

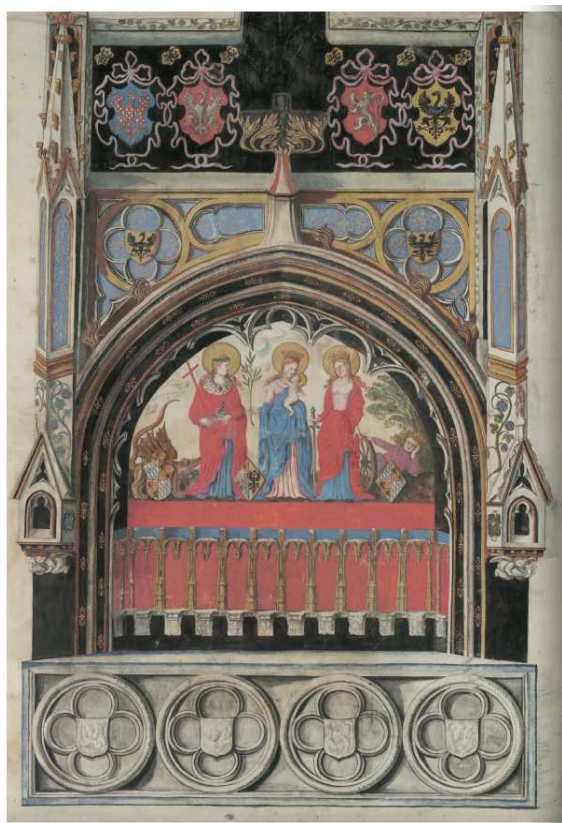
Baldass was right, part IIa

The dating of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*

An update¹

This first part of the article is an extended version of the one I originally wrote for the *Festschrift* for prof. Jos Koldewey, which mainly focussed on my rejection of dating the *Garden of Earthly Delights* in the late 1490's or early 1500's by Koldewey & Ilsink in 2016. The editors preferred articles focussing on one specific new finding or insight and asked if I could rewrite my text to fit the format. The new finding or insight however - that the *Garden* is an early work by Bosch instead of a late one - was put forward by me in 2001 and further elaborated on in 2007/10.² An analysis of the present state of acceptance of my thesis seemed an appropriate subject to me, following the 2016 eruption of new publications. However, the editors thought otherwise, found it too negative towards people and arguments and were hoping that "after the burning down something would start to blossom."³

So I wrote another article.⁴



1. M. Ilsink, B. de Klerck, A. Willemsen (ed.), *Het einde van de middeleeuwen*, Nijmegen, 2019, pp. 274/5.

Het Haagse grafmonument voor Margaretha van Brieg

— Bernard M. Vermet

In het Leids archief (tegenwoordig onderdeel van Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken) bevinden zich vier gekleurde tekeningen op perkament die door stadsarchivaris Charles Boer in 1901 aan het archief werden nagelaten. Dat betekent dat hij een connectie met Leiden of omgeving veronderstelde.¹ In 1907 nam zijn opvolger Jacob Overvoorde ze op in de gedrukte inventaris onder de rubriek *Koudekerk*, waarmee hij waarschijnlijk de identificatie van Boer volgde.² Alle vier zijn op kalkspierkament en ongeveer even oud, maar niet van één hand. De belangrijkste van de vier, volgens Overvoorde een "rijk versierde altaaropstand", is het onderwerp van deze bijdrage (afb. 2.02).³

Identificatie van de tombe

In februari 1386 overleed Margaretha van Brieg, echtgenote van de Hollandse graaf Albrecht I van Beieren. Albrecht liet voor haar een tombe oprichten in de Haagse Hofkapel.⁴ Na Albrechts overlijden in 1404 werd ook hij daarin bijgezet. In 1436 gevolgd door hun kleindochter Jacoba van Beieren. In 1927 wijddt Magdi Tóth-Übbers in *Oud Holland* een artikel aan de tombe.⁵ In 1984 werden haar gegevens verder aangevuld door Ben van der Klooster.⁶ In 1990 was Dick de Boer de laatste die nieuw bronzen materiaal wist aan te dragen.⁷ Geen van drieën, echter, kende een afbeelding. Dankzij de wapenschilden bleek het niet moeilijk de Leidse tekening nu als Margaretha's tombe te identificeren.

De in 1342 geboren Margaretha van Brieg – het huidige Brieg in Polen – stamde uit de Silezische tak van de Piastendynastie en was gelieerd aan de Poolse en Boheemse vorstenhuizen. Op onze tekening zien we boven de wapens van (van links naar rechts) Moravie, Polen, Bohemen en Silezië. Het wapen van Silezië is tevens het familiewapen van Margaretha en keert nog negen maal terug op de tombe. Over de schildering in de nis is haar wapen gedeeld met dat van Albrecht en staat het tussen het wapen van Albrecht zelf, links, en dat van Jacoba

van Beieren, rechts. Jacoba's wapen is niet gedeeld met dat van haar man, Frank van Borssele. Franks verstandhouding met Filips de Goede werd na het huwelijk nooit meer als voordien en Jacoba's wens om bij Franks familie in Sint-Maartensdijk te worden begraven werd niet ingewilligd.

Bouw en locatie

Uit de betalingen in de Grafelijke Rekeningen valt de volgende chronologie samen te stellen (met verwijzing naar de eerste publicatie: T voor Tóth-Übbers, K voor Van der Klooster, B voor De Boer):

- 7 december 1386: twee lieden die naar Den Haag gekomen waren "ende een tumme maken souden over mijne vrouwen graf" inclusief hun terugreis: 4 gulden - 158 gd (in de rekenmunt) (T).⁸
- Door De Boer geïnterpreteerd als een eerste, afgebozen project.
- 9 december 1386: een man om in Doornik een meester voor de tombe te zoeken: 208 10/16d (B).
- 13 januari 1387: twee werklieden om in Valenciennes "der keizerinnen tumme te besien hoe sie gemaect was op dat si daer na een ander maken mochten over myne vrouwen graf inden haghe": 6 gulden - 158 6d (T).
- 31 maart 1387: Jan die Beyer "die beeldemaker" voor het in de afgelegen winter zoeken naar geschikte meesters in Brussel en Utrecht om de tombe te maken: 4 gulden - 158 gd (T). Volgens Tóth was De Beyer waarschijnlijk iemand in vaste dienst bij het Haagse Hof. Omdat geen andere vermeldingen van hem bekend zijn, ziet De Boer in hem een sleutelfiguur die speciaal hiervoor uit Duitsland naar Den Haag was gekomen.
- 1388-89: zes betalingen vanaf november 1388 voor hout- en ijzerwerk, zoals haken en krammen (4 pond), het "verstellen, vermakon ende scapen" van de beitel (6 pond) en 150 pond gewicht "van yseren scaffen" (15 pond). Het gebruik van "scaffen", schaven, betekent dat de tombe van Avesnessteen n'al zijn gemaakt.⁹ De betaling in

[2001] Jan v. Koldewey, 'Het grafmonument van Margaretha van Brieg in de Hofkapel te Den Haag (1386-1389)', ca. 1580, tekening op perkament, 74 x 50 cm. Leiden, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, sign. 76371.

- 1 I like to thank Stephen Hitchins and Larry Silver for saving me and the readers from some of my worst violations of English grammar and syntax.
- 2 Bernard Vermet, 'Hieronymus Bosch: painter, workshop or style?' in: *Hieronymus Bosch: The Complete Paintings and Drawings*, Rotterdam 2001, pp. 84-99.
B.M. Vermet, 'Baldass was right: The chronology of the paintings of Jheronimus Bosch', in: *Jheronimus Bosch: His Sources. 2nd International Jheronimus Bosch Conference May 22-25, 2007*, 's-Hertogenbosch 2010, pp. 296-319.
- 3 E-mail 13 Nov. 2018
- 4 Bernard M. Vermet, 'Het Haagse grafmonument voor Margaretha van Brieg', in: M. Ilsink, B. de Klerck, A. Willemsen (ed.), *Het einde van de middeleeuwen*, Nijmegen 2019, pp. 274-279, 344.

This left me with a text that, without the limitation to 2500 words, could be extended and supplemented with comments made by other authors regarding the dating the *Garden* in recent years as well. For a clear understanding it is essential to read my 2007/10 '*Baldass was right*' article first. Some of my arguments for an early dating of the *Garden* will come along here again, but I will not repeat them systematically, nor will I do so on the dating of other works. However, since the official publication had only three images, I might download a version with more of the images used in my original 2007 lecture.

1. Pilar Silva and the Prado

"What arguments are there actually against an early dating of the *Garden*?" On Monday, July 10, 2000 I asked Pilar Silva Maroto and Joaquín Yarza Luaces that question during the lunch break of a symposium on the restoration of the *Garden* in the Prado. The latter responded as if bitten by a snake, with a sonorous "Noooo" that seemed to come from the bottom of his toes. Pilar Silva's "Nononono" sounded less ominous, but just as decisive. Since then, however she has fallen a decade with her dating.

In the catalogue accompanying the exhibition on the restoration, Pilar Silva gave "*c. 1500-1510*" as the date for the *Garden*.⁵ She stuck to the same dating in a piece that was still on the Prado website on 30 December 2016.⁶ Elsewhere, the Prado often gave the date "*c. 1500-1505*."⁷ It was only in the catalogue accompanying the 2016 Bosch Exhibition that she changed her dating to "*c. 1490-1500*."⁸ Subsequently the old dating gradually disappeared from all Prado sites.

In an online review of the exhibition, Jamie Edwards wrote about this change:

*"I was also pleased to see that the Prado now not only endorses the suggestion that Engelbrecht was the work's patron but also concedes that this must have bearing on the triptych's date, which must have been executed before 1504 (the year of Engelbrechts's death). On both scores, the Prado unfortunately lagged behind. Experts, namely, Vermet, have been arguing that the Garden is early and most probably commissioned by Engelbrecht for some time. (As an aside, but an important one nonetheless, the catalogue rather unfairly, in my view, glosses over the careful scholarship done in this regard. It, for example, summarily dismisses Vermet's arguments (plural) in this respect, citing instead only the 2001 exhibition catalogue, co-edited by Vermet, and accusing him of having no evidence to support a date in the 1480s, which is patently and misleadingly untrue... as anybody familiar with the literature will know. Once more, this brings into sharp focus the sometimes rather nasty nature of the "politics of art".)"*⁹

Pilar Silva was not the only one glossing over it.

5 El jardín de las delicias de El Bosco: copias, estudio técnico y restauración, Prado Madrid, exhibition (with catalogue) 23 June -10 Sept. 2000, symposium 10-11 July 2000.

6 Pilar Silva Maroto, Jardín de las delicias, El [El Bosco], version 30 Dec. 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160924042359/https://www.museodelprado.es/recurso/jardin-de-las-delicias-el-el-bosco/578702d4-4420-4e97-8518-8363a1fc2c9e> (consulted 1 Oct. 2018)

7 F.i. in the online catalogue of the museum, at least until April 2016 (consulted around that time) and in: Trinidad de Antonio Saenz en José Riello, *Guía de visita*, Madrid, Museo del Prado 2012.

8 Exh. cat. *Bosch: the 5th centenary exhibition*, Madrid, Museo del Prado. 31 May -25 Sept. 2016, cat.no. 46, p. 330.

9 Jamie Edwards, *Bosch at the Prado*, 16 June 2016: <https://thegolovine.wordpress.com/2016/06/16/bosch-at-the-prado> (consulted 1 Oct. 2018).

2. Fritz Koreny

While Pilar Silva flagrantly misrepresented my arguments, at least she moved one decade. That is more than can be said about Fritz Koreny, who, in his 2012 book on Bosch's drawings, firmly sticks to his dating of the *Garden* in the 1500's and manages to avoid any direct reference to my extensive criticism of his views.¹⁰ This starts on page 22/23, where he depicts images from the Carpentin- and the Salting Book of Hours from the 1470's, without mentioning Erwin Pokorny and myself who both showed the same during the 2007 symposium to shed doubt on Koreny's stylistic dating criteria.¹¹



The only thing Koreny says about it is:

"In Unkenntnis diese Miniaturen-Beispiels wurde im Antwerper Katalog von 2002 [by Koreny¹²] noch angenommen, dass es sich bei diesen perspektivisch von vorne und von hinten gesehenen Aktstudien um ein auf die Renaissance hinzielendes Phänomen handle."

In 2003 he still thought these figures with their stretched arms and bended knees of "Renaissancehafter Akademismus italienischer Prägung" were an invention by Bosch himself, as he wrote:

"Der Künstler selbst scheint die Figur als Exemplum empfunden [zu] haben."¹³

2. F. Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch: Die Zeichnungen ...*, Turnhout 2012, p. 23.

Not only did Koreny overlook the miniatures, he also missed their common source of inspiration: the falling figures in the hell panel of Hans Memling's *Last Judgement* (1467-'71) in Gdansk.

In other words, there was absolutely nothing new about these figures and no reason to date them "aus stilistischen Erwägungen" after 1500.



3. Hans Memling, *Last Judgement*, 1467-1471, detail right wing (Hell) National Museum, Gdansk

¹⁰ F. Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch: Die Zeichnungen ...*, Turnhout 2012.

¹¹ Erwin Pokorny, 'Bosch and the Influence of Flemish Book Illumination', in: *Jheronimus Bosch: His Sources. 2nd International Jheronimus Bosch Conference May 22-25, 2007*, 's-Hertogenbosch 2010, pp. 281-292, esp. p. 290. B.M. Vermet, 'Baldass was right:...' op.cit.. (n. 2), p. 299.

¹² Exh.cat. *Meestertekeningen van Jan van Eyck tot Hiëronymus Bosch*, Antwerp (Rubens House) 2002.

¹³ F. Koreny, 'Hieronymus Bosch: Überlegungen zu Stil und Chronologie', in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, 4/5 (2002/3), pp. 47-75 (published in 2004), p. 52.

The second important defect in Koreny's 2003 text I mentioned was that he had missed the identification of the donors of both the Prado *Adoration* and the Boston *Ecce Homo* and therefore missed compelling reasons why the *Adoration* had to be at least a decade older than he claimed.¹⁴



4. Bosch, *Adoration*



Prado, Madrid



5. Bosch, *Ecce Homo*



MFA, Boston

For Pilar Silva this identification became the reason to change her dating of the *Garden* by a decade. In her entry to the *Garden* she writes:

*"... the work's stylistic proximity to the Adoration of the Magi Triptych in the Prado, which can be securely dated to 1494 following Duquenne's identification in 2004 of the donors, Peeter Scheyfve and Agneese de Gramme from Antwerp, confirms the present work in the 1490s and not after 1505, as most authors preferred to believe prior to Duquenne's discovery."*¹⁵

Duquenne's publication was preceded by Vandenbroeck in 2003, who is not mentioned by Pilar Silva, but Duquenne had already informed the Prado in 1964(!).¹⁶ In 2012 Koreny realized that an earlier dating of the *Adoration* had consequences for the dating of *Garden*:

*"Nach der geänderten Identifizierung der Stifter schien es nun naheliegend, Boschs gesamtes Oeuvre einfach entsprechend früher einsetzen zu lassen. ... Dies aber würde ... bedeuten, dass der Garten der Lüste und das Wiener Jüngste Gericht etwa zwischen 1480-1490 entstanden wären."*¹⁷

Exactly! But instead of accepting this consequence, he chose for the opposite option: denying that the *Adoration* is much older than previously thought. That at least is what it looks like, since the captions to the images of the triptych read "um 1505-1010", but his entire argument, spread out over five pages, is rather messy, to put it mildly, and self-contradicting.¹⁸

Koreny starts off with an attempt to explain away his previous misses:

*"Seit Justi [1889] galt Boschs Madrider Epiphanie, mehr als einhundert Jahr lang, als um oder kurz vor 1510 entstandenes Hauptwerk, abgesichert - wie es schien - durch archivalische Dokumentation."*¹⁹

This is wrong on two levels. It was only after Tolnay's 1937 publication that the late dating became dominant. Baldass (1917), Friedländer (1927) and others still dated the *Adoration*

14 See: B.M. Vermet 2007/10, op.cit. (n. 2), p. 307.

15 Exh.cat. *Bosch: the 5th centenary exhibition*, Madrid (Museo del Prado) 2016, cat.nr. 46, p. 330.

16 P. Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch. De verlossing van de Wereld*. Ghent-Amsterdam, 2003, p. 176. X. Duquenne, 'La famille Scheyfve et Jerome Bosch', in: *L'Intermédiaire des Généalogistes*, January-February 2004, pp. 1-19. The identification even goes back to 1893, when Henri Heymans published their names in *de Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 35, p. 234 (see Paul Huys Janssen, 'Jeroen Bosch en de familie Scheyfve', in: *Bosche Bladen* 2005, nr. 4, pp. 131-133).

17 F. Koreny 2012, op.cit. (n. 10), p. 44.

18 Idem, pp. 35, 44, 53, 54 and 57 (the intermediate pages consist of images only).

19 Idem, p. 35.

much earlier. Secondly the "archivalische Dokumentation", namely the identification of the *Adoration* as the "Bronckhorst-Bosshuysen triptych" *never* had any archival support for a dating, since apart from the family names no genealogical data were known about this couple. Moreover, the coats of arms on the Prado *Adoration* were not from both families, and not where they had to be according to the document the identification was based on, facts pointed out by authors before, but it was Marianne Renson who presented the final nail in the coffin in 2001, when she identified the couple as Andries van Bronckhorst-Batenburg and Wendelmoet van Bosshuysen.²⁰ The couple almost certainly did not marry before 1516 and Andries had two daughters but no son from his previous marriage, meaning that *their* triptych must have been, at best, one of the many copies, instead of the Madrid original. Koreny knew Renson's article, so his third excuse, that all relevant Bosch literature before 2003 accepted the Bronckhorst-Bosshuysen hypothesis, is also not true.

After his attempt to justify his previous omissions, Koreny tries to make an argument for maintaining his dating of the Madrid *Adoration* in the 16th Century. First he cites, as if it is a fact, Duquenne's suggestion that the donors on the outer wings were *added* around 1507, after the death of Peeter Scheyfve:

*"Beide Personen wurden, wie Duquenne annahm, erst um 1507 ... zugefügt."*²¹

In the follow-up however, he starts building the case for them to belong to the original:

*"Die Stifter scheinen in Boschs Grisaille-Darstellung jedoch von Anfang an einkalkuliert ..."*²²

and to raise doubts about the differences in dating:

*"Wenn die Stifter der Innenseiten tatsächlich mit dem dem Triptychon um 1495 gemalt wären, und zwischen ihnen und den später, um 1507, hinzugefügten beiden Betenden der Außenseiten kein Unterschied in der Malweise auszumachen wäre, könnten stilkritische Kriterien bei Bosch in der Tat nicht angewendet werden."*²³

In between he makes the observation that the painted manner of the donors on both the inner and outer wings are similar, but different from the other figures in the painting, which leads him to the following remark:

*"Außerdem bleibt bei der derzeit favorisierten Annahme der Entstehung der Epiphanie-Triptych [1495] eine weitere schwerwiegende Fragen offen: ... Ob es sich hierbei um einen Wechsel der Darstellungsmodi handelt, um zwischen Sujet und Stifter zu unterscheiden, oder um einen anderen Maler?"*²⁴

Even though the dating is irrelevant to this question, one is inclined to think that Koreny tries to argue here to stick to his former dating of the entire triptych, while attributing the donors to an assistant, *the Haywain Master*, whose existence he first postulated in 2003. He does not say it explicitly, but the caption to the entire triptych's outer (fig. 49) reads:

"Hieronymus Bosch / Maler des Prado-Heuwagens, ..., um 1505-1510."

20 Marianne Renson, 'Genealogical Information concerning the Bronckhorst-Bosshuysen Triptych', in: J. Koldeweij, B. Vermet, B.v.Kooij (ed.), *Hieronymus Bosch : new insights into his life and work*, Rotterdam 2001, pp. 93-95.

21 Koreny 2003/4, op.cit. (n.13), p. 35. The same notion appears on page 141, note 80, about the dead baby in the right wing of the Boston triptych: *"Auch dieses sei, wie die Figuren in die Grisailen des Madrider Epiphany-Triptychon, später hinzugefügt worden."*

22 Idem, p. 44/53.

23 Idem, p. 53.

24 Idem, p. 53.

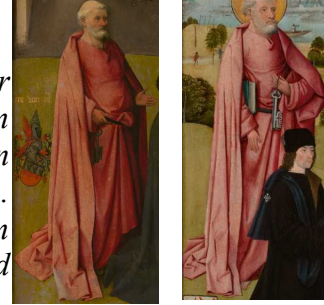
while the captions for the heads of the outer and inner donors (fig. 50, Peeter de Gramme and fig. 51, Agnes de Gramme) read:

“Maler des Prado-Heuwagens”

(The caption for the entire triptych's inner, fig. 48, is *“Hieronymus Bosch, ..., um 1505-1510”*, leaving out the Haywain Master and for Agnes's hands, fig. 47, it is *“Hieronymus Bosch / Maler des Prado-Heuwagens”*, but let's call that minor flaws).

But then the text becomes highly confusing:

“Das Problem der Datierung der Epiphanie wird weiter erschwert durch eine auf der Grundlage von Familienwappen datierbare Kopie: ein Tritychon in Boston von einem Mitarbeiter von Boschs ausgeführt, ... stimmt im Hl. Petrus des linken Innenflügels mit dem Stifterheiligen der Madrilener Epiphanie weitgehend überein.”²⁵



6. Madrid

7. Boston

Subsequently Koreny admits that the Boston triptych dates from no later than 1500, but does not give an explanation for how this would mean that the pupil's copy of St. Peter would predate the original by Bosch (like, for instance, postulating a third St. Peter, predating both others). One page later he even seems to admit that the *Adoration* dates from around 1495:

“Auf die Grisaille-Aussenseiten der Johannes-Tafel in Berlin folgen die Grisailen der Flügelaussenseiten der Madrilener Epiphanie, die beide Perspektivkonstruktionen mit visionären Effekten kombinieren. Den auf heraldischer Grundlage ermittelten Stiftern entspräche eine Datierung um 1495.”²⁶

Koreny's reasoning is highly chaotic and, like Fisher's in the next paragraph, lacks the ability to deal with even the most basic rules of logic.

3. Stefan Fischer

Like Pilar Silva in 2016, Stefan Fisher in 2013 rejected my opinion on the *Garden* on the basis of my 2001 article, not mentioning the extended version, even though he himself contributed to the same 2007 symposium.²⁷ He says, correctly, that I posit *“eine Entstehung um 1480-1490”* for the *Garden*, but continues with an obvious straw man:

“Vermet stützt sich auf die dendrochronologischen Daten, nach denen die Tafeln schon um 1460-1466 hätten bemalt werden können. Allerdings ist eine solche frühe Entstehung weder mit der künstlerischen Entwicklung Boschs noch mit der Biografie des dann mutmasslichen Auftraggebers Engelbert II von Nassau (1451-1504), der 1468 heiratete, vereinbar.”²⁸

Nowhere, however, did I suggest a dating that early, but this does not restrain Fisher from adding a second straw man:

“Das Argument das bei ein Datierung um 1503 die Zeitspanne zwischen der Fällung des Holzes und der Bemahlung ausserordentlich hoch sei, überzeugt kaum ...”

²⁵ Idem, p. 54.

²⁶ Idem, p. 57.

²⁷ S. Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch. Das vollständige Werk*, Cologne (Taschen) 2013.

²⁸ Idem, p. 247

This too is an argument I never used, while his own argument, that an early dating would not fit Bosch's "*künstlerischen Entwicklung*", only makes sense if one accepts some of his other prejudices, such as the dating of the Vienna *Last Judgement* around 1506, thus adding a third fallacy to the previous ones.

Contrary to Pilar Silva, Fischer does not seem to have a problem with dating the Madrid *Adoration* almost a decade before the *Garden of Earthly Delights*.²⁹ Another recent discovery, however, has brought him to a rather curious explanation to uphold his Bosch chronology. In 2016 Fischer still considered the Vienna *Last Judgement* to be the triptych, ordered by Philip the Fair in 1503/04 and finished, according to Fischer, around 1506, shortly after the *Garden*.³⁰ IRR photographs, however, show a donor in the underdrawing (see fig. 15) wearing a hat that had gone out of fashion long before 1500 as we will discuss below. In order to save his dating, Fischer came up with the suggestion that Philip did not ask for his own donor portrait, but for that of his grandfather Charles the Bold who died in 1477, making this yet another example of why I put a reference to Occam's razor above my 2007/10 article.

In a personal e-mail Fischer wrote:

*"Chronology based on stylistic grounds is highly risky and doesn't convince me."*³¹

Instead he wants to link the chronology as much as possible to verifiable data. We both agree on that, but when one does not accept that data and/or their consequences, such a viewpoint is void.

4. Stephen Hitchens

In 2014 Stephen Hitchens wrote his Ph.D. on Bosch and Bruegel.³² There is a short chapter about the dating of Bosch's paintings. It's heading:

A question of dates – still elusive in the grip of science, some dates matter
*"Pluralitas non est ponenda sine necessitate" William of Occam*³³

is a clear reference to the epigraph of my 2007/10 article: "*Entia non sunt praeter necessitatem multiplicanda*" [William of Occam]." The first point Hitchens wants to make is that my citation is not by Occam. Well, neither is Hitchens's, though closer, but that is why I called it in the follow up "*a famous text, summarizing one of the root principles of the philosophy of... Occam.*"

Far more serious is Hitchens's second point. He suggests that I link dendrochronological datings point-to-point to the dating of paintings, even though I explained it can not be used like that, as Hitchens knows and even quotes:

"Vermet cannot have it both ways. [citation of my dating of the Garden and the Last Judgement both ca. 22 years after the earliest felling date of the wood] Why? In 2001 Vermet wrote: [citation of my explanation of Klein's data]. But he has previously admitted [!]: 'This technique provides a terminus post quem – a date

²⁹ Idem, p. 243.

³⁰ Stephan Fischer, *Im Irrgarten der Bilder. Die Welt des Hieronymus Bosch*, Stuttgart (Reclam) 2016, pp. 136-137.

³¹ Personal e-mail 5 May 2010.

³² Stephen Graham Hitchens, *Art as history, history as art: Jheronimus Bosch and Pieter Bruegel the Elder: assembling knowledge not setting puzzles* (Nijmeegse Kunsthistorische Studies XXI), Turnhout (Brepols) 2014 (Ph.D. Radboud University Nijmegen; Promotor Prof. dr. A.M. Koldeweij). Online: <https://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/132856/132856.pdf> (January 2020).

³³ Idem, pp. 93-96.

after which the work must have been created. It does not, however, tell us how much later, which means that the value of dendrochronology is limited."

And Hitchins does it more than once:

"Others have simply accepted [Klein's] data at face value and without question. Klein's work has never been confirmed by a separate independent authority."

That sounds like a different (and legitimate, though seldom heard) approach: Klein's data could be wrong. But no, that's not what Hitchins means. This too is about their unjustly alleged status as a solid dating tool:

"Suppose the boards had simply been pushed to the back of the store? Suppose an earlier work was reused?"

Which is exactly what I wrote and Hitchins just cited: *"It does not, however, tell us how much later, which means that the value of dendrochronology is limited."*

Hitchins' false impression of my views on the value of dendrochronology allows him to spend at least two paragraphs to sum up all the evident limitations, to end with an exaggeration in the opposite direction:

"At first sight, dendrochronology can seem the answer to the art historian's dream, an absolute dating process accurate to a single year. However, in reality, it raises as many questions as it apparently solves."

Now that is untrue. It cannot *solve* many questions, but that is a different thing. What it *does* give the art historian is a tool for a terminus post quem, for *all* paintings it can be applied to. And what that has meant for our knowledge was shown in the 2001 Bosch exhibition.³⁴

Ironically it is Hitchins himself who, at least once, makes the mistake of using Klein's wood dating as dating for the paintings:

*"The Escorial version is considered to have been produced c1498/1504 and the Prado Haywain 1510/16."*³⁵

Hitchins has a disdain for ciphers:

"Art historians relying on sheets of numbers that mask the fantasy of their conclusions have led to the production of papers full of wishful reasoning with more enthusiasm than rigour."

It says papers (plural), but to my mind its main, or even only target seems to be the statistics at the end of my 'Baldass was right' article.³⁶ Hitchins is not the only one who did not understand them (though Eric de Bruyn was the only one, to my knowledge, to admit it³⁷), but others simply ignored them.

³⁴ Vermet 2001, p. 88. I have no hesitation in defending the stance that the work done by Peter Klein in this field in 2000 and 2001 for the Rotterdam exhibition has done more for our stylistic knowledge of Bosch and his followers than all the technical research done by the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP) over a period of years and for a budget that was tens of times higher. The ten pages of Klein's 2001 article have changed our views on Bosch's development and influence more than the 450 pages of the 2016 Technical Studies volume of the BRCP. Century old questions about attribution came to an end and 80% of Unverfehrt's classification of Bosch's followers ("mutmaßlich Holländisch um 1510", "Antwerpen um 1520" etc. etc.) proved to be worthless, to mention only two of its consequences.

³⁵ Hitchins 2014, p. 178, n. 132. In reality he considers the Escorial version to be later than the Prado's.

³⁶ Vermet 2007/10, op.cit. (n. 2), pp. 314-315.

³⁷ Online review of 'Baldass was right' by Eric de Bruyn, 5/8/2012: *"To compare his general chronology to those of Koreny and Elsig, Vermet also published some tables and diagrams, but to understand them correctly one needs a Master in Statistics. This was unfortunately out of my league."*
<http://expert.jeroenboschplaza.com/ericdebruyn/vermet-2010/> (consulted may 2018)

While Hitchens showed disdain for the statistics in the last part of my '*Baldass was right*'-article, he simply ignored the rest of it. He writes:

"In 2002 both Gerdt Unverfehrt and Hans Belting argued for a date after 1500 for the Garden of Delights, linking the work to discovery of the New World."

but does not mention my objections, even though Unverfehrt's argument was so silly that even Stephan Fischer, after his previous embrace of it in 2009³⁸, came up with the halfhearted admission: *"In the case of the "seed-capsule of the South American Ibicella Lutea" you could be right."*³⁹

Hitchens does not mention any of my arguments against a late and/or in favour of an early dating of the *Garden*. Apparently *"you only have to look"*:

"Simplicity is subjective; the simplicity and beauty of mathematical form does not alone trump first hand identifiable observation and experience. Occam's 'razor' can be used to shave away some of the wilder theories, but Vermet should remember that William argued in favour of empiricism, not against it. Excitement at the prospect of giving credence to the 1917 article by Baldass with regards his claim that the Garden of Earthly Delights was a youthful work by Bosch has brushed aside observation."

Hitchens, like Fischer, does not want to see that my early dating of the *Garden* is not based on the early date of its panels. This early date only triggered me to ask the question: what is there actually *against* an early dating. And from there on it was empiricism and observation, with the addition of rationalism only.

5. Gary Schwartz

In early 2016 Gary Schwartz published, in Dutch, a new book on Bosch.⁴⁰ On page 80 he writes about the dating of Bosch's oeuvre:

"In order to give the reader a picture of the present opinions, I have added a table with the most recent full chronologies, with Stephan Fischer's book (2013) as the most important contribution for the paintings and that of Fritz Koreny (2012) for the drawings."

My own chronology is missing, but on page 81 he writes:

"Extreme differences occur regarding the dating of the Garden. Most authors are dating the painting at the beginning of the 16th Century. But the wood it was painted on was cut already in the 1460's. Bernard Vermet ... finds proof in it for his conviction — based on style, borrowings and patronage — that the piece was painted 'shortly after 1481' ... Vermet's dating [of the Garden] is shared ... only by a few."

The underlined section suggest that Schwartz, other than Koreny and Fisher, reflects on my 2007/10, '*Baldass was right*', article, since the 2001 version seems too succinct for such a characterization. The article, however, is not mentioned in the bibliography and there is a note number added to the sentence, but no note, suggesting to me that this entire sentence was added at the last moment, following a conversation we had by e-mail in November 2015.

38 S. Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch. Malerei als Vision, Lehrbild und Kunstwerk*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2009 p. 97: "Auf Grund eines botanischen Befundes kann das Werk erst einige Jahre nach 1492 entstanden sein"

39 Personal e-mail 5 May 2010.

40 G. Schwartz, *Jheronimus. De wegen naar hemel en hel*, Hilversum 2016.

Further on Schwartz writes:

*"to those who still [!] attribute the [New York Adoration] to Bosch himself, belongs the Metropolitan Museum"*⁴¹

and:

*"one does not doubt that [the Vienna Last Judgement] is the painting that was ordered by Philip [the Fair] in 1504"*⁴²

indicating even more that his use of 'Baldass was right' was not deep and did not leave behind any other traces in his book.

As for the attribution history of the New York *Adoration* – named by Schwartz “a battle of giants between connoisseurs” – Schwarz's claim that the Metropolitan Museum “still” – as in “uninterrupted” – held on to its attribution to Bosch is incorrect. Schwartz specifies:

*"In 2012 the attribution to Bosch was firmly acknowledged by Maryan Ainsworth, curator of early-Netherlandish painting of this museum, in the online-catalogue with solid arguments."*⁴³

But it was Maryan Ainsworth who recatalogued the *Adoration* in 1990 as a

*"pastiche in Bosch's style"*⁴⁴

which she acknowledged with arguments in 1992.⁴⁵ In the 'From Van Eyck to Bruegel' catalogue of 1998 she called it:

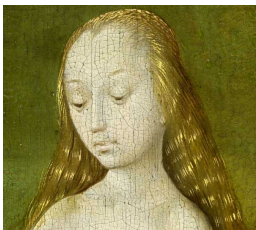
*"a mid-sixteenth-century pastiche of Boschian motives"*⁴⁶

while the entry in the same catalogue repeats her arguments of 1992.⁴⁷

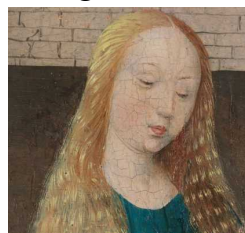
6. Maryan Ainsworth

A central element of Ainsworth's argumentation in 1992 to reject the New York *Adoration* was its dependence of the Prado's *Adoration* and *Garden*:

*"The pastiche nature of the composition can be recognized in the combination of a landscape reminiscent of Bosch's Adoration of the Magi (ca. 1510) in the Prado ... and the Eve type from the Prado's Garden of Earthly Delights (ca. 1503-4), who is here cast in the role of the Virgin."*⁴⁸



8. Bosch, *Garden*: Eve



9. Bosch, *Adoration*: Maria

41 Idem, p. 110.

42 Idem, p. 160.

43 Idem, p. 110.

44 Everett Fahy in: Exh.cat. *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1998, p. 66.

45 Maryan W. Ainsworth. "Implications of Revised Attributions in Netherlandish Painting." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992), pp. 68–75, p. 68.

46 Exh.cat. 1998, op.cit. (n. 44), p. 36 The entry is on pp. 258.

47 Idem p. 258 (text by Della Clason Sperling).

48 Maryan W. Ainsworth. "Implications of Revised Attributions in Netherlandish Painting." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992), pp. 68–75, p. 68.

In 2001 I argued that the New York *Adoration* was at least partially by Bosch himself⁴⁹, that the dependence from both key works in Bosch's oeuvre “*might actually have been the other way around*” and that the New York *Adoration* had so much in common with the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* (panel dating, size, figure types, wall structures) that I considered it possible that “*both works belonged originally to a single cycle devoted to the Life of Christ*” from before 1480.

In 2004 Ainsworth added a memo to the files of the Metropolitan Museum, repeating the very same arguments:

*“Maryan W. Ainsworth. Memo to files. October 4, 2004, discusses the history of the painting's attribution, noting that as a result of reappraisals since the Bosch exhibition in Rotterdam, it appears to be an early work, related in style and technique to the "Ecce Homo" in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt, which, like the MMA work can be dated about 1475–80; sees the MMA panel as prefiguring the "Adoration of the Magi" in the Prado, Madrid, rather than as a pastiche following it; observes that problems related to the style of Bosch's underdrawing have yet to be resolved.”*⁵⁰

The summary does not say anything about her views on the dating of the *Garden* in 2004, but I suppose she had accepted an early dating by then already as well. In 2012 she brought forward the same argument I used in 2007/10, when I wrote:

*“The [New York Adoration] is rather primitive, but the Virgin seems a look-alike of the Eve in the Garden. In 1992 Maryan Ainsworth wrote this was hard to understand for an original Bosch, knowing that the Garden dated from around 1504. But it is easy to understand when you date it in the early 1480's.”*⁵¹

And in 2012 Ainsworth wrote:

*“This [the early felling date] would place the Museum's Adoration among Bosch's earliest works, along with the Garden of Earthly Delights (...; 1458 is the terminus ante quem for the earliest felling date of the tree that provided the planks for the panel; see Klein 2001), which explains the close similarity of the head of the Adoration's Virgin Mary with the head of the Garden's Eve.”*⁵²

Under the heading 'References' there is a short remark about my text, saying that I noted similarities with the *Garden*, that I date around 1481 – which is close to correct – and “*prior to the MMA panel*” – which is incorrect.⁵³

By now, with the exception of Stefan Fischer, most serious authors have accepted the (re-)attribution of the New York *Adoration* to Bosch, even without always accepting my and Ainsworth's motivation of its link to the *Garden* to do so.

49 Vermet 2000, p. 93. The reserve, still present in the attribution of the *Adoration* in the book (“*might have been personally responsible for certain parts*”), was dropped the moment the painting arrived in Rotterdam. For the exhibition the label was changed into an unconditional “*Hieronymus Bosch, after 1475*” (notwithstanding the fact that collaboration of the family atelier can never be excluded entirely, especially at this early stage of Bosch's career).

50 Summary of the memo under the heading 'References' in the entry for *The Adoration of the Magi* in the online catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum. Original text by “*Maryan W. Ainsworth 2012; updated and revised by Ainsworth 2016 and 2019*” <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435724?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=bosch&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1> (consulted January 2020).

51 Vermet 2007/10, p. 299.

52 Online catalogue entry by M. Ainsworth, op.cit. (n. 50).

53 Ibidem

7. Paul Vandenbroeck

Marian Ainsworth's text for the entry of the New York *Adoration* in the 2016 Bosch exhibition in the Prado was almost identical to that of her own online catalogue, meaning that the early dating of the *Garden* entered the Prado publication through a side entrance.⁵⁴ And hers was not the only case. Paul Vandenbroeck wrote, with proper references to my articles:

*"Dendrochronological data and new stylistic analysis of Bosch's work suggest an early dating of the triptych, around 1480-85. If this is correct, the triptych's commissioner cannot have been Henry III of Nassau. It has been suggested that the huge triptych was commissioned by Henry's uncle Engelbert II, notorious for his extreme debauchery and loose morals."*⁵⁵

However, he adds, he finds the "sternly moralizing tone" in contradiction with Engelbert's lifestyle, so he is thinking of another commissioner. As he reveals in his latest book on the *Garden*, this is Engelbert's wife, Cimbarga von Baden.⁵⁶ To me the moralizing tone is only an excuse for the portrayal of an abundance of amorality, but since it does not effect the dating, it is fine with me. Besides, I *do* think, by the way, Cimbarga, or better her family and brother, might have played an important role, albeit indirect, in the creation of the *Garden*:

In a 2016 article on Bosch's representations of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, Koldewey once more drew attention to a number of travellers from 's-Hertogenbosch, especially Lodewijk Beys - who, after his pilgrimage in 1500, even had a Holy Sepulchre erected in St. John's cathedral - and a 14th Century globetrotter by the name of Jacob Cnoyen who's journeys went from Africa and Asia to the North Pole.⁵⁷ To me, however, the key figure for the supply of the more exotic visual and textual sources for the *Garden*, is not Bosch himself, but his commissioner, Engelbrecht II of Nassau, most likely in cooperation with an "auctor intellectualis" for the iconographic program.⁵⁸ As a consequence, the pilgrims among Engelbrecht's own "acquaintances" might have been far more important than those from 's-Hertogenbosch. And among those one or two in particular stand out: Christoph I von Baden (1453-1527), Engelbrecht's own brother in law, and Eberhard V Count of Württemberg-Urach (1445-1496).

As a 15 year old boy Christoph visited Jerusalem and the Holy Land from May to November 1468. Two month after his return, on 30 January 1469, he was married in Koblenz by his uncle Johann von Baden, archbishop of Trier, to Ottilie von Katzenelbogen, daughter of Ottilie von Nassau, Engelbrecht's cousin. In an exceptional double marriage Engelbrecht himself was married at the same place and on the same day (or one month earlier?⁵⁹) to Christoph's sister

⁵⁴ Exh. cat. *Bosch ...*, Prado 2016, op.cit. (n. 8), p. 210.

⁵⁵ Idem, p. 105.

⁵⁶ P. Vandenbroeck, *Utopia's dream: The 'Gaal' as Paradise of Lust, the Sect of the Free Spirit and Jheronimus Bosch's so-called 'Garden of Earthly Delights'*, Leuven 2017.

⁵⁷ J. Koldewey, 'Jerusalem and Other Holy Places As Represented by Jheronimus Bosch', in: M. Verhoeven, L. Bosman, H. van Asperen (ed.), *Monuments & Memory – Christian Cult Buildings and Constructions of the Past – Essays in Honour of Sible de Blaauw*. Architectural Crossroads in the History of Architecture – vol. 3, Turnhout (Brepols) 2016, pp. 287-295, esp. pp 288-289.

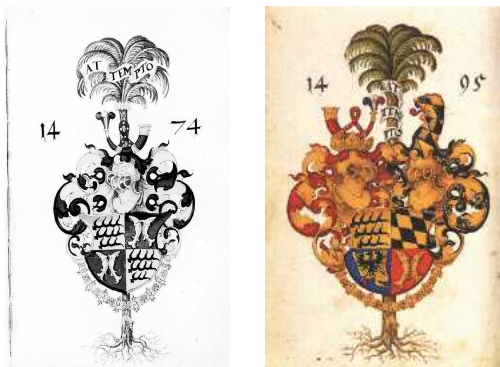
⁵⁸ Vermet 2007/10, op.cit. (n. 2), p. 300, where I spoke of an "auctor intellectualis" who might have been responsible for at least part of the Iconographic program.

⁵⁹ Most modern German internet sources say Christoph and Ottilie married 30 Jan. 1469, sometimes adding that older literature is falsely giving 19 Dec. 1468. Almost all internet sources on Engelbrecht II, however, (still?) give 19 December 1468 as the date of his marriage to Cimbarga. Reasons for the inconsistency I can think of: a) wrong info, b) wrong conversion of used kalender, c) the double marriage should be understood as the result of combined negotiations and not so literally as one single event on one single day.

Cimburga von Baden.

The young Christoph visited the Holy Land together with 23 other noble men in the cortege of Eberhard V, also known as Eberhard im Bart (the Bearded), because, after his pilgrimage he never shaved his beard again. In 1474 he married Barbara Gonzaga, daughter of the Duke of Mantua, Ludovico III, and Barbara van Brandenburg-Kulmbach. Seven years earlier negotiations to arrange a marriage between the same Barbara and Cristoph von Baden had failed, but that did not prevent Christoph and his father, Margrave Karl I von Baden to play a prominent role in the festivities early July 1474. Karl, for instance, escorted Barbara into the church, together with her brother Rodolfo Gonzaga, and sat at the first table, Christoph at the second, during the main celebration dinner.⁶⁰ In addition to Cimburga's father and brother, her sister Katharina (Baden 1449-1484 The Hague) was among the guests. Only Cimburga and her husband Engelbrecht were absent, most likely because Engelbrecht was too busy preparing the Siege of Neuss with Charles the Bold (a siege that was later joint by Eberhard, though on the opposite side; trivialities like war never kept the nobility from maintaining warm contacts).

In the years following his marriage Eberhard's court and countries became centers of science and education and a melting pot for ideas from both Italy and the Netherlands. Eberhard supported the Modern Devotion movement, brought the Brethren of the Common Life to his county, maintained contacts with Humanistic scholars, visited Rome, had an important book collection and founded in 1477 the University of Tübingen. And among all of this Eberhard retained his "addiction" to the Holy Land. Since pilgrims to the Holy Land were nicknamed "palmieri", he took the palm as his personal symbol, placed it behind his coats of arms and decorated the main hall where the festivities of his marriage took place with them.



10. Coats of Arms of Eberhard im Bart from before and after his elevation to first Duke of Württemberg and Teck as depicted in the account of his marriage in 1474 (see n. 60)
11. Schloss Urach, Palmensaal, decoration 1474



⁶⁰ An extensive report of the festivities is kept in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, no. A 602 Nr 373 d = WR 373d. Online: https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/ofs21/bild_zoom/thumbnails.php?bestand=3703&basisid=150160&syssuche=&logik= A summary is given in: *Exh.cat. Von Mantua nach Württemberg: Barbara Gonzaga und ihr Hof*, Stuttgart, Kirchheim, Böblingen, Schloss Urach, Mantua 2011-2013. Online: https://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/sixcms/media.php/120/57836/Barbara_Gonzaga_Katalog_Seite_1_182.pdf

8. Erwin Pokorny

A third author who took the early dating seriously is Erwin Pokorny. In 2007 he already referred to the dating of the *Garden* as "between 1485-1495".⁶¹ In recent years he spoke out for an even earlier dating, "primarily due to the triptych's abundance of stylistic and motivic relations to manuscript illumination from the period not later than around 1480."⁶² We will return to Pokorny in the discussion of the dating of the Vienna *Last Judgement*.

9. BRCP

In 2017 Fritz Koreny wrote a ravaging review of the *Catalogue Raisonné* by the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP) that culminated in the following conclusion:

*"It will be a long time before research into the artist will be able to recover [!!] and compensate for the deficiencies that characterise this project and publication."*⁶³

Most of Koreny's criticism was directed to the BRCP for not accepting his own theory of the left handed pupil, his "*Haywain Master*", who would have been responsible for about half of all the works presently attributed to Bosch himself. Therefore I do not suppose the authors of the BRCP were very shocked by Koreny's harsh judgment. So far Koreny's theory has found little to no acclaim, even though Gary Schwartz wrote on August 1 2016 that Koreny had convinced him after "a brilliant slide presentation" in Madrid.⁶⁴ Koreny's presentation is online, so everybody can judge.⁶⁵ I agree with Schwartz that many (though far from all) of Koreny's stylistic analyses and comparisons are convincing. I said so in 2007/10 as well. But where we differ most is in our explanation for the differences in Bosch's technique. Koreny postulates a left-handed pupil, further developing Bosch's style while working next to Bosch. I claim that Bosch further developed his own style, perhaps partly forced by changed physical conditions, and that most of Koreny's Bosch paintings are from before 1500 and his left-handed Haywain Master paintings from after 1500.

So even though Koreny's criticism on the BRCP was mainly an act of self-promotion, he did have a point. While both Koreny and I have explanations, though contradictory, for undeniable differences in style of Bosch's alleged works, the BRCP has not.

The BRCP was a group effort, but the art-historical considerations were mainly the work of Jos Koldeweij and Matthijs Ilsink. Most of the following is a reflection on their work.

9.1 The *Last Judgement* from Vienna

The dating of the *Garden* is generally and plausibly linked to the dating of the Vienna *Last Judgement*. Koldeweij & Ilsink date the *Garden* "ca. 1495-1505."⁶⁶ Their dating of the

61 E. Pokorny, Bosch and the Influence of Flemish Book Illumination in: *Jheronimus Bosch: ...*, op.cit. (n. 11), pp. 281-292, m.n. p. 289.

62 E. Pokorny, The Overpainted Patron: Some Considerations about Dating Bosch's Last Judgement Triptych in Vienna in: D. Taylor Cashion et.al. (ed.), *The Primacy of the Image in Northern European Art, 1400-1700. Essays in Honor of Larry Silver*, Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 52-66, p. 58 (with a reference to my 'Baldass was right' article for further arguments for an early dating).

63 F. Koreny, 'REVIEW: Matthijs Ilsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman: Catalogue Raisonné*', in: *Master Drawings* Volume 55, issue 3 (Fall 2017), pp. 346-368.

64 <https://garyschwartzarthistorian.com/2016/08/01/347-how-a-patrician-made-good-for-slighting-a-prince-maybe/> (consulted Oct. 2018).

65 Fritz Koreny, Codart 19, Madrid, 20 June 2016: <https://vimeo.com/176464823> (consulted Jan. 2020)

66 Matthijs Ilsink, Jos Koldeweij et al., *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman: Catalogue Raisonné*, Bosch Research and Conservation Project-Mercatorfonds, 's-Hertogenbosch-Brussel, 2016, p. 356.

Vienna *Last Judgement* is a little later, "ca. 1500-1505."⁶⁷ In 2012 both Koldeweij and Olga Karaskova-Hesry suggested that Hippolyte de Berthoz commissioned the painting.⁶⁸ The involvement of De Berthoz was confirmed after technical research of the painting in 2017. Under the paint of the empty shield beneath Saint Hippolyte (not Bavo) on the outer right wing, traces were found of a painted, so finished De Berthoz coat of arms.⁶⁹

In 2007/10 I wanted to reduce the distance between the *Garden* and the *Last Judgement* as well, but found the links with Philip the Fair (his portrait, plus James for Spain and Bavo for Flanders/Ghent) quite convincing. So I suggested it was not made in 1504, the date of the well-known contract for a *Last Judgement*, but on the occasion of his marriage in 1496 instead. Moreover, in that case the role Albrecht III of Saxony, stadholder of the Netherlands in 1496, could have played in the commission, would hand us a clue as to why the Saxon court-painter Lucas Cranach copied the triptych around 1520.

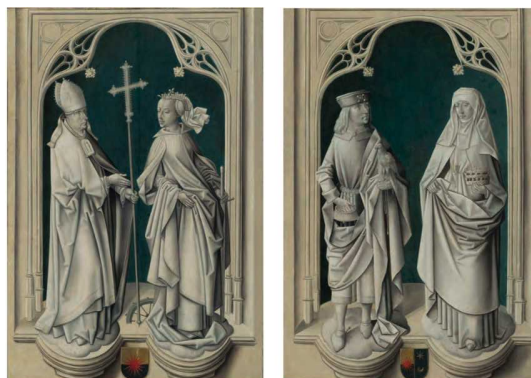


12. Bosch, *Last Judgement*, outer wings. KHM, Vienna.



7. St. Charlemagne, Hippolytus, Elisabeth and Margaret (closed triptych), by Dirk Bouts and Aert van den Bosch. c.1470-75 and 1503-08. Panel, 90 x 141 cm. (Cathedral, Bruges; photograph Lukas - Art in Flanders VZ / Hugo Maertens).

13. H. van der Goes, *St. Hippolyte and St. Elisabeth* (middle), ca. 1475-78. Holy Saviour Church, Bruges. from Koldeweij et al. 2018 (see n. 69)



8. A bishop saint and St. Catherine, Hippolytus and Elisabeth (closed triptych), attributed to an anonymous Brussels painter. c.1490-1500. Panel, each 88 by 60 cm. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

14. Anonymous, *St. Hippolyte and St. Elisabeth* (right), ca. 1490-1500. MFA, Boston. Koldeweij et al. 2018 (n. 69)

Hippolyte de Berthoz commissioned two triptychs with the *Martyrdom of Saint Hippolyte*. Like the *Last Judgement* both have on the outside of the wings a statue of Saint Hippolyte above an escutcheon with the De Berthoz coat of arms. The one in Bruges was started by Dirk Bouts (†1475) and finished by Hugo van der Goes (†1482), the other in Boston is by an anonymous painter from Brussels from, according to the museum, the 1490's. The date of the latter given in the captions to its images in Koldeweij's article of 2012/14 and in the BRCP *Catalogue Raisonné* of 2016 is "ca. 1490", but both texts refer to it as painted shortly before Hippolyte's death in 1503.⁷⁰ This weird inconsistency is ironed out in 2018 when Koldeweij & IIsink safely stick to the dating by the Boston museum: "c. 1490-1500."⁷¹

⁶⁷ Idem, p. 290.

⁶⁸ J. Koldeweij, 'St Bavo on the Vienna Last Judgement unmasked as St Hippolytus', in: *Jheronimus Bosch, His Patrons and His Public. 3rd International Jheronimus Bosch Conference September 16-18, 2012*, 's-Hertogenbosch 2014, pp. 400-433. Olga Karaskova-Hesry, 'Vienna's Last Judgement: Philip the Fair as a saint with a falcon, or, the Burgundian case', in: idem, pp. 142-158.

⁶⁹ J. Koldeweij et al., 'The patron of Hieronymus Bosch's 'Last Judgment' triptych in Vienna' in: *Burlington Magazine* CLX Feb. 2018, pp. 106-111.

⁷⁰ Koldeweij 2012/14, op.cit. (68), p. 420: "probably had [it] painted shortly before his death". BRCP, *Catalogue Raisonné* 2016, op.cit. 2016 (n. 66), p. 300: "probably ... from the same period as the [Vienna Last Judgement] by Bosch."

⁷¹ see note 69.

Whatever the matter, linking the Vienna *Last Judgement* to Hippolyte de Bertoz makes it much easier to bring its date further back towards that of the *Garden* in the 1480's. The marriage of Philip the Fair in 1496 would no longer need to play a role in its realisation. But there is another problem looming: not only was the De Bertoz coat of arms removed, the underdrawing of his(?) kneeling donor portrait was not painted, both of which Koldeweij links to the death of Hippolyte in 1503.⁷² This seems an obvious explanation, but is it? First there are the suggestions for a possible occasion and destination, triggered by the presence of St. James on the other outer wing. In 2012/14 Koldeweij wrote:

*"another possible explanation for the depiction of St. James ..., could be a specific devotion to James or an appeal to James the Greater in connection with De Berthoz' participation in the first journey to Spain by Philip the Fair in 1502-1503 which included the visit to Santiago de Compostella, since this was at least the foreign trip from which Hippolyte de Berthoz did not return. This could also be the reason why the underdrawing of the donor portrait ... was never completed, ..."*⁷³

Does Koldeweij mean De Bertoz ordered the triptych just before the trip because of the upcoming visit to Santiago? That seems rather far-fetched and Koldeweij did not repeat the suggestion in 2016 or 2018. His other option looks more promising. In all three publications Koldeweij and Koldeweij & Ilsink suggest the triptych might have been ordered for, and hung in the Saint James chapel in the Holy Saviour church in Bruges. Placing the order for this reason just before leaving to Spain, sounds less unlikely, but is still far from convincing and not only because there are no (church or family) records confirming its presence. If the triptych hung in the chapel for a period of time, than why was the memory of Hippolyte de Berthoz erased altogether, especially since his close bond with the church was the main reason Koldeweij came up with this suggestion and since Hippolyte's son Charles continued this bond by donating the Bouts/Van der Goes triptych of his father to the church (after adding two wings with his own and his wife's patron saints and coats of arms).

Questioning the occasion and destination does not say anything about the date of the *Last Judgement*. But that too is questionable. Arguments for a much earlier dating of the *Last Judgement*, well before 1500, were put forward by Erwin Pokorny.⁷⁴ Adding to his opinion that the *Garden* is also much earlier (see above) and the fact that both the *Garden* and the *Last Judgement* are unsigned and therefore probably relatively early works, he comes up with an important argument concerning the donor from the underdrawing: *"He wears a highly stiffened hat with a Robin Hood brim, pointed in front, like those found in some illuminated Franco-Flemish manuscripts of the 1460s and 1470s."*⁷⁵ This is the hat that made Stefan Fischer come up with the suggestion Philip the Fair had his grandfather Charles the Bold depicted, as also mentioned above. It is also the hat worn by Cicero in the illumination from around 1480 (fig. 25) that is discussed below.



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

15. Underdrawing *Last Judgement*, Vienna. (from Pokorny 2017)

⁷² BRCP, *Catalogue Raisonné* 2016, op.cit. 2016 (n. 66), p. 156.

⁷³ Kol. 2112/14, p. 422.

⁷⁴ E. Pokorny, 'The Overpainted Patron: Some Considerations about Dating Bosch's Last Judgement Triptych in Vienna' in: *The Primacy of the Image in Northern European Art, 1400-1700. Essays in Honor of Larry Silver*, Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 52-66. This is an extended version of: E. Pokorny, 'When did Bosch paint the triptych?' in: N. Büttner et al., *Hieronymus Bosch in the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna*, Vienna 2017, pp. 17-19.

⁷⁵ Idem, pp. 61/62.

Pokorny's final conclusion is that the Last Judgement was begun "about 1485-1490" and "presumably somewhat later than the Garden of Earthly Delights", conclusions I can wholeheartedly consent to.⁷⁶

So the donor on the central panel seems to be designed before 1490. But was this donor De Berthoz and was the removal of his coat of arms linked to the change of plans for the central panel? So far both events seem to be related. Stephan Büttner wrote:

"Zu der Planänderung scheint es noch in Boschs Werkstatt gekommen zu sein. Auch das von Hippolyte de Berthoz beauftragte Werk wurde nie an seinen ursprünglichen Besteller geliefert. Sein Wappen wurde noch in der Werkstatt Boschs übermalt."

followed by:

*"Die im Kontext seines Auftrages als hl. Hippolyt intendierte Figur konnte danach einem neuen Käufer gut als hl. Bavo angeboten werden."*⁷⁷

This last thought had come up to my mind as well, since before I read Büttner, I already wrote that whatever the case may be, the changes allow me to give my own theory, involving Albrecht III of Saxony and Philip the Fair a second chance (and maybe Hippolyte as Bavo a second life). Be that as it may, I think that looking for clues to solve the remaining problems might be more promising in Saxony than in Flanders.

9.2 Schedel and the Garden of Earthly Delights

*"A chronicle of the world from its creation to the present day was completed in Nuremberg on 23 December 1493. Hartmann Schedel's printed Weltchronik was extremely ambitious in its scope, size and number of illustrations, and swiftly found a large readership in Europe in the years that followed. The first of its more than 1,800 illustrations would be an important source of inspiration for Hieronymus Bosch when he came to paint his own chronicle of the world, the Garden of Earthly Delights."*⁷⁸

Such is the opening of the text to the *Garden* in the BRCP *Catalogue Raisonné*. As a result the painting is dated "ca. 1495-1505", which is even half a decennium later than the Prado does. This is a radical break with what we wrote in the Rotterdam catalogue of 2000. Even though it was entirely my idea to propose a much earlier date for the *Garden*, Koldeweij never openly opposed to it and agreed to a dating of 1480-1490 in the caption of the painting.⁷⁹



16. Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik*, Nuremberg 1493 fol. 1v (God the Father)

⁷⁶ Idem, pp. 63 and 58.

⁷⁷ Nils Büttner, 'Das »Wiener Weltgericht« des Hieronymus Bosch: Status quaestionis', in: Julia M. Nauhaus (ed.) *Hieronymus Bosch Weltgerichts-Triptichon in seiner Zeit: Publication zur gleichnamigen Konferenz vom 21. bis 23. November 2019 in der Gemäldegalerie der Akademie*, Vienna 2020, pp. 43-67, p. 52.

⁷⁸ BRCP, *Catalogue Raisonné* 2016, op.cit. 2016 (n. 66), p. 356.

⁷⁹ Rotterdam 2000, afb. 141, p. 166.



Schedel's type of enthroned God the Father, designed by Michael Wolgemut, is very common. Only his flamboyant cloak and impressive looks make him stand out among contemporaneous God the Father images, such as the one by Martin Schongauer, an artist whose work Wolgemut was familiar with. The combined crown and floral cross nimbus reminds of the Christ/God in another print by Schongauer.



17. Martin Schongauer, 1470's/80's
Christ and Mary, detail (right)
God the Father (left)

Instead of a throne, crown and orb, Bosch's God the Father has a bench, tiara and bible. A tiara is even more common than a crown, but a bible instead of an orb is exceptional. It is however a logical choice, given Bosch's stress on text, inspired by Augustine, as explained below.

The God of Bosch has nothing of the overwhelming appearance of the God of Wolgemut. Bosch's entire focus is on the baffling sphere with earth disc and contrasts strongly with Wolgemut's very, very traditional representation of one circle per day of the Creation.



18. Harmann Schedel, *Weltchronik*, 1493,
fol. 1v - 7r (Creation to Fall of Man)



19. Bosch, *Garden of Earthly Delights*, outside of the wings
Prado, Madrid

Bosch's sphere is extraordinary, but not completely unique. There is, for instance, a striking parallel in a *Salvator Mundi* by the Master of the Darmstädter Passion from around 1460. Bosch has blown up the traditional globe (with or without cross) in the left hand of God or Christ to such proportions that it dominates the entire composition, not only on the outside, but on the inside as well, where it returns upside down in his "up-side-down-world or -paradise."



20. Master of the Darmstädter Passion, *Salvator Mundi*, ca. 1460
Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt



21. *Garden of Earthly Delights*, inside and outside + details central panel

Prado, Madrid

Only the text from from Psalm 32(33):9 (also psalm 148:5) unites both more believably:

"Ipse dixit et facta sunt. Ipse mandavit et creata sunt" ("He spoke, and they were made: he commanded, and they were created").

This may look remarkable, but it is a well known and frequently used alternative for the words from Genesis 1: "

"In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram" ("In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth").



22. *Ipse dixit et facta sunt. Ipse mandavit et creata sunt* from Schedel and Bosch

Ipse dixit et facta sunt

Ipse mandavit et creata sunt

9.2.1 Word tradition

Eric de Bruyn writes that “in late medieval texts ... the psalm quote was apparently heartily applied to prove God's omnipotence as creator of the world.”⁸⁰ He cites three of them: Dirc van Delf's *Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove* (1404), a Middle Dutch treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins (1434-36) and a sermon by Johannes Brugman († 1473). Schedel and Bosch are in alignment with a verbal tradition that finds its origin in the texts of the Church Fathers, more specifically those of Augustine of Hippo. Eleonara Lombardi writes:

*"Whenever Augustine deals with the word of Creation, he shifts focus from Genesis to the Gospel of John -from 'in principio' to 'in principio erat Verbum.'"*⁸¹

She expounds on this by citing Augustine's commentary on Psalm 148:

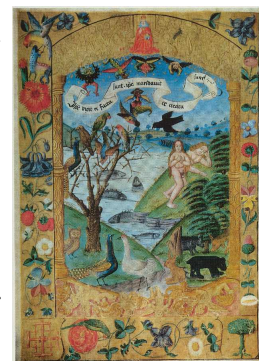
"Quomodo hic ostendit quia per Verbum facta sunt? Ipse dixit et facta sunt. Ipse mandavit et creata sunt. Nemo dicit, nemo mandat, nisi verbo." [How does he show in this Psalm, that all things were made by the Word? He spoke, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created. No one speaks, no one commands, save by word].

Other references are found in his *Tractatus in Euangelium Iohannis* ("Si dixit, et facta sunt, per Verbum facta sunt") and in the *Confessiones*, book XI, chap. V ("ergo dixisti et facta sunt, atque in verbo tuo fecisti ea"). The complete Psalm quote returns in his exegeses on Psalm 33(32) and, amongst others, his *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 11, cap. 9 (on the angels) and *De Genesi ad literam*, lib. 4, cap. 33, *Sermo* II, cap. 7 (on Abraham). The text from this second sermon is too nice not to quote here entirely, even though any relation to Bosch is accidental:

"Si pictor eadem arte facit murem, qua elephantem (diversa opera, sed ars una) quanto magis Deus qui dixit et facta sunt, mandavit et creata sunt? Quid difficile facit qui verbo facit?" [If a painter can make a mouse with the same art as he makes an elephant - different subjects, one and the same art - how much more is God, who 'spoke and they were made, commanded and they were created'].

9.2.2 Image tradition?

Was there, parallel to the word tradition, an image tradition that Bosch and Schedel could fall back on? Elements like the undulating ring of clouds around Wolgemut's God the Father make it clear that he, like Bosch, drew on the tradition of illumination, whilst up until now no visual parallels have been found combining the Creation and the Psalm text. A miniature with the creation of Eve in a Gospel Book from Kempen, formerly dated around 1450, has been brought forward. However the miniature is made up of elements from no less than five folio's from Schedel's *Weltchronik* (1r, 4v, 5r&v, 6v) and an image of the Fall of Angels.⁸²



23. *Gospel Book*, gift by Martinus von Oedt to the Parish of Kempen
Kempen, Propstei- und Pfarrkirche St. Maria Geburt

⁸⁰ <http://www.bloggen.be/ericgldebruyn/archief.php?ID=1162487> (consulted 1 Oct. 2018)

⁸¹ E. Lombardi, *The Syntax of Desire: Language and Love in Augustine, the Modistae, Dante*, Toronto 2007, pp. 37-38.

⁸² *Aachener Kunstblätter* 36 (1968), p. 37, cat. 50 (Book cover, 1512, belonging to cat. 95), p. 51 (color image III, miniature Creation of Eve) and pp. 53/4 p. 37, cat. 95 Gospel Book "entstanden im Kloster am Weidenbach in Köln um 1450. 1512 von Martinus von Oedt an die Kempener Gemeinde geschenkt." Online: <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/akb/article/view/35160/28819> (consulted Jan. 2020).

If one wants to look for visual parallels, manuscripts of Augustine's *Civitate Dei* might be promising candidates. In book 11, in which Augustine uses the Psalm text, there are often miniatures of the Creation as well. A well-known example is the manuscript of Philippe de Commines illuminated by the Paris artist Maître François around 1478.



24. Augustine, *La Cité de Dieu* (transl. by Raoul de Presles; illumin. by Maître François), ca. 1475, 1478-80, ordered by Jacques d'Armagnac, finished for Philippe de Commines. Vol. II, lib. XI, cap. VI, VII (fol. 7v, 8r) Nantes, Bibli. Municip., Ms. fr. 8

Unfortunately the folio with the psalm text (lib. 11, cap. 9, between the present fol. 8 en 9) is missing, but the miniature on it must have been of the fallen angels, so no parallel could be expected there.



We do, however, find the Psalm text in another miniature of the same manuscript, namely in one of the imaginary dispute between Cicero and Augustine (lib. 5, cap. 9), where the words are laid in the mouth of Augustine, stressing, once again, their importance in his theology.

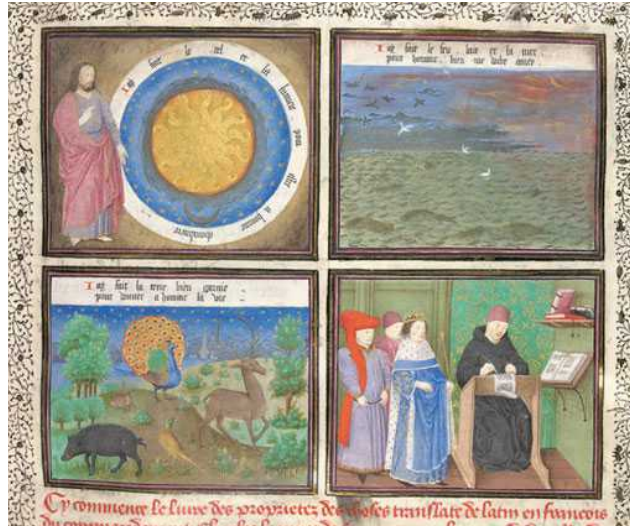


25. Augustine, *La Cité de Dieu* (transl. by Raoul de Presles; illumin. by Maître François), ca. 1475, 1478-80, ordered by Jacques d'Armagnac, finished for Philippe de Commines. Vol. I, lib. V, cap. IX (fol. 239r), Dispute between St. Augustine and Cicero. The Hague, Roal Library, RMMW Ms. 10 A 11

All in all, should Schedel's first illustration (fol. 1v) not have been followed by the paradise scene with the palm and dragon tree on fol.7 (fig. 40), I doubt if Koldeweij & Ilsink would have been so assured about Bosch's dependence of the *Weltchronik*. But before discussing paradises's flora, I want to discuss its fauna:

Bartholomeus Anglicus

Among the many medieval authors whose texts on the Creation are accompanied by illustrations, Bartholomeus Anglicus (Bartholomeus Engelsman, Barthélémy l'Anglais etc.) deserves special attention. His 19-volume encyclopaedia *De proprietatibus rerum* dates from around 1250, but only the printed edition by Jacobus Bellaert from 1485, *Van den proprieteiten der dingen*, has been mentioned frequently in connection with Bosch, especially in connection to the animals on the *Garden*.



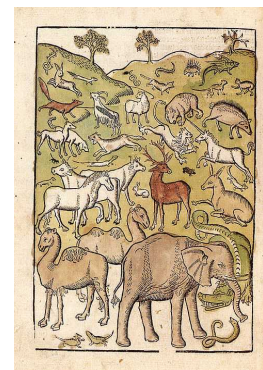
26. Barth. Anglicus, ca. 1450, *De proprietatibus rerum*
British Library, Cotton MS Augustus A vi

In the 2016 Madrid Bosch catalogue even Larry Silver still did so:

"The animals in the Paradise wing derive from the roster associated with the Holy Land by Dutch woodcut designer Erhard Reuwich, illustrating Bernard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz 1486) and by the Bellaert Master [illustrating Anglicus's *Van de Proprieteiten*] in 1485, so a plausible terminus can be established."⁸³



27.
Bernard von Breydenbach
(Ill. Erhard Reuwich)
Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam
Mainz 1486



28.
Bartholomeus Anglicus
(Ill. Bellaert Master)
Van den proprieteiten der dingen
Haarlem 1485

Silver writes this despite he knows Bosch did not use Breydenbach's giraffe with his small round spots. Even if the original source ("Ciriaco d'Ancona") should not have been found, it was clear that without knowledge of other images, you cannot change the coat pattern of Breydenbach's giraffe into the far more realistic pattern of Bosch's giraffe.

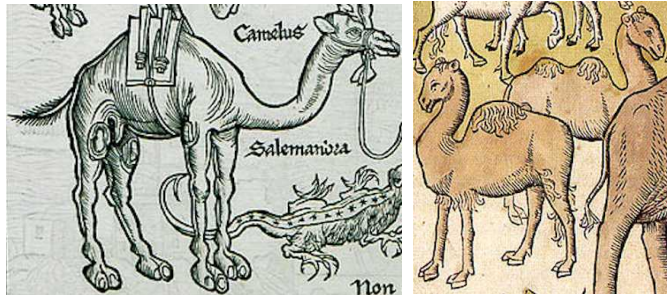


29. Giraffe: Breydenbach, "Cyriaco d'Ancona", Bosch

83 Exh. cat. *Bosch* 2016 op.cit. (n. 8), p. 131, n. 4.

The same applies to Bosch's Bactrian camels which have hairy necks and upper forelegs and very high continuous hind legs, while Breydenbach's and Bellaert's Arabian and Bactrian camels have not.

30. Erhard Reuwich, Arabian camel (dromedary)
31. Bellaert Master, Arabian and Bactrian camel



33. Bosch, *Garden*, Bactrian camels

32. Bactrian camel. foto Rob de Ruiter (www.zoo-info.nl/kameel/26-dierenrijk)

So Bosch did *not* use any of those common, relatively cheap printed books for the *Garden*. For his camel, as for his giraffe, he must have had a very realistic, lifelike Italian drawing at his disposal.

To save the link to Reuwich and the Bellaert Master, Silver suggests Bosch took over their idea of an ensemble-like composition of exotic animals. But these ensembles were not invented by these print makers. They are an integral part of the many manuscripts of Anglicus's encyclopaedia (and not only his), at the beginning of book 18, and include such animals as unicorns, dragons, mermaids, camels and, remarkably often, "Boschian" porcupines.



They are brought together in a landscape as with the Bellaert Master:

34. Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Livre des propriétés des choses* (transl. by Jean Corbichon, illumin. by Évrard d'Espinques), ca. 1480

Bibl. national de France, Ms. Français 9140

Or they are collected on mosaic-like pages of loose 'thumbnails':

35. Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Livre des propriétés des choses*
Paris before 1416.

Reims, Bibl. municipal, Ms. 993



Or, just as in Bosch's *Garden*, they accompany Adam and Eve in Paradise.

This third type is not specific for encyclopaedias like Anglicus's, but does appear in them as well. Fischer reproduced a famous one by the Boucicaut Master with God introducing Eve to Adam, but for the rest he gave scant attention to Anglicus and he could have picked his example from many other sources.⁸⁴

36. Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Livre des propriétés des choses*
(illumin. by the Boucicaut Master)
Paris ca. 1415
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 251



37. Augustine, *La Cité Dieu*
(illumin. Coëtiy Master)
Paris ca. 1480
Mâcon, Bibl. Mun., Ms 002

38. Flavius Josephus, *Antiquités Judaïques*
(illum. Master of the Flemish Boethius)
Bruges 1480-83
Bibl. national de France, Ms. Franç. 11



Koldeweij & Ilsink also gave hardly any attention to Anglicus. They mention him because of his text on owls and they reproduce Bellaert's two pages with birds and animals due to an alleged link to Bosch's Berlin drawings of the fight between birds and mammals.⁸⁵

Not surprisingly it was only Erwin Pokorny who wrote:

*"His most important literary sources were medieval visionary texts like The Visions of the Knight Tondal and some depictions of the earthly paradise as discussed in the encyclopaedia De Proprietatibus Rerum by Bartholomaeus Anglicus."*⁸⁶

Again: instead of looking for printed sources and analogies from the Netherlands for Bosch's images for the *Garden*, one should focus on Dutch, Flemish and French manuscripts, Italian drawings and Venetian incunables from the 1470s.

The many borrowings from Plinius, as well as the many depictions of the Creation, animals - even children with walking frame, hobby horse and toy windmill⁸⁷ - make manuscripts of Anglicus' encyclopaedia sources that deserve far more attention than they have had to date.

39. Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Livre des propriétés des choses*, ca. 1480.
Bibl. national de France, Ms. Français 218



⁸⁴ Fischer 2013, op.cit. (n. 27), p. 110.

⁸⁵ BRCP, *Catalogue Raisonné* 2016, op.cit. 2016 (n. 66), pp. 500 and 519-520.

⁸⁶ Pokorny 2007/10, op.cit. (n. 11), p. 283.

⁸⁷ Paris, BnF, département des Manuscrits, Français 218, fol. 95. The miniature was also used for a woodcut in printed editions of Anglicus from Lyon in 1482 and 1486.

9.2.3 Palm and dragon tree

So what remains to be discussed are Schedel's (actually Wolgemut's) palm and dragon tree as terminus post quem for the paradise panel of Bosch's *Garden*. In 2001 and 2007/10 I thought it was sufficient to note that Schedel's examples were preceded by those in Schongauer's print of the *Flight into Egypt* from the 1470's. But now that Koldeweij & Ilsink have returned to a post-Schedel date for the *Garden*, I'll have to discuss them in more detail.



40. H. Schedel, *Weltchronik*, 1493, fol. 7, Paradise



41. M. Schongauer, *Flight into Egypt*, 1470's



42. H. Bosch, *Garden*, Paradise panel (det.)



43. Schongauer, dragon tree 44. Schedel, Dragon tree, mirror image.

First: Schedel's dragon tree is a mirror image copy of the one by Schongauer, so Schedel copied Schongauer.

Second: Schongauer added a fig tree, thus accentuating the link between his scene of the Flight with Paradise. So the association of palm and dragon tree with Paradise is older than Schedel and Bosch did not require the *Weltchronik* to come up with the same idea.



45. Schongauer, fig leaves

Third: Bosch's dragon tree differs considerably from the one with Schongauer/Schedel:



46. Schongauer, Schedel, Bosch, dragon tree

- The segments of the Schongauer/Schedel branches have rather irregular forms.
- The segments of Bosch's branches have rather regular, identical, symmetrical, conical forms.

So, is it possible that Bosch made his own stylised version of the Schedel example? This might seem a plausible solution, until one discovers that similar differences also exist, though not so extreme, in reality.



47. dragon trees

Younger branches and trees tend to be more regular, older ones tend to be more irregular. The upper three images are more like Bosch's, the lower two more like Schongauer/Schedel's dragon tree. The differences are not as obvious and unbridgeable as in the case of the giraffes and camels, but large enough to assume Bosch might very well have used an entirely different source.

Fourth: the palm tree. Biologist/paleoecologist Henk van Haaster wrote about them:

“Dates were in late Medieval times during the many fasting periods a popular product. The seeds germinate quite easily and many will have wondered about the beautiful small palm trees that grew out of them. But of course the palm tree is not frost resistant and it strikes that only small seedlings are represented.”⁸⁸

(It is a remarkable, but otherwise irrelevant coincidence that Van Haaster did most of his research in 's-Hertogenbosch).

⁸⁸ H. v. Haaster, De introductie van cultuurgewassen in de Nederlanden tijdens de Middeleeuwen, in: A.C. Zeven (ed.), De introductie van onze cultuurplanten en hun begeleiders, van het Neolithicum tot 1500 AD, Wageningen 1997, pp. 53-90, p. 84 The same text is part of Van Haaster's dissertation, *Archeobotanica uit 's-Hertogenbosch*, Univ. of Amsterdam, 17 Juni 2003.



48. Schongauer, Schedel, Bosch: palm tree



Phoenix 'Canariensis' | Canarische dadelpalm
per 2 stuks - Buitenplant in kwekerspot
ø19 cm - ↑80-100 cm

38⁵⁰

49. Canarian date palms advertisement

Schongauer's palm tree is depicted correctly, with bunches of dates on their own stems growing directly out of the tree trunk. Schedel put Schongauer's palm upright, but it is basically the same, though with slightly thicker, fuller leaves and, due to lack of height, a broader, flatter crown.

Bosch, however, painted very thin, fine and vertical leaves with, completely unrealistic, bunches of dates at their top. Bosch did not copy Schedel's palm and apparently had little idea of what a fully grown date palm looked like. Instead he seems to have copied the palms he knew: the seedlings that grew in so many medieval houses and never reached the stage at which they produced their own dates; the same kind of date palms you can still buy at your local garden centre.

And that ends, to me, Schedel's chances as an indisputable terminus post quem for the *Garden of Earthly Delights*.

So, to conclude, one cannot prove with certainty that Schedel's *Weltchronik* wasn't "*an important source of inspiration*" for Bosch. But overlooking the arguments, there is very little to assume it was. Of all "*its more than 1,800 illustrations*" Koldeweij&Ilsink refer to, no more than two show some parallels with Bosch. And even these parallels are hardly stylistic/visual, but mainly iconographic/textual/theological, meaning that they attribute an inventiveness in those fields to Schedel and/or Wolgemut that is supported by no other evidence than that, so far, no earlier visual examples have been traced.

As far as I'm concerned, it is still waiting for the first image to prove that Bosch used materials younger than the early 1480's. Since nobody else seems to be able to come up with a plausible suggestion, I will do so myself, in the second part of this article.