

Jheronimus Bosch: his Patrons and his Public

What we know and would like to know

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Eric De Bruyn was awarded his doctorate in the year 2000 at the *Katholieke Universiteit Brussel* for a dissertation about the figure of the pedlar in the work of Jheronimus Bosch. It was published in 2001 as *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch. De symboliek van het Hooiwagen-drieluik en de Rotterdamse Marskramer-tondo verklaard vanuit Middelnederlandse teksten*. In 1999 Eric De Bruyn contributed to the exhibition *Uilenspiegel – de wereld op zijn kop* (Damme) and in 2003 he was co-organizer of the exhibition *De Zotte Schilders – Moraalridders van het penseel rond Bosch, Bruegel en Brouwer* (Mechelen). Eric De Bruyn teaches Dutch and English at the *Groenendaalcollege* in Antwerp.

In the concluding review of his 1987 monograph on Jheronimus Bosch, Roger Marijnissen wrote: 'In essays and studies on Bosch, too little attention has been paid to the people who actually ordered paintings from him'.¹ And in *L'ABCdaire de Jérôme Bosch*, a French book published in 2001, the same author warned: 'Ignoring the original destination and function of a painting, one is bound to lose the right path. The function remains a basic element, and even the starting point of all research. In Bosch's day, it was the main reason for a painting to exist'.² The third International Bosch Conference focuses precisely on this aspect, as we can read from the official announcement ('s-Hertogenbosch, September 2012): 'New information about the patrons of Bosch is of extraordinary importance, since such data will allow for a much better understanding of the original function of these paintings'. Gathering further information about the initial reception of Bosch's works is indeed one of the urgent desiderata of Bosch research for the years to come.

The objective of this introductory paper is to offer a state of affairs (up to September 2012) concerning the research on Bosch's patronage and on the original function of his paintings. I will focus on those things that can be considered proven facts but I will also briefly mention what seem to be the most interesting hypotheses and signal a number of desiderata for future research.

If we take the catalogue of Bosch paintings in Marijnissen 2007 as a guide, we first have to observe that the list of what we do not know is a long one. When it comes to patronage and original function, we know nothing essential about the following works:

- Vienna *Carrying of the Cross* wing
- Madrid *Carrying of the Cross*
- Rotterdam *Flood* panels
- London *Crowning with Thorns*
- Ghent *Hieronymus*
- Ghent *Carrying of the Cross*
- Rotterdam *St Christopher*
- The triptych of which the Rotterdam *Pedlar*, the Paris *Ship of Fools*, the New Haven fragment and the Washington *Death of a Miser* were probably once part.

The patronage and function of a number of works with disputed attributions are likewise unknown. These works include:

- Madrid *Seven Deadly Sins* panel
- Madrid *Saint Anthony* panel
- Saint-Germain-en-Laye *Conjuror*
- New York *Adoration of the Magi* panel
- Bruges *Last Judgement* triptych
- Rotterdam *Wedding at Cana*

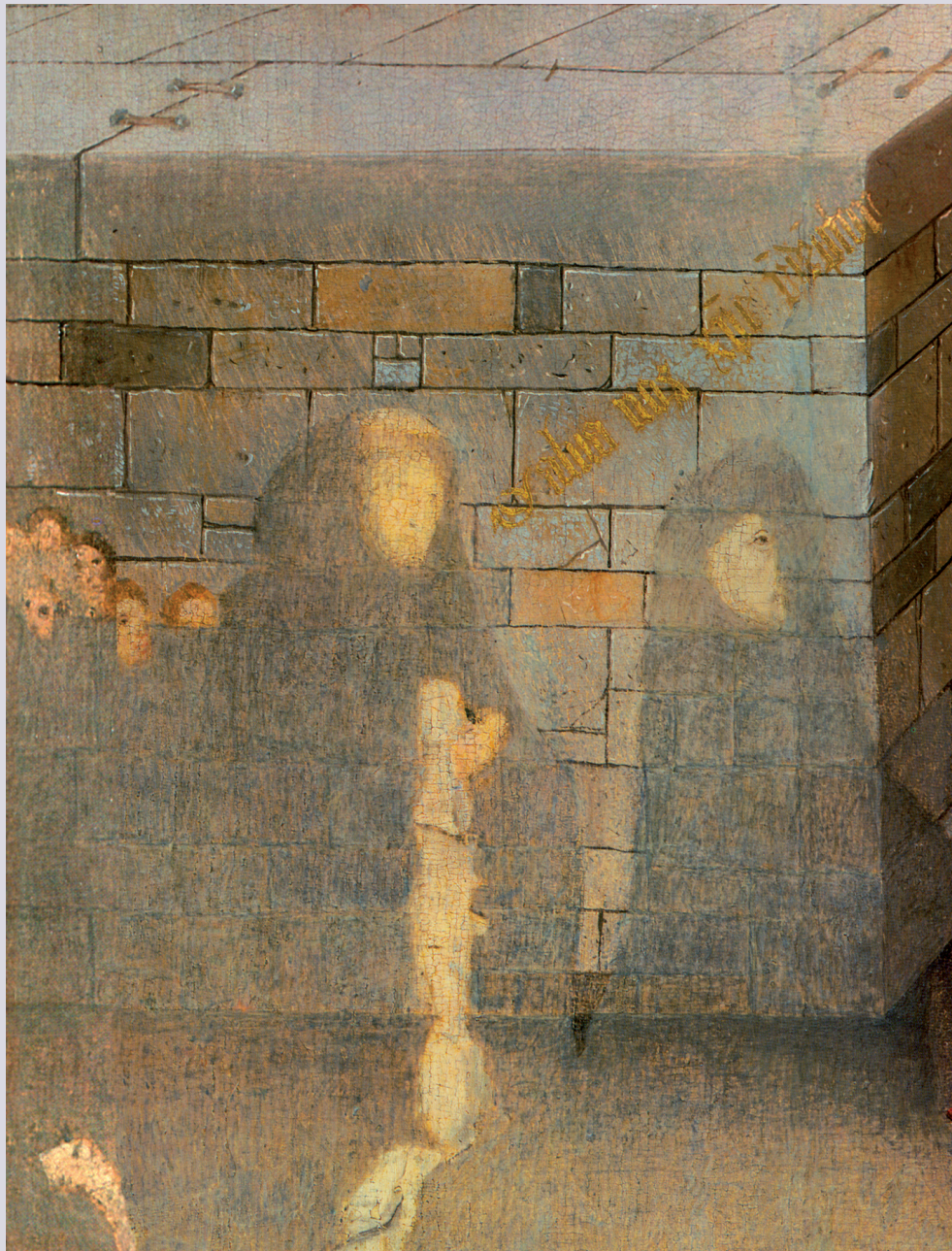


Detail from: Jheronimus Bosch, *Crucifixion with donor*, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts de Belgique

In the case of the Rotterdam *Wedding at Cana* Peter Klein's dendrochronological research has shown we are dealing with a sixteenth-century painting of about 1561, although it could still be a copy based on a Bosch prototype.³

In three paintings attributed to Bosch and in one painting attributed to his workshop, the portraits of one or more donors can still be seen with the naked eye. In the Brussels *Crucifixion*, which can be dated to around 1490, Bosch painted an as yet unidentified male donor, accompanied by St Peter. This does not necessarily mean the donor's first name is Peter, but it is highly probable. The praying man wears a cloak and striped trousers and carries a sword. During a restoration in 1966–7, traces of a later overpainting, probably depicting St Magdalene, were discovered in the area around the donor. We do not know when the overpainting was removed again.⁴ In 2001, Arvi Wattel, who believes the painting is a memorial panel, suggested the donor could be a knight.⁵ In 2007, Marijnissen suggested he could be a 'courtier or an officer in the service of a lord'.⁶ Father Gerlach suggested we are dealing here with Peter van Os, who served as the town secretary of 's-Hertogenbosch in around 1500, but this has become highly improbable since Lucas van Dijck identified Peter van Os as one of the donors on the Boston *Ecce Homo* triptych and there is no physical resemblance between this Peter van Os and the man in the Brussels *Crucifixion*.⁷

Accompanied by his patron St Peter and his family coat of arms and wearing the insignia of the Confraternity of Our Lady, Peter van Os is represented in the left-hand inner wing of the Boston *Ecce Homo* triptych. In the right-hand inner wing we see Peter's first wife, Henrixke van Langel, dressed as a nun and with her family coat of arms. She is accompanied by St Catherine, according to Van Dijck because there is no St Henrica and because Catherine must have been the name of the dead baby painted at her knees. Henrixke van Langel herself died in around January of the year 1500. In the left-hand outer wing we see Peter van Os' father-in-law, the town secretary Franco van Langel with his sons, one of whom (Jan) was a Cistercian monk. Franco van Langel was also a member of the Confraternity of Our Lady and died in 1497. He and his sons are accompanied by St John the Evangelist, according to Van Dijck because there is no St Franco, which is why the choice fell upon the patron saint of the local church of St John. Perhaps there is a link with the monastic son Jan (John) who is portrayed close to St John? In the right-hand outer wing we see Franco van Langel's wife, Heilwich Henriksdochter van der Rullen and her daughters. The daughter in the front is Lysbeth, who was a nun in 's-Hertogenbosch and right behind her we see Henrixke van Langel again. Van Dijck suggests that the painting was commissioned at Bosch's workshop as a memorial triptych shortly after 1500, but according to Arvi Wattel the dead baby in the right-hand inner wing was added later and he dates the painting to around 1496–7. In that period Peter and Henrixke married and Peter entered the Confraternity of Our Lady.⁸ Living in the same city as Bosch, having commissioned a painting from his workshop and being a member of the same confraternity, Peter van Os must have been very well acquainted with Bosch. It is interesting to know then that this Peter van Os wrote a city chronicle about 's-Hertogenbosch in the years 1513–15 but, remarkably enough, Bosch is completely absent in his text.⁹



Detail from: Jheronimus Bosch, *Ecce Homo*, Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie

The Boston *Ecce Homo*, especially the central panel, seems to have been inspired by the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo*, which was painted after 1484. In the bottom left-hand and bottom right-hand corners a donor family was overpainted at some stage – this overpainting was removed in 1983.¹⁰ To the left we can see the father and his sons, one of whom seems to be a Dominican monk, and to the right we see the mother and her daughters. Because the Dominican is depicted larger than the other persons, he could also be the patron saint of the father. The first line of a prayer emanates from his mouth: *Salva nos Christe redemptor*, save us, Christ the Redeemer. As Arvi Wattel and Roger Marijnissen have pointed out, this suggests that we are dealing with a memorial panel again. Unfortunately, because of the overpainting the quality of what we can see today is very low, which is why Marijnissen wrote in 2007 that there is little hope it will ever be possible to identify this donor family.¹¹

Thanks to Paul Vandenbroeck and Xavier Duquenne the identification of the donors in the Prado *Adoration of the Magi* has been more successful.¹² In the left-hand inner wing we see a male donor with his patron saint St Peter, his coat of arms and a motto: *Een voer al*, one for all. In the right-hand inner wing a female donor has been painted with her family coat of arms and her patron saint St Agnes. The former identification of these donors as Peter Bronchorst and Agnes Bosschuyse has been proven wrong. The man is Peter Scheyfve, dean of the Antwerp Drapers' Guild, and the woman is his second wife, Agnes de Gramme, daughter of an important Antwerp functionary. The old man and the young boy in the closed wings were added later. Duquenne suggests they are Jan Scheyfve, Peter and Agnes's son, and Peeter de Gramme, Agnes's father and thus Jan's grandfather. Based on archival evidence Duquenne thinks the triptych was painted around 1494. One of the noteworthy results of these recent findings is the link they establish between Bosch and the city of Antwerp (some 70 kilometres from 's-Hertogenbosch) where, in the middle of the sixteenth century, there must have been a booming interest in Bosch and his painted world.

A further indication of the link between Bosch and the higher classes of Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch is supplied by the Bruges *Temptations of Job* triptych, generally attributed to Bosch's workshop and dated to after 1510.¹³ In the closed wings we can see the coats of arms of the families Van de Voorde, Maes, De Haro and Pijnappels. These arms seem to lead to the married couple Jacob van de Voorde, an Antwerp alderman who died in 1520, and Christina van Driele. Jacob's parents were Pieter van de Voorde and Maria Maes. Christina's parents were Jacob van Driele and Joanna Pijnappels, but after her first husband's death (before 1506) Joanna remarried to Diego de Haro, a Spanish patrician living in Antwerp. Joanna's father was Jan Pijnappels, a citizen of 's-Hertogenbosch and a contemporary of Bosch. The triptych seems to have been commissioned between 1506 (death of Jacob van Driele) and 1520 (death of Jacob van de Voorde), which perfectly matches the results of the dendrochronological research (earliest felling date of the tree supplying the wood: 1499).¹⁴ The commissioners may therefore have been Jacob van de Voorde and Christina van Driele, but as the coats of arms appear to be somewhat younger than the rest of the painting, Diego de Haro and Jan Pijnappels are also good candidates. According to Van Dijck, Jan Pijnappels is also the curly-haired



Detail from: Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *Crowning with Thorns*, San Lorenzo de El Escorial

donor on the Madrid *Crowning with Thorns*, a painting that according to dendrochronological research can only have been painted after Bosch's death but which could be a copy after an authentic work. Van Dijck bases his identification on the pine cone (*pijnappel* in Dutch) which has been painted on the man's lapel.¹⁵ Meanwhile we should not forget that in 1608 local historians reported the presence of a number of works by Bosch in the 's-Hertogenbosch church (cathedral) of St John, among them an altarpiece about the creation of the world.¹⁶ This further testifies to Bosch's patronage in his home town.

Apart from the four paintings with portraits of donors, there are also three Bosch paintings with donors who can no longer be seen with the naked eye. Since 1996 we know, thanks to infrared reflectography, that under the strange plant to the left of St John the Baptist in the panel of the Madrid Museo Lazaro-Galdiano, the figure of a praying male donor is hidden.¹⁷ The infrared photograph that was published by Roger Van Schoute is not very clear, but the man, who is wearing the same type of bonnet as Peeter Scheyfve, seems to be dressed as a well-to-do commoner or patrician.¹⁸ In 2001, Jos Koldeweij proposed the interesting hypothesis that both the Madrid *St John The Baptist* and the Berlin *St John on Patmos* were painted by Bosch for the altarpiece of the 's-Hertogenbosch Confraternity of Our Lady, shortly after 1489.¹⁹ Koldeweij identifies the donor as Jan van Vladeracken, who was dean of the confraternity when in 1488/9 the wood for the upper outer wings of the polyptych was ordered from a local carpenter. We know for certain that Bosch did a number of what could be called 'minor jobs' for the confraternity and for the *Tafel van de Heilige Geest* (Table of the Holy Ghost), a local charitable institution. In this context an important but rather disconcerting observation was made by Van Dijck in 1973. Next to the archival accounts that have survived up to the present day, the Confraternity of Our Lady kept another administration in the form of an account book for the money in a special chest that was spent on larger works of art. Unfortunately this account book has been lost.²⁰

Since 1958, thanks to X-rays and infrared photography, we also know that in the left-hand and right-hand inner wing of the Venice *Crucified Martyr* triptych, two male donors were overpainted at some stage.²¹ Did Bosch recycle old panels, did he overpaint the donors himself for some reason or were the donors overpainted after Bosch's death? We do not know. From the X-ray photographs that were published by Marijnissen, we can tell that the two men are dressed in more or less the same fashion as Peeter Scheyfve. But their identity remains a mystery. Nowadays, the *Crucified Martyr* triptych can be seen in the Ducal Palace in Venice, together with the *Wings of a lost Last Judgement* and the *Hermit Saints* triptych. This 'Italian connection' goes back to the early sixteenth century, as was established by Bernard Aikema in 2001.²² In 1521, the Venetian patrician Marcantonio Michiel reports that he has seen three works by 'Hieronymo Bosch' in the collection of the Venetian cardinal Domenico Grimani (+1523), but their subjects do not match the paintings we can see in Venice today. In 1664, though, the art critic Marco Bosschini signals the presence of a triptych with a crucified female saint attributed to 'Girolamo Bassi' in the Ducal Palace and in 1733 Antonio Maria Zanetti signals the same triptych again, attributing it to 'Girolamo Bosch', and another one



Details from: Jheronimus Bosch, *Adoration of the Magi*, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

by the same painter, the subject of this latter painting being St Hieronymus and two other saints. This leads to the conclusion that it is possible, but far from definite, that the three Bosch works in Venice today originally belonged to the collection of Cardinal Grimani. This in turn reopens the discussion about whether Bosch ever travelled to Italy or not. Aikema suggests that Cardinal Grimani bought the works on the art market.

Since 1972, thanks to infrared reflectography, we know that the paint in the bottom left-hand corner of the central panel of the Vienna *Last Judgement* triptych hides a kneeling male donor with a banderole.²³ These details were planned in the underdrawing but not executed during the painting stage. A picture of this man was published by Van Schoute in 2001 but it is very vague and this makes it hard to draw any further conclusions. The closed wings of the Vienna triptych represent St James the Greater and St Bavo. In a book published posthumously in 1983, Dirk Bax draws attention to a physical resemblance between St Bavo and the Burgundian duke Philip the Fair.²⁴ This resemblance is indeed not without ground. Bax also signalled that whereas Bavo is a typical Flemish saint, St James the Greater is the patron saint of Spain. As Philip's wife, Joanna la Loca (the Mad) was heiress to Castille from 1500 on, both saints would refer to Philip and Joanna, a Burgundian-Castillian couple. Interestingly enough, at the bottom of the closed wings we can see two escutcheons, but unfortunately they are blank. Have they been overpainted? We do not know. What we do know for sure is that Philip the Fair ordered a *Last Judgement* triptych from Bosch in 1504. The measures given in the archival source, however, do not correspond with the sizes of the Vienna triptych, although Arvi Wattel suggests that with the frame and a predella the measurements do come closer to each other.²⁵ Van Schoute rightly remarked that it is unknown whether the commission was ever carried out at all, but perhaps Bosch was still working on the triptych when Philip died, two years later, in 1506.²⁶ Is that why he left the escutcheons blank and overpainted the donor on the central panel? Again we do not know.

The 1504 commission by Philip the Fair is not the only indication of a strong link between Bosch and the highest nobility in the Netherlands and elsewhere. It seems that Joanna's mother, Isabella la Católica, queen of Castille from 1474 to 1504, possessed at least one, perhaps even more, Bosch paintings, thus creating a 'Spanish connection'. Philip's sister, Margaret of Austria, owned a *St Anthony* panel 'qui est fait de Jheronimus Bosch' in her palace at Malines in 1516. The archival source tells us it was given to her by Jhorine, a chambermaid of one of her ladies-in-waiting. In 1505, Philip the Fair himself presented his father, Maximilian I, with a large painting about the history of St Anthony. This may have been a work by Bosch, perhaps even the triptych which is now in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon.²⁷

Furthermore, there is the case of the *Garden of Delights* triptych. Thanks to a passage in the travel journal of the Italian canon Antonio de Beatis, referred to by both Steppe and Gombrich in 1967, and thanks to an archival source brought to light by Paul Vandenbroeck in 2001, it is more than probable that in 1517, one year after Bosch died, the triptych was located in the

Brussels palace of Count Henry III of Nassau, lord of Breda and tutor of the young Charles V, Philip the Fair's son.²⁸ This means that the *Garden of Delights* was commissioned either by Henry himself, or by his uncle, Count Engelbert II of Nassau, whose heir he was. Engelbert, who died in 1504, was closely related to the Burgundian court and visited 's-Hertogenbosch several times, but so did Henry, whom we even know to have been an 'external member' of the Confraternity of Our Lady.²⁹ As yet we cannot tell for sure whether it was Engelbert or Henry who commissioned the *Garden* but the discussion among experts is still going strong and will perhaps yield results in the near future. The most recent contributions to this discussion have been delivered by Bernard Vermet and by Reindert Falkenburg who are both in favour of Engelbert II as commissioner.³⁰

It is worth mentioning that Mencia de Mendoza, Henry's third (Spanish) wife, seems to have possessed several paintings by or after Bosch, among them a *Haywain* that apparently got damaged or was perhaps lost in a shipwreck (since she ordered her Antwerp business minder Arnao del Plano to find, and buy, a new one) and the *Crowning with Thorns* triptych which is now in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Valencia.³¹ The archives of Mencia de Mendoza, which are kept in Barcelona, certainly deserve further research.

According to a 1529 inventory, a very close friend of Henry III, Philip of Burgundy, an illegitimate son of Duke Philip the Good, admiral of the Burgundian navy and from 1516 on bishop of Utrecht, possessed a painting that shows Lubbert Das being cut from the stone (probably the *Cutting of the Stone* panel now in the Prado or another version of it) and a canvas *geschildert bij Jeronimus Bosch*, painted by Bosch, with a comical subject.³² More meticulous research on the link between Bosch and Philip of Burgundy might yield fruitful results.

It is clear that in the sixteenth century several *Haywain* paintings were circulating because in 1570, Philip II, king of Spain, bought six Bosch paintings from the heirs of Don Felipe de Guevara, among them a *Haywain* triptych. This Felipe de Guevara is known as the author of *Comentarios de la Pintura*, which contains a highly relevant passage on Bosch. Felipe was an illegitimate son of Don Diego de Guevara, an agent of the Spanish kings at the courts of Philip the Fair and later of Philip's son Charles V. Diego de Guevara was also a noted lover and collector of Flemish paintings. Moreover, he was an 'external member' of the Confraternity of Our Lady from 1498/99 on. When Diego died in 1520, Felipe filed a lawsuit against his uncle Pedro de Guevara about his father's collection of paintings. Pedro, his father's brother, was a captain in the service of Count Henry III of Nassau. Felipe won the lawsuit and in this way he probably acquired the *Haywain* that was later bought by Philip II. Inevitably all this leads to the question: did Diego de Guevara commission a *Haywain* triptych from Bosch?³³ We cannot tell for sure, but clearly the relationship between the De Guevara family and Bosch should be further examined in the near future.

From all the facts and indications summed up above we are able to conclude that Bosch's intended viewers should be sought among the well-to-do patricians and highest nobility of

his time. An important role seems to have been played by the Confraternity of Our Lady, of which Bosch himself was a member. This conclusion may come as no surprise, not only because the authentic Bosch paintings that have come down to us would have been expensive and could only be afforded by the wealthy, but also because the primary reception of Bosch's works corresponds with what we know about other late-medieval Brabantine and Flemish painters. Jan van Eyck, for example, worked for the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good and for Ghent patricians, and Rogier van der Weyden was active in the ducal environment whereas he was also the city painter of Brussels.³⁴ Dirk Bouts received commissions from the Louvain city council, from several ecclesiastical institutions in and outside Louvain and from members of the Burgundian court.³⁵ It is striking that in the historical data there are no traces of monastic commissions, although some authors, referring to Matthias Grünewald's famous triptych now in Colmar, have claimed that the Lisbon *St Anthony* triptych may have been painted for a monastery of Antonite monks. The only monastic link seems to be that the Brussels Dominican monastery owned an altarpiece by Bosch, but the source here is a very late one: it dates from 1627 to 1629.³⁶

Many of the Bosch works discussed so far are triptychs or fragments of triptychs. Although most Bosch scholars will agree that a great number of these paintings originally functioned as altarpieces in a church or chapel, we should also mention the debate that has been going on for some years, especially concerning the *Haywain* and the *Garden of Delights*, about whether larger triptychs can automatically be regarded as altarpieces. Some authors have also raised the questions: did Bosch only paint on commission or did he sell some of his works on the free market, and did Bosch also paint profane works? Paintings such as the *Lubbert Das* panel, the canvas with a comical subject owned by Philip of Burgundy, and the canvas with a scene in front of an inn that was on display at the Rotterdam exhibition in 2001 (Malines, private collection)³⁷ seem to suggest that Bosch, or at least his workshop, also produced cheaper works with non-religious themes and that because they were mainly painted on canvas, most of them have been lost. In 2003, Peter van den Brink argued that in the second half of the sixteenth century a lot of Bosch copies and imitations circulated on the free market, but whether Bosch himself or his workshop also aimed at this market of potential buyers remains unclear.³⁸

If we closely stick to what we know for sure, we have to conclude that Bosch worked on commission for wealthy high-class urban and noble patrons. But future research may complete or even correct this view.

1 I quote the 2007 expanded reprint: R.H. Marijnissen and P. Ruyffelaere, *Hieronymus Bosch. The Complete Works*. S.I., 2007, p. 468.

2 Roger-Henri Marijnissen and Peter Ruyffelaere, *L'ABCdaire de Jérôme Bosch*. Paris, 2001, p. 58. The English translation is mine.

- 3 Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet and Barbera van Kooij (eds), *Hieronymus Bosch. New Insights Into His Life and Work*. Rotterdam, 2001, p. 129.
- 4 R. H. Marijnissen and P. Ruyffelaere, *op. cit.*, 2007 (see note 1), p. 346.
- 5 Arvi Wattel, "Stichterportretten bij Jheronimus Bosch", in: *Desipientia – zin & waan*, vol. 8, no. 2 (September 2001), p. 17 (note 5).
- 6 R. H. Marijnissen and P. Ruyffelaere, *op. cit.*, 2007 (see note 1), p. xvi (supplement).
- 7 P. Gerlach, "Een Drieluik van Jeroen Bosch", in: *Met gansen Trou*, vol. XXV (1975), p. 90; G. C. M. van Dijck, "Peter van Os ontmaskerd. Het drieluik van Boston", in: *De Brabantse Leeuw*, vol. 47 (1998), no. 2, pp. 116–124.
- 8 Arvi Wattel, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 5), pp. 11–12.
- 9 A. M. van Lith-Droogleeve Fortuijn, J. G. M. Sanders and G. A. M. van Syngel (eds), *Kroniek van Peter van Os. Geschiedenis van 's-Hertogenbosch en Brabant van Adam tot 1523*. The Hague, 1997.
- 10 R. H. Marijnissen and P. Ruyffelaere, *op. cit.*, 2007 (see note 1), p. 368.
- 11 Arvi Wattel, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 5), p. 11; R. H. Marijnissen and P. Ruyffelaere, *op. cit.*, 2007 (see note 1), p. xvii (supplement).
- 12 Paul Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch. De verlossing van de wereld*. Ghent-Amsterdam, 2002, pp. 176, 314; Xavier Duquenne, "La famille Scheyfve et Jérôme Bosch", in: *L'intermédiaire des Généalogistes*, no. 349 (January–February 2004), pp. 1–19.
- 13 Aquilin Janssens de Bisthoven, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeningemuseum) Brugge. Bewerkt en aangevuld naar de 1e Nederlandse en de 2e Franse uitgave met de medewerking van M. Baes-Dondeyne en D. De Vos*. Brussels, 1981, pp. 55–67.
- 14 Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet and Barbera van Kooij (eds), *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 3), p. 126.
- 15 G. C. M. van Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken alias Bosch. De feiten. Familie, vrienden en opdrachtgevers ca. 1400 – ca. 1635*. Zaltbommel, 2001, pp. 64–65.
- 16 G. C. M. van Dijck, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 15), pp. 119–120.
- 17 R. H. Marijnissen and P. Ruyffelaere, *op. cit.*, 2007 (see note 1), pp. xiii–xiv (supplement).
- 18 Roger Van Schoute and Monique Verboomen, *Jérôme Bosch*. Tournai, 2001, p. 181 (ill. 18).
- 19 Jos Koldeweij, "Het oeuvre van Jheronimus Bosch", in: Jan van Oudheusden and Aart Vos (eds), *De Wereld van Bosch*. 's-Hertogenbosch, 2001, pp. 110–116.
- 20 G. C. M. van Dijck, *Bossche Optimalen. Geschiedenis van de Illustere Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1318-1973*. Tilburg, 1973, p. 104.
- 21 R. H. Marijnissen and P. Ruyffelaere, *op. cit.*, 2007 (see note 1), pp. 260–264.
- 22 Bernard Aikema, "Hieronymus Bosch and Italy?", in: Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet and Barbera van Kooij (eds.), *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 3), pp. 25–31.
- 23 Roger Van Schoute and Monique Verboomen, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 18), p. 181 (ill. 19).
- 24 Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch and Lucas Cranach. Two Last Judgement Triptychs. Description and exposition*. Amsterdam-Oxford-New York, 1983, pp. 317–320.
- 25 G. C. M. van Dijck, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 15), p. 91; Arvi Wattel, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 5), pp. 15–16.
- 26 Roger Van Schoute and Monique Verboomen, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 18), p. 19.
- 27 For the data in this paragraph, see G. C. M. van Dijck, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 15), pp. 91–92.
- 28 J. K. Steppe, "Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdrage tot de historische en de ikonografische studie van zijn werk", in: *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen bij gelegenheid van de herdenkingstentoonstelling te 's-Hertogenbosch 1967*. 's-Hertogenbosch, 1967, pp. 8–11; E. H. Gombrich, "The Earliest Description of Bosch's *Garden of Delight*", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. XXX (1967), pp. 403–406; Paul Vandenbroeck, "High Stakes in Brussels, 1567. The Garden of Earthly Delights as the Crux of the Conflict Between William the Silent and the Duke of Alva", in: Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet and Barbera van Kooij (eds), *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 3), pp. 87–90.
- 29 Paul Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch. Tussen volksleven en stadscultuur*. Berchem, 1987, p. 165; P.M. le Blanc, *Jheronimus Bosch. Opstellen over leven en werk door drs. P. Gerlach, O.F.M. Cap*. 's-Hertogenbosch-'s-Gravenhage, 1988, p. 182.
- 30 Bernard Vermet, "Baldass was right. The Chronology of the Paintings of Jheronimus Bosch", in: Eric De Bruyn and Jos Koldeweij (eds), *Jheronimus Bosch. His Sources. 2nd International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, May 22-25, Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 's-Hertogenbosch, the Netherlands*. 's-Hertogenbosch, 2010, pp. 296–319; Reindert Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness. Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights*. S.l., 2011.
- 31 G. C. M. van Dijck, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 15), pp. 94–95.
- 32 J. Sterk, *Philips van Bourgondië (1465-1524). Bisschop van Utrecht als protagonist van de Renaissance. Zijn leven en maecenaat*. Zutphen, 1980, pp. 225, 248.
- 33 For the data in this paragraph, see Eric De Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldtaal van Jheronimus Bosch. De symboliek van de Hooiwagen-triptiek en de Rotterdamse Marskramer-tondo verklaard vanuit Middelnederlandse teksten*. Dissertation edition, 's-Hertogenbosch, 2001, pp. 35–36.
- 34 W. Prevenier, "Court and city culture in the Low Countries from 1100 to 1530", in: Erik Kooper (ed.), *Medieval Dutch literature in its European context*. Cambridge, 1994, p. 20.
- 35 Maurits Smeyers (ed.), *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475), een Vlaams Primitief te Leuven*. Leuven, 1998, pp. 13–15.
- 36 G. C. M. van Dijck, *op. cit.*, 2001 (see note 15), p. 123.
- 37 Eric De Bruyn and Jan Op de Beeck, *De Zotte Schilders. Moraalridders van het penseel rond Bosch, Bruegel en Brouwer*. Ghent, 2003, pp. 56–63.
- 38 Peter van den Brink, "Hieronymus Bosch as model provider for a copyright free market", in: Hélène Verougstraete and Roger Van Schoute (eds), *Le dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture. Colloque XIV. 13-15 septembre 2001. Bruges-Rotterdam. Jérôme Bosch et son entourage et autres études*. Louvain-Paris-Dudley (Ma.), 2003, pp. 84–101.