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The Pedlar of Many Names

On the sources for the iconography of the works of Jheronimus Bosch (ca. 1450 - 1516) in late medieval art and culture

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Foreword: of recent and not so recent Bosch research

The idea for this thesis originated in part from my experiences at the fifth international Jheronimus Bosch conference, which took place in May of 2023 at the Jheronimus Bosch Art Center in ‘s-Hertogenbosch. The Jheronimus Bosch Conference is meant to be the place where the latest research into the time, the life and the works of Bosch is presented. The roster of attendants to the conference included many notable scholars indeed, such as professors Jos Koldeweij and Ron Spronk, contributors to the Bosch Research and Conservation Project. However, the conference had very few attendants who weren’t also speakers, and I met practically no interested laymen. Furthermore, the majority of attendants were art historians and conservators. One of the few that were not strictly part of those categories was dr. Grzegorz Kubies, a music historian who analyzed the trumpets used by the angels heralding the last judgement in various *Last Judgement* panels from the time of Bosch. Another was professor Manuel Berdoy, a biologist who briefly included an analysis of some of the animals of the *Garden of the Earthly Delights* by Bosch in his talk, but otherwise mostly talked about history.[1] He proposed a rather far-fetched interpretation of the *Garden of the Earthly Delights* by Jheronimus Bosch that took the various naked figures in the foreground to reference various historical figures from the House of Habsburg and from the Burgundian dynasty living around 1500.[2] Finally, there was dr. Eric de Bruyn, a linguist specializing in Middle-Dutch, as well as a longtime Bosch researcher who investigates the literary sources for the various works by Bosch. While it is understandable that most attendants of an art history conference would be art historians and conservators, I believe it is also very limiting to art history to include so little research into other fields of cultural history, and I believe it is detrimental to research into Jheronimus Bosch. I want to address this issue in this thesis, and in the following chapters, I will examine the works of Jheronimus Bosch through the lens of other fields of cultural history. This I want to do partially in the hope of arriving at new conclusions about the works of Bosch, specifically the two paintings from the oeuvre of Bosch featuring the figure known as the Pedlar, but also to show that this approach is fruitful, and even necessary in the art historical study of Bosch.

Various modern studies have shown us the limits and dangers of studying the works of Bosch without considering the broader cultural history of his time. The most egregious of these have made the artist out to be a heretic, a practitioner of witchcraft, a nudist and many

[1] Dr. Berdoy’s article after his talk is well-worth reading for its very interesting discussion on the way in which Bosch depicts various animals with deliberate anatomical abnormalities, such as the small tortoiseshell butterfly with only two wings rather than the typical four. This aspect of the painting is definitely worth further study (Berdoy, *A novel reading for the Garden of Earthly Delights*, 53-56).
[2] Berdoy, *A Novel Reading for the Garden of Earthly Delights*, 50-73.

other things.[3] In 1947, the German art historian Wilhelm Fraenger wrote *Das tausendjährige Reich - Grundzüge einer Auslegung*, a dubious and far-fetched book in which Fraenger claims Bosch was a member of a heretical Adamite cult. He claimed that his cult, which was a radical offshoot of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, believed that it was possible to build a paradise on earth much like the Garden of Eden, and be rid of sin that way. To achieve this goal, they would practice nudism, free love and polygamy. According to Fraenger, Bosch's *Garden of the Earthly Delights* was commissioned by this cult as an altarpiece, and depicts their ideal world, thus explaining the nude men and women giving in to lust depicted on the central panel.[4] Fraenger is in good company; a number of art historians have approached Bosch in a similar way, and their theories all share a common pitfall; they go beyond the culture, the literature, the language and the material culture of the time of Bosch, and instead look to explain Bosch through exotic and esoteric cults and traditions. To give a small sample: Clément Wertheim Aymés, a follower of Fraenger, in 1957 drew a connection between Bosch and the Rosicrucian order.[5] Patrik Reuterswärd shared Fraenger's ideas about Bosch's connection to the Adamite cult and built upon Fraenger's writings in 1970.[6] In his 1975 work *Hieronymus Bosch - Weltbilder und Traumwerk*, Hans Holländer suggested that the mysterious ruins that appear in the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* are meant to evoke the "shadowy old gods", pre-Christian deities to whom the devils of Bosch are related.[7] Enriqueta Harris claimed in 1995 that Bosch, during his travels to Venice, must have come into contact with the Catharist movement. This was a group that was similar to the Adamite cult in their unorthodox beliefs about human salvation, and who believed that Satan ruled supreme on earth. Subsequently, Bosch supposedly joined a group of Cathars active in 's-Hertogenbosch.[8]

Authors like these frequently ignore the cultural context of Bosch completely, instead drawing upon Hindu mythology, mystery cults such as orphism and pythagoreanism, gnosticism, and neoplatonism to explain the works of Bosch.[9] Many of these claims are easily debunked - and have been refuted - through just the slightest application of history and cultural history.[10] Dirk Bax, who wrote an extensive commentary debunking Fraenger on these exotic explanations in 1956, made use of exactly this cultural-historical approach.[11] To put some incorrect claims to rest: the Adamites were a thirteenth-century cult that would

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[3] Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel*, 83.
[4] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 1, 10.
[5] Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch*, xxviii.
[6] Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch - The Complete Works*, 49.
[7] Holländer, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 121.
[8] Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch - The Complete Works*, iii.
[9] Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch*, xxvi; Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 54.
[10] Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 27-50; Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch - The Complete Works*, iii-iv.
[11] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 1, 11.

have long been wiped out by the Inquisition in Bosch's time.[12] Rosicrucianism did not arise until the seventeenth century and would not have existed yet in Bosch's time, and it is unlikely that Bosch ever traveled to Venice to come into contact with the Cathars.[13]

This is all to show how explanations for the works of Bosch fall apart when the artist's own place in space and time is not properly considered. It is for this reason that professor Berdoy's theory is so far-fetched as well; it fails to properly consider the art-historical and historical context of Burgundian and Habsburg art from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is also for this reason that I believe it is of the utmost importance to include scholars from many fields of history and cultural history in research into the works of Jheronimus Bosch. To fail to do so is highly detrimental to our ability to solve the puzzle of his works. When we examine the works of Bosch through the lens of cultural history, however, a very different picture emerges: the works of Jheronimus Bosch may appear hermetic at first, but they are in fact steeped in the culture, language, literature and material culture of Bosch's time. Within the demonic imagery lie many genre-like scenes full of double meanings and innuendo. What seems like an impenetrable iconography to the layman's eyes today, was an erudite rebus that Bosch would have, and often could have trusted his audience to solve. Bosch expected and inspired curiosity in his audience, and his works are often laid out like conversation pieces, intended to prompt discussion among their viewers. In my experience as a guide at the Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, this is certainly the effect that the works of Bosch have on people; they invite a closer look and encourage viewers to come up with theories. Were it not for the five centuries of cultural distance, I believe these paintings would function exactly as Bosch intended.

It is my hope that by advocating for the cultural-historical approach to Bosch, I can contribute to a bigger, more diverse and more exciting Jheronimus Bosch Conference the next time around, both for scholars and interested laymen. In addition to this being important to the academic world, it is important to me personally to see Bosch research flourish. Jheronimus Bosch and his fantastical paintings have been close to my heart for a very long time, at least since I attended high school in 's-Hertogenbosch at the Stedelijk Gymnasium - arguably a continuation of the same Latin School where Bosch himself studied. This personal interest is the reason I came to work as a guide at the Jheronimus Bosch Art Center in 's-Hertogenbosch, and the reason I decided to specialize into late medieval art in my university studies.

[12] Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch*, xxvi.
[13] Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch*, xxviii; Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch - The Complete Works*, 21, 49, iii.

Several people have greatly helped and encouraged me throughout this Boschian career. I would like to thank my parents, who have always fostered my imagination and curiosity. I would like to thank Rieuwert Catz, my art teacher in high school, who is the reason I chose to study art history in university. I would like to thank dr. Kees Veelenturf, my thesis supervisor at Radboud University and one of my foremost guides to the medieval world. May your name survive in plenty of footnotes and may the frequency of those footnotes remain steady over time. I would like to thank professors Jos Koldeweij and Ron Spronk, as well as dr. Eric de Bruyn for their amazing lectures on all things Bosch. I would like to thank Wies van Aken, Nancy Voestermans, Edith Henskens and Nikolai Blom, my colleagues at the Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, for my wonderful time working there. And of course, finally, I would like to thank dr. Martine Meuwese, dr. Victor Schmidt and dr. Daantje Meuwissen, who have helped me tremendously to further my research into the works of Bosch at Utrecht University. All of you are the cultural-historical context that explains the enigmatic and indecipherable products of my mind.

Introduction: too high for our wit?

The fifteenth-century Dutch painter Jheronimus Bosch (ca. 1450 - 1516) has earned himself a reputation as one of the most enigmatic, even one of the most hermetic painters of his time. He is perhaps best known for his paintings of hellish landscapes, colourful devils tempting humans from all walks of life, and *oubolligh ghespoock*, as Karel van Mander (1548 - 1606) puts it in his 1604 *Schilder-boeck*.[14] Already in his own time, he had earned the nickname "*Duvelmaekere*", or "Devil-maker", and it appears that he was already well-known - and well-loved - for his devilries during his own lifetime.[15] Equally interesting and perhaps more influential than his diableries, however, are the genre-like aspects of his work, in which common folk are depicted in a moralizing manner.[16] These aspects of his work are the subject of this thesis.

Bosch's reputation as an extremely puzzling painter can be traced back all the way to some of the earliest authors on the artist, such as Felipe de Guevara (1500 - 1563), who, in his *Comentarios de la pintura*, written around 1560, criticized followers of Bosch. To De Guevara, many of them did not seem to understand the Boschian symbolism they were copying and merely painted strange things for the sake of painting strange things.[17] Another early author commenting on Bosch is Fray José de Sigüenza (1544 - 1606), who already felt the need to defend the very pious Bosch from accusations of heresy in 1605.[18] Famously, Bosch was such a tough nut to crack that Erwin Panofsky (1892 - 1968), the father of iconography and someone who harbored a deep love for fifteenth-century Dutch and Flemish art, seems to not have wanted to touch his paintings with a ten-foot pole. In his 1953 book *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, the discussion of Bosch spans a single paragraph, in which Panofsky rhymes: "This, too high for my wit / I prefer to omit."[19]

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[14] Van Mander paraphrases a short poem by Domenicus Lampsonius from 1572, which probably informs his frequent use of the word "ghespoock" in his description of the life and works of Jheronimus Bosch:

> *Ieroon Bos, wat beduydt u soo verschrickt ghesicht,*
> *En aenschijn alsoo bleeck, het schijnt oft even dicht*
> *Ghy al het helsch ghespoock saeght vlieghen om u ooren.*
> *Ick acht dat al ontdaen u zijn de diepste chooren*
> *Gheweest van Pluto ghier, en d'helsche wonsten wijt*
> *V open zijn ghedaen, dat ghy soo constigh zijt,*
> *Om met u rechter handt gheschildert uyt te stellen,*
> *Al wat in hem begrijpt den diepsten schoot der Hellen.*

(dbnl, "Het schilder-boeck", fol. 217v-217r).

[15] Ritter, *The Making of Bosch*, 283.

[16] Bruyn, *De Navolgers van Jheronimus Bosch*, 12; Op de Beeck, *Situering van de Moraliserende Schilders in de kunstgeschiedenis*, 9-10.

[17] Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch*, xix-xx; Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Jheronimus Bosch*, 17.

[18] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 1, 14.

[19] This is in turn a translation of a short rhyme in German by Adelphus Müelich. Müelich wrote this originally after having had difficulty translating Marsilio Ficino's *De Vita Triplici*. (Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 357-358).

Naturally, I do not share Panofsky's stance on the subject of Bosch, or I would stop writing there. If the works of Bosch seem like a lonely island in the stream of early Netherlandish painting, as Panofsky also describes, that is because of a fault in our art historical research. They can be explained through a broader look at their cultural-historical context. In this thesis, I will explore this cultural-historical context, and use the lessons we can learn from it to give an interpretation of the figure of the Pedlar from the works of Bosch.

Bosch: what sources tell us

In historical Bosch research, we can find a lot of confusion with regards to the oeuvre of Jheronimus Bosch. This is not at all surprising, considering that we know very little about the life and works of Bosch. Our knowledge of the medieval period is generally rather fragmentary, and the total body of biographical information about Bosch, from which we get all of the known facts about his life, consists of only about thirty documents from the period between 1474 and 1516.[20] For my discussion of these sources, I lean heavily upon the 2001 book *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken alias Bosch* by historian dr. G.C.M. van Dijck, which is a great and comprehensive compilation of everything we know about Bosch and how we know it.

We know that Jheronimus Bosch was born as Jheronimus van Aken.[21] His exact date of birth is uncertain, but he is usually said to have lived between 1450 and 1516.[22] His year of birth is estimated based upon a document of the sale of a leasehold in 1474 by his sister, Katharina van Aken, in which Jheronimus van Aken, as well as his brothers Goessen and Jan van Aken are mentioned. This indicates that Bosch was a legal adult in 1474, which, in the fifteenth century, meant that he must have been at least 24 years of age.[23] We know that he came from a family of painters, as many of his ancestors and family members are referred to as *pictor* or *maelre*, both meaning "painter", in various historical documents going back to the early fifteenth century.[24] We know that he studied at the Latin School in 's-Hertogenbosch, the same as his contemporary, the humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466 - 1536).[25] We know that he was a relatively successful artist and that he lived in an expensive brick house, the *Sint-Thoenis*, on the market square of 's-Hertogenbosch, and we know from a deed of sale that he later moved into a second house, *Den Salvatoer*, together with his

[20] Marijnissen, *Hieronimus Bosch*, 21.
[21] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 32.
[22] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 44, 55.
[23] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 44, 166.
[24] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 13-41, 140-166.
[25] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 42; Dijck, *Jheronimus Bosch Inspired by People in his Environment*, 115.

wife, Aleid van de Meervenne, who was a relatively wealthy merchant.[26] We know from membership lists that he held the prestigious status of a sworn member of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady of ‘s-Hertogenbosch, or *Zwanenbroeders*, and that he counted the Brotherhood among his customers as well.[27] Among his patrons, we know he also counted the upper bourgeoisie of ‘s-Hertogenbosch as well as the courtly circles of the Burgundian and Habsburg empires, and we have documents of, for instance, Philip the Handsome, Duke of Burgundy (1478 - 1506), paying Bosch an advance for the painting of a *Last Judgement* in 1504.[28] Jheronimus van Aken most likely took the name “Bosch” to help him market himself.[29] The toponym would allow potential customers from outside of ‘s-Hertogenbosch or even from outside of the Netherlands to more easily find him. Finally, we know from the invoice for his funeral that he was buried in the churchyard of the Saint John’s Cathedral in ‘s-Hertogenbosch on the 9th of august, 1516.[30]

Still extant works of Bosch are as scarce as documents about his life. There are many works in the oeuvre of Bosch that we only know of through descriptions or through copies by followers.[31] Bosch’s *Conjuror* (fig. 1) and his *Cutting of the Stone of Folly* (fig. 2) are known to be sixteenth-century copies after lost originals, and descriptions tell us about depictions of bellows-makers, as well as peasant carnivals that must have resembled the ones later painted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525 - 1530) (fig. 3).[32] The only way to learn about these works, their style, iconography and symbolism, is to study them by proxy, through the culture of their time.

In order to learn more about Bosch and his works than what little historical documents about the artist himself can tell us, researchers must turn to other sources that tell us about the time of the artist in more general terms. We know, for instance, that Bosch lived in a time when various artists were changing up the artistic status quo and inventing new image types. Along with contemporaries such as Joachim Patinir (1483 - 1524) and Quinten Massys (1466 - 1530), Bosch created new and unique religious imagery. These works were often genre-like, mixing the sacred and the profane and sometimes making religious figures and stories less important than genre-like characters and scenes.[33] A good example of this from the oeuvre of bosch is the *Haywain* triptych (fig. 4), which takes the general form of a last

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[26] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 44-45; Oudheusden, Jan van, *Erfgoed van de Brabanders*, 95.
[27] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 51-52, 56-57; Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 157-158, 160, 271.
[28] Koldeweij, *Jheronimus Bosch in zijn stad ‘s-Hertogenbosch*, 39; Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 10.
[29] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 9.
[30] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 186.
[31] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 11; Lammertse, *Alles is Hooi*, 67-69.
[32] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 15.
[33] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 10; Lammertse, *Alles is hooi*, 55.

judgement, but adapts it into an entirely new, more secular image type about the continuous judgement of humanity.[34] I will explore this aspect of the *Haywain* triptych further at a later point in this thesis. This may seem like a novel approach by Bosch, but it is in fact deeply rooted in the culture of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The works of these artists often contain references to contemporary culture, literature and sayings and proverbs. Many of the elements that make up the works of Bosch have some general cultural significance and appear elsewhere in the art, material culture and literature of his time. As such, we must use a broader, cultural-historical approach to find the cultural significance of these elements and interpret them in the works of Bosch. In this thesis, I intend to show how effective Bosch research using this cultural-historical lens is, and by extension how vitally important it is to include disciplines such as cultural history and linguistics, into art historical research into the works of Bosch.

The Pedlar as Case Study - Pedlar or pilgrim, devil or dog?

Bosch is one of a kind, even among the innovative genre-like artists of his time. He has a unique way of not simply using established symbols and iconography in new ways, but also mutating them and in doing so obscuring them, painting them into riddles and rebuses in a highly idiosyncratic way. In this thesis, I will explore his idiosyncrasies. I will specifically make a case study of the way Bosch spins his riddles in and around the figure the Pedlar. The Pedlar is among the most iconic figures from the works of Jheronimus Bosch. As mentioned before, it appears twice in his oeuvre, once on the outside wings of the *Haywain* triptych (fig. 5), found in the Prado museum in Madrid, and once on the outside wings of the now disassembled *Pedlar* triptych (fig. 6), found in the Boijmans van Beuningen museum in Rotterdam. Both triptychs are dated to around 1500.[35]

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[34] Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, 212.

[35] There is some debate about whether these two works should be considered truly autograph works by Bosch. In this thesis, I will treat both the Prado *Haywain* triptych and the *Pedlar* triptych as autograph. For the sake of honesty and completeness, here follows a summary of the status quaestionis of the authorship of these two triptychs at the time of writing.
There are two versions of the *Haywain* triptych, one located in the Prado museum, and one in El Escorial. The Escorial version is typically thought to be a copy of the Prado version, but certain details, such as the hatching in the underdrawing, may cast some doubt on whether even the Prado version of the triptych was painted by Bosch's own hand, or by his workshop, (Colenbrander, *Jheronimus Bosch and Diego de Guevara*, 85; Lafontaine, *'A Rose by Any Other Name'*, 205-206). Similarly, the group of panels consisting of the *Ship of Fools* (fig. 7), the *Allegory on Gluttony* (fig. 8), the panel of *Death and the Miser* (fig. 9), and the *Pedlar* tondo was at one point considered to be a stylistically and technically consistent group that differs significantly from other works by Bosch. Different researchers have recognized a different number of stylistic groups among the works of Jheronimus Bosch, based upon i.a. their underdrawings. Roger van Schoute, together with Carmen Garrido en Hélène Verougstraete, identified three groups in 1967 ("Over de techniek van Jeroen Bosch" in: Steppe, J.K. e.a., *Jheronimus Bosch: Bijdragen bij gelegenheid van de herdenkingstentoonstelling te 's-Hertogenbosch*, 's-Hertogenbosch: Noordbrabants Museum, 1967, 72-79), Filedt Kok identified two groups in 1972-73 ("Underdrawing and drawing in the work of

The purpose of my case study of the Boschian pedlar figure will be to examine sources for its iconography and symbolism from around the time of Bosch using a cultural-historical approach, and give my interpretation of the pedlar.[36] While my research will probably not settle the debate with regards to the meaning and interpretation of the pedlar figure, I will show in this thesis that researching the iconography of the pedlar through its cultural-historical context can help us better understand the symbolism of the works of Jheronimus Bosch. I hope to be able to provide a better framework for looking at these two works in their cultural-historical context, and help the image of the pedlar be understood as part of a cultural-historical tradition.

In this thesis, I lean heavily upon the works of Eric de Bruyn, who takes the figure of the pedlar as one of his main subjects in his 2001 dissertation *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*. De Bruyn highlights one of the major difficulties of interpreting figures like the pedlar in his 2023 publication *All the Ingenuity of the Devil*: Bosch often takes the (popular) culture, literature and language of his time as a starting point for his works, and plays with them under the assumption that his viewer will be familiar enough with his source material to recognize it. It is for this reason that an understanding of this source material and a cultural-historical approach are necessary for interpreting the works of Bosch.[37]

The figure of the pedlar has had a myriad of interpretations and has been given many different names over the course of research into the works of Bosch, and making sense of the figure has proven difficult. In his 1972 compilation of Bosch research, Roger Henri Marijnissen responded to the mess of contradictory interpretations, writing that “malicious gossip has it [...] that the *Prodigal Son* is no prodigal son, the *Wedding at Cana* is no wedding, and that there are no fools on the *Ship of Fools*.”[38] Of course this statement ignores the fact that all of the titles he mentions are given titles, and we have no idea what Bosch named these panels.[39] Various authors have given the pedlar figure the name of the

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Hieronymus Bosch: A provisional survey in connection with the paintings by him in Rotterdam”, in: *Simiolus* 6 (1972-73) 1, 133-162), and Jetske Sybesma identified five in 1973 (*Hieronymus Bosch: An investigation of his underdrawings*, Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr College, 1973), but all of these delineations result in these four panels being grouped together. This lead some researchers to consider this group to be the gold standard for autograph works by Bosch, perhaps even the only group of autograph works by Bosch that we have, until it was shown through dendrochronological analysis by the Bosch Research and Conservation Programme that the *Ship of Fools*, the *Allegory on Gluttony*, *Death and the Miser* and the *Pedlar* are actually all part of the same disassembled triptych. (Garrido, *Bosch at the Museo del Prado - Technical Study*, 108; Spronk, *Jheronimus Bosch and the Van Aken family workshop*, 392).

[36] For brevity’s sake, I confine myself to roughly the time of Bosch in this research, but a similar study could be made for the time of, for instance, the *Luttrell Psalter* (ca. 1340).

[37] Bruyn, *Al het vernuft van de duivel*, 35-36.

[38] Marijnissen, Jheronimus Bosch, 170. Dutch: “Boze tongen beweren [...] dat de *Verloren Zoon* geen verloren zoon is, de *Bruiloft van Kana* geen bruiloft, en dat op het *Narrenschip* geen narren zitten.” My translation. The *Wedding at Cana* or *Marriage Feast at Cana* (fig. 112) is a panel previously attributed to Bosch, now dated to ca. 1561.

[39] Garrido, *Bosch at the Museo del Prado - Technical Study*, 207-208.

prodigal son, the eponymous character of a Biblical parable, or have named him a vagrant, a child of Saturn, or a pilgrim.[40] The identification of the figure from the work of Bosch with a pedlar, a type of small, traveling merchant peddling only the wares in his pack, was made in 1931 by Dirk Hannema, director of the museum Boijmans van Beuningen from 1921 to 1945. He gave the Pedlar this name based upon the 1570 painting *Een opvoering van de klucht 'Een cluyte van Plaeyerwater' op een Vlaamse kermis* by the Antwerp painter Pieter Balten (1540 - 1584) (fig. 10).[41] This interpretation was only possible because Hannema knew that the play depicted in the painting is the anonymous early sixteenth-century play *Een cluyte van Plaeyerwater*. In this play, a pedlar hides a married man in his basket in order to help him catch his wife cheating on him.[42] Literary history, in addition to art history, turned out to be key to the identification of the Pedlar-figure.

Even if it is now commonly accepted that this figure is meant to be a pedlar, the exact symbolism of this figure is still up for debate; are we dealing, for instance, with a pious figure or a representation of a sinful person?[43] A case can be made for both interpretations; on one hand, both depictions of the Pedlar in the works of Bosch appear to turn away from the images of sinful behavior in their respective panels. In addition, the pedlar from the Haywain triptych literally walks a straight and narrow path, while the one from the Pedlar triptych passes through a gate, which can be interpreted as a reference to a verse from the Bible in which Jesus proclaims “I am the gate; whoever enters through me will be saved” (NIV: John 10:7).[44] On the other hand, he can be interpreted as a sinner and a fool; the large pack on his back can be seen as a symbol of his attachment to earthly possessions, and he has been bitten by the ruddy dog with the spiked collar, who can be seen as a symbol of the devil. In other words, he has been touched by sin.[45] It is even possible that Bosch intended for the pedlar to be read in several different ways simultaneously. We know that medieval audiences enjoyed ambivalent symbolism, and we see examples of this in the margins of medieval book illumination and on misericords, which may have inspired Bosch.[46]

The Boschian pedlar figure wears worn and tattered clothes, carries a woven basket on his back, uses a walking stick and is accosted by a vicious, ruddy dog with a spiked collar. This figure is known to predate the works of Bosch by quite a lot. The figure from the *Haywain* triptych and the *Pedlar* triptych appears almost one-to-one on folio 190r of the *Luttrell Psalter* (fig. 11), made ca. 1325-1335. This was pointed out already in 1953 by Bosch

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[40] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 68; Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting V*, 100; Koldeweij, *Jheronimus Bosch in zijn stad ‘s-Hertogenbosch*, 62-64; Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 21.
[41] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 67.
[42] Timmermans, *Dubbelzinnige Dingen*, 154.
[43] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 67-70.
[44] Sullivan, *Bosch, Bruegel, Everyman*, 121.
[45] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 98-99; Sullivan, *Bosch, Bruegel, Everyman*, 121.
[46] Barton, *Mercy and the Misericord*, 163-164; Chunko-Dominguez, *English Gothic Misericord Carvings*, 30-32.

researcher Kurt Seligmann.[47] A very similar figure to the pedlar in the Luttrell Psalter as well as the pedlar figure in the works of Bosch can also be found on a misericord from the Grote Kerk in Breda, dated ca. 1440-1460 (fig. 12). Together with the figure from the works of Bosch, these are three different examples of this pedlar figure in three different forms of media from three different centuries. They are three instances of the same iconography, with very little to connect them. Other similar figures can be found in for instance early printed tarot decks, such as the card MISERO from the Mantegna prints, produced ca. 1465 (fig. 13), a 1489 print from the circle of Albrecht Dürer (fig. 14), another misericord from the Grote Kerk in Breda (fig. 15) and on folio 207r. of the Walters Ms. W.82 Psalter-Hours from Ghent, dated ca. 1315-1325 (fig. 16), but all of these are more distinct from the Boschian pedlar than the examples from the Luttrell Psalter and the Grote kerk in Breda.

These examples show us that the pedlar figure as it appears in the works of Bosch, or something close to it, very likely existed as a recurring image type in fourteenth-, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art. Unfortunately, good examples of this pedlar figure are so few and far between that it is difficult to interpret its symbolism through any clear iconographic tradition. In this thesis, however, I will show that it is possible to arrive at a reasonable interpretation of the pedlar figure through the iconography and symbolism of various elements of the Pedlar figure, such as his pose, his clothing and attributes and his surroundings. These elements can be used to effectively reconstruct a possible iconographic tradition for the Boschian Pedlar. I will explore where these elements can be found individually in the art, literature, language and material culture of the time of Bosch, and how they come together in a characteristic Boschian riddle to form the Pedlar figure.

Outline and Methodology

In this thesis, I will delve into the cultural-historical context of the works of Jheronimus Bosch, and through this cultural-historical approach, I will reconstruct the iconography and give an interpretation of one specific figure from the works of Bosch, namely the Pedlar. I will also show why this cultural-historical approach is important, even essential for Bosch research. To understand the works of Jheronimus Bosch, an understanding of the culture of his time is absolutely necessary. Art, culture, language, literature, material culture and the works of Bosch all mutually influenced each other, and must be examined together to arrive at a complete picture of the cultural-historical background of Bosch's works, and by extension an interpretation. Eric de Bruyn, among others, has shown the necessity of a cultural-historical approach to the works of Bosch multiple times in his various writings on Bosch. De Bruyn, whose main area of expertise is the Middle-Dutch language and historical

[47] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 98-99.

literature, approaches Bosch mainly from the starting point of historical texts.[48] In this thesis, I argue that this is only one part of the Bosch-equation. The iconography and symbolism of Bosch are also deeply rooted in the art of his time, mainly book illumination, decorative arts, choir stall carvings, and prints. As such, a study of these roots is absolutely essential to the study of Bosch. Furthermore, the way Bosch draws upon this cultural history is often strange and unique. It is precisely this aspect of his works that makes them so difficult to read and understand. We need to understand not only the background of Bosch, but also the "Boschian" lens through which this background is filtered, and this requires an almost native familiarity that cannot be arrived at through art history alone. Unfortunately, as dr. G.C.M. van Dijck points out, art historians and historians sometimes appear to systematically avoid each other, and this may be said about art historians and cultural historians as well.[49]

This thesis consists of two chapters: in the first chapter, I delve into the sources for the iconography and symbolism of the works of Bosch more generally. This is to lay a basis for the types of sources that Bosch might have used, as well as to explore the kind of "Boschian thinking" that we need to interpret the complicated intellectual riddles that Bosch has spun from these sources. Besides other works of art, these sources include the material culture from around Bosch's time, specifically choir stall carvings and misericords, as well as literature, poetry, theatre, and sayings and proverbs. My aim here is not to find the exact sources for the works of Bosch, as it is very difficult to demonstrate with absolute certainty that Bosch used any specific source. Instead, I search for common thematic and iconographical traditions in which the works of Bosch can be placed. In the second chapter, I make an in-depth case study of specifically the iconography and the symbolism of the figure of the Pedlar from the outside panels of the *Haywain* triptych and the *Pedlar* triptych. In this part, I delve into the various kinds of sources I explore in the first part of this thesis and show what elements of these sources form the Boschian riddle of the Pedlar figure, and how this riddle may be solved. In this second part, I intend to show that a solution to the Pedlar-riddle cannot be found through any one approach, be that the art-historical, the cultural-historical, the linguistic or the literary. I intend to show that a holistic, cultural-historical approach is essential to interpret the works of Bosch.

The works of Bosch are deeply rooted in the art of his time, but frequently, this is not "high" art. In the past, this has hindered research into the works of Bosch. Historically, there has been a rather strict divide in art history between the study of "high" art - that is to say,

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[48] The aforementioned Dirk Bax took a linguistic approach to Bosch as well (Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 1, 11).
[49] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 9. Dr. G.C.M. van Dijck is the author of *De Bossche Optimaten – Geschiedenis van de Illustere Lieve Vrouwebroederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1318-1973*, published 1973, often considered to be the standard work on the Illustrous Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady of 's-Hertogenbosch. (Jeroen Bosch Plaza, "De Bossche Optimaten").

monumental sculpture and painting, and to a lesser degree architecture - and the study of "low" art, which includes among many other things the illuminated margins of manuscripts, prints, decorative sculpture and decorative elements of material culture. These examples of "low" art and culture have historically been considered beneath study by art historians for various reasons, and therefore ignored or even disparaged.[50] However, as scholar of marginalia Michael Camille points out, this distinction between "high" and "low" art and culture is a modern one and does not exist as such in medieval times.[51] It is precisely what we now consider "low" art wherein lies an important key to understanding the works of Bosch. Similarly, the works of Bosch are deeply rooted in the culture of his time and incorporate cultural elements, historical references, literary works and language of his time in his works. Understanding these is also key to understanding the works of Bosch. In short, to understand the works of Bosch, we must place them in their proper context.

My method for exploring the cultural-historical context of the works of Bosch will be to gather a large body of works of art and literature, as well as objects from material culture and aspects of language that deal with themes that are also present in the works of Bosch, and attempt to determine which of these examples have been mutated into Boschian symbolism and how they have been changed. I have collected works of art, literature and material culture, as well as aspects of the culture and the language of Bosch's time through general overviews, zooming in further on works from the surroundings of authors and artists who are thematically or formally close to Bosch. I am greatly indebted to professor Eric de Bruyn, whose compilation of literary and linguistic sources for the symbolism of Bosch was a very useful basis for me to build upon. I also examine the works of artists and authors from the period of Bosch to find common traditions in which we can place the works of Bosch.

I examine various places in Bosch's works that contain obscure iconography in the context of Bosch's patrons and contemporary audience. Examining what audience Bosch expected to solve his complex iconographical programmes and understand his references allows us to understand Bosch's idiosyncratic way of adapting and mutating his sources. I examine the literature aimed at the patrons of Bosch, other works of art created for patrons that commissioned Bosch, and the material culture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the cultural-historical developments that shaped their time, to gain an understanding the contemporary audience of Bosch, their culture and their tastes, which inform the idiosyncratic, mutated iconography and symbolism of the works of Bosch.

I examine literature from around the time of Bosch and from the Netherlands and its close surroundings to find thematic traditions that resemble the themes found in the works of Bosch. The kinds of literature that feature themes resembling those from the works of Bosch,

[50] Kendrick, *Making Sense of Marginalized Images*, 274-275.
[51] Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 55.

such as humanist satirical texts, are good sources for potential common traditions to which the works of Bosch may belong, as a large number of these texts have been passed down to us, and we know they were highly influential and also influenced other artists. Prints are useful to study for the same reason, and I examine prints from Dutch artists from around the time of Bosch and artists from their surroundings to find common thematic or iconographic traditions with the works of Bosch. I examine marginalia, misericords and theatre from around the time of Bosch for these traditions as well.

Armed with the knowledge of what kind of sources Bosch likely used for his iconography and symbolism and of how he mutated their contents to create his works, I will apply this to the study of the iconography, symbolism and interpretation of the figure of the Pedlar. I examine various elements of the Pedlar-figure as he appears on the *Pedlar* triptych and the *Haywain* triptych, such as his pose, the clothing he wears, his attributes, such as the basket on his back, and his surroundings, the elements of the landscape through which he travels, and the figures that are found there. I examine where these elements appear in the iconography and symbolism of Bosch's time, and compare these instances with how Bosch has used them. Based on the combination of these various elements, I give possible interpretations for the Boschian Pedlar-figure as a whole, and possible names that we might give him.

Chapter 1: Artist and Cultural History

As discussed before, an understanding of the cultural-historical background is necessary especially for the works of Bosch because of the idiosyncratic way in which the artist uses symbolism and makes reference to his sources. In this chapter, I detail different kinds of sources for the works of Bosch and give examples of places where Bosch made use of these sources in his works. I will show how Bosch plays with these sources, painting picture puzzles and visual wordplay. As will become clear in this chapter, the works of Bosch are not meant to illustrate or clarify any story or work of literature to his audience. Instead, Bosch appears to have worked under the assumption that his audience would be intimately familiar with the works he references, and thus be able to solve his riddles.[52] As Bosch researcher Grzegorz Kubies describes: “Bosch transforms the liturgical/cult image into an erudite rebus designed for an intellectually sophisticated audience.”[53] This is actually quite typical for the time; we know of other media from around the time of Bosch that expect their audience to have some Bible knowledge or knowledge of saints’ legends to decipher their meaning. This is the case, for instance, for the anonymous 1515 miracle play *Mariken van Nieumeghen*.[54] The works of the Braunschweiger Monogrammist (early to mid sixteenth-century) are also often filled with small details for an audience well-versed in the Bible to pick up on; in his 1535 *Parable of the Great Banquet* (fig. 17a), small details in the background reference many of the highly specific excuses made by those invited to the banquet in Luke 14:15-24. Similarly, in his 1537 panel of *Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem* (fig. 18a), an eagle-eyed viewer may notice Judas stealing a purse in Christ’s train of disciples, calling forward to the way in which he will inevitably betray Christ for money.[55] Bosch’s symbolism, however, is often a lot more cryptic and hermetic than is typical for his time. We know that Bosch was a learned man who studied at the Latin School in ‘s-Hertogenbosch. Partly for this reason, many of his works may be deeply intellectual. As will be discussed in this chapter, many of the works of Bosch show a deep understanding of the sources used.

1.1: The patrons and appeal of Bosch

To explain the works of Bosch, it is important to understand how Bosch’s contemporary audience would have looked at his works. The intellectual riddles and erudite rebuses described before were part of Bosch’s market appeal.[56] Bosch’s popularity in his time was not despite the strange elements of his work, as one may think, but because of them.

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[52] Falkenburg, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, 128.
[53] Kubies, *Angel trumpeters and poena sensus*, 179.
[54] Keßler, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, 49.
[55] Ubl, *Het zit in de details*, 146-147.
[56] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege Eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 37.

In this subchapter, I will explore who the patrons and public of Bosch were, and what they might have liked about his works. As will be shown here, Bosch incorporated well-thought out theological elements, humanistic moralism and satire, and scathing criticism of current events. This blend appears to have appealed greatly to Bosch's patrons, and certainly appealed to his later admirers, such as the Spanish nobleman Diego de Guevara (ca. 1450 - 1520), his son Felipe de Guevara (1500 - 1563), Fray José de Sigüenza (1544 - 1606), and the sixteenth-century Spanish historian Ambrosio de Morales (1513 - 1591).[57]

The contemporary audience of Bosch consisted of both the wealthy bourgeoisie of 's-Hertogenbosch, and courtly circles.[58] In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, these circles were dominated by a culture of erudition. Humanism was a popular philosophy among the patrons of Bosch, and as a result, we can see many humanist undertones in the way the works of Bosch give their satirical critique of the human condition.[59] Humanist values included learnedness and rationality, and because of this, patrons of Bosch would have liked to show off how learned they were.[60] Works popular among the bourgeoisie and nobility of this time were therefore often intended to inspire intellectual discussions.[61] This culture is likely an important reason for the prevalence of intellectual riddles and rebuses in the works of Bosch, and exploring this culture can therefore help us interpret these works.

In addition, the idiosyncratic symbolism of the works of Bosch would likely have appealed to patrons who were adherents of the Devotio Moderna, which was a popular spiritual movement in both the Netherlands and Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[62] The Devotio Moderna stood for, among other things, a very personal experience of the faith, and Bosch's unique, erudite religious iconography would have suited this well. The works of Bosch also contain many references to reformatory ideas that circulated in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The prevalence of these ideas can be shown, for instance, through the works of the Rederijkers, which are often reformatory in their ideology and frequently make similar critiques of the church as an institution as made by Maarten Luther (1483 - 1546).[63] Reformatory criticism of the clergy and the nobility is prevalent in the works of Bosch as well. We can see his scathing criticism of the clergy in the *Haywain* triptych, where we can see the avarice of the church, in the *Ship of Fools*, where we can see a lustful monk and nun, and the Munich *Last Judgement* fragment, where a bishop and a cardinal, recognizable by their hats, are among the punished souls (figs. 4a, 4b, 7, 19). We know

[57] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en Vroege Eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 225.
[58] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 10.
[59] Landau, *Sins of the Flesh and human folly*, 221; Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 12-13, 110, 279.
[60] Falkenburg, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, 128.
[61] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 15.
[62] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 181.
[63] Oosterman, *Discovering new media*, 175.

these sentiments had been brewing in the Netherlands since the thirteenth century.[64] It is therefore plausible that Bosch and some of his patrons were proponents of these ideas. A lot of overlap existed between the ideologies of humanism, church reformism and the Devotio Moderna. Many patrons who found the works of Bosch appealing on one of these grounds, would also have liked how his symbolism could be applied to the other philosophies as well.[65]

An example of the way Bosch plays with specifically his artistic sources is the *Haywain* triptych, which was most likely made for an audience readily familiar with last judgement triptychs. The *Haywain* takes the general shape of a last judegment. Panels with this subject take on a very specific shape and iconographical programme in the oeuvre of Bosch (figs. 20, 21) Bosch's *Last Judgement* triptychs always consist of a central panel with a world in chaos; devils have crawled out of hell and are tormenting humans. Above, in the heavens, sits Christ. With his arms wide, he passes judgement over the humans below. On the left wing, we can see the Earthly Paradise, the world before its corruption by the Original Sin. In the Vienna *Last Judgement*, we even see the Original Sin depicted, and Adam and Eve are depicted as they are cast out of the Earthly Paradise by an angel with a flaming sword. Above them, in the heavens, the rebel angels led by Satan are cast out of God's kingdom and transformed into devils on their way down.[66] On the right wing, hell is depicted. Fire rages in the background, while in the foreground, devils punish the sinners. "Abandon all hope, ye who enter here."[67] The *Haywain*-triptych is structured very similarly; we can see Eden, the Original Sin and the fall of the rebel angels on the left wing, hell on the right wing, and Christ passing judgement over the earth above the central panel. In the *Haywain*, however, Bosch adapts this image type. Instead of the end times, the triptych depicts a continuous judgement of mankind, as they commit sin and folly and are tempted by devils in a myriad of genre-like scenes. Here, Bosch has taken a religious image-type, and mutated it into an almost secular, moralizing, humorous and satirical mirror of the world.[68] We might interpret the *Haywain* as a "triumph of greed", similar to *The Triumph of Death* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525 - 1569) (fig. 22).[69] Bruegel's painting, despite its gruesome appearance and subject, is also filled with satirical humour, with the personifications of death mocking the many silly things that people die over. This kind of moralistic satire is very

[64] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 33-34.
[65] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 110.
[66] Pinson, *Fall of the Angels and Creation of Eve in Bosch's Eden*, 693.
[67] Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, 1321, canto 3, verse 9. Italian: *lasciate ogne speranza, voi ch'intrate*.
[68] Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, 212.
[69] Gibson, *Figures of Speech*, 54.

humanist.[70] The innovative variation on a traditional religious image type, I posit, might very well have appealed to followers of the Devotio Moderna.

The idiosyncratic Boschian way of using symbols can be seen in *Saint Christopher Carrying the Christ Child* (fig. 23). According to a 13th-century saint's legend, the giant Saint Christopher carried Christ in the shape of a child across a river.[71] A miraculous feat, even for a giant, as the creator of the world is no small load. According to the same legend, Christ showed his divine nature by causing Saint Christopher's staff to sprout leaves.[72] Bosch depicted this legend faithfully. His *Saint Christopher Carrying the Christ Child* shows the giant saint with the childlike Christ on his shoulders, recognizable by a cruciform halo and by a cross staff he is carrying. The saint appears to struggle with the weight of his passenger as he wades through the water. He walks with a hunch and leans heavily on his staff. At the bottom tip of the staff, we can see small green leaves sprouting. This is a curious discrepancy between the depiction of the legend of Saint Christopher as depicted by Bosch and the traditional iconography of the saint. This standard element of the story is typically depicted by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists with the staff blooming from the top, often taking on the appearance of a palm tree (figs. 24, 25, 26, 27).[73] I have found no other examples like the depiction by Bosch, in which the staff blooms from the bottom.[74] The leaves have also been made so small and subtle that a viewer might not even notice them, unless they were very close to the painting. This may represent a kind of subtlety that is very exemplary of the Boschian way of using symbols. I posit that Bosch intended this subtle and slightly altered symbol to draw his viewers in more closely and urge them to solve his puzzles.

A similar subtle element can be found in *The Crucifixion of Saint Wilgefortis* (fig. 28) by Jheronimus Bosch. Saint Wilgefortis, also known as Saint Uncumber, is a female saint whose traditional iconography includes a rather prominent beard.[75] This the norm among contemporaries of Bosch as well; even the relatively subtle example of the Triptych of Adriaan Reins by Hans Memling (ca. 1430 - 1494) shows the saint with a pointy, scraggly beard reaching down to her Adam's apple (figs. 29, 30). The crucified female martyr on the triptych by Jheronimus Bosch, however, wasn't conclusively identified as Saint Wilgefortis until the painting was restored during the Bosch Research and Conservation Project

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[70] Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 18.
[71] Saint Christopher's name is derived from the Greek Χριστόφορος ("Christophoros"), meaning "Christ-bearer".
[72] Kaster, *Christophoren*, lemma 496; Werner, *Christophorus*, lemma 496-497.
[73] Filedt Kok, *De Meester van het Amsterdamse Kabinet*, 126-127
[74] I was able to examine a large sample of images of Saint Christopher through Wikimedia Commons, the online Rijksmuseum collection and the RKD database.
[75] in Dutch she is called "Ontkommer", and in German she is called "Kümmernis". (Weckwerth, *Kümmernis*, 353).

between 2010 and 2016.[76] Even after its restoration, the beard of the bearded female saint is only subtly suggested. I theorize that it was Bosch's intention for viewers to be initially puzzled by the image of a crucified woman, much like Bosch researchers were for a long time, before identifying her as Saint Wilgefortis upon closer inspection.

Once urged to study the *Saint Christopher*-panel by Jheronimus Bosch more closely, a viewer will find more examples of his idiosyncratic symbolism. For instance, we can see a tree in the background of this panel that is filled with various strange objects, among them a broken jug hanging from a tree branch. A broken jug, or *ghebroken potteken* in Middle Dutch, is a symbol that appears in literature from around 1500 that can refer to a promiscuous woman or a prostitute. *Een cruycke breken* ("breaking a jug") was a figure of speech from around this time referring to sex in a negative way. It was frequently used as a euphemism for adultery, for instance. A jug hanging from a stick is also a signboard of a brothel in iconography from around this time.[77] This indicates that this was not obscure symbolism, but a visual reference that most viewers likely would have understood. That this symbolism was legible is also shown to us by an anonymous sixteenth-century follower of Jheronimus Bosch. In his version of the legend of Saint Christopher, he replaces the broken jug hanging from the tree branch with a treehouse that is being used as a brothel by several devils, one of which is dressed in a characteristic prostitute's headdress that is also worn by the prostitute in the doorway in the background of the Rotterdam *Pedlar* triptych (figs. 6a, 31).[78] Another anonymous follower of Bosch does something similar, and replaces the broken jug with a treehouse filled with symbols for brothels and prostitution that we can also see in the background of the Rotterdam *Pedlar*, such as a dovehouse in the roof (fig. 32).[79]

These symbols could be generic symbols of lust, but Bosch likely intended them to mean something deeper and more obscure, as there is a connection that can be made between Saint Christopher and prostitution through a thirteenth-century saint's legend. Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1228 - 1298) writes in his *Legenda Aurea* about the imprisonment and torture of Saint Christopher by a heathen king. According to the *Legenda Aurea*, one torture method consisted of having two prostitutes, Nycaea and Aquilina, tempt Saint Christopher to lust. The saint instead converted them to Christianity, and they were put to death by the king, making them martyrs.[80] Bosch indirectly references this story so that only a learned viewer familiar with this legend could have made this connection based upon the brothel symbolism. This makes it an example of an obscure, intellectual puzzle, a roundabout way of referencing

[76] Bono, *Bosch in Venice Conservation Project*, 44; Jacobs, *Bosch's Triptych of the Crucified Martyr*, 139.
[77] Landau, *Sins of the Flesh and human Folly*, 215-216.
[78] Bruyn, *Al Het Vernuft van de Duivel*, 34.
[79] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 130.
[80] Bruyn, *Al Het Vernuft van de Duivel*, 34-35.

a legend about Saint Christopher that only a well-read viewer would have picked up on. A similar element of the panel is that of the fish hanging from Saint Christopher's staff. This is a reference to the *ichthus*, an early Christian symbol for Christ.[81] Christopher carries Christ not only on his shoulders, but also on his staff. Well-read viewers would have understood this, but this symbolism may have been especially legible to viewers who frequented the Saint John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch. The chapel of the fishmongers' guild, now the Saint Anna's chapel in the Saint John's Cathedral contains a mural with the inscription *Jhs die van vysken gebecken spyse naemt / Jhs gekruist oock vys is genaemt* ("Jesus who turned baked fish into food / Jesus on the cross is also called fish").[82] The fish Bosch painted on Christopher's staff, therefore, is a rebus that can be specifically linked to Bosch's surroundings and his time. The works of Bosch are filled with these kinds of rebuses, often aimed at a learned audience, and often aimed at a somewhat local audience.

That these Boschian erudite rebuses appealed to specific patrons can be shown through donor portraits, which are often the only way that allows us to identify individual patrons of Bosch.[83] The rise of donor portraits in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries runs parallel to a rise in popularity of humanist thought, in which the individual was exalted and personal intellectual development was highly valued.[84] In the oeuvre of Bosch, this aspect of intellectual development and erudition is emphasized over the actual likeness of his portraits. The various works of Bosch that show donor portraits show these figures idealized, for instance by having them wear highly symbolic clothing. This can be seen in the Prado *Adoration of the Magi* by Bosch (fig. 32), which contains the donor portraits of the Antwerp textile merchant Peter Scheyfve and his wife Agneese de Gramme. They can be identified by their respective patron saints, Saint Peter and Saint Agnes, as well as their family coats of arms.[85] They show their wealth and culture through the fashionable clothes they wear.[86] The triptych also shows the humanist values of Bosch's patrons.[87] The triptych of the *Adoration of the Magi*, at its basis, has a very common iconography, showing a Biblical story that pretty much everyone knows. As will be discussed here, however, Bosch has added many elements and motifs that appear to be aimed at a learned audience and would not have been understood by many people. Through the symbolism of the triptych, Peter Scheyfve shows himself to be a well-read man who knows his theology.

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[81] The Ancient Greek word for "fish", ἰχθύς, was used by early Christians as an acronym for "Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτήρ" ("Jesus Christ Son of God Savior"). (Sauser, *Fisch*, lemma 35-36).
[82] Bruyn, *The Iconography of Hieronymus Bosch's "St. Christopher carrying the Christ Child"*, 31.
[83] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 11.
[84] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 22-23.
[85] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 97.
[86] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Jheronimus Bosch*, 102.
[87] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 11, 110.

Examples of this symbolism include the relatively obscure saint's legend of the Mass of Saint Gregory on the outside wings, as well as the mysterious fourth wise man besides Caspar, Balthasar and Melchior in the barn in the nativity scene. This man is generally theorized to be the antichrist. Various attributes of this fourth wise man can be taken as clues to a Boschian riddle, and these various elements that allow us to identify this figure as the antichrist would only have been understood by a learned viewer.[88] Many of the attributes of this antichrist-figure appear to be mockeries of the typical attributes of Christ; for instance, he mocks Christ's crown of thorns by wearing a crown that has thorny decorations on it, but cannot hurt him in any way. He also appears to have stolen the crown of the wise man Caspar. This crown is layered, somewhat resembling the three-layered papal tiara. This way, he shows the illegitimacy of the antichrist's self-proclaimed religious authority.[89] The pope was frequently linked to and depicted as the antichrist in reformist propaganda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the antichrist in the *Adoration of the Magi* holding the layered crown could have been understood as a reference to this. This reformist propaganda mainly criticized the pope and the church for their greed and lust for power, and this can also be seen in the *Haywain* triptych, where the pope is one of the figures blindly following the haywain.[90] Furthermore, the antichrist-figure wears a crystal tube reliquary as a piece of jewelry around a wound on his leg, mocking the stigmata of Christ, or mockingly referencing the prophecy of the messiah from Isaiah 53, in which the messiah is said to be like a leper, with pale skin and sores. Finally, according to Isaiah 63:1-4, the messiah shall come in red apparel, like the red cloak worn by the antichrist here.[91] People well-studied in Biblical exegesis would have understood the link between the antichrist and the three magi; in the old testament, in Daniel 11, it is prophesied that a vile ruler will rise, and before his end, he will conquer Egypt, Libya and Ethiopia. This prophecy was interpreted by medieval Bible scholars as a prophecy or prefiguration of how the antichrist, during the end-times, will subjugate the Christian kings of the world, who can be symbolized by the three magi. This connection completes the riddle and explains why the figure of the antichrist would appear in this triptych specifically.[92] Many copies of the *Adoration* do not copy the fourth wise man, perhaps because the copyists or their patrons did not know or understand the symbolism of this element.[93]

Prefiguration as a motif appears more often in the *Adoration of the Magi*. The mantle of Caspar, for instance, shows a scene from 2 Kings III:6-21 of Abner, captain of Saul, coming

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[88] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 107.
[89] Nies, *Facing the End of Time*, 268.
[90] Nies, *Facing the End of Time*, 269.
[91] Waadenoijen, *The bible and Bosch*, 338.
[92] Nies, *Facing the End of Time,* 269.
[93] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 108, 112.

to bring gifts to David to acknowledge him as the true king of the people who followed the house of Saul. In medieval Biblical exegesis, this was interpreted as a prefiguration of the epiphany of Christ to the three magi. The way this scene is depicted on the mantle of Caspar closely resembles the depiction of this scene in fifteenth-century Pauper's Bibles, where it often flanks the adoration of the magi (fig. 34). One of the gifts of the magi, furthermore, takes the form of a golden statue depicting the sacrifice of Isaac, which was seen as a prefiguration of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, seeing as both involved a father sacrificing his own son.[94] Prefiguration was an important aspect of Biblical exegesis and appears frequently in religious treatises from the time of Bosch, so it makes sense that Bosch would use these kinds of elements in works made to appeal to the culture of erudition that many of his patrons belonged to.[95]

While it is possible that Bosch worked alone on the symbolism of this triptych, with the context of the culture of erudition that the elite in Bosch's time belonged to, it is more likely that Peter Scheyfve and Bosch collaborated on a programme that would satisfy Scheyfve. Infrared reflectography has also shown that the space now occupied by the fourth wise man was originally reserved for Saint Joseph, and it is likely that the change was made after consultation between Bosch and his patron.[96] A more mundane aspect of the painting, the port city on the river depicted above Agneese de Gramme in the right-hand panel of the triptych, was likely added at Scheyfve's request as well (fig. 33a). This element, likely referencing the wealth of the river port city of Antwerp, appears frequently in paintings from this city.[97] Collaboration between Bosch and his patrons is also supported by the presence of expensive decorative objects in various paintings. Though some of these objects may look fantastical, many are good examples of the material culture of the time of Bosch. The *Garden of Earthly Delights*, for instance, has examples of expensive Venetian glass and Italian Majolica earthenware. These are objects that Bosch likely did not own and are therefore probably from the collection of Engelbrecht II van Nassau, who is believed to have commissioned this triptych (fig. 35a, 35b).[98] Elements like these show that Bosch didn't paint just anything because it appealed to him, but specifically sought out elements that would appeal to his patrons.

Not all of the symbolic elements of the works of Bosch are obscure and intellectual, however. Bosch frequently uses symbols that would have been understood by common people and doesn't shy away from bawdy and vulgar humour. Most people would have understood the

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[94] Waadenoijen, *The Bible and Bosch*, 336.
[95] Waadenoijen, *The Bible and Bosch*, 343
[96] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 107.
[97] Lichtert, *Port Cities and River Harbours*, 187-189.
[98] Timmermans, *Het Gebruiksvoorwerp als Schildersmodel*, 31.

jug or pitcher on a stick on top of the haywain in the *Haywain Triptych* or in the tree on the panel of *Saint Christopher* to symbolize a brothel.[99] Especially a broken jug, as discussed previously with regards to the panel of *Saint Christopher*. Various works by Bosch, including the *Haywain*, also depict people playing the lute or the bagpipes, instruments that can symbolize male and female genitals respectively.[100] Elements like these would likely also have helped people who did not understand the deeper symbolism of Bosch to identify his works as moralizing. Both the broken jug and the musical instruments reference the sin of lust. Less humorously, some details of Bosch's hellscapes show constructions that his fifteenth- and sixteenth-century audience might have recognized as machines of war (fig 20a.).[101] Using details like these, most of Bosch's audience among the common folk, possibly churchgoers who might have seen his triptychs in the Saint John's cathedral, would have been able to understand works like the *Pedlar* triptych, the *Haywain* triptych and Bosch's various *Last Judgements* as scathing critiques of society in their time.[102] They may very well also have understood these war machines as omens of the end times. After all, near the end of days, people will "hear of wars and rumours of wars," and "nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom" (NIV: Matthew 24:6-7). This is in line with the views of the Church ca. 1500 and the common fears of the people in this period, that the end of the world was soon at hand.[103]

The patrons of Bosch seem to have liked the moralizing paintings that he made so many of, but I think it is unlikely that they would have enjoyed the artist waving a finger at them personally. And yet, many of Bosch's works, notably the *Haywain* triptych, are satirical mirrors of society or even humanity, in which almost everyone is depicted performing some kind of negative behaviour.[104] To explain this, it is important to discuss the genre-like character of the works of Bosch here.

The *Haywain*, specifically, is a satirical mirror of the avarice of the world.[105] For this to work, it is of some importance that the figures depicted in the satirical work are not "real" people, but instead typical characters that are used to convey a certain moralising message.[106] This use of typical characters rather than "real" people is characteristic of genre painting. The figures and situations in genre-like art are typically highly generalized; Bosch and other genre painters like Pieter Bruegel the Elder often play into negative stereotypes

[99] Landau, *Sins of the Flesh and Human Folly*, 215-216.
[100] Timmermans, *Dubbelzinnige dingen*, 154-155.
[101] Pinson, *Images of War and Violence as Moral Lessons*, 232-243.
[102] Nies, *Facing the End of Time*, 267.
[103] Nies, *Facing the End of Time*, 255.
[104] Vries, *Verhalen uit Kamer, Keuken en Kroeg*, 29.
[105] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 23-24.
[106] Vries, *Verhalen uit Kamer, Keuken en Kroeg*, 30.

about groups of people instead of depicting more individualized characters.[107] Even the pope and the emperor depicted following the haywain are archetypes and cannot be identified as a specific pope or a specific Holy Roman Emperor.

The negative behaviour that a genre painting derides is often projected on some archetypal "other", someone outside of the circle of the intended audience of a genre painting, or someone who is easily outcast from this circle. In short, an acceptable target to mock and laugh at.[108] As a result, a mocking, satirical depiction of negative behaviour can be not only moralising, but also humorous. Many of the genre-like scenes in the works of Bosch function like this; they are moralizing, but they rarely scold the audience directly for their negative, sinful actions. Typically, the negative actions and traits addressed by such scenes are projected on people who are expected to perform and have them, not on the audience, who typically consider themselves to be upstanding folk. Bosch appears to assume his audience knows right from wrong, and can laugh at the mockery of these "others" and their behaviour.[109]

These "others" are typically peasants and marginalized folk such as beggars, blind people and cripples.[110] Traveling folk, such as musicians, traveling merchants and quacks, as well as Roma, are among fifteenth-century marginalized groups that are commonly depicted as such in the works of Bosch as well.[111] The medieval aversion to these groups of people can not just be seen in art and literature, but also in law; a 1531 document issued by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V severely limited the rights of traveling salesmen, and was intended to target pedlars, quacks and charlatans. A similar law was issued in England in 1572, prohibiting magicians, pedlars and other traveling salesmen from traveling without a permit.[112] As will become clear in the second chapter, the Boschian Pedlar-figure can also be read as such an archetypal "other".

It speaks to the tastes of Bosch's audience and patrons that he also depicts monks and nuns behaving in a very sinful manner in the *Haywain* triptych, as well as in the *Ship of Fools*. The monk and nun on the *Ship of Fools* are specifically Franciscans, recognizable by their robes, whereas the monk and nuns on the *Haywain* triptych can be identified as Dominicans. These orders were generally viewed very negatively in the Netherlands in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, especially by those who held reformist ideals; Dominican monks specifically were likened to the pope's barking dogs, a pun on their name,

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[107] Coelen, *De geboorte van de genregrafiek*, 51.
[108] Bruyn, *De navolgers van Jheronimus Bosch*, 12; Müller, *Der Gaukler und der Philosoph*, 56-57; Vries, *Verhalen uit Kamer, Keuken en Kroeg*, 29.
[109] Coelen, *De geboorte van de genregrafiek*, 51.
[110] Coelen, *Landsknechten, boeren en bordelen*, 124-127; Schneider, *Geschichte der Genremalerei,* 71-73.
[111] Schneider, Geschichte der Genremalerei, 96-98.
[112] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 70.

which can be read in Latin as “domini canes” or “the dogs of the lord”.[113] Bosch’s mockery of these orders would have been readily understood and likely be celebrated by most of his contemporary audience.

An understanding of the contemporary audience of Bosch, their culture and their tastes serves as a powerful tool to explain not only the popularity of Jheronimus Bosch in his own time, but also many elements from his iconography. The history and the culture of this time, the literature this audience consumed and the language they spoke are all essential to consider in order to cultivate this understanding. It also helps us greatly to understand the idiosyncratic Boschian way of thinking and solve Bosch’s riddles if we know who were originally intended to solve them. Various works of Bosch show us complex iconographical programmes that feature obscure and obscured references to religious literature from Bosch’s time. Bosch plays with these sources to create riddles and rebuses that help show off the erudition of his patrons, and often provides a highly contemporary interpretation of various religious ideas, such as the antichrist in the *Adoration of the Magi*. Bosch also includes riddles and references aimed at a less erudite audience, such as the war machines he depicts in his *Last Judgements* that his audience is supposed to connect to the known omens of the end times that they might have learned about in church. Knowledge of Bosch’s audience and of the general attitudes towards current events of their time also allows us to identify the archetypal characters depicted in Bosch’s genre-like paintings and make sense of why, for instance, the pope rides after the haywain, and a Franciscan monk and nun sail on the ship of fools. A purely art-historical approach is not sufficient to answer these questions, and a broader, cultural-historical lens is required.

1.2: Bosch and his surroundings - book illumination, sculpture and theatre

As discussed in the introduction, our modern ideas of “high” and “low” art do not apply as such to art in medieval times. In few places is this point more relevant than in the works of Bosch. As an artist in ‘s-Hertogenbosch in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Bosch occupied a rather unique position. Painters didn’t have a strong presence in ‘s-Hertogenbosch in the second half of the fifteenth century, which would have led Bosch, who rarely traveled, to seek inspiration elsewhere.[114]

[113] Landau, *Sins of the Flesh and human Folly*, 217-218.
[114] Koldeweij, *Jheronimus Bosch in zijn stad ‘s-Hertogenbosch*, 30; Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 270.

From the iconography and symbolism of his works, we can infer that Bosch found inspiration where he could, including in the choir stalls of the Saint John's Cathedral and other church sculptures, as well as book illumination and prints. In other words, we must study the cultural history of Bosch's time more broadly, including "low" art and material culture, if we are to interpret his works. In this subchapter, I will explore these various artistic sources for the works of Bosch that have historically been overlooked and show where we can see them used as sources in the works of Jheronimus Bosch.

1.2.1: Marginalia and Misericords

For most fifteenth-century painters working in cities, learning from or taking inspiration from book illuminators would be somewhat unlikely. In cities, painters and book illuminators typically each had their own separate guilds, and the common attitude of the time was that never the twain shall meet.[115] However, there was no guild of Saint-Luke regulating painters in 's-Hertogenbosch in until the year 1546, making it more plausible for Bosch to have taken inspiration from the margins of contemporary manuscripts.[116] This also provides us with a plausible reason as to why Bosch is one of the first painters to translate margin decoration to large-scale panel painting; he wasn't bound by the restrictions that would prevent painters from other cities with different rules and cultures from doing so.[117] Furthermore, artists from the Van Aken family may have been inspired by art from the Lower Rhine region, Nijmegen and Brugge, and the family is theorized to be connected to the Limbourgh brothers and the Maelwael brothers, who worked as book illuminators.[118] With no painters' guild to apprentice with, Bosch must have learned painting from his father, and inherited these influences.

Many elements of the works of Bosch resemble the marginal decoration of medieval manuscripts, which often contain a kind of world upside-down through which the artist mocks and criticizes the real world.[119] The *Haywain* and *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptychs are good examples of such a topsy-turvy world, with both depicting a world in which sin rules supreme and the vices and the folly of humanity are greatly exaggerated. An example of a symbol indicating such a world upside-down is that of the rabbit- or hare-turned-huntsman that appears in the panel of hell in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, which resembles a common theme from the margins of medieval manuscripts.[120] This theme can perhaps be seen most clearly in the fourteenth-century Gorleston Psalter, which at various points in its

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[115] Filedt Kok, *De Meester van het Amsterdamse Kabinet*, 19.
[116] Koldeweij, *Jheronimus Bosch in zijn stad 's-Hertogenbosch*, 30; Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 270.
[117] Fischer, *Jheronimus Bosch's Works of Art as Allegorical and Grotesque Moral*, 148.
[118] Dijck, *Jheronimus Bosch Inspired by People in his Environment*, 114-115.
[119] Peyer, *Grillen en Grylli*, 211.
[120] Pokorny, *Bosch and the Influence of Flemish Book Illumination*, 283.

margins shows rabbits rising up against the dogs that hunt them (fig. 36a).[121] Bosch was not the only artist of his time to be inspired by this motif; his contemporary Israhel van Meckenem (1445 - 1503), for instance, depicted it as well in a fifteenth-century print showing hares skewering a huntsman on a roasting spit (fig 37.). We might imagine that the huntsman-hare from the *Garden of Earthly Delights* is on his way to join them with its catch.[122] The motif of a reversal of the hunter-prey relationship is part of a broader genre of animal satire, which is very common in the margins of medieval manuscripts.[123] In his works, Bosch appears to take many of the common themes of this animal satire, but apply it to his devils. In form, these devils often resemble specific types of creatures found in the margins of medieval manuscripts. The actions they perform, however, often more closely resemble those of marginal animals. A recurring element in the margins of Gorleston Psalter, for instance, is that of rabbits performing various Christian rites (figs. 38a, 39a). We also see examples of foxes, typical wily animals, pretending to be priests and preaching sermons to geese or other fowl, their prey (fig 40.). Similarly in Bosch's *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, a variety of devils can be seen that take on the appearance of monks, bishops and cardinals, likely with the intent to deceive people, or performing a mock Christian mass (fig. 41a).

As mentioned before, many of the little devils that Bosch is so well-known for, also resemble hybrid monsters that appear quite often in the margins of medieval manuscripts. A creature of note is a hybrid from the 1340 Biblia Pauperum, whose different, mismatched body parts each represent a different sin or negative trait (fig. 42). It is holding a chalice symbolizing gluttony and wearing a crown symbolizing pride, and it is depicted with a woman's head and torso, symbolizing lust, a dog's head sprouting from her waist symbolizing jealousy and greed, a serpent's or dragon's neck and head for a tail symbolizing death, which bites her single bird leg symbolizing life. This creature also appears in the 1414 Mettener Bible, where these body parts are labeled.[124] This may be similar to the little devil that is trying to steal the inkwell of John the Evangelist in the panel of *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos* by Bosch (fig. 43a). Bosch's little devil wears a burning flame on its head, perhaps symbolizing burning envy. It has short little arms, perhaps symbolizing ineptitude. It wears a pair of glasses, perhaps symbolizing short-sightedness, and it has amphibian traits, typically symbolizing uncertainty and connecting it with creatures that were often seen as despicable and evil in medieval culture.[125] Quite a lot of the devils of Bosch

[121] Nishimura, *Rabbits, Warrens, and Warrene*, 208.
[122] A relief showing a similar scene of the world upside-down (fig. 44), in this case a knight fleeing from a rabbit, appears on the facade of the Notre-Dame of Paris. This specific relief was the inspiration for the murderous Rabbit of Caerbannog from the 1975 comedy film *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (Diamandis, "Killer Rabbits: A Medieval Meme").
[123] Grössinger, *The World Upside-Down*, 97.
[124] Fischer, *Jheronimus Bosch's Works of Art as Allegorical and Grotesque Moral*, 149.
[125] Fischer, *Jheronimus Bosch's Works of Art as Allegorical and Grotesque Moral*, 150.

have amphibian traits, as well as insectoid traits. Creepy crawlies, too, were considered among the lowest creatures in creation and associated with the devil.[126] Simpler monsters from the margins of medieval manuscripts generally come in three different types: creatures with missing or superfluous parts, hybrid animals, and part-human hybrids (figs. 45a, 46a, 47a).[127] The devils from the works of Bosch all fall into these categories as well (figs. 4c, 4d, 35c). Some specific types of creature that appear both in marginalia and the works of Bosch are hybrid monsters or devils with non-living parts (fig. 41b), as well as so-called grylli, typical cephalopod creatures that are relatively common in the margins of medieval manuscripts (figs. 41c, 48a).[128]

Finally, the kind of rude and dirty jokes that are occasionally found in the works of Bosch are frequently found in the margins of medieval manuscripts, while they are very rare in panel painting of the size of the large triptychs by Bosch in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[129] Various last judgements by Bosch, for instance, show scatological humour (or poop jokes) (figs. 19a, 20b); Similar rude jokes can be found, for example, in the Hours of Mary of Burgundy (fig. 49a).

In addition to the margins of manuscripts, it is fairly likely that Bosch, as well as his followers, were inspired by misericord carvings on choir stalls. These carvings frequently depict strange creatures and genre-like scenes similar to those seen in the works of Bosch, as well as sayings and proverbs similar to those depicted in the works of Bosch and Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525 - 1569).[130] For example the proverb *twee honden aan één been komen zelden overeen* ("Two dogs on one bone seldom get along") or *als twee honden vechten om een been, loopt de derde ermee heen* ("if two dogs fight for one bone, the third one makes off with it") is depicted in misericords, in the tabletop of the *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things* after Bosch, and in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Netherlandish Proverbs* (figs 50, 51a, 52a.).[131] These misericords may also in part have inspired the juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane seen in the works of Bosch. Frequently, these misericords showing profane figures and scenes are found in the most sacred part of the church, the choir, and are surrounded by choir stall carvings showing more religious imagery.[132] In this, they are also similar to marginalia, which often consist of profane imagery next to sacred text.[133] They are frequently humorous and filled with dirty jokes and double entendre, a type of humour that

[126] Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages*, 78; Peyer, *Grillen en Grylli*, 213.
[127] Dale, *The Monstrous*, 253.
[128] Peyer, *Grillen en Grylli*, 212.
[129] Pokorny, *Bosch and the Influence of Flemish Book Illumination*, 288.
[130] Block, *Corpus of Medieval Misericords*, 13.
[131] Lené-Hébuterne, *Expressions of Popular Wisdom on Medieval Choir Stalls*, 63-64.
[132] Witsen Elias, *Het Snijwerk aan Nederlandse Koorbanken*, 17.
[133] Karłowska-Kamzowa, *Painted and Graphic Decorations of Prayer-books*, 21.

the medieval audience appears to have appreciated. We find this kind of humour in literature as well, for instance in the 1480 work *Die evangelien van den spinrocke*.[134]

Misericords are in many ways similar to marginalia from medieval manuscripts. Elements such as the fox preaching to fowl discussed before appear here as well (fig. 53). We can also find characteristic figures, such as the jester depicted by Bosch on the *Ship of Fools* in misericords, complete with his *marrotte*, the characteristic jester's staff with a face on it (fig. 54).[135] Finally, scatology is also a common element in marginalia.

The many similarities in form that exist between book illumination and misericords and the works of Bosch have been noticed by art historians before, but the similarities in symbolism I have not found as many researchers discuss. Because of Bosch's somewhat unique position as a painter in a city without a painter's guild, it is probable that he would have turned to these traditions for examples and source material for his paintings. The themes from book illumination and misericords that Bosch incorporated into his painting, even mutated in the Boschian manner, would likely have been familiar to his audience as well. For these reasons, these are important sources for the works of Bosch to consider.

1.2.2: Theatre

The 14th and 15th centuries saw the rise of popular theatre in the Netherlands in response to growing wealth in cities.[136] Theatre plays often had a large influence on the culture, even the cultural identity of cities in this time.[137] Two general types of theatre can be discerned: carnival plays, which were generally comedic and low-brow, and religious plays, including mystery plays, which were generally more refined and for which more sophisticated decorations and costumes were required.[138]

Artists in 15th-century northern Europe were typically of the same social class as the target audience of this popular theatre, and as a result, an artist like Bosch would have likely been intimately familiar with popular theatre traditions.[139] Furthermore, we know of multiple artists who worked on theatre productions, as we have documents describing orders for various decorations to be painted.[140] Theatre likely inspired many artists around the time of Jheronimus Bosch. We can see this through the way it has informed, for example, the *Ecce Homo* image type of this time. Artists depicting his image type likely drew inspiration from

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[134] Koopmans, *Brugge als culturele draaischijf*, 170-172.
[135] Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages*, 106-107.
[136] Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en tooneelvertooningen*, 25-26.
[137] Oosterman, *Discovering new Media*, 175.
[138] Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en tooneelvertooningen*, 87-88.
[139] Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en tooneelvertooningen*, 28.
[140] Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en tooneelvertooningen*, 72-73.

theatre in their depictions of Christ presented by Pilate on a raised platform or stage. It is likely that *Ecce Homo*-images by artists like Israhel van Meckenem (1445 - 1503), Martin Schongauer (ca. 1435-1450 - 1491), Lucas van Leyden (1494 - 1533) and the Braunschweiger Monogrammist (early to mid 16th century) are examples of art imitating theatre, showing us effectively what the stage of a passion play from this time might have looked like (figs. 55, 56, 57, 58).[141] We also have an example of such an image by Jheronimus Bosch (fig. 59). The painting by the Braunschweiger Monogrammist is especially detailed and is probably a good representation of what a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century passion play on a city square might have looked like.[142] It has also been suggested that part of the inspiration for the Ghent Altarpiece by the brothers Van Eyck may have been a mystery play.[143]

Similarly, we have records of carnival parade floats from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that would have resembled the *Haywain* and the *Ship of Fools* by Jheronimus Bosch.[144] Floats like these, which often carried moralizing and symbolic tableaux vivants and small plays of Biblical stories, were frequently part of festive processions, such as those held for the occasion of the entry of the Burgundian duke in ‘s-Hertogenbosch.[145]

Artists are also known to have been actors or even directors in popular theatre on occasion.[146] Though no sources exist that confirm that this was the case for Bosch, we do know that Bosch’s grandfather Jan van Aken and great uncle Thomas van Aken were actors in a play performed in 1435 or 1436 in ‘s-Hertogenbosch.[147] It makes sense for Bosch to have been involved with theatre productions in ‘s-Hertogenbosch, as he was a member of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady of ‘s-Hertogenbosch. Brotherhoods like these, as well as Rederijkerskamers were typically responsible for theatre plays in cities in the fifteenth-century Netherlands.[148]

Many of the individual figures from the works of Bosch seem to perform some action related to virtue or sin, often as part of some genre-like scene. They could be read as similar to characters from popular theatre that symbolize these virtues and sins, and that bear speaking names. For example, in the 1509 miracle play *Het Spel van Maria Hoedeken* by the Bruges rhetorician Cornelis Everaert (ca. 1480 - 1556), characters appear with names

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[141] Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en tooneelvertooningen*, 26, 71; Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 48.
[142] Ubl, *Het zit in de details*, 146.
[143] Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en tooneelvertooningen*, 81, 86.
[144] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 22-23; Coelen, *Niet zonder te lachen*, 213; Lanau, *Sins of the Flesh and human Folly*, 217; Lammertse, *Alles is Hooi*, 56.
[145] Ramakers, *Veelzijdig en Meerduidig*, 99-100, 108-109.
[146] Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en tooneelvertooningen*, 76, 79, 81.
[147] Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken alias Bosch*, 82; Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en tooneelvertooningen*, 78.
[148] Derycke, *Sociale en literaire dynamiek in het vroeg vijftiende-eeuwse Brugge*, 63; Oosterman, *Discovering new media*, 174.

like "*Goet Gheselscip*" (Good Company), "*Quaet Beleedt*" (Bad Behaviour), "*Sober Regement*" (Indecent Lifestyle), "*Houder Gheweunte*" (Old Habit), "*Cleen Achterdyncken*" (Little Remorse), "*Inwendighe Wroughynghe*" (Internal Remorse) and "*Duechdelic Onderwysen*" (Virtuous Education).[149] It is difficult to say for certain whether Bosch used the kind of typical characters seen in *Het spel van Maria Hoedeken* often, but many of his characters are more archetypes than individuals and can easily be given similar speaking names. We can imagine, for instance, that the various characters in the *Conjuror* after Bosch might have names such as "Inattention" (the bent-over man who is being deceived by the conjuror), "Guilty Conscience" (the man in the crowd who sees the man in front being robbed but does not act) and "False Innocence" (the child with the windmill that similarly sees the man in front being robbed, but does not act). This kind of archetypical character also appears in the *Cutting of the Stone* after Jheronimus Bosch. *The Cutting of the Stone* depicts the typical character of Lubbert Das as he is being deceived by a quack. Though his name does not literally spell out what he represents like a speaking name would, "Lubbert Das" was a common fifteenth-century sobriquet for a dim-witted person, and the character was generally a symbol of stupidity that would be right at home in symbolic plays like *Het spel van Maria Hoedeken*.[150]

Besides theatre, these kinds of symbolic characters frequently appear in misericords, marginalia and decorative art from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, showing that they have a general cultural significance.[151] For this reason, I posit that contemporary plays and the works of the Rederijkers should be considered an important source for the iconography and symbolism in the works of Bosch.

1.2.3: Material culture: Fashion

Several authors have tried to identify the symbolism of the clothes worn by figures in the works of Bosch, but doing so presents difficulty in the form of a lack of cultural-historical context.[152] Where we do have this context, clothing can be a great signifier of the intended symbolism. It is relatively easy, for instance, to identify the patrons of Bosch's *Ecce Homo* panel as wealthy citizens of 's-Hertogenbosch by their clothes (fig. 59a). The patriarch of the patron family wears a *kaproen*, a turban-like piece of headwear that was part of the dress code of sworn members of the Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady of 's-Hertogenbosch.[153] Similarly, Agneese de Gramme in her portrait in the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 33a), wears

[149] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 17. Eric de Bruyn translates "*Sober Regement*" to modern Dutch as "*Onbehoorlijke Levenswijze*".
[150] Müller, *Der Gaukler und der Philosoph*, 54-55.
[151] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 13.
[152] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 22.
[153] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Jheronimus Bosch*, 53.

clothes that we can recognize as high fashion in late fifteenth-century Antwerp from other women's portraits from this time period (fig. 60).[154] Inversely, ragged clothing or even a lack of clothing is an easy way to signify that a figure is destitute, a beggar or vagrant.[155] An example of this symbolism can be seen in the works of Bosch on the outside wings of the Rotterdam *Flood Triptych*, on which the story of a character similar to the Biblical Job is shown (fig. 61.). The panels depict how he is reduced to destitution by Christ as a test of his faith, eventually losing even his clothes.

We know that clothing was commonly used as a signifier of one's character in the culture of Bosch's time. It is a trope in literature, for instance, that foolish people, often greedy or slothful people, wear outdated clothes. This trope is already found in the *Roman de la Rose*, written from ca. 1230 to ca. 1275 by Guillaume de Lorris (ca. 1200 - ca. 1238) and Jean de Meung (ca. 1240 - ca. 1305), in which a character personifying greed is described as wearing a robe that is ten years out of date, and it remained a popular trope in theatre well into the seventeenth century.[156] Depicting foolish people in outdated clothing can be seen as a way of "othering" them. As discussed before, "othering" is the process by which a social distance is created between a character and its audience, making them an acceptable target to project negative behaviour onto, and subsequently scorn.[157] Outdated fashion creates a separation, be it in taste or in time, between the viewer and the satirical figure. As a result, the unfashionable figure is made into an "other", making them a more acceptable target to project all sorts of negative traits and actions on to.[158] An example of this is the clothing worn by the sitting man in the panel of sloth on the tabletop of the *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things* by a follower of Bosch (fig. 51b). The painter has dressed him in a similar way to chancellor Nicolas Rolin on the outside wings of the 1441-1451 Beaune Altarpiece by Rogier van der Weyden (1399 - 1464) (fig. 62). These clothes would have been hopelessly outdated and unfashionable by ca. 1500, showing this man as a fool and specifically underlining his laziness.[159]

Our knowledge of medieval fashion, however, is very imprecise. Especially finding accurate information about the fashion trends and common dress of the lower class proves difficult.[160] It is often hard to accurately date fashion trends from five centuries ago, making it difficult to identify a piece of clothing in a painting as contemporary with the artwork, or as

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[154] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Jheronimus Bosch*, 102.
[155] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz.*, 58; Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 125-126.
[156] Gelfland, *Class, Gender and the Influence of penitential Literature*, 167; Vries, *Verhalen uit Kamer, Keuken en Kroeg*, 36.
[157] Bruyn, *De navolgers van Jheronimus Bosch*, 12; Müller, *Der Gaukler und der Philosoph*, 56-57; Vries, *Verhalen uit Kamer, Keuken en Kroeg*, 29.
[158] Vries, *Verhalen uit Kamer, Keuken en Kroeg*, 29, 36.
[159] Gelfland, *Class, Gender and the Influence of penitential Literature*, 167.
[160] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 22.

outdated.[161] Even where we do have information about the dress of medieval people, the sources are often laws on how wealthy certain classes in society were allowed to dress. Such laws include, for example, laws limiting the lengths of poulaine shoes and of pattens.[162] Unfortunately, we know from other historical documents that these laws were broken constantly.[163] Finally, in some cases, characters in a work of art might wear outdated clothing simply because they were copied from an older work of art, and their dress might not be iconographically significant. This explanation has been proposed for the robes of the judge in the panel of avarice in the *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things*, which do not match judicial robes from ca. 1500, but are not as outdated as the clothes of the sitting man in the panel of sloth.[164] Despite these shortcomings, clothing symbolism can be very valuable to our understanding of the works of Bosch.

1.2.4: Alaert du Hamel

One specific artist that should be mentioned as an important influence on Bosch is Alaert du Hamel (ca. 1450 - 1506), an architect and sculptor working on the Saint Johns' Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch between 1478 and 1494. Bosch was likely a friend of Alaert du Hamel. Several prints by Du Hamel show Boschian influence, and we know that the artists mutually influenced each other.[165] A relatively well-known example of Boschian influence in the works of Alaert du Hamel is Du Hamel's print *Elephant*, which shows a war elephant with a small castle on its back, surrounded by a chaotic battlefield (fig. 63).[166] Many of the implements of war that can be seen on the battlefield, as well as the strange shapes of the various buildings in the print, likely intended to be exotic, closely resemble things that we can find in the hellscapes of Jheronimus Bosch (fig. 20a). Similarly, Du Hamel's print *Saint Christopher* shows the saint wading through the river surrounded by monsters, devils and representations of sin (fig. 64). The image has some resemblance to the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* by Jheronimus Bosch (fig. 41). Finally, Alaert du Hamel's print *The Last Judgement* looks like it could well have been made after a lost panel by Jheronimus Bosch, and contains several figures that seem to have been directly lifted from various hellscapes by Bosch (fig. 65).[167] The fact that we find these influences in the works of Alaert du Hamel, which are very close in both space and time to the works of Bosch, makes it probable that the mutual artistic influence of these two artists on each other took the form of a direct exchange of ideas and

[161] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 23.
[162] Filedt Kok, *De Meester van het Amsterdamse Kabinet*, 289, 292.
[163] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 27.
[164] Lammertse, *Alles is Hooi*, 64.
[165] Dijck, *Jheronimus Bosch Inspired by People in his Environment*, 120.
[166] Lanau, *Sins of the Flesh and human Folly*, 213.
[167] Pokorny, *Alart du Hameel and Jheronimus Bosch*, 269.

motifs between them. Alaert du Hamel and his works must therefore be considered potential sources for the motifs and symbolism of the works of Bosch.

One example of a potential source for the works of Bosch that is connected to Alaert du Hamel is the sculpture of the Saint John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch. The famous statues riding the flying buttresses of the Saint John's Cathedral show a lot of similarity to the various human and demonic figures from the works of Bosch (fig. 66). These unique flying buttress-riders or "*hemelbestormers*" are typically dated 1510-1520, during the final stages of the building of the nave of the cathedral. However, dates as early as 1470, when the southern transept was finished, or even 1450, when the northern transept was finished, have also been proposed.[168] If they can be dated between 1470 and 1510, Alaert du Hamel would have been involved in their creation. In this scenario, I also think it is likely that Bosch was inspired by these decorations, that Bosch inspired these decorations, or that this is a case of reciprocal inspiration between Bosch and Du Hamel. These dates and the nature of the connection of these sculptures to Bosch or Du Hamel warrant further investigation in future research.

1.3: Prints

Prints have been an important source of inspiration for artists since their inception in the fifteenth century. By their nature, prints are more easily replicated and more easily distributed than paintings. Originally separate from painting, until ca. 1460, prints were typically made by goldsmiths and silversmiths. Martin Schongauer (1448 - 1491) and Albrecht Dürer (1471 - 1528) are among the first painters known to engage in printmaking.[169] Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, prints continued to be a frequently used medium for the distribution of art, as they were much cheaper and easier to reproduce than other artistic media. Furthermore, while the sale of paintings was often restricted as a result of guild and market regulations in cities, the same regulations did not apply to prints.[170] As a result, prints were frequently used as examples by artists of this period.[171] The works of Bosch himself were copied in print form as well, and such copies were made both by Bosch himself and early followers.[172] Print copies of Bosch were important sources of inspiration for the works of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525 - 1569) and the Antwerp Mannerists after they arrived in Antwerp between 1516 and 1523.[173] We can compare various works of Bosch

[168] Glaudemans, *De Sint-Jan te 's-Hertogenbosch*, 359-360.
[169] Filedt Kok, *De Meester van het Amsterdamse Kabinet*, 23.
[170] Vogelaar, *Lucas en Leiden*, 11.
[171] Filedt Kok, *De Meester van het Amsterdamse Kabinet*, 23.
[172] Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, 214.
[173] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en Vroege Eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 9.

with prints from around his time to show that he likely used prints as examples for his works as well.

Much like from his other sources, Bosch appears to pick and choose motifs and symbols from prints for his own use. He also mutates his sources for his own purposes. We can see this, for instance, in the panel of *Death and the Miser*, presently considered to be part of the *Pedlar* triptych (fig. 9). Both the dying miser and the personification of death from this panel bear resemblance to the dying figures and the figure of death in the *Deathbeds of the righteous and unrighteous*, a print by Cornelis Anthonisz. (1505 - 1553), and in a variation on this print by Jörg Breu II (1510 - 1547), both dated after 1530 (figs. 67, 68). These prints postdate the works of Bosch, but are very close to him in time. At the same time, they are very different from the works of Bosch in terms of style, and they are also quite far removed from him in space. Cornelis Anthonisz. and Jörg Breu II were active in Amsterdam and Augsburg respectively.[174] For this reason, I posit that it is more likely that they are derived from a common tradition with Bosch than that they are inspired by Bosch. A striking detail present in both prints is that of a devil grasping the hand of the unrighteous man as though it is eager to drag him into hell. Devils eagerly attempting to spirit souls away to hell appear on the Tabletop of the *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things* by a follower of Bosch as well (fig. 51c). This behavior is apparently common among devils in sixteenth-century depictions. Bosch, likely drawing from the same tradition as Anthonisz., Breu and his anonymous follower, depicts a little devil doing much the same in *Death and the Miser*, albeit with one notable difference: rather than simply grabbing the miser, it offers him a bag presumably filled with money. The patron and audience of the *Pedlar* triptych would likely have been familiar with the grabby devils depicted by the other artists, and would have had little trouble understanding the variation on the theme by Bosch. This tempting devil also better suits the symbolism of *Death and the Miser*. Anthonisz. and Breu depicted the deathbeds of one man who is rewarded for a lifetime of virtue, and another who is to be punished for a lifetime of sin. Bosch's *Death and the Miser*, by contrast, revolves around the possibility of a last-minute salvation. Bosch's angel tries at the last possible moment to guide the dying miser, a man who is shown in the same panel to have lived a sinful life, toward the light emanating from the crucifix in the top left of the panel.

Bosch's *Death and the Miser* is also potentially a variation on the *Temptation of Pride*, a print by the German Master E.S. (ca. 1420 - ca. 1468) dated to ca. 1450 (fig. 69:). In this print, a group of devils are depicted while they dance around the deathbed of a man and offer him crowns. The title implies that these are not valuable because they are made of gold or silver, but rather, they symbolize glory and praise and are meant to tempt the dying man

[174] RKD Research: "Cornelis Anthonisz."; RKD Research: "Jörg Breu (II)."

to commit the sin of pride or vanity. Bosch might also have taken this image and adapted it for the sin of avarice in his *Death and the Miser*. The connection between these various depictions of the devil trying to claim man on his deathbed is one I have not found anyone else to make.

There are also times when Bosch uses only a small fragment of something we know from print as a main subject for his works. The print *Luna and her Children* (after 1480) from the series *Children of the Planets* by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (ca. 1445 - ca. 1505), active near Mainz, shows a scene at the bottom that resembles the *Conjuror* made after Jheronimus Bosch (fig. 70).[175] We also know of other examples of the *Cutting of the Stone* from prints, such as a 1524 version by Lucas van Leyden (1494 - 1533), active in Leiden, which shows a smaller scene with fewer characters than in the panel after Bosch (fig. 71).[176] The depiction of Judas on the outside of the left wing of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, with the bag with the thirty pieces of silver slung over his back, is likely based upon a relatively standardized depiction of the disciple which appears on i.a. prints by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (figs. 72, 73a).[177] Finally, the print depicting Christ at the whipping post by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet shows Christ in a pose very reminiscent of the pose used by Bosch in his *Ecce Homo*.[178]

Due to the nature of prints as a medium, the way they are easily reproduced and the way they are frequently used as examples by other artists, it is unlikely that we could discover any specific print that was used as a source by Bosch, but prints can show us trends in image types. Research into prints is a good way of identifying common traditions in motifs and symbolism that Bosch may have made use of.

1.4: Literature

The vernacular language saw a great rise in popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in part as a result of humanism. It is around this time that we can see humanists such as Erasmus advocating for translations of the Bible into the vernacular, such as the History Bible that was created in the northern Netherlands under the influence of the Devotio Moderna, and that we can observe a rise in literature in the vernacular, as opposed to Latin.[179] As a consequence of the growing popularity of the vernacular, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the rise of a kind of linguistic nationalism in Europe.[180] The vernacular was especially popular in the Netherlands, which, in part thanks to the influence

[175] Müller, *Der Gaukler und der Philosoph*, 49-50.
[176] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 15.
[177] Filedt Kok, *De Meester van het Amsterdamse Kabinet*, 105.
[178] Filedt Kok, *De Meester van het Amsterdamse Kabinet*, 112.
[179] Gibson, *Figures of Speech*, 13-14; Korteweg, *The Utrecht History Bibles*, 129.
[180] Gibson, *Figures of Speech*, 14-15.

of the Devotio Moderna, became the only country in Europe where books of hours written in the vernacular were the rule rather than the exception.[181] In the Netherlands in time of Bosch, it would also have been fashionable to be well-read in secular literature in Dutch and German.[182] It would also have been fashionable to be well-read in humanist literature, and satirical humanist texts and humanist critiques of the folly of humanity enjoyed great popularity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, specifically among the circles of Bosch's patrons, such as Burgundian and Habsburg nobility.[183] The various works of Bosch reflect this, and we can see references to various works of Dutch and German satirical literature in them.

Bosch makes use of various works of satirical humanist literature as sources for his iconography. The works of Bosch are frequently strongly humanist in their stern critique of the folly of humanity.[184] This kind of critique is frequently expressed in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century satirical literature through personification. Often, figures bear names that tell the reader in no uncertain terms who or what they are meant to represent. These characters are also often used in literal representations of proverbs.[185] As will be discussed in the next chapter, the figure of the Pedlar is a great example of how Bosch adapts this kind of storytelling for his paintings. One of the main literary characters that Bosch's Pedlar-figure can be associated with, is that of *Lichte Fortune* from the 1541 poem *Sorgheloos* by the sixteenth-century author Jacob Jacobzoon Jonck.[186] *Sorgheloos* is a story commenting on greed and material wealth.[187] Besides *Lichte Fortune*, the pedlar also shares similarities with the character of *Elckerlijc*.[188] The main character of the 1495 literary work of the same name by Peter van Diest (1454 - 1507), Elckerlijc is a man on a journey through life, towards death, who meets a series of characters, all with speaking names.[189] *Sorgheloos* will be explored in more detail in the second part of this thesis, but both stories involve a person losing all of their money and possessions in the tavern, a recurring theme in satirical literature. These stories often resemble the story of the prodigal son, which is possibly the prototype that they are based upon.[190] Stories that share this common tradition with *Elckerlijc* and *Sorgheloos* appear to generally have been important sources of inspiration for the *Pedlar* triptych, as well as the *Haywain* triptych. Prodigal son-like stories are also told in the fifteenth-century satirical poem *Vander Blauwen Scute* by the northern Netherlandish author

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[181] Marrow, *The Golden Age*, 9.
[182] Gibson, *Figures of Speech*, 14-15.
[183] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 13.
[184] Wamel, *Opdrachtgevers en vroege eigenaren van het werk van Bosch*, 12
[185] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz.*, 34.
[186] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz.*, 19.
[187] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz.*, 19, 20, 24.
[188] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 120.
[189] Oosterman, *Elckerlijc*, 46-47.
[190] Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 21, 42.

Jacob Oestvoren (fifteenth century), and the *Schelmenzunft* by the Alsatian satirist Thomas Murner (1475 - 1537), published in 1512.[191] The fool who loses everything is also a recurring theme in poems by the Rederijkers from throughout the Netherlands, and we know of multiple pieces of popular theatre from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries telling the story of reckless young men similar to the prodigal son.[192] If Bosch did not know the specific works mentioned here, there existed a large common tradition with a number of varieties that could easily have found their way to him.

The actions of the groups of sinful people in the central panel of the *Haywain* triptych, as well as the figures on the *Ship of Fools*, resemble the sinful behaviour described in the chapter “von Völlerei und Prassen” in Sebastian Brant’s (1457 - 1521) satirical poem *Das Narrenschiff*, published in 1594.[193] Similar stories that are likely related appear in sixteenth-century literature such as in the *Antwerps Liedboek*, published 1544, and in *Veelderhande geneuchlijcke dichten, tafelspelen ende refereynen*, a collection of earlier Dutch poems, plays and songs published in 1600. This indicates that this *Ship of Fools*-style satire was also popular and widespread in the Netherlands and outside of it around the time of Bosch. These themes are in turn part of the broader theme of the misuse of prosperity, which is used by Amsterdam printmaker Cornelis Anthonisz (ca. 1505 - 1553) in his 1546 print series and accompanying poem *Misuse of prosperity* (fig. 74).[194] *Das Narrenschiff*, *Misuse of Prosperity* and related stories are slightly different from *Elckerlijc* and *Sorgheloos*; they are examples of the humanist trope of “bitter irony”. Stories of bitter irony contain ironic glorification of sinful behaviour, with its condemnation being implicit rather than explicit. These works do not wave a finger at the audience, but merely give them an example of negative behaviour that they are meant to recognize as negative. Literature of this type frequently features ships of fools, drunkard’s guilds and other forms of organized misbehaviour.[195] Still, these stories do contain similar themes to prodigal son-like narratives. Much like how the prodigal son loses all of his money and possessions through his life of debauchery, the passengers of the Blauwe Schuit lose even their clothes through their drinking and gambling and are forced to go home naked.[196] The 1509 satirical work *The Praise of Folly* by Desiderius Erasmus also describes fools and folly along these lines.[197]

Between the *Ship of Fools* and the *Blauwe Schuit*, sinful ships appear to be a common theme in satirical literature. The Antwerp poet Anna Bijns (1493 - 1575) also briefly uses a ship in her 1526 poem *Die sonder sonde is werp den eersten steen*. In this poem, she urges

[191] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz*., 22-23, 30-31.
[192] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz*., 24.
[193] Landau, *Sins of the Flesh and Human Folly*, 215-216, 221.
[194] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz*., 60.
[195] Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 18.
[196] Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 20-21.
[197] Landau, *Sins of the Flesh and human Folly*, 217.

sinners to step out of their ship, "*want voorwaar si es lec*" ("because verily it is leaking").[198] The poetry of Bijns is typically satirical and strongly moralizing in much the same way as the other texts described here are, and her themes likely share a common tradition with the moralizing themes from the works of Bosch as well.[199] Another example that likely existed in the same space as Bosch's *Ship of Fools* is that of the *Ship of Saint-Reynuit*, a short ballad from ca. 1500 that describes spendthrifts, drunkards and gamblers embarking on the ship of the non-existent saint whose name roughly translates to "all gone" or "run out".[200] Saint-Reynuit appears in other works of literature from ca. 1500 as well, such as his fictitious saint's legend, the *Wonderlijke leven van sinte Reyn-uyt*.[201] Frequently drunkards and spendthrifts embark upon the ship to make pilgrimage to Saint-Reynuit when their money has run out.[202] This ship is depicted on an anonymous early sixteenth-century woodcut after Lucas van Leyden (1494 - 1533) or Cornelis Anthonisz. that also bears the text of the ballad (fig. 75). In addition to being similar to the panel of the *Ship of Fools* in theme, the woodcut also visually resembles the *Haywain* triptych*,* showing a crowd of people, several of which are part of their own small genre-like scenes, some of which are trying to get aboard the ship, and all of which are exhibiting many kinds of sinful behaviour.

Another moralistic text that Bosch might have known that relates to ships is the fourteenth-century poem *Le Pèlerinage de l'Âme* or "The Pilgrimage of the Soul" by the French Cistercian author Guillaume de Deguileville (1295 - 1360). In his text, Deguilleville uses a ship as a symbol of monastic life.[203] This ship has the cross as its mast, and flies the colours of the faith. Interestingly, the central figures of the *Ship of Fools* by Bosch, are a monk and a nun who are engaging in gluttonous and lustful behaviour. The mast of their ship is a tree with a living crown of leaves, possibly referencing the cross, which is sometimes said to be the tree of life. It also flies a banner with a sickle moon, the symbol of Islam, which Bosch uses as a general symbol of the faithless. Well-read patrons of Bosch may well have understood these as allusions to Deguilleville's text, and have read the *Ship of Fools* as satire based upon it.[204] This also fits with the various other instances of Bosch critiquing the church and the clergy in his works, for instance in the *Haywain* triptych, where monks are gathering the hay that symbolizes money, and the pope is blindly riding after the haywain that symbolizes greed.

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[198] Keßler, *Princesse der Rederijkers*, 123.
[199] Bijns and Bosch likely wouldn't have seen eye-to-eye, however. The works of Bosch, as mentioned before, frequently show hints of the artist's reformist leanings, whereas Bijns was fiercely anti-Lutheran. Keßler, *Princesse der Rederijkers*, 50-51.
[200] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal*, 71-72.
[201] Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 20.
[202] Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 18-19.
[203] Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, 205-206.
[204] Pinson, *A moralized semi-secular Triptych*, 269-270.

Bosch depicts various religious scenes that aren't really depicted anywhere outside of his oeuvre. We know these scenes from literature, however, and people of his time would have likely understood them. This is the case with, for instance, the fall of the rebel angels juxtaposed with the original sin and the fall of man, depicted on the left wings of the Haywain triptych and the Vienna Last Judgement (figs. 4, 20).[205] The fall of the rebel angels is depicted in art from the time of Bosch, mostly in manuscript illumination, but is typically placed before creation, or juxtaposed with the separation of light and dark on the first day of creation (fig. 76a).[206] This is also typically the juxtaposition made in literature. The closest any literary work comes to informing the juxtaposition from the works of Bosch, is the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, written between 1309 and 1324, which claims that Adam and Eve and by extension humanity were created to fill the void left in heaven after the fall of the rebel angels. According to this 14th-century text, the juxtaposition between the fall of the rebel angels and the fall of man emphasizes that the temptation of Eve was the devil's revenge for his expulsion.[207] Considering the lack of depictions in art of Eden or the creation week that show this juxtaposition outside of the works of Bosch, it is likely that Bosch based his depictions on the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Bosch's hellscapes also show similarities to the description of hell from the twelfth-century text of the Visio Tnugdali or the vision of the knight Tondal.[208] The vision of Tondal is also the subject of various works by followers of Bosch (figs. 77, 78, 79), but very rarely appears outside of Bosch-related works.

Common themes and symbols from the works of Bosch appear very frequently in contemporary satirical humanist literature, satirical moralizing poetry and other literary sources from Bosch's time. These kinds of works, perhaps more than anything else, must be considered an important source for the iconography and symbolism of the works of Bosch. Viewing the works of Bosch through this literary lens has proven fruitful, as shown by professor Eric de Bruyn, who, as discussed in the introduction, takes this approach to studying Bosch. In addition, studying literary works from the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth centuries can tell us a lot about the themes and motifs that Bosch's audience would have been familiar with due to the place of literature in Dutch culture in Bosch's time. This gives us an indication as to how the works of Bosch were likely intended to be read and understood.

[205] Pinson, *Fall of the Angels and Creation of Eve in Bosch's Eden*, 693.
[206] Pinson, *Fall of the Angels and Creation of Eve in Bosch's Eden*, 694-695.
[207] Pinson, *Fall of the Angels and Creation of Eve in Bosch's Eden*, 969, 701.
[208] Pokorny, *Bosch and the Influence of Flemish Book Illumination*, 283.

Chapter 2: The Iconography of the Pedlar

The figure of the pedlar appears in two different triptychs by Jheronimus Bosch; it is the eponymous figure in the *Pedlar Triptych* (fig. 6), and appears on the outside wings of the *Haywain Triptych* as well (fig. 5). As mentioned in the introduction, there is much discussion within art history about the interpretation of this iconic figure from the works of Bosch. The reading of the Boschian Pedlar figure is made difficult through the idiosyncratic symbolism of Bosch. The symbols that Bosch uses are in and of themselves often difficult to identify, and their context frequently doesn't help either. There are some indications that this was also the case in Bosch's own time. On the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* by an unknown follower of Bosch (fig. 51), the painter felt it necessary to name each of the seven deadly sins to help the reader understand the otherwise mostly Boschian iconography and symbolism of the painting.[209] This appears to be the common way of doing things and is also seen in other depictions of sins or proverbs (fig. 80, 81. 82). Bosch, as well as his follower Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525 - 1569), are relatively unusual in the way in which they often omit these helpful guides to their works.

As I have discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, it is possible to distill iconographical programmes for the works of Bosch from the culture of Bosch's time. The works of Bosch are filled with references to the culture, the literature, the language and the material culture of his time. Bosch appears to have taken elements from all of these, and to have adapted them, mutated them into intellectual riddles for his viewers to solve. To understand the works of Bosch, then, it is necessary to have a firm grasp on the cultural history of Bosh's time, as well as an understanding of the Boschian way of thinking, and the often obscure and indirect cultural references Bosch makes. In this chapter, I will make a case study of specifically the figure of the Pedlar in the works of Jheronimus Bosch. I intend to show how various elements and attributes of this figure, such as his outfit, his pose and his surroundings, can be linked to the culture of Bosch's time. I will show various recurring themes within the symbolism of the Pedlar that allow us to arrive at possible interpretations and names to give this figure.

This chapter is rooted heavily in the work of Eric de Bruyn, who wrote a comprehensive and invaluable analysis of the sources for the iconography of the Boschian Pedlar figure in the literature and language of Bosch's time. Though my conclusions about the thematic throughline of the Pedlar do not differ much from those of De Bruyn, I have expanded upon his work and I examine cultural-historical sources for the works of Bosch beyond just literature. As will be shown in this chapter, several interesting elements of the figure of the Pedlar can be explained or explained more easily when taking into account marginalia and

[209] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 21.

misericords, theatre, material culture and prints from the time of Bosch in addition to literature and poetry. I will discuss various elements of the Pedlar figure within these contexts, such as his clothes, the basket he carries on his back, his hunched and turned posture and his gaze, the direction he is walking in and the things he is walking away from.

2.1: Description

The *Haywain* triptych is a very characteristic work for Bosch and combines religious and genre-like imagery in his unique and idiosyncratic manner. The left and right wings of the triptych show very clearly religious imagery, the Earthly Paradise and hell respectively. The central panel and the outside wings are much more genre-like. Complex triptychs like this are almost never found outside of the oeuvre of Bosch and were not replicated by his followers.[210]

The outside wings of the *Haywain* triptych together form one single image, with Bosch having removed the inner frames of the two panels. The central figure that we call the Pedlar is cut in two by the divide between the two panels. He wears a black cowl that is draped over his right shoulder, a grey tunic with wide, loose sleeves, slim grey trousers with a hole in the left knee, and a pair of simple, low, black shoes without pointed tips. White hair peeks out from underneath his cowl, his face is wrinkled, and he has a white stubble beard. The Pedlar, as discussed before, can be identified as such by the woven basket he carries on his back. This basket is attached to him by a grey strap around his chest that seems to be made of a similar fabric to his clothes. The basket has a wooden lid and two straps to lock it shut. A wooden spoon hangs from its handle. A so-called “bollock dagger” hangs from his belt, partially concealed by the folds of his tunic, and in his hands he holds a wooden walking stick with a knob on the bottom end. He walks towards the bottom right of the panel with bent knees, his back hunched or simply leaning forward. He turns his head to look over his shoulder towards the left side of the panel, and he has a fearful expression on his face. With his walking stick, he appears to try and hold a dog to his lower right at bay. This dog, which has reddish fur and wears a spiked collar, is showing its teeth and looking towards the Pedlar’s ankles. The Pedlar walks on a narrow dirt road. Ahead of him, on the bottom left side of the painting, a small stone bridge with a prominent crack in it crosses a body of water where a small duck swims, and a small egret is fishing. A simple, crude wooden railing runs alongside the bridge. In the foreground of the left panel, several bones are strewn about on the ground, among them a horse skull, along with a desiccated horse leg. A crow sits on the horse leg, while a second flies down towards it. In the background on the left panel, a group of robbers tie a man to a tree and cut open a pack that presumably belonged to him.

[210] Coelen, *Inleiding - De Ontdekking van het Dagelijks Leven*, 14.

Weapons, including a crossbow, a sword and a halberd are strewn on the ground around them. The man being tied to the tree is dressed similarly to the Pedlar, and we can infer that he is another pedlar. In the background on the right panel, a man and a woman in simple clothes can be seen dancing in a field surrounded by sheep. Slightly behind them, a man with a reddish dog beside him is sitting against a tree playing the bagpipes. Above him in the tree appears to hang a small shrine containing a crucifix. Also on the right panel, even further in the background, a hill can be seen with a breaking wheel and a gallows. A crowd is gathered on top of the hill around the gallows, and a large ladder is leaning against it. In the far background on the left panel, a town with a prominent church tower can be seen. The landscape in the background is hilly, and painted a very light blue to create atmospheric perspective.

The *Pedlar* triptych does not exist as a triptych anymore. The various panels that belong to it are found in various museums around the world. The *Ship of Fools* can be found in the Louvre museum in Paris, the panel of *Death and the Miser* can be found in the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C., and the *Allegory on Gluttony* can be found in the Yale University Art Gallery in New Haven. No central panel is known.[211] The figure of the Pedlar is depicted on the outside wings. The various scenes on the extant panels are genre-like and appear to be mirrors reflecting specific sins such as luxury or avarice.

The outside wings of the *Pedlar* triptych, similarly to the *Haywain* triptych, lack the center frames between the two panels, allowing them to show a single, continuous scene. The outside wings of the triptych show a scene within a tondo, with in the center, the figure we call the Pedlar, who is cut in two by the divide between the panels. He is mostly similar to the Pedlar figure on the *Haywain* triptych, with some notable differences. His clothes are almost entirely the same as his counterpart's, but he wears a grey cowl that is draped over his left shoulder, and trousers with a hole in the right knee. His left trouser leg is pushed up, showing that his left leg is bandaged. He wears a simple, low, black shoe with no pointed tip on his right foot, and a simple black slipper on his left foot. White hair peeks out from underneath his cowl, as well as through a hole in his cowl, and he has a grey beard shadow. In addition to a wooden spoon, a grey-striped cat's skin hangs from the handle of the basket on his back as well. A bollock dagger hangs from his belt and isn't hidden within the folds of his clothing. He also has a coin purse hanging next to it. A goat's leg pokes out from his clothes on his chest. In his left hand, he carries a hat with a sewing alder or bodkin and a spool pinned to it.[212] In his right hand, he too holds a wooden walking stick with a knob at the bottom end, but his grip seems more relaxed than his counterpart's on the *Haywain* triptych.

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[211] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 14-15; Colenbrander, *Jheronimus Bosch and Diego de Guevara*, 87-89.
[212] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 125.

On the left side of the panel, in the background, a reddish dog with a spiked collar can be seen growling at him. Further in the background, a feeding through can be seen where a sow and six piglets are eating. To the right of them, a small mound with a rooster is depicted. Behind these two elements, a building is depicted. It has a broken roof. A jug hangs from a stick at the tip of the roof. A dovehouse is built into the top of the facade, with several birds flying towards it. A piece of clothing hangs from the top window. A swan is depicted on the signboard hanging from the right corner of the building. A magpie in a cage hangs from the left corner of the building. In the doorway, a man dressed like a landsknecht is kissing a woman wearing a prostitute's headdress holding a jug. A long spear, possibly belonging to the landsknecht, leans against the building. The glass in the lower window is broken, and another woman wearing a prostitute's headdress can be seen looking out of the window. A man can be seen urinating against the right side of the building. On the right side of the panel, in the background, a wooden fence gate can be seen. A magpie sits on one of the planks of the gate. Behind the gate stands a cow. Further in the background, a tree is depicted. In the branches of the tree, an owl looks down on a great tit that hangs off a branch slightly lower than it. The far background depicts a wooded hillscape with two small castles.

I have given a very precise description of the two Pedlar figures because most if not all of the details I have described here can have some significance to the iconography and symbolism of the figure. In this chapter, I will focus on a number of highly specific elements of the pedlar figure, how they interact with the rest of the figure and the scene around him, and investigate where these symbols and motifs can be found in the art, culture, language, literature and material culture of Bosch's time. As discussed in chapter 1, this is not always straightforward. A symbol or motif as it appears in the works of Bosch does not always directly correspond to how it appears in Bosch's sources. We must sometimes solve the riddles and rebuses that Bosch weaves from them, or see through the way Bosch has mutated a symbol. Most elements that I examine seem to tell us something about the type of character the Pedlar figure is meant to be, and the story Bosch is trying to tell through him. To put it another way, the various elements that make up the Pedlar figure tell us by what name we might call him.

2.1: Pedlar's basket, beggar's basket

The large basket that the Pedlar carries on his back may be significant. As discussed earlier in this thesis, a basket or pack is a standard attribute of a pedlar, but specifically baskets appear in various medieval themes and stories related to deception. One example is the anonymous early sixteenth-century play *Een cluyte van Plaeyerwater*, a performance of

which is depicted in the 1570 painting *Boerenkermis met een opvoering van de klucht 'Een cluyte van Plaeyerwater* by Pieter Balten (1540 - 1584), the play that was the basis for naming the Pedlar a pedlar. In this play, a man suspects his wife of infidelity. In order to discover the truth behind this suspicion, he hides in the basket of a pedlar to spy on her.[213] Another example occurs in the legend of Virgil and Lucretia, a typical medieval story of women's wiles that was popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This legend has Lucretia promise Virgil to hoist him up to her bedroom window in a basket. Instead she deceives him and leaves him trapped in the basket, hanging halfway up the wall.[214] Beggars are often depicted with baskets with an iconography that relates to deception as well. A beggar somewhat resembling the Boschian pedlar, wearing similar clothes, a similar hat and carrying a basket on his back, is depicted by Lucas van Leyden's (1494 - 1533) 1520 print of a beggar's family (fig. 83). This print references a stereotypical deception that beggars were accused of in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the beggars have borrowed children of others, or perhaps even abducted them, and carry them along in baskets in order to make it seem as though they have more mouths they need to feed. This is a scheme to abuse the charity of good people.[215] The sinful nature and folly of the beggar man are emphasized through the fact that he is playing the bagpipes, a musical instrument with very negative symbolism.[216] This image type has alternatively been interpreted as beggars making themselves out to be pilgrims and abusing the goodwill of pious Christians, and images showing just so-called pilgrims with baskets but no children exist as well.[217] In either case, the common denominator between these images and stories remains the basket.

This apparent link between baskets and deception calls to mind the Dutch proverb "door de mand vallen" (literally: "to fall through the basket", or freely translated: "to fall through"), meaning to be caught in one's deceit or to make one's self suspect by contradictions.[218] The exact origin of this proverb is unclear. It has been proposed that it refers to a medieval punishment, in which a criminal would be hung up in a basket over a body of water, given no food or drink, and be pelted with rotting fruit and dirt. He would be given a knife to cut himself out of the basket when he could not take it anymore. Another explanation is that the proverb refers to a sixteenth-century tradition in which a woman would reject a man courting her by sending him a bottomless basket.[219] In any case, the proverb would already have been a common one in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that Bosch's audience would be readily familiar with, as we see it depicted on various misericords, such as one from the

[213] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 67.
[214] Filedt Kok, *Lucas van Leyden - grafiek*, 55.
[215] Coelen, *Een meesterlijk verteller*, 87-88.
[216] Filedt Kok, *Lucas van Leyden - grafiek*, 71.
[217] Filedt Kok, *Lucas van Leyden - grafiek*, 71.
[218] Dundes, *The Art of Mixing Metaphors*, 51-52.
[219] Stoett, *Nederlandse spreekwoorden*, 10.

Sint-Catharinakerk in Antwerp (fig. 84), as well as in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's (ca. 1525 - 1569) *Netherlandish Proverbs* (fig. 52b).

Frequently in literature and art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a pedlar's product is deception or some other negative thing. In the case of the print series *Sorgheloos* by Cornelis Anthonisz., the figure identified as a pedlar by the Rijksmuseum print description appears to bring with him misfortune and poverty (fig. 82).[220] It is in a game of chance with this pedlar, named *Lichte Fortune* ("Fickle Luck"), that the titular character of Sorgheloos loses the favour of his companions *Weelde* ("Wealth") and *Ghemack* ("Comfort"). Instead, *Aermoede* and *Pover* (both names mean "Poverty") walk in after the pedlar to be his new companions. It must be noted that this figure is very different from the Boschian pedlar, as he is considerably more well-dressed, but he is a traveling salesman peddling his wares, and he sells his customer poverty and misfortune.

Pedlars can sell a wide array of negative products. In a 1562 print by Pieter van der Heyden (ca. 1530 - 1572) after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, a pedlar is being robbed by apes (fig. 85). This is a common, recurring theme in medieval art that emphasizes the foolishness of the pedlar, but this print also shows that the pedlar was selling, among other things, spectacles and Jew's harps, or *brillen en trompen* in Middle Dutch. This is a reference to a sixteenth-century figure of speech, "to sell *brillen* and *trompen*" or "to deceive someone". The French verb *tromper*, "to deceive", found in *trompe l'oeil*, is related to the Middle Dutch name of the Jew's Harp.[221] Just selling spectacles can also symbolize deceiving someone.[222] Similarly, in the anonymous play *Tafelspel van die menichfuldicheit des bedrochs*, dated to ca. 1540, a pedlar named *Oerspronck der Sonden* ("Origin of Sin") and a salesman named *Menichfuldich Bedroch* ("Manifold Deception") trade various products with each other, all symbolizing sins and vices. The two emphasize how lucrative their business is, as these products are very popular, and many salesmen before them have made a lot of money selling them.[223] Another anonymous sixteenth century play, *Van de bonte kapkens*, takes it a step further. This play features only a single player, a pedlar, who tries to sell the audience jester's caps. When none of the audience members are interested, he will point out various specific people in the audience who would be well-suited to wearing such a cap.[224]

The sixteenth-century poet Anna Bijns (1493 - 1575), compares church reformists that preach the teachings of Maarten Luther to pedlars, who are effectively selling other people (and themselves) a one-way ticket to hell.[225] Interestingly, reformatory literature uses pedlars

[220] Rijksmuseum, "Het Gokspel".
[221] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 78-80.
[222] Veldman, *De Brillenverkoopster oftewel Ongelijke Liefde*, 237.
[223] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 84.
[224] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 85.
[225] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 75.

in the exact same way, referencing how they historically sold distinctly catholic prayer beads, devotional prints and even indulgences.[226] Seemingly as an extension of the Pedlar selling passage to hell, we also see various examples of monstrous Pedlars directly taking people to hell in their baskets in fifteenth-century art, including the Vienna *Last Judgement* triptych by Jheronimus Bosch (figs. 20c, 86).

Various different professions in medieval art come with their own symbolic meanings in art. Fishermen, for instance, are typically symbols of envy.[227] The pedlar, and the basket, in which he carries his products, can also be associated with greed. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century literature, pedlars are frequently accused of greed, and they are often mentioned in the same breath as quacks.[228] The anonymous work the *Spiegel der Sonden* ("Mirror of Sin"), dated to ca. 1440-1460, accuses pedlars specifically of lying about the quality of their wares, as well as deceiving their customers in other ways, such as using inaccurate measuring devices to measure out their products, or deliberately selling faulty wares in dark places so that their customers can't see the flaws. They also ask excessive amounts of money for their wares and extort their customers when they buy with credit. The greed of pedlars is made very explicit in the sixteenth-century play *Een spel van sinnen genaempt den Troost der Sondaren* by an anonymous Rederijker, in which two pedlars named *Uuijt om Winninge* ("Eager for Profit") and *Begeerte van Hoocheijt* ("Haughty Desire") appear.[229] A Middle Dutch proverb also states: *elck meersman die sal voor sijnen corf staen*. Literally, this translates to "every pedlar will stand for his basket". The proverb means "everyone acts to their own benefit".[230] This proverb is cited by Anna Bijns, as well as by Pieter Bruegel the Elder in a 1558 print titled *Elckerlijc*, which criticizes and satirizes people who are overly concerned with material wealth (fig. 87).[231] The fourteenth-century Middle English poem *Piers the Ploughman* by William Langland (ca. 1330 - ca. 1387) contains a similar proverb-like sentiment. Langland has a personification of the sin of greed state that he pities greedy people as much as a pedlar pities cats; "he'd kill them for their skins if he could only catch them."[232] This phrase may explain why the Pedlar in the *Pedlar* triptych has a cat's skin hanging from his basket, and make the cat's skin another symbol for greed.

All of these examples together give a general image of how the Pedlar as a character may have been read by Bosch's contemporaries. Based upon the basket he carries, we may

[226] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 76.
[227] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz*., 63.
[228] Landau, *Sins of the Flesh and human Folly*, 221.
[229] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 76.
[230] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 70.
[231] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 71.
[232] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 128.

name him a scammer, a swindler or a moneygrubber. This is a base layer that the further iconography of the pedlar is stacked on top of.

2.3: Bent but not broken

The pedlar has a very specific posture. He seems to walk with a limp, one foot seeming not to find purchase on the ground below. He walks leaning forward, hunched under the weight of the pack on his back, and he holds a twisted pose, looking back over his shoulder at something negative; in the case of the *Pedlar* triptych, this is a brothel. In the case of the *Haywain* triptych, this is another pedlar being robbed by highwaymen. The bent-over posture might hint at an intended interpretation of the pedlar.

Of course it is possible that the hunched posture of the Pedlar simply shows that he is carrying a heavy load. The depiction of especially peasants carrying a load with this hunched posture is quite common in art from the time of Bosch. We see this for instance in a print of a peasant going to the market with his wife and child by Martin Schongauer (fig. 88). The common peasants watching Christ carrying the cross up the Golgotha hill, depicted in the lower right corner of Martin Schongauer's *Carrying of the Cross* are also identifiable as peasants through this hunched posture (fig. 89). Various misericords from the Grote Kerk in Breda also depict common folk with this hunched posture. A birdseller with a cage on his back (fig. 90), a huntsman carrying a basket (fig. 91), a man carrying a load of peat in a basket (fig. 92) and an old woman carrying a bundle of wood on her back (fig. 93) appear on these choir stalls alongside the previously mentioned pedlar-like figure. The hunched posture is also found elsewhere in the works of Bosch. Interestingly, it is shared by Saint James the Elder, the pilgrim saint, as he appears on the outside wings of the Vienna *Last Judgement* (fig. 94).

Often, however, the hunched posture is meant to be read in a negative way. Figures depicted in this pose are often (but not always) marginalized folk, such as peasants or beggars. The Pedlar's bent pose can be linked to marginal and unwanted people, or people weighed down by the consequences of their own actions through other works of art from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[233] Examples of this can be found, for instance, in various sixteenth-century plays by the Rederijkers. In a play by Cornelis Crul (ca. 1500 - ca. 1550), the main character, *Staervende Mensche* ("Dying Man") seeks to empty the pack filled with sins that he carries with him, and which makes him an easy prey for the devil. In a much later anonymous play dated to ca. 1600, *De Dolende Mensche ende de Gratie Gods*, the

[233] Gelfland, *Class, Gender, and the Influence of penitential Literature*, 169.

character *Natuerlycke Begeerte* (“Natural Desire”) is accused of having very few virtues in their pack.[234]

This idea of carrying your sins with you in a pack and being burdened by it commonly appears in art and literature from the time of Bosch. In the print series *Sorgheloos* by Cornelis Anthonisz. (ca. 1505 - 1553), the titular character of Sorgheloos (“Careless”) is depicted in a pose similar to the Boschian pedlar twice. Once on the print of Sorgheloos being driven from the tavern, and once on the print depicting Sorgheloos living in poverty (figs. 95, 96). These prints show the story of how Sorgheloos spends his wealth recklessly and is reduced to poverty as a consequence.[235] The print showing Sorgheloos living in poverty is very explicit in showing Sorgheloos bent under the weight of the consequences of his actions; he does menial labour, carrying a bundle of hay. In the background, he is shown carrying the character of *Aermoede* on his shoulders, and being pushed by *Pover* (both of these characters’ names translate to “Poverty”). Only by leaning on a stick does he stay upright. The print showing Sorgheloos being driven from the tavern after losing the favour of his companions *Weelde* (“Wealth”) and *Gemack* (“Comfort”) is perhaps even more interesting to compare. The people driving him out are *Aermoede* and *Pover*, who appear to be physically assaulting him and robbing him of his luxurious clothing. His pose in this print resembles the Boschian pedlar more closely, as both the pedlar and Sorgheloos look back over their shoulders. The Boschian pedlar is not being assaulted himself in either of his depictions, but the pedlar on the outside wings of the *Haywain* triptych is looking back at another pedlar being robbed by highwaymen, whereas the on the *Pedlar* triptych is looking back at a tavern or brothel. Comparing him to Sorgheloos, we might conclude that he has been expelled from it. Considering these elements, I believe it is likely that the Boschian Pedlar figure and Cornelis Anthonisz.’ *Sorgheloos* print series share a common tradition.

I theorize that the posture could be a reference to a common fifteenth- and sixteenth-century image of a man who has to bend or crawl to “get through the world”. The symbolism of the Boschian Pedlar is consistent with images in this tradition, and the Boschian Pedlar-figure bears a subtle resemblance to the image type. This subtle resemblance recalls the Boschian mutation of images that can be seen in Bosch’s depictions of Saint Christopher and Saint Wilgefortis discussed in subchapter 1.1. The image type discussed here is most clearly seen in an anonymous *Allegory on the World*, dated to circa 1515 (fig. 81). This panel shows a figure on the left side with a long, straight staff bending over to walk into a glass *globus cruciger* or Sovereign’s Orb through a hole in the side. On the right side of the globe, we see another man walking out of a hole with a bent stick. The panel bears the text “*met recht*

[234] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 100-101.
[235] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz.*, 19.

sovdic gerne doer de werelt commen" (freely translated: "I would like to go straight through the world") above the left side, and "*Ic bender doer mae ic moet crommen*" ("I've gone through, but I have to curve") above the right side. Man having to "curve" himself to get through the world is a medieval allegory for sin. The panel shows that man is corrupted by the world.[236] It is a reference to the medieval proverb "*men moet zich krommen, wil men door de wereld kommen*" ("one must curve himself, in order to go through the world").[237] This proverb is also depicted in *Netherlandish Proverbs* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525 - 1569) (fig. 52c), as well as on misericords, such as one from the church of Saint-Materne in Walcourt (fig. 97) from the Sint-Catharinakerk in Antwerp (fig. 98) These depictions differ from the Boschian Pedlar-figure, however. Instead of bending over, these figures get down on the ground and crawl through the world.[238] I theorize that this is an example of Bosch deliberately obscuring his symbolism and obfuscate his references. It is interesting to note that the figure crawling through the world is wearing a splint on one of their legs, and only wears one shoe. In this they resemble the Boschian Pedlar from the *Pedlar* triptych, who has one bandaged leg, and wears one shoe and one slipper.[239] If there is no direct link between the Boschian Pedlar and the man who has to curve himself to get through the world, I posit that it is still likely that they share a common tradition. Both the man curving himself to crawl through the world and the man burdened by the weight of his sins can be traced back to the image of a bent man or *homo curvatus* as a representation of a sinful human. The earliest known use of this *homo curvatus* is found in the writings of theologian and Church Father Augustine of Hippo (354 - 430).[240] A reference to Augustine would likely have appealed to the erudite patrons of Bosch in any case.

Based upon his bent pose, we can name the Pedlar *homo curvatus*, he is a man who has recklessly gone through the world, and is now burdened with sin. He is corrupted, but not necessarily evil. Perhaps he is remorseful, much like Sorgheloos. Perhaps he is on the path to better himself. After all, his bent pose is also the pose of a pilgrim.

2.4: Twists and Turns

Besides "bent" or "curved", another word that describes the pose of the Boschian pedlar-figure is "twisted", and the twist in his posture, the way he looks back over his

[236] Müller, *Die Zeit als Bild*, 10.
[237] Dundes, *The Art of Mixing Metaphors*, 62-63.
[238] Block, *Corpus of Medieval Misericords*, 20; Müller, *Die Zeit als Bild*, 10.
[239] Dundes, *The Art of Mixing Metaphors*, 62-63.
[240] Müller, *Die Zeit als Bild*, 10.

shoulder, may also be significant. This pose can for instance be linked to religious writings that Bosch could have known.

The way the pedlar looks back over his shoulder can be linked to a 1480 sermon by Bernard of Clairveaux (1090 - 1153) about the traveling man or *homo viator*. *Homo viator* (literally: “traveler man”), the man on a pilgrimage through life, Bernard writes, should walk straight ahead and look straight ahead at the road before him. The man who looks back, or any way other than straight ahead, shows his uncertainty and his foolishness.[241] Bosch’s learned viewers could have been familiar with the writings of Bernard of Clairveaux and made this link. I believe it is also likely that Hans Holbein the Younger (1497 - 1543) drew upon the same tradition in his 1526 print *Totentanz XXXVII*, which shows a pedlar in a pose similar to the one held by the Boschian pedlar-figure (fig. 99). He twists his body to fearfully look back at a personification of death, which he appears to be trying to get away from. Hans Holbein the Younger’s *Totentanz*-series is quite typical for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century depictions of this motif; it shows a variety of figures from all walks of life, each with the skeletal figure of death next to them (figs. 100, 101). The message should be clear; it doesn’t matter who you are, rich or poor, young or old, death comes for us all.[242] By depicting the pedlar fearfully looking back at the looming spectre of death, Holbein shows him as a foolish figure.

We can also see a figure in almost the exact same twisted pose as the Boschian pedlar in the mid fifteenth-century print *Feast in the Garden of Love* by the Master E.S. (ca. 1420 - 1468) (fig. 102). I posit that this character is intended to be a commentary figure who points our attention towards something sinful. In this case, those are the lustful actions that are happening in the *Garden of Love*. The figures in this print are depicted in a secluded garden, where they busy themselves with activities very similar to those on the *Luxuria* segment of the table of the *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* by a follower of Bosch (fig. 51d). They are partaking in a luxurious feast, and two figures are actively fondling each other while two others, in the foreground, are grabbing at each others’ loins.They are observed through the open gate of the garden by the figure that resembles the Boschian pedlar figure. He wears similar clothing and, importantly, is depicted in almost the exact same pose as the Boschian pedlar. He is a traveler, judging by the knapsack on his back, and seems more likely to be a vagrant than a pilgrim if he is about to enter the sinful garden. He has his foot on the threshold of the garden, and turns his head to look at the people at the feast. The smile on his face, however, may also be mocking. It is the kind of stupid smile that is sometimes given to jesters in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art, especially when they are

[241] Pinson, *A Moralized Semi-Secular Triptych*, 267.
[242] Oosterwijk, *Koning, keizer, kardinaal…*, 167-168.

looking at an example of foolish or sinful behaviour (figs. 54, 103). This way, the pedlar-like figure entering the Garden of Love may be intended not as another foolish man entering the feast of debauchery, but as a jester-like figure who points the viewer at the foolish actions of the people who partake in said feast.

Such commentary figures are quite common in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art, though they are frequently jesters. A clear example of this is a fifteenth-century brothel scene by the Master of the Banderolles (fig. 104). This print shows a man in a brothel with two nude women, likely prostitutes. A jester stands in the doorway with his hand in front of his face, looking at the scene through his spread fingers. This is possibly a reference to the Dutch figure of speech "*door de vingers zien*", which roughly means the same as the English "to turn a blind eye".[243] A jester turning a blind eye to negative behaviour is also seen in the background of the *Brillenverkoopster* (fig. 103), painted after 1520 by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (ca. 1475 - 1533). In this panel, a young woman can be seen in the foreground selling spectacles to an older man, while in the background, a young man can be seen kissing an older woman, while at the same time grabbing at the money in a jar she is holding, and also ogling the young woman selling spectacles. Both of these genre-like scenes symbolize the follies of lust and greed; selling someone glasses is a symbol for deceiving them, often in an amorous context. The old man is being deceived by the young woman, who does not intend to reciprocate his advances. The older woman is deceived as well, not realizing that the young man is not interested in her and only has eyes for her money.[244] All of this folly is being observed by a painting of a jester looking at it through his fingers. The fact that it is a jester who turns a blind eye inverts the gesture and makes it condemning. This is a common way of criticizing sinful behaviour in fifteenth-century jester's satire.[245] A jester is used in a similar manner in the *Ship of Fools* by Bosch, where he literally turns his back to the foolish people in the ship to condemn them for their actions, making him a kind of reverse pointing figure (fig. 7).[246]

Interestingly, though neither the pedlar, nor the vagrant in the *Feast in the Garden of Love* are jesters, they do resemble the card of The Fool from the Major Arcana of the Tarot deck, specifically as this figure appears in the so-called Marseille Tarot, the earliest printed examples of which are known from ca. 1500 (fig. 105).[247] He is depicted with a walking stick, a knapsack, and a dog nipping at his heels, but also wears a jester's outfit with bright colours and bells. This connection between the pedlar and the card of The Fool is more than incidental. A similar figure can also be found in the so-called Mantegna Tarot, dated to ca.

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[243] Lammertse, *Alles is Hooi*, 62.
[244] Veldman, *De Brillenverkoopster oftewel Ongelijke Liefde*, 237.
[245] Schneider, *Geschichte der Genremalerei*, 13-14.
[246] Hartau, *Das Neue Triptychon*, 308.
[247] Vurm, *Jheronimus Bosch and the Symbolism of Tarot Cards*, 322-323.

1460 (fig. 13).[248] Because of this, I find it plausible that the Boschian pedlar-figure and the vagrant in the *Feast in the Garden of Love* can belong to the same tradition of commentary figures as the fools described above.

The pedlar in the works of Bosch can most clearly be interpreted as a commentary figure in the *Pedlar* triptych. The pedlar-figure in this triptych appears to look over his shoulder towards a brothel in the background. We can recognize the building as a brothel by the woman wearing a prostitute's headdress and holding a jug, who is being fondled by a lancer in the doorway. A second prostitute looks out from the lower window towards the pedlar. We can see some clothes hanging out of the top window, hinting that people inside the building are engaging in activities that require them to disrobe. The dovehouse in the roof hints at the building being a brothel too, since the Middle Dutch word for dove was also used as a euphemism for a prostitute.[249] In a previous chapter, I already discussed the symbolism of a jug on a stick, like the one that we can see on the tip of the roof of the brothel in the triptych; it also refers to prostitution. Bosch uses an overload of symbolic elements so that there can be no doubt that this is a location of ill repute.

The Pedlar may not be a jester, but he does show himself as jester-like; he moves towards a fence gate that leads to a cow pasture. This fence gate is possibly a reference to a statement by Christ in the gospel of John: "I am the gate; whoever enters through me will be saved. They will come in and go out, and find pasture" (John 10:9, NIV).[250] John 10 mentions the pasture repeatedly, and makes it explicitly clear that it is a sheep pasture. The gate that the Pedlar seeks to enter, however, appears to be a cow pasture. I believe that this may show the Pedlar as an ambivalent character who tries to be pious, but isn't quite succeeding. He seems to have understood the Gospel of John to some degree, but has misunderstood an important part of the message he is trying to follow. On the other hand, this sort of humorous misunderstanding is also a good example of medieval jester's humour and may also allow us to interpret the Pedlar as a jester-like figure.[251]

The ambivalence of the Pedlar-figure, who is sinful but tries to be pious, also makes him similar to *Elckerlijc* or Everyman, a recurring satirical figure from literature circa 1500.[252] Elckerlijc is meant to be a somewhat ambivalent character. In literature, he is often a character that embodies flaws that every man has, but that nobody recognizes within themselves.[253] As a result, he can be both an exemplary man, walking the straight and

[248] Vurm, *Jheronimus Bosch and the Symbolism of Tarot Cards*, 324.
[249] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 129-130.
[250] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 121.
[251] Koedood, *De Hofnar*, 57-61.
[252] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 120.
[253] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 129.

narrow like a pilgrim, or a sinful man, a fool who is concerned with the material world, and he can be these two figures at the same time.[254]

Elckerlijc appears in various works by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525 - 1569), such as a print, titled *Elckerlijc*, that shows a group of foolish people, each overly concerned with material wealth (fig. 87). The message of this print closely resembles that of the scene with the pedlar on the outside wings of the *Haywain* triptych, and we can even see one of the figures searching a large basket that appears to be a pedlar's basket, much like the one carried by the Boschian pedlar.[255] It is likely that Bruegel intended this print to be an example of negative behaviour, a mirror he holds up to his viewers.[256] Bruegel makes this explicit by adding a small image in the background showing a man looking at himself in a mirror. Contrary to Elckerlijc, he is intended to be a man recognizing his own flaws, a symbol of self-knowledge.[257] The works of Bosch are often very similar to this print by Bruegel, with for instance the *Haywain* triptych being a mirror of greed. The triptych features a group of foolish people so concerned with material wealth, symbolized by the hay, that they do not notice that the haywain is being pulled by devils and their pursuit of it will lead them to hell.[258] on the outside wings of the *Haywain* triptych, like on the *Pedlar* triptych, we see the pedlar trying to live a pious life and do the right thing. He is literally walking a straight and narrow path. At the same time, however, he fearfully looks over his shoulder towards a group of highwaymen who are busy robbing another pedlar of his possessions. The expression on his face may tell us that he is afraid of being robbed of the pack on his own back as well. Much like the foolish people on the central panel of the *Haywain* triptych, he is too concerned with material possessions.[259] This is a recurring theme in humanist satirical literature from the time of Bosch, but already appears in the poem *De Contemptu Mundi* by the early twelfth-century poet Bernardus Silvestris in his *Satires*, and the late twelfth-century theologian Alain de Lille (ca. 1120 - 1202).[260] De Lille quotes the late first-century and early second-century Roman poet Juvenalis, who wrote: "*Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*" (roughly: "he sings a song in the face of the robber because he travels with an empty purse"), praising those who are not attached to worldly things. Laurent d'Orleans (died 1279) writes something similar in his thirteenth-century treatise *Des Coninx Summe*, in which he states that humans are pilgrims through life, and as long as they have faith as their traveling companion, they do not have to fear devils or robbers.[261]

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[254] Lammertse, *Alles is Hooi*, 60; Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 121.
[255] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 131-132.
[256] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 130-131.
[257] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 131.
[258] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 23.
[259] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 122-123.
[260] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 121-122.
[261] The first-century Roman poet Persius expresses a similar sentiment in his first satire, as well as his earlier colleague, Horatius, who wrote in the first century B.C.E.. Both poets criticize and satirize

Both pedlars appear to be looking over their shoulder at something sinful. Both appear to be trying to live a pious life, but failing to completely absolve themselves of the sins depicted around them, and in their response to them, function as a commentary figure. The main difference in symbolism is that the pedlar from the *Pedlar* triptych looks back at an image of lust, whereas the symbolism of the outside wings of the *Haywain* triptych references greed. This is fitting, as the central scene of the opened *Haywain* triptych can be interpreted as a general allegory on greed.[262] Perhaps this provides a hint as to the original contents of the lost central panel of the *Pedlar* triptych.

The Boschian Pedlar, then, can be named *homo viator*, specifically the foolish traveling man who lets his gaze stray from his path. He can be named Elckerlijc, the foolish man trying to travel the straight and narrow, trying to enter through the gate, but not recognizing his own flaws. Or he might even be named a jester, a commentary figure who, through his gaze and his own silly and ambivalent actions, such as entering through the gate of a cow pasture rather than the Christly sheep pasture, mocks the sins and negative actions of others.

2.5: The Prodigal Pedlar

The Boschian Pedlar has historically been identified as the prodigal son from the Biblical parable of the same name (Luke 15:11–32), and numerous authors writing about the Pedlar referred to the Rotterdam *Pedlar* tondo as *The Prodigal Son* before the name “Pedlar” came into common use.[263] This is not strange. The ragged clothing of the Boschian pedlar is mirrored by many depictions of the prodigal son, such as in a print by Lucas van Leyden (fig. 106). Various elements from the *Pedlar* triptych specifically also seem to reference the Biblical story. For example, in front of the brothel that the pedlar is looking back at, a feeding through is depicted where several pigs are eating. This can be taken to reference a frequently depicted scene from the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son, where the destitute prodigal son hires himself out as a pigherd (Luke 15:15-16). This scene of the Prodigal Son, destitute and sitting among a herd of pigs, is depicted in a print by Albrecht Dürer (1471 - 1528) dated to between 1494 and 1498 (fig. 107). The destitute prodigal son is also occasionally depicted in a pose similar to that of the pedlar, weighed down by the burden of his mistakes and his sinful life, such as in a 1526 print by Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst (1484 -

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foolish people who care too much about material possessions. Persius, Horatius and Juvenalis are cited for their moralizing satire by various later, Christian authors. (Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 115).

[262] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 23; Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 126, 130.

[263] As evidenced i.a. by Roger Henri Marijnissen’s comment on the shift away from referring to the painting as *The Prodigal Son* (Marijnissen, Jheronimus Bosch, 170).

1561) (fig. 108). Interestingly, the pedlar in this print also has a dog nipping at his heels, similar to the Boschian pedlar.

The prodigal son in art need not always be the Biblical prodigal son. It appears that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the figure had become a more general archetype, appearing alongside non-Biblical allegorical figures in plays.[264] We can see this, for instance, in the sixteenth-century *Prodigal Son* of Jan Sanders van Hemessen (ca. 1500 - ca. 1575) (fig. 109), which is not meant to be a depiction of the Biblical story at all. Van Hemessen's work is instead a genre painting, and he depicts a prodigal son in the style that would become common in the seventeenth century; not a Biblical character, but a typical character in a typical situation with a moralizing message.[265] The careless young man who loses all of his possessions through gambling and reckless spending is a popular figure in literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as well and is found in, for instance, *Das Narrenschiff* by Sebastiaan Brant, as well as a number of poems and plays by the Rederijkers.[266] The titular character of the 1541 poem *Sorgheloos* by the sixteenth-century author Jacob Jacobzoon Jonck is also an example of such a careless young man, as discussed before. It's even in his name. These works describe characters who are not the Biblical Prodigal Son, but are of the prodigal son-archetype.[267] The disheveled Pedlar walking away from either a brothel or a robbery could have been understood by Bosch's audience as being such a reckless young man, similar to the figure from the Biblical parable. The prodigal son is also sometimes depicted in a pose similar to that of the Pedlar, such as in a print by Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst (fig. 108). Depictions of these kinds of characters frequently share details with typical depictions of the pedlar, such as the prodigal son-figure being thrown out of a tavern while being chased or bitten by a dog. We can see an example of this in, for instance, the 1563 print *De vette keuken* by Pieter van der Heyden (1530 - 1572), in which a bagpipes-player is being thrown out of the kitchen with a dog at his heels. (fig. 110).

The general message of stories about prodigal son archetypes is to not waste your money and be careful with your possessions, or you might meet with a sudden change in fortune. This general message is often shown in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art through clothing, using symbolism that is very reminiscent of that used in the Boschian Pedlar-figure. A strong example of this is found in the 1514 print *Allegorie auf das Reislaufen und seine gesellschaftlichen Folgen* by Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (1484 - 1530) (fig. 111), which depicts a German Landsknecht who wears a boot and is dressed in neat and expensive clothes on

[264] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz.*, 90-91.
[265] Vries, Verhalen uit Kamer, Keuken en Kroeg, 44
[266] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz.*, 22-24.
[267] Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 21, 42.

his right side, and goes barefoot and in rags on his left side.[268] The Boschian pedlar is more subtle, but on the *Pedlar* triptych, he wears one nice shoe on his right foot, and one slipper on his left foot. He also wears a bandage around his left leg. Rags, boils and wounds are often used in medieval symbolism to identify marginal people.[269] The fact that he wears a shoe and a slipper is likely also significant. The Middle Dutch word for slipper, "slof" was also used as a slur for "pauper" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[270] In other words, the nice shoe shows that the Pedlar used to be somewhat well-off, but the ragged clothes and the slipper indicate that he, like the Landsknecht from the print by Niklaus Manuel Deutsch and like the prodigal son archetype, has met a sudden change in fortune. The bandages around the leg of the pedlar may also signify that he has been bitten by the ruddy dog on his heels, which may symbolize that he has sinned in the past. The vicious ruddy dog, or specifically its bite, can be seen as a symbol of sin.[271] We can find the connection between dogs and sin in a lesser form in a sixteenth-century verse sometimes attributed to Anna Bijns: "*Een monnic, leec, man, pape, hont, meersman, / Elc weet wel dat se tsamen discorderen*." (Monk and layman, husband and pastor, dog and pedlar, everyone knows they don't get along).[272] If the wound on his leg symbolizes sin, this can be connected to the pedlar's marginality as symbolized by his clothes. The reason he wears a shoe and a slipper may be that the slipper is more comfortable on his wounded and painful leg.[273] In short, the Pedlar's past sins have led him to a sudden change in fortune, and now to destitution.

Other details of the Boschian Pedlar show the folly of his path as well. The pedlar on the outside wings of the *Haywain* triptych, for instance, is about to cross a small, precarious bridge. The precarious bridge used as a symbol for a sinful path through life, or even one that leads directly to hell in literature and art from around the time of Bosch; the allegory of the precarious bridge can be found in the anonymous book *Livre de Sydrac le philosophe*, dated to ca. 1270-1300, in which it is juxtaposed with a stable bridge, which leads to God. It also appears in an anonymous sixteenth-century play titled *Spel van de Groote Hel*, in which Lucifer says to a sinful monk that he has walked on precarious bridges his entire life.[274]

Another name we can give the Pedlar, then, is one that he should already be accustomed to. We can name him a prodigal son. Not *the* Prodigal Son, just *a* prodigal son. The Boschian pedlar is most likely an example of such a non-Biblical allegorical figure similar to the prodigal son, as both depictions of the pedlar are notably different from the typical depictions

[268] Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz.*, 58.
[269] Sullivan, *Everyman and the Northern Renaissance*, 125-126.
[270] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 125-126.
[271] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 91, 98-99.
[272] Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal*, 91-94.
[273] Lammertse, *Alles is Hooi*, 60.
[274] Bruyn, *De Vergeten Beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 109-110.

of the Biblical parable in art from the time of Bosch. In late medieval depictions of the prodigal son, such as in Bibles moralisées, it is common to show him in a cycle of images depicting the whole story. The earliest known examples of depictions of a single scene from the parable are the aforementioned prints by Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, in which respectively the moment of repentance and the homecoming of the prodigal son are depicted.[275] There are no known independent images of the prodigal son in a brothel, or of the destitute prodigal son on the road from the time of Bosch.[276] However, the Boschian Pedlar's iconography allows him to be read as a prodigal son archetype, a careless man who has experienced a sudden change in fortune as a result of a sinful lifestyle.

[275] Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 23.
[276] Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 23-24.

Conclusion

Though authors on the works of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Dutch painter Jheronimus Bosch have often found his works impenetrable and even described them as disconnected from the art and iconography of their time, nothing could be further from the truth. Though the works of Bosch may seem hermetic, this is only because of a fault in our art historical research. While the iconography of the works of Bosch is often difficult to find within contemporary panel painting, many of the iconographical elements that Bosch uses in his works can be traced to his surroundings. As I have shown in this thesis, Bosch was very much a child of his time and his circumstances who, in his art, reacted to contemporary social and ideological developments. Furthermore, his position as an artist in the newly wealthy city of ‘s-Hertogenbosch, where panel painting did not have a large presence and where no painters’ guild was active, also informed where he found inspiration. Bosch’s cultural-historical background cannot be ignored in the study of his works.

The works of Bosch are deeply rooted in other “low” art from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which has historically often been unjustly ignored or disparaged by art historians. Many iconographical and thematic elements that appear in the works of Bosch are found in marginalia, misericords and prints from this time, among other things. Thematically, the works of Bosch also have much in common with humanist satirical literature from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the type that was written by Sebastian Brant (1457 - 1521) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466 - 1536), among other authors, as well as with plays written by the Rederijkers. Bosch also frequently plays with sayings, proverbs and language in general in his paintings. As I have shown in this thesis, these are invaluable sources for the iconography and symbolism of the works of Jheronimus Bosch. As a result, it is essential for research into the works of Bosch to include research into these sources from the “low” art, the culture, the literature, the language and the material culture of Bosch’s time. Research into the works of Bosch, therefore, must go beyond pure art history and include other relevant fields of cultural history as well.

The difficulty of interpreting the works of Bosch lies not only within the fact that we have historically been looking in the wrong place, be that through outlandish theories like those of Fraenger, or through overly purist and segregated art history. The works of Bosch are difficult to interpret even when studied through a cultural-historical lens because they frequently follow their own Boschian logic. The way that Bosch uses his sources is often very indirect. He spins them into riddles and rebuses, with the aim of creating conversation pieces targeted specifically at erudite patrons. We as art historians are doubly handicapped when trying to solve these rebuses, as we have only a limited knowledge of cultural history to

begin with compared to cultural historians, and we are five centuries removed from the traditions that informed the works of Bosch as well. The key to deciphering the works of Bosch would seem to be an intimate knowledge of the traditions and sources that informed his iconography and symbolism, on par with the level that Bosch expected from his patrons. This is obviously impossible, but we can come closer to achieving this by combining our efforts with cultural historians that specialize in these traditions. Bosch is far from the only artist whose work might be better understood through a cultural-historical approach. One of the most notable artists who benefits greatly from this approach is his follower, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, whose *Netherlandish Proverbs* would not have been deciphered without the intermingling of art history, language studies and cultural history.[277]

An understanding of the contemporary audience of Bosch, their culture and their tastes helps us to decipher the idiosyncratic, mutated iconography and symbolism of the works of Bosch. It helps us greatly to understand and to solve Bosch's riddles if we know who were meant to solve them in the first place. Various works of Bosch were created for upper-class patrons steeped in a culture of erudition, and these works correspondingly feature complex iconographical programmes and obscure references to religious literature from Bosch's time. Bosch often references these works of literature in a very indirect way, weaving them into riddles that only learned viewers would have been able to solve. Other works of Bosch reflect or make reference to contemporary attitudes towards current events, notably towards the church and the reformation, that many viewers would also have been able to understand. To understand these works of Bosch, therefore, it is necessary to include study of the cultural, political and social history of Bosch's time into our art historical research. Historical documents and accounts, literature aimed at the patrons of Bosch, other works of art created for patrons that commissioned Bosch, and even the material culture, such as fashion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, can all inform us about the tastes and the knowledge of Bosch's patrons, and should be studied further as part of future Bosch research.

Literature and prints are similar in terms of their value to Bosch researchers; we have large samples of both, and this ubiquity as well as the fact that they have historically influenced other art makes them prime candidates to study if we want to discover the artistic, iconographical and thematic traditions that appear, in a mutated form or not, in the works of Bosch. It is especially in literature and poetry of Bosch's time that we find the genre-like themes, the humanist satire and the bitter irony that, I have shown, are highly characteristic of the works of Bosch. In addition, the ubiquity of these sources also makes them great sources for the themes and motifs that Bosch's audience would have been familiar with.

[277] Dundes, *The Art of Mixing Metaphors*, 10.

Marginalia occupy an interesting place in the sources for the works of Bosch. While several authors have pointed out the formal similarities between the devils from the works of Bosch and hybrid creatures from the margins of medieval manuscripts, I have found few authors who explore the thematic similarities between margin drolleries and Bosch's works. I believe it would be of great value to delve into these thematic similarities in future studies, perhaps using the thematic similarities between contemporary popular theatre and the works of Bosch as a guide, as it is thematically similar to marginalia, as well as misericords, which are also a plausible source of inspiration for Bosch considering his surroundings. These media are also great sources for the themes and motifs that were familiar to Bosch's audience.

What I have discussed in this thesis is only a small sample of the sources for the iconography and symbolism of the works of Bosch that may be studied. Many of the symbols found in marginalia and misericords, for instance, are also found in other material culture, and we have examples of biscuit molds, badges and tableware with similar decoration that could - and should - be studied as candidates for the iconographical and symbolic tradition of the works of Bosch.[278] The works of Bosch's contemporary and colleague Alaert du Hamel, whose works show Boschian influence, could and should similarly be studied to learn more about the artistic tradition of the works of Bosch.

How can we interpret the Boschian Pedlar-figure as it appears on the *Haywain* triptych and the *Pedlar* triptych by Jheronimus Bosch? There are several recurring elements within the symbolism of this figure that can be derived from the cultural history, art, literature, language and material culture of Bosch's time. These elements may be symbols used plainly, or, often, symbols that Bosch has mutated to suit his specific narrative. However, most of these symbols can still be placed within iconographical and symbolic traditions from Bosch's time. Through these symbols, it is possible to find the specific traditions that we can place the Pedlar in, or, if we will, names we might give him. Though there are some differences between the Pedlar as he appears on the *Haywain* triptych and as he appears on the *Pedlar* triptych, they are similar enough that my conclusions here apply to both.

We might name the Pedlar a scammer, a charlatan or a cheapskate. The symbolism of the Pedlar links him to deception and dishonesty at several points. Pedlars in general were commonly stereotyped as deceitful in medieval times, among many other negative things. As traveling merchants, they were marginalized folk to begin with and distrusted for that reason, but many negative stereotypes existed about the greed of pedlars specifically, and of their strategies for dishonestly peddling their wares, to the point where the pedlar was frequently

[278] Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages*, 2-5; 28-29, 249-250, 255.

used as an archetypal dishonest merchant in literature, poetry and theatre. The basket that he carries on his back, in which the archetypal pedlar carries his untrustworthy merchandise or in one case a man trying to spy on his adulterous wife, may also be linked to the Dutch proverb "*door de mand vallen*", meaning to be caught in one's own deception.This was already a common proverb in the fifteenth century. A common medieval audience would very likely at first glance have understood a pedlar-figure as such.

We might name the pedlar *homo curvatus*, the curved man, after a concept from the writings of theologian and Church Father Augustine of Hippo (354 - 430). The Pedlar is burdened by his sins; the pack on the Pedlar's back is a burden that causes him to sin, as it contains material possessions that he is afraid of losing. A pious Christian should not be unconcerned with material possessions; that is the mark of a sinner. His disheveled appearance also shows that he has sinned in the past. He was possibly once an archetypal well-to-do but careless young man who spent all his money on drink and women and who has now met a sudden change in fortune. His path mirrors that of the Biblical Prodigal Son, and of the many typical characters that are subject to the same kind of bitter irony in the literature and poetry of Bosch's time. The wound on his leg was likely inflicted on him by the reddish dog with the spiked collar, a symbol of past sins that still damage him. Simply going through the world seems to have bent and twisted him, much like figures from other art of this time that have to crawl through the world. Though he may be a remorseful sinner and may try to walk the straight and narrow, or seek Christ, he never manages to do quite the right thing to absolve himself. He is a multi-layered symbol, likely appealing both to an audience well-read in vernacular, satirical literature and poetry featuring characters in this tradition, and to a more erudite audience familiar with theological literature such as the writings of Augustine of Hippo.

We might name the pedlar *homo viator*, the foolish traveler man who lets his eyes wander towards sinful things instead of steadying his gaze at the straight and narrow before him. This is another concept that the erudite audience of Bosch could have been familiar with, originating in the writings of Bernard of Clairveaux (1090 - 1153). The less learned audience of Bosch might more easily recognize him as Elckerlijc, the everyman who does not recognize his own flaws. According to a similar tradition, we might even name the pedlar a jester; the Pedlar is a commentary figure, and through his gaze, he points us at a source of negative behaviour. In his comedic misunderstanding of a Bible verse that could lead him to salvation he is like a jester. He seems to mock those who try to seek Christ, but who misunderstand his message. He is a mocking representation of the uncertain man who tries to walk the straight and narrow, but is too uncertain to keep his eyes ahead of him and does not notice that he is about to tread on an unstable bridge that will not lead him to salvation. The interpretation of the Pedlar as a commentary figure fits with the depictions of pedlars in

literature, poetry and plays, who, while untrustworthy themselves, often exist more to point out and condemn other untrustworthy characters. We can see this in *Een cluyte van Plaeyerwater*, the play depicted by Pieter Balten (1540 - 1584) in his 1570 painting, which helped art historians identify the Boschian Pedlar as a pedlar in the first place. The pedlar in this play helps a man to spy on his adulterous wife, effectively using one deception to uncover another deception.

As I have shown, in order to decipher the works of Jheronimus Bosch, it is necessary to look beyond what is traditionally considered “high” art for sources for his works, and to go beyond pure art history in our methodological approach. We need to explore the cultural-historical context of the works of Bosch, works of “low” art, and literature, as well as objects from material culture and aspects of language that deal with themes that are also present in the works of Bosch. In this context, we can find the iconographical and thematic traditions that we can fit the works of Bosch in, including iconographies and themes that have been mutated in the Boschian manner to better fit the artist’s specific views and narratives. Using this cultural-historical approach, it is possible to get an idea of the sources of Bosch that we can use to construct the iconography, symbolism and interpretation of specific works of Bosch, or specific figures from the works of Bosch, as I have shown is possible to do for the figure of the Pedlar, for which I have given a number of interpretations.

Of course, we can never know for certain what Bosch was actually thinking or intending when he created his artworks, but I hope I have demonstrated that we can make good inferences based on our knowledge of Bosch’s time and his surroundings. By supplementing our art historical research with cultural history and viewing the works of Bosch through this broader lens, we can infer with reasonable certainty how Bosch’s contemporaries, his patrons and his audience, would have viewed his works. This approach allows us to place the works of Bosch in a time and a tradition, the very thing some art historians have historically dismissed as impossible. An interdisciplinary approach and collaboration with other cultural and historical fields can only benefit art history and would have the added benefit of preventing art historical tunnel vision in our time of increasing scientific specialization. Let us not go the way of Erwin Panofsky, let us use our wit and not omit.

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Figures

Fig. 1: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The Conjuror*, 1496-1520, oil on panel, 53 × 65 cm. Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Saint-Germain-en-Laye Civic Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hieronymus_Bosch_051.jpg).

Fig. 2: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *Extracting the Stone of Madness*, ca. 1494-1516, oil on panel, 47,5 × 34,5 cm. Madrid: Prado Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cutting_the_Stone_(Bosch).jpg).

Fig. 3: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Peasant Dance*, ca. 1567, oil on panel, 114 × 164 cm. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pieter_Bruegel_the_Elder_-_The_Peasant_Dance_-_WGA3499.jpg).

Fig. 4: Jheronimus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych, 1512-1515, oil on panel, 135 × 100 cm (central panel), 135 × 45 cm (wings). Madrid: Museo del Prado. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Hay_Wain_by_Hieronymus_Bosch.jpg).

Fig. 4a: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych. A monk and nuns gather hay, symbolizing material wealth.

Fig. 4b: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych. The pope rides after the haywain symbolizing material wealth.

Fig. 4c: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych. Several devils pulling the haywain have human parts.

Fig. 4d: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, Haywain triptych. The fall of the rebel angels. The fallen angels transform into hybrid insect-amphibian creatures.

Fig. 5: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Haywain*, exterior, ca. 1500-1516, oil on panel, 135 × 200 cm. Madrid: Prado Museum. Image from Boschproject.org (http://boschproject.org/#/artworks/The_Haywain_Prado).

Fig. 6: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Pedlar*, ca 1497-1516, oil on panel, 71,3 × 70,7 cm. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Image from Boschproject.org (http://boschproject.org/#/artworks/The_Wayfarer).

Fig. 6a: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Pedlar*. The brothel.

Fig. 7: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Ship of Fools*, ca 1497-1516, oil on panel, 58 × 33 cm. Paris: Louvre Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jheronimus_Bosch_011.jpg).

Fig. 8: Jheronimus Bosch, *Allegory on Gluttony*, ca. 1497-1516, oil on panel, 34,9 × 31,4 cm. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jheronimus_Bosch_003.jpg).

Fig. 9: Jheronimus Bosch, *Death and the Miser*, ca 1497-1516, oil on panel, 93 × 31 cm. Washington: National Gallery of Art. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hieronymus_Bosch_-_Death_and_the_Miser_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg).

Fig. 10: Pieter Balten, *Boerenkermis met een opvoering van de klucht 'Een cluyte van Plaeyerwater'*, with a pedlar with a basket on his back shown on the stage in the center. ca. 1570, oil on panel, 112 × 157 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.5911).

Fig. 11: A tinker beset by a dog. Add MS 42130, ca. 1330-1345, The Luttrell Psalter, folio 190r, vellum codex, 35 × 24,5 cm. London: The British Library. Image from the British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts (https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=23452).

Fig. 12: Merchant with a basket on his back and one on his right arm trying to chase away a dog with a stick. Misericord 17 north, 1440-1460. Breda: Grote of Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk. Image from Stalla (https://ckd.hosting.ru.nl/stalla/Zoeken/Resultaat/754?language=nl).

Fig. 13: Master of the E-Series Tarocchi, *Misero*, 1457, engraving printed on paper. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Master_of_the_E-Series_Tarocchi_-_The_Beggar_%28from_the_Tarocchi,_series_E-_Conditions_of_Man,_1%29_-_1924.432.1_-_Cleveland_Museum_of_Art.jpg).

Fig. 14: Albrecht Dürer (attributed), *Jean Charlier de Gerson as a Pilgrim*, 1489, woodcut. Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School Library. Image from Harvard Divinity School Library (https://library.hds.harvard.edu/exhibits/featured-images/woodcut-attributed-to-albrecht-d%25C3%25BCrer-depicting-pilgrim-passing-castle).

Fig. 15: Beggar with a basket, hat on his back and stick in his left hand is accompanied by a dog with a begging-bowl in its mouth. Misericord 11 north, 1440-1460. Breda: Grote of Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk. Image from Stalla (https://ckd.hosting.ru.nl/stalla/Zoeken/Resultaat/748?language=nl).

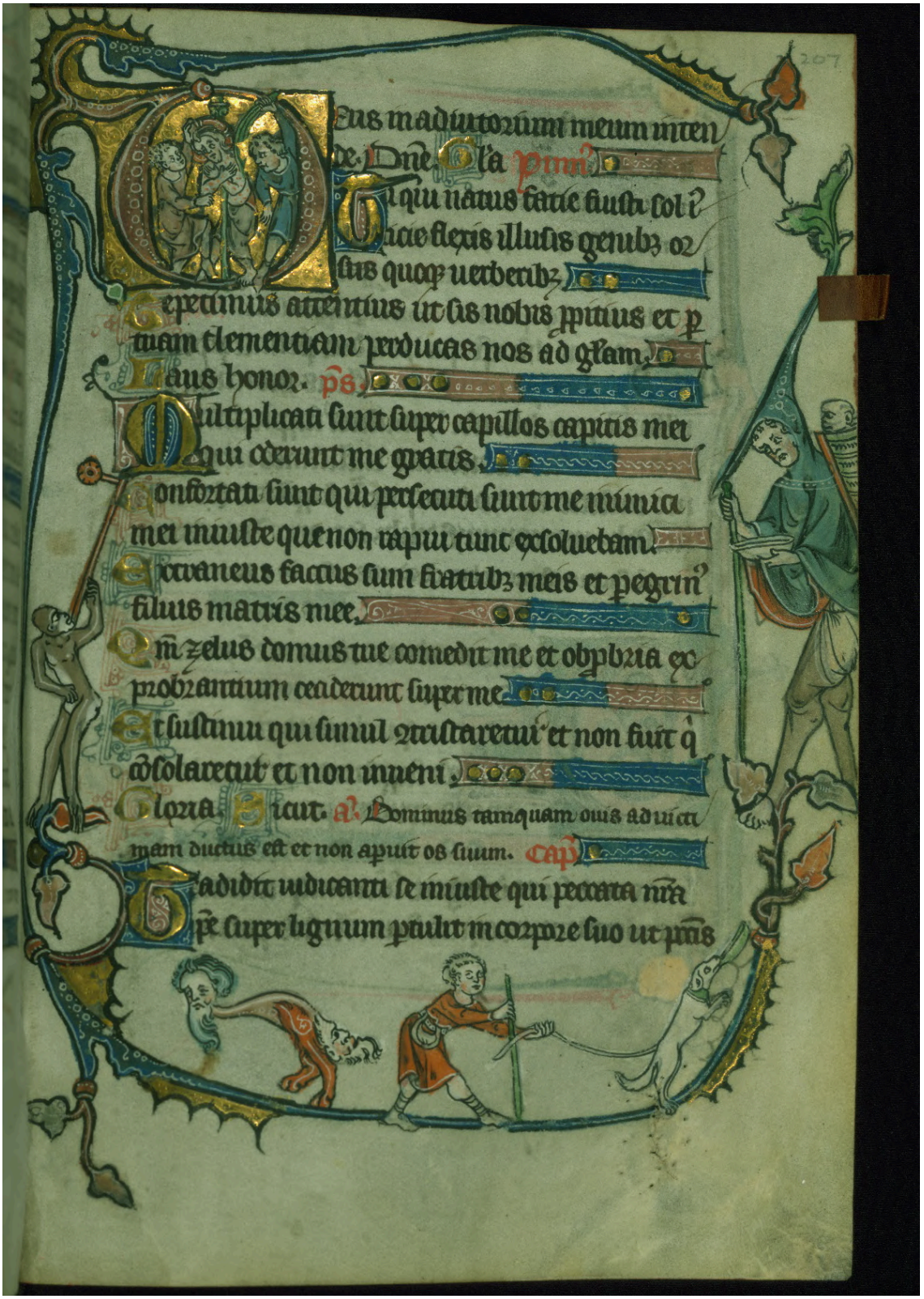


Fig. 16: Walters Ms. W.82, ca. 1315-1325, Psalter-Hours, folio 207r with a beggar with a dog on a lead in the lower margin, vellum codex, 16,2 × 11,1 cm. Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum. Image from The Digital Walters (https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W82/data/W.82/sap/W82_000417_sap.jpg).

Fig 17: Braunschweiger Monogrammist, *Parable of the Great Banquet*, ca. 1535, oil on panel, 120,6 × 171,8 cm. Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gro%C3%9Fe_Gastmahl.jpg).

Fig 17a: Detail from the Braunschweiger Monogrammist, *Parable of the Great Banquet*. People make excuses to not come to the banquet.

Fig. 18: Braunschweiger Monogrammist, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1537, oil on panel, 83,3 x 102,5 cm. Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. Image from PubHist (https://www.pubhist.com/w19618).

Fig. 18a: Detail from the Braunschweiger Monogrammist, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*. Judas steals someone's purse.

Fig. 19: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgment (fragment)*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 59.6 × 113 cm. Münich: Alte Pinakothek. Image from Boschproject.org (http://boschproject.org/#/artworks/The_Last_Judgment_fragment).

Fig. 19a: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgment (fragment)*. Scatological humour.

Fig. 20: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgement*, ca. 1482, oil on panel, 163 × 127,5 cm (central panel), 167 × 60 cm (wings). Vienna: Akademie der bildenden Künste. Image from Wikimedia commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BoschTheLastJudgementTriptychLeftInnerWing.jpg ; https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hieronymus_Bosch,_The_Last_Judgement.JPG; https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BoschTheLastJudgementTriptychRightInnerWing.jpg).

Fig. 20a: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgement*. Infernal war implements and a siege engine.

Fig. 20b: Detail from Lucas Cranach the Elder, copy of *The Last Judgement* by Jheronimus Bosch. Scatological humour. Image from Boschproject.org (http://boschproject.org/#/artworks/Cranach_Last_Judgment).

Fig. 20c: Detail from Lucas Cranach the Elder, copy of *The Last Judgement* by Jheronimus Bosch. A devil pedlar. Image from Boschproject.org (http://boschproject.org/#/artworks/Cranach_Last_Judgment).

Fig. 21: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgement*, after 1486, oil on panel, 99.5 x 117.5 cm. Bruges: Groeningemuseum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bosch_laatste_oordeel_drieluik.jpg).

Fig. 22: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Triumph of Death*, 1562, oil on panel, 117 × 162 cm. Madrid: Museo del Prado. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Triumph_of_Death_by_Pieter_Bruegel_the_Elder.jpg).

Fig. 23: Jheronimus Bosch, *Saint Christopher Carrying the Christ Child*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 113 × 71,5 cm. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hieronymus_Bosch_085.jpg).

Fig. 24: Anonymous, *The Buxheim Saint Christopher*, 1423, hand-coloured woodcut printed on paper, 28.9 × 20.6 cm. Manchester: The John Rylands University Library. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:St-christopher-buxheim-1423.jpg).

Fig. 25: Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *Saint Christopher (large version)*, 1480-1485, drypoint printed on paper, 16,6 × 10,5 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.34118).

Fig. 26: Anonymous, after Titian, *Triump of Christ (first part)*, ca. 1517, woodcut printed on paper, 38,9 × 53,4 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.52230).

Fig. 27: Simón Pereyns, *Heilige Christoffel*, 1588, oil on panel. Mexico City: Metropolitan Cathedral of the Assumption of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary into Heavens. Image from the RKD (https://rkd.nl/images/295291)

Fig. 28: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Crucifixion of Saint Wilgefortis*, ca. 1497-1505, oil on panel, 104 × 119 cm. Venice: Gallerie dell'Accademia. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:BoschTheCrucifixionOfStJulia.jpg).

Fig. 29: Hans Memling, *Triptych of Adriaan Reins (outside wings)*, 1480, oil on panel, 45,3 x 15,3 cm. Bruges: Sint-Janshospitaal. Image from Web Gallery of Art (https://www.wga.hu/cgi-bin/highlight.cgi?file=html/m/memling/3mature1/17rein4.html&find=Triptych+of+Adriaan+Reins).

Fig. 30: Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Sant Kümernus*, 1507, woodcut printed on paper. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Burgkmair_Kuemmernis.JPG).

Fig. 31: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *Landscape with Saint Christopher*, ca. 1561, oil on panel, 31,8 x 45,2 cm. Wörlitz: Gotisches Haus. Image from the RKD (https://rkd.nl/images/249161).

Fig. 32: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *Landscape with Saint Christopher*, ca. 1530, oil on panel, 60 × 60 cm. Private collection. Image from the RKD (https://rkd.nl/images/225372).

Fig. 33: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1495, 138 × 138 cm. Madrid: Prado Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:J._Bosch_Adoration_of_the_Magi_Triptych.jpg).

Fig. 33a: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Adoration of the Magi*. Agneese de Gramme.

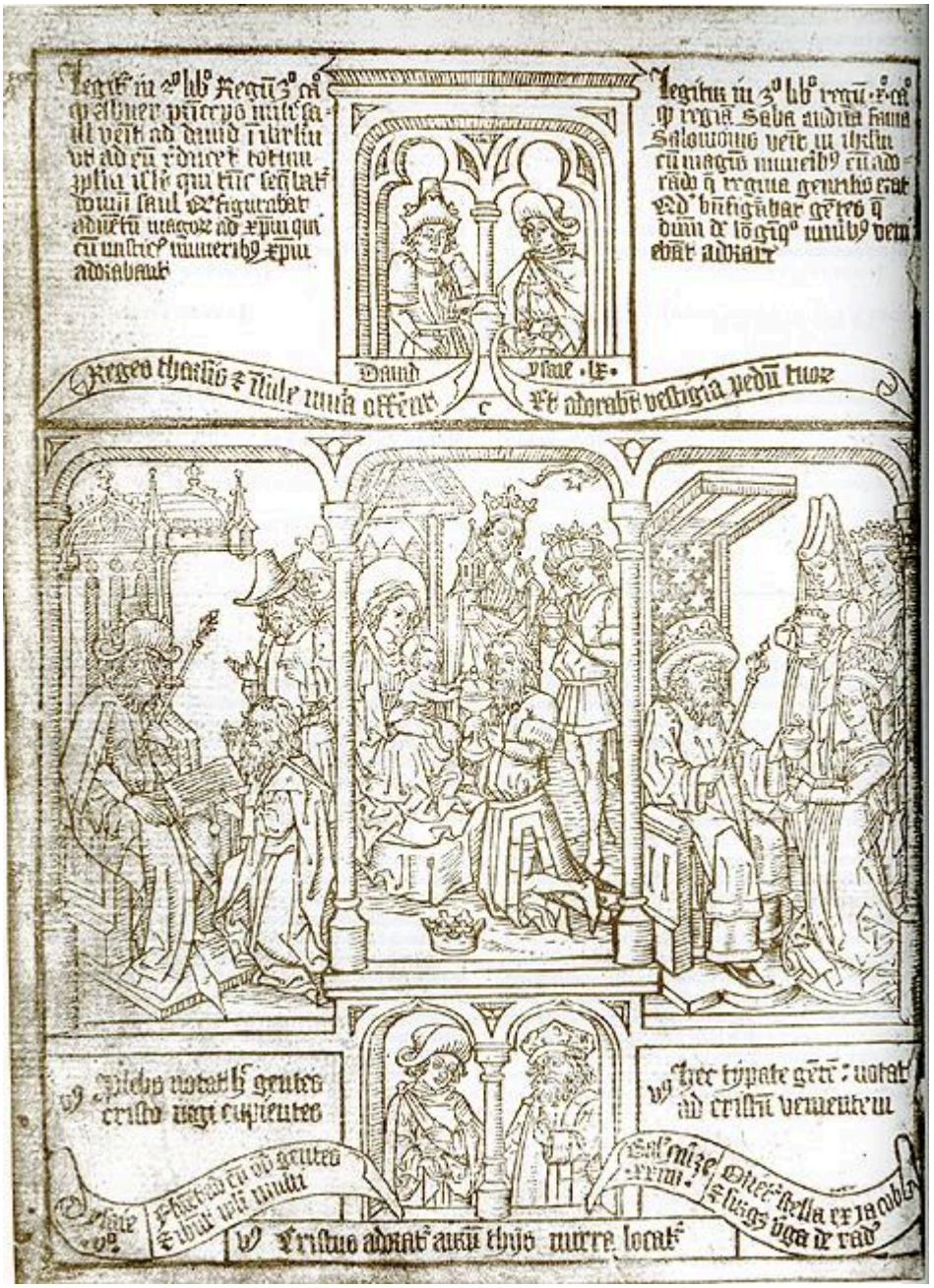


Fig. 34: Anonymous, *Adoration of the Magi, flanked by Abner and David I, King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, ca. 1465, woodcut printed on paper, 26,2 × 19,4 cm. London: British Museum. Image from the British Museum (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1845-0809-4).

Fig. 35: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, oil on panel, 220 cm × 195 cm (central panel), 220 cm × 97 cm (wings). Madrid: Prado Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jheronimus_Bosch_023.jpg).

Fig. 35a: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. Venetian glass vessels.

Fig. 35b: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. Majolica vessel.

Fig. 35c: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. A two-legged dog-like creature.

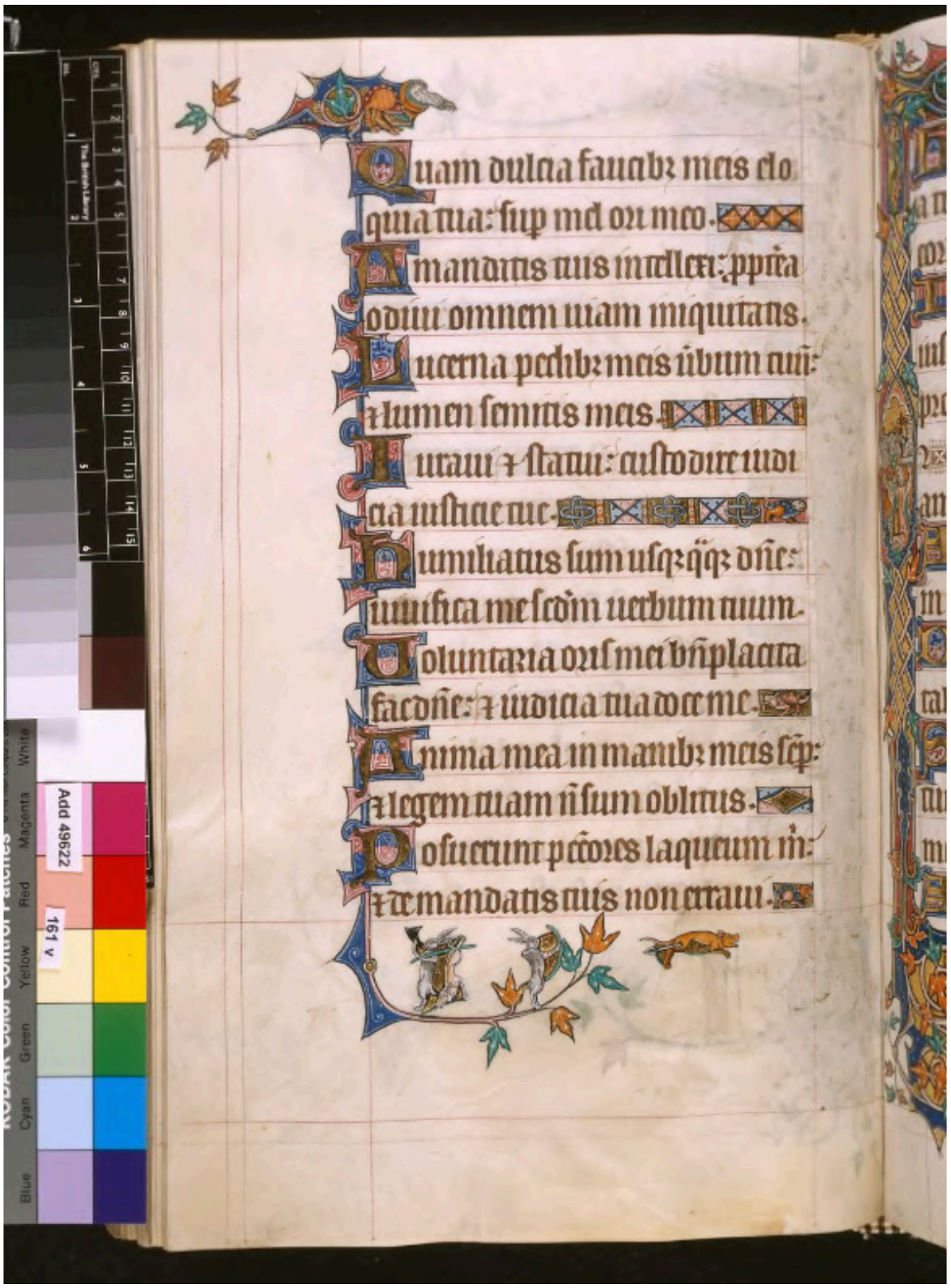


Fig 36: Add MS 49622, 1310-1324, the *Gorleston Psalter*, folio 161v, vellum codex, 32,5 cm × 23,5 cm. London: The British Library. Image from The British Library Digitised Manuscripts (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622_fs001r).

Fig 36a: Detail from folio 161v of the Gorleston Psalter. Rabbits hunt dogs.

Fig 37: Israhel van Meckenem, tweede helft 15de eeuw, *Hares roast the Huntsman*, engraving, 4,3 × 24,8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image from The Metropolitan Museum of Art (https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/336198).

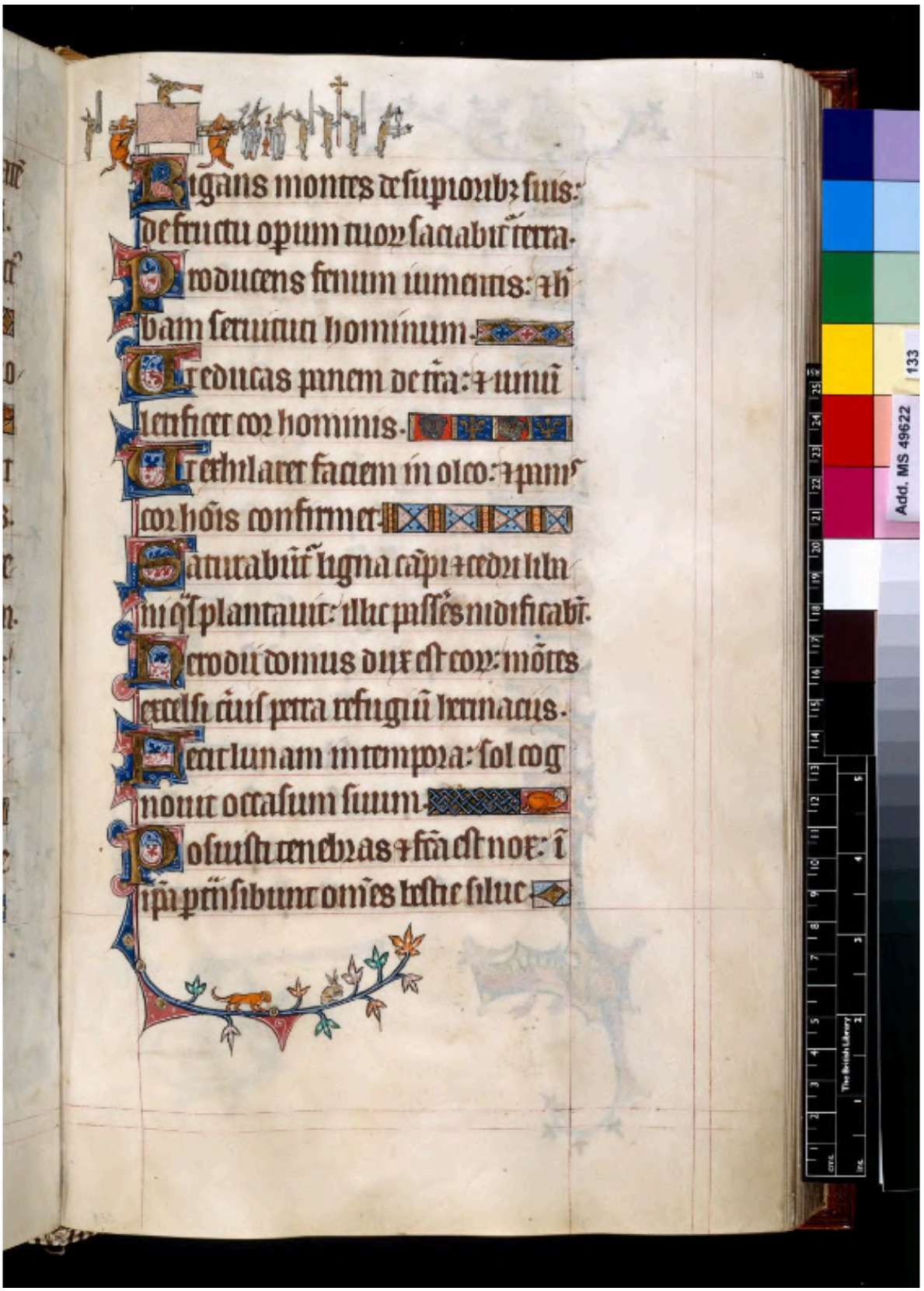


Fig. 38: Add MS 49622, 1310-1324, the *Gorleston Psalter*, folio 133r, vellum codex, 32,5 cm × 23,5 cm. London: The British Library. Image from The British Library Digitised Manuscripts (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622_fs001r).

Fig. 38a: Detail from folio 133r of the Gorleston Psalter. Rabbits in a Christian procession.

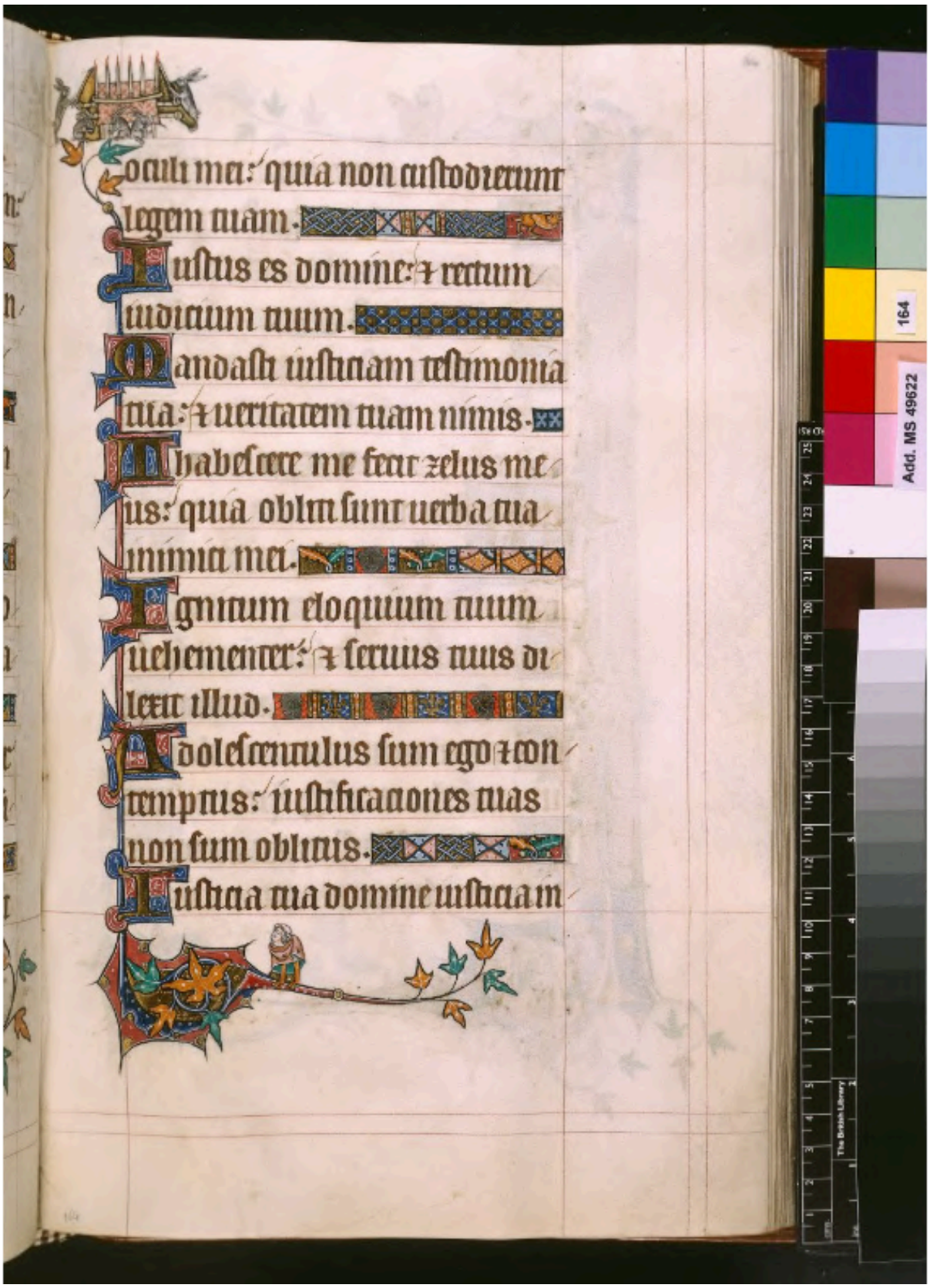


Fig. 39: Add MS 49622, 1310-1324, the *Gorleston Psalter*, folio 164r, vellum codex, 32,5 cm × 23,5 cm. London: The British Library. Image from The British Library Digitised Manuscripts (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622_fs001r).

Fig. 39a: Detail from folio 133r of the Gorleston Psalter. Rabbits burn candles at an altar.

Fig. 40: Detail from Royal MS 10 E IV, ca. 1300-1340, the *Smithfield Decretals*, folio 49v, vellum codex, London: The British Library. A fox preaches to fowl. Image from Picryl (https://picryl.com/media/royal-ms-10-e-iv-fol-49v-reynard-the-fox-preaching-to-geese-9b8456).

Fig. 41: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, ca. 1510-1516, oil on panel, 220 × 195 cm (central panel), 220 × 97 cm (side panels). Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Image from Boschproject.org (http://boschproject.org/#/artworks/The_Temptation_of_Saint_Anthony_MNAA).

Fig. 41a: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*. Devils perform a mock mass with a rotten egg instead of a holy wafer.

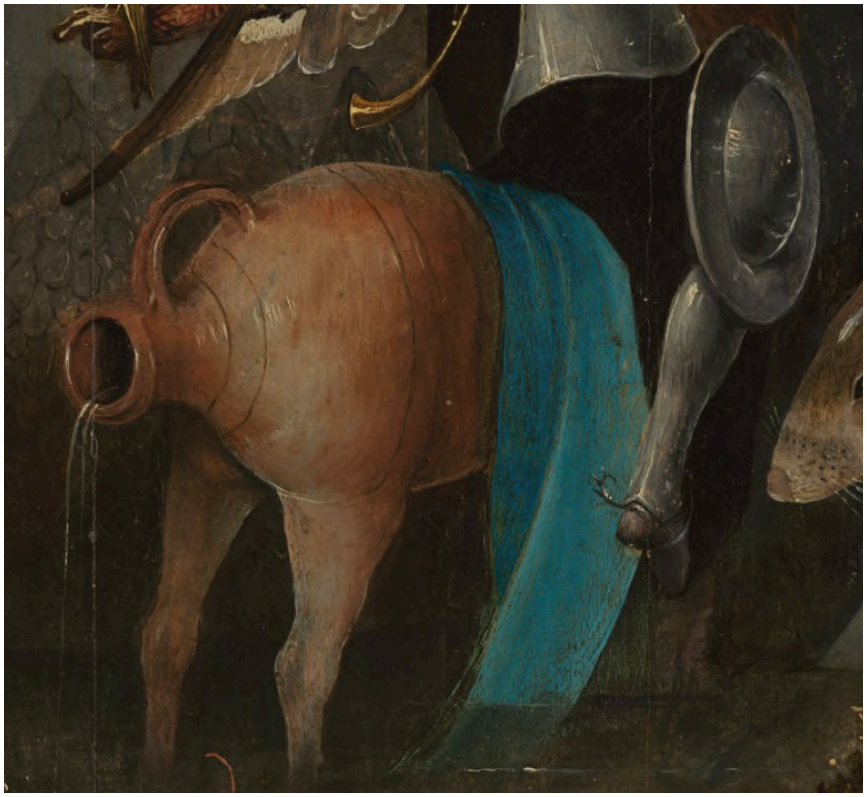


Fig. 41b: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*. A creature with an earthenware jug for a body.

Fig. 41c: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*. A figure with just a head and legs.

Fig. 42: Detail from Cod. Guelf. 35a Helmst, ca. 1340, Biblia Pauperum, fol. 1r., vellum codex, 37 × 29 cm. Helmstedt: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Image from Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (http://diglib.hab.de/mss/35a-helmst/start.htm?image=000003).

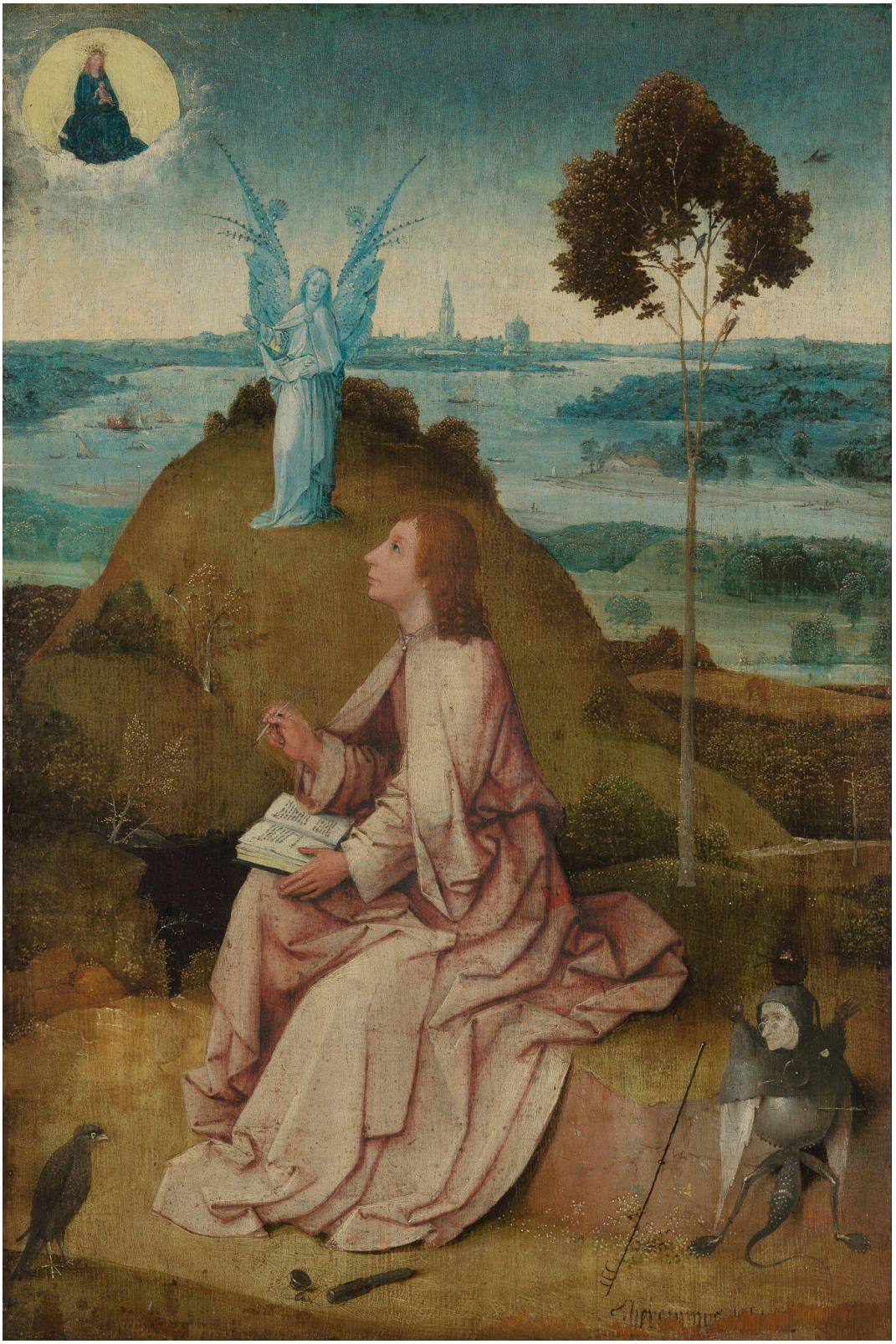


Fig. 43: Jheronimus Bosch, *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos*, ca. 1489, oil on panel, 63 × 43,3 cm. Berlin: Gemäldegalerie. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Johannes_op_Patmos_Saint_John_on_Patmos_Berlin,_Staatlichen_Museen_zu_Berlin,_Gemaldegalerie_HR.jpg).

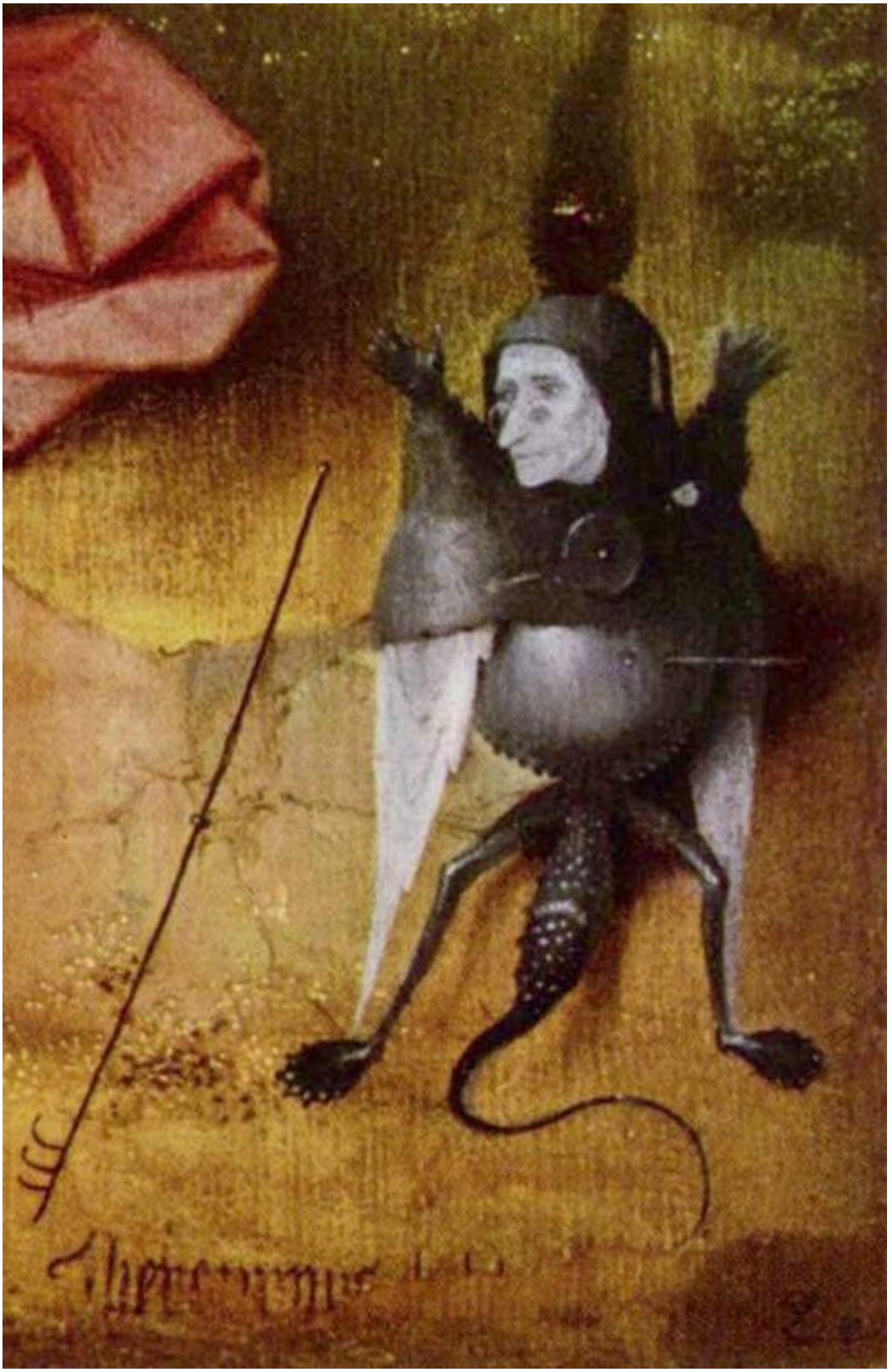


Fig. 43: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos*. The inkwell thief devil.

Fig. 44: Detail from the facade of the Notre-Dame of Paris, a knight flees from a rabbit, ca. 1210-1220. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paris_-_Cath%C3%A9drale_Notre-Dame_-_Portail_du_Jugement_Dernier_-_PA00086250_-_154.jpg).

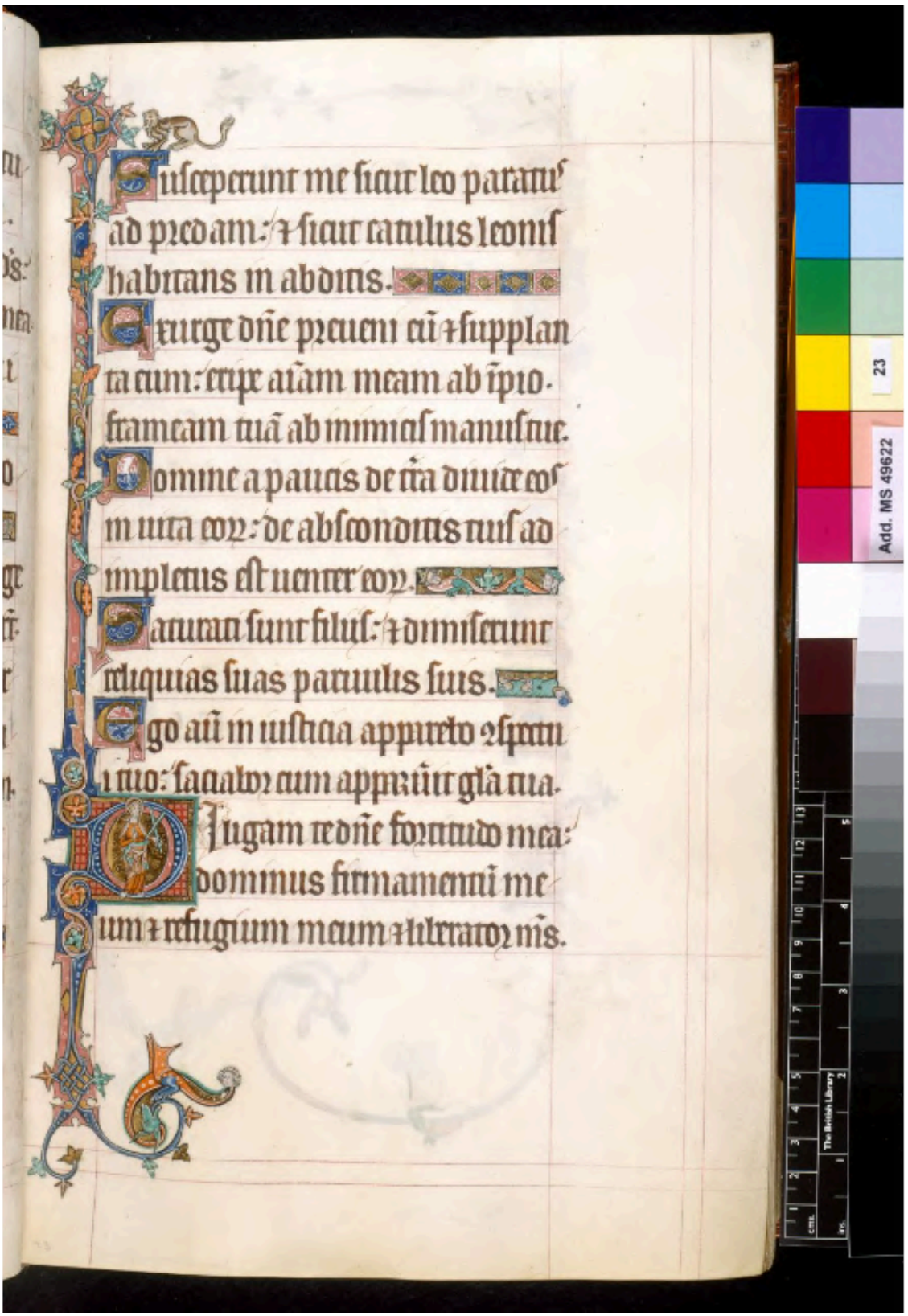


Fig. 45: Add MS 49622, 1310-1324, the *Gorleston Psalter*, folio 23r, vellum codex, 32,5 cm × 23,5 cm. London: The British Library. Image from The British Library Digitised Manuscripts (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622_fs001r).

Fig. 45a: Detail from folio 133r of the Gorleston Psalter. A dragon with a human head on its tail.

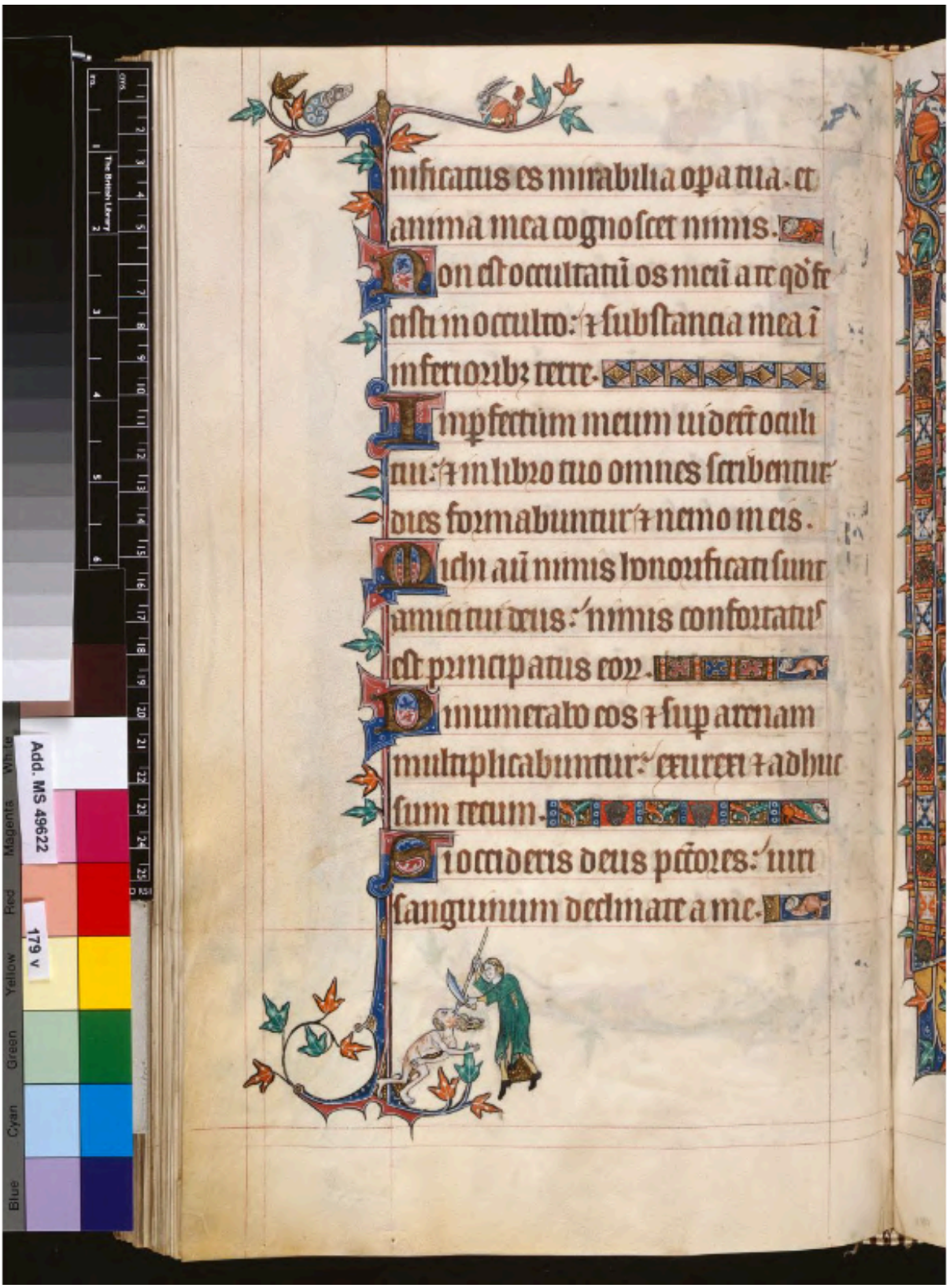


Fig. 46: Add MS 49622, 1310-1324, the *Gorleston Psalter*, folio 179v, vellum codex, 32,5 cm × 23,5 cm. London: The British Library. Image from The British Library Digitised Manuscripts (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622_fs001r).

Fig. 46a: Detail from folio 179v of the Gorleston Psalter. A snail-dog hybrid monster and a rabbit-lion hybrid monster.

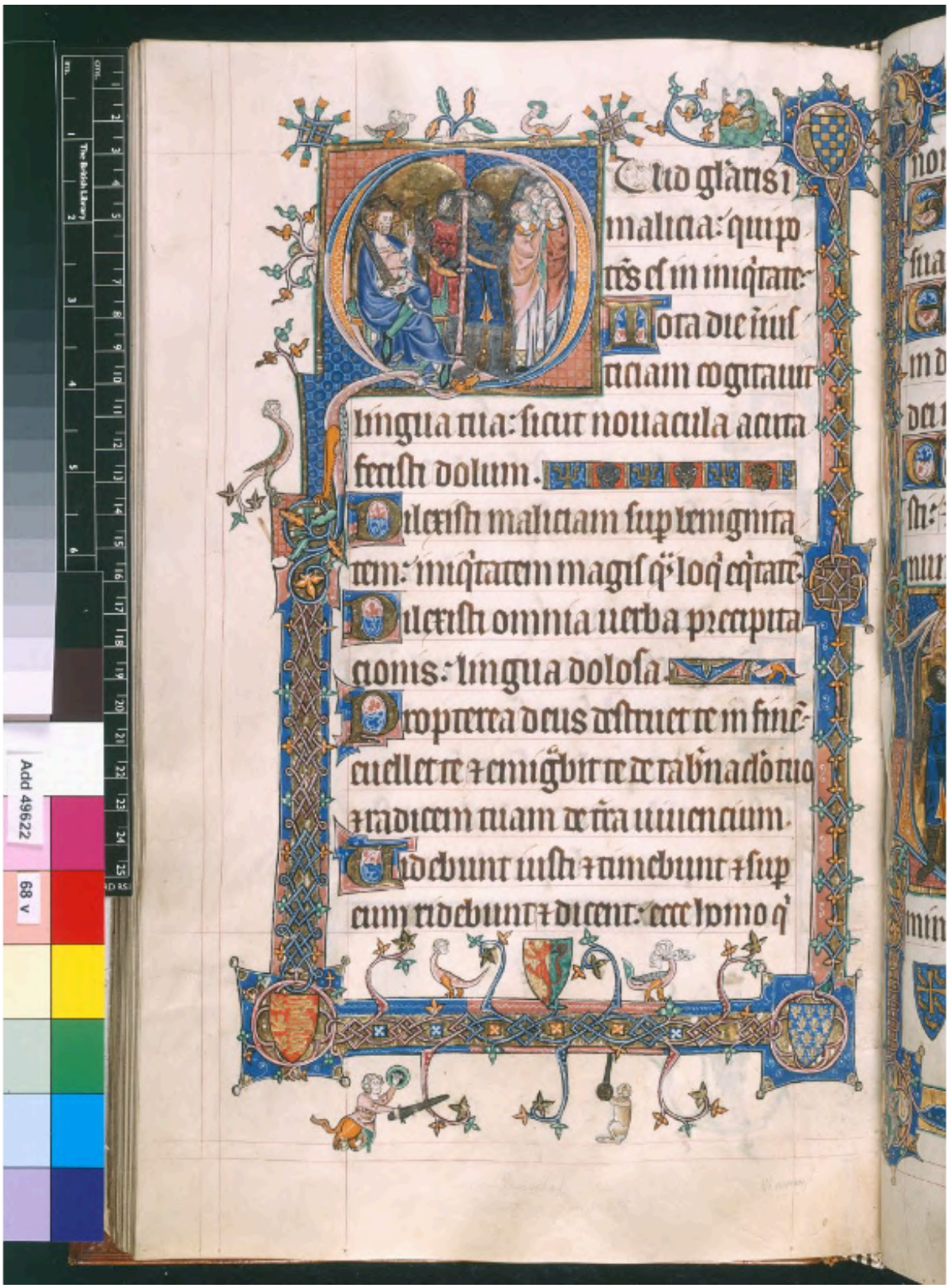


Fig. 47: Add MS 49622, 1310-1324, the *Gorleston Psalter*, folio 68v, vellum codex, 32,5 cm × 23,5 cm. London: The British Library. Image from The British Library Digitised Manuscripts (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622_fs001r).

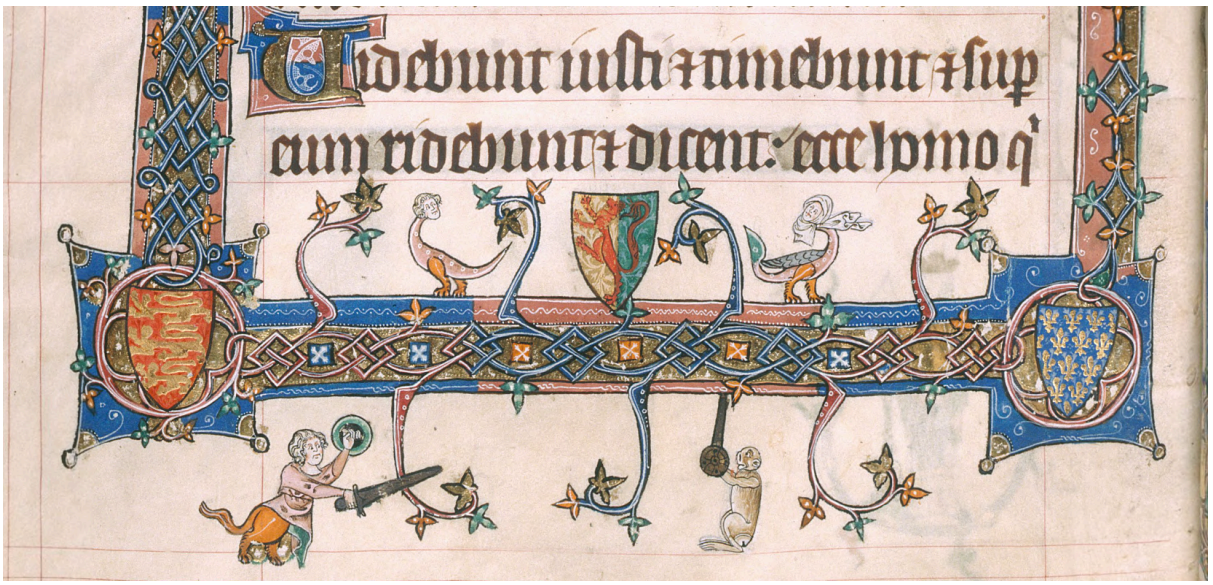


Fig. 47a: Detail from folio 133r of the Gorleston Psalter. Several part human hybrid monsters and an armed ape.

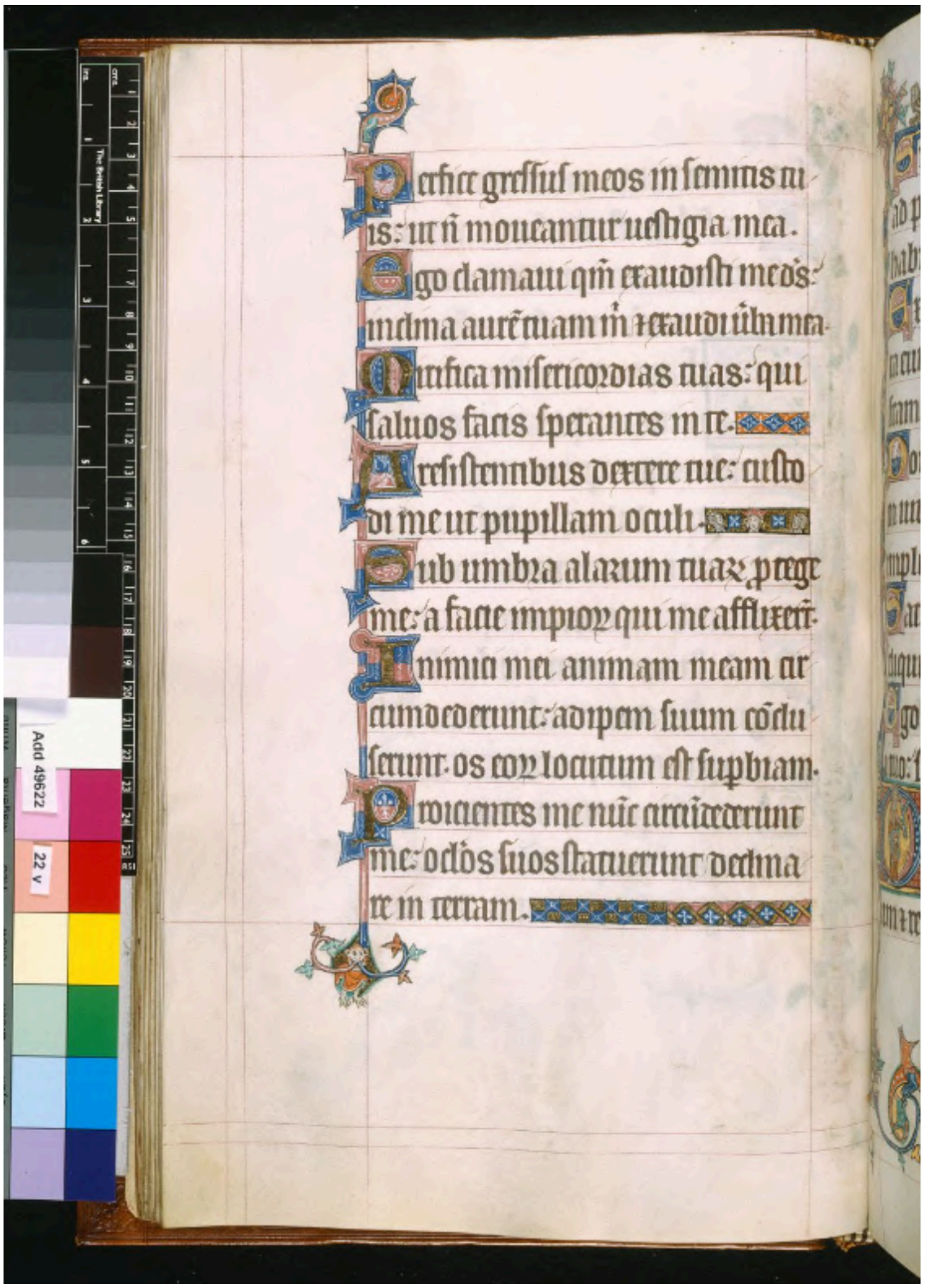


Fig. 48: Add MS 49622, 1310-1324, the *Gorleston Psalter*, folio 22v, vellum codex, 32,5 cm × 23,5 cm. London: The British Library. Image from The British Library Digitised Manuscripts (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622_fs001r).

Fig. 48a: Detail from folio 22v of the Gorleston Psalter. A creature with just a head and legs.

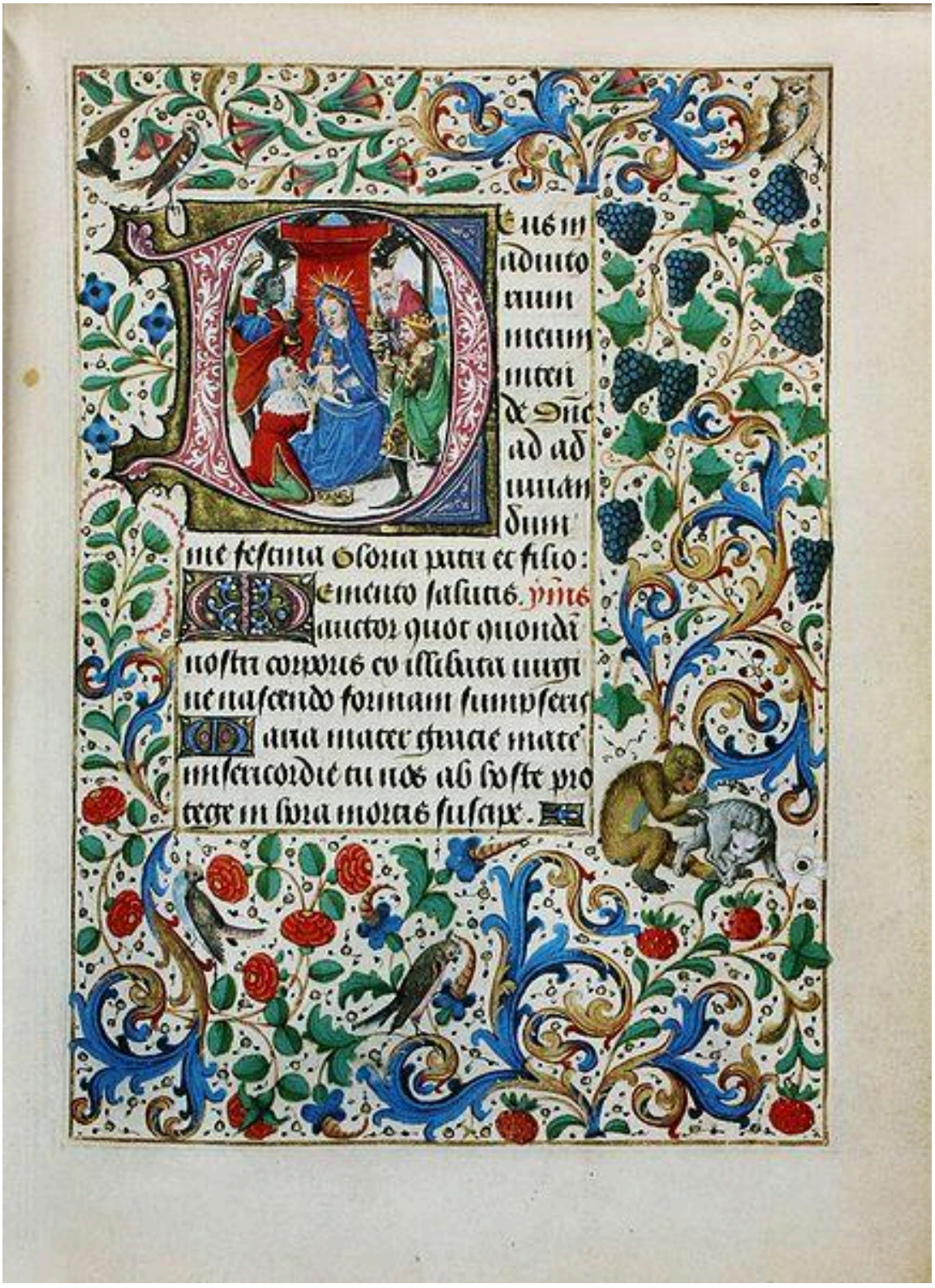


Fig. 49: Codex Vindobonensis 1857, ca. 1477, *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, fol. 95r, vellum codex, 22.5 × 16.3 cm. Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stundenbuch_der_Maria_von_Burgund_Wien_cod._1857_Anbetung_der_Weisen.jpg).

Fig. 49a: Detail from folio 95r of the Hours of Mary of Burgundy. Scatological humour.

Fig 50: Two dogs fight for one bone. Misericord III, 1486. Emmerich: Sankt Martinikirche. Image from Stalla (https://ckd.hosting.ru.nl/stalla/Zoeken/Resultaat/1633?language=nl).

Fig. 51: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 130 × 150 cm. Image from Boschproject.org (http://boschproject.org/#/artworks/The_Seven_Deadly_Sins_and_the_Four_Last_Things).

Fig. 51a: Detail from follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things*. Two dogs fight for one bone.

Fig. 51b: Detail from follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things*. The slothful man.

Fig. 51c: Detail from follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things*. A devil attempts to drag people away right before the gates to heaven.

Fig. 51d: Detail from follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things*. Luxuria.

Fig. 52: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Netherlandish Proverbs*, 1559, oil on panel, 117 × 163 cm. Berlin: Gemäldegalerie. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Pieter_Brueghel_the_Elder_-_The_Dutch_Proverbs_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg).

Fig. 52a: Detail from Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Netherlandish Proverbs*. Two dogs fight for one bone.

Fig. 52b: Detail from Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Netherlandish Proverbs*. A man falls through a basket.

Fig. 52c: Detail from Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Netherlandish Proverbs*. A man crawls through the world.

Fig. 53: A fox dressed like a bishop preaches to a group of chickens. Misericord XXV north, 1339-1341. Ely: Ely Cathedral. Image from Stalla (https://ckd.hosting.ru.nl/stalla/Zoeken/Resultaat/20184?language=nl).

Fig. 54: A fool or jester. Misericord I south, 1491-1493. Diest: Sint-Sulpitiuskerk. Image from Stalla (https://ckd.hosting.ru.nl/stalla/Zoeken/Resultaat/83?language=nl).

Fig. 55: Martin Schongauer, *Ecce Homo*, ca. 1470-1491, engraving printed on paper, 16,1 × 11,2 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.30096).

Fig. 56: Israhel van Meckenem, *Ecce Homo*, ca. 1455-1503, engraving printed on paper, 20,9 × 14,5 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.30006).

Fig. 57: Lucas van Leyden, *The Large Ecce Homo*, 1510, engraving printed on paper, 28,8 × 45,4 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.34055).

Fig: 58: Braunschweiger Monogrammist, *Ecce Homo*, ca. 1525-1535, oil on panel, 55 × 89,5 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.7436).

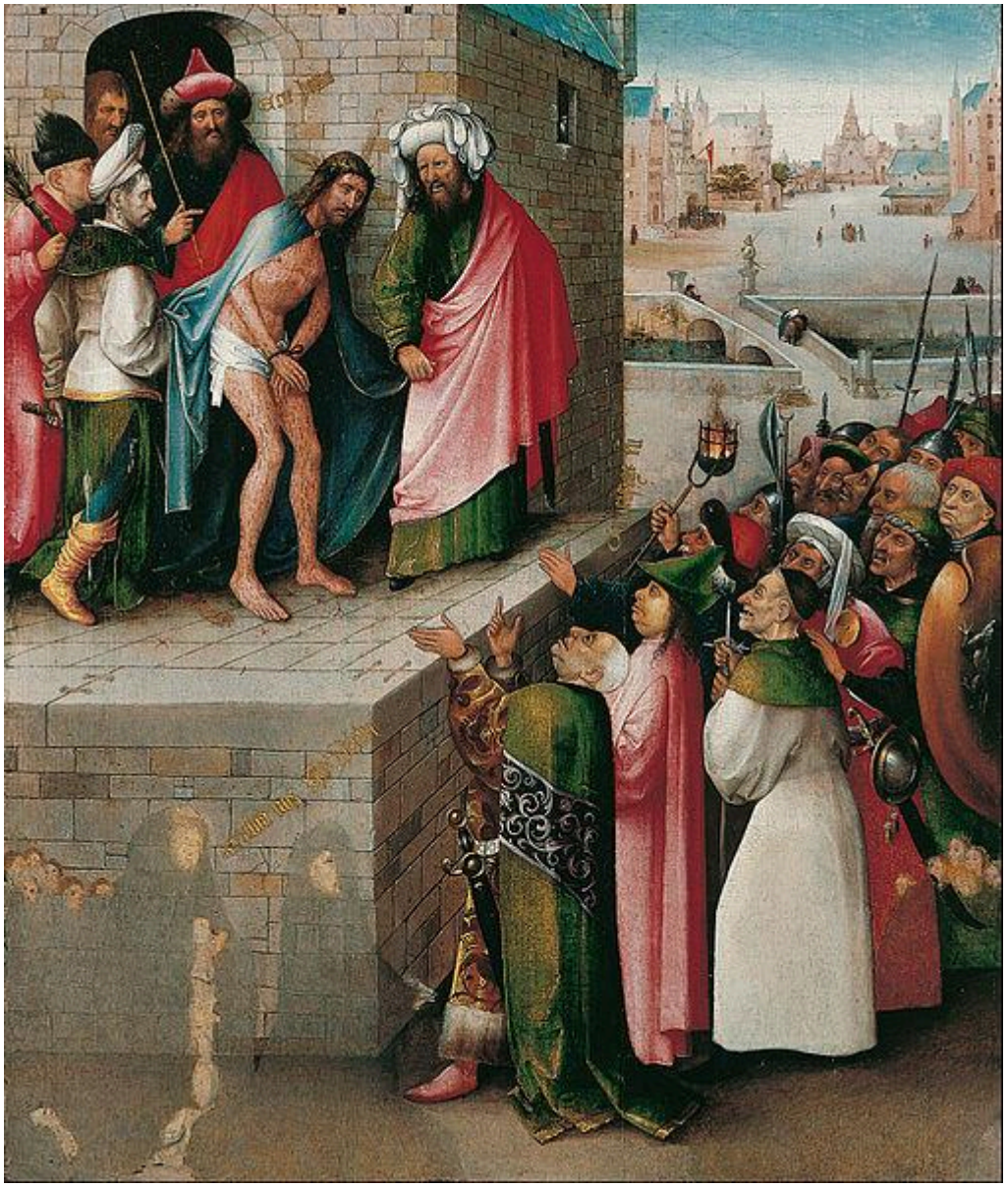


Fig. 59: Jheronimus Bosch, *Ecce Homo*, ca. 1480-1490, oil on panel, 71,4 × 61 cm. Frankfurt: Städel Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hieronymus_Bosch_-_Ecce_Homo_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg).

Fig. 59: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *Ecce Homo*. The patron family, with the kneeling patriarch at the front of the left row.

Fig. 60: Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of a woman*, ca. 1508-1510, oil and tempera on panel, 42,6 × 33,7 cm. Basel: Kunstmuseum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lucas_Cranach_d.%C3%84._-_Bildnis_einer_Frau FXD.jpg).

Fig. 61: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Flood Triptych*, ca. 1514, oil on panel, 69 × 36 cm (both panels). Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen. Image from Boschproject.org (http://boschproject.org/#/artworks/The_Flood_Panels).

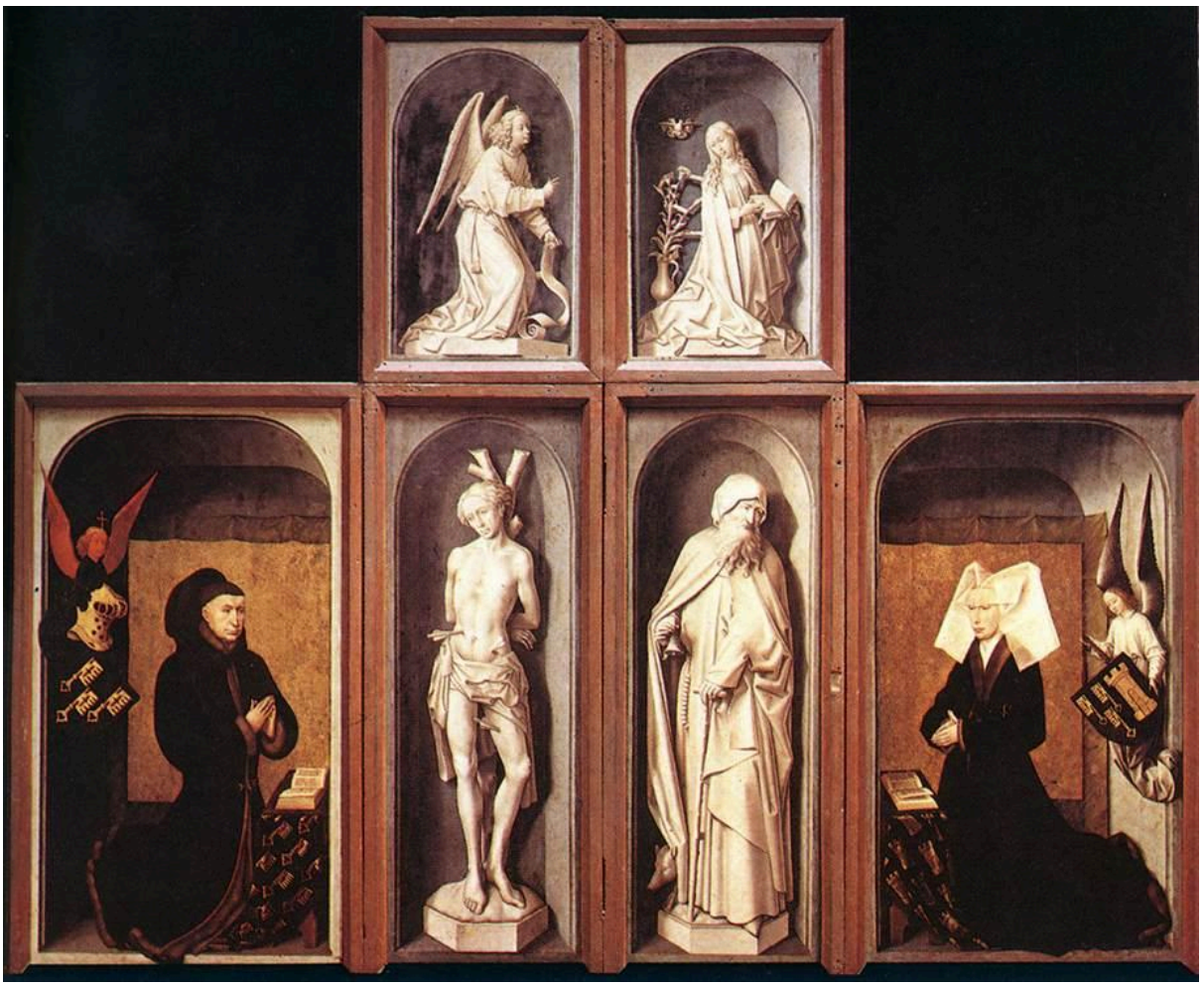


Fig. 62: Rogier van der Weyden, *Beaune Altarpiece*, outside wings, ca. 1441-1451, oil on panel, 215 × 280 cm. Beaune: Hospices de Beaune. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rogier_van_der_Weyden_-_The_Last_Judgment_Polyptych_(reverse_side)_-_WGA25626.jpg).

Fig. 63: Alaert du Hamel, after Jheronimus Bosch, *Elephant*, 1478-1494, engraving printed on paper, 20,4 × 33,5 cm. Vienna: Albertina. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alaert_du_Hamel_(after_Jheronimus_Bosch)_Elephant.jpg).

Fig. 64: Alaert du Hamel, after Jheronimus Bosch, *Saint Christopher*, 1459-1509, engraving printed on paper, 20 × 33,5 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alaert_du_Hamel_001.jpg).

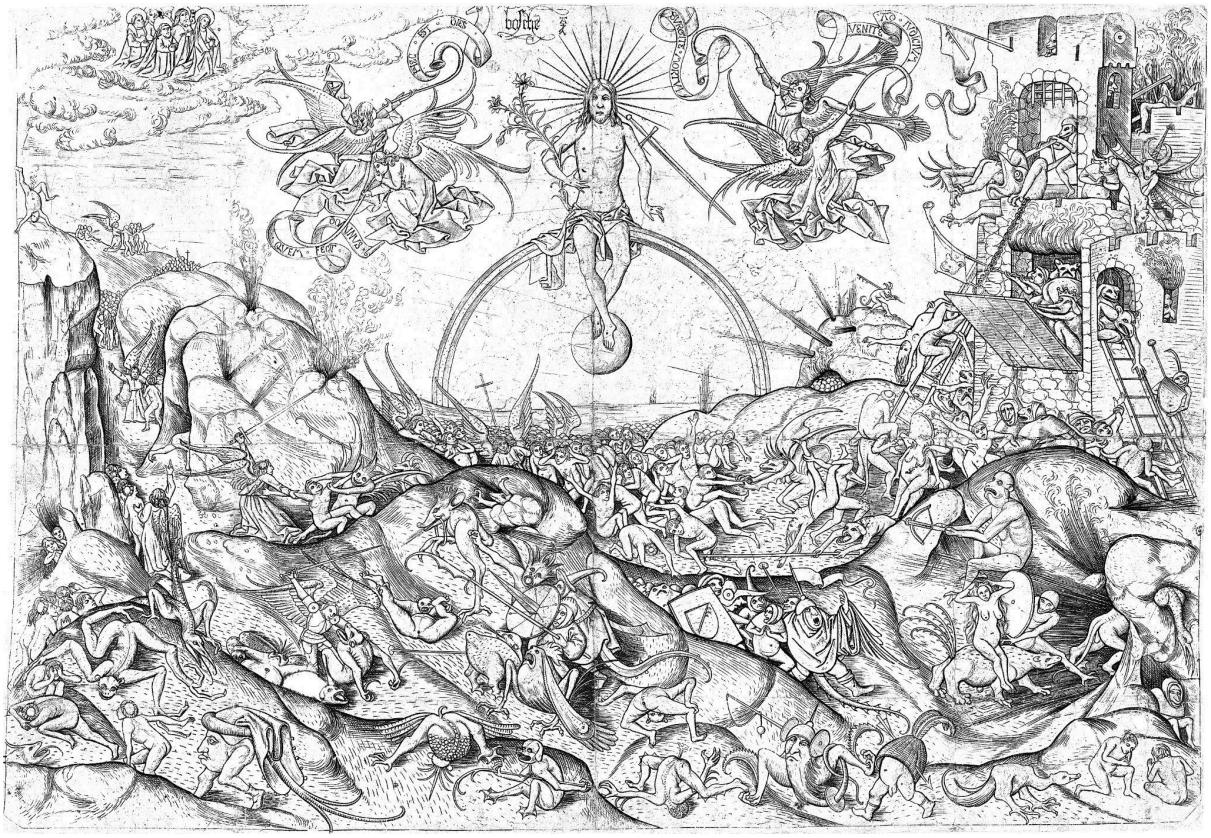


Fig. 65: Alaert du Hamel, after Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgement*, 1478-1509, engraving printed on paper, 23,5 × 34,5 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alaert_du_Hamel_007_Last_Judgment.jpg).

Fig. 66: Some of the sculptures on the flying buttresses of the Saint John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch, ca. 1510-1520. Shown are arch 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 on the north side of the cathedral. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flying_buttress_Den_Bosch.jpg).

Fig. 67: Cornelis Anthonisz. Theunissen, *Deathbeds of the righteous and unrighteous man*, ca. 1530-1550, woodcut printed on paper, 52,5×38 cm., London: the British Museum. Image from the British Museum (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1858-0417-1017).

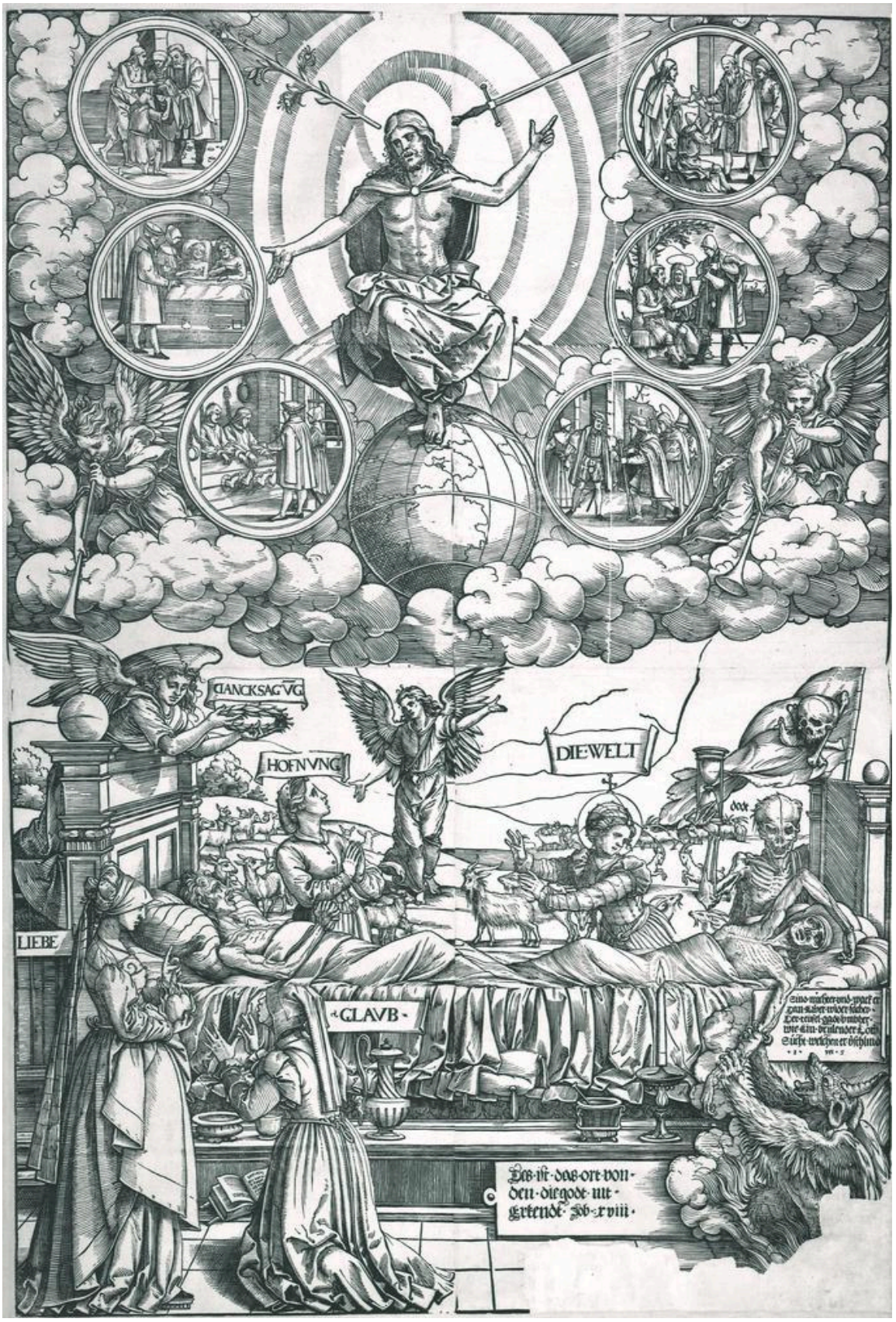


Fig 68: Jörg Breu II, *Deathbeds of the righteous and unrighteous man*, ca. 1530-1547, woodcut printed on paper, 96,3×64,7 cm., London: the British Museum. Image from the British Museum (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1867-0713-99).

Fig. 69: Master E.S., *Versuchung durch geistigen Hochmut (L181)*, ca. 1450, engraving printed on paper, 8,7 × 6,5 cm. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bestand:Ars_moriendi_(Meister_E.S.),_L.181.png).

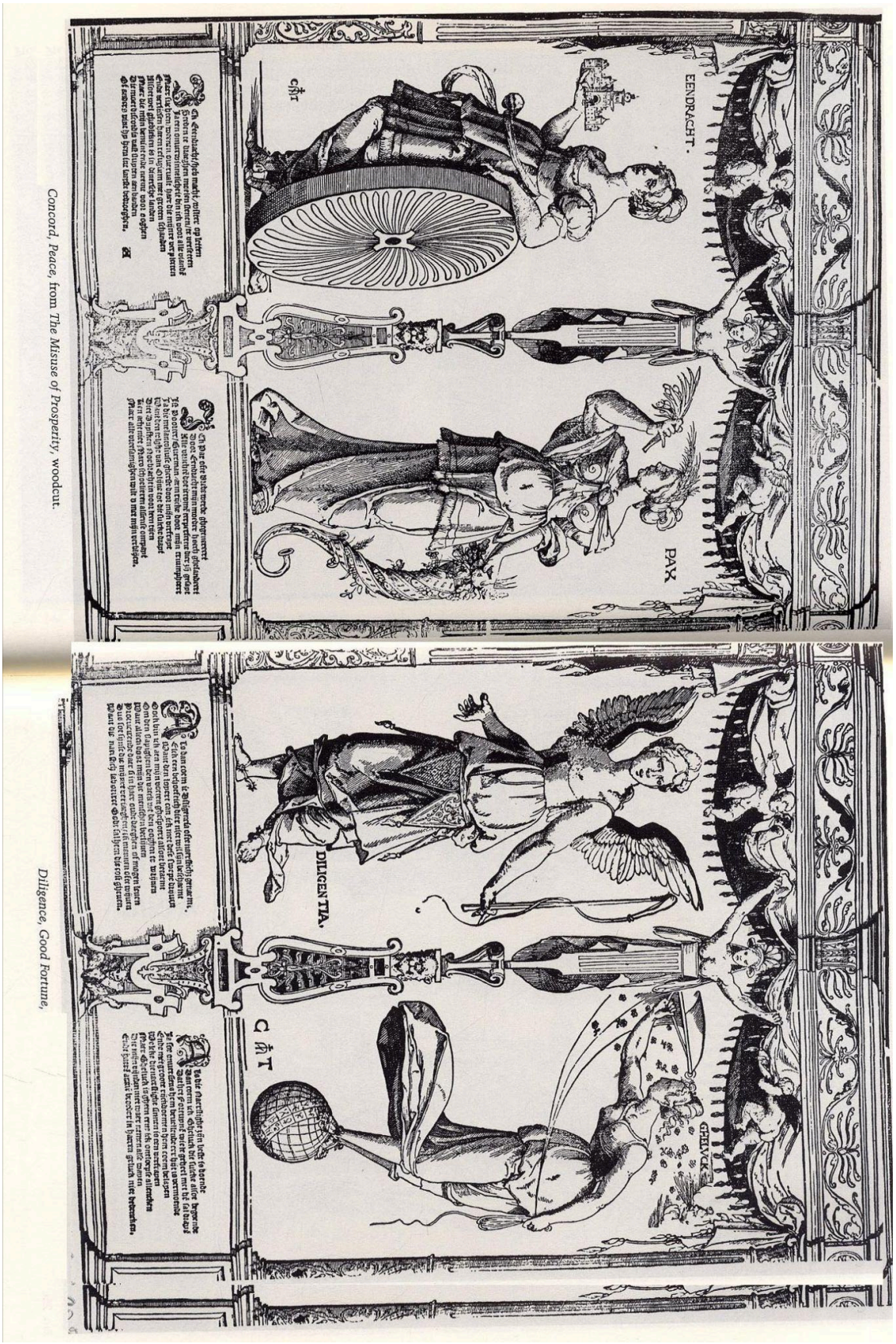
Fig. 70: Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, Mittelalterliches Hausbuch (Schloss Wolfegg), after 1480, Luna and her Children, f17r, engraving. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hausbuch_Wolfegg_17r_Luna.jpg).

Fig. 71: Lucas van Leyden, *The Cutting of the Stone*, 1524, engraving printed on paper, 11,7 × 7,6 cm. Appingedam: Museum Møhlmann. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rob_M%C3%B8hlmann_Museum_M%C3%B8hlmann_Leyden,_Lucas_van,_De_Chirurgijn,_1524,_gravure,_11,5x7,5cm.jpg).

Fig. 72: Meester van het Amsterdamse Kabinet, *De gevangenneming van Christus*, ca. 1470-1475, drypoint etching, printed on paper, 6,4 × 4,3 cm., Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.34100).

Fig. 73: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* outside wings, ca. 1510-1516, oil on panel, 220 × 97 cm (each panel). Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Image from Boschproject.org (http://boschproject.org/#/artworks/The_Temptation_of_Saint_Anthony_MNAA).

Fig. 73a: Detail from Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* outside wings. Judas with the thirty pieces of silver.



Concord, Peace, from *The Misuse of Prosperity*, woodcut.

Diligence, Good Fortune,

Fig. 74: Cornelis Anthonisz, two panels from the *Misuse of Prosperity* frieze, 1546. Image from VTS (https://www.fulltable.com/vts/aoi/a/anthonisz/SH536.jpg).

Fig. 75: Anonymous, *The Ship of Saint-Reynuit*, ca. 1520-1530, woodcut printed on paper, 74 × 114 cm., Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.339806).

Fig. 76: Bodleian Library Ms. 270B, ca. 1226-1275, *Bible Moralisée*, fol 2r, vellum codex. Oxford: Bodleian Libraries. Image from the Digital Bodleian (https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/4cf7e9d2-c06e-4029-a3b1-152736320897/surfaces/04e54931-6b0b-4edd-ad7b-1c07bc0a51f2/).

Fig. 76a: Detail from Bodleian Library Ms. 270B, fol 2r. The separation of light and dark and the fall of the rebel angels.

Fig. 77: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The vision of Tondal*, first half of the 16th century, oil on panel, 22 × 22 cm. Private collection. Image from RKD Images (https://rkd.nl/explore/images/297594).

Fig. 78: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *Tondal's Vision*, mid 16th century, oil on panel, 54 × 72 cm. Madrid: Lázaro Galdiano Museum. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Follower_of_Jheronimus_Bosch_037.jpg).

Fig. 79: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The Vision of Tondalus*, second half of the 16th century, oil on panel, 53 × 70.5 cm. Private collection. Image from RKD Images (https://rkd.nl/explore/images/60905).

Fig. 80: Frans Hogenberg, *Die Blauwe Huyck*, 1556-1560, etching printed on paper, 37,8 × 56,8 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.481229).

Fig. 81: Anonymous, *Allegory on the World*, ca. 1515, oil on panel, 28 × 43 cm., Anholt: Museum Wasserburg Anholt. Image from the RKD (https://rkd.nl/explore/images/63150).

Fig. 82: Cornelis Anthonisz., *A Game of Chance*, 1541, woodcut, printed on paper, hand-coloured, 39,5 × 28,9 cm., Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.37314).

Fig. 83: Lucas van Leyden, *Uilenspiegel: the beggar's family*, ca. 1520, etching and engraving, printed on paper, 17,4 × 14,1 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.33965).

Fig. 84: Albrecht Gelmers, *Figure, Male, in Basket*, Misericord NB-04, 1531-1548, Antwerp: Sint-Catharinakerk. Image from The Elaine C. Block Database of Misericords (https://ima.princeton.edu/images/misericordia//belgium/ebbhoogstraetench-097.JPG).

Fig. 85: Pieter van der Heyden*, The Pedlar Robbed by Monkeys*, 1562, engraving printed on paper, 22.7 × 29.4 cm. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image from TheMetMuseum (https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/371791).

Fig. 86: Anonymous, panel of an *Armenseelen-Zyklus*, detail, ca. 1480, oil on canvas. Regensburg: Historisches Museum. Image from Getarchive.net (https://jenikirbyhistory.getarchive.net/media/ger-by-oberpfalz-regensburg-dachauplatz-2-4-2-og-historisches-museum-unbekannter-e5a642).

Fig. 87: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Elckerlijc*, 1558, pen drawing, 20,8 × 24,1 cm. British Museum, London. Image from the RKD (https://rkd.nl/explore/images/261128).

Fig. 88: Martin Schongauer, *Peasant family on their way to the market*, ca. 1470-1490, engraving printed on paper, 16,2 × 16,4 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.30160).

Fig. 89: Martin Schongauer, *Carrying of the Cross*, ca. 1470-1491, engraving printed on paper, 28,3 × 41,4 cm., Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Afbeelding van Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.30323).

Fig. 90: Shouting birdseller holds a hat in his hand. Basket with birds hangs by a belt on his shoulders, Misericord 10 north, 1440-1460. Breda: Grote of Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk. Image from Stalla (https://ckd.hosting.ru.nl/stalla/Zoeken/Resultaat/747?language=en).

Fig. 91: Hunter with his dog is resting. The man has a basket on his back and is warming his hands at a fire, Misericord 13 north, 1440-1460. Breda: Grote of Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk. Image from Stalla (https://ckd.hosting.ru.nl/stalla/Zoeken/Resultaat/768?language=en).

Fig. 92: Man with heavily filled basket on his back rubs his hands, Misericord 6 south, 1440-1460. Breda: Grote of Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk. Image from Stalla (https://ckd.hosting.ru.nl/stalla/Zoeken/Resultaat/792?language=nl).

Fig. 93: Woman with handbag and faggot [sic] on her back walks with a staff. She is accompanied by a dog, Misericord 31 south, 1440-1460. Breda: Grote of Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk. Image from Stalla (https://ckd.hosting.ru.nl/stalla/Zoeken/Resultaat/817?language=en).

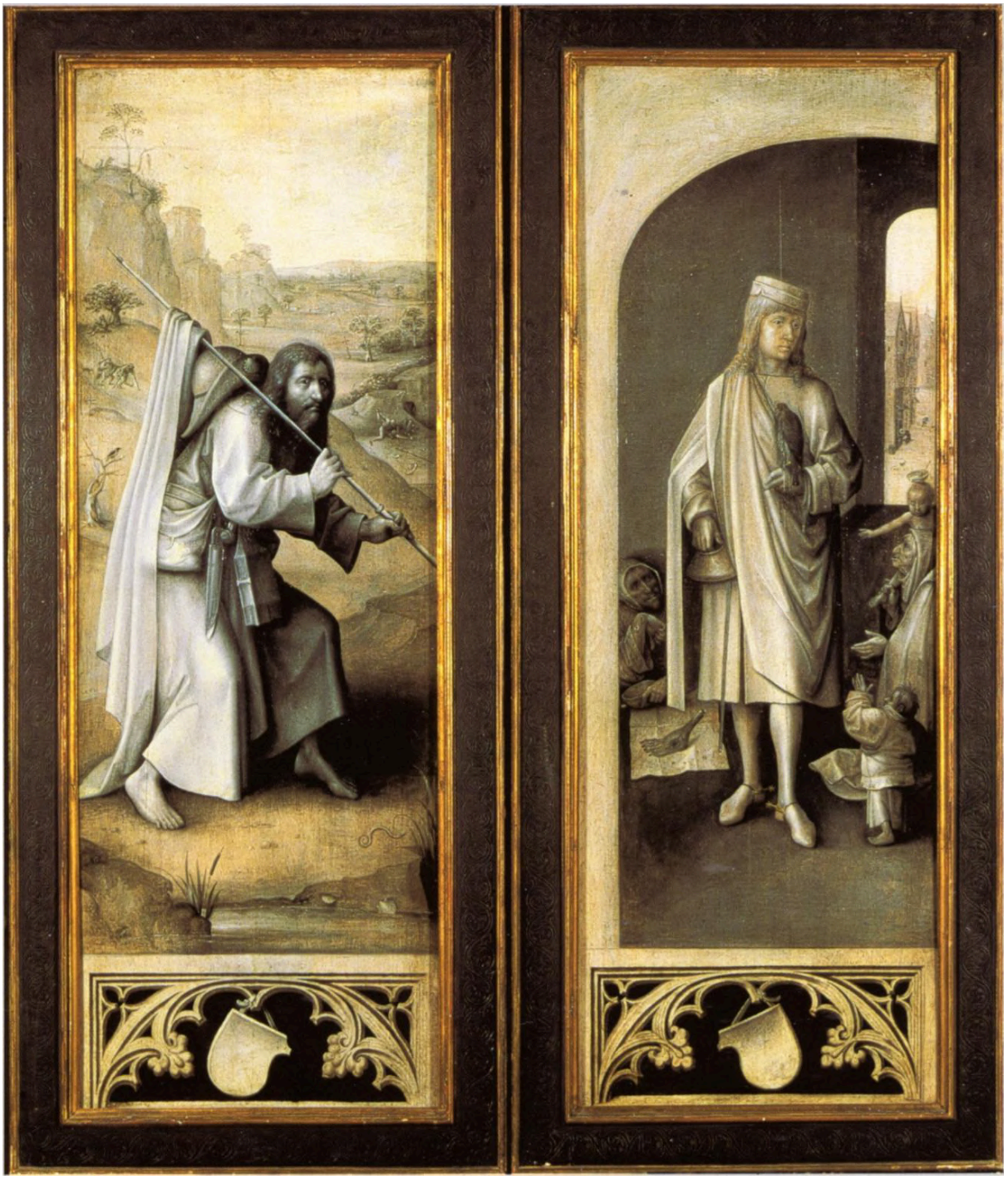


Fig. 94: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgement triptych (Vienna)*, ca. 1482-1516, oil on panel, each wing: 163,7 × 60 cm. Vienna: Akademie der bildenden Künste. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jheronimus_Bosch_Last_Judgment_triptych_(Vienna)_exterior.jpg).

Fig. 95: Cornelis Anthonisz., *Sorgheloos is driven from the tavern*, 1541, woodcut printed on paper, 27 × 23,6 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.37316).

Fig. 96: Cornelis Anthonisz., *Sorgheloos lives in poverty*, 1541, woodcut printed on paper, 27 × 23,6 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.37318).

Fig. 97: Proverbial Scene, Crawling through World, Misericord SH-05, 1510-1520, Walcourt: Saint-Materne. Image from The Elaine C. Block Database of Misericords (https://ima.princeton.edu/images/misericordia//belgium/ebbwalcourtch-009.JPG).

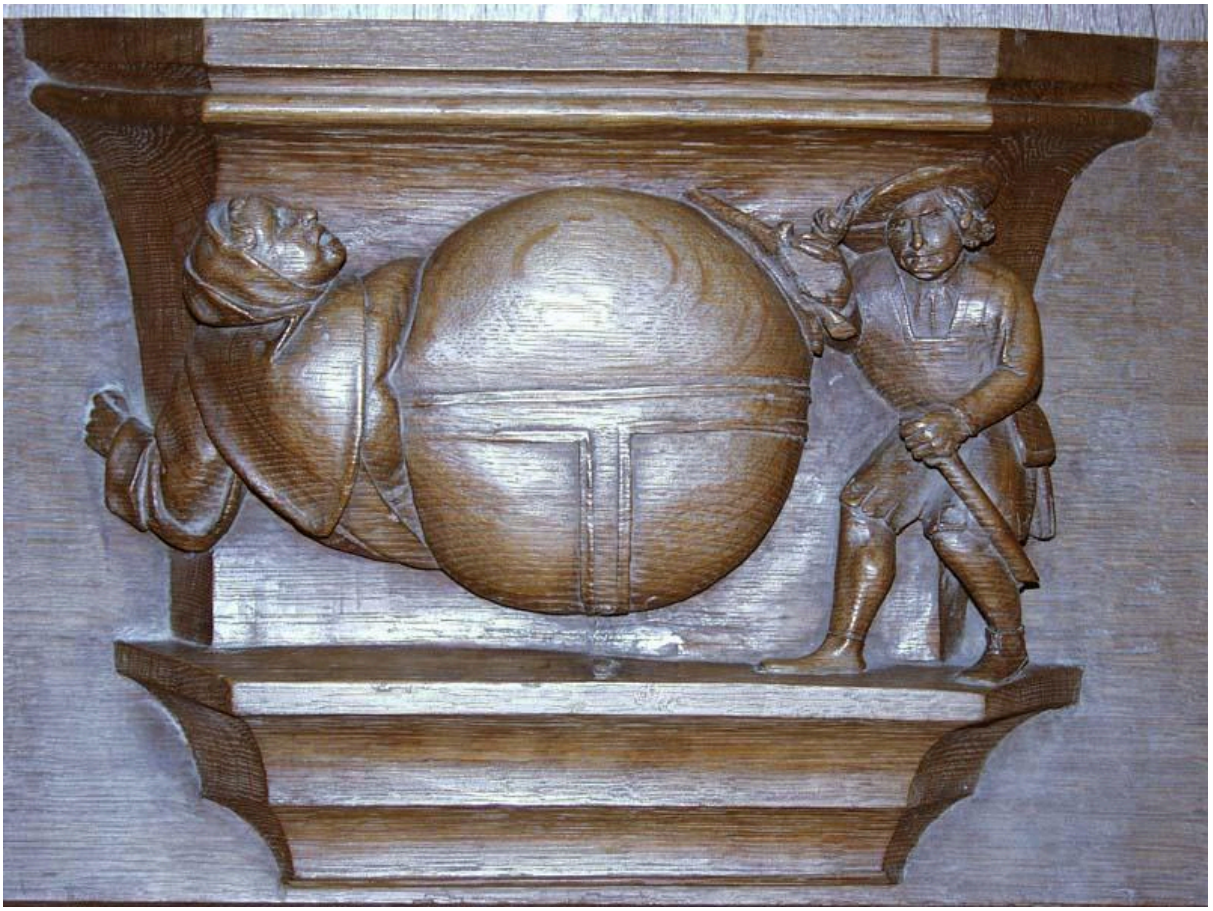


Fig. 98: Albrecht Gelmers, *Proverbial Scene, Crawling through World*, Misericord SH-06, 1531-1548, Antwerp: Sint-Catharinakerk. Image from The Elaine C. Block Database of Misericords (https://ima.princeton.edu/images/misericordia//belgium/ebbhoogstraetench-049c.JPG).

Fig. 99: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Totentanz XXXVII: Der Krämer*, ca. 1526, woodcut printed on paper. Image from wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Holbein_Danse_Macabre_37.jpg).

Fig. 100: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Totentanz XIV: Der Abt*, ca. 1526, woodcut printed on paper. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Holbein_Danse_Macabre_14.jpg).

Fig. 101: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Totentanz VII: Der König*, ca. 1526, woodcut printed on paper. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Holbein_Danse_Macabre_8.jpg).

Fig. 102: Master E.S., *Feast in the Garden of Love*, ca. 1465-1467, engraving, 23,5 × 15,3 cm. Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Master_E._S%E2%80%99s_Feast_in_the_Garden_of_Love.jpg?uselang=de).

Fig. 103: Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen, *De Brillenverkoopster*, ca. 1500-1524, oil on panel, 46 × 32 cm. Location unknown, image from stichting Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (https://www.jacobcornelisz.nl/oeuvre/schilderijen/de-brillenverkoopster-lx-siin-tiid-na-1520/).

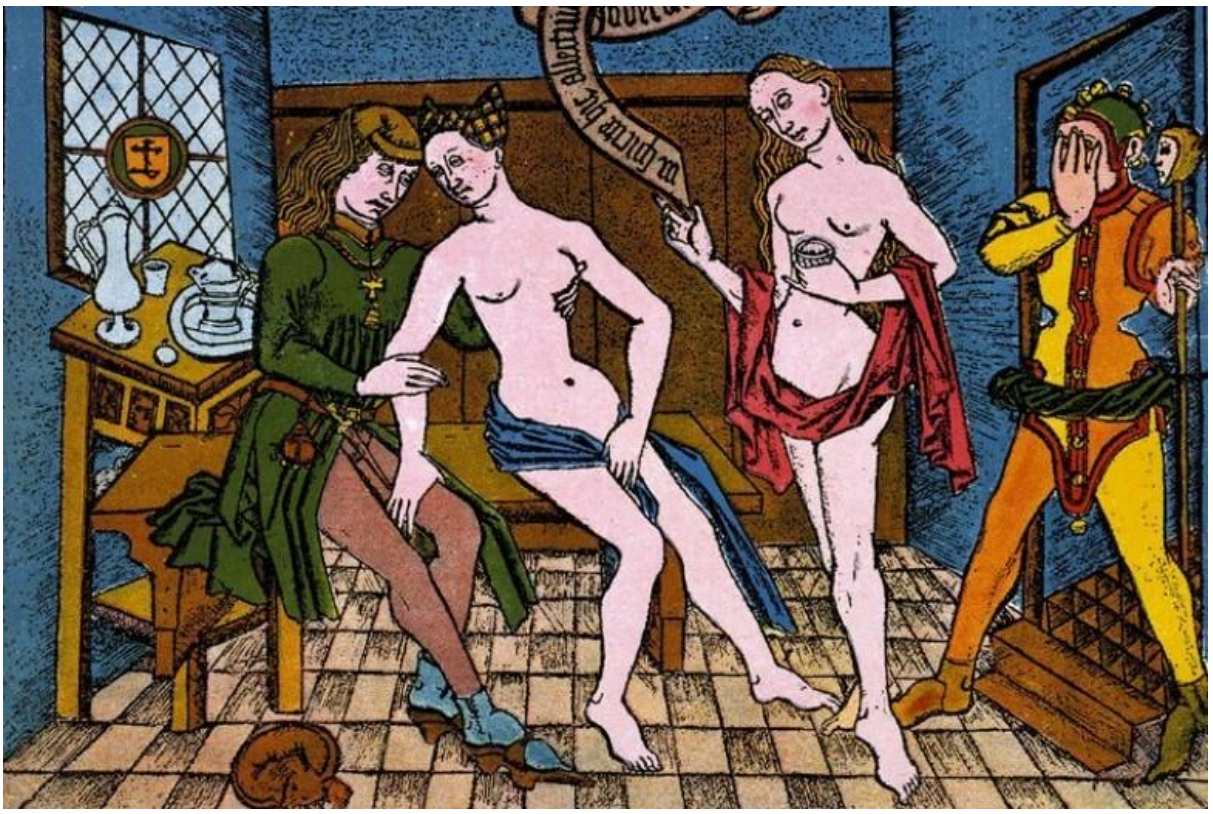


Fig. 104: Master with the Banderolles, *Brothel Scene*, ca. 1460-1475, engraving, 13 × 17,4 cm. Albertina, Vienna. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bordell_-_meister_mit_den_bandrollen.jpg).

Fig. 105: Jean Dodal, *The Fool*, 1701-1715 after the *Tarot de Marseille* deck, ca. 1500, woodcut printed on paper. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jean_Dodal_Tarot_trump_Fool.jpg).

Fig. 106: Lucas van Leyden, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, ca. 1508-1512, engraving printed on paper, 18,3 × 24,7 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.33718).

Fig. 107: Albrech Dürer, *The Prodigal Son amid the Swine*, 1494-1498, engraving, 24,7 × 19,1 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.33125).

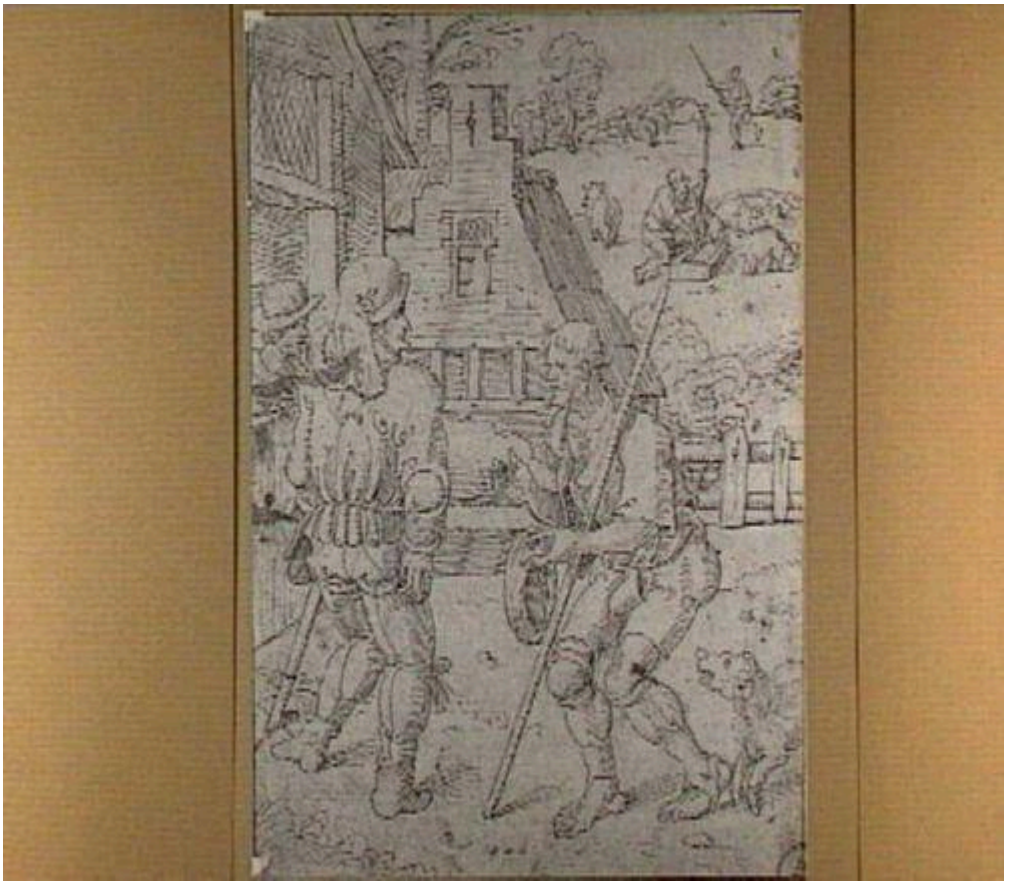


Fig. 108: Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst, *The prodigal son, suffering want, asks a farmer for work*, 1526, pen and black ink on paper, 20,4 × 14,6 cm., Göttingen: University Kunstsammlung der Georg-August-Universität. Image from the RKD (https://rkd.nl/images/51365).

Fig. 109: Jan Sanders van Hemessen, *The Prodigal Son*, 1536, oil on panel, 140 × 198 cm. Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jan_Sanders_van_Hemessen-Enfant_Prodigue_IMG_1469.JPG).

Fig. 110: Pieter van der Heyden, *De Vette Keuken*, 1563, engraving printed on paper, 22,1 × 29,3 cm. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum. Image from Rijksstudio (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.344471).

Fig. 111: Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, *Allegorie auf das Reislaufen (Söldnerwesen) und seine gesellschaftlichen Folgen*, 1514, pen drawing. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1f/Reislaeufer_Bettler.jpg).

Fig. 112: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The Marriage Feast at Cana*, ca. 1561, oil on panel, 93 × 72 cm. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen. Image from Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bosch_The_marriage-feast_at_Cana_(Boijmans_Van_Beuningen).jpg).