

# The Primacy of the Image in Northern European Art, 1400–1700

*Essays in Honor of Larry Silver*

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## The Overpainted Patron: Some Considerations about Dating Bosch's *Last Judgment Triptych* in Vienna

*Erwin Pokorny*

The Picture Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna holds one of the best known and most creative paintings by Hieronymus Bosch and his workshop, known as the *Vienna Last Judgment Triptych* (Fig. 5.1).<sup>1</sup> This second largest painting attributed to Bosch shows in its open state the Last Judgment on the central panel (163 × 127 cm), flanked by the Paradise on the left wing and Hell on the right (163 × 60 cm each). When closed, the exteriors of the wings present two male patron saints in grisaille with empty heraldic shields below. The commissioner is unknown. The first certain mention of the Vienna triptych dates from 1659, when it was described in the collection inventory of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–1662) as an “Original von Hieronimo Bosz.” Even though it is highly likely that the archduke already owned the triptych when he was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands (1647–1656), this is not known for certain. The possibility that he obtained it from the imperial collection in Vienna cannot be ruled out, since a *Last Judgment* by “Hieronymo Boss (Orig.)” is mentioned in the 1621 Prague inventory of the art collection of Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612),<sup>2</sup> and also some paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder have been listed in both collections.<sup>3</sup> In any case, in 1662 Leopold

1 This article is based on my short contribution for a recent publication of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts edited by Nils Büttner, et al., *Hieronymus Bosch in der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien* (Vienna: Akademie der bildenden Künste/Bibliothek der Provinz, 2016), 17–19.

2 Paul Vandenbroeck was the first who suggested that this *Last Judgment* could have been the Vienna triptych. Paul Vandenbroeck, “Rudolf II als verzamelaar van werk van en naar Jheronimus Bosch,” in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1981), 130 n. 38.

See also Tania De Nile, “A new provenance study: the Vienna *Last Judgment* in 17th century inventories,” in *Jheronimus Bosch, his Life and his Work: the 4th International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, April 14–16, 2016* (’s-Hertogenbosch: Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 2016), 70–88.

3 See *The Tower of Babel*, *The Gloomy Day*, *The Return of the Herd*, *The Hunters in the Snow*, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (inv. 1026, 1837, 1018, 18389), all online under “Pieter Bruegel





FIGURE 5.1 Hieronymus Bosch, Last Judgment Triptych (open state with the wing's outsides added), oil on oak panels, c. 1485–90, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.

Wilhelm bequeathed his collection to his nephew Emperor Leopold I, and the triptych thus became part of the imperial collection, where it was attributed to Jan Brueghel (“Sammet-Prüghel”). In the late eighteenth century it went to the Habsburg diplomat Anton Franz de Paula, Count of Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740–1822), who bequeathed it, as a work by Pieter Brueghel the Younger (“Hell Brueghel”), to the Academy of Fine Arts, where it has remained from 1822 to this day.

After several attempts to attribute the triptych to various followers of Bosch, today the triptych is generally accepted as having been painted at least in part by Bosch himself. Most parts are in good condition; only the Garden of Eden was extensively reworked in a later century. The triptych has been most recently described by the Dutch *Bosch Research and Conservation Project* (BRCP) and convincingly attributed to “Bosch and workshop” due to variations in the style and quality of the painting as well as underdrawing.<sup>4</sup> According to the BRCP the underdrawings on the outside of the wings were done in a watery medium, while the underdrawings on the inside and the central panel, however, “present an entirely different approach. [...] The vigorous, sketchy style is characterized by repeated outlines and hatching that is precisely worked out and bends to follow the modelling of the figures. [...] The occasionally sharp turns in the lines no doubt reflect the execution in a dry material. As far as we can tell, this underdrawing cannot be compared with any other in a work by Bosch [...]”<sup>5</sup> These observations cannot be disregarded, but I cannot accept them without reservations. In any case, I would prefer neither to attribute the entire interior sides of the triptych to a workshop collaborator nor preclude the possibility that Bosch might have deployed differing drawing styles, depending on the size of the figures and the drawing medium (dry or wet). It is also possible that, even if creative assistants contributed, the master carried out the significant finishing work himself. Many questions remain unanswered. The final report of a research project led by Renate Trnek, which undertook an extensive infrared reflectography (IRR) and x-ray investigation of the Vienna triptych, awaits publication.<sup>6</sup> But at the *Third International Jheronimus Bosch Conference 2012* Trnek presented several IRR images of underdrawings,

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d. Ä.” Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, accessed 11 January 2017, <https://www.khm.at/en/objektdb/>; or *The Harvesters* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc.no. 19.164): “The Harvesters,” *The Met*, accessed 11 January 2017, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435809>.

4 Bosch Research and Conservation Project (hereafter BRCP), *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman: Catalogue Raisonné* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2016), no. 17.

5 BRCP, 66.

6 This project was incidentally the reason why an investigation by the BRCP was not approved.





FIGURE 5.2 *Underdrawing of Donor, sketch by the author based on infrared reflectography, lower-left of the central panel of the Vienna Last Judgment, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.*

including an underdrawn figure of a kneeling donor, which was not executed in the final painting (Fig. 5.2).<sup>7</sup> To my knowledge there has not yet been any attempt to draw any conclusions about the triptych's date of production based on this donor figure and his interesting clothing. The present article attempts to do this.

Whereas the dating of the Vienna triptych remains hypothetical and is disputed, there is general consensus about the interpretation of the work's

<sup>7</sup> See also Fritz Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch, Die Zeichnungen: Werkstatt und Nachfolge bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012), 138, fig. 131. Renate Trnek, "Patron Lost: First Insights into the Underdrawings of the *Last Judgment Triptych* by Jheronimus Bosch in Vienna," in *Jheronimus Bosch, his patrons and his public: the 3rd International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, September 16–18, 2012* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 2014), fig. 266.

content. The left wing shows paradise with the Creation of Eve, the Fall, and the Expulsion. At the feet of the Creator enthroned high above paradise the angels in Lucifer's entourage fall from heaven. As they fall, they mutate into insect-like hybrid beings and illustrate, above paradise, the origins of evil.<sup>8</sup> Lucifer becomes Satan, the snake that seduces Eve to disobey God. The paradise wing thus shows the prehistory of the sin that leads impenitent persons into the endless inferno that extends across the lower part of the central panel and the right wing. In conventional images of the Last Judgment the Judge of the World is enthroned in the center, flanked by intercessors and angels, while below on earth the dead are resurrected and separated into two groups: to the right demons drive the sinners into hell while to the left angles lead the blessed to heaven. Bosch replaces the heavenly paradise with the earthly paradise, however. In doing so he creates a didactic reading direction from the left to the right wing, from the origin of sin to its punishments. But he reduces the heavenly paradise to a small entrance to the heavens, to which only very few blessed are carried aloft by angels. On the earth Bosch paints neither the resurrection of the dead nor the weighing of souls, but hell: a somber, rocky landscape with nocturnal fires in the background populated by a teeming host of the damned and absurdly shaped demons. The didactic aspirations of the triptych are also expressed in the individual infernal punishments, some of which point to the Seven Deadly Sins like mirror punishments.<sup>9</sup>

Bosch's unconventional idea of not limiting the Hell of the Last Judgment to the right wing, but expanding over most of the central panel, reminds of the concept of his largest triptych, the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado) where he expanded the "paradisum voluptatis" of Genesis, depicted on the left wing, across the entire central panel as the promised Cockaigne-like paradise, in which all desires will be fulfilled.<sup>10</sup> According to popular theological ideas, the lost earthly paradise was thought to be

8 Larry Silver, "Jheronimus Bosch and the Issue of Origins," in: *Jheronimus Bosch, his Sources. The 2nd International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, May 22–25, 2007, 's-Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands. 's-Hertogenbosch* (Jheronimus Bosch Art Center), 2010, 37.

9 The connection to the Seven Deadly Sins was already recognized in the first description of the image in the 1659 inventory of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm: "Another altarpiece with two wings in oil paint on wood, showing the Last Judgment with Hell below, in which the Seven Deadly Sins are punished. In a flat gilded frame, 8 Span 6 Finger high by 7 Span 1 Finger wide. Original by Hieronimo Bosz." (quoted from BRCP, 295).

10 On the relations of earthly paradise and Cockaigne see: Hermann Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 165–181.

inhabited again after the Last Judgment by those who do not rise immediately into the heavenly paradise.<sup>11</sup> In a paradoxical manner, their virtuous lives are rewarded by paradisiacal pleasures that had been forbidden as cardinal sins during their lives before the Last Judgment: lust, sloth, gluttony. Bosch seems to have viewed this paradox ironically, for he links his allusions to these vices with motives of the “world upside down.” But Bosch also enriches his depictions of Hell with allusions to this theme, popular in the drolleries of manuscript illustration as well, and he does so not only in the Madrid triptych but also in the Vienna *Last Judgment*. Two motives display the classic role reversal of hunter and hunted game: two demons with hunting weapons and animal heads (a rabbit in Madrid and a common spoonbill in Vienna) each carry a naked damned soul as bound quarry.<sup>12</sup>

The two triptychs are related, however, not only by similar ideas but also similar figures, as for example the figure of a male nude lying on his back, for which book illustration also provided the source.<sup>13</sup> This raises the question whether both triptychs belong to the same stylistic period within Bosch’s work, and whether the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, whose date is also disputed, could give any evidence for an early dating of the Vienna *Last Judgment*. In addition to the Gothic figural style of the slim nudes there is also the occasionally highly filigree painting style with which the modelling of a figure is completed with a few hatching brushstrokes. This kind of drawing-like finishing is reminiscent of the brush technique of manuscript painters and in my view is evidence for an early date of production. Further evidence is the age of the oak wood on which the work was painted. According to the dendrochronological examination results, the *Garden of Earthly Delights* could have been produced even before 1480 and the Vienna triptych around 1485.<sup>14</sup> Of course, there are serious arguments against an overly early dating of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The BRCP recently advocated for a dating around 1495–1505, because a woodcut in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* from December 1493 combined

11 The earthly paradise as an interim stay was depicted even before Bosch as we know for example from the *Paradise* wing by Dirk Bouts (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts). See: Larry Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch* (Munich: Hirmer, 2006), 352, fig. 275.

12 Walter S. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973), 58–59, figs. 42, 45. Another typical drollery motif is that of wind instruments sticking in bare bottoms, which appears in the Hell wings of both triptychs.

13 Koreny, *Bosch*, 22–23, figs. 11–15.

14 Peter Klein, “Dendrochronological Analysis of Works by Hieronymus Bosch and His Followers,” in Jos Koldweij, Bernard Vermet, Barbara van Kooij, eds., *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights Into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers; Ghent/Amsterdam: Ludion, 2001), 123–124.



an identical quotation from Psalm 33 (32): 9 with a similarly enthroned Creator God.<sup>15</sup> It cannot be ruled out, however, that this correspondence is traceable to a common source, for the German woodcut designers definitely drew from Early Netherlandish models.<sup>16</sup> To my mind, an earlier date for the *Garden of Earthly Delights* seems probable primarily due to the triptych's abundance of stylistic and motivic relations to manuscript illumination from the period not later than around 1480.<sup>17</sup> One need recall only the close kinship between the figure of Eve with another Eve painted by Simon Marmion (ca. 1425–1489) around 1460 in a manuscript miniature,<sup>18</sup> or the comparable flying griffons in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and in the a book of hours made c. 1480 for Count Engelbert II of Nassau (1451–1504).<sup>19</sup>

And another significant fact is shared by the two large triptychs: Bosch signed neither of them. This fact as well argues for an early date of production, because Bosch signed all his triptychs later than the Prado *Adoration of the Magi*, which is convincingly dated to around 1495.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly the figure style of the *Adoration of the Magi* appears far less Gothic than that of the two larger, but unsigned triptychs in Madrid and Vienna. Their stylistic level is closer to the early Frankfurt *Ecce Homo*, which is dated around 1475–95.<sup>21</sup> According to all these analogies the Vienna *Last Judgment* could have been painted between 1485 and 1495, presumably somewhat later than the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. A corresponding terminus post quem is provided by the dendrochronological analysis of Peter Klein, according to which the wood was not

15 BRCP, 356, 358.

16 For example, the Last Judgment woodcut quotes (rotated ninety degrees) the figure of the rich man who points to his dried out tongue while falling to hell, which was presumably invented by Rogier van der Weyden and repeated in Franco-Flemish books of hours from the 1480s and 1490s. See Fritz Koreny, with Erwin Pokorny and Georg Zeman, *Early Netherlandish Drawings from Jan van Eyck to Hieronymus Bosch* (Antwerp: Rubenshuis, 2002), no. 17 (by Georg Zeman).

17 Concerning other arguments for an early dating see: Bernard Vermet, "Baldass was right. The Chronology of the Paintings of Jheronimus Bosch", in: *Jheronimus Bosch, his sources. The 2nd International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, May 22–25, 2007, Jheronimus Bosch Art Center*. 's-Hertogenbosch (Jheronimus Bosch Art Center), 2010, 296–319.

18 Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 80 (fig. 61), 94 (fig. 72).

19 Erwin Pokorny, "Bosch and the Influence of Flemish Book Illumination", in: *Jheronimus Bosch, his sources: the 2nd International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, May 22–25, 2007* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 2010), 286. Erwin Pokorny, "Hieronymus Bosch und das Paradies der Wollust," in *Frühneuzeit-Info* 21: 1–2 (2010), 25–27, figs. 4 a–b.

20 Pilar Silva Maroto, ed., *Bosch: the 5th Centenary Exhibition* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016), 195–96; BRCP, 212.

21 Silva Maroto, no.17 (c. 1485–95). BRCP, no. 11 (c. 1475–85).

felled before 1474.<sup>22</sup> Usually such panels were painted ten to twelve years after the earliest felling date, which means in our case around 1485. Establishing a terminus ante quem proves to be more complicated, because in this context there are several reference points, which, however, are themselves more or less hypothetical in nature. To be mentioned in this context is the *Last Judgment* engraved by Alart du Hameel (1449?–ca. 1506): It paraphrases the central panel of the Vienna triptych, but can be dated for different reasons between 1485 and 1494.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, at least the central panel must have been finished by around 1490, provided there was not some lost prototype by Bosch used as the basis for both Hameel's engraving as well as the Vienna triptych. The altarpiece wings, at least the shields on the outsides, were probably painted later.

Most literature about the Vienna *Last Judgment* takes 1504 as terminus post quem, when Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, ordered a Last Judgment from Bosch.<sup>24</sup> The enormous difference between the dimensions of “nine feet high and eleven feet wide” (ca. 252 × 308 cm)<sup>25</sup> requested in the documented commission and those of the Vienna triptych (163 × 250 cm) has been explained by the hypothesis that a change in plans yielded a smaller version.<sup>26</sup> This identification was supported by the interpretation of the almsgiving falconer saint on the exterior of the right wing. At the beginning of the twentieth century Gustav Glück interpreted the falconer as Saint Bavo, the patron saint of Ghent.<sup>27</sup> Together with the patron saint of Spain, Saint James the Greater, on the left side wing, this saint was thought to refer to Duke Philip the Fair, who was ruler of the Netherlands and considered King of Castile when his Spanish mother-in-law died in 1504. Added to this was an ostensible physiognomic similarity between the youthful falconer saint and the duke.<sup>28</sup> Aside from the fact that in all of his portraits Philip the Fair is shown with differently shaped cheeks and never with corkscrew curls,<sup>29</sup> a crypto-portrait of a ruler added to an altarpiece

22 Klein, 124 (the date of 1486 for the last-preserved ring was a typographic error; the year 1436 is correct).

23 Erwin Pokorny, “Alart du Hameel and Jheronimus Bosch—Artistic Relations and Chronologies,” in *Jheronimus Bosch, his life and his work: the 4th International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, April 14–16, 2016* (’s-Hertogenbosch: Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 2016), 264–276.

24 BRCP, 306, note 6.

25 BRCP, 305–306, note 6–7.

26 Patrik Reuterwård, *Hieronymus Bosch* (Uppsala: University of Uppsala, 1970), 276.

27 BRCP, 297.

28 Stefan Fischer, *Jheronimus Bosch: Das vollständige Werk* (Köln: Taschen, 2013), 161, 250.

29 The curls, the shape of cheeks and hair are more comparable to those of the Christ-head of the Creator God in the paradise wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Cf. Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 37 (fig. 26) and 237 (fig. 180).



by no means indicates that he was the donor. In any case the hypothesis of Bavo and Philip became highly doubtful at the 3rd International Bosch Conference in 2012, when, independently of one another, Olga Karaskova-Hesry and Jos Koldeweij convincingly identified the saint as Saint Hippolytus.<sup>30</sup> Koldeweij went even further and hypothesized that Hippolyte de Berthoz commissioned the work.<sup>31</sup> This thesis is based primarily on the overpainted heraldic shield below Berthoz's hypothetical patron, the schema of which appears to correspond to that of Berthoz's family. In the shadowy x-ray image the sun in the center is vaguely perceptible but the division of the fields is consistent with those of Berthoz's shield.<sup>32</sup> What speaks against Berthoz as original commissioner is the overpainted single donor figure (Fig. 5.2). Both Berthoz and Philip the Fair would scarcely have had themselves immortalized alone. In the face of such a terrible Last Judgment no commissioner would have forgotten the salvation of his closest family members' souls. Perhaps the Vienna *Last Judgment* was originally planned for another donor, who, however, backed away from the commission after work had started. Berthoz could then have stepped in and had the wings painted with St. Hippolytus and St. James—Koldeweij suggests for this reason the St. James chapel in the St. Salvator church in Bruges as a possible original location—with his heraldic shield added beneath his patron saint.<sup>33</sup> A further change in commission would explain the overpainting of the shields. In its style and mounting the new, but empty, blazon is similar to that below the figure of St. Charles which Hippolyte's son Charles de Berthoz had added between 1503 and 1508 to the outside of his father's Hippolytus triptych from the 1470s.<sup>34</sup> Koldeweij thus suggests the year 1508 as a *terminus ante quem* for the Vienna triptych.<sup>35</sup>

The year 1508 had already been considered like this in another context: The Berlin Gemäldegalerie namely owns an exact 1:1 copy of the Vienna triptych by Lukas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), who visited the Netherlands in 1508 on a diplomatic mission for the Saxon elector. But this copy could not have been produced during Cranach's journey. Even if the tracings—without which such

30 Olga Karaskova-Hesry, "Vienna's Last Judgment", in *Jheronimus Bosch, his Patrons and his Public: the 3rd International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, September 16–18, 2012* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 2014), 142–158; Jos Koldeweij, "St. Bavo on the Vienna Last Judgment Unmasked as St. Hippolytus", in *Jheronimus Bosch, his Patrons and his Public*, 400–433.

31 Koldeweij, 418.

32 BRCP, 300, figs. 17.10–17.12.

33 Koldeweij, 422.

34 BRCP, 299, fig. 17.8–9.

35 BRCP, 300.

a close congruence would be impossible—were not very time consuming, it is difficult to imagine that such a vast number of color notes and detail watercolors would have been produced merely so that the coloration was correct down to the smallest detail, while definite stylistic liberties were taken with the figures. Either Cranach travelled to the Netherlands again later in order to work in front of the original, or the original was temporarily located in Saxony (as recently suggested by Tania de Nile).<sup>36</sup> In any case, a group of stags added to Paradise as well as the Wittenberg carpenters' hallmarks on the frame suggest a dating of the copy not before 1520.<sup>37</sup>

But let us return to the beginnings of the Vienna triptych, or rather to the unexecuted underdrawing of the donor (Fig. 5.2). This figure can be found at the lower left of the central panel in a relatively empty area of the overall composition, while numerous monstrous figures crowd the lower right. Thus, the donor figure was not already on the panel in some other context before the idea of a Last Judgment, but instead was integrated into the overall composition from the beginning. Except for the empty scroll rolled out along the ground, nothing of the underdrawing can be seen by the naked eye. Only in the infrared reflectography is it possible to discern a kneeling, middle-aged man facing left. Behind him his long coat forms a decorative gathering of folds, similar to the one Bosch also painted in *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (Madrid, Museo Fundación Lázaro Galdiano).<sup>38</sup> If the underdrawing had remained visible here, hands folded in prayer were probably raised up beneath the coat's wide sleeves. In keeping with this gesture, when the painting was executed the empty scroll would have been filled most likely with the donor's plea for salvation or mercy, directed to the Judge of the World. Except for the mouth and chin nothing can be discerned of the donor's face, drawn in three-quarter profile. But the position of the head suggests that his eyes were directed straight ahead.<sup>39</sup> His hair appears to be curly. It ends above the nape of his neck and does not fall to the shoulders (as with Philip the Fair).

He wears a high stiffened hat with a Robin Hood brim, pointed in front, like those found in some illuminated Franco-Flemish manuscripts of the 1460s and

36 See note 2.

37 Gunnar Heydenreich, *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Painting Materials, Techniques and Workshop Practice* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 311.

38 Suggestions for this painting's date vary greatly: ca. 1485–1510 (Silva Maroto, 260, no. 28) and ca. 1490–1500 (BRCP, no. 5).

39 That he does not lift his head to God, and leave his hat on when praying to him is not significant. In the copy drawing of a lost Bosch painting of *The Wedding at Cana* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques Collection Egmont de Rothschild; Koreny, *Bosch*, no. 39) the donor also wears a hat and does not look up at Christ.





FIGURE 5.3 *Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Raising of Lazarus, detail of patron, oil and tempera on panel, c. 1480–84, Musée du Louvre.*  
PHOTO: ALAMY.

1470s.<sup>40</sup> Down his back hangs a large chaperon very similar to the one Geertgen tot Sint Jans (ca. 1460/65–1490/95) painted on the back of a similarly kneeling donor in *The Raising of Lazarus* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) in the early 1480s (Fig. 5.3).<sup>41</sup> In both, the liripipe typical of a chaperon hangs down to the ground

40 For this reason Stefan Fischer, who dates the Vienna triptych c. 1506, makes the hypothesis that the overpainted figure means Charles the Bold drawn by Bosch as a placeholder for Philip the Fair. See Stefan Fischer, *Im Irrgarten der Bilder: Die Welt des Hieronymus Bosch* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2016), 136–137.

41 Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, Volume 5: Geertgen tot sint Jans and Jerome Bosch* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), pl. 7.

along the front of the figure. The material of the hat remains unclear. It could be fur or fabric fringes as Bosch painted on a similar hat in *The Crowning with Thorns* (London, The National Gallery), presumably in the 1490s.<sup>42</sup> The fact that Bosch painted a similar headdress even after 1490 can be explained by the fact that in the London painting he was intentionally historicizing a torturer of Christ, whereas of course he depicted his commissioner in contemporary clothing. Images of large chaperons like this can also be found in some miniatures in the *Roman de la Rose* of Count Engelbert of Nassau from the 1490s (London, British Library, Harley MS 4425).<sup>43</sup> There, however, they are worn in combination with small, low hats, which are already consistent with the berets fashionable later. Their low height made it possible also to wear them beneath the large chaperon. Anyway, the original donor would scarcely have had himself portrayed with any hat that had long been out of fashion. In conclusion, the two hats can be taken as further indications, together with the missing signature, Alart du Hameel's engraving, and the age of the wood, for dating the Vienna *Last Judgment* much earlier than hitherto presumed. Of course, as we know from the overpainted blazon, not the whole triptych was finished at the same time, but at least Bosch started his work about 1485–1490.

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42 BRCP, 260, no. 14.

43 Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 27, fig. 16.



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