. Bavo, at any rate on the one which is now in Vienna?

Philip was born in Bruges in 1478, and in 1507 his heart was buried there in the cathedral of Our Lady. He was also baptized in the city, in the church of St. Donatius. We have already noted that this church holds relics of St. Bavo and that in the bishopric of Bruges the 1st of October is observed as a day of solemn celebration in honour of the saint. So St. Bavo is associated with Bruges and with

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<sup>180</sup> E. Buchner. *Ein Werk des Hieronymus Bosch in der Älteren Pinakothek. Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* N.F. XI (1934), p. 298.

<sup>181</sup> De Tolnay (1965), *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 364) thinks that it could be a part of the altarpiece of 1504. Baldass und Heinz (1968, p. 64) doubt this. Reuterswärd (p. 282) does regard it as an original Bosch, but not as a fragment of the painting commissioned by Philip the Fair. According to K. Arndt (*Zur Ausstellung Jheronimus Bosch, 's-Hertogenbosch 1967*, in *Kunstchronik* XXI-1968-, p. 1 ff.) it is not a work executed by Bosch himself. With this I do not agree.

<sup>182</sup> Onghena, p. 122 f. *Anonieme Vlaamse Primitieven*. Catalogus met wetenschappelijke bijlage. 14 juni - 21 september 1969, no. 59.

<sup>183</sup> Deviations which are typical of Cranach are i.a.: the face of Eve, some figures among the angels, the faces of some male and female sinners, the hart with hinds on the left panel (or has Cranach borrowed this motif from Bosch?). Cranach also shows more movement in fingers and toes than Bosch does.

the St. Donatus cathedral in particular, which links him also to Philip the Fair who likewise has close connections with the same city and church.

Obviously the person who commissioned the painting wished to have Philip represented as a benefactor of the poor. He probably wanted to draw attention to Philip's charitable deeds, which on the Day of Judgement would stand him in good stead<sup>184</sup>. St. Bavo had also been a nobleman and he had given away all his possessions to the poor. This too will have been of influence, and Bosch's client could also have known that on the occasion of their triumphal entry into Bruges, Philip and his spouse, Johanna of Castile, washed the feet of thirteen of the city's poor<sup>185</sup>.

On the back of the other wing is depicted St. James, the national saint of Spain. This is an understandable choice, because after the death of Johanna's mother, Philip and his wife became king and queen of Castile and Leon, and Philip showed a special interest in the place of pilgrimage of the apostle: in 1506 he visited the shrine, and he was once even portrayed in the garb of a pilgrim to Compostela *met de pelgrimstaf in de rechter- en de rozenkrans in de linkerhand, en op de hoed de symbolische schelp. Alleen de ordeketen van het Gulden Vlies verried de hoge waardigheid van het model* [with the pilgrim's staff in the right hand and the rosary in the left, and on the hat the symbolic shell. Only the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece revealed the high status of the model]<sup>186</sup>.

Apart from this, the patron saint of Spain could have been chosen in honour of Johanna, daughter of the king of Aragon and the queen of Castile.

Authors who have written in recent years about the *Last Judgement* triptych in Vienna, believe that this work (or its original, according to a few), was painted in the first years of the 16th century: De Tolnay (1965) places it between the Lisbon *Temptation* and the *Garden*, or in 1510 or shortly after<sup>187</sup>, Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 9) in 1504, while Heinz (1968, p. 58) says: 'Anfang der Spätwerke', and

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<sup>184</sup> One is reminded of statements by Dutch moralists, such as: *Ten lesten ordel . . . sal die almisse die minschen vriën van des duvels geselschap* [At the last judgement . . . the alms will keep man free of the devil's company] and that on Doomsday will be punished *die genen die oeren even kersten geen ontfermherticheit en hebben gedaen* [those that have done no charity to their fellow Christian] (*Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 134, 135). Or: *wes ontfermhertich mit al dattu moeschste, want aelmisse verlost van allen sonden ende vanden doot ende bescermt die siel, dat si niet en coemt in die helsche dusterneisse* [be charitable to the utmost, because alms releases from all sin and from death and protects the soul that it come not in the darkness of hell] (*Des Coninx Summe*, p. 427).

<sup>185</sup> A. Viaene. *Blijde inkomst van hertog Filips te Brugge*. 1497, in: *Biekorf. Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Folklore* LXI (1960), p. 36.

<sup>186</sup> Onghena, p. 103. The portrait was formerly in the Alcázar in Madrid.

<sup>187</sup> De Tolnay 1965. *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 360: An excellent copy of an authentic Bosch, perhaps a reduced copy of the work of 1504. The original executed between the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon and the *Garden* triptych. But elsewhere De Tolnay's argument leads to a later date for the origin of the authentic work: He regards the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges as a genuine Bosch and believes that it was painted round about 1510 (*Kritischer Katalog*, p. 383), before the original of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Vienna and the *Garden* triptych, because: 'Die gleichen Motive [i.e. those on the triptych in Bruges] kommen auch in dem Jüngsten Gericht der Wiener Akademie und im Garten der Lüste vor, doch in beiden Fällen sind sie noch weiterentwickelt' (p. 384). Here, then, he places the origin of the authentic work, of which the *Last Judgement* triptych in Vienna is (according to him) a copy, in 1510 or shortly afterwards.



places it shortly after the *Adoration* in Madrid and before the *Garden*, and Reuterswärd (1970, p. 178) gives the date as 1504.

My own opinion is that the Vienna triptych and also the variant which was copied by Cranach, originated in the last years of Bosch's life: in 1515 and 1516. I believe that he himself still designed the composition and for this drew on the whole arsenal of forms and motifs that he had made singularly his own in former years. More about this presently. Illness or death prevented him from completing in any case the Vienna picture. That in certain areas the paint was not applied in a responsible way would be due to the collaborator who finished the work.

What strikes one is that various details in the Vienna and Berlin triptychs are reminiscent of elements in paintings and drawings from the second and third stages of Bosch's activity, the periods of what Heinz calls the 'Werke der Reife' and 'Spätwerke'.

Here are some examples taken from our foregoing discussion of the paintings. Compare:

The dog lying in the foreground of the left wing, with the dog in the *Accidia* of the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* (executed according to some between ca. 1490 and ca. 1515 by a pupil working on instructions or from examples by Bosch<sup>188</sup>); the beggar-boy beside St. Bavo, with the youngster in the *Gula* of the *Table*; the sack-carrier in the background of the St. Bavo depiction, with the sack-carrier in the *Invidia* of the *Table*.

The hunchbacked devil with bow, the fish-devil with human legs and the cat-devil close by, all three on our centre panel, with the hunchbacked devil, fish-devil and cat-devil in front of the wagon in the *Haywain* triptych ('Werke der Reife').

The posture of Adam and that of Eve in the scene of the creation, with respectively, that of Adam on the left panel of the *Haywain* triptych and that of Eve on the left panel of the *Garden* triptych ('Spätwerke').

A heron-devil with its head and neck stuck through a much enlarged handguard of a spear on the centre panel, with a similar depiction in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon ('Werke der Reife').

The lion devouring the deer on the left panel, with the same scene in the *Paradise* in Venice ('Werke der Reife') and in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych.

Letter and metal badge of a sinner in the foreground of the centre panel, with similar objects which a sinner has in the foreground of the right wing of the *Garden* triptych.

The little dog on a hill-top in the background of the left wing of the Cranach painting (it does not appear in the Vienna picture), with the little dogs in the drawing on the back of the *Wood that Sees and Hears* ('Werke der Reife').

The head of the beggar-woman beside St. Bavo, with the head of a man in a drawing in San Francisco ('Werke der Reife').

The combination of earthenware jug, disc with spikes, stick with cord and small ball, and acrobat on the centre panel, with a similar combination in the drawing of the human tree (Albertina; Heinz, 1968, places the drawing among Bosch's last works, after the *Garden*).

The underpaintings of dance-band and fat-bellied devil on the centre panel, with dance-band and sinner with bent knees rising from his grave, on the *Last*

<sup>188</sup> See *Bezwaren*, p. 24-26. If this should be so, then the *Table* would not belong to the 'Frühwerke' (Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 251).

*Judgement* fragment in Munich (Heinz, 1968, judges also this painting to be one of the last works, after the *Garden*).

The face with its little bonnet, of the child behind the fish, on the right panel, together with the snout of the female devil standing beside the child, with the face and bonnet of a laughing imp and the snout and cap of a diabolic animal standing near by, likewise on the Munich fragment.

It would indeed appear that Bosch at the end of his life drew on a large stock-in-trade of forms and motifs for his triptych. But he added new ones, such as the machines of war. New too, is the original way in which he effected the inter-relation between paradise, earth and hell.

In various works from the school of Bosch the influence on them of depictions in the Vienna and Berlin triptychs is noticeable. The following are some examples.

In the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges: A she-devil sits on a large soldier's helmet. A sinner whose blindfolded head has been hacked off, is being stabbed through the back with a sword. A devil is reading out a sentence of punishment from a letter. Sinners are being tormented in and at a large wine-cask by devils. A sinner on a spit is being basted by a devil. Sinners hang under a lean-to. Devils are shoeing sinners in a smithy. Mill-stones standing on their edges in a dish are being turned round by sinners. Further: a fat, bare bird on two legs; a large jar lying on its side, with a tavern scene in the opening; a beggar-devil wearing a long coat and a black hat; cannon.

In Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych (right wing): Devil beside sinner on roasting-spit. Sinner on wheel with sharp projections. Sinner under upright mill-stones. Sinner hanging head downwards and held by legs.

In the same engraving (centre panel): Mast with rigging carried in a procession (*Judgem.*, p. 103, 366 no. 13). Mill-stone and cannon (p. 101 and 366 no. 13).

In a *Last Judgement*, successively in the collections of Pacully (Neuilly), Kadjar (Baytown) and Evans (London): Instrument of torture with cannon. Jug with wheel. Devil basting sinner on roasting-spit. Devil sitting with wine-jar beside cask.

In a *Last Judgement* which was formerly in the L. Maeterlinck Collection in Ghent: Battle-engine. Jug with wheel. Sinner on wheel with sharp projections. Sinner on plank pierced by saw-toothed cutting instrument. Devil beside sinner on spit.

In a *Last Judgement* in the cathedral of Tudela (Navarra): Wheel under rectangular *schijf* [board, slab, 'disc']. Roasting-spit with sinner on it. Devil shoeing female sinner.

Of these works the triptych in Bruges shows by far the greatest influence.<sup>189</sup>

It seems that influence on Bruegel is also discernible. Grossman already drew attention to the correspondence between the *Fall of the Angels* on Bosch's left panel and Bruegel's painting of the same subject<sup>190</sup>. In *Judgem.*, p. 99 n. 57, I suggested that Bosch's standing shields and raised hatch are perhaps reflected in a detail in Bruegel's *Triumph of Death*.

It is worth noting that there are two instances in which something that appears only in the Cranach picture, is reminiscent of a detail in a work by Bruegel: The face of an insect-devil with a human head who is in the air on Cranach's left

<sup>189</sup> For references to reproductions of these works see *Judgem.*, p. 80 n. 16 to 20.

<sup>190</sup> F. Grossmann. *Notes on some sources of Bruegel's art. Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*. Editors J. Bruyn, J.A. Emmens, E. de Jongh, D.P. Snoep. The Hague 1973, p. 148.

panel, as one of the diaboli into which the insurgent angels have been changed, looks like the mask of a figure of death in the bottom right-hand corner of Bruegel's *Triumph of Death*<sup>191</sup>. On the centre panel in Berlin and in Vienna, above the scene with the plough, a group of devils is driving a crowd of sinners into a lake. In the Cranach version one of the devils is a skeleton seated on a thin riding-animal. This for a moment brings to mind Bruegel's Death mounted on a thin horse and armed with a scythe, likewise in his *Triumph*, although Bruegel's depiction appears to be in closer agreement with the figure of Death on horseback, with bow and quiver, in the fresco of ca. 1445 in the Palazzo Sclafani in Palermo<sup>192</sup>.

Had Bruegel seen the triptych that Cranach copied?

From the foregoing it seems justifiable to deduce that the triptych of which the painting by Cranach is a copy, and perhaps also the altarpiece in Vienna, had for a time hung in some place where the public, or at least artists, could see it.

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<sup>191</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 27 n. 24.

<sup>192</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 206.

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## Conclusion

From the foregoing it is evident:

1. that i. m. o. Philip the Fair as St. Bavo has been portrayed on the back of a wing of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Vienna;
2. that it is generally accepted that the apostle James the Greater as patron saint of Spain has been depicted on the back of the other wing;
3. that according to authorities on Cranach, his *Last Judgement* triptych in East Berlin originated approximately 1520-1525 and that already at an early date it was in the possession of the Brandenburgs;
4. that i. m. o. this triptych is not a copy of the *Last Judgement* in Vienna, but a copy of variant of it, which is no longer in existence;
5. that the Vienna triptych and the variant of it were both painted in the last years of Bosch's life: 1515-1516;
6. that i. m. o. both works (the *Last Judgement* in Vienna and its lost variant) were designed by Bosch, but that the painting of at any rate the Vienna triptych, was not entirely carried out by Bosch himself;
7. that i. m. o. either both works, or only the lost variant, were open to public view in the Netherlands for some period of time, during which other artists could have been influenced by them.

Is it possible, on the basis of these seven premisses, taken in conjunction with historical data, to establish an hypothesis in regard to the origin of the two Bosch paintings and the Cranach depiction, and in regard to what happened to them afterwards? I think it is. Although future discoveries could of course make it untenable, there is nevertheless something attractively credible about this speculation.

Philip the Fair had two sons (Charles and Ferdinand) and four daughters (Eleonora, Isabella, Maria and Catharina). Charles was born in Ghent in 1500 and Ferdinand in Alcalá de Henares in Spain, in 1503. Charles was educated in the Low Countries, in Mechelen at the court of his father's sister, the Regentess Margaret of Austria, while Ferdinand received his education in Spain.

On the 5th of January 1515 Charles, then fifteen years old, was declared of age in Brussels and having attained his majority had to travel through his domains so that due homage could be paid him.

He also visited 's-Hertogenbosch in the company of his aunt Margaret and stayed there from 12 to 16 July 1515<sup>1</sup>. In *Die chronike van der vermaerder ende vromer stadt van Tsertogenbosch* this visit is described by Aelbertus Cuperinus [here translated]:

In this year [1515] the new young prince, duke Charles, came to ['s-Hertogen]Bosch, and he was accorded a very festive entry by the spiritual estate and by the secular estate and he was lodged in Cornelis van [Sevenberghen's]<sup>2</sup> house at St. George's chapel, and lady Margaret, his aunt, was lodged in milord Ian Bacx house, that is now the court of the abbey of Tongerlo; and the following day on a Sunday, the 15th day in July, there was money cast from the terrace, altogether 40 guilders, and the city presented the prince with two silver stoups and a silver cup with a lid, together being worth six hundred Rhine guilders, likewise he was given two casks of wine<sup>3</sup>.

And in the *Kronykjen van 's Hertogenbosch, van de jaren 1312-1517* we read [here translated]: the 15th day of July in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen, the aforesaid duke Charles was honoured in the aforesaid city of 's-Hertogenbosch<sup>4</sup>.

Van Heurn tells us that also his sister Eleonora and his tutor Adriaan Floris, of Utrecht, who later became Pope Adrian VI, were with him, and that Charles, after having attended a religious service in the St. Jan's cathedral was, as duke of Brabant, paid homage in the square in front of the city-hall. From 's-Hertogenbosch he proceeded to Breda, there to attend the wedding of Henry III of Nassau and Claudia of Châlons<sup>5</sup>. Steppe has produced acceptable evidence that this Henry had in his possession Bosch's *Garden of Lusto* triptych and that

<sup>1</sup> L.P. Gachard. *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*. Tome deuxième. Itinéraire de Charles-Quint de 1506 à 1531. Journal des voyages de Charles-Quint, de 1514 à 1551, par Jean de Vandenesse. Bruxelles 1874, p. 16: 13-15 July. According to Van Heurn, p. 427, he arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch on 12 July and according to Molius (P. Gerlach, in *Brabantia* xx -1971-, p. 89) he departed on 16 July.

<sup>2</sup> The *hoogschout* [chief sheriff] of 's-Hertogenbosch.

<sup>3</sup> Hermans. *Kronyken* 1, p. 78: *In dit iaer [1515] quam die ionge nieuwe prinche, hartoch Karel, ten Bosch, ende hy werdt seer feestelyck ingehaelt vanden geestelicken staet en vanden werlicken staet en hy werdt gelogeert in Cornelis van [Sevenberghen's] huys by sint Ioris capel, ende vrou Margriet, syn moeye, werdt gelogeert in heer Ian Bacx huys, dat nu is dat hoff van d'abdie van Tongerlo; ende des anderen dages op eenen Sondach, den xv<sup>ten</sup> dach in Iulio, ende daer wert gelt geworpen vanden payen, in summa xl gulden, ende die stat beschank den prinche twee silveren stopen en een silvere cop mit een dexsel, tsamen weert synde vi<sup>te</sup> Rynsgulden, item hem waren gegeven twee voeder wyns.*

<sup>4</sup> J.F. Willems. *Kronykjen van 's Hertogenbosch, van de jaren 1312-1517*. Belgisch Museum III, p. 92: *den xv dach July, in den jaire duysent cccccxv, waist die voirs. bartoghe Karle in der voirs. stat van tsHertogenbossche gebuldt.*

<sup>5</sup> Van Heurn, p. 428.



the commission for it had been placed with the painter either by himself or by his uncle Engelbert II<sup>6</sup>.

Margaret of Austria was an art-loving woman. In her palace in Mechelen, for instance, she had a valuable collection of paintings. Two inventories of it are known, one drawn up on 17 July 1516<sup>7</sup>, the other dated 9 July 1523<sup>8</sup>. These record that in 1516 she already owned a painting by Bosch and that this had been given to her by 'Jhoane, femme de chambre de madam Lyonor', i.e. Eleonora, the daughter of Philip the Fair<sup>9</sup>. This item was in 1533, that is, after Margaret's death (in 1530), 'délivré aux prieur et religieux de Broux'<sup>10</sup>. With some other paintings from the same collection it probably remained in the church of Brou – where the regentess was buried next to her husband – up to the French revolution<sup>11</sup>.

Margaret therefore took an interest in Bosch's art, an interest which was shared by her brother, as she will of course have been aware of, in view, too, of his commission to the Master in 1504 to paint a *Last Judgement* triptych for him. Another person who, as we have seen, also appreciated the work of Bosch, was Henry III of Nassau, whom Margaret knew well, with whom she corresponded, and who in 1506 had been entrusted by the emperor Maximilian with part of the education of Charles<sup>12</sup>.

It seems to me therefore not inconceivable that in July 1515, during her visit to 's-Hertogenbosch, she placed an order with Bosch for two paintings of the same subject, one for each of her two nephews, in memory of their father Philip. The image of the deceased was to appear on the triptychs, but not that of the unfortunate mother, who had become insane after the death of her husband.

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<sup>6</sup> *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België* 24 (1962), p. 166 f. In extenso: *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen* 1967, p. 7-12. See also in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* xxx (1967), p. 153: O. Kurz. *Four tapestries after Hieronymus Bosch*, and p. 403 ff.: E.H. Gombrich. *The earliest description of Bosch's Garden of Delight*.

<sup>7</sup> Published by A. Le Glay in *Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien I<sup>er</sup> et de Marguerite d'Autriche*. Tome II, p. 479-484. Paris 1839.

<sup>8</sup> Published by H. Michelant in *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, ou Recueil de ses Bulletins*. Troisième Série. Tome deuxième. Bruxelles 1871, p. 5-78, 83-136. Also by Eleanor E. Tremayne. *The first governess of the Netherlands Margaret of Austria*. London 1908, p. 305-327. The first is the best of the two publications.

<sup>9</sup> Le Glay, *op. cit.* (see note 7), p. 480. Le Glay reads 'Jhoane'. J. Duverger (*Brussel als kunstcentrum in de XIV<sup>e</sup> en de XV<sup>e</sup> eeuw*. Antwerpen-Gent 1935, p. 55, note 32) reads 'Jhorine'.

<sup>10</sup> Michelant, *op. cit.* (see note 8), p. 87.

<sup>11</sup> Tremayne, *op. cit.* (see note 8), p. 326. In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 134/177 (15) I was mistaken in suggesting that the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Prado could perhaps be the one Margaret had in her possession. The description of the painting given in the inventory of 1523: 'ung aultre tableau du Monseigneur Saint Anthoine tenant ung livre et une bericle en sa main et ung baston soubz son bras, le fond de bocaige et estrainges figures de personnaiges' led Ghislaine de Boom, p. 149, to equate it with the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the museum in Berlin-Dahlem, which was formerly attributed to Bosch but is now regarded as the work of a follower (rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 5, p. 58). However, in the Berlin painting the 'bericle' is not there and the saint does not hold his stick under his arm. Entirely erroneous is the view of Glück (*J.d.k.S.i.W.* N.F. IX, 1935, p. 151) that the *Temptation of St. Anthony* which came to the Rijksmuseum from the Schmidt-Degener collection and which is a copy, is the painting that Margaret had.

<sup>12</sup> Roest van Limburg. *Kasteel*, p. 33.

Instead of the Spanish princess, the patron saint of Spain was to be portrayed<sup>13</sup>.

Margaret could have instructed Bosch to spare the clergy and secular persons of the higher classes as much as possible (*Judgem.*, p. 278). That Bosch laid so much stress on Luxuria, Ira and Gula (frequenting taverns, brothels and bath-houses, keeping company with women of light virtue, waging war, eating and drinking to excess) could then be seen as an admonishment addressed to youthful princelings. Also the repeated reference to the Spanish pox could be such a cautionary lesson. Did not Erasmus write that this disease was prevalent especially among the nobility (*Judgem.*, p. 259)?

Bosch died already in 1516: on the 9th of August of that year his obituary service was held in the St. Jan's. It is understandable therefore that he might have been unable to complete at least one of the two paintings himself, namely the triptych now in Vienna. And it is possible too, of course, that he had already called in the assistance of a collaborator immediately after accepting the commission.

Charles v departed for Spain on 8 September 1517, sailing from Vlissingen, and arrived back in that port on 1 June 1520. He then stayed with his aunt till 21 October 1520, when he left the Low Countries for Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), where he was crowned emperor in the cathedral two days later.

Ferdinand lived in Spain till 1518 in which year he came to the Low Countries, arriving in Vlissingen on 18 May. He went to Mechelen and later in the company of his aunt visited other cities in these regions. He returned to Spain only some time during the session of the Diet of Worms, which lasted from the end of November 1520 to the end of May 1521<sup>14</sup>, and after this was only once again in the Low Countries, from December 1521 to May 1522<sup>15</sup>.

It is conceivable that Margaret took delivery of the two triptychs and had them temporarily put in chapels or churches in the Southern Netherlands, e.g. in Mechelen and Bruges<sup>16</sup>. Also that Ferdinand took his with him when he went to live permanently in Germany as governor of the eastern regions of his brother's empire. He finally became emperor there in 1558. His great-grandson was the archduke Leopold Wilhelm, whose art possessions, according to an inventory

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<sup>13</sup> Baldass und Heinz 1968, p. 46, are of the opinion that the *Last Judgement* triptych in Vienna was intended to be placed above an altar in a church. In my view it would have been destined rather for a chapel in a princely palace or a castle. In the Low Countries a painting of the Last Judgement was often hung in a chamber of justice or council chamber of a city. E.g. in the city halls of Brussels, Kampen, Zwolle, Venlo and Maastricht. In such a place the depicted subject was an admonition to the judge to be righteous and fair in his judgement. See J.J.M. van der Ven, *Het Laatste Oordeel*, in: *In de kern en over de grenzen van het recht*. Publication no. 5 of the Molengraaff Instituut voor Privaatrecht in Utrecht. Zwolle 1973, p. 23 ff. A *Last Judgement* triptych with the images of Philip the Fair and his spouse Johanna once hung in the chamber of justice in the city hall of Zierikzee (see *Judgem.*, p. 319). In this work the ruler is represented as administrator and protector of justice (Onghena, p. 123). Bosch's *Last Judgement* triptych, however, is of a totally different nature.

<sup>14</sup> He made his triumphal entry into Worms on 2 April 1521: Bauer, p. 121.

<sup>15</sup> Bauer, p. 134 and 162.

<sup>16</sup> Madam Poch-Kalous (1967, p. 30) believed that the *Last Judgement* triptych in Vienna had for a long time been open to public view in Antwerp, because 'Die Zusammenhänge mit den Imitatoren und Nachfolgern werden nur durch die Nachweisbarkeit des Bildes von Hieronymus Bosch in Antwerpen verständlich'. There is no need, however, to think of Antwerp in particular as the place where it could be viewed. Besides, the influence could have come from the variant of which Cranach made a copy.

made in 1659, included the *Last Judgement*, now in Vienna. Was this an old family inheritance? Did Bosch's collaborator keep the shields blank because it was not yet certain at the time which arms would suit the then 14-year-old prince? And did Ferdinand afterwards let them remain blank through lack of interest, or because the condition of the painting was soon found to be wanting?

Charles's triptych could have been copied by Cranach round about 1520-1525 for some member of the Brandenburg family.

Now Cranach round about 1520 started working for Albrecht, elector of Brandenburg (1490-1545), who was archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, and also a cardinal<sup>17</sup>. Albrecht was the younger brother of Joachim I, elector of Brandenburg (1484-1535). He was a great patron of the arts and in contrast to Joachim a loyal supporter of Maximilian and his grandson Charles V.

Working for Albrecht, Cranach painted among others a portrait of the cardinal (ca. 1520-1525), which, like the *Last Judgement*, finally found its way to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum 'aus den Schlössern zu Berlin und Potsdam'<sup>18</sup>.

Albrecht met Charles on several occasions. In the summer of 1520 he was in Brussels to welcome him back on his return from Spain<sup>19</sup>. He was present at Charles's crowning in Aachen (Joachim on the contrary was not<sup>20</sup>, and in 1519, when the electors had unanimously chosen Charles as Roman king, he had it recorded by act of notary that he had voted solely under pressure of fear and not according to his conscience). There were other meetings during periods when Charles resided in Germany: 22 October 1520 – 10 June 1521; April 1530 – January 1531; and January – October 1532.

Had Albrecht seen the triptych in Brussels? Did Charles give him permission to have it copied? Did Albrecht send Cranach to the Southern Netherlands with panels of limewood for this purpose? With the instruction, too, not to copy the exterior of the wings, because a portrait of Philip the Fair and an image of the patron saint of Spain would have no special meaning for him?

Or did Charles take the triptych with him on one of his journeys through Germany? On such occasions he was accompanied by an extensive courtly retinue and works of art were taken along<sup>21</sup>. Did he at the request of Albrecht bring the *Last Judgement* with him in 1520?

Did this triptych remain housed in a chapel or church in the southern Low Countries for a considerable time still, during which artists would have had the opportunity to see it and be influenced by the representation? And was it destroyed in the Iconoclasm, or after the arrival of Alva taken to Spain, where eventually, like some other works of Bosch, it disappeared?

But again, this hypothesis that Bosch (with an assistant) in 1515 and 1516 painted two *Last Judgement* triptychs, one for Charles and one for Ferdinand, and that the triptych in Vienna is the one that went to Ferdinand, while the triptych in Berlin is a copy of the one that went to Charles, is . . . but an

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<sup>17</sup> Friedländer und Rosenberg, p. 58.

<sup>18</sup> Friedländer und Rosenberg, ill. 154. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum und Deutschen Museum*. Neunte Auflage. Berlin 1931, no. 559.

<sup>19</sup> A. Henne. *Histoire du règne de Charles-Quint en Belgique*. Tome II. Bruxelles et Leipzig 1858, p. 320.

<sup>20</sup> H. Baumgarten. *Geschichte Karls V.* Band I. Stuttgart 1885, p. 316.

<sup>21</sup> Ghislaine de Boom. *De reizen van Karel V.* Translated by G. de Negrís. Haarlem 1960, p. 8.

hypothesis. With new information becoming available it might collapse like a house of cards.

The question naturally arises whether Charles v and Ferdinand i were well enough acquainted with the Dutch language, customs and conventions, morals, folk belief, etc., to be able to understand that part of Bosch's symbolism which was based on it.

In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 134/177, note 15, I implied that it was improbable that their father, Philip the Fair, would have had such insight, and accordingly assumed that on the triptych of the *Last Judgement* which Philip in 1504 commissioned him to do, Bosch would not have applied this kind of figurative allusion.

My view now is that I was mistaken, and that Philip the Fair was indeed not so ignorant of the language, customs, beliefs, etc., of what was indeed a very large part of his subjects, that he would not have comprehended and appreciated the symbolism of a Bosch representation, especially if it had, where necessary, been explained to him.

Philip was born in the Low Countries (Bruges, 1478), grew up there (Mechelen), was sworn in there (Leuven, 1494), married there (Lier, 1496), and travelled through the Dutch-speaking parts of his realm.

In 1483 he attended the performance of Dutch plays in Ghent<sup>22</sup>. In 1486 the Chamber of Rhetoric De Violieren staged Dutch plays for him in Antwerp<sup>23</sup>. In 1493 the play *O.L. Vrouw van Zeven Weeën* was acted in his presence in Mechelen. The performance lasted five hours and Philip stayed to the end<sup>24</sup>. When on 9 September 1494 he was solemnly sworn in at Leuven, the young duke promised to uphold the privileges of Brabant after they had been read out to him, in Dutch first. Also the Triumphal Entries made by him and his wife were occasions which allowed him to become acquainted with the language and life-style of the Dutch, their customs and beliefs<sup>25</sup>.

Indeed, Degroote writes this about him [translated from the Dutch]: No previous Burgundian prince involved himself so directly with Flemish cultural life as Philip the Fair: the institution of the Sovereign Chamber of Rhetoric in 1493 and his invitation to the Flemish Rhetorician societies to co-operate, his presence at the festivities of the Rhetoricians – also together with his young sister Margaret of Austria – the support he gave to a deserving Flemish author like Jan van den Dale, are characteristic of this. In Leuven in 1494 he was in true Flemish fashion invested as Duke of Brabant. In the form of an addendum to his Triumphal Entry he protected the language of the Brabanters against arbitrary action of the rulers<sup>27</sup>.

I believe that also Charles v knew enough of Dutch language, life and traditions to enable him to understand that part of Bosch's symbolism which was

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<sup>22</sup> Ph. Blommaert. *Rhetorykkamer De Fonteyne. Belgisch Museum* x (1846), p. 385 f.

<sup>23</sup> *Chronologische lyst van oorkonden, de Kamers van Rhetorica te Antwerpen betreffende. Belgisch Museum* i (1837), p. 148.

<sup>24</sup> Van Autenboer, p. 151.

<sup>25</sup> *Geschiedenis van Vlaanderen. Onder leiding van Dr. Rob van Roosbroeck. Deel iv. Amsterdam* 1939, p. 50.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. in Ghent (*Koninklijke Souvereine Hoofdkamer De Fonteyne. Jaarboek. vi-vii, 1948-949*, p. 30-34) and in Bruges (A. Viaene. *Blijde inkomst van hertog Filips te Brugge. Biekerf* lxi, 1960, no. 2), both in 1497.

<sup>27</sup> Gilbert Degroote. *Taaltoestanden in de Bourgondische Nederlanden. De Nieuwe Taalgids* xlix (1956), p. 307.



derived from it, if necessary with the help of an elucidator. He was born in Ghent and educated in Mechelen. In 1513 he began to learn Dutch. Historians assume that the only language he was really proficient in was French, that he was, however, not unacquainted with Dutch and Latin, but that he never learnt German, Spanish or Italian.

With Ferdinand I the case is quite different. He did stay in the Netherlands from May 1518 to the end of 1520 and there, according to Bauer (p. 102) learnt Dutch, but it is clear that his cultural contacts with the Low Countries were much more casual than those of his father Philip the Fair and his brother Charles V.

As for the German (Albrecht von Brandenburg?) for whom Cranach made a copy of a variant of the *Last Judgement* triptych now in Vienna, did he know enough about the Dutch language, customs, etc., to comprehend all Bosch's symbolism? Very probably not.

What about other very highly placed persons in the Dutch- and German-speaking regions, of whom we know that they already possessed works by Bosch at an early date?

Margaret of Austria, sister of Philip the Fair, who was regentess in the Netherlands during the years 1507-1515 and 1519-1530, and resident in Mechelen, had in 1516 already acquired a painting by Bosch. Through her long acquaintance with her subjects she must have been fairly well informed about their customs and conventions, but her knowledge of Dutch was probably small. In her library there was not a single book written in Dutch<sup>28</sup> and the language of her court was French<sup>29</sup>. She did however often visit Dutch cities and sometimes took part in the local processions<sup>30</sup>. She also attended local Rhetorician festivals<sup>31</sup>.

Henry of Nassau on the contrary certainly did know Dutch. Born in Siegen in 1483, he had come to Breda already at the age of sixteen. He was lord of Breda from 1504 till his death in 1538, and among his art treasures in his palace in Brussels was Bosch's *Garden of Lusts* triptych (at least in 1517)<sup>32</sup>. He even wrote a letter in Dutch to his father, John V of Nassau, in Dillenburg, while he was in Bruges in May 1515, i.a. about his impending marriage to Claudia of Châlons<sup>33</sup>.

According to an inventory of 1524, Philip of Burgundy, who was bishop of Utrecht from 1517 till his death in 1524, had in his castle at Duurstede a painting listed as *Een tafreel van Lubbert Tas die men die keye uit snyt* [A scene of Lubbert Tas who is being cut of the stone]. This is probably no other than Bosch's *Stone-operation*, now in the Prado<sup>34</sup>. Or its original, if the Prado picture should not be an authentic Bosch.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Van Autenboer, p. 92.

<sup>29</sup> Yet she also had Dutch ladies-in-waiting: Ghislaine de Boom, *op. cit.* (see note 21 above), p. 113.

<sup>30</sup> Ghislaine de Boom, *op. cit.* (see note 21 above), p. 113.

<sup>31</sup> L.M.G. Kooperberg, *Margaretha van Oostenrijk. Landvoogdes der Nederlanden (tot den vrede van Kamerijk)*. Amsterdam 1908, p. 85. Van Autenboer, p. 91.

<sup>32</sup> About this Henry, see: Roest van Limburg, *Kasteel*. Roest van Limburg, *Een Spaansche gravin*. Münch, p. 162-196.

<sup>33</sup> Johannes von Arnoldi, *Historische Denkwuerdigkeiten*. Leipzig und Altenburg 1917, p. 186-189.

<sup>34</sup> *Tuin*, p. 132 (1). *Bezwaren*, p. 39.

<sup>35</sup> *Bezwaren*, p. 22 and 19.



This Philip of Burgundy was born in 1464 as the natural son of Philip the Good (the great-grandfather of Philip the Fair) and Margaretha Post. He was a protagonist of Humanism and the Renaissance and gave support to artists and authors. His biographer Gerard Geldenhauer, of Nijmegen, recounts that in the afternoon he would go for a walk in the garden of his castle at Duurstede and chat in a familiar way with the workmen<sup>36</sup>. Which indicates that he knew Dutch. He will have been able to read the little rhyme on his *Stone-operation* and have understood the symbolism in the painting based on the language and customs of the Dutch.

But was it really necessary for an educated West European contemporary of Bosch, to understand in full detail all the representations in his *Last Judgement*, now in Vienna, or in the original of the *Last Judgement* copy in Berlin, in order to derive pleasure or profit from these pictures? Surely not.

The contemporary viewer with no Dutch would of course have been able to see at once that the painting was about people being punished for their sins. Of these sins he would easily have recognised Ira, Luxuria and Gula in general, less readily Superbia, Accidia and Avaritia; and for the rest he will have gazed in wonder and fascination at the grotesque scenes.

It was the purpose of Bosch to create bizarre devils, different from the conventional diabolic types, and with a deeper meaning. He found the means thereto primarily in the language, moral conventions, customs, folk-belief, etc. of his fellow-Dutchmen. For himself in any case, and for the educated among those who shared his language and culture, each detail would have had significance. But because of what I have called in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 284/372, 'his ability to paint cerebrally constructed devils, of which the component parts each has its own meaning, in such a way that these monsters do not strike us as the artificial inventions they are, but as demonic visions' he could, and can, hold spell-bound also those viewers not able to 'read' him in full.

Among the very exalted personages who were early owners of work by Bosch but who would not have grasped the meaning of all the details, is undoubtedly the cardinal Domenico Grimani, in whose house in Venice the Venetian patrician Marcanton Michiel in 1521 saw three paintings by Bosch<sup>37</sup>. And perhaps also Isabella the Catholic, queen of Castile and mother-in-law of Philip the Fair, who died in 1505. For she, too, possessed paintings by Bosch, according to Brans and Sanchez Cantón<sup>38</sup>, who base this on two inventories of her estate drawn up in 1505. The only names of painters recorded in these documents are those of 'Michel' and 'Jeronymus'. It is assumed that they refer to Michiel Sittow (ca. 1469-1525; from Reval in Esthonia; trained in Bruges, presumably in the workshop of Memlinc; court painter to Isabella from 1492 to 1504) and Hieronymus Bosch. Van Schoute agrees with this<sup>39</sup>. The inventories list four paintings which could have been works by Bosch, namely two depictions of *The*

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<sup>36</sup> J. Prinsen. *Handboek tot de Nederlandsche letterkundige geschiedenis*. Derde herziene druk. 's-Gravenhage 1928, p. 215.

<sup>37</sup> Martelares, p. 50.

<sup>38</sup> Brans, p. 15. F.J. Sanchez Cantón. *Libros, tapices y cuadros que colleccionó Isabel la Católica*. Madrid 1950, p. 152, 153, 156, 180, 182-184. J.V.L. Brans. *Isabel la Católica y el arte hispano-flamenco*. Madrid 1952, p. 112, 113 and 117. J.V.L. Brans. *Filips II en Hieronymus Bosch. Dietsche Warande en Belfort* 1959, p. 143. J.V.L. Brans. *Vlaamse schilders in dienst der koningen van Spanje*. Leuven n.d., p. 28.

<sup>39</sup> Van Schoute, p. 7. Almost all the Flemish paintings in the Capilla Real came from Isabella's collection. The works of 'Jeronymus' are however not among them.

*Temptation of St. Anthony* and two of a naked woman with long hair, the penitent Magdalene, according to Brans<sup>40</sup>.

If the attribution to Bosch is correct, then Isabella already possessed works by the Master. Presented to her by her son-in-law Philip the Fair? It would mean that there were Bosches in Spain already before 1505. Perhaps they were of the type with but little intricacy in the symbolism. Examples of this kind are the *Fall of the Damned* and *Hell* (Venice), the *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Prado), and the paintings by Bosch which served as prototypes for *Peter the Hermit* and *The Penitent Magdalene* (backs of wings of the triptych with the *Adoration of the Magi* in Anderlecht). That Isabella possessed works by Bosch does of course not imply that she was conversant with Dutch or familiar with Dutch conventions and customs.

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<sup>40</sup> Brans. *Vlaamse schilders* (see note 38), p. 29. Or a penitent Maria Aegyptiaca? Cf. the South Netherlandish painting of this saint (naked, long hair, three loaves) in Philadelphia: R.H. Wilenski. *Flemish painters, 1430-1830*. Vol. II. London 1960, Pl. 131.

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## Elaborations



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I. Side-panels of a triptych by Bosch  
(Boymans-Van Beuningen museum):  
*Arrival of devils on earth and Earth  
immediately after the flood*

In *Tuin*, p. 166-168 I wrote about the front of the wings of this triptych.

Baldass und Heinz (1968, p. 48) do not accept my view that the left panel shows the arrival of devils on earth: 'wer hätte die nun brennenden Bauten errichtet, und wie erklärten sich die Krüppel und Hexen unter den gefallenen Engeln?' De Tolnay's objection (1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 352) is that the representation differs so strongly from what we see of the same subject on the left wings of the *Haywain* and *Last Judgement* triptychs.

But the depiction is in fact not so dissimilar from the way the devils' descent on earth is represented on the left panels in Vienna and Berlin. Humanoid devils appear as symbols of sin also in Vienna: head of procuress showing above the ground, and prostitute with conic hat, to the left of a cave; and likewise in Berlin: a prostitute wearing a conic hat with veil and standing near a cave, another, together with a man inside this cave, a manikin whose head is encased in a cap, and a man-devil with a stick over his right shoulder.

One even finds the prostitute-with-the-man of the Berlin picture depicted on the Rotterdam panel in another form. Here she wears the conic hat and veil and stands with a beggar-devil on crutches in the opening of a cave. Baldass and Heinz incorrectly see her as a witch. As for the 'brennenden Bauten' (in the background), these are either rock-formations which devils have converted into dwellings and gateways, or houses possessed by the devils. If they are indeed 'houses', these burning buildings are to be seen as symbolic of the future world, which after the fall will be inhabited by people who have become victims of the devil. Devils are shown 'peopling' the earth and in them and their attributes all manner of sins and sinful persons are represented. The panel has been shortened at the top. On the missing section more descending devils will have been portrayed.

In my opinion the *Arrival of Devils on Earth* was the left panel of a triptych



and the *Earth immediately after the Flood* the right panel. Molsdorf, p. 118, points out that the Flood can be regarded as the prototype of damnation. This is probably the case here: prominent in the foreground are the doomed who have lost their lives. The centre panel could have pictured man living in sin before the Flood. Dirc van Delf, writing in his *Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove* about the seven periods of the world, calls the one between Adam and Noah the era of *onsuverheit* [impurity]<sup>1</sup>.

It is known that the archduke Ernst, stadtholder in the Southern Netherlands (1592-1595) and brother of the emperor Rudolf II, on 28 January 1595 bought from Jacques Gramaye for '53 Gulden 20 Kreuzer' a painting by Bosch that was called *Sicut erat in diebus Noë*<sup>2</sup>. Whether this was our little triptych is very much the question. But what certainly is evident from the title is that mankind living in sin before the Flood was indeed a subject painted by Bosch.

In *Tuin*, p. 167, I pointed out that if the *Arrival of Devils on Earth* is seen as the left, and the *Earth immediately after the Flood* as the right panel, they would in closed form show the following on their backs: four medallions, the first three representing man as a being tormented by evil powers, and the fourth, Christ appearing as the protector of man against evil. In my refutation of Fraenger's interpretation I wrote about the representations on these medallions in *Tuin*, p. 151-153, 165, 167, 168, 169, 173 (3), 179 and 181. It appeared to me that influence from mediaeval legends and exempla was a possibility (p. 152, note 3), but I could give no good examples. Since then I have been inclined to consider the probability of some link with the *Handelingen van de Apostel Thomas* [Acts of the Apostle Thomas].

On the first medallion a kind of country house is visited by devils. One of them is beating a young woman. Another is swooping down upon an obviously well-to-do older woman who has escaped from the house. She is running towards a man who, in the face of the attack, is on his knees holding up his hands in prayer and beseeching God to protect the women.

According to the *Handelingen* Thomas preached the gospel in India<sup>3</sup>. There he once delivered a mother and her daughter from the power of devils<sup>4</sup>.

On the second medallion a male or female devil has alighted on a horse harnessed to the harrow with which a farmer was raking seed into a field. The demon is hurling a horseshoe at the farmer with the rod he holds in his right hand and the man flees, leaving behind him his bag of seed as spoil for the devil.

In a sermon Thomas says: Möge der Teufel nicht den Weizensamen aus dem Lande rauben, und möge nicht sein Unkraut auf ihm gefunden werden [May the devil not rob the wheat-seeds from the land, and may not the devil's weed be found on it]<sup>5</sup>.

In the Low Countries a horseshoe could be a symbol of deceit, as is evident

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<sup>1</sup> Tinbergen, in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestandes*. Zweiter Teil: Alphons Lotsky. *Die Geschichte der Sammlungen. Erste Hälfte. Von den Anfängen bis zum Tode Kaiser Karls VI*, 1740. Wien 1941-1945, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Hennecke und Schneemelcher II, p. 297-372 (translation of a Greek text). Klijn p. 63-154 (translation of a Syriac text).

<sup>4</sup> Hennecke und Schneemelcher II, p. 334-341 (62, 63, 64, 75, 77, 81). Klijn, p. 97-108 (same numbers).

<sup>5</sup> Hennecke und Schneemelcher II, p. 364 (145). Klijn, p. 143 (145).

from the expression *Hy is soe oprecht als een hoeffyser* [He is as straight (righteous) as a horseshoe]<sup>6</sup>.

On the third medallion a young man is being maltreated by devils, while a demon-beast lies at his feet and a diabolic snipe-like bird flies through the air.

The son of a king in India was possessed of the devil. The father brought about his recovery by putting him in contact with dust from the grave of Thomas<sup>7</sup>. Does the medallion show the son being attacked by devils?

On the fourth medallion the wreck of a ship lies in a bay. A diabolic creature flies through the air and another devil is concealed in a cavity in the foreground to the left. Two men have reached the safety of the shore. One is receiving clothing from an angel and another is kneeling in worship before Christ, who stands between him and the devil in the cavity.

In an hortatory address Thomas says: *Aber glaubt vielmehr an unsern Herrn Jesus Christus . . . damit er selbst euch Begleiter werde in diesem Lande der Irrfahrt und ein Hafen in diesem unruhigen Meer* [But believe much rather in our Lord Jesus Christ so that he himself becomes your guide in this land of going astray and a harbour in this restless sea]<sup>8</sup>. In another address the apostle describes Jesus as: *Herberge und Hafen derer, die durch finstere Länder reisen* [Shelter and haven of those who travel through dark lands]<sup>9</sup>.

As for the robe that the angel is giving to the shipwrecked man who has come to a land where Christ is a guard against the devil (i.e. the man who experiences in his life that Christ delivers from evil): perhaps what Thomas says about himself in a sermon is relevant here: *Zur Hochzeit wurde ich eingeladen und habe weisse Gewänder angezogen; möge ich ihrer würdig sein und nicht, an Händen und Füßen gebunden, in die äusserste Finsternis hinausgehen müssen* [To the wedding was I invited and have put on white garments; may I be worthy of them and not, bound hand and foot, have to go forth into outer darkness]<sup>10</sup>. With Bosch as with Thomas, the robe is given on the sinful earth to someone who has to keep it pure.

Perhaps the person who commissioned the painting suggested stories about Thomas to Bosch, who would then have freely adapted some of the episodes.

In former centuries St. Thomas was known in the Low Countries as a powerful fighter against the devil. This is evident from i.a. a custom in Friesland. In some of the towns in this province *St.-Thomasluden* was still being practised in the 19th century: from St. Thomas's Day (21 December) the bell in the bell-tower of the cemetery had to be rung every afternoon till New Year's Day. It was called *St.-Thomas luden* [St. Thomas's bell-ringing] or *duiveljagen* [devil-banning]. The purpose was to clear the air of evil spirits<sup>11</sup>.

St. Thomas's Day was associated with the devil also in German regions. In Saterland in Oldenburg it was believed that Lucifer had been cast out of heaven on that day. The Saxons in Zevenburgen knew that on St. Thomas's Eve witches could ride on farmers' cows. In the Upper Palts the Wild Chase raced through

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<sup>6</sup> *Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Hennecke und Schneemelcher II, p. 372 (170). Klijn, p. 154 (170).

<sup>8</sup> Hennecke und Schneemelcher II, p. 324 (37). Klijn, p. 84 (37).

<sup>9</sup> Hennecke und Schneemelcher II, p. 368 (156). Klijn, p. 148 (156).

<sup>10</sup> Hennecke und Schneemelcher II, p. 365 (146). Klijn, p. 143 (146).

<sup>11</sup> Waling Dykstra. *Uit Friesland's volksleven van vroeger en later*. 2 delen. Leeuwarden n.d. (1895), p. 339.

the air during the night of St. Thomas. In Silesia, on the saint's day, farmers prayed the prayer of St. Thomas to ward off all kinds of dangers<sup>12</sup>.

It would not be out of keeping to find representations derived from tales about St. Thomas's sojourn in India painted on the backs of the wings of a triptych which in open state showed on the left panel the arrival of devils on earth, on the centre panel mankind living in sin before the Flood, and on the right panel the earth immediately after the Flood (symbol of the world after the Last Judgement when many have been doomed).

People believed that Lucifer and his followers fell from heaven on St. Thomas's Day, that the earthly Eden attacked by the devils was located in India (*Tuin*, p. 36) and that St. Thomas was a potent adversary of the devil when he preached the gospel in India.

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<sup>12</sup> For these examples and others, see *Handwörterbuch* VIII, 766 f.

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## II. Paradises and a garden: the left panels of Bosch's *Haywain*, *Last Judgement* and *Garden of Lusts*; two depictions of *Paradise with Adam and Eve* by a follower; the centre panel of Bosch's *Garden of Lusts*

All the animals and some vegetation in the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* triptych, and all the animals in the *Paradise* of the *Last Judgement* triptych, have in my view an unfavourable connotation. Both panels show the fall of the angels, the coming of devils on earth, the creation of Eve, the fall of man, and the expulsion from Paradise. In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 298/391, col. 1, I was mistaken in thinking that the animals were here probably functioning simply as part of the décor.

In 1936 the art firm P. de Boer in Amsterdam had a painting of *Paradise* which showed the creation of Eve, the fall, and the expulsion, a picture which is now in the Art Institute in Chicago<sup>1</sup>. It is the work of a follower close to Bosch and dates probably from ca. 1520. Most (all?) of the animals and some of the vegetation have an unfavourable meaning here.

In the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych, on the contrary, nothing sinful is depicted. Here God is instituting marriage between man and woman. In this case nothing indecorous is attached to the sexual symbolism. Bosch wishes to express that sexual intercourse as introduced by God in Paradise, is good (see *Tuin*, i.a. p. 28 and 32). The animals on this panel are meant to be sexual symbols, but in a favourable sense (signifying proliferation) and (or) they are animals over which the human couple will dominate. As such they underline God's benediction on Adam and Eve (*Genesis* 1:28): Be fruitful and multiply, and . . . have dominion . . . over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. Some of the animals are engaged in fighting each other. Bosch's intention with this was probably to indicate that the beasts could harm each other but that man had nothing to fear from them: was he not of a higher order and set over them

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<sup>1</sup> Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, 1936. *Jeroen Bosch. Noord-Nederlandsche primitieven*. 10 July – 15 October. Illustrations, no. 54. De Tolnay 1935, no. 53. Friedländer v (Lemmens), plate 112, supp. 128.

(*Tuin*, p. 22). In fact, St. Thomas Aquino tells us that even before the fall the animals were not always peacefully inclined towards each other<sup>2</sup>.

On the centre panel of the *Garden* triptych unchastity, sometimes accompanied by another sin, related to it, is represented in a decorative symbolic manner. Here the sexual symbols abound, but now made to function in their unfavourable sense (see *Tuin*, p. 37-81). In a cave in the bottom right-hand corner Adam, clothed in the skin of an animal, points to Eve as the one who has introduced sin into the world and is therefore also responsible for the sin of unchastity. Behind him stands Noah, recognizable by the vine-leaves on his head. Adam and Noah are the progenitors (through the sexual act) of the human race, which has now given itself up to the sin of unchastity (see *Tuin*, p. 37-41, and also the earlier but less extensive discussion in *Oud-Holland* LXVIII, p. 200-205). Eve's body has a fairly close covering of blond hair, except on her face and hands. In *Tuin*, p. 41, I thought of the possibility that Bosch had painted a hairy Eve under the influence of depictions or descriptions of hairy women who in India lived on the sweet smell of an apple, or (and) under the influence of depictions of a hairy human couple in front of a cave. But in *Sidrac*, p. 168, it is recorded that after the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise *al hare lede waren hem gehaert ende dat sloech hem tote haren inkele* [all their limbs became hairy and this affected them up to their ankles]. Bosch is sure to have been aware of this belief.

In the *Hell* on the right wing those who are being punished are they who have yielded to the sin of unchastity and to sins associated with it (*Tuin*, p. 82-128).

The left wing of the *Garden* triptych can be compared with a *Paradise* which hangs in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and which was perhaps painted by the imitator who depicted the *Paradise* with the creation of Eve, the fall and the expulsion, which is in the Art Institute in Chicago. I studied the Vienna picture in 1963 and because one seldom sees it reproduced, a photograph has been included here (ill. 61).

In this *Paradise* Adam and Eve sit in the foreground, inside a *schil* [fruitskin], symbol of sexual intercourse. *Si sijn in scille* means, literally: they are in a skin, but also, figuratively: they are in dispute, engaged in strife [*scille* being a homonym for skin and strife]. Strife can be erotically interpreted, cf. *vechten* [to fight] in the meaning of making love passionately or violently<sup>3</sup>. Carved in relief at the top of the fountain from which the four streams are said to flow, is an image of God, flanked on either side by a human form, two figures which probably represent Adam and Eve. God himself, after instituting marriage in Paradise, has departed but his act is commemorated by the ornamentation on the fountain. In the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych the fountain is decorated with sexual symbols, among others the owl in the round hole of a hollow disc, birds at the glass tubes, pearls, crescent moons, ball-shapes (*Tuin*, p. 24). The fountain in the imitator's painting likewise has such symbols: two instances of a dancer in a round hole (in one case the hole is in a hollow disc), three instances of water issuing from a male member, birds with long tails, all in a favourable sense. In this painting, then, the animals also serve to illustrate God's blessing and injunction to multiply, i.a. hart and hinds, bear, ape, lion, wolf (?), wild boar, bull, birds.

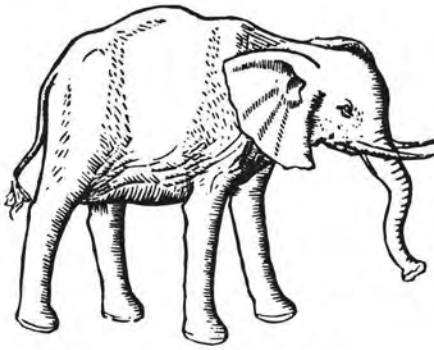
<sup>2</sup> Gibson, in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 (1973), p. 16, notes 60 and 61.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 65/81 f. (6, 7, 8, 13-22), *Tuin*, p. 45 and 52. In all the examples given in these references *si sijn in scille* is used in an unfavourable sense.





61. Fountain in Paradise, anonymous (p. 340)



62. Elephant, woodcut 1485 (p. 343)



63. Young elephant, engraving c. 1460 (p. 343 n. 4)



64. Two strawberries on single stem, ms. illumination c. 1500 (p. 344)

Looking at the dancers one is reminded of persons performing a wild round-dance. Apposite here would be the 16th-century expressions: *een Venus rondeken reien* [to dance a little Venus roundelay], which meant having sexual intercourse (*Judgem.*, p. 140), and: to teach a girl *den oeijvaers dans* [the stork's dance], meaning to introduce her to the sexual act (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 80/102).

In the Chicago *Paradise* which shows the creation of Eve, the fall and the expulsion, the fountain also has a hollow disc with a round hole in it. In this opening, just as in the Vienna picture, a dancer is standing. The inclusion of the fall and the expulsion in the painting indicates that the allusion to sexual intercourse must here be interpreted in its unfavourable sense. The Chicago picture also has the three figures in relief at the head of the fountain. Here too: God, Adam and Eve? Instead of the three urinating manikins three apes have been depicted. My grateful acknowledgements go to Madam Ilse Hecht of the Art Institute of Chicago for supplying me with two clear photographs of the painting and with data on it.

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ON THE *PARADISE* AND *GARDEN* PANELS  
OF THE *GARDEN OF LUSTS* TRIPTYCH.

On animals and vegetative growths in the *Paradise* (in addition to *Tuin*, p. 30-36): I have not yet referred to the very marked resemblance between the elephant here and the one in a woodcut in the incunabulum *Dat boeck vanden proprieteyten der dinghen*. Bartolomeus engelsman. Haerlem 1485; at book xviii. See ill. 62. Another woodcut in this work, the creation of Eve out of Adam, opposite p. cv<sup>r</sup>, has much in common with Bosch's depiction of the same subject in the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* triptych. Also the woodcut of God the Father on his throne with two angels in front of it, at book II, is somewhat reminiscent of Christ on his throne in the *Celestial Paradise* of the medallion on the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*, although there is much less agreement here than in the two other cases. Was Bosch acquainted with the woodcuts? Or with the drawings on which they are based?

To the left of the elephant in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* stands a mammal that I described in *Tuin*, p. 26, as a fanciful animal halfway between a bear and a tapir. But what Bosch intended to represent was the young of an elephant. This becomes evident when one compares it with a young elephant in a Florentine engraving of ca. 1460<sup>4</sup>. In it a knight out hunting drives away a wild man together with his wife and child. A page has a young elephant on a lead (ill. 63). It has apparently been caught. Had Bosch seen this engraving?

In the background of the *Paradise* as well as in that of the *Garden*, Bosch painted growths which resemble maize cobs (*Tuin*, p. 28, 66 and 67) and which have a sexual connotation. I noted that it was through the discovery of America that Western Europe was introduced to Indian corn (*Tuin*, p. 34). Steppe has shown that in 1517 the *Garden* triptych was in the possession of Henry III of Nassau, lord of Breda (*Judgem.*, p. 330). It is possible that Bosch was commissioned to do the triptych for this Henry. The latter showed great interest in the discovery of America. He collected drawings and other representations of remarkable things which the Spaniards encountered in the new world (Münch, p. 188). In 1523 he even owned a ground plan of the capital city of Mexico (Roest van Limburg. *Een Spaansche gravin*, p. 23). In 1501 and 1502 he

<sup>4</sup> Van Marle. *Iconographie* 1, fig. 180. Hind. *Early Italian engraving*. Part I. Vol. II, Plate 89.

accompanied Philip the Fair on a journey to Spain (Roest van Limburg. *Kasteel*, p. 32). There he could have bought depictions of corn cobs or have had pictures made of them, which he could later have shown to Bosch.

For the palmtree and the *drakenbloedboom* [lit.: dragon's-blood-tree; *Dracaena Draco*] in Paradise, see Elaboration IV.

On sexual symbols used in an unfavourable sense in the *Garden* (in addition to *Tuin*, p. 37-81): My explanation that a bunch of blue columbines against the body of a woman standing on her hands has an indecent meaning (*Tuin*, p. 46), was based on the sexual connotation of flowers in general (e.g. to gather, to pick, flowers: *Tuin*, p. 38, 43, et al.). Krumbiegel<sup>5</sup> and Fritz<sup>6</sup>, however, give examples of the columbine as a fertility symbol in mediaeval and renaissance paintings. Folk medicine and folk belief in Germany attribute to the columbine special powers in regard to love and fertility<sup>7</sup>.

The unchaste connotation of a kingfisher sitting on the tail-end of a drake, next to a white man and a black woman who has long hair and is a half-blood (*Tuin*, p. 53), was an inference I made from the sexual function of birds in general, especially those with a long bill (*Tuin*, p. 28, 43, et al.).

Now I find that in the Bible which the Czech M. Rotlev illuminated for the Bohemian king Wenceslas IV between 1390 and 1400, there are many depictions of young women working in bath-houses, and that often a kingfisher is depicted with them. This bird was later included in the insignia of the guild of bathhouse-keepers in Prague, which was a guild of dubious character<sup>8</sup>. Had Bosch seen similar representations? In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Pieter Huys a kingfisher stands on a large apple that a naked woman holds in her hand<sup>9</sup>. The kingfisher on a ball-shaped fruit can be compared with the owl (male member) on a ball (mamma, mons Veneris) which is carried by a prostitute-devil in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht (*Judgem.*, p. 231, note 98).

The strawberry which occurs several times in the *Garden* (*Tuin*, p. 45, 47, 50, 51 and 67), I interpreted as having a sexual meaning, because all kinds of fruit serve as sexual symbols in the Dutch language (*Tuin*, p. 44). In regard to this particular fruit it should be noted that also the engraver Israhel van Meckenem, active in Bocholt in Germany near the Dutch border, and perhaps born in 's-Hertogenbosch shortly before 1450 (his father was for some time a goldsmith in that city), placed two strawberries (female genitals: mons Veneris) and two fanciful long and pointed fruits (male member) as decorative accessories to two naked pairs of lovers: Geisberg, Bl. 113A.

There is also an instance of a strawberry used in what I take to be a favourable sexual sense. In a large music manuscript, a versicularium written and illuminated in the Dutch-speaking region of the Low Countries round about 1500 (South African Library, Cape Town. Grey Collection, 6-b-12), the capital letter A (ill. 64) of 'Alleluya Nativitas vel Conceptio gloriose virginis marie ex semine abrahe orta de tribu iuda clara ex stirpe david' on folio 10<sup>v</sup> is adorned with two strawberries on one stem, with a butterfly above it, and above this

<sup>5</sup> Janus. *Archives Internationales pour l'Histoire de la Médecine* etc. xxxvi (1932), p. 137 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Aquilegia. *Die symbolische Bedeutung der Akelei*. Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch. Westdeutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte Band xiv (1952), p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 6), p. 106. *Handwörterbuch* 1, col. 237.

<sup>8</sup> O. Sroňková. *Gothic woman's fashion*. Prague 1954, p. 144 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 138, ill. 122.

again, a bird. These images reflect the 'Nativitas vel Conceptio gloriose virginis marie'. For the sexual connotation of the butterfly, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 107f./140f., and *Tuin*, p. 48.

A spiky thistle in the *Garden* is a symbol of the male member (*Tuin*, p. 48). De Jongh and Vinken (*Oud Holland* 1961, p. 129 f.) give examples of the thistle as aphrodisiac in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The glass with a bird inside it, which stands on top of a pillar, I took to be symbolic of the vagina (*Tuin*, p. 42 and 43). A glass that was made in Antwerp in 1568 (see *Judgem.*, p. 359) is engraved with the figure of a naked woman holding in her right hand an empty glass. With her left hand she points to her genitals. The caption reads H H W A T I N = H(ier) H(oort) W A T I N [This needs something in it].

In the *Garden* Bosch more than once depicted men and women standing on their hands (*Tuin*, p. 45, 46, 58, 60, 62 and 63), thus figuratively representing the expressions *een toerken spelen* and *een toerken leren spelen* [to play a little trick, and: to teach someone to play a little trick]. A 15th-century misericord in the church of St. Peter in Leuven shows the carved figure of a naked manikin standing on his hands with his legs spread wide (Maeterlinck. *Sculpture*, fig. 47). Here again the meaning can be an obscene one. Similar carvings could have had their influence on Bosch.

The siren occurs as a symbol of seduction in the Middle Ages and 16th century (i.a. in the beginning of the 16th century in the Low Countries), as pointed out in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 35/44 (69), 232/307 f. (16 and 17), *Tuin*, p. 60 (3), 63 (5), 67, *Judgem.*, p. 352. To these examples can be added what Hieronymus wrote, namely that in the devastated Babylon 'respondebunt . . . sirenes in delubris volutatis' (cf. *Isaiah* 13:22).

In *Tuin*, p. 39, 40 and 68, I observed that Adam and Noah (in the cave) are the progenitors of mankind (Adam after the expulsion from paradise and Noah after the flood), that both fall victim to sins and that one of these, the sin of unchastity, is the subject of the depiction on the central panel of the *Garden*. On p. 81 I wrote that Bosch placed negro types and a female half-blood among the white figures, possibly because he had in mind not only the descendants of Shem and Japheth, but also those of Ham. Now it is interesting to note here that according to an old Jewish tale Ham and all his progeny got a black skin because he had had intercourse with his wife while in the Ark and had thus disregarded the example set by Noah<sup>10</sup>. In 1950 and again in 1966 I clearly saw the chaplet of vine-leaves on Noah's head. Gombrich can discern in the cave only the figure of Adam, and mistakenly takes it to be that of Noah<sup>11</sup>. I cannot accept the view of Gombrich that the centre panel depicts the sinful life of the people shortly before the flood. Neither that the backs of the wings show the earth shortly after the flood. Gombrich has not looked carefully enough at the triptych. For instance, the white arcs on the backs, which serve to suggest the spherical form of the sky, he incorrectly interprets as a rainbow, and rocks there he describes as 'quite a number of castles and other buildings'. See my description of the back in *Tuin*, p. 17-19.

P. Gerlach calls the centre panel *Het paradijselijk leven der mensen vóór de zondeval* [The paradisiac life of the people before the fall into sin] (Marijnissen

<sup>10</sup> K. ter Laan. *Folklore van de Joden*. Amsterdam 1949, p. 142.

<sup>11</sup> Bosch's 'Garden of Earthly Delights': A progress report. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* xxxii (1969), p. 169.



a.o. *Jheronimus bosch*, p. 141) and avers that *op heel het middenpaneel geen enkel symbool is te ontdekken, dat ook maar in de verte naar de 'luxuria' zou heenwijzen* [on the entire centre panel not a single symbol is to be discovered, that could even remotely point to 'luxuria'] (*Brabantia* 24 -1975-, p. 180). Apart from the fact that this author has closed his mind to the erotic symbolism in the Low Countries of the 15th and 16th centuries (as applied by Bosch in an esthetically acceptable form on the centre panel), he refuses to see the very explicit depiction of sexual behaviour in a couple of instances, e.g. where one of a group of male riders shamelessly shows his sex organ (*Tuin*, p. 56) and, in the background, where in the round opening of a ball a man is fondling the pudenda of a woman (*Tuin*, p. 63). Also in his discussion of some other works by Bosch, Father Gerlach wishes to see the painter as too 'decent' and 'proper'.

Bosch i.m.o. represents sexual intercourse in its favourable sense on the *Paradise* panel and in its unfavourable sense on the *Garden* panel. Dionysius the Carthusian likewise stresses this distinction in *Die spiegel der bekeeringhen* CIII<sup>v</sup>, where he writes: *Na dat sy van gode ingeset is, so en is si niet sondich noch onghoorloeft als gemingt metten wercke des huwelijcs van oprechten wille comende. Mer aenhangende den oncuyschen wercke van verkeerden wille, so is si den godliken gebode contrarie ende sondich* [Having been instituted by God, it is not sinful nor illicit, as conjoint with the act of marriage, coming from rightful desire. But joined to the unchaste act of wrongful desire, it is contrary to the divine command and sinful].

A striking ambivalence is apparent also in the symbolism of various flowers, fruits and animals, depending on the context in which they are set. The carnation (*Judgem.*, p. 121), columbine (p. 344), fish (p. 89), butterfly (p. 27), bird (p. 30), cherry (p. 370; *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 193/251; *Tuin*, p. 42, 44-notes 19 and 20-, 46 and 49), apple (*Judgem.*, p. 344; *Tuin*, p. 31 and 39); bunch of grapes (*Tuin* p. 42, 46 and 48), strawberry (*Judgem.*, p. 344) and so forth, which in the works of Bosch and others often have a marked sexual, and then mostly an obscene connotation, were in the 15th and 16th centuries sometimes used to convey a non-sexual, exalted religious sense.

The carnation in Dutch painting is sometimes an image of the resurrection and eternal life<sup>12</sup>.

In a 15th-century Dutch sermon the columbine is a symbol of the passion of Christ<sup>13</sup>.

The fish is a symbol of Christ i.a. where it is attached to the staff of St. Christopher in Bosch's painting of the saint in Rotterdam (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 231/305).

The Infant Jesus on the lap of Mary sometimes plays with a butterfly or a bird. In regard to this, Smits (p. 139 f.) says that passages can be quoted in which the human soul is seen as a bird or butterfly. According to Timmers, no. 1853, a butterfly can be a symbol of resurrection, i.a. that of Christ.

Cherries, an apple, grapes and other fruits are often shown being offered to

<sup>12</sup> B. Haak. *Het portret van Pompejus Occo door Dirck Jacobsz. Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* VI (1958), no. 2, p. 28 and 35. *The Burlington Magazine*, November 1961, p. 471; G.K. Sutton's review of Ingvar Bergström's book *Den symboliska nejlkan* (Malmö 1958).

<sup>13</sup> *Jhesus collaciën*, p. 71. For other religious meanings in the Low Countries, see *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 99 ff.

the Christ-child to eat or to play with. Perhaps for the 15th- or 16th-century viewer a particular fruit sometimes had a deeper meaning.

Timmers, no. 1908, observes in regard to the apple: *Wellicht mogen wij de appel in de hand van Maria of in de hand van het door haar op de arm gedragen Christuskind, beschouwen als een symbool van de overwonnen zonde* [Possibly we may regard the apple in the hand of Mary or in the hand of the Christ-child on her arm, as a symbol of defeated sin]. According to him the apple as such is here therefore a symbol of temptation. For Smits, p. 143, on the other hand, it is a *symbool der geestelijke vruchtbaarheid of van de nieuwe Eva* [symbol of spiritual productivity or of the new Eve]. Madam Scheepstra, in her edition of *Van den Heiligen Drien Coninghen* says the apple is derived from the small golden apple that Melchior offered to the Christ-child<sup>14</sup>. It is a pity that no proof for any of these interpretations is adduced from late mediaeval writings. A 15th-century spiritual song merely states

*Maria sette Ihesus op haeren scoet,  
Sy gaff hem einen appel roet.*

[Mary on her lap did Jesus set,  
She gave to him an apple red]<sup>15</sup>.

No metaphorical meaning is alluded to, although in preceding couplets Jesus is compared to the sweet kernel of a nut that is cracked between the teeth (cf. the opened walnut next to Mary in a *Madonna and Child* by Joos van Cleve: Friedländer, *Malerei* IX, no. 65) and with a *suede mosschaete*, that is, a sweet nutmeg, which as Maerlant says in *Der Naturen Bloeme* IX, 461, is *wel riekende ende van soeter lucht* [fragrant and of a sweet aroma].

Of more importance is what Smits (p. 140 and 154) notes in regard to the grapes, namely that in mediaeval texts Mary is compared with the tendril of a vine and her child with the fruit of the vine.

The wild strawberry plant (*Fragaria vesca*), with its fruit, and shown among other flowers, occurs in a couple of German paintings of the 14th and 15th centuries: near Adam and Eve in a *Paradise* by Meister Bertram (1379, Hamburg); with Mary in a little *Garden of Eden* (ca. 1420, Frankfurt); in the *Madonna with the strawberries* (ca. 1430, Solothurn); and in a painting by the Master of the Pottendorfer Votivtafel<sup>16</sup>. The plant, without fruit, is also present on the centre panel of Memlinc's *Moreel* triptych in Bruges, between St. Maurice and St. Christopher.

It is clear that the meaning of the above-named flowers, animals and fruits depends on the context in which they occur. Obviously there is a great difference between, e.g. on the one hand the cherries on a bathhouse-plank (in Bosch's *Merrymakers in a ship*, Louvre, and in mediaeval miniatures: *Ontc. / Deciph.*, p. 193/251), those on a table in front of an amorous couple (Lucas van Leyden: idem), and those with naked men and women in Bosch's *Garden of Lusts* (*Tuin*, p. 42, 46 and 49), and on the other, the cherries intended for the Christ-child.

<sup>14</sup> T.J.A. Scheepstra. *Van den Heiligen Drien Coninghen. Middelnederlandse teksten*. Groningen 1914, p. 104 and 266.

<sup>15</sup> J.A.N. Knuttel. *Het geestelijk lied in de Nederlanden voor de kerkhervorming*. Rotterdam 1906, p. 121.

<sup>16</sup> L. Behling. *Zur Morphologie und Sinndeutung kunstgeschichtlicher Phänomene. Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft*. Köln-Wien 1975, p. 132, ill. 151 and 152. Ch. D. Cutler. *Northern painting. From Pucelle to Bruegel*. New York etc. 1968, pl. 6 and p. 60.

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### III. White heron. Earthly Edens

White herons were repeatedly depicted by Bosch.

On the *Paradise* and *Garden* panels of the *Garden* triptych many white herons have a sexual connotation: in the *Paradise* in a favourable<sup>1</sup>, in the *Garden* in an unfavourable sense<sup>2</sup>. Bosch derived this function of the bird from the folk-symbolism of his time, according to which a bird, especially one with a long bill, could be a phallic symbol<sup>3</sup>.

In the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* triptych a white heron stands beside a prickly plant with berries, and this, like the nearby bird pecking into a ball-shaped fruit and the pear-shaped fruit with its pointed stem, is charged with sexual meaning<sup>4</sup>.

Besides their *Paradises* with Adam and Eve, Bosch and his imitators also depicted terrestrial paradises in which blessed souls reside, waiting until they have been sufficiently purified to be taken to heaven by the angels. We are informed about this kind of earthly Eden in *St. Patricius' Vagevuur*, a book in which the knight Owein visits terrestrial paradise. Here he sees souls of the dead that have been allowed to leave purgatory. Two of them tell Owein: *Ende al sijn wij alte mael vry van pinen. Nochtant en sijn wij niet weerdich op te varen ter hoger vrauden. Noch niemant van ons en weet den dach of tijt dat hi op genomen sal werden tot beteren staet* [And although we are quite free of pain. Still we are not worthy to ascend to higher joy. Neither does anyone of us know the day and time that he will be taken up to better state]. From the terrestrial

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<sup>1</sup> *Tuin*, p. 25 and 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Tuin*, p. 55, 59 and 67. See also Elaboration II.

<sup>3</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 19/26. *Tuin*, p. 28 (3). *Judgem.*, p. 30 n. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Elaboration II.

paradise angels lead Owein to the celestial paradise. Here he is shown the portals of heaven<sup>5</sup>.

We find this kind of earthly paradise depicted in the following works: on a panel by Bosch, in Venice<sup>6</sup>; on the left panel of a *Last Judgement* triptych by an imitator, in Bruges<sup>7</sup>; in an engraving (attributed to Hieronymus Cock) of the left wing of a *Last Judgement* triptych, likewise by an imitator<sup>8</sup>; and on the left panel of a triptych of which the centre panel is missing and the right panel shows a depiction of hell<sup>9</sup>. Both of these last mentioned wings are the work of an imitator and they have been shortened at the top and the bottom. A variant of the complete triptych was acquired by the Maeterlinck Collection in Ghent in 1907. The centre panel in this work represents the Last Judgement<sup>10</sup>. This triptych, too, was painted by an imitator.

In the above-named four paradise pictures there are several souls who have not yet been entirely cleansed of carnal desires. In the Venice piece this is indicated i.a. by the presence of animals: birds which men are looking at, hinds, a lion devouring a deer, a wild boar with a bird on its back, horses, a hare or rabbit and also a white heron. It stands beside an angel and a group of souls who are looking up at a pale yellow rectangle in the sky to the left of the fountain: the entrance to heaven. Another angel is earnestly talking to two souls.

The fountain in this painting is explained in the story of *Tondalus' Visioen*. When Tondalus, accompanied by an angel, arrives in the terrestrial paradise, he sees there *een fonteyne van levenden wateren. . . die levende fonteyne* [a fountain of living waters . . . the fountain of life]. The chronicler writes: *so wie van desen water gesmaect, hy sal ewelic leven ende hem en sal nummer dorsten* [whoever tastes of this water, he shall live forever and he shall never thirst]<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 283-305. In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 276/362 f., I already drew attention to this. *Die Spiegel der Sonden* II, col. 22, also contains a version of the journey of Owein.

<sup>6</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 48.

<sup>7</sup> Rep.: Janssens de Bisthoven, Pl. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii. De Tolnay 1965, p. 188-201.

<sup>8</sup> Rep.: Baldass 1943, no. 55. For two pen-drawings made after the left and right panels of this triptych or after the engraving, see: Ch. de Tolnay. *Two drawings after a lost triptych by Hieronymus Bosch. Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* xx (1961), p. 43 ff. De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, no. 42 and 43. Or were they meant to be models for the engraving? See *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 223, no. 94.

<sup>9</sup> *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 45. Formerly Bromberg Collection, Bremen; Gallery Wildenstein, New York. Now private collection, New York. Ch. de Tolnay (*Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* xx -1961-, p. 48; De Tolnay 1965, no. 6<sup>a</sup>; De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 344) thinks that they were painted by Bosch himself.

<sup>10</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 80 n. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 129 and 131. In the description of the terrestrial paradise that was visited by the knight Owein, no mention is made of a fountain. The fountain in the *Terrestrial Paradise* in Venice has an inscription round the column at the top (see ill. 65). It is fairly obscure. Is the painting perhaps an old copy of a work by Bosch and has the copyist transcribed the letters not quite faultlessly? The indistinctness is made worse by cracks in the paint.

Dr. A. van Selms, emeritus professor of Semitic languages in Pretoria, to whom I sent a photograph of the inscription, suggests that Bosch may have wanted to represent Hebrew characters. He reads the inscription as reproduced here (ill. 66). My study of the original in Venice leads me to agree that this could indeed be the interpretation. According to Professor van Selms, Bosch's intention would have been to let it represent the Hebrew inscription which is reproduced here (ill. 67) as the top one of the two series of letters

The angel says to Tondalus: *Hier wonen die gueden. Mer die niet herde guet sijn Die verloest sijn vander pinen der hellen. ende noch niet verdient en hebben ghevoecht te werden mit den geselschap der heiligen* [Here live the good, who are however not very good Who are delivered from the torment of hell. but have not yet deserved to be taken into the community of the saints].

In the Bruges picture the birds, i.a. white herons and a peacock, a unicorn, round fruits and branches with prickles indicate that here, too, the souls have not quite succeeded in casting off their earthliness which here again, as so often with Bosch and his followers, is of an erotic nature.

An angel sitting near a bush and playing a harp, three trumpeting angels in a ship, and an angel with a cross-staff who is addressing a group of souls, are engaged in their task of de-earthifying the deceased persons. Music and speech play their part in this. In the background a few souls who have attained complete freedom from materiality are being taken to heaven by angels.

The fountain standing in this paradise is the one from which issue the four streams, three of which can be seen.

In the paradise of the engraving, as in the Bruges depiction, angels are busy purifying souls through talks and music. In the foreground, to the left, birds beside a fountain with souls bathing in it, are symbols of earthly attractions. This fountain is not the source of the four streams. Neither is it the *fons aquae vivae*<sup>12</sup>, because the bathing scene is too frivolously represented for that. There are also no angels here. It seems to me to be a *fontein der minne* [fountain of love] like the one depicted in Bruegel's *Luxuria*. Its presence proves that the souls still cleave to the earth<sup>13</sup>.

On the shortened left panel of the triptych of which the centre panel is missing, birds and a fish are among the signs pointing to carnal cravings which the souls still feel. On the full left panel of the Maeterlinck triptych also a mussel and a pearl belong to such motifs.

This persistence of the earthly appetites is also nicely revealed in a Middle Dutch exemplum that recounts how a living knight visits his dead friend in the terrestrial paradise: there sumptuous dishes are served up by beautiful men clothed in white, no doubt intended to be recognized as angels<sup>14</sup>. Looking at the left panels of the *Last Judgement* triptychs in Cairo and Krakau (see *Judgem.*, p.

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(drawn by the professor). The equivalent of this in the Roman alphabet is yyhrwqmyy. With the omission of the yy at the right end of the line and the addition of an m at the left end, one would read (from right to left) mqwr hyym, that is (with the vowels inserted): m<sup>c</sup>q<sup>r</sup> hayy<sup>m</sup>, which means: fount of life. Prof. van Selms asks whether Bosch could be hiding a little joke behind this surplus and lack of letters.

May I put forward the following solution? The m of hyym can be imagined as inscribed on the other side of the round column (which the viewer cannot see), for the inscription would run right round it. After the m on the other side there could be a repetition of 'fount of life': mqwr hyym. The yy of the visible part of the inscription, to the right, could belong to the hyym of this repetition and the m left of the yy could be both the final m of hyym and the initial m of mqwr.

To Prof. van Selms my grateful acknowledgements for his attempt to explain the inscription.

<sup>12</sup> This is what Dionysius the Carthusian calls the fountain in his version of *Tondalus' Visioen* (Verdeyen en Endepols 1, p. 85).

<sup>13</sup> De Tolnay (*Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* xx-1961-, p. 43 ff.) incorrectly avers that it is the 'fountain of youth' which we see in the Paradise-scene in each of the following: Cock's engraving, the painting in Venice, the *Haywain* triptych, the *Garden* triptych and the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges.





65. Inscription round column at top of fountain, in Terrestrial Paradise, anonymous (p. 349 n. 11)

||nɔɸu||

66. Interpretation of inscription on fountain (p. 349 n. 11)

י י ק ו ר ח י י  
ע ע ה ז ו ג מ ע ע

67. Interpretation of inscription on fountain (p. 349 n. 11)

81 n. 22) one is at first inclined to think that they also represent that earthly Eden whence purified souls ascend to heaven. But closer study reveals that in both triptychs the left and centre panels together, picture the earth being taken over by devils (the right wing in both cases represents hell). The left panel shows that part of the earth from where, in the background, the blessed who have already been pronounced free of sin on the day of judgement, are taken to heaven.

In regard to the white heron, we have noted that the bird occurs in the Venice and Bruges pictures.

It also stands on the head of a gad-about who is in an egg together with other uninhibited merry-makers, i.e. light women<sup>15</sup>. There is a white heron in Bosch's drawing of the human tree, a work which i.m.o. is a satire on licentious revellers<sup>16</sup>.

A white heron occurs in the *St. Hieronymus* in Ghent<sup>17</sup>, where the saint is placed in an environment full of symbols of sins, particularly of unchastity<sup>18</sup>, and it is also present in the *St. Hieronymus* in Venice, where a variety of symbolized sins likewise surround the holy man<sup>19</sup>.

The same is the case in the *St. Christopher* in Rotterdam<sup>20</sup>. Here the heron stands in the vicinity of a winged fish and of a fish-trap with a bird sitting on it, the whole scene a symbolically represented temptation to lewdness, which has no effect upon the saint. The sirens sometimes shown in other depictions of St. Christopher are likewise such agents of seduction<sup>21</sup>.

Finally there is the white heron with the pedlar on the back of the *Haywain* triptych<sup>22</sup>. This pedlar i.m.o. represents the ascetic human being who travels life's road and succeeds in guarding himself against sin, symbolized by the robbers' attack (the evil of malevolence) and by the dancers (the evil of folly). The problems of existence vex him: he has before him a cracked bridge, behind him a barking dog. Parts of a skeleton remind him of the transience of all earthly things<sup>23</sup>.

At the bridge stands a white heron, a duck swims in the water, and a bulrush grows beside the stream, all three having an unfavourable connotation. The bulrush can signify evil<sup>24</sup>, the duck stupidity<sup>25</sup> and the heron unchastity. They, too, symbolize what is bad, but they have no effect upon the introspective old man.

Bosch could have come by his white herons from seeing the large and the small silver heron (*Egretta alba* and *Egretta garzetta*) in real life. To-day they are

<sup>14</sup> *Middel-nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 316.

<sup>15</sup> Painting based on an original Bosch: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille. *De eeuw van Bruegel*, ill. 7 (cat. 40). My first impression that it was a spoonbill (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/31, note 51), was incorrect.

<sup>16</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 154. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 198/261 (37, 38).

<sup>17</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 88.

<sup>18</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 215/285.

<sup>19</sup> Some examples: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 158/208 (8), 161/208 (8), 169/220 (19), 210/279 (50).

<sup>20</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 84.

<sup>21</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 345.

<sup>22</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Bezwaren*, p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 291.

<sup>25</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 56.

<sup>26</sup> See *Tuin*, p. 70 f.

very rare in the Netherlands, but perhaps they made more frequent appearances in Bosch's day. Should one also take into account influence by the brothers Van Limburg or by Italian artists?

It was believed, then, that Adam and Eve's paradise later served as the temporary abode of souls who were destined ultimately to reach heaven. For most of them it was a place of transition between purgatory and heaven<sup>27</sup>. Some, however, were brought there directly after death.

Also other Middle Dutch writings, besides *St. Patricius' Vagevuur*, deal with the subject of souls being purified in the terrestrial paradise and then ascending to heaven. E.g.: *Dit ist bescrive vanden eertschen paradise* [This is the description of the earthly paradise] and *Hier beghint van die scoenheit ende ghenoechtelicheit des aertschen paradyses* [Here begins: of the beauty and pleasure of the earthly paradise], both of them manuscripts in Berlin<sup>28</sup>. But the description in *St. Patricius' Vagevuur* comes closer to the depictions by Bosch and his imitators.

Yet more Middle Dutch stories tell of an earthly Eden to which very many souls go after death, but these remain there till the day of judgement. One example is the exemplum of a dead knight which occurs in a manuscript in the Royal Library in Brussels<sup>29</sup>.

In several Middle Dutch manuscripts the sojourn in terrestrial paradise, immediately after death or via purgatory, is described as very pleasant. Many souls enter it<sup>30</sup>.

In some Middle Dutch writings, however, we find a different picture of what happens to a person after death. *Sidrac*, for instance, says that after Christ's death of redemption on the cross, the souls of the righteous go to heaven, the souls of the wicked to hell, and the souls of those in-between to purgatory, from where, after their purification they, too, go to heaven (p. 50, 160). But the number of those who go straight into heaven, says *Sidrac* (p. 159), is limited to two, namely Mary and John the Evangelist. The rest must all first pass through purgatory. The souls in heaven and hell will receive their bodies again on the day of the Last Judgement (p. 175).

*Sidrac* knows of no earthly Eden from where purified souls depart for heaven or where numberless souls remain till doomsday. The only persons who enter it after the expulsion of Adam and Eve, are: Eve and Seth, in order to fetch ointment for the sick Adam (p. 225), and Henoch and Elijah, who are taken there after their death (p. 160). When the Antichrist comes these two will go forth again into the world to preach against *die valsche prophete* [the false prophet]. The Antichrist will kill them, after which they will be taken up into heaven (p. 219).

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<sup>27</sup> In Patinier's painting *The Nether World* (Prado, Madrid: Friedländer. *Malerei* IX, no. 253) the terrestrial paradise, where angels are engaged in the purification of souls, is pictured on the left and purgatory on the right.

<sup>28</sup> De Vooy's. *Middeleeuwse schilderigen*, resp. p. 105-111 and p. 117-125.

<sup>29</sup> Idem, p. 131-139. The author of *Die Dietsche Lucidarius*, p. 63, apparently also thinks that the souls remain in paradise till the day of judgement:

*Volmaecte bliscap hebben si niet  
Eer leden wort dat jugement;  
Dan wort hem vol blijscap bekennt.*

[Joy complete they do not have  
Before they judgement undergo;  
Then perfect happiness they know].

<sup>30</sup> De Vooy's. *Middeleeuwse schilderigen*.

Before the redemption through the death of Christ the souls of good people went to *die hoge helle* [the high, or superior, hell], that is: limbo, and the souls of the bad to *die nedere helle* [the low, or inferior, hell], that is: the abyss (p. 105, 158, 160). The descent of Christ into limbo released all the souls that were there. Did these then go to heaven via purgatory?

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#### IV. Palm-tree and dragon-tree in the *Paradise of the Garden* triptych

In *Tuin*, p. 25, I expressed the opinion that on the *Paradise* panel of the *Garden* triptych the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is not depicted. In this Paradise (in which God blesses Adam and Eve with the words: Be fruitful and multiply . . . and have dominion . . . over every living thing . . . , *Genesis* 1-28; see *Tuin*, p. 20), there are two prominent trees. The one grows to the left of Adam and the other on a rock to the right of the fountain from which issue the four rivers of Paradise (*Tuin*, p. 23-25). Combe first pointed out that they are also depicted in Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*, in a woodcut that shows the expulsion from Paradise to the left and the fall of man to the right. Before that Dvorak had already noted that they occur in Schongauer's engraving of the *Flight into Egypt* (Combe and Dvorak: *Tuin*, p. 25). In fact, one also sees them in the *Flight into Egypt* in Dürer's *Life of Mary*.

Fraenger (*Reich*, p. 55) regards the tree to the left of Adam in Bosch's *Paradise*, as well as its counterpart in Schongauer's *Flight*, as a *Dracaena* or dragon-palm and Jacques van Lennep also calls the tree painted by Bosch a *Dracaena Draco*<sup>1</sup>.

It does, indeed, seem to me that Bosch intended this tree next to Adam to be a *drakenbloedboom* [lit.: dragon's-blood tree]. The tree on the rock, on the other hand, is clearly inspired by a date-palm.

With the fantastic explanations of these trees given by Fraenger and Van Lennep, I cannot agree. I believe that it is all much simpler.

The palm-tree in the *Flight to Egypt* derives from a well-known story in the so-called *Pseudo-Mattheüs*. The Infant Jesus commands a date-palm to bend its branches so that he and his parents may eat of the fruit. After they have done so

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<sup>1</sup> *A propos de Jérôme Bosch. Polémique, Tarot et Sang-dragon. Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1968. 6e Période. Tome LXXI, p. 189 and 190.



he says: Raise yourself up again, palm, and grow strong, and join the company of my trees that are in the paradise of my father<sup>2</sup>. In Schongauer's engraving we see cherubs bending down the stem and branches.

The dragon-tree in the engravings by Schongauer and Dürer likewise has a connection with Jesus. This tree exudes from its stem a liquid resin which has a red colour. This i.m.o. is the reason why it serves here as a symbol of Christ's body shedding blood on the cross. The palm-tree alludes to the beginning and the dragon-tree to the end of Christ's life on earth.

It is significant, as I pointed out in *Tuin*, p. 23, that the fanciful climbing plant winding itself round the dragon-tree in the *Paradise of the Garden* triptych, has flat round leaves and bears grape-like bunches of fruit. Bosch could here have been thinking of the round wafer and the red wine of the Lord's Supper.

It seems to me that with Bosch, too, the two trees are intended to allude to the life of Christ, the palm-tree to his infancy and the dragon-tree to his death.

It is not without reason that this last tree stands close to Adam and Christ. For the two figures are often compared with each other, e.g. where Paul says: For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous (*Romans* 5:19) and where Brugman writes of Christ: *dat hi op-richten soude den val die inden paradijse geschiet was* [that he would lift the fall that had occurred in paradise] (*Sermoenen van Jan Brugman*, p. 32).

I think that we can now also come to a better understanding of the engraving in Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*. Here Adam and Eve stand by the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which is represented as an apple-tree. In front of them flow the four rivers. To the left of Adam grows the date-palm and to the right of Eve the dragon-tree, symbols of the life of Christ on earth. Adam looks to the tree near Eve: Christ's blood will redeem also him.

It would not surprise me if Bosch, when he painted his palm-tree, also had in mind the tree of life. For some branches of this palm-tree end in a bunch of some sort of purple grapes (*Tuin*, p. 25). Now the tree of life is sometimes represented as a palm, sometimes as a vine (Bergema, p. 245 and 247) and the Ethiopian *Henochboek* says that its fruit is like 'grapes' of the palm (cap. 24:4; Bergema, p. 245). Bosch could have associated the palm-tree of the story in the *Pseudo-Mattheüs* with the tree of life in the *Henochboek*, for there was a well-known 15th-century Dutch song telling the story from the *Pseudo-Mattheüs*, in which the fruit of the palm-tree that bends down its branches, is called *wijndaden* or *wijndruven* [lit.: wine-dates or wine-grapes]<sup>3</sup>. Dirc van Delf (II, p. 37) says that the tree of life stands *bider fonteynen der weelden in die hoogste stede* [by the fountain of plenty in the highest place] and that from this fountain flow the four rivers (p. 39). With Bosch, too, the palm-tree stands close to this fountain and is placed 'high up'.

Dirc van Delf (II, p. 36 and 38) makes yet another remarkable observation. According to him there was, besides the tree of knowledge and the tree of life, yet a third tree *van hogher waerde* [of high value] in the garden, namely *die boem der minne* [the tree of love]. Apparently he had no clear idea of the

<sup>2</sup> Bakels I, p. 193, Capittel 20. 'The paradise of my father' here refers to the celestial paradise, that is, heaven. We are also informed that on the following day a branch of the palm-tree was taken up to heaven by an angel: Capittel 21.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. N. Knuttel. *Het geestelijk lied in de Nederlanden voor de Kerkhervorming*. Rotterdam 1906, p. 112 f.

appearance of this tree, because he writes that all the fruits of paradise grow on it, yet also calls it *der minnen linden* [the lime-tree of love]. Did Bosch when he depicted his dragon-tree have in mind also this third tree, the one of love, in the sense of God's love towards mankind (the Redeemer's death on the cross) and pure conjugal love (union of Adam and Eve)?

It could be that Schongauer, too, let the date-palm and the dragon-tree serve not only as symbols of the beginning and the end of Christ's life on earth, but at the same time and in correlation to this symbolism, as the tree of life and the tree of love (the last alluding here only to the expiatory death on the cross). Should this be so, then Schongauer has also represented the three trees which Dirc van Delf refers to.

The conjecture that the palm-tree is also the tree of life is supported i.m.o. by the following.

The palm grows on a rock that resembles a human face (see reproduction in colour in Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 66, bottom right). According to Cutler (*Scriptorium* 23 -1969-, p. 317) attention was drawn to this anthropomorphic rock by Panofsky (*Early Netherlandish painting* 1, p. 357, note 4). However, I cannot find the place in the cited work. Reuterswärd (*Art News Annual* XXXVI -1970-, p. 109) refers to this 'face', but he offers no explanation.

May one reason as follows?

In the Middle Ages the cross on Golgotha was often compared with the tree of life. And Golgotha means place of a skull. The hill was called this either because it had the shape of a skull or because it was a place where executions were carried out. Andrea Solario (1460-1522) had the first meaning in mind when he painted a rock somewhat resembling a human face in the background of a *Crucifixion*<sup>4</sup>.

The palm-tree on the 'face'-rock could therefore be associated with the cross on Golgotha. And the cross with the tree of life.

Another connection between Adam and the expiatory death of Christ was the belief that Adam was buried on Golgotha. Is the cavity in the 'face'-rock an allusion to the grave of Adam?

Combe (1946, p. 91) and Fraenger (*Reich*, p. 46) see the palm-tree on the rock as the tree of knowledge. There are indeed examples of the representation of this tree as a vine (Bergema, p. 247) and as a palm-tree (Idem, p. 248), and Bosch could therefore have combined the two. But in the *Paradise* of the *Haywain* as well as in that of the *Last Judgement*, Bosch shows the tree of knowledge as an apple-tree and his follower does likewise in the *Paradise* now in Chicago. Besides, Schongauer places an apple-tree as the tree of knowledge next to a palm-tree.

Sliding down the stem of the palm-tree on the rock in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* is a snake. It is leaving the tree. This is not the snake of the tree of knowledge who seduced Eve, but a symbol of Satan who was conquered by the death of Christ on the cross (tree of life).

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<sup>4</sup> G. Marlier, in *Connaissance des Arts* no. 124 (Juin 1962), p. 86.

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## V. The owl

In *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin*, *Martelares*, *Judgem.*, and in *Bezwaren* examples are given of the unfavourable sense in which the owl could occur: see the indexes in the books, and p. 13, 18, 28 in *Bezwaren*. The following are additional old Dutch examples.

In the play *De Christelycke Ridder* by R. van Spiere (Schotel I, p. 145-149) *Ulen* and *Huben*, both meaning owls, are among the diabolic animals which a devil summons to him. The owl depicted at the scene of the fall of Adam and Eve in the painting by Cornelis van Haarlem (Rijksmuseum) is a symbol of evil.

Van Mander knows the bird as a figure of the informer (De Vries, p. 55).

It is compared to a lie: *die uyl slacht der loeghen sij vliecht bij nachte ende wil heymelic wesen* [the owl is like the lie, she flies by night and wants to be secret] (*Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 34).

The avaricious person is *des duvels ule* [the devil's owl] in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 246).

As an allusion to laziness an owl in Bruegel's *Desidia* sits near another symbol of sloth, a *luidende klok* [lit.: ringing bell], in which there is a pun on *lui(d)en* [homonym for ringing and being lazy].

As a figure of blindness and ignorance the owl sitting under a lean-to roof in an *Adoration of the Magi* by a follower of Bosch (Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum), is thought to represent the Old Testament: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 85. In Bruegel's *Dean of Renaix* it sits near a stupid man.

As a symbol of folly the bird appears in a work by an imitator of Bosch (*Judgem.*, p. 391(a)). As such it also sits on the shoulder of a fool, both in a militia piece of 1554 and in a painting by Bartholomeus Maton (S. Slive in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 105 -1963-, opp. p. 435). The owl in Frans Hals's *Malle Babbe* [*Mad Margot*] no doubt symbolizes folly as well as drunkenness.

It often appears in an obscene sense. Asmodeus, the devil of unchastity

*wandert bi nacht als een katuyle* [roams by night like a barn-owl] says Dirc van Delf (II, p. 181). As a phallic symbol it sits in the round opening of a lute (*Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges; Janssens de Bisthoven et Parmentier, 3, IV). For the lute as symbol of the vagina, see *Judgem.*, p. 139 (323). In a work attributed to P. Huys a naked woman shows St. Anthony a pear (for pear see *Tuin*, p. 18, notes 6 and 8; p. 39) with an owl sitting on it, fruit and bird both being sexual symbols here (Rijksbureau: Friedländer Records. S.J. Graaf van Limburg-Stirum. Huize Spijkerbosch. Olst). In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by another imitator (in 1970 in the Galerie Heinemann in Wiesbaden; photo Rijksbureau) an imp exposes his anus. Near this sits an owl on a bare tree-stump. In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by yet another follower a prostitute-devil carries a ball (mamma, mons Veneris) with an owl (membrum virile) standing on it (Centraal Museum, Utrecht; *Judgem.*, p. 231, note 98). In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* that derives from an original Bosch (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) an owl stands on the head of a monk-devil. This demon sits on a fish (phallic symbol) flying in the direction of a dovecote (brothel-symbol, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 98/124) placed on the head of a procuress. In an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem (Geisberg, p. 144A, no. 4) an owl and a bird with a long neck and bill are close to a pair of naked lovers. In 1963 the art dealer Vecht in Amsterdam showed me a glass in his collection which was made in 1568 in Antwerp. Engraved on it was i.a. a foot-soldier with an owl in his hand and holding the hilt of his blade at the height of his sexual organ. The inscription to this depiction read: *Om te vogelen heb ik mynen huyben op gherecht by staet so stief als een lans knecht* [lit.: to catch birds (= to copulate) I have erected my owl he stands as stiff as an infantry-man].

Some writers have explained various owls in the work of Bosch as symbols of heresy, e.g. Combe 1946, i.a. p. 27; *De eeuw van Bruegel*, p. 65, 66 (here *nota bene* with a jester and a procuress!). But I know of no examples from the Low Countries in support of such a meaning. Consequently I do not think that Bosch used the bird in this sense.

I do not agree with Lotte Brand Philip (*The Prado Epiphany*, p. 275, note 43) where she says that *John* 3:20 is 'the passage which obviously formed the basis for the owl being used as the symbol of the Jews, sinful people, and all vices that fear the light'. Its use as erotic symbol, for instance, is not explained by this passage.

That the owl shown with the revellers in *Merrymakers in a Mussel-shell* (engraving) and in *Merrymakers in an Egg* (painting in Lille), both works by imitators of Bosch, is a symbol of the phlegmatic temperament (Boczkowska, *Oud Holland* LXXXVI-1971-, p. 67 and 68), is an explanation which contradicts the context of the bird's environment in these pictures and is in conflict with the meaning that the owl has in related situations (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 158/208).

Of the motif 'other birds with owl' I gave examples in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 158 ff./208 ff., and in *Tuin*, p. 24, 28 and 172. To these can be added the following:

In his design of *The Pedlar* (Rotterdam) Bosch originally sketched in two birds near the owl that is eyeing a tit, one to the left of it, hanging on a twig, and one flying in the air. See Filedt Kok in *Simiolus* 6 (1972/73), p. 142 and ill. on p. 141 and 157. But he did not work out this detail and overpainted the sketches. That he later decided against using the motif 'other birds with owl' here, was perhaps because he considered that it would detract from the effect of the owl with its eye on the titmouse: evil threatening the weak and gullible (*Ontc./*

*Deciph.*, p. 226/302). The tit here (a great titmouse, *Parus major*) is incorrectly thought by Zupnick (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* xix-1968-, p. 131) to be a nuthatch (*Sitta caesia*).

Erasmus in his colloquium *Amicitia*, written in 1531, remarks that no harmony exists between the owl and smaller birds. In *De parabelen van Cyrillus*, p. 101, it is said that the owl during daylight is afraid of birds that *hem sellen sien en bescamen* [will see and shame him], a reflection on the light-shy element in the bird.

On the glass with the foot-soldier, mentioned higher up, there is also engraved a prostitute holding in her hand a stick on which an owl is sitting. Birds are flying at it. The inscription here reads: *Om te vogelen ben ick hyer geseten ick soude veel lyever vogelen dan eetten* [To catch birds (= to copulate) is why I am sitting here, I would much rather catch birds than eat]. So here the motif has quite a different meaning again.



## VI. Magpie, peacock and titmouse

The magpie in the Low Countries could have yet other pejorative meanings than those noted in *Judgem.*, p. 66 f. It could be used as a figure of the babbler, including the kind of chatterbox who through his prattling betrays another. Such, for instance, is the magpie on the gallows and the magpie on the tree-stump in Bruegel's *Dance at the Gallows* (*Bezwaren*, p. 5-11). It was also an image of the sly deceiver who uses fine talk for his purpose (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 223/296 f., note 28) and of the thief (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 223/296, note 29). It has phallic significance, probably only because of being a bird, in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch, where it sits on an axe of which the handle is stuck into the anus of a man (devil)<sup>1</sup>. The motif 'bird (not magpie) on axe in anus' occurs also in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator, in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum<sup>2</sup>. It was believed that the magpie's screech sometimes presaged misfortune. This is evident from a passage in *Die Evangelien vanden Spinrocke* (ca. 1520, written ca. 1500, p. v iij<sup>v</sup>) which states: *wanneer die extren snateren op huys . . . nader noen . . . ende mense van achter siet, daer volcht altijd quaet na . . .* [when the magpies chatter on the house . . . after noon . . . and one sees them from behind, misfortune always follows after . . .]. But on the same page we read that if one hears the magpie screeching on the house before 12 noon and at the same time sees it from the front, it is a sign of good fortune, and on p. c iij<sup>v</sup> we are informed that if there is someone ill inside the house and a magpie lets its voice be heard on the chimney or the roof, it is an augury that the patient will recover. The conspicuously depicted bird on the wall in a copy of a work by Bosch which shows Mary, Joseph, and the Infant Christ in

<sup>1</sup> Alameda de Ossuna Collection, Madrid. Rep.: Van Camp, fig. 2. *De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 41, ill. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Rep.: De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 444, ill. 102.

the crib, seems to be a magpie<sup>3</sup>. Seen here from the front, is it therefore a sign of good fortune, in accordance with what *Die Evangelien* says, the good fortune being that Christ, the redeemer, is born?

Two magpies and two peacocks occur in the background of Jan van Eyck's *Mary, Jesus and the Chancellor Rolin* in the Louvre. Near by are white lilies, purple irises, blue columbines (?), red flowers on a shrub (i.m.o. not roses) and small white flowerlets. One or more peacocks in paintings of *The Virgin and Child* appear also in other Flemish primitives: Memlinc shows a peacock with spread tail, and a peahen, as well as white lilies, blue iris and columbine, a shrublet with red blooms (not roses), and small white flowers (Capilla Real, Granada). The Master of the Legend of St. Catharine put two peacocks and a swan in a painting in which Mary, the Child Jesus, St. Catharine and St. Barbara appear (also in the Capilla Real). In a 15th-century Dutch sermon the peacock is a symbol of man's virtue, seen as the work of God (*Jhesus collacien*, p. 71). Is this the meaning the bird has too, in the above-mentioned paintings, and are the peacocks then allusions to Mary and the saintly women? The magpies in the Van Eyck painting also appear to have a favourable connotation. A sign that the sick world will be cured of its ills (see *Die Evangelien*, p. ciiij<sup>v</sup>)?

Flemish primitive paintings show the peacock in other situations as well.

In Memlinc's *Passion of Christ* in Turin we see near the procession moving up to Golgotha, a magpie, a titmouse and a little dog that is drinking water, and halfway between the end of this procession and the scene of Christ taken captive in Gethsemane there is a peacock. Some other animals in this painting have a clear meaning: the cock associated with Peter's denial, the little ape at Golgotha (cf. the ape laying its paw on Adam's skull in the *Crucifixion* by the Master of the Virgo inter Virginis in the Uffizi, where it alludes to the fall of Adam and Eve: Janson, p. 124), goat and sheep with the money-changers that are driven out of the temple by Christ. But in regard to three dogs in different parts of the picture, there is doubt: one dog walks along with the procession on its way to Pilate, another is present where the cross is being made, and the third is attacking an armed man who holds a little boy by the hand and is walking ahead of the procession on the way to Golgotha. Are the dogs merely part of the scene or do they represent bad characteristics? For these characteristics, see *Judgem.*, p. 37 ff. And do the magpie, tit, drinking dog and peacock have pejorative meanings? It seems so. The peacock as a symbol of pride occurs i.a. in *Dat Bouck der Bloemen*, p. 99 (idle glory)<sup>4</sup>, in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 477 (where it prides itself on its tail), in Bruegel's *Superbia*, in Cornelis van Haerlem's *Fall of Adam and Eve* and in a play by Cornelis Everaert (*Everaert*, p. 207). For the drinking dog as a symbol of addiction to drink, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 226/302 and *Bezwaren*, p. 11. For the titmouse as symbol of the gullible, of what has but trivial value, of frivolity and addiction to drink, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 215/285 (12), 226 f./302 f. (119-124) and *Tuin*, p. 48 (8).

A tit which I have not yet referred to in dealing with Bosch's work, is the one on the right panel of the *Hermit Saints* triptych in Venice. Shown there as the antithesis of the head of Christ which appears at the back of the cave to strengthen St. Egidius, are: a tit, lizard-like animals, toads, prickly plants with berries, ball-fruit, skull of an animal, head and feet of a wild boar, crow eating a

<sup>3</sup> Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. Clear rep.: Baldass 1943, no. 87.

<sup>4</sup> In another place in this book (p. 23) the bird is a symbol of joy and sorrow: it rejoices in the beauty of its plumage and grieves over the ugliness of its feet.

leg, small snake, porcupine with diabolic feelers, heron-like bird, goat (for its unchaste connotation see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 179/232, *Tuin*, p. 55). They allude to the dangers the world holds for the man who does not commune with God.

Memlinc painted a peacock in the background of *St. John the Evangelist with the Chalice* (rep.: Lassaigue, p. 132) and the Master of the Sibyl of Tibur put peacocks, a stork and swans in the background of the painting which shows the Sibyl of Tibur revealing the future to the emperor Augustus (rep.: Lassaigue, p. 155). Here the peacock has no unfavourable meaning. Is it a symbol of human virtue, as in the sermon?

In the *Scenes from the life of St. Anthony* by Jan Wellens de Cock, in the Lakenhal [Drapers' Hall] in Leiden, a magpie, an owl and a peacock are depicted in the scene of the saint's death. Are they here as diabolic birds representing sin and tormenting the holy man by their presence? The magpie (*Die Evangelien*, p. B iiiij<sup>v</sup>) and owl could in this context be symbols of death as well. But we find the trio also in the stable of Bethlehem, with Mary, Joseph, the Child, and angels, on the left panel of a triptych in the Frans Hals Museum (no. 600). Here the magpie and owl are surely not symbolic of death. The stable is represented as a ruin. St. Anthony dies in the wilderness<sup>5</sup>. Did the artists think perhaps that the magpie, owl and peacock were the kind of birds that dwelt in such deserted places, and for this reason included them in order to accentuate the desolate atmosphere?

J. Schwabe says that the peacock in the early Middle Ages could serve as a symbol of death and immortality<sup>6</sup>. 'Später, als die moralisierende Betrachtung überhandnahm, begann man den Pfau . . . zu verdächtigen, zu verleumden, ja zu verteufeln . . . Selbst ein Lionardo da Vinci weiss dem königliche Vogel in seinem Bestiario nichts Besseres nachzusagen als eitle Ruhmsucht, weil er - ein offener Unsinn - immerfort die Schönheit seines Schweifes beschaue' (p. 163). But in the 15th and 16th centuries, as we have seen, the peacock was sometimes used in a favourable sense in the Low Countries. As a symbol of death and immortality in these regions and during this period it is, however, unknown to me.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ruusbroec III, p. 230 (*Van VII Trappen in den Graed der Gheesteleker Minnen*): *die oudvadere die laghen int woud van egypten* [the patriarchs lay in Egypt's forest].

<sup>6</sup> *Lebenswasser und Pfau, zwei Symbole der Wiedergeburt. Symbolon. Jahrbuch für Symbolforschung* 1 (1960), p. 138 ff.

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## VII. Diabolic ships (boats) in the works of Bosch and imitators

Bosch several times depicted diabolic vessels. They often serve as ships of torture to sinners.

1. The so-called human tree is a monster in the *Hell of the Garden* triptych, in and on which sinners are punished who have been guilty of uninhibited revelry, inebriety and unchastity in taverns of ill repute and who have indulged in cruelty and pugnacity. The right foot of this monstrosity is placed in a boat. A skipper-devil peers over the edge of it. Two sinners are sitting in the hold where a fire is raging. A third sinner is climbing up a rope to where a fire is burning at the top of the mast. Here a mopstick has been fastened, on which an insect-like devil hangs<sup>1</sup>.

2. In a drawing in the Akademie der Bildenden Künste Bosch depicted a ship of torture<sup>2</sup>. It shows a soldier-devil carrying a hell-ship in which are sinners and devils. The bowsprit and a spar with ropework attached to it, are mopsticks. A sinner pierced by an arrow has been hanged from the bowsprit. Another sinner lies across the stern of the boat, and birds are flying out of his anus. Close by hangs a well-bucket and a devil with a mop walks past. Two sinners are sitting next to flames flaring up from the ship. A sinner is climbing up the mast, at the top of which a devil with two mops is awaiting him in the crow's-nest. From the rigging another devil is trying to clutch at the climber.

The arrow [*bout*] is here a symbol of licentiousness, or (and) it signifies that the man it has pierced is a dissolute fellow<sup>3</sup>. The birds flying from the anus refer

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<sup>1</sup> *Tuin*, p. 110-114. Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 72. The left 'foot' of the human tree is also placed in a boat, but in this one there are no sinners (*Tuin*, p. 113). I have explained (*Tuin*, p. 112) that *boot* in the 16th century could mean not only boat, but also boot and butt, and that the boats picture the unsteady gait of the man.

<sup>2</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, no. 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 89 f.

to waste<sup>4</sup>. The well-bucket is an image of inebriety<sup>5</sup>. The soldier-devil indicates that the sinners have been guilty of pugnacity.

3. In the middle section of the centre panel of our triptych there is a small devil-ship<sup>6</sup>. Here the attributes of bellicosity are absent. But the signs of unchastity and licentiousness certainly are present.

4. In the background of the same panel is a burning hell-ship<sup>7</sup>. Here pugnacity is in evidence.

5. In Cranach's version of the right wing of our triptych<sup>8</sup> the small ship with a mop on which a blindfolded sinner hangs, is part of a scene which satirizes uninhibited merrymaking combined with bellicosity.

6. A hell-ship with a crow's-nest on the same wing is part of a scene in which bellicosity, unchastity, licentiousness and voracity are satirized<sup>9</sup>.

7. The ship with a broken mast in Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon has erotic significance. It is a scene of obscenity to horrify the saint<sup>10</sup>.

Imitators of Bosch also depicted diabolic ships:

8. On the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges a devil carries on his back a little boat in which lies a sinner with the mast pierced through his belly. In the rigging hangs a beer- or wine-jug.

9. In the *Last Judgement* in Tudela (Navarra) sinners are in a burning ship manned by devils. One of the unfortunates has to climb up a vertical mast.

10. In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* a sinner in a boat is climbing up to a crow's-nest in which imps are sitting. Sticking out from this perch is a trumpet on which hangs a flag<sup>11</sup>.

11. In a depiction of hell devils are tormenting sinners in a ship. A sinner has to climb up a slanting mast and another unfortunate already hangs on this mast with his legs bound to the top of it<sup>12</sup>.

12. On a sketch-sheet with five interrelated diabolic depictions<sup>13</sup>, one of the five shows a ship manned by devils or sinners. Is the object which stands in the middle of the boat a large, filled sack? *De zak vullen* [to fill the sack] meant to eat a lot (*Judgem.*, p. 262), which alludes to the sin of Gula.

In some cases, as in the example on the centre panel of our triptych (dealt with earlier, *Judgem.*, p. 103) not the whole ship but only a mast with rigging is shown:

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<sup>4</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 188/242 (6, 7); *Tuin*, p. 95 (1).

<sup>5</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 122/159 (5-7).

<sup>6</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 170.

<sup>7</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 206.

<sup>8</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 268.

<sup>9</sup> *Judgem.*, p. 273.

<sup>10</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 35/44, ill. 8/13. The little vessel and the broken mast have a sexual connotation here: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 38/44 (71, 73); *Tuin*, p. 65 (2). Another 16th-century example: *mast ontwien seyle* [lit.: to sail the mast in two]: *Koninklijke Souvereine Hoofdkamer De Fontaine, Jaarboek VIII* (1950), p. 29. The little boat in which a woman is sitting near a symbolically represented brothel in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch, also has this meaning (Rijksmuseum no. 588 A 3; a variant which the art firm Malmédé in Cologne had in 1963 also shows a man in the boat).

<sup>11</sup> Rep.: Lafond, at p. 55: Cels Collection. Uccle-lez-Bruxelles.

<sup>12</sup> Sijpesteijn Castle at Loosdrecht.

<sup>13</sup> Oppenheimer Collection, London. Rep.: De Tolnay 1965, p. 437, no. 56. Three other depictions are dealt with in *Judgem.*, p. 184 n. 197 and 372. In these inebriety, licentiousness, folly and unchastity are satirized.



13. On the centre panel of Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych (by an imitator) a mast with rigging is carried along in three processions: one in which a devil carries a shield and another demon a flag, one in which a devil has a millstone and another demon a ladder, and one in which devils carry weapons and in which there is also a cannon. The allusion here is to bellicosity and immorality.

Sometimes in the work of Bosch and his imitators the mast with rigging rises up from an animal or an inanimate object that is not a boat:

14. On the centre panel of Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon the mast is placed in a fish, the scene here being a satirical allusion to itinerant entertainers, net-roguers and fair-folk who indulge in debauchery, fighting, unchastity and drunkenness<sup>14</sup>.

15. On the same panel it rises from a duck, in a scene censuring a monk<sup>15</sup>.

16. Again on this panel, in the air, upper right, the mast and rigging come up out of a bird. This bird-ship is engaged in a fight with another ship of which the mast rises from an assemblage of parts of a knight's or a horse-soldier's armour. The scene is probably a satire on a tournament staged by beggars in boats, perhaps at Carnival<sup>16</sup>.

17. In a drawing by an imitator of Bosch we see a devil lying in a round flat dish<sup>17</sup>. It is the kind of object that a female Carnival reveller has on her behind in a drawing by Bosch in which merry-making is symbolically represented<sup>18</sup>. The dish floats on water. Between the legs of the demon lies a large fish from the head of which rise a mast and rigging. A sinner is climbing up into the rigging.

The devil has in his right hand a stick with a small round disc fixed to the end (a barge-pole or an implement with which to tilt someone off something). He is pressing the disc against his own backside. On the stick hangs a cauldron. Tied to a yard-arm is a rope on which hangs a ball with a spike at the bottom (a *wapper*, see *Judgem.*, p. 230). In the large round dish are sinners. The devil holds up with his legs a smaller round dish. Dishes, cauldron and fish point to unrestrained revelry, especially at Carnival. Ball with spike points to pugnacity.

18. In the sea in the background of the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges (work of an imitator) mast and rigging come up out of what is for the most part the enormous head of a fish. Various diabolic imps and a mop are visible<sup>19</sup>.

19. In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* which was formerly in the Fr. Gutmann Collection in Haarlem, a gigantic toad carries a mast with a crow's-nest, pennant, sail, yards and rope-work. A cauldron hangs on one of the yards. An imp is climbing up into the rigging<sup>20</sup>.

20. On a sketch-sheet of drawings which are copies of lost sketches by Bosch or an imitator, a devil is pushing along a scorpion-ship with a stick. A sinner hangs in the sail. Another sinner or a devil is climbing up a rope<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 72 f./90 f.; ill. 16/35.

<sup>15</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 73 f./93 f.; ill. 16/35.

<sup>16</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 103/132; ill. 21/53.

<sup>17</sup> Rep.: Baldass 1943, ill. 150.

<sup>18</sup> Rep.: Baldass und Heinz 1968, ill. 138.

<sup>19</sup> Rep.: De Tolnay 1965, p. 196.

<sup>20</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 67. The painting is now in a private collection in Nashville, Canada.

<sup>21</sup> Rep.: M. Conway. *Catalogue of the loan exhibition of Flemish and Belgian art. Burlington House*. London 1927, pl. cxv. De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 437, no. 57 *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 79/97 (104) and 149/197 (2).

21. In the foreground of the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges a mast with rigging, sail and crow's-nest rises up from a patten (symbol of unchastity<sup>22</sup> and rowdy noise<sup>23</sup>). In a part of the rigging which is shaped like a fish-trap a sinner is caged. There are two sinners in the patten<sup>24</sup>.

Elsewhere I have already considered the possibility that in nos. 1 and 2 the satire is directed at persons who were uninhibited merry-makers in a boat<sup>25</sup>.

In Bosch's time it certainly did happen at festivals, especially at Carnival, that merry-makers caroused through the town in a boat-wagon [a wheeled 'float'] or in a real boat along the waterways. They satirized licentious gad-about by caricaturing them, but at the same time they also enjoyed a proper spree themselves<sup>26</sup>. In those times a boat as such could be symbolic of unrestrained revelry. In his painting of *Merry-makers in a boat* in the Louvre Bosch satirizes this kind of uninhibited feasting<sup>27</sup>. Among the persons he castigates there, is an irate man with a long knife. The reason why Bosch placed these characters in a boat is either because wanton behaviour was at times not only caricatured, but in fact practised, in a boat (whether on wheels or on water), or because the boat itself was a symbol of licentious entertainment, or both.

The explanation that Bosch in nos. 1 and 2 censures loose-living gad-about (and uses a boat for the same reason as he did in his Louvre painting) also fits the five hell-ships in our *Last Judgement* triptych. In four of the five there is also an element of pugnacity in the wanton behaviour of the sinners.

It seems to me that this interpretation holds for some of the other instances as well.

Nevertheless, Bosch and his followers could have had something more in mind besides this.

In the upper left corner of Bruegel's *Ira* a boat is supported on two large beer-barrels. In the vessel lies a large round fruit-skin inside which people are sitting (a favourite motif with Bosch: *si syn in scille*, which means they are in a skin, but also, with word-play on *scille*: they are in dispute, ready to fight; see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 65 f/82 and *Tuin*, p. 111). Sticking up from the top of the skin is a mast with rigging, crow's-nest and flag. The ship is being defended, i.e., by someone who has a crossbow, against attackers who are storming it and making use, i.e., of ladders to board it.

This episode in the Bruegel drawing can be compared with a detail in an engraving which depicts a fight against a battle-elephant<sup>28</sup> and which is an adaptation, dating from the second half of the 16th century, of an engraving made by Du Hamel after a work by Bosch that was later lost.

This little scene shows, as in the Bruegel, two large beerbarrels. Placed on them is a boat without a mast. Inside the vessel are persons, some of whom are

<sup>22</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 203/269, 211/280, 214/280 (69).

<sup>23</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 58/71; *Tuin*, p. 90 (7), 109 (8).

<sup>24</sup> The imitator who painted scenes with devils and sinners round a conjuring performance (private collection, California; rep.: Brand Philip, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1958, p. 30; see *Bezuwaren*, p. 36) also put in a patten-ship (here with a crescent moon on the mast), as well as the boat referred to in no. 8, but here with no sinner in it. The artist obviously borrowed these and other motifs from the Bruges triptych.

<sup>25</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 150/198, 191/246 f.; *Tuin*, p. 113.

<sup>26</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 190/246.

<sup>27</sup> See Elaboration VIII.

<sup>28</sup> Rep. of the detail in *Ontc./Deciph.*, ill. 118/41. For the engraving see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 212/281.

armed. One of them has a crossbow, another a flag with two crossed landing-nets on it. Manikins are attacking them, using a ladder and a crossbow.

To the left of the barrels stands a lever-gallows, with a tip-chair attached to it, a contraption from which persons convicted of a transgression could be flung out. In the 15th and 16th centuries this was a punishment for minor misdeeds<sup>29</sup>.

It seems to me that in both cases we have a satirical representation of a form of sport in which a ship served as the object of attack and in which the fun could wax fast and furious (due to the content of the beer-barrels).

Such a game was played in Ghent on 21 May 1497. The crow's-nest on top of the mast of a ship lying in the Scheldt was converted into a 'castle'. Whoever succeeded in climbing up and into it, received a prize. Ship's boys and others clambered up to the 'castle', but when they were on the point of entering it, it began spinning round so that they fell into the water. This sport was organized by the militia company of crossbowmen of Maastricht<sup>30</sup>.

A source dating from 1657 tells of the fetching away of an object from the top of a ship's mast, a festive sport that was practised together with the 'pulling of the goose', so abhorred by Bosch<sup>31</sup>.

Among the unseemly Carnival plays that were forbidden in Leiden on 7 January 1534 was *twaterschip comt wten hagen* [lit.: the watership comes out of the hedges]<sup>32</sup>. Was this also a performance in which a ship was attacked and the drink flowed freely?

So it may be that when they painted a ship or boat in conjunction with fighting, Bosch and his imitators were not invariably alluding to merry-makers in a boat on wheels or on water, but (also or only) to participators in a rough game in which a ship was the object of attack.

Also pointing to this possibility is a scene in the engraving mentioned in no. 13. In it the mast of a ship stands on a round tower. At the top a flag is waving, and a devil sitting in the crow's-nest is holding up a stick with a sinner on it. Another sinner is climbing up a ladder to the crow's-nest. Projecting from the group of imps at the foot of the mast is a barge-pole. Behind the tower small burning boats are floating on the sea. It would appear that here again there is an allusion to a rough, uninhibited game.

This also seems to be the case in one part of an engraving of a *Temptation of St. Anthony* made in 1561 by Hieronymus Cock after a work (painting, drawing?) by an imitator of Bosch<sup>33</sup>. Men in boats are attacking a large fish. On its back is a round contraption containing men ready to ward off the onslaught. On top of this contraption lies a ship full of defenders. The fish points to licentious celebration of a festival<sup>34</sup>. We find a variant of this detail in a painting of *St. Christopher with the Infant Jesus*, also by an imitator of Bosch<sup>35</sup>, in which the sail of the defenders' ship has a drinking-jug depicted on it.

<sup>29</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 87/111 f. (103-108).

<sup>30</sup> A. Viaene. *Mastklimming op een schip. Gent 1497. Biekorf. Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Folklore* LIX (1958), p. 382. For diabolized skippers, see Elaboration IX.

<sup>31</sup> F. de Potter. *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden*. Gent 1883-1901. Deel IV, p. 212. On 'pulling the goose', see *Tuin*, p. 110.

<sup>32</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 191/248 (49).

<sup>33</sup> Hollstein III, p. 133.

<sup>34</sup> See *Judgem.*, p. 89.

<sup>35</sup> Sotheby auction, London, 19 April 1967. Photograph in Rijksbureau.

From old tales Bosch and his imitators would of course have known the theme of the devil-ship. In Middle Dutch exempla demons sometimes take a sinner to hell in a ship: this happened to a monk who had defected and in another case to a usurer<sup>36</sup>. And a Frisian story which dates from the 16th century tells of a ship with a crew of sixteen devils<sup>37</sup>. But this motif by itself does not offer an adequate explanation of the depictions we have noted.

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<sup>36</sup> *Middel nederlandse legenden en exempelen*, p. 171. *Tspel van den Heiligen Sacramente van der Nyeuwervaert* (Leendertz. *Dramatische Poëzie*, p. 331) also mentions devils who convey souls in ships.

<sup>37</sup> Waling Dijkstra. *Uit Friesland's volksleven van vroeger en later*. Deel 1. Leeuwarden (1895), p. 61.

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## VIII. More ships (boats) in the works of Bosch and imitators

In my detailed discussion of Bosch's *Merrymakers in a boat* (Louvre; *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 189-196/244-255) I pointed out (p. 193/252) that the board on which the cherries lie is the equivalent of the plank with cherries on it which in miniatures of bath-houses is placed across the bath-tub. I did not there deal with the question of why Bosch chose to put the boat precisely in a little bay. Now, in *Den Handel der Amoureuſheyt* (3rd book, 1st play) we read: *Alle die ... In Baykens in Stoofkens raseren willen, Die zal Venus hooghelijck beschinken* [lit.: All who ... wish to lust in little baths in little bath-houses, for them Venus will pour mightily]<sup>1</sup>. *Stoofken* is the diminutive of *stoof* [stove], that is, bath-house (with a stove for warming the water) and *Bayken* in its context here is the diminutive of *bad* [bath] (cf. *M.W.* 1, 511: *bayen* = *baden*). But *bayken* is also the diminutive of *bay* [bay]. Bosch has therefore again used visually represented word-play for an allusion to the bath-house: the merry-makers are in a *bayken*, a little bay, to be understood as a bath(house).

Seated at the board with cherries are, on one side, a 'sister Lute', that is, a runaway nun or beguine, or a woman pretending to be a member of a religious order (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 193/252, note 86), and on the other, a dissipated monk. P. Gerlach sees the man as a Minorite (of the order of St. Francis) and the woman as a Clare (nun of the order of St. Clare) who are innocently celebrating Carnival together in 's-Hertogenbosch<sup>2</sup>. But the cherries on the plank and the lute of 'sister Lute' point to anything but innocent diversion. The monk does appear though to be a Franciscan.

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<sup>1</sup> Communicated by J.F. Willems (*Oude Vlaemsche liederen*. Gent 1848, p. V). For the edition of *Den Handel*, see *Judgem.*, p. 259, note 260. The plays published in it date probably from the first half of the 16th century and were not written by Houwaert.

<sup>2</sup> *Spiegel der Historie* 2 (1967), p. 654. *Ons Erfdeel* 13, no. 2: December 1969, p. 125.



Moralists had quite a lot of deprecating things to say about the Minorites. Erasmus in his *Medardus* or *Bedelmonnikspredikatie* accused them of avarice. Ruusbroec too (II, p. 330 f.: *Van den Gheesteliken Tabernakel*) attacks the avaritia of the *biddende ordenen* [praying orders]. Bosch censures this avarice in the two monks (likewise Minorites according to P. Gerlach in *Spiegel der Historie* 2, p. 589) who are trying to get at the hay on the centre panel of the *Haywain* triptych. Also identified as a Minorite by P. Gerlach (*idem*) is the monk on the centre panel of Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon, who is with a woman of easy virtue *bachter gordyne* [behind bed-curtains] (cf. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 97/123. Baay (in *Jhesus collacien*, p. 115 ff.) gives examples of the defection from Dutch monasteries during the 15th and 16th centuries of Brothers and Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis (the Tertiaries). Of course there were many very good and pious Franciscans in these regions, but Bosch, the satirist, had his eye only on the unworthy ones.

In regard to ecclesiastics who frequented bath-houses, Erasmus in his colloquium *Ιχθυοφαγία* (Of eating fish) tells of a prior of the Benedictine order who every twelfth day went to the public bath-house. The city of Dordt issued an ordinance (end 15th century) which said i.a.: *Item Papen en Clercken die harnasch draghen, vechten, vredebreken of wederseggen ende des 's nachs wandelen in tavernen in bordelen of in stoven ontamelic, die sal een provisoer vangen ende correngeren* [Item Priests and Clerics who carry arms, fight, disturb the peace or offer resistance and at night go about improperly in taverns brothels or bath-houses, them shall a provisor catch and correct] (Fokke I, p. 437). In *Achte Persone Wenschen*, a 14th-century poem, a monk's wish is to *baden ende stoven* [enjoy the bath and bath-house] with women (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 98/124).

There are other depictions of boats with merry-makers, besides the painting in the Louvre, where the scene is not set in diabolic surroundings, that is, where devils are absent and no sinners are being punished. They are: Bosch's drawing of the *Human tree* (Albertina; satire on a celebration of probably the May festival; see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 185/237 (7-9), 186/240 f. (28-33), *Judgem.*, p. 183); an engraving of *St. Martin with beggars* by an imitator of Bosch: to the right of the tournament of beggars in boats (for this game see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 103/131 f.) floats a boat in which beggars and indigent show-people are indulging in excessive drinking (rep.: Lafond, at p. 92); and the engraving *die blau schuyte* which is probably based on a composition by Bosch (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 199/263; ill. 38/109).

There is a 17th-century copperplate engraving which is an adaptation, with omissions and additions, of Bosch's drawing in the Albertina<sup>3</sup>. Here, too, the woody legs of the human tree are placed in boats (*boot* meaning not only boat, but also footwear – boot, shoe – and wine-butt). Inside the hollow body and in one of the hollow legs merry-makers are sitting. They are *in scille* [in dispute, quarrelling; here figuratively represented, for the bark of a tree was also called *scille*]. On its drunken head the human tree has a disc with upright spikes along the edge. On this round slab stands a drinking vessel. Projecting from the mouth of the jug are a ladder with someone on it, climbing up, and a stick on which hangs a small ball on a cord (see *Judgem.*, p. 181 f.). A flag with the crescent moon on it (licentiousness) hangs on a staff which sticks out from the body of

<sup>3</sup> H. Hymans, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* xxxiii (1891), p. 38 f. Maeterlinck. *Peinture*, fig. 222. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 187/237 (7). *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 227, ill. 104.

the human tree. Birds are flying at an owl (light-shyness). This human tree, too, is a satire on uninhibited pleasure-seekers.

In contrast to the merry-makers, thrifty citizens are shown in the foreground and to the right, who point with disapproval at the spendthrifts. They are: a well-dressed painter with his wife, who is holding a fox under her arm (that she has caught a fox is proof of her intelligence, cf. the expression *Het vosje is gauw; maar nog gauwer is hij die het vangen kan* [The little fox is quick; but quicker still is he who can catch it]: Harrebomée II, p. 407), an astronomer and a group of burghers from the well-to-do working class with their children. Art, science and manual labour despise loose living which leads to poverty.

There are two sketches of a human tree, both related to the human tree in the Albertina and both executed by an imitator of Bosch, in which a boat does have a diabolic function. The first (Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden; ill. Baldass 1943, no. 150; De Tolnay 1965, p. 322, no. 18<sup>d</sup>) has been dealt with in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 186/241. It pictures an infernal monster and is a satire on dissolute spendthrifts who have become indigent. Tatters cover the tree-man's right foot and leg, which stand in a boat (*boot*, meaning also footwear – boot, shoe – and wine-butt).

The second sketch (Oppenheimer Collection, London, ill. De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, p. 437, no. 56) has not previously been discussed by me. A treeman-devil stands with his left leg in a wine- or beer-jug and with his right in a little boat (i.e. a wine-butt). Round the ankle of his right leg he wears a *slette* [piece of cloth, rag] (indicative of being ensnared in sin, particularly that of inebriety; see *Bezwaren*, p. 3) and on his right shoulder an entertainer's badge (the human tree in Dresden also has one in the same place). Two merry-makers are sitting inside his woody body. One of them is holding out a flag on which a crescent moon (licentiousness) is depicted. The other is urinating through a hole in a square board. A well-bucket (symbol of inebriety: *Judgem.*, p. 365 no. 2) hangs out of the body. The jet of urine goes in the direction of a diabolic imp beside an arrow, a jug and a ladder (discussed in *Judgem.*, p. 183). On the back of the human tree lies a large fish (licentiousness: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 166/217). Beside the fish grows a tree with luxuriant foliage. Is this an allusion to the expression: *Hij zal den schelvisch in de boomen vangen* [lit.: He will catch the haddock in the trees]? This means: he will do a foolish and stupid thing [*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 168/219, note 13]. A branch of the tree pierces through the fish. A severed head hangs on a claw-hook which the devil carries over his shoulder. Crows are flying nearby. This points to the fate of a gad-about who goes from bad to worse: the executioner gets him and he becomes carrion for the crows. A swollen rotting animal with two little paws (?) is also attached to the claw-stick.

The entertainer's badge which the human tree in Dresden wears, has on it the depiction of a man on a horse, a *ruiter* [horseman, rider]. The word *ruiter* also meant vagrant, vagabond, beggar (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 56/71).

The badge of the human tree in London shows a winged animal with two heads and two legs. It is perhaps a less successful depiction of the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire.

In Bosch's *Crowning with thorns* (Escorial) a soldier wears a round medal with this eagle. The emblem is meant to signify that the man is a Roman soldier, for Bosch and his contemporaries regarded the Holy Roman Empire as a continuation of the Roman Empire (see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 53/62, note 6). Here the emblem acquires an unfavourable connotation because it is worn by a cruel soldier.

In another place, too, Bosch gives the token a pejorative sense. Behind the wagon in his *Haywain* ride the pope, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the king of France and another nobleman of high rank (a duke?). They are 'after' the hay, symbol of earthly goods (see i.a. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 16/19, note 66, 252/324 f., note 2, *Bezwaren*, p. 40). On one of the flags carried in the retinue of the royal rulers the double eagle is displayed. So here Bosch associates it with avarice.

In the case of the human tree, does the emblem signify cruelty or avarice? Or is the spendthrift-merrymaker being denounced because he is an entertainer who pretends that he was formerly employed by a master or a city whose coat-of-arms bore the double eagle? Or who actually was once so employed? For this type, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 49/62 and 155/204 (5).

The medal as such can be compared with the likewise round medal worn by a minstrel-mendicant on the centre panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 49/62). This badge has a little shield on it consisting of two horizontal bands. The top one is red, the bottom one white. These are the colours of the Austrian coat-of-arms (white bar on red field; see *Judgem.*, p. 120). Painted on the red band of the badge is a very indistinct small black figure. The closest recognizable resemblance it has to anything, is to a bird with spread wings. A double eagle? In *Ontc./Deciph.* I took the man to be an impoverished minstrel, who still proudly – see his posture! – wears the token testifying to better days.

But does the bird in the London drawing in fact represent a spread eagle with two heads, and not rather a double-headed cock, that is, a *dubbele haan*? In Bosch's time a current expression was *den dubbelen haan maken* [lit.: to make the double cock], which meant to go on a wild spree. In no. CLXXIV of the *Antwerps Liedboek* a merryman shouts:

*Hi, laet ons drincken en clincken,  
En laet ons maken den dobbelen haen.  
Mijn keelken moet wijnken drincken,  
Al sou mijn voetken baervoets gaen.*

[Hey, let us drink and clink.  
And let's make the double cock, oh!  
'Tis wine my little gullet must drink,  
Though my footlet should go bare, oh!]

I give preference to the view that a double eagle was intended, and to the interpretation that the wearing of the badges (one with the eagle of the Holy Roman Empire and the other with the colours of Austria) is satirical comment on vanity and on decline through loose living. If the emblems were illegitimately come by: vanity and deceit.



68. Christophorus with the Christ-child, engraving du Hamed (p. 375 n. 2)

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## IX. Alart du Hameel's *Christophorus with the Christ-child*

In Bosch's drawing of the ship of torture (Elaboration VII, no. 2) the hood of a devil with a mop looks like the head-covering worn by real Dutch skippers round about 1500, as depicted in a painting by someone in the vicinity of the Master of Alkmaar<sup>1</sup>.

A copperplate engraving of *Christophorus with the Christ-child* by Alart Du Hameel ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1449?-1509)<sup>2</sup> also shows what i.m.o. are diabolized skippers. I do not believe that the engraving was made after a work by Bosch, but there are a multitude of little Bosch-like figures in it.

We shall take a closer look at what is depicted in this engraving (ill. 68).

In *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 232/308, I wrote that Christophorus is often shown with diabolic creatures in his neighbourhood. He is the patron saint of those who are in distress and in danger, and he must therefore be represented as one who knows through his own experience what it is to be surrounded by sinister powers on one's journey. As examples of these symbols of evil I noted the sea-knights in a couple of St. Christopher depictions (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 232/308, note 18, 234/308, note 20), i.a. in a painting, i.m.o. the work of an imitator, in a private collection in Madrid<sup>3</sup>. For Bosch and his followers the sea-knight had a diabolic connotation, sometimes an obscene one (see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 232/308 and *Tuin*, p. 63, 65). A sea-knight to whom I have not yet drawn attention, is the one among the diaboli who are harassing St. Anthony by their presence in a work by an imitator of Bosch, in New York<sup>4</sup>. In the *St. Christopher* in Madrid

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<sup>1</sup> N.F. van Gelder-Schrijver. *De Meester van Alkmaar*. *Oud Holland* 1930, p. 97 ff., ill. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> Rep.: *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 231. Much clearer: Lafond, at p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 232/308 (18). Rep.: *The Burlington Magazine* 1940, p. 1. De Tolnay 1965, p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> Walter P. Kreisler Collection. Rep.: De Tolnay 1965, p. 254.



there is also an acrobat-devil: he is standing on his head at the edge of the water.

A triptych by an imitator of Bosch, which in 1951 was in the collection of Dr. Karl Ringwald in Cologne (photograph in Rijksbureau. Friedländer Records), shows a *Temptation of St. Anthony* on the centre panel and right wing, and a *St. Christopher with the Christ-child* on the left wing. This last representation is very closely related to the one in Madrid. At the bottom, however, it shows much more (has the Madrid piece been shortened at the lower end?) Here we see sea-knights engaged in a fight with large fishes. A diabolic imp rides on one of the fishes. Another fish is devouring a smaller one: allusion to oppression of the weak by the strong, but also to unchastity (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 29/35 (5); *Tuin*, p. 57, note 4). Like the sea-knights the fishes are symbols of sin. They can be associated with licentiousness and unchastity (*Judgem.*, p. 89). The picture as a whole is a satire on pugnacity.

The imitator of Bosch who made the drawing for Du Hameel's engraving (was it the engraver himself?) also expanded the motif of the sea-knight into a full scene of battle: satire on pugnacity. On the sword of one of the fighters there is a stylized capital letter A. It is probably not the A of Alart, because this already appears elsewhere on the engraving, namely as part of the engraver's monogram. Perhaps it is the A of *Aarde* [Earth], as the M on Bosch's knives is the M of *Mundus* [Earth] (*Judgem.*, p. 91).

In the group of devils lower left, on the shore and in the water, we are presented with a satire on itinerant acrobats and minstrels who are indulging in excessive eating and drinking: two wine- or beer-jars, a cauldron, poultry on a spit, a dish and a large spoon testify to this. The motif of the acrobat, as we noted above, occurs also in the *Christophorus* in Madrid.

Further back along this shore two diabolicimps are catching fish. Fish can be symbolic of licentious merrymaking (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 166 f./217 f.).

In the upper right corner are little monstrosities, one of whom is pushing along a wheelbarrow on which his enormous belly is supported: censure of voracity.

Upper left and lower right a number of devils, recognizable as skippers by their hoods and boats, are in action. One large group is attacking a bastion, from boats and with ladders. Others are carrying along a gigantic puppet of a man fully dressed in the clothes of a skipper. It seems to me that we are here presented with a satirical depiction of an uninhibited form of sport practised by skippers, in which not a ship, but a bastion in the harbour, had to be scaled, and as part of which a giant figure was carried in a procession.

We have seen that in the engraving of the battle-elephant one of the defenders of the ship carries a flag on which two crossed landing-nets are displayed (*Judgem.*, p. 368). Did skippers of the fishing fleet also take part in the rough play?

The only monster that attacks St. Christopher himself, is a huge river-lobster clutching with a claw at the saint's right calf.

The designer of the composition for Du Hameel's engraving derived a number of his devils from life in and at the water: lobster, fishes, skippers and sea-knights. Which is understandable, for Christophorus wades through a river. From life on the land the artist derived the food- and drink-loving itinerant entertainers and minstrels, as well as the little group with the wheelbarrow-imp, i.m.o. also censure of voracity. The saint and his friend the hermit did after all live on the land.

What strikes one is that skippers, fishermen, and folk who perform at fairs all

belong to the children of the 'planet' Luna and that the 'house' of Luna is the zodiac sign of Cancer (the crab or lobster): see the drawing of Luna and her children by the Master of the Hausbuch.

Was the designer of the composition acquainted with a depiction of this nature and was this what prompted him, when it came to appropriate harassing creatures with which to surround the saint, to add to the well-known motif of the sea-knights, those of lobster, skippers, fishermen and wandering entertainers and minstrels? And to present the humanoids in such a way that some evil is satirized in them: in the skippers and fishermen, that of taking part in licentious sport, and in the folk of the fair (acrobats and minstrels), that of inordinate eating and drinking?

Anna Boczkowska (*Judgem.*, p. 385) would, if this were put to her, probably say that the artist has depicted phlegmatic types, sinful human beings who without volition or a mind of their own, submit to the influence of the moon. I doubt such interpretation. What predominated here, it seems to me, is the denunciation of unbridled sport, excessive eating and drinking, and bellicosity (in the sea-knights), evils which in diabolized forms are shown harassing the saint by their presence.

The lobster reminds one of Maerlant's information: *Dat creefte so vreselec sijn, datsi die liede met haren scaren int water verdrinken* [That lobsters are so terrible that with their shears they drown people in the water] (*Der Naturen Bloeme* v, 274). Besides, *kreeft* [lobster, crayfish] in older forms of Dutch could refer to a false, unworthy woman (*W.N.T.* VIII, part 1, 135) and it was a name given to the *bondenslager* [lit.: dog-beater, an inferior officer of the church appointed to keep order, i.a. to eject dogs; beadle], a despised occupation which was mentioned in the same breath with that of the net-rogue, procuress, and whore-mistress (*M.W.* III, 2075). The saying *de kreeftengang gaan* [lit.: to go the lobster's gait] meant, and still means: to go backwards (*W.N.T.* VIII, part 1, 136), while Christophorus, on the contrary, wants to go forward, to the shore.

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## X. Punishments in hell and purgatory as described in some Middle Dutch writings

Middle Dutch literature includes a large number of descriptions of punishments meted out to sinners in hell and purgatory. But often the sin for which a particular punishment is inflicted, is not named. In *St. Patricius' Vagevuur*, for instance, the transgression is never mentioned (Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 231-277).

The following, however, do state the nature of the sin in regard to many of the punishments: Jan van Boendale (*Der Leken Spiegel*, written 1325-1330), Jan van Ruusbroec (*Van den Kerstenen Ghelove*, written ca. 1350?), Dirc van Delf (*Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove*, completed probably in 1404), *Tondalus' Visioen* (manuscripts of the 15th century; incunabula: Antwerp 1482(?) 's-Hertogenbosch 1484, Delft 1495), *Dat Boeck vander Voirsienicheit Godes* (manuscripts from ca. 1470 and 1478) and *Dat sterf boeck* (incunabula: Delft 1488, Zwolle 1488, Zwolle 1491). But the sins so mentioned are not by any means always one of the seven deadly ones.

Of the above-named works it is only the *Tafel* by Dirc van Delf which gives a summary of penalties for all seven of the principal sins.

Ruusbroec, for instance, omits the punishment for unchastity without explaining why. He does say that he could recount an exemplum about unchastity, *maer dat willic laten, want het en is niet tamelic te hoorne* [but I want to leave that because it is not seemly to hear] (Ruusbroec III, p. 76).

The soul of Tondalus sees nine punishments in purgatory (Verdeyen en Endepols I, p. 75, bottom). In eight of them the sufferers are identified: manslaughterers (first punishment), traitors (second), the proud (third), misers and the covetous (fourth), thieves and robbers (fifth), lechers (sixth), lechers (seventh), lechers (eighth). The manslaughterers can be regarded as guilty of *Ira*; the traitors of *Avaritia*<sup>1</sup>; the proud of *Superbia*; the misers, the covetous, the thieves and the robbers, of *Avaritia*; the lechers (who are liable to no less than three of

the eight punishments!) of Luxuria. Tondalus himself has to undergo the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth forms of retribution. So *Tondalus*, too, lays great stress on lechery. Punishments for sins which can be ascribed to Gula, Invidia and Accidia are not mentioned, unless one finds that traitors are guilty of Invidia rather than Avaritia<sup>2</sup>. See Verdeyen en Endepols II, p. 29-99.

In hell itself (II, p. 99-123) the soul of Tondalus sees those *die cristum loechenen* [who disown Christ] and those who *werken doen die oen loechenen, Als overspoelres, Manslachers, Dieve, Rovers Ende boveerdigen die niet en doen weerdige penetencie* [do works that deny Him, such as lechers, manslayers, thieves, robbers and the arrogant, who do not do proper penitence], and further *prelaten ende mechtigen vander werelt die om werlike saken boven begeren te wesen* [prelates and the mighty of the world who desire to be at the top because of worldly things] (II, p. 117). Here then we have Luxuria, Ira, Avaritia and Superbia, but again not Gula, Invidia and Accidia.

Finally the soul sees, close to the terrestrial paradise, certain sinners who receive only light castigation, those, namely, who have not given enough to the poor (Avaritia; II, p. 127), and inside the earthly Eden, a king who has to undergo a daily punishment lasting three hours, for defiling the sacrament of marriage (Luxuria) and for giving orders for a count to be killed (Ira).

The punishments described in *Tondalus' Visioen* are referred to in the main text of this book where the penalties imposed for Ira, Superbia, etc. are discussed. The ninth punishment, the one in connection with which the *Visioen* does not mention a particular sin, is that the guilty, with devils among them, are flung up from a large square pit, amid fire and smoke, only to fall back again into the pit (II, p. 99 f.).

I cannot share the opinion of Bruyn (*Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, p. 143) that the punishments depicted in the *Last Judgement* in Baytown-London show a strong resemblance to those in *Tondalus' Visioen*. Neither can I agree with Verdeyen en Endepols (I, p. x) that the *Visio Tondali* panel (Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid; Lafond, at p. 30, *Katalogus* 1967, no. 43) illustrates a large part of the punishments described in *Tondalus' Visioen*.

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<sup>1</sup> In the *Fundament van der Kerstenre Geloven*, a manuscript from the middle of the 15th century, we read that *verradenisse* [treachery] issues from *giericheit* [avarice], and Dirck van Delf writes in his *Tafel vanden Kersten Ghelove* that *verraderie* belongs to the deadly sin of Avaritia (Jacobs, in Jan de Weert, p. 78 f.). In *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 269, *verraderie* [treachery] is a form of greed.

<sup>2</sup> Support for this can be found in a miniature in a manuscript of the *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* (a work written by Guillaume de Déguilleville in the middle of the 14th century) in which *Verraad* [Treachery] is a daughter of Invidia (see *Tuin*, p. 123, note 2). Her sister is *Kwaadsprekerij* [Evil-speaking]. *Verraad* here means the perfidious denigration of someone's good name.

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## XI. The crescent or half-moon

Altogether there are dozens of instances of the crescent moon (with or without star) in the works of Bosch, his imitators and others, which have been discussed by me in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 26/34, 103/131, 122/158 f., 147-9/194-7, 193/252 f., 209/277, 211/280, 212/281, 216/287 (12) and 218/290 (52), *Tuin*, p. 24, 32, 56, 64, 66, 67, 97, 101, 160, 161 (1), 165 and 166, *Martelares*, p. 53 f. and *Bezwaren*, p. 36. In *Ontc.*, p. 147, note 14, I incorrectly wrote that the half-moon appears as a diadem on the heads of naked women in Bosch's *Garden*; see *Tuin*, p. 53, note 4.

My study led to the conclusions (stated mainly in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 147-149/194-197 and *Tuin*, p. 24) that for Bosch and his followers the half-moon or crescent is a symbol primarily of the devil, revelry, licentiousness and unchastity, that it can have a sexual connotation (in a favourable as well as an unfavourable sense), and that it can serve to evoke an oriental atmosphere.

As I see it, these functions evolved in the following way (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 147 f./195 f.): Being a Turkish emblem, the crescent moon, whether with or without the star, was regarded by the anti-Mohammedan Christians as a diabolic symbol. Persons playing the part of devils therefore sometimes carried it in religious processions. In this way it became associated with merry-makers, because some of these devils provided the comic element by playing the fool. Besides, processions sometimes gave rise to unruly behaviour: see what Dionysius the Carthusian has to say about it (*Judgem.*, p. 231) and read in the *Antwerps Liedboek*, no. xvii, a song about a troupe of revellers who have attended the *ommeganck* [procession]. So the emblem was drawn into the sphere of licence and unchastity. With its curve and two horns the crescent is wholly in harmony with other pointed and round forms on the *Paradise* and *Garden* panels of the *Garden* triptych, forms which, like cones, spheres and hollows, are sexual symbols in these depictions (*Tuin*, i.a. p. 18, 24 and 43 f.). They have a



favourable sense in the *Paradise* scene and an unfavourable one in the *Garden*. For this symbolism Bosch borrowed from the Dutch language of his time.

*Additional examples in the work of Bosch and imitators.* Besides the crescent moons in our *Last Judgement* triptych (see the index in *Judgem.*) there are still the following instances, here classified according to the meaning in a particular context:

*Unchastity.* In the *Temptation of St. Anthony* on the left panel of Bosch's *Hermit Saints* triptych in Venice, a naked woman stands in the water beside a hollow tree. From behind a curtain a man or a woman is peering: pimp or procuress. A diabolic animal is looking over a branch of the tree. Its two antennae form a large crescent. In a *St. Christopher with the Christ-child* by Jan Mandijn, in the Hermitage in Leningrad, the saint is surrounded by devils. A man-devil fondles the sexual organ of a whore-devil. She wears a crescent moon on her head. The couple have with them a Turk's-head with a wine-jar and a wine-garland hanging on it.

*Unchastity and licentiousness.* In a *St. Christopher with the Christ-child*, which De Tolnay regards as an authentic Bosch, but which is more likely the work of an imitator<sup>1</sup>, the devils harassing the saint on his journey and representing human sins, include sea-knights who have two flags, each displaying a crescent moon. They also have a rectangular table-top (a *schijf* [slab]) that is pierced by a sharp sword. Sea-knights, flags and pierced slab (*Judgem.*, p. 197) point to unchastity and licentiousness. On a panel with a depiction of hell, by an imitator (Sijpesteijn Castle, Loosdrecht), two little square flags hang on a Turk's-head or mopstick. One has the half-moon on it, the other a star. The Turk's-head is part of a lewd tavern-scene. See *Judgem.*, p. 237.

That a sickle-moon could serve as the sign on a tavern-board is evident from a painting by an imitator of Bruegel (Basel; *De Eeuw van Bruegel*, ill. 211, no. 62). Beggars are fighting in front of a tavern. On its red sign-board a yellow crescent has been painted. A garland of green is attached to the board.

*Licentiousness and unruly revelry.* In the background of the centre panel of Bosch's *Adoration of the Magi* (Prado) little white half-moons decorate the red bands in a red and yellow cloth on an ass (see *Judgem.*, p. 195). In a painting by an imitator of Bosch which shows Job being harassed by diabolic creatures, a minstrel-devil wears a round medal on his left shoulder. On it a half-moon is depicted. Another minstrel-devil has the crescent on his cap and the hilt of his knife is a half-moon (Colección de Doña Dolores Fernandez, Madrid; see *Judgem.*, p. 90 n. 13). In this painting a devil-messenger wears a badge with a chevron on it (*Judgem.*, p. 121). The following depiction occurs in one of the devil-scenes which an imitator of Bosch painted round a *Conjuring performance*<sup>2</sup>: A flag with a crescent moon on it sticks out from a hollow tree. Inside the cavity is a gridiron. A little boat is moored to the tree with an anchor. On the tree lies a round table-top (*schijf* [disc, slab]) with a wine-jar on it. A man-devil is partly inside the hollow bark of the tree. He is *in scille* [lit.: inside bark or husk], which is figurative word-play, meaning: he is in dispute, in a quarrel. The whole scene is a satire on an uninhibited, rough form of sport

<sup>1</sup> De Tolnay 1965, p. 282. *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 147/194 (7), 232/308 (18). *Judgem.*, p. 375 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Private collection, California. Rep.: Brand Philip in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1958, p. 30.

involving the use of a boat (see *Judgem.*, p. 367 n. 24). In a drawing by an imitator of Bosch (Oppenheimer Collection, London) two merry-makers are sitting inside the woody body of a human tree. One of them is sticking out a flag on which a crescent moon is depicted. The other urinates. See *Judgem.*, p. 372).

*Eastern atmosphere.* In the background of the centre panel of Bosch's *Adoration of the Magi* (Prado) an oriental horseman blows on a musical instrument on which hangs a flag with a half-moon on it. Also in the background is an idol with a crescent on its head (see *Judgem.*, p. 195). In *Tuin*, p. 160 (1) and 166, I gave examples of depictions not made by Bosch or his followers, of Bible-stories that are set in the Holy Land and in which the crescent moon appears. In some of them the sickle is clearly associated with Jews. Other examples, where there is clearly no association with Jews, can be supplemented with the following instance: In the *Adoration of the Magi* (ca. 1470) by Memlinc, in the Prado, a blue flag with a star and a half-moon in gold on it appears in the retinue of the Moor. Also a white flag on which is depicted a dancing Moor with two dance-bands, probably a Morris-dancer. In all these cases, including those where the crescent is associated with Jews, the natural assumption is that the crescent derives its connotations from the Turkish-Mohammedan emblem and that it serves to evoke the atmosphere of the near East.

*Crescent moon and Jews.* Notwithstanding the above assumption, there is yet another avenue of thought in regard to the connection between the crescent and the Jews. In a woodcut in Breydenbach's *Peregrinationes in terram sanctam* (Speyer 1490) the Jewish high priest wears a crescent moon on his headband. The Bible makes no mention of a crescent moon in the array of the high priest (*Exodus* 28:36, 39:30, *Leviticus* 8:9), but in the Low Countries this notion must have been current in former times, for Ruusbroec writes in his *Van den Gheesteliken Tabernakel* (Ruusbroec II, p. 173): *Boven die mitre, vore dat vorehoede des oversten priesters, soe hinc ene plate van finen goude, als ene halve mane, dat ronde nederwert ende dat effene opwert. Ende daer-inne was ghegraven met letteren: die heilige des Heren, ochte: die heileghe name des Heren; tetragramaton* [Upon the front of the mitre, over the forehead of the high-priest there hung a plate of fine gold, like a half moon, the round downward and the straight<sup>3</sup> upward. And in it was engraved with letters: the holy of God, or: the holy name of God; tetragramaton]. The plate was for the high-priest Aaron, and as Ruusbroec says (p. 357): *Nu es ons Christus geboren ute Aarons sade, die alle gheslachten vergadert heeft in één* [Now is born to us out of Aaron's seed, Christ who all generations hath gathered into one]. Sometimes the receptacle of the host stood on a crescent-shaped 'lunula' in the monstrance<sup>4</sup>. Is the half-moon in this case based on Aaron's plate, symbolizing that Christ is the true high-priest, or is it perhaps the crescent moon on which Mary, the mother of God, stands with the Infant Jesus in her arms (cf. *Revelation* 12:1)?

In a painting of the temple of Jerusalem, with the images of Moses and Aaron inside and Jesus driving out the moneychangers and merchants (Copenhagen,

<sup>3</sup> *dat effene* [the straight] means the line that bisects the full moon. Ruusbroec was therefore referring to an entire half-moon and not using the word in its loose sense of crescent moon.

<sup>4</sup> Example from 1447 in Delft: D.P. Oosterbaan. *Kroniek van de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft*. No mention of place or date, p. 208.

Statens Museum for Kunst)<sup>5</sup>, the building is crowned by a half-moon which derives from the half-moon of the high-priest and i.m.o. points to the Jewish faith. In a variant of this picture a radiant sun has been painted above the crescent, probably a symbol of the Christian faith<sup>6</sup>.

It is possible, therefore, that among the examples I have given elsewhere of the crescent moon with Jews, there might be the odd case where it refers to the Jewish faith.

Fraenger (*Hochzeit*, p. 92) was of the opinion that in a painting which probably reverts to an original Bosch and which shows Jesus as a 12-year old among the scribes in the temple, there is a crescent moon crowning the rays of light that appear from behind the head of Jesus. I know three variants of this painting. According to Fraenger the sickle appears in the variant in the Louvre, but here Christ has no nimbus. In the variant in Philadelphia the youthful Jesus has a nimbus but nothing resembling a crescent moon is attached to it. Fraenger reproduced a detail of the painting he had in mind as ill. no. 21. In it we do indeed see something that looks like a little crescent. This detail is taken from the third variant, the one in Florence. But a clear photograph of the detail, sharply defined, in the Rijksbureau (Friedländer Records) shows that Fraenger's illustration has been retouched. The actual depiction shows the following: From behind the head of Jesus three clusters of rays shoot out, one upward and one to either side. In each of these clusters the tips of the two outermost rays are slightly curved inward. In the centre cluster these incurves may give the impression that they form a crescent moon, but in fact they do not.

Relying on Fraenger, I erroneously accepted in *Tuin*, p. 166, that Jesus was crowned with a crescent moon in the above instance, and agreeing with Fraenger I took this to mean that Bosch's intention with it was to signify that Christ was the true high priest of the temple.

The Glasgow Art Gallery possesses a panel that is related to the painting in Copenhagen and its variant. It also represents Christ driving out the moneychangers and merchants, and much of what is shown in front and to the left and right of the temple, is the same as in the two variants, but the roof of the temple and the background are quite different (see good reproduction in Lafond, at p. 28). This painting, too, is the work of an imitator. The superstructure on the roof of the temple is an adaptation of the fountain on the *Paradise* panel of the *Garden* triptych and the contraption to the left of it is derived from the formation depicted in the background of the same *Paradise*, to the extreme left. The sexual symbolism of the two structures (in which half-moons play a part) accords with the sinful world depicted inside, in front, and to either side of the temple.

In regard to the crescent shapes on the fountain from which the four streams flow in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych and those on a formation in the *Garden* panel itself, Anna Spychalska-Boczkowska gives the following explanations:

She thinks that the round disc in which an owl sits and which has prickly leafwork in the form of a crescent moon on it (part of the fountain in *Paradise*), resembles the shell of a lobster<sup>7</sup>. She explains the disc as representing the zodiac

<sup>5</sup> Rep.: M. Dvořák. *Die Gemälde Peter Bruegels des Älteren*. Wien 1941, no. 2. Dvořák erroneously regards it as a work by Bruegel. It was painted by a follower of Bosch.

<sup>6</sup> Rep.: Friedländer v (Lemmens), plate 55, no. 74<sup>a</sup>. Whereabouts unknown.

<sup>7</sup> *Material for the iconography of Hieronimus Bosch's triptych the Garden of Delights*. Muzeum Narodowe W Poznaniu. *Studia Muzealne* v (1966), p. 59.

sign of Cancer and the prickly leafwork above it as representing the moon (*op cit.* in note 7, p. 60). The round shape of the disc is supposed to indicate that this disc is at the same time meant to refer to the sun (p. 62). The owl in the hole is said to be a symbol of the omniscience of Christ (p. 66). Of the five structures in the background of the *Garden* the one in the centre consists i.a. of a hollow sphere with a crescent moon on it. Bocszkowska calls the contrivance the mystic moon and explains it as the source of the water for the holy baptism (p. 68) and as a symbol of the redemption through Christ (p. 72).

With this I disagree, as I do with many other interpretations that the authoress gives of sections of the triptych. Whoever wishes to explain a motif as used by Bosch, must in the very first place study its function in the context in which it occurs elsewhere in the works of Bosch and his imitators. For instance, in the case of the owl (see *Judgem.*, p. 358) one has to consider what special meaning this bird has when it is shown in a round opening. We find the motif also on the centre panel of the *Last Judgement* triptych in Bruges, where an owl (male member) sits in the round opening of a lute (female genitals).

As for the disc, it was a well-known symbol of the female sexual organ (*Judgem.*, p. 125). Besides, it does not remind me at all of a lobster's carapace.

One must also examine where and how the round hollow disc with a round opening, which forms part of the Paradise fountain in the *Garden* triptych, is presented elsewhere in the works of Bosch and his imitators.

It occurs as a symbol of sexual intercourse (in a favourable sense) in a *Paradise* by an imitator who was close to Bosch (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; *Judgem.*, p. 340, 343).

It has the same function (but in an unfavourable sense) where it forms part of the fountain in the *Chicago Paradise* with the creation of Eve, the fall, and the expulsion (*Judgem.*, p. 343), and where it occurs in the superstructure of the temple of Jerusalem in the painting in the Glasgow Art Gallery (*Judgem.*, p. 383). According to Madam Francesca Temple Roberts, Assistant Keeper Department of Fine Art, nothing is depicted in the hole of the disc in the Glasgow picture.

Another example of the owl as a symbol of sexual intercourse, in an obscene context, is the one in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator (in 1970 it was in the Galerie Heinemann in Wiesbaden; photograph in Rijksbureau). Here a devil with a long bird's bill and wearing a jester's cap sits with a prostitute in a love-pavilion. On the tent is a round slab of the same type as the one in our fountain. On this disc sits a bird with a long bill, crest and tail. Beside the tent are two half-naked women, one of whom is teasing a bear that stands next to a jug in which a long piece of wood is stuck (for the bear, see *Judgem.*, p. 49, note 90).

The crescent-shaped prickly leafwork and the five small sickle-moons on the fountain in the *Paradise* of the *Garden* triptych are entirely in keeping with the many other sexual symbols in the middle distance and background of the left wing, e.g. discs, mill-stones, openings, tubes, spheres, all having a favourable meaning.

The structure on the centre panel which the authoress calls 'Mystical moon, being the source of the water of baptism' and 'the symbol of redemption', has many sexual symbols in it, here in an unfavourable sense (see *Tuin*, p. 63 f.). Besides, not all is veiled in symbolic terms, there is also some explicit reference. In the round opening of the ball a man is shown fondling the pudenda of a woman. Behind her someone is looking on and to the right a fat person shows his behind.



The authoress calls the fountain in the *Paradise* 'the Fountain-Tree of Life' (p. 68) and writes: 'The iconographic type of the tree of the sun and the moon from the Book of Travels by John de Mandeville served as the formal model for the Tree of Life'. In this connection she refers to Baltrušaitis, *Moyen Age*, p. 127. What is said there, however, is merely that in such works as the romance of *Alexander*, the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent de Beauvais, and the *Travels of John de Mandeville* one reads about the tree-of-the-sun and the tree-of-the-moon which have the gift of speech, and further that in an edition of the *Travels*<sup>8</sup> there is a woodcut showing the two trees as one. Two branches of this tree end in a crescent moon with a human face in it and two others in a radiant sun with a human face in it. The woodcut is therefore an illustration of the names sun and moon and the human gift of speech of the trees. Baltrušaitis quite correctly does not associate the story and the illustration with the fountain in *Paradise*.

Whoever takes the trouble to read the stories about *der sonnen boom en der manen boom* [the sun's tree and the moon's tree] in the Middle Dutch versions of the romance of *Alexander*<sup>9</sup> and the *Travels*<sup>10</sup> will find that these trees have nothing to do with the fountain.

The two trees grow in India. The sun-tree prophesies at sunrise and sunset and the moon-tree when the moon rises and sets. They prophesy to Alexander that he will die in Babylon.

I also do not believe that Bosch was influenced by the shape of the trees in the woodcut when he designed his fountain (that is, quite apart from influence of the story about the trees). The representations have too little in common with each other.

Relying on Madam Spychalska-Boczkowska's contention in regard to the fountain, Boon incorrectly says that *de boom van de Zon en de Maan . . . het hoofdmotief heeft geleverd voor het triptiek met de Tuin der Lusten* [the tree of the Sun and the Moon . . . has provided the chief motif for the triptych with the Garden of Lusts] (*Jheronimus Bosch, Katalogus* 1967, p. 207 and 211).

The crescent moon on the flag of Bosch's *Merrymakers in a ship* (Louvre) is explained by the same authoress as a symbol of Luna<sup>11</sup>. The persons in and around the ship she regards as phlegmatics, sinful people who, without volition or mind, undergo the influence of the moon. Here again, there is no attempt to study the very many other places where the same motif occurs in the works of Bosch and his imitators. The writer notes only (*Studia Muzealne* 1966, p. 81) the half-moon on Bosch's drawing of the human tree (Albertina), and sees this representation as also a satire on those who submit unresistingly to the moon's influence.

Supposed to be phlegmatics are also the characters in the *Merrymakers in and beside the water* (Yale University Art Gallery), the *Merrymakers in a mussel-shell* (engraving) and the *Merrymakers in an egg* (Lille and Senlis) (*Oud-Holland*

<sup>8</sup> Strasburg 1499: Baltrušaitis, *Moyen Age*, fig. 59 A. A. Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*. Leipzig 1920 ff. Vol. xx, fig. 2035.

<sup>9</sup> *Alexanders Geesten van Jacob van Maerlant*. Edited by Johannes Franck. Groningen 1882, x, line 560 ff. *Spiegel Historiae*. Deel 1, Partie 1, Boek IV, Capittel XLVIII. S.S. Hoogstra. *Proza-bewerkingen van het leven van Alexander den Groote in het Middelnederlandsch*. 's-Gravenhage 1898, p. 123 – 129.

<sup>10</sup> N.A. Cramer, *De Reis van Jan van Mandeville*. Leiden 1908, col. 256 f.

<sup>11</sup> Anna Boczkowska, *The lunar symbolism of the Ship of Fools by Hieronymus Bosch. Oud Holland* LXXXVI (1971), p. 47 ff. See *Judgem.*, p. 359, 89 n. 4, 123 n. 229.



1971, p. 66-68). Bosch was undoubtedly acquainted with depictions of a planet with its 'children' (see *Bezwaren*, p. 29 f.), but my extensive analyses of the representations referred to by the authoress, studies which she seems to be unaware of, do not show the figures in question to be moon children.

Anna Boczkowska draws attention also to a miniature in the *Schönbartbuch* which pictures a boat on wheels being drawn along in a Carnival procession in Nuremberg in 1539. On the mast is a flag with a crescent moon on it. (What has escaped the attention of the writer is that this boat occurs also in another miniature in the same *Schönbartbuch* and that in this one the flag has a crescent moon with two stars on it: *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 148/195, note 23.) She has read Enklaar's discussion of the representation, but not mine (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 147/194 and 148/196). She thinks that also in the miniature the half-moon is the sign of the planet Luna. But the *Schönbartbuch* itself informs us differently.

In that ship of 1539 the Nuremberg cleric Andreas Osiander was being ridiculed. Someone who impersonated him stood in the boat holding in his hand a game of backgammon (tric-trac) and a key (the key here alluding perhaps to the way the cleric acted as though he were the pope; not only Peter, but also the pope, is sometimes represented with a key in his hand). The vessel's crew were disguised as devils and fools. Osiander was parodied probably because he had opposed the festival. It was due to him that the council prohibited the 'Laufen', so that this parade took place for the last time in that year of 1539.

In 1504 a ship had likewise formed part of the procession<sup>12</sup>. It was drawn along on a sled and it contained only fools, no devils. On this ship there was no flag with a crescent moon. The flag with a crescent moon, with or without stars, on the 1539 ship therefore belonged to the devils. As I explained in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 148/195-6, the crescent moon could function as a token of the devil (because it was a Turkish-Mohammedan emblem) and as such it could be carried along in processions by persons disguised as devils, who provided comic relief. The symbol in this case has nothing at all to do with the planet Luna. For the ship of 1539 see also *Judgem.*, p. 89, note 4).

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<sup>12</sup> K. Drescher. *Das Nürnbergerische Schönbartbuch*. Weimar 1908, p. 13.

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## XII. Orchid-butterfly-wings

For the motifs orchid-wing, orchid-butterfly-wing and orchid-butterfly-bird-wing in the works of Bosch and imitators, see the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.*, sub *orchidee*/orchid, etc. For the meaning of the motif, see *Judgem.*, p. 27 (butterfly), p. 30 n. 61 (bird), p. 117 and 125 (orchid) and p. 147 (orchid-butterfly).

Additional examples are the following:

In the foreground of a *Hell*, in Venice, a devil wearing butterfly-bird-orchid-wings has a sinner in his grasp around whose left leg a dance-band swirls (see *Judgem.*, p. 138 n. 317).

In the *Temptation of St. Anthony* on the left panel of Bosch's *Hermit Saints* triptych in Venice a man-devil with a white beard and moustache has orchid-wings and bird-hands. An open booklet lies before him. Satire on an unchaste cleric? On the same level, extreme left, a diabolic imp is standing in the water. He has orchid-butterfly-wings, bird-hands and his head is a sort of octopus (the tentacles and two small eyes can be clearly seen). The imp wears a man's cloak. Maerlant (*Der Naturen Bloeme*, book v, line 1041 ff.) says that the ink-fish when in danger ejects a black fluid, but he ascribes no symbolic meaning to it. Poot (II, p. 118) notes that Piërius Valerianus (Italian humanist, 1477-1558) in his *Hieroglyphica* (Basel 1556, lib. xxviii, cap. 61, 62 and 63) calls the ink-fish a symbol of lies and deceit, because the animal *als hy zich beknelt voelt, zekere zwarte vochtigheid uit zynen staert laet schieten, in welke hy zich verbergt, en aldus door bedrogh den visscher ontlucht* [when he feels himself cornered, lets a certain black liquid shoot from his tail, in which he conceals himself, and so through deceit escapes the fisherman]. Bosch, too, could have intended this symbolism. He could have got the idea from seeing the *Octopus vulgaris* (De Lamarck) or the *Sepia officinalis* (Linnaeus), both of which occur along the Dutch coast. But he has not depicted his ink-fish entirely true to life. See J.A.

Herklots. *De dieren van Nederland. Weekdieren*. Haarlem 1862, plate I, 1 and plate II, 1.

A devil with orchid-butterfly-wings is one of a group of diaboli who are taking away sinners in a *Last Judgement* depiction attributed to Jan Mandijn (C. Marshall Spink Collection, London; rep.: *The Connoisseur* CXLV, June 1960, p. 78). Another devil in the group is a female with long breasts and a woman's head-cloth (a procuress-devil?). Also in the procession is a hollow round fruitskin from which flames issue (*scille* is a homonym for fruitskin, rind, and dispute, strife). Beside it walks an imp with a knife in his hands (fruitskin and knife signify pugnacity). On his back is a horse-skull (here symbol of folly and licentious merrymaking; *Judgem.*, p. 105, note 108; *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 163-5/213-6).

In the bottom right-hand corner of a *Visio Tondali* by an imitator of Bosch (Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid; *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus* 1967, no. 43) an unchaste female sinner rides on a bird with a long bill, neck and tail. A rat-like devil with orchid-butterfly-wings is supporting her. On the ground in front of the bird lie May-branches, the knife with which these have been hacked off and a horse's skull. For rat and May-branch, see *Judgem.*, p. 41 and *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 34/42).

Related to the motif of the orchid-wing, orchid-butterfly-wing and orchid-butterfly-bird-wing, is that of the butterfly-bird-wing. We see it in a variant of the *Last Judgement* in Baytown-London, that is, in the *Last Judgement* which was sold in Paris on 6 December 1966 in the Palais Galliera (see *Judgem.*, p. 89 n. 3). This motif likewise alludes to unchastity.

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### XIII. Sinners walking between discs

Bosch was fond of depicting the word *schijf* [disc] (see *Judgem.*, i.a. p. 125). He was evidently interested in this word and its meanings.

The particular motif of walking between two discs as applied in the work of Bosch and imitators, has not yet been discussed by me elsewhere.

On a sheet of sketches, mainly of devils (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; by some regarded as drawings by Bosch himself, by others as copies of originals; rep.: Baldass 1943, no. 140) two naked persons are walking between two discs (ill. 69). They are propelling the discs by exerting pressure on the axle connecting the two 'wheels'. A clothed man-devil steers the vehicle by means of two ropes. His head-covering consists of a piece of a suit of armour, namely a metal disc with a sharp point (see *Judgem.*, p. 159 n. 84), and projecting in front of the lower part of his face is another piece of armour: a chin-protector, diabolically enlarged. These details point to pugnacity. The imp has shortened, stumpy feet. *Stompvoeten* [lit.: to stumpfoot] meant to stumble or limp, a disability which is a distinctive feature of the devil (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 75/95, note 75) and *Stompvoet* [Stumpfoot] was probably a name for the devil (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 74/95, note 74).

Projecting from the rolling contraption are a spear with a barb on it, a claw-hook and an ordinary stick. Sharp barbs and clawhooks are bracketed together in our hell-literature (*Dat sterf boeck* 37<sup>r</sup>: *mit scarpen haken ende mit scarpen crouwelen* [with sharp hooks and with sharp claw-sticks]; *Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 111: *mit haeken ende mit crouwelen* [with hooks and with claw-sticks]). The ropes being manipulated by the driver seem to be connected, through the discs, to the barb and the claw-hook. From the claw-hook a third rope goes to the plain stick. On this stick hangs a well-bucket, symbol of addiction to drink (*Judgem.*, p. 365).

I have not yet pointed out that two expressions have been visually represented



69. Men between disc-wheels, sketch, Bosch? (p. 389)



70. Men between disc-wheels, in Temptation of St. Anthony, anonymous (p. 391)



71. Men between disc-wheels, in Temptation of St. Anthony, Huys (p. 391)



here, namely: *tGaetter al op schijven* [lit.: Everything is going on discs there], synonymous with *Het isser heel ende al op rollen* [It's all on the roll there], both in *Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 75, and meaning: everything there is unsteady, going awry, and *Zyn gat gaat op schyven* [lit.: His arse is going on discs] (*W.N.T.* XIV, 605), that is, he is on the spree, on the skid. In the sketch the *partes posteriores* of the two nudes are clearly shown.

A closely related scene is depicted in (a) a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator of Bosch (Madam D.M. van Buuren Collection, Brussels. Rep.: *De eeuw van Bruegel*, ill. 8, cat. 41. Friedländer v -Lemmens-, plate 81, no. 90 m., centre panel. *Judgem.*, ill. 70) and in (b) a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Pieter Huys, dated 1547 (Comte Paul Durrieu Collection, Paris. Rep.: Lafond, at p. 54; Louvre, rep.: Van Puyvelde. *Peinture*, ill. 12. *Judgem.*, ill. 71).

(a) Sitting on the head of the little devil who is driving, is an owl (folly). The imp's head is stuck through a round table-top on which stands a wine- or beer-jug (addiction to drink). The well-bucket has been replaced with a cauldron (gluttony). On the naked trundlers sits a diabolic imp who steers them in the direction they have to go.

(b) The driver wears a sack-cap and has a whip in his hand. The discs and the two pushers are on the edge of a rise and at the next step all will fall into the water.

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## XIV. Spoonbill and spoonbill's beak

For the spoonbill and the bill of this bird as they occur in the works of Bosch and imitators, see the indexes of *Ontc./Deciph.*, *Tuin* and *Judgem.*, sub *lepelaar*, *lepelaarsnavel*/spoonbill.

In *Ontc./Deciph.* (p. 24/31, at note 51) I erroneously suggested that the bird standing on the head of a minstrel in a company of revellers (*Merrymakers in an egg*, Lille) could be a spoonbill. It is in fact a white heron (see *Judgem.*, p. 352). The *Temptation of St. Anthony* referred to in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/31, note 52, is now in the Walter P. Kreisler Collection, New York. Rep.: De Tolnay 1965, p. 254. The *Temptation of St. Anthony* referred to in *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/31, note 54, is in the Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri. Rep.: De Tolnay 1965, *Kritischer Katalog*, ill. 23. For an *aal* [eel; *aal* meaning also ale, beer] in the beak of a spoonbill, see *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 24/31 (53), 58/73; *Bezwaren*, p. 2; *Taal*, p. 62.

Additional examples are the following:

The devil with a spoonbill's beak and a spoke-tail (*speekvogel* [lit.: spoke-bird] meant fool) who stands by a little stream or pool in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* on the left panel of Bosch's *Hermit Saints* triptych (Venice, *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 77/99, note 127) has bare legs (poverty) stuck into large black top-boots (inebriety). On his head is a stem with berries, which turns into a feather with little quills fanning out spoke-wise. In his beak the imp has a toad (unclean animal) and an eel (ale, beer). A cloth hangs over his head: *doekachtig* [cloth-like] meant: dangling after women (*Judgem.*, p. 105).

On the ground to the left of him sits a little black man-devil. This little monster's round face is all but merged into one whole with the bulbous body. The arms are also the feet. The figure is fishing with a fishing-rod in the water of the brooklet or pool. The spoonbill-devil is also fishing in this water, with his beak: he has taken a toad and an eel out of it.

Because the two diaboli obviously belong together and the spoonbill alludes mainly to the addiction to drink, I would say that the angler is intended to signify excessive eating. This view is supported by a passage in *Des Coninx Summe*, p. 471, which warns that persons who overeat are liable to a sudden death by choking on a piece of food. The death-devil is there compared with an angler who *den visch vanghet mitten aes, dats te seggen een brok inder kelen* [catches the fish with the bait, that is to say a chunk in the throat], the chunk being the titbit on which the sinner chokes. One is also reminded of a parable of Cyrillus (*De parabelen van Cyrillus*, p. 115 f.: *Een bispel tegens die minres der weelden*), in which the devil is compared with a fisherman who catches the sinner on a hook. The bait he uses is *die weelde der werelt* [the luxury of the world], consisting in this case of overeating and being indolent.

Spoonbill-devils depicted by imitators of Bosch are: two devil-monks with spoonbill-beaks standing beside a diabolic whore who wears a double-pointed headdress (lower right-hand corner of *Merrymakers in an egg*, Lille), and a devil with a spoonbill's beak sitting on a monstrous animal whose three long necks are stuck through a round disc (top of a tavern-table), on a tapestry showing the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, in the Royal Palace in Madrid (Brussels work of shortly after 1550).

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## XV. Round slab as top of tavern-table

In *Judgem.*, p. 182, note 187, I gave three examples of a round slab that i.m.o. is intended to represent simply a tavern-table with its associations and not at the same time the word *schijve* [disc].

Other such examples are the following.

On a sheet of drawings, some of which, and perhaps all, have been copied from original sketches by Bosch, a devil is shown as consisting of a woman's head set on shoulders with arms that end not in hands but in feet. On the head lies a round slab (top of a tavern-table) with an owl sitting on it (*Old Master Drawings* VI, pl. 46; see p. 52). This monstrosity ridicules a woman who 'works' in taverns of ill-repute.

On a tapestry showing a *Temptation of St. Anthony* which reveals the influence of Bosch (Brussels work, shortly after 1550, Royal Palace, Madrid, rep.: Lafond, at p. 81) a round slab occurs three times. An imp whose head is placed directly on his bottom (he is *lijfloos* [lit.: body-less], see *Judgem.*, p. 126) carries a round red slab (top of a tavern-table) on his head. There is a white cloth (a *slette*, indicative of inebriety) round the slab and the knee of the imp. His right leg is stuck in a piece of bone (signifying beggary). The figure is a caricature of the man whose visits to the tavern has reduced him to mendicity. Another little devil has a round slab over his behind. He has bare legs (poverty) and his upper body is a fish (licentiousness, unchastity). He, too, reflects the man who has fallen into poverty through his visits to ill-famed taverns. The third instance on this tapestry is that of a monstrous animal sticking three long necks (phallus symbols) through a round red slab. In this case the slab could, in addition, be an allusion to the word *schijve* [disc] in its meaning of pudendum. Perched on the creature is a little devil with a spoonbill's beak (addiction to drink). The satire here is on inebriety and unchastity in taverns.

In a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator (Nelson Fund, Atkins Museum

of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri; see *Judgem.*, p. 392) a devil with a spoonbill's beak is sitting at the round top of a tavern-table.

In a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, also by an imitator (in 1970 in the Galerie Heinemann in Wiesbaden, oak, ca. 140 × 100 cm.; photograph in Rijksbureau, The Hague) a devil has on his head a round wooden slab. On it sits a toad (impurity). The leg of the devil is pierced by a large arrow (*bout*, a word which besides arrow, could mean dissipated fellow, as well as roast leg, favourite food of spendthrift revellers, while the object could function as a phallic symbol). On the ground in front of the little monster lies an eel (*aal*, a word also meaning ale, intoxicating drink). Beside him stands a white heron (sexual symbol). The head of the imp is placed directly on his bottom (he is *lijffloos*, lit.: body-less, indicative of poverty). This is the caricature of a man who has been reduced to penury through drink and women in taverns.

In a 16th-century copy of a lost painting by either Bosch himself or a follower (*Abigail bringing gifts to David and kneeling before him*; 1 Samuel 25:23 and 24) David and a soldier, who are both conspicuously armed, are characterized as sinful human beings by the accompanying depictions of i.a. toads and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise (denunciation of warlike and unchaste persons). A second soldier in the retinue of David carries a banner. On his head is the round top of a small tavern-table. On it lies something edible (?) with an arrow stuck through it. The arrow here represents the word *bout* in its meaning of fine food for spendthrift revellers. The bearer of the banner is a satire on gluttony. And also on inebriety, for *vaan* meant not only banner but also a measure for beer (*M.W.* VIII, 1241). David and his men had come to kill Nabal, the husband of Abigail. The artist denounces them for making war, the concomitants of which are Luxuria and Gula. For this painting see also *Judgem.*, p. 160.



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## XVI. Arrow through part of body

Bosch and his imitators more than once depicted a large arrow that has penetrated some part of a leg. It pierces the upper leg of the elephant-devil on our centre panel (*Judgem.*, p. 116); goes through the thighs of a sinner on our right panel (*Judgem.*, p. 216); through the upper leg of a devil in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by an imitator (*Judgem.*, p. 395); through the lower leg of the imp with the target-pin and the cord with small ball, in Hieronymus Cock's engraving of a *Last Judgement* triptych (Baldass 1943, ill. 55); through the lower leg of the devil with spiked shield, sword and pieces of armour, in a drawing attributed by some to Bosch (Baldass 1943, ill. 141).

In some cases the leg pierced by the arrow is a severed one, as in the following: in a *St. Christopher* attributed to Jan Mandijn in the Wittert Collection in Liège (Castelli. Atti, Tav. XLIV<sup>a</sup>); in a *Christ liberating souls in Limbo*, formerly in the Jeffcoat Collection (*Judgem.*, p. 147, note 7); in a *Temptation of St. Anthony* attributed to Jan Mandijn (*De eeuw van Bruegel*, no. 152); in a painting of the same subject by Jan Wellens de Cock (*idem.*, no. 72). In all these cases the leg hangs on a stick or branch. The arrow is always stuck through the lower part of the leg.

An arrow is transfixed in the right foot of a luteplayer-devil in a *St. Christopher* by Pieter Huys (Munich. Van Puyvelde. *Peinture*, p. 77, ill. 25. Baltrušaitis. *Réveils et prodiges*, p. 298). Tied round his left leg is a cloth (*slette*) which indicates addiction to drink, while the arrow (*bout*) alludes to gormandizing.

In the examples given here of an arrow transfixed in an upper or lower leg, the missile appears to be a visual representation of the word *bout* in its meaning of dissipated fellow, and in a few cases to be at the same time a phallic symbol.

There are instances in the work of Bosch and imitators where an arrow has penetrated some other part of the body, e.g. the arrow in the forehead of a

giant-devil, shown both on our right panel and on the left panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (*Judgem.*, p. 258). Other examples are the following: in *Christ liberating souls in Limbo* (referred to above) an arrow is stuck in the cheek of a huge devil's-head; on the tapestry with the *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Brussels work, shortly after 1550, Royal Palace, Madrid) an arrow is skewered through the arm of an imp; on the same tapestry an arrow pierces a heart hanging, next to a lute, on a clawhook which projects from a rock. In an opening in the rock stands a diabolic prostitute.

In a collection of emblemata by Achilles Bocchius, issued in Bologna in 1555, we find a copperplate engraving of a *Carrying of the Cross* which derives from a work by Bosch or an imitator (Jan Borms. *Onbekend werk van Hieronymus Bosch. Een Kruisdraging*. *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 17 Mei 1944). This depiction must have been related to a painting of the *Carrying of the Cross* by an imitator (present whereabouts unknown; illustrated in Friedländer v -Lemmens-, plate 112, no. 127) and to an engraving of the same subject which was inscribed Hieron. Bos invenit. L. Lomb(ardus) restituit. H. Cock excud. (rep.: Holstein III, p. 130). The arrow, a large one, here goes through the hair on the head of a soldier. Though hair is not strictly speaking the body, it does belong to the body. Also in these last four works the *bout* [arrow] has an unfavourable connotation.

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## XVII. Cloth and plaster

In *Judgem.*, p. 305 f., I noted three examples of Bosch's use of a plaster.

There is yet a fourth instance where he painted a plaster, namely on the neck of the ligneous goose which forms part of the human tree on the *Hell* panel of the *Garden* triptych (see *Tuin*, p. 110 and *Taal*, p. 62). On the 'neck' is a wound from which blood flows. A plaster has been put on the wound and the plaster itself partly covered by a cloth. In *Bezwaren*, p. 3, I pointed out that in Bosch's time such a cloth was called a *slet* or a *sleter*, and that *beslet* could mean: bound or bandaged with such a cloth, but also: entangled, e.g. in sin. Further, that *slet* was a synonym of drunkard (applied to either a man or a woman), that *sletterij* was another term for boozing and that *sleter* could mean a good-for-nothing and something without value.

Now *plaesteren* meant to plaster, i.e. to put a plaster on, and *hem playsteren* [lit.: to plaster oneself] meant to gormandize, to do oneself well (*M.W.* vi, 396, 406 and 462; Jacobs, in Jan de Weert, p. 313).

Because the cloth has a figurative meaning here, alluding to inebriety, it seems acceptable that the plaster has also been intended as a metaphor and signifies gluttony.

The human tree has the face of a dissipated drunkard (*Tuin*, p. 111). That it is a self-portrait of Bosch (Benesch, *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* xxvi - 1957 - II, p. 126 f.) is incorrect.

I dealt with the motif of the *slet* or *slette* in my discussion of Bosch's *Pedlar* (Rotterdam; *Bezwaren*, p. 3: cloth round leg), and also referred to the bibulous character in the *Gula* on Bosch's *Table* (*Taal*, p. 62: cloth round ankle). The hat of this fat gorger in the *Gula* is pierced by a large *bout* [arrow], meaning here roast leg and alluding to extravagant eating (*Judgem.*, p. 90), and not to the plague, as Reuterswärd, p. 136, would have it.

Additional examples are: the cloth round the thigh of a giant-devil who is a

caricature of i.a. a drunkard (left panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon; *Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 23/29 and 186/240, note 25); the cloth round the *korf* [hive, basket; belly], here a 'full' one, alluding to gluttony, which is carried by an impoverished vagrant who has succumbed to Gula, in the engraving of the *Satire on soldier and merrymaking pauper* (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 186/240, note 24, and p. 201/264); the cloth (addiction to drink) round the left leg, together with the arrow (*bout*: symbolic of gormandizing) through the right foot, of the luteplayer-devil in a *St. Christopher* by Pieter Huys (Munich; see *Judgem.*, p. 396); the cloth round the ankle of the human tree in a drawing by an imitator of Bosch (Oppenheimer Collection, London; see *Judgem.*, p. 372) as well as in a drawing by another imitator (Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlung; see *Judgem.*, p. 372): in both of these the foot is placed in a little *boot* [boat], the word *boot* meaning also boot, i.e. footwear, as well as wine-butt; the cloth round the lower part of the right leg of a dissipated wafer-seller in a *Prodigal son at play* (painting by an Antwerp master? Art gallery in Basel; ca. 1517) to which attention was directed by A.J. Bernet Kempers (*De oblieman. Metamorfosen van een koekjesverkooper. Volkskunde* 74 -1973-, p. 30 f.). In Bruegel's *Painting of the Proverbs* the man hitting his head against a wall has a knife in his right hand and a cloth round his right leg: drink causes frenzy and makes a man undertake something futile.

The following instance is more complicated. In the lower left-hand corner of the *St. Hieronymus* panel of the *Hermit Saints* triptych (Venice), just above the hollow tube in which a lizard-like creature is creeping and at the foot of which a prickly plant with round berries grows (symbolic of unchastity), lies a rectangular slab or rock. Tied round the middle of it is a white cloth. This slab is, like so many other rectangular and round stone and wooden *schijven* [slabs, discs] which Bosch painted, a visual representation of the word *schive* (see *Judgem.*, p. 173 n. 144), a word that, among others, could mean the top of a tavern-table. It is this meaning that is applicable here, supported as it is by the following representation in the *Temptation of St. Anthony* on a tapestry that was made in Brussels shortly after 1550 and is at present in the Royal Palace in Madrid (rep.: Lafond, at p. 81). A diabolic imp whose head is placed directly on his bottom (he is body-less, that is, without substance, insignificant) and whose right leg is shod in a piece of bone (beggary, poverty) carries on his head a red disc (a table-top). Tied round this slab and the knee of the little monstrosity is a white cloth. In both the painting and the tapestry we are therefore presented with a combination of a *slette* [cloth, rag] and a *schive* [slab, disc]: the drunkard and the tavern-table. That the slab is tied up with the knee alludes to the saying: *Arme lieden eten op de knieën* [Poor folk eat on the knees] (*Ontc./Deciph.*, p. 41/52, at note 25).

The figure of St. Hieronymus is surrounded by symbols of the evils of this world.

Reuterswärd (p. 144 f.) sees the cloths depicted by Bosch on the *Hell* panel of the *Garden* triptych, in the *Pedlar*, the *Gula* and the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon, as bandages on wounds and therefore as symbols of sickness and evil. Also the plaster and the wound of the pedlar-devil on our centre panel he regards as allusions to inherent evil. In my opinion, however, Bosch associated the word *slette* [cloth, rag] with the cloths, and had in mind the expression *hem playsteren* [to gormandize] when he painted the plaster on the human tree and the pedlar.





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Bibliography of Middle, 16th century, and some other Dutch writings referred to in this book. With translation of title and, where meaningful, a brief indication of the subject matter

*Achte Persone Wenschen*: Eight persons' wishes (describing how, respectively, a knight and a maiden, a cleric and a nun, a monk and a beguine, a priest and a married woman fulfil each other's wishes)

*Alexanders Geesten*: The exploits of Alexander (the Great)

*Antwerps Liedboek*: Songbook of Antwerp (a 16th century collection of secular songs, including many of a scabrous nature)

*Bedelmonnikspredikatie*: Mendicant monk's sermon (translation of Erasmus' *Medardus*)

*Biënboec*: Bees' book (comparing the life of man with that of bees)

*Boecxken vander Biechte ende van die seven Dootsonden*: Booklet of the confession and of the seven deadly sins

*Boek der Wijsheid*: Book of wisdom

*Brevier van Maria van Gelder*: Breviary of Mary of Guelders

*Byen corf der H. Roomscher Kercke*: Bee-hive of the Holy Roman Church (a satirical denunciation of an allegorical work in which the Roman Catholic church is compared with a bee-hive)

*Cancellierboeck*: Chancellor's book (describing the final examination of a clerical scholar by the chancellor of the university, especially on the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins and the seven works of mercy)

*Cronike van Vlaanderen*: Chronicle of Flanders

*Cruydtboeck*: Book of herbs (translation of works by Dodonaeus)

*Dat boeck van den proprieteyten der dinghen*: The book of the properties of things

*Dat Boec vander Wraken*: The book of vengeance

*Dat Bouck der Bloemen*: Book of flowers

*Dat passionael of gulden legende. Winter stuck. Somer stuck*: The passionael or golden legend. Winter part. Summer part (translated from the Latin and describing the sufferings of saints and martyrs)

- Dat sterf boeck*: The death book
- Dboeck der inghelen*: The book of angels
- De Christelycke Ridder*: The Christian knight
- De Kluchte van den vermaerden Philosoph Diogenes*: The farce of the famous philosopher Diogenes
- De Spiegel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse*: The mirror of human salvation
- De Ure van den Doot*: The hour of death
- Den grooten Herbarius met al sijn figueren Die Ortis Sanitatis gheenoemt is*: The large Herbarius with all its figures, which is called Ortis Sanitatis
- Den Handel der Amouresheyt*: The ways of love
- Der Leken Spiegel*: The layman's mirror (an encyclopaedic moralistic work dealing with i.a. God, heaven, hell, earth and its history, Christ's life, practical ethics, an ars poetica, different forms of love and a forecast of the end of the world)
- Der Naturen Bloeme*: Nature's flower (an encyclopaedic work dealing with many aspects of nature: man, animals, trees, stones, metals, healing properties of things, etc.)
- Der scaepherders kalengier*: The shepherd's calender
- Der Ystorien Bloeme*: The flower of history (legends of the apostles, in Dutch verse)
- Der Zielen troost*: The soul's solace
- Des Coninx Summe*: The king's (i.e. God's) account (which He will present on the Day of Judgement)
- Die Bediedenis van der missen*: The meaning of the mass
- Die Brabantsche Yeesten*: The Brabant histories
- Die Chierheit der Gheesteliker Brulocht*: The splendour of the spiritual marriage
- Die chronicke van der vermaerder ende vromer stadt van Tsertogenbosch*: The chronicle of the famous and devout city of 's-Hertogenbosch
- Die Dietsche Doctrinale*: The (book of) doctrine (translated) in Dutch
- Die Dietsche Lucidarius*: The (book of) elucidation (translated) in Dutch (being answers to questions on the tenets of the church)
- Die Eerste Bliscap van Maria*: The first joy of Mary (a mystery play about the annunciation)
- Die Evangelien vanden Spinrocke, metter glosen bescreven ter eeren vanden vrouwen*: The gospel of the distaff, described with commentary in honour of the women (comic stories ridiculing women's loquacity, superstition, and other faults)
- Die heylighe bevarden tot dat heylighe grafft in iherusalem*: The holy pilgrimages to the holy grave in Jerusalem
- Die Rose*: The (romance of the) rose (a Dutch adaptation of the French work)
- Die Spiegel der Minnen*: The mirror of love (a play of tragic love between a merchant's son and a simple seamstress)
- Die Spiegel der Sonden*: The mirror of sin
- Die spiegel der bekeeringhen der sondaren Ende dat dyalogus onser liever vrouwen maria totten sondaer ende des sondaers tot mariam*: The mirror of the conversion of sinners. And the dialogue of our dear lady Mary with the sinner and of the sinner with Mary
- Die stove*: The bath-house (two women in a public bath-house talk to each other about their marriage)
- Die waerachtige ende seer wonderlijcke historie van Mariken van Nieumeghen*: The true and most marvellous history of Mary of Nijmegen

*Dit is dat visioen der maget Petrisa vanden paradise ende van Enoch en Helios die int paradise syn:* This is the vision the virgin Petrisa had of paradise and of Enoch and Helios who are in paradise

*Dit ist beschrive vanden eertschen paradise:* This is the description of the earthly paradise

*Dit sijn Seneca leren:* These are Seneca's teachings

*Doctrinael des Tijts:* (Book of) Doctrine of the present time (translation of a severely critical French work by Pierre Michault, secretary to Charles the Bold, written for Philip of Burgundy)

*Dryakelproeuer:* Demonstrator of remedies (meaning: the quack doctor)

*Een bispel tegens die minres der weelden:* An exemplary lesson, against the lovers of luxury

*Een fundament van der Kerstenre Geloven:* A fundamental basis of the Christian faith

*Eenen spiegel der liefhebbers deser werelt:* A mirror reflecting the devotees of this world

*Een Spel van Sinnen van de Hel vant Brouwersgilde:* A figurative play of the hell of the brewers' guild (a satire ridiculing different classes of society)

*Een Spiegel der Eewigher Salicheit:* A mirror of eternal bliss

*Esopet:* Aesop's fables (rendered in Dutch verse)

*Exposicie op et Pater Noster:* Exposition on the paternoster

*Gheestelick Meyspel van TReyne Maecxele ghezeyt der Ziele:* Spiritual May-play of the pure creation called the soul

*Haagse Bijbel:* The Hague bible

*Haerlems Juweel:* Jewel (i.e. prize) of Haarlem (dramatic work for the prize-winning competition of the Haarlem Chamber of Rhetoric)

*Heimelijkheid der Heimelijkheden:* Secret of secrets (containing rules for wise government and the maintenance of good health)

*Het Bikkelspel:* The knucklebone game

*Het Rijke der Ghelieven:* The realm of the loved ones

*Hier beghint van die scoenheit ende ghenoechtelicheit des aertschen paradyses:* Here begins (a description) of the beauty and delight of the earthly paradise

*Jans Teestyte:* John's testimony (a didactic dialogue in which John expounds his convictions of the truth)

*Jhesus collacien:* Collection of sermons on (the teachings of) Jesus (from the circles of the Tertiary Orders)

*Kindheidsevangelie:* Gospel of the Childhood

*Kronyken, Charters en Oorkonden: Die Chronieke vander Stat van Tsartogenbosch, int corte, van hartoghe Jan van Brabant, die eerste van dien name, af, tot coninc Phillips tiden toe, die was hartoghe van Brabant en coninck van Engeland:* Chronicles, charters and deeds: The chronicle of the city of 's-Hertogenbosch, in brief, from duke John of Brabant, the first of that name, up to King Philip's time, who was duke of Brabant and king of England.

*Kronijkje der Stad en Meijerij van 's Hertogenbosch, 1476-1501:* Brief chronicle of the city and bailiwick of 's-Hertogenbosch, 1476-1501

*Kronykjen van 's Hertogenbosch, van de jaren 1312-1517:* Brief chronicle of 's-Hertogenbosch, of the years 1312-1517

*Leven van Adam en Eva:* Life of Adam and Eve

*Leven van Sinte Amand:* Life of St. Amandus (who was venerated as patron of Flanders)

*Nieuwe Doctrinael of Spiegel van Sonden:* New book of doctrines, or Mirror of sin



*O.L. Vrouw van Zeven Weeën*: Our dear lady of seven sorrows  
*Playerwater*: approx.: Trickwater (a farce in which a husband is sent on a fool's errand to fetch healing water for his wife who professes illness. She wants him out of the way when her paramour, a priest, calls. But he gets his own back)  
*Recht ghebruyck ende misbruyck van tydlycke have*: Correct use and misuse of temporal goods  
*Rijke bedelaars of de Minderbroeders*: Rich beggars or the mendicant friars  
*Rijmbijbel*: Rhyming bible (Dutch adaptation of Petrus Comestor's *Biblia* or *Historica Scolastica* (making parts of the Old Testament, the apocryphal books and the gospels accessible to the layman)  
*Samenspraken*: Dialogues (Dutch translation of Erasmus's *Colloquia*)  
*Seer schoone spreekwoorden*: Very fine proverbs  
*Sermoenen van Jan Brugman*: Sermons of Jan Brugman  
*Sidrac*: (The book of) Sidrac (Dutch translation of a French treatise on various questions of religion and physics)  
*Sonderentroost*: Solace of sinners  
*Spandauer Kerstspel*: Nativity play of Spandau  
*Speghel der Wijsheit of Leeringhe der Zalichede*: Mirror of wisdom, or Doctrine of blessedness  
*Spelen van sinne . . . ghespeelt . . . binnen Antwerpen . . . d. 3 Aug. 1561, op die questie Wat den mensch aldermeest tot conste verweckt*: Figurative plays . . . acted . . . in Antwerp . . . date 3 Aug. 1561, on the question: What inspires man most of all to create art  
*Spiegel Historiael*: Mirror of history  
*Spieghel der Volcomenheit*: Mirror of perfection  
*St. Patricius' Vagevuur*: St. Patrick's Purgatory  
*Summa der Godliker Schrifturen*: Summa of the divine scriptures  
*Tafelspel van Al Hoy met Ydel Lustken, Willeken Noyt Genoech en Buycxken*  
*Selden Sat*: Table-play of Nothing but hay, with Vain Desire, Willy Never Enough and Tummy Seldom Full (acted as entertainment for partakers of a festive meal)  
*Tafel vanden Kersten Ghelove*: Table of the (teachings of the) Christian faith  
*Tgevecht van Minnen*: The battle of love  
*Tondalus' Visioen*: The vision of Tondalus  
*Trou moet blijcken*: Devotion must be shown  
*Truwanten*: Vagrants  
*Tspel van een anders Welvaren*: The play about another's prosperity  
*Tspel vanden Heiligen Sacramente van der Nyeuwervaert*: The play of the holy sacrament of Nieuwervaert (lit.: the New Waterway)  
*Tspel van Sinte Trudo*: The play of St. Trudo  
*Twee spelen vande Verlooren Zoone*: Two plays of the prodigal son  
*Uyt-beemsen Oorlog, ofte Roomse Min-triompfen*: Outlandish battle, or Roman triumphs of love (love-poems which for their time, 1651, were of a daring sensuality; written during the poet's visit to Italy)  
*Uytleggingh op den Metamorphosis P. Ovidii Nasonis*: Exposition on the Metamorphosis of Ovidius  
*Van Bacchus alder dronkaerts Godt*: Of Bacchus, god of all the drunkards  
*Van den Burckaerten*: Of the dissimulators (beggars who pretend to be suffering from a disease named after a saint, e.g. St. Anthony's fire)  
*Van den Gheesteliken Tabernakel*: Of the spiritual tabernacle  
*Van den Heiligen Drien Coninghen*: Of the three holy kings (the Magi)

*Vanden Kerstenen Ghelove*: Of the Christian faith  
*Van den Klinckeneeren*: Of the jinglers (beggars who attract attention by sounding a bell)  
*Vanden loefliken leuen der geechteder menschen*: Of the praiseworthy life of lawfully wedded persons  
*Van den Rijke der Ghelieven*: Of the realm of the loved ones  
*Vanden VII Sloten*: Of the seven locks (to be opened in the stages of spiritual growth)  
*Vanden XII Beghinen*: Of the twelve beguines  
*Vanden XII Dogheden*: Of the twelve virtues  
*Van den proprieteyten der dinghen*: Of the properties of things  
*Vander lantsheren state ende hare gebreke*: Of the state of the ruler, and its shortcomings  
*Vander Vledermuus*: Of the bat  
*Van de vier wtersten des menschen, te weten, Die Doot, Dat Oordeel, Die pijn der Hellen. Ende de blijtschap des ewighen Levens, Is in dit notabel Boecxken ghestelt*: Of the four extremes of man, namely, death, judgement, torment of hell, and the bliss of eternal life, (which) is set out in this remarkable booklet  
*Van Mars ende Venus hoe sij 't samen boeleerden*: Of Mars and Venus, how they fornicated together  
*Van Sente Brandane*: Of St. Brendan  
*Van VII Trappen in den Graad der Gheesteleker Minnen*: Of seven steps in the ladder of spiritual love  
*Verspreide sermoenen*: Various sermons  
*Vorsienicheit Godes*: (Book of the) Providence of God



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## ABBREVIATIONS

attrib.	attributed to	fig.	figurative(ly)
a.w.	associated with	lit.	literally
B	Bosch	<i>L.J.</i>	<i>Last Judgement</i>
C	Cranach	l.p.	left panel
coll.	collection	n. note	
con.	connotation (in widest sense, e.g. allusion, association, con- text, comparison, meaning, significance, symbolism)	no.	number
		ref.	reference(s)
		r.p.	right panel
c.p.	centre panel	<i>T.P.</i>	<i>Terrestrial Paradise</i>
d.	devil	w.	with
Elab.	Elaboration	w.r.t.	with reference to

## *Aal*

awl/eel/excrement, in visual word-play, for ale 173 and n. 148.

## *Accidia (sloth)*

punishment of A. (a.w. Luxuria) 157, 165, 199; perhaps alluded to 56, 137, 221; in relation to other sins: as represented on l.p. 71, c.p. 210, r.p. 279 and by writers 280. Texts: 56, 157f.; punishments for A. included by some 165, omitted by others 379. See also 378f.

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*Antlers*

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**Black**

b. ape-d., bird, boot, cap, cape, cat-d., cloth, clothing, crow, devil (demon), face, feather, flag, gauntlets (gloves), hair, headdress (w. b. fur), hood, ladle, sack-cap, spots: see these words; b. on shield, symbol of devil and death 120.

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*Grimani, Domenico*

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*Hand*

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*Harnas*

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### *Headdress*

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### *Henry III of Nassau*

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*Manikin*

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*Margaret of Austria*

Regentess of the Low Countries 325, early owner of work by B 326, knowledge of Dutch language probably small, but well-informed about life in L.C. 330; author's hypothesis that she commissioned two *L.J.* triptychs from B, as gifts to nephews Charles V and Frederick I: one (now lost) copied by Cranach, the other now in Vienna 326ff.

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*Mop (mopstick)*

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*Nakedness*

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*Philip of Burgundy*

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*Philip the Fair*

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### *Pouch*

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### *Procession*

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### *Prostitute*

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### *Profession*

ps. censured by B: that of prostitute, procuress, brothel-keeper, notary, messenger, officer of the law (sheriff), entertainer (including minstrel, musician),

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#### *Punishment*

of *Accidia* (laziness, sloth), *Avaritia* (avarice, greed), *Gula* (gluttony, guzzling), *Invidia* (envy, jealousy), *Ira* (anger, wrath; bellicosity, pugnacity), *Luxuria* (licentiousness, lust, unchastity), *Superbia* (arrogance, pride, vanity): see the capital words; for forms of p. see *sinner*s. Texts: various sufferings 87f., repetition of p. 168, unceasing p. 207, for specific sins 378f.

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#### *Purse*

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#### *Quail*

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#### *Rabbit*

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#### *Rainbow*

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#### *Rash*

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#### *Rat*

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#### *Ring*

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### *River*

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### *Rock*

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### *Rodent*

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### *Roe*

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### *Rooi*

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### *Rope*

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### *Ruit*

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### *Sac*

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### *Sack*

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### *Sack-cap*

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### *Salamander*

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### *Satchel*

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### *Satyr*

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*Schieten*

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*Schijf, schive*

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*Scourge*

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*Sexual symbolism*

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*Sheath*

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*Shell*

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*Shield*

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*Ship*

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*Shipwreck*

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*Shoes*

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*Shooting*

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*Singers*

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### *Sphere*

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