
Baldass was right

The Chronology of the Paintings of Jheronimus Bosch

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'Entia non sunt praeter necessitatem multiplicanda' [William of Occam]

INTRODUCTION

I have entitled my contribution "Baldass was right", as a response to the first article Ludwig Baldass wrote on Bosch in 1917: "Die Chronologie der Gemälde des Hieronymus Bosch".¹ In it Baldass claimed that the *Garden of Delights* was a work from the youth of Bosch. Twenty years later, however, he was "overruled" by Charles de Tolnay, whose dominance in this field was so strong that even Baldass gave in.²

It was only through dendrochronological research that De Tolnay's views were seriously questioned. In 2001 I made a modest attempt to redefine Bosch's chronology.³ It was modest in more than one sense. First, the publisher of the Rotterdam "catalogue" was only interested in a "coffee-table-book", so space was limited and notes were not allowed. Second, as a newcomer in this field and confronted with the overwhelming support for De Tolnay, I was less outspoken about my convictions than I would have been otherwise.

Still, the message was clear and Jan Pieter Filedt Kok wrote in *The Burlington Magazine*: "In his provocative essay Bernard Vermet does treat questions of attribution and chronology, but the dating of wood perhaps looms too large in his account".⁴ And Till Borchert wrote in the Frankfurter *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 5 September 2001: "Dem Versuch freilich, auf Basis der Holzdatierung eine relative Chronologie von Boschs Gemälden zu entwickeln, wie ihn Bernard Vermet im Katalog unternimmt, wird man wohl kaum vorbehaltlos zustimmen können. Vor allem die Anregung, den Garten der Lüste als frühes Werk zu betrachten, wirkt provozierend und läuft den Vorstellungen einer kontinuierlichen künstlerischen Entwicklung, vor allem angesichts der sehr fortschrittlichen Raumfassung, diametral zuwider".

Opposition to an early dating of the *Garden* is still strong. Fritz Koreny wrote in 2004 "Niemand wird die Tafeln [of the *Garden*] ernstlich als Frühwerke Boschs in Erwägung ziehen und beispielsweise eine Chronologie seines Werks darauf bauen wollen" ("Nobody will seriously consider the *Garden of Delights* to be an early work by Bosch and build a chronology on it").⁵ Yet I was very serious when I did so in 2001 and I am even more serious in doing so now.

Since the dating of the *Garden* still seems to be at the centre of the controversy, I will discuss this matter first. Afterwards, I will present my general chronology, in comparison to those of Fritz Koreny and Frédéric Elsig, who both published a chronology in 2004.⁶ Part of this contribution is identical to the text of the lecture I held in Tallinn on 17 September 2004.

I added an epigraph to this present presentation: "Entia non sunt praeter necessitatem multiplicanda" (Entities should not be multiplied beyond necessity). It is a famous text, summarizing one of the root principles of the philosophy of the fourteenth-century monk

William of Occam - commonly referred to as “Occam’s razor” - meaning that: when all the facts are the same, the simplest solution to a problem tends to be the best one. The simplest solution to the problem: I hope to demonstrate that this is the essence of my chronology.

GARDEN OF DELIGHTS, EARLY DATING

In late 2000 I visited a symposium in the Prado, dealing with the restoration of the *Garden of Delights*. During an interval, I was running through my notes again. I had glued thumbnails of all the Bosch paintings in dendrochronological order. And yes, I knew that a felling date didn’t need to say much about the date of a painting, but still: looking at the overall picture, statistically, there had to be a correlation between the age of the wood and the age of the paintings, in spite of individual deviations from this general line. And the oldest wood was that of the *Garden*. Like everybody else I took for granted that the *Garden* was a relatively late work and as a result I could not find any line of development in the works of Bosch. But then, at that precise moment, I thought: what is there actually against an early dating of the *Garden*? And within seconds things seemed to fall into place and the most complicated problems seemed to have solutions as simple as Occam predicted.

Once you accept an early dating for the *Garden*, it seems almost unbelievable that one accepted De Tolnay’s opinion without any criticism for so long. Till Borchert spoke of a “sehr fortschrittlichen Raumbfassung”, a very progressive concept of space. But although the composition of the *Garden* is breathtaking in its richness of forms and ideas, it is not in its representation of space. It is old-fashioned, simple, symmetrical and flat, with one scene placed not behind, but on top of the other, divided only by a row of trees. This trick is very common in fifteenth-century miniatures, such as f° 36v of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* from around 1455/56 by Simon Marmion, whose influence on Bosch is almost unanimously accepted.⁷

The most astonishing thing of all, however, is that not even De Tolnay himself believed in the progressiveness of the *Garden*. He refers to its style as “scheinbar archaisch”⁸, reverting to the monumentality of Jan van Eyck and the Maître de Flémalle, “die er bis jetzt nicht beachtet hatte” and he calls the *Garden* Bosch’s “vollkommenste Ausdruck der spätgotischen Strömung” of the end of the fifteenth century.⁹ So although he dated it in the sixteenth century, it looked, even to him, like fifteenth-century.

Here we have the first example of “multiplying the entities beyond necessity”. Cinotti, in the Bosch volume of the *Opera completa* series, summarized this curious argumentation as follows: “Because of the archaic construction and the complete absence of realistic elements one nowadays assumes that the work was made around 1510”.¹⁰ This is, of course, nonsense, or better, it is art in the early twentieth century. De Tolnay did not describe the development of Jheronimus Bosch, but that of Pablo Picasso, Frans Macke, Fernand Leger, or any other painter from his own lifetime.¹¹

While the general composition is archaic, the individual figures are rather primitive. Baldass noted in 1917: "Daß der Künstler es noch nicht versteht, die figuren in Verbindung mit dem Raum zu bringen, beweist die Erschaffung Evas auf dem linken Flügel".¹² Theories have been devised to explain why it seems that Eve's knees are not touching the ground. In fact, the reason might be quite simple: it was the best Bosch could do at that time.

In spite of this primitivism, Koreny speaks of a "Renaissancehafter Akademismus italienischer Prägung" that could not precede the turn of the century.¹³ His sole argument are the "studies from the nude after a single model in a renaissance manner". Personally I don't see much difference with the figures Memling had painted already around 1471 in the Hell of his famous *Last Judgment* triptych in Gdansk. And there are even closer parallels in the borders of the *Carpentin Prayer Book*, f^o 124¹⁴ and the *Salting Book of Hours*, f^o 154¹⁵, both dated around 1475 to 1480 and made by the so-called Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, who, like Memling, worked in Bruges and was obviously influenced by him. Bosch must have known this master or his work. (And on f^o 153 of the *Salting book of Hours* there is a Tondale Vision by none other than Simon Marmion).¹⁶

An early dating for the *Garden* solves other problems as well. The *Epiphany* from New York was seen as Bosch's earliest work by Baldass, until De Tolnay rejected it as a pastiche. The *Epiphany* 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 1504.¹⁷ But it is easy to understand when you date it in the early 1480's. And not only the Virgin does resemble the Eve of the *Garden*, the black king resembles the black man in the middle foreground of the *Garden* (while most others are just whites, painted black) and the wall and middle king resemble the wall and Pilate from the also early *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt (as I argued already in 2001).¹⁸

Last but not least there is the opinion of Hans Janssen, who wrote in 2001 that typological characteristics of knives and ceramics from the period 1490-1510 are not visible in the material depicted on Bosch's large triptychs, ending with the question 'Could this point to the possibility that the original versions of the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch came into existence before the general period c. 1490-1510?'.¹⁹ The following year he expressed the same opinion with even less reserve and since then his conviction only seems to have grown.²⁰ In a recent mail he wrote "For a long time now, I think that most of Bosch's paintings, *but definitely the Garden*, belong to the period 1460-1490."²¹

Opposition

Not only stylistic arguments have been put forward in favour of a later dating of the *Garden of Delights*. Authors have tried to link the painting to certain later historical events or pictorial sources as well. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the most recent attempts to do so. On 7 November 2001 Herman Colenbrander argued in the first Bosch colloquium in

's-Hertogenbosch that the *Triptych of the madroño* - as the *Garden* was named in Spain - indeed shows many madroños or tree-strawberries. They only grow in Southern Europe and Ireland and Pliny wrote that eating more than one of the fruits makes you sick.²² This makes the madroño a perfect symbol for a call for moderation in love affairs. So far I believe Colenbrander, but referring to Paul Vandenbroeck, who called the *Garden* a "speculum nuptiarum", a matrimonial mirror, he then suggested that it was made after the marriage of Hendrik III of Nassau with Françoise-Louise of Savoye, in 1503 in Lyon. Hendrik at that time returned from a two years stay with Philip the Fair in Spain, where he could have become acquainted with the madroño and its symbolism.

However, although the marital symbolism is undeniable, I don't see why it should refer to a specific occasion. Moreover, Hendrik's predecessor, uncle and, in my view commissioner of the *Garden*, Engelbrecht II of Nassau, visited Southern Europe as well, and even Bosch might have done so (somewhere between 1474 and 1481). And finally, it is very well possible, or even most likely that there was a third person or party involved, an "auctor intellectualis", who was responsible for (at least part of) the iconographical program. Therefore we know nothing about the person responsible for the introduction of the madroño symbolism, but we do know, as noted, about its source: Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. From 1469 onwards a whole series of publications of it appeared in Venice. The first one with Giovanni da Spira (Johannes von Speyer) in 1469 and the third and most famous one in 1472 with his pupil Nicolas Jenson.²³ This, coincidentally, is one of many links of Bosch to Italy in the 1470's.

An old argument I like to mention briefly is that of the prominent place of a porcupine in the parade on the central panel. The porcupine was the emblem of Louis XII, king of France. If this porcupine refers to Louis then there is a problem, since he only became king in 1498. However, the emblem is much older. It was introduced by his grandfather in 1393, when he founded the Order of the Porcupine and appears on a seal of Louis himself from 1486. Louis had been forced to marry Jeanne, the physically deformed and mentally retarded daughter of Louis XI, but Louis had higher ambitions. In 1484 he signed a treaty with the duke of Bretagne/Brittany, François II, involving a marriage with his daughter and heir, Anne de Bretagne. But that made him a bigamist to be. Knowing the marital content of the *Garden* and the symbolism of the madroño ("unedo": no more than one), it is tempting to see here an allusion to the events of 1484 that were part of the so called "Guerre Folle", the Insane War. Personally I don't believe there is a link with Louis and I prefer Bax's explanation of the porcupine as a symbol of unchastity.²⁴ But if there is a link, then 1484 is as good as or even better than 1498.

Another argument was brought forward in 2002 by Gerd Unverfehrt. He claimed there is a seed-capsule of the South American *Ibicella Lutea* right under the hog with the two storks on his back in the central panel of the *Garden*.²⁵ Columbus reached the Caribbean in 1492 while this *ibicella* grows in parts of Brazil that were not discovered before the turn of the century, so that would cause a serious problem for me.

However, if this really is a seed-capsule, then why is there a berry as well? Beans and berries don't grow on one plant. Moreover: the first prints of Indians date from before 1500 and Grao Vasco painted one between 1501 and 1506 in his famous *Adoration* in the Viseu museum, but what did Bosch? He is supposed to have chosen to paint an uninteresting, uneatable thorny plant nobody ever heard of, at a time not even tobacco was introduced here. So, what we really see has nothing to do with a realistic plant at all. The fluent curves are just a decorative motif that Bosch uses over and over again in the *Garden*. We see it in the black endings of the feathers next to this capsule. We see it in the architectural constructions in the background, in the tail of the merman, the "love boat" of the black and white couple, the horns of the goat, the wings of the griffon, etc.

Hans Belting, in 2002, also linked the *Garden* to the climate of the great discoveries and interest for the exotic, although he admits that Bosch himself had no information about America yet.²⁶ But he does link this climate to the discovery of America in 1492.

However, this climate goes back much further. The main initiator of it was the Portuguese prince Henry the Navigator (Enrico o Navigador), who died in 1460, who financed the sailing expeditions that pushed further south along the African coast year by year and who was the main figure behind the colonization of Madeira and the Canary Islands. The dragon tree that was painted by Bosch in *Paradise* comes from those very Canary Islands and was already used by Schongauer in his print of the *Flight into Egypt* of the early 1470's. The griffon - not existing, but no less exotic - seems inspired by an early print by Schongauer as well. Bosch's giraffe is identical to the one in an Italian manuscript with the travel record of Ciriacus da Ancona, who visited Egypt in 1443²⁷ and it is obvious that Bosch used a realistic, lifelike portrait of a male black man. In other words, it is the discovery of Africa from the mid-fifteenth century that inspired Bosch, not the discovery of America from the end of the fifteenth century.

Belting sees the *Garden of Delights* as the possible result of the rivalry between Philip the Fair and Hendrik III of Nassau.²⁸ Philip and Hendrik both stayed in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1504, on which occasion Philip ordered a *Last Judgment* and Hendrik wanted to surpass him by ordering the *Garden*. Hendrik was a great maecenas of the arts, with a strong preference for renaissance nudes and a rather frivolous lifestyle. Like others before him Belting mentions the bed for 50 persons in Hendrik's palace in Brussels that was meant for drunken visitors. Belting concludes that "what he lacked in piety, he certainly made up for in artistic interest and this must be taken into account in interpreting Bosch's painting".²⁹ However, all this could just as easily be said about Hendrik's predecessor, his uncle Engelbrecht II, who died in 1504. He started the great rebuilding of the Nassau Palace in Brussels around 1480, he might therefore have installed the bed already and have gathered many of the works of art that were present there in the 1520's. The most famous painting, for instance, was the *Altar of the Seven Sacraments* by Hugo van der Goes, who had died already in 1482.

Engelbrecht was also a great lover of illuminated books.³⁰ Around 1478 to 1480 he ordered the so-called *Breviary of Engelbrecht II*, which was made by the most important writer of that

time, Nicolas Spierinc, and the most important illuminator, the Master of Mary of Burgundy.³¹ In the 1490's Engelbrecht ordered a *Roman de la Rose* that is as famous as his *Breviary* and whose symbolism is closely related to the *Garden of Delights*.³² In the words of Paul Vandebroek, it "deals with the distinction between the real, heavenly paradise and the false love paradise in which lust has taken the place of the highest divine mystery".³³

As for Hendrik's frivolous behaviour, Belting not only mentions the bed, but also a letter, in which Hendrik wrote "that his wife wished 'she were prettier ... and that I were a little younger'". If we compare this to what we know about Engelbrecht, Hendrik looks like a boy scout. In no less than three consecutive Chapters of the Knights of the Golden Fleece Engelbrecht was criticized for his behaviour. In 1478, in Bruges, his behaviour was called reprehensible because of his dissoluteness of morals ("fort dissolu dans ses mœurs").³⁴ In 1481, in 's-Hertogenbosch (!), they spoke of his irregular morals ("déréglement des mœurs").³⁵ And in 1491, in Mechelen, they threatened him with a (symbolic) fee of 50 guilders if once again he persisted in his old faults and did not cease to give himself so immoderately to the ladies ("cesser de s'adonner aux femmes").³⁶ Isn't this exactly the kind of behaviour that according to Belting "must be taken into account in interpreting Bosch's painting"?³⁷

Two final things to consider on Engelbrecht and Hendrik:

First, already in 1956 Bax stressed the fact that the person who commissioned the *Garden* had to be looked for amongst the native Dutch-speaking nobility.³⁸ Engelbrecht was born, grew up and died in Breda and, judging from her library, at least his mother spoke Dutch in daily life. Hendrik was born and grew up in Germany and his mother was German. He only came to Breda in 1499 at the age of 16. It is true that in 1515 he wrote a letter in Dutch to his father who was still living on the Dillenburg, but his mother-tongue is more likely to have been High or Middle German. Which one of these two is the most likely person to have commissioned the *Garden* in the light of Bax's statement?

Second, we know that the nobility could afford themselves tremendous liberties in their lifestyle, but it is highly questionable that these same liberties were allowed to the higher civil classes as well. In 1504 Jheronimus Bosch was a man who had come of age and who had worked himself up to the higher classes of civil society, a married man also, who was held in great respect in 's-Hertogenbosch, who proudly signed his works Bosch, a sworn member of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Lady even. In 1481 Bosch was still a virtual nobody, a man at the beginning of his career, not married yet and with no heavy obligations towards society to meet and with no expectations to fulfil. Which one of these two is the most likely person to execute the commission for such an extraordinary (unsigned!) painting? Not Hendrik's visit of 1504 to 's-Hertogenbosch, but Engelbrecht's visit of 1481 is the most likely occasion to have led to the creation of the *Garden of Delights*.

The Vienna Last Judgment and the Garden

Not only Belting links the creation of the *Garden* to the creation of the *Vienna Last Judgment*.

Koreny, Elsig, Silver and many others have done so as well. What puzzled me in 2001 was the great resemblance between the *Garden* and the *Last Judgment*, as well as the fact that in 1904 Glück had already noticed that both saints on the *Judgment* wings could be seen as representatives of Spain (Saint Jacob) and Flanders (Saint Bavo), while Bax noticed in 1983 the strong resemblance between Bavo and Philip the Fair.³⁹ However, I think the stylistic resemblance is not so big after all. If we only look at the space, we see that the flat and archaic piling up of consecutive planes has been replaced by a more coherent, unified space that is running from foreground to background in a complex zigzag movement. Furthermore, there is no reason to link the first contact between Philip the Fair and Bosch or Philip and Spain to 1504. Philip's marriage to Johanna of Castilia dates from 1496 and his Spanish mother in law possessed at her death in 1504 several works by Bosch already.⁴⁰ It is significant that both portraits shown by Bax to prove his theory are youth portraits, dating from 1494 and 1497. If this is Philip the Fair, then it can easily be Philip the Fair around 1496, instead of around 1504.

So the Vienna *Last Judgment* seems to me a work from around 1496, which fits in perfectly with the close resemblance of the outer wings with the style of the Madrid *Epiphany*, dating from around 1496 as well. There is also an ideal occasion for the painting: the inauguration of Philip as Duke of Brabant in 's-Hertogenbosch on 15 December 1496, two months after his marriage in Lier. Amongst the attendants were the emperor Maximilian, his stadholder in the Netherlands Duke Albrecht III of Saxony, Philip's majordomus Diego de Guevara – who became later on the owner of works by Bosch such as the *Haywain* – and of course Engelbrecht II. Inconsistencies in the composition of the *Last Judgment*, the presence of an overpainted donor on the central(!) panel and the early poor condition, make it tempting to believe that it was some kind of rush work, made for, or directly after this occasion.⁴¹ The existence of a copy from around 1520 by the Saxon court-painter Lucas Cranach, makes it tempting to attribute a major role in the commission to Albrecht III.⁴²

To conclude this overview of arguments against an early dating of the *Garden*, we will look at the recent books of Frédéric Elsig and Larry Silver.⁴³ Silver speaks on the matter only in general terms and doesn't add new arguments, since it is not a real issue to him. His book however, is the most recent general one on Bosch, and therefore I included it here anyhow. For Elsig however this is a main topic.

In the seventh chapter of his book Larry Silver writes: "Dendrochronology offers the contrasting and puzzlingly early date of 1460-66, prompting Vermet (following a suggestion by Baldass in 1917) to situate the triptych early in Bosch's career, around 1480. But the absence of any influence from such a distinctive work within a prominent collection mitigates against too early an origin."⁴⁴ This absence of early influence puzzles Elsig as well. But if the *Garden* was as private as it seems to be, for the enjoyment of Engelbrecht and his friends only, that is not so surprising I think. And both Silver and Elsig, like many before them, refer to prints like those of Wolgemut from 1493, Reuwich from 1485 and the Bellaert Master from 1486, prints of which I already wrote in 2001 that their link with Bosch is far

from convincing, contrary to sources like the aforementioned giraffe and Schongauer prints, or maybe even Italian animal drawings like those of Pisanello, Giovannino de Grassi, and others, all predating the 1480's and, except for the giraffe, all mentioned by Bax already in 1956.⁴⁵

Besides this, Silver mentions a stylistic argument as well: "In formal terms, the Garden triptych's coordinated tones and fuller-bodied, yet delicately modelled figures extend Bosch's achievements in the Lisbon St. Anthony triptych while retaining some of [the?] bright coloration and landscape forms shared by the earlier images of saints'.⁴⁶ Does Silver really believe that the sometimes harsh and clumsy details of the *Garden* extend the brilliant and vivid realism of the *St. Anthony*? If only one compares the two fires in both triptychs! One final remark concerning Silver: he is using, like I did in 2001, the presence of signatures as an argument for dating the paintings. But he doesn't use the absence of a signature on the *Garden*, since this, if not accidental, would contradict his opinion that the *Garden* is a late work from Bosch's maturity.

An argument, introduced by Elsig is the presumed likeness of the world representation on the outside with the globes that "seem to develop in this form only from 1510 onwards in the works of Joos van Cleve and Joachim Patenir". But these globes show ordinary bird's eye view panorama's, painted on a roundel. They have nothing to do with Bosch's world perspective on a disc. That type of depiction can be found already in works like the *Salvator Mundi* from around 1460/1470 by the Middle Rhine Master of the Darmstädter Passion (page 306), or in the *Triumph of Fame, Time and Eternity* from around 1440/1445 by Domenico de Michelino. (The Middle Rhine, halfway on the road to Italy, incidentally, is also the region where some of the closest comparisons to Bosch's Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* originate from). Furthermore Elsig sees an "irresistible likeliness" between the rock formations on the *Garden* and the choral assemblages collected at the court of Margaret of Austria. I prefer, however, the likeness to the rock formations on the fresco's by Francesco della Cossa, made in Ferrara around 1470, a likeness first noticed by Bax in 1961.⁴⁷

Conclusions

The *Garden of Delights* was painted by Bosch for Engelbrecht II of Nassau. The contact between Engelbrecht and Bosch can originate from 1481, when Engelbrecht attended the Chapter of the Knights of the Golden Fleece in 's-Hertogenbosch. The contact can even be older, since the young Bosch was obviously as familiar with the works of the Flemish miniaturists as Engelbrecht. Therefore I am inclined to date the *Garden* shortly after 1481, but do not exclude the possibility that it was made or initiated even before that year. It was thanks to the patronage of Engelbrecht that Bosch got the opportunity to become a sworn member of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Lady as early as 1488, at a time he otherwise would have been no more than a promising young artist in the workshop of his family. To learn more about the whereabouts and early artistic and intellectual developments of Bosch



Detail from: Francesco della Cossa, (from the Month Series), Palazzo



Detail from: Master of the Darmst dter ~~Bas~~ ~~von~~ ~~Mund~~ Frankfurt am Main,
St delsches Kunstinstitut und St dtische Galerie

it is vital to learn more about the whereabouts and artistic and intellectual activities of Engelbrecht II in the same period.

GENERAL CHRONOLOGY

In this final part of my contribution I will deal briefly with the three recent general chronologies by Koreny, Elsig and myself. As mentioned in the introduction my chronology originates from my article of 2001. In November of that same year Koreny presented his chronology during the symposium in 's-Hertogenbosch that accompanied the final week of the Rotterdam exhibition. He published his ideas in the catalogue of the 2002 Antwerp exhibition of early Netherlandish drawings and presented his final version, so far, in 2004 in the delayed yearbook 2002/03 of the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum.⁴⁸ Elsig published his chronology late 2004, but his book was based to a large extent on his thesis of 1999.

Koreny divides the works by Bosch into two groups. His division is based on the stylistic analyses of Bosch's underdrawings by Van Schoute in 1965 and Filedt Kok in 1971.⁴⁹ The first group has underdrawings that exist of only a few simple and quick strokes and a smooth style of painting with sharp contours. The second group has underdrawings that are characterized by extensive parallel hatching from top left to bottom right and a powerful, but thicker and ruder way of painting, as well as a complete new interpretation of the landscape. So far there is nothing new or controversial to Koreny's division.

The three keyworks of the first group are the *Garden*, the Vienna *Last Judgment* and the Prado *Epiphany*. In the first part of this essay I have argued that in my view Koreny dates the *Garden* more than twenty years and the *Last Judgment* more than ten years too late. For the *Epiphany* this is fifteen years: in 2004 Koreny dated the *Epiphany* around 1510 because of the "renaissancehaft-realistischen Gesichtszügen" and similar renaissance(-like) view.⁵⁰ Koreny did not notice the close resemblance of the *Epiphany* to the *Ecce Homo* triptych from Boston, in spite of the fact that De Tolnay already wrote: "Die Falten des hellroten Mantels von St. Peters Gewand [in Boston] sind fast die gleichen wie bei St. Peter auf dem linken Innenflügel der Madrider 'Anbetung der Könige'".⁵¹ The Boston triptych is clearly less in quality and seems therefore a workshop product made after the Prado *Epiphany*. And since the Boston triptych was convincingly dated (in 1998 by Van Dyck) in 1496 or 1497, this gives us a very specific terminus ante quem for the Prado *Epiphany*. This date was confirmed in 2003 by Vandenbroeck, as he identified the donors as the Antwerp couple Peeter Scheyve, who died in 1506, and Agnes de Schramme, who died before 1500.⁵² And finally, in 2004 Xavier Duquenne published additional genealogical information, proving that Agnes died in 1497 already and that Peeter remarried to Maria van der Merwede, who gave him 3 daughters, so that a posthumous portrait is out of the question as well.⁵³

By dating the Prado *Epiphany* around 1495 we are remarkably close to Baldass's initial dating in the early 1490's. Once again it seems that Baldass was right.

Since Koreny dates all three key works far too late, he lacks time to place the second group

within Bosch's lifetime and therefore he creates a "deutero Bosch", a young pupil who worked in his workshop from about 1500 until after Bosch's death in 1516 and who is responsible for the second group, including the *Lisbon St. Anthony*, the *Peddler/Ship of Fools/Death of the Miser* triptych and the *Haywain*. However, by dating the three key works 10 to 20 years earlier the second group doesn't need to overlap with the first group, but can be placed entirely after it. The turning point seems to be the time around 1500, a period in which Bosch might have been absent from 's-Hertogenbosch for a longer period (no records 1500-1503).

Proving that both groups can easily be placed after each other still doesn't prove that they were painted by one and the same artist. Are the differences too big for one lifetime? I don't think so. Koreny himself already states that the painter of the second group "not only used Bosch's motifs, but also further developed Bosch's style autonomously".⁵⁴ If somebody else can use Bosch's motifs and develop Bosch's style, then why not Bosch himself? And indeed if we look at both groups the differences are not as big as Koreny suggests. He mentions the innovating landscapes as a characteristic of the second group, but nevertheless places the innovating landscape of the Rotterdam *Saint Christopher* in the first group. He defines the brushwork of the first group as refined and articulated, and that of the second more thick and rude, but forgets this can also be explained by things like aging of the artist, as in the case of Titian for instance. He refers to these more rude figures as of "eine bezwingende Präsenz seelichen Ausdrucks" and of "einer drastischen, vitalen Erzählweise und Formensprache".⁵⁵ These too seem to me characteristics of an elderly artist with a lot of experience. Finally Koreny not only ignores the more fluent, continuous developments, but the elements that don't seem to change at all as well. Elements like the solitary trees or tree trunks, with their very "agitated" appearance, often with spiny, thorny branches and an exaggerated rejuvenation towards the top. We see them in the very first work by Bosch, the *Epiphany* from New York (and not in the copy from Rotterdam), in the *Crucifixion* from Brussels and in the Prado *Epiphany*, all from group one. And we see them in the *Saint Jerome* from Ghent, the *Saint Jerome* from Venice and the *Temptations of Saint Anthony* from Lisbon, all from group two.

It may be clear that in general I agree with Koreny's relative order of paintings, some works, like the (in my view posthumous?) Ghent *Carrying of the Cross* excluded. Curious is that Elsig actually follows the same order of works as Koreny and I do. And he too follows the division that is inspired by the analyses of Van Schoute and Filedt Kok: "Nos recherches nous ont conduit à isoler deux groupes clairement distincts, tant du point de vue de la surface picturale que du dessin sous-jacent: l'un caractérisé par une manière fluide et nerveuse (notamment le Portement de croix de Vienne, le triptyque récemment reconstitué des Sept péchés capitaux [*Pedlar, Death of the miser* etc.], les oeuvres vénétiennes et les Tentations de saint Antoine de Lisbonne); l'autre par une technique plus patiente et plastique (notamment le Jugement dernier de Vienne, le Portement de croix de Gand, le Jardin des délices et le Adoration des Mages du Prado)".⁵⁶

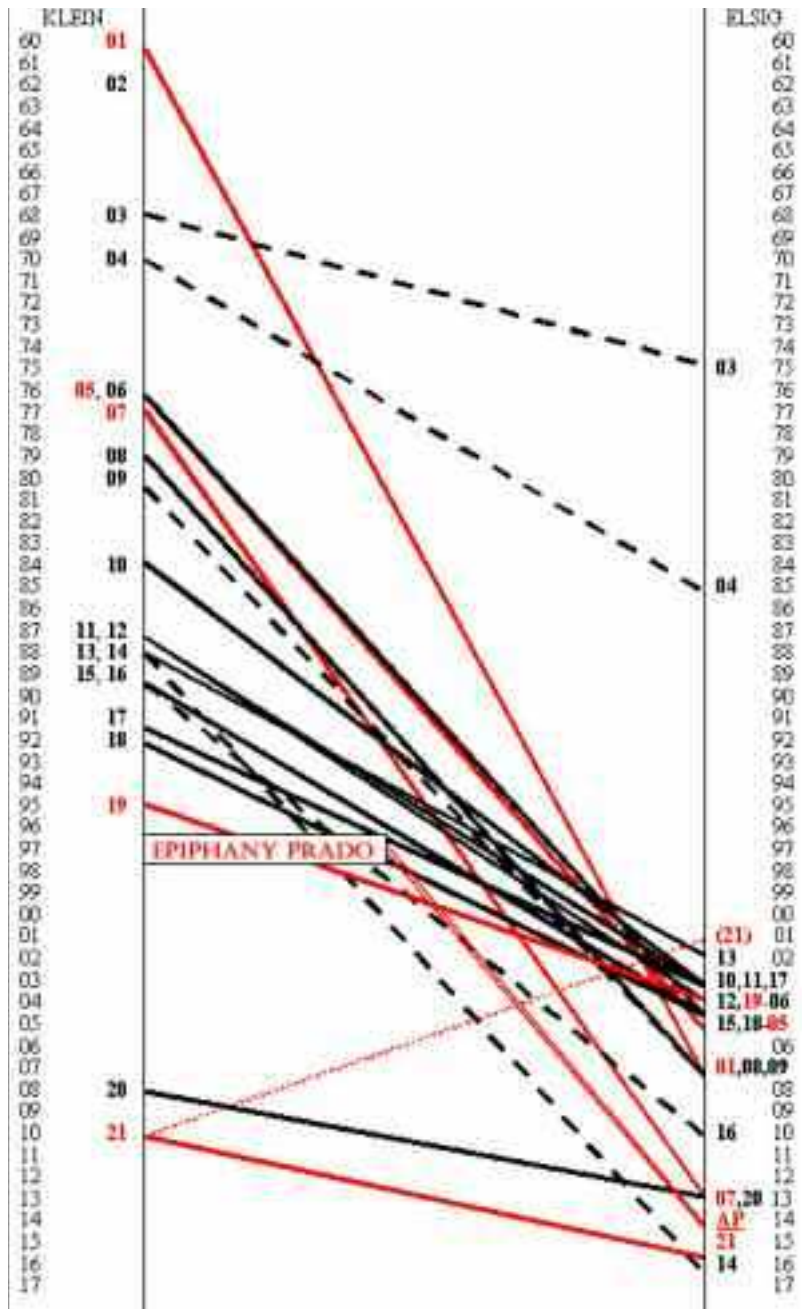
The remarkable thing, however, is that Elsig places the works in reversed order, claiming that

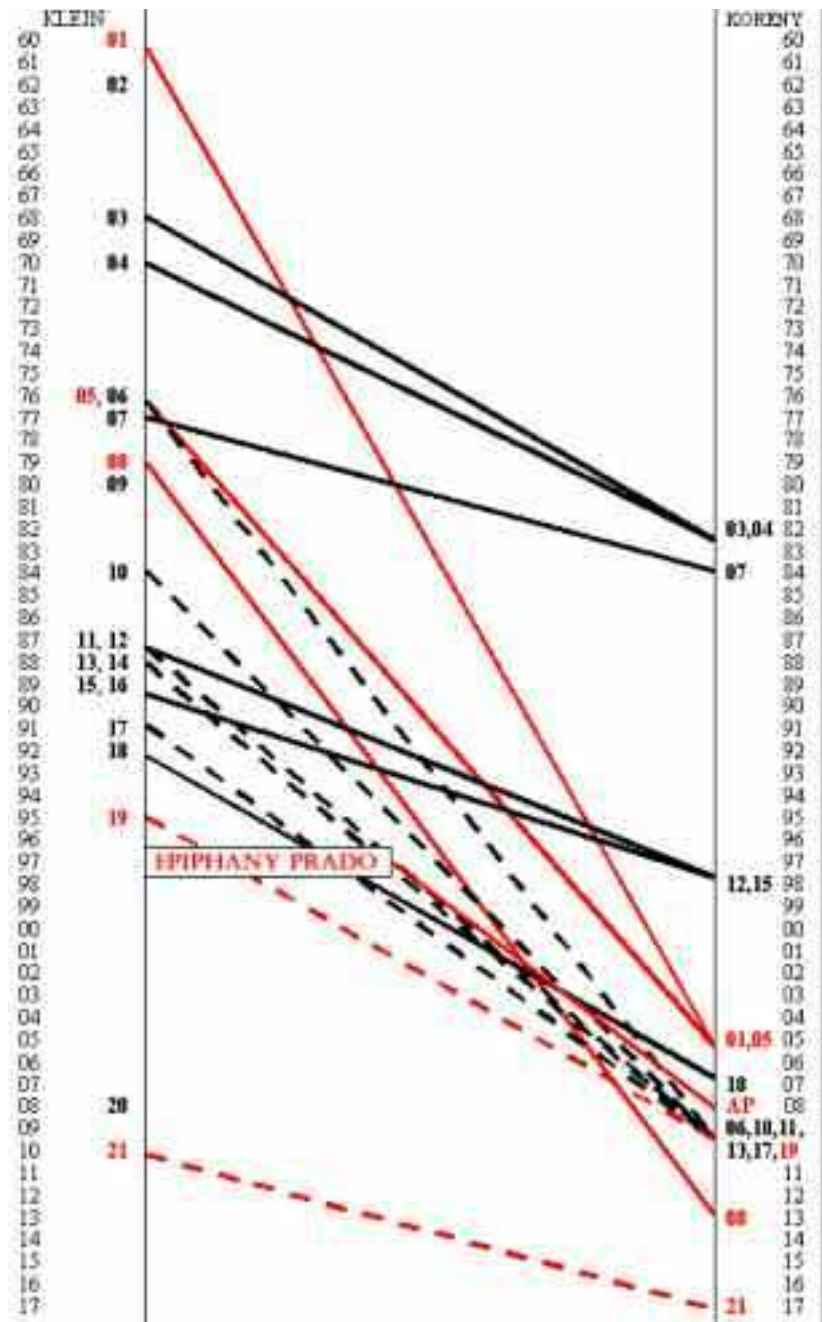
Bosch worked his way to a more and more refined style over the years. And since he dates Bosch's first independent work (the small *Carrying of the Cross* from Vienna) around 1490 - when Bosch was already 40 years old - and the rest after 1500, he has no problem with Klein's dendrochronological data. The only problem Elsig is confronted with is caused by the *Haywain*. Elsig sees it as the second independent work by Bosch, but according to the dating of the wood it can't have been painted before 1514. And that is too late even for Elsig. Klein dated the wood of the *Haywain* in 2000 or 2001, while Elsig's initial theory dates from 1999. Apparently he has tried to save his theory, by postulating that the present *Haywain* is a late copy, made to replace the lost early original, painted by Bosch himself and imitating his original style. I hope I don't need to explain what Occam would have thought of an idea like that.

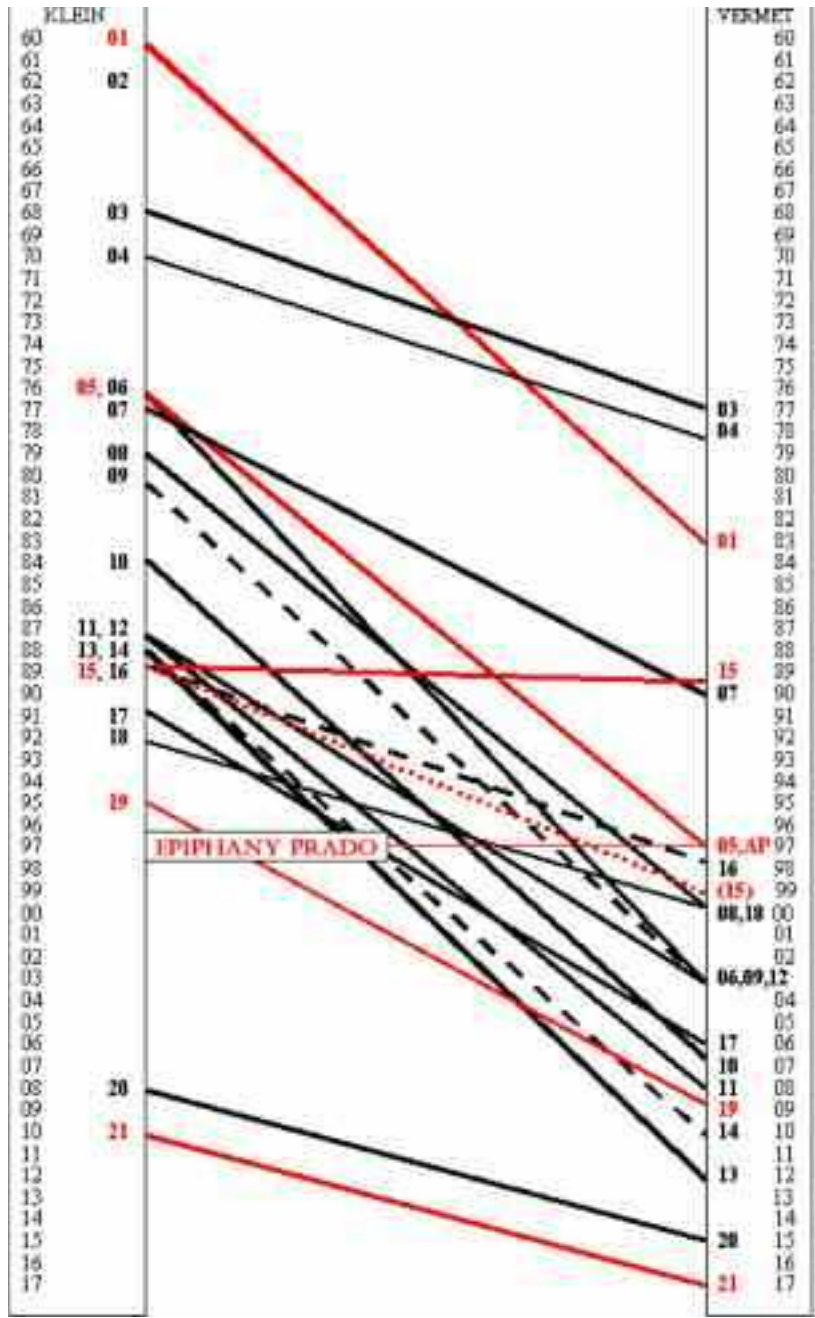
STATISTICS

In this appendix I have made a statistic comparison between my dating of works and those of Koreny and Elsig. It turns out that the average number of years between the first possible date of the paintings, based on the research by Klein, and the real date given to the paintings by the three authors does not differ too much (19 vs. 15 years, roughly). However, the far more important and telling average absolute deviation is, compared to mine, almost twice as large with Koreny and Elsig (11 and 10.3 vs. 6.6 years).⁵⁷

The reason for this can be seen and understood best in the final three diagrams, where I linked the earliest possible dating of every painting with the proposed dating by each of the three authors. What these diagrams show most clearly is how in the case of Koreny and Elsig most of the youngest paintings are painted on the oldest wood. One does not need to know much about statistics to understand that such a situation is highly unlikely, if not impossible, and can only be explained logically when one can prove that Bosch suddenly began to use older wood halfway his career.







Explanation to the tables and diagrams

Each of the three diagrams show two columns with a scale running from 1460 (top) to 1517 (bottom). The numbers next to the scale correspond to the numbers of the paintings in the tables. In the left column each painting number is placed next to the *earliest possible year* the painting can be made according to the dendrochronological research by Peter Klein. In the right column the same numbers are placed next to the *real year* the painting was made according to the author involved. When the author gives a period instead of a year, the number is placed halfway that period.

Identical numbers in both columns are connected by a line. Different lines represent different kind of works:

———— = work by Bosch, according to the author involved

- - - - - = work not by Bosch, according to the author involved

In the corresponding tables the works not by Bosch are underlined and italic.

Numbers and lines of the **four great triptychs** are **in red**.

The four important works that fail from the tables and diagrams are the *Carrying of the Cross* from Ghent and the one from Vienna, *The Table with the Seven Deadly Sins* and *Epiphany* from the Prado. For different reasons neither of these works could be dated so far by Klein. The *Epiphany*, for which we have a very reliable dating on the basis of the identification of the donors, is placed for comparison in the diagrams at the height of its *real* date and connected by a double red line line (==) with the suggested dating by each author. (Please note that this line, contrary to the others, should be horizontal).

Table 1

Number of years between the earliest possible dating according to Klein and the suggested dating according to Elsig, Koreny and Vermet

	Elsig	Koreny	Vermet
01 Garden of Delights Madrid (1460):	+ 55	+ 45	+ 24
02 St. Anthony Madrid (1462):			
03 Epiphany New York (1468):	+ <u>07</u>	+ 14	+ 09
04 Ecce Homo Frankfurt (1470):	+ <u>15</u>	+ 12	+ 09
05 Last Judgment Vienna (1476):	+ 29	+ 29	+ 20
06 St. Hieronymus Ghent (1476):	+ 28	+ <u>34</u>	+ 27
07 Crucifixion Brussels (1477):	+ 36	+ 08	+ 13
08 Crowning of Thorns London (79):	+ 28	+ 34	+ 20
09 Last Judgment Bruges (1480):	+ <u>27</u>		+ <u>23</u>
10 Visions Hereafter Venice ('84):	+ 18	+ <u>26</u>	+ 23
11 Hermits Triptych Venice ('87):	+ 15	+ <u>23</u>	+ 21
12 St. Christopher Rotterdam ('87):	+ 16	+ 10	+ 16
13 Pedlar Triptych R'dam / etc.('88):	+ 14	+ <u>22</u>	+ 24
14 Cure of Folly Madrid 1488):	+ <u>28</u>		+ <u>22</u>
15 John the Bapt. / John Evang. ('89):	+ 15	+ 08	+ 00
16 Ecce Homo Triptych Boston (1489):	+ <u>21</u>		+ <u>08</u>
17 Female Saint Triptych Venice ('91):	+ 11	+ <u>21</u>	+ 15
18 Carrying o/t Cross Escorial (1492):	+ 12	+ 15	+ 07
19 St. Anthony Lisbon (1495):	+ 08	+ 15	+ 14
20 Flood Rotterdam (1508):	+ 05		+ 07
21 Haywain Madrid (1510):	+ 06	+ 07	+ 06

Average number of years between the earliest possible dating according to Klein and the suggested dating according to Elsig, Koreny and Vermet

	Elsig	Koreny:	Vermet:
Total:	394 : 20 = 19,7		308 : 20 = 15,4
Bosch:	296 : 15 = 19,7	175 : 9 = 19,4	255 : 17 = 15
<u>Koreny Pupil:</u>		<u>148 : 7 = 21,1</u>	

Conclusion

The average number of years is the lowest with Vermet, but the differences are not very significant. Moreover, these figures do not say much, firstly because we do not know what the average should be, secondly because far more important is how far the datings deviate on average from the average. This last figure is named the *avarage absolute deviation* and is given for each author in the following table:

Table 2

Deviation from the average number of years between the earliest possible dating according to Klein and the suggested dating according to Elsig, Koreny and Vermet

	Elsig	Koreny	Vermet
01 <i>Garden of Delights</i> Madrid (1460):	+ 35,3	+ 25,6	+ 8,6
02 <i>St. Anthony</i> Madrid (1462):			
03 <i>Epiphany</i> New York (1468):	- <u>12,7</u>	- 5,4	- 6,4
04 <i>Ecce Homo</i> Frankfurt (1476):	- <u>4,7</u>	- 7,4	- 6,4
05 <i>Last Judgment</i> Vienna (1476):	+ 9,3	+ 9,6	+ 4,6
06 <i>St. Hieronymus</i> Gent (1476):	+ 8,3	+ <u>12,9</u>	+ 12,4
07 <i>Crucifixion</i> Brussels (1477):	+ 16,3	- 11,4	- 2,4
08 <i>Crowning of Thorns</i> London (79):	+ 8,3	+ 14,6	+ 4,6
09 <i>Last Judgment</i> Bruges (1480):	+ <u>7,3</u>		+ <u>7,6</u>
10 <i>Visions Hereafter</i> Venice ('84):	- 1,7	+ <u>4,9</u>	+ 7,6
11 <i>Hermits tryptich</i> Venice ('87):	- 4,7	+ <u>1,9</u>	+ 5,6
12 <i>St. Christopher</i> Rotterdam ('87):	- 3,7	- 9,4	+ 0,6
13 <i>Pedlar tryptich</i> R'dam / etc.('88):	- 5,7	+ <u>0,9</u>	+ 8,6
14 <i>Cure of Folly</i> Madrid 1488):	+ <u>8,3</u>		+ <u>6,6</u>
15 <i>John the Bapt. / John Evang.</i> ('89):	- 4,7	- 11,4	- 15,4
16 <i>Ecce Homo Triptych</i> Boston (1489):	+ <u>1,3</u>		- <u>7,4</u>
17 <i>Female Saint Triptych</i> Venice ('91):	- 8,7	- <u>0,1</u>	- 0,4
18 <i>Carrying o/t Cross</i> Escorial (1492):	- 7,7	- 4,4	- 8,4
19 <i>St. Anthony</i> Lisbon (1495):	- 11,7	- 6,1	- 1,4
20 <i>Flood</i> Rotterdam (1508):	- 14,7		- 8,4
21 <i>Haywain</i> Madrid (1510):	- 13,7	- 14,1	- 9,4

Average deviation from the average number of years between the earliest possible dating according to Klein and the suggested dating according to Elsig, Koreny and Vermet (average absolute deviation)

	Elsig	Koreny	Vermet
Total:	188,8 : 20 = 9,44		132,8 : 20 = 6,64
Bosch:	1545 : 15 = 10,30	99,2 : 9 = 11,02	110,4 : 17 = 6,49
<u>Koreny Pupil:</u>		<u>40,9 : 7 = 5,84</u>	

Conclusion

While there is only a 20 to 30% difference between the authors in the case of the average time between the earliest possible and the real date, there is a 50 to 80% difference in the case of the average deviation. Only the deviation in the case of Koreny's pupil is comparable to that of Bosch himself in the case of Vermet. This is not too surprising since Koreny dates these works roughly in the same period as Vermet (1500-1515/20). The average deviation in the

case of the works attributed to Bosch by Koreny however is twice as big!

This alone should be enough reason to distrust Koreny's theory.

The high average deviation is visualized in the diagrams. In the case of Elsig and Koreny many of the *youngest* paintings are painted on the *oldest* wood, which results in many steep lines running from top left to bottom right, crossing the far less steep lines of the other paintings. In the case of Vermet the extremities are less extreme and the overall picture is far more quiet and orderly.

- 1 L. von Baldass, "Die Chronologie der Gemälde des Hieronymus Bosch", in: *Jahrbuch der königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVIII (1917), pp. 177-195.
- 2 Ch. de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*. Basel, 1937; L. von Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch*. Wenen, 1943.
- 3 B. Vermet, "Jheronimus Bosch: schilder, atelier of stijl?", in: Jos Koldewey, Paul Vandebroek and Bernard Vermet, *Jheronimus Bosch. Alle schilderijen en tekeningen*. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 2001, pp. 84-98..
- 4 J.P. Filedt Kok, in: *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLIII (2001), pp. 713-715. Filedt Kok suggests by the way, unjustly that the dendrochronological datings are referred to as real datings in the book. The misunderstanding might be caused by the fact that most letterpresses, contrary to my article, only give the dendrochronological based terminus post quem without any further specification or interpretation. Furthermore the three authors, Koldewey, Vandebroek and myself, didn't strive for one unified opinion. Filedt Kok quite rightly notes for instance that I attribute the (lost original of the) *Marriage at Kana* to Gilles Panhedel, while the letterpress gives the more conservative attribution to Bosch.
- 5 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). Due to the delay in the publication of this article, yet another critical voice can be added. Even in 2009 Stefan Fischer referred to my early dating of the garden as "völlig unrealistisch". (S. Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch. Malerei als Vision, Lehrbild und Kunstwerk*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2009 p. 97)
- 6 F. Koreny, o.c., 2002/3 (see note 5) and F. Elsig, *Jheronimus Bosch; La question de la chronologie*. Genève, 2004.
- 7 Sint Petersburg, National Library, inv.no. Erm.fr. 88, f° 36' (bottom: Vision of Gontran, king of Burgundy; top: Crossing of the Rhine by Crocus, king of the Huns). See: T. Voronova, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France: Enluminures du XV siècle*. Leningrad, 1980 and T. Voronova and A. Sterligov, *Western European Illuminated Manuscripts of the 8th to the 16th Centuries in the National library of Russia, St Petersburg*. Bornemouth-St. Petersburg, 1996.
- 8 Ch. de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*. Baden-Baden, 1965, p. 360, p. 42 and p. 31.
- 9 Ch. De Tolnay, o.c., 1965 (see note 8), p. 362: "Diese spätgotische Strömung breitet sich im letzten Viertel des XV. Jahrhunderts in ganz Europa aus. Sie manifestiert sich in Florenz mit Boticelli [1445-1510] und Filippino Lippi [1457-1504], in Venedig mit Crivelli [Carlo: 1430/5-1495; Vittorio: 1444-1501/02] und Vivarini [Bartolomeo: 1432-1499; Elvise: 1445-1503], in Deutschland mit Schongauer [1430-1491] und in Flandern selbst mit Justus van Gent [werkz. ca. 1460-1480]". Note that all these painters, with the exception of Botticelli, died *years* before Bosch painted the *Garden* according to De Tolnay (around 1510). So even his own argument fits better to a dating of the *Garden* in the 1480's

- than in the 1500's.
- 10 M. Cinotti, *Bosch*. Milan, 1966, cat. no. 30.
 - 11 During the 1998 Bosch symposium, organized by Robert Vurm, in Valtice, Konrad Oberhuber made a similar remark in relation to the usual late dating of the *Carrying of the Cross* in Ghent, stating that art-historical thinking in the 20th century on the development of Bosch had been obscured by the influence of the developments in modern art. I don't know if he wanted to suggest that the Ghent painting was an early work by Bosch or not by Bosch at all (like I do) and I can't remember if he included the *Garden* in his argument as well, but it would have been in the line of his thoughts. For Oberhuber see also note 17.
 - 12 L. von Baldass, o.c., 1917 (see note 1), p. 184.
 - 13 F. Koreny, o.c., 2002/3 (see note 5), p. 51.
 - 14 Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, *Book of Hours of Jean de Carpentin*, Bruges, ca. 1475/1480, private collection. See B. Brinkmann, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs. Die Meister des Dresdener Gebetsbuch und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit*. Turnhout, 1997, pp. 264ff and cat.no. 50, p. 395. Tafelband figs. 252-255 and colorfigs. 40-47. F° 223v/224 = colorfig. 47.
 - 15 Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, Simon Marmion and others, *Salting Prayerbook*, Valenciennes /Bruges, ca. 1475/1480, Londen, Victoria and Albertmuseum, inv.no. Salting 1221. See: B. Brinkmann, o.c., 1997 (see note 14). Textband pp. 159ff and cat.no. 27, p. 389. Tafelband figs. 146-155 and colorfigs. 25-28. F° 153v/154 = colorfig. 27.
 - 16 See: B. Brinkmann, o.c., 1997 (see note 14), colorfig. 26. The image shows parallels with the four panels of the *Visions of the Hereafter* in Venice.
 - 17 M. Ainsworth, "Implications of Revised Attributions in Netherlandish Painting", in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 27 (1992), pp. 59-76, esp. p. 72ff.
 - 18 Pointing to the typical 15th-Century (Northern) Netherlandish tunnel perspective Konrad Oberhuber spoke on the aforementioned Valtice symposium (see note 11) spontaneously in favour of an early dating of the New York *Epiphany*. He did so in response to the late Hubert von Sonnenburg, head of the Department of Paintings Conservation of the Metropolitan Museum, who, during his own lecture, seemed to doubt the official view of his own museum as he stated that he only knew similar yellow-greenish moss on the small shed from original works by Bosch.
 - 19 Hans L. Janssen, 'Ceramic and Metal Objects', in J. Koldewey & B. Vermet (Eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch. New Insights into his Life and Work*, Rotterdam 2001, p. 186.
 - 20 Hans L. Janssen, 'Gebruiksvorwerpen met een boodschap. Een aspect van de beeldtaal van Jeroen Bosch (2)'. *Bosche Bladen. Cultuurhistorisch magazine over 's-Hertogenbosch*, 4 (2002), pp. 17-24.
 - 21 Personal mail, june 2008.
 - 22 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, book XV, par. XXVIII, p. 98: «Aliud corpus et terrestribus fragis, aliud congeneri eorum unedoni, quod solum pomum simul e frutice terraeque gignitur. arbor ipsa fruticosa. fructus anno maturescit, pariterque floret subnascens et prior coquitur. mas sit an femina sterilis, inter auctores non constat ».
 - 23 See G.M. Canova, *La Miniatura Veneta del Rinascimento, 1450-1500*. Veneti', 1969.
 - 24 D. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch and Lucas Cranach. Two Last Judgement-triptychs. Description and exposition*. Amsterdam-Oxford-New York, 1983, p. 57, pp. 61-62.
 - 25 G. Unverfehrt, *Wein statt Wasser. Essen und Trinken bei Jheronimus Bosch*. Göttingen, 2002, p. 25.

- 26 Hans Belting, *Hieronymus Bosch. Garden of Earthly Delights*. München-Berlin-London-New York, 2002, p. 27.
- 27 Ph. Williams Lehmann, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Egyptian visit and its Reflections in Gentile Bellini and Hieronymus Bosch*. New York, 1977, pp. 15-17. B. Aikema's suggestion that Bosch's giraffe is based on a late fifteenth-century print from Sigismono Tizio's *Historiae Senensis* instead, is without any credibility (B. Aikema, "Hieronymus Bosch and Italy?", in: J. Koldewey e.a. (eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch. New Insights into his Life and Work*. Rotterdam, 2001, p. 27).
- 28 H. Belting, o.c., 2002 (see note 26), pp. 74, 86.
- 29 H. Belting, o.c., 2002 (see note 26), p. 73.
- 30 See: S.A. Vosters, "De bibliotheek van Engelbrecht II van Nassau", in: *Oranjeboom*, XLVI (1993), pp. 25-63 and A.S. Korteweg, *Boeken van Oranje-Nassau. De bibliotheek van de graven van Nassau en prinsen van Oranje in de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw*. The Hague, 1998.
- 31 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 219-220. Elsig (o.c., 2004 [see note 6], p. 41) even sees influence of the Master of Mary of Burgundy (and of Marmion, of course) in Bosch's "technique fluide". In Engelbrecht's *Breviary* there is, by the way, an *Ecce Homo* that shows some similarity to Bosch's *Ecce Homo* from Frankfurt.
- 32 London, British Library, Harley 4425. Korteweg, o.c., 1998 (see note 30), proposes to name its anonymous artist The Master of Engelbrecht II because of this work, a suggestion that indeed has been taken over by others (I.F. Walther and N. Wolf, *Codices Illustres. The world's most famous illuminated manuscripts. 400 to 1600*. Cologne, 2001, p. 398).
- 33 P. Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch. De verlossing van de Wereld*. Ghent-Amsterdam, 2003, p. 84.
- 34 Baron De Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'ordre de la Toison d'Or*. Brussels, 1830, p. 93.
- 35 Idem, p. 108.
- 36 Idem, p. 195.
- 37 It is true that the same allegations could be made against almost every other member of the Order as well, as already was noted by its chronicler, the Prince De Ligne (idem, p. 195, n. 1), but the fact remains that they were made mainly against Engelbrecht and only occasionally against others. Even for this promiscuous milieu his behaviour must have been extraordinary.
- 38 D. Bax, *Beschrijving en poging tot verklaring van het tuin der onkuisheidruelruk van Jeroen Bosch*. Amsterdam, 1956, pp. 131-134.
- 39 G. von Glück, "Zu einem Bilde von Hieronymus Bosch in der Figdorschen Sammlung in Wien", in: *Jahrbuch der königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXV (1904), p. 181; D. Bax, o.c., 1983 (see note 24), pp. 317-318 and figs. 59 and 60. It seems that Koldewey might come up with another identification for the Bavo figure. Since the two most likely other candidates seem to be Saint Jeroen, patron of Holland, and esp. Saint Julianus, patron of Flanders, that will not change much to the line of argument.
- 40 See P. Vandenbroeck, o.c., 2003 (see note 33), p. 177, p. 322, p. 324 and p. 372, n. 792.
- 41 M. Poch-Kalous, "Randbemerkungen zum 'Weltgerichts-Triptychon' von Hieronymus Bosch", in: *Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Wien 1872-1972*, pp. 200-203, p. 200; P. Reuterswärd, *Hieronymus Bosch*. Uppsala, 1970, pp. 274-275.
- 42 The Cranach copy, now Berlin, came from the collections of the electors of Brandenburg. E. Flechsig (*Cranachstudien*. 1. Teil, Leipzig 1900, p. 169ff) suggested it was commissioned by the elector Joachim

I Nestor and that the original Vienna tryptich could have been not too far away “Etwa in einer Wittenberger Kirche [that is the capital of Albrecht III’s territory], oder auf einem der kurfürstlichen Schlössern? Oder im Besitze des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg?” This Albrecht was Joachim’s brother. Their grandmother was Albrecht III’s sister, their mother was Albrecht III’s cousin and Joachim’s son and successor married Albrecht III’s granddaughter. Bax, by the way (o.c., 1983 [see note 24], p. 328), has suggested that Albrecht of Brandenburg commissioned the copy by Cranach.

- 43 F. Elsig, o.c., 2004 (see note 6). L. Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*. New York, 2006.
- 44 L. Silver, o.c., 2006 (see note 43), p. 302.
- 45 Bax, o.c., 1956 (see note 38), pp. 59-60.
- 46 L. Silver, o.c., 2006 (see note 43), p. 302.
- 47 D. Bax, *Jeroen Bosch’ drieluik met de gekruisigde martelares*. Amsterdam 1961, pp. 59-62.
- 48 F. Koreny, “Groep Hieronymus Bosch”, in: *Exh. Cat., Tekeningen van Jan van Eyck tot Hieronymus Bosch*. Antwerp, 2002, pp. 164-201. F. Koreny, o.c., 2002/3 (see note 5), pp. 47-75.
- 49 R. van Schoute, “Over de techniek van Bosch”, in: *Jeroen Bosch. Bijdragen*. ‘s-Hertogenbosch, 1967, pp. 72-79. J.P. Filedt Kok, “Underdrawing and drawing in de work of Hieronymus Bosch: a provisional survey in connection with de paintings by him in Rotterdam”, in: *Simiolus*, VI (1972-1973), no. 3-4, pp. 133-162.
- 50 F. Koreny, o.c., 2002/3 (see note 5), p. 50.
- 51 Ch. de Tolnay, o.c., 1965 (see not 8), p. 342.
- 52 P. Vandenbroeck, o.c., 2002 (see note 33), p. 176.
- 53 X. Duquenne, “La famille Scheyfve et Jerome Bosch”, in: *L’Intermediaire des Généalogistes*, January-February 2004, pp. 1-19. It seems that Duquenne informed the Prado about his identification of the donors many (20?) years ago already. If this is true it is comparable to the way in which the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum did not draw any conclusions from the findings by Peter Klein concerning the close relationship between their *Pedlar*, the Washington *Death of the Miser* and the Paris *Ship of Fools* and another proof of how art historians seem to value *connoisseurship* above simple facts.
- 54 F. Koreny, o.c., 2002 (see note 48), p. 167.
- 55 Idem, p. 70.
- 56 F. Elsig, o.c., 2004 (see note 6), p. 15.
- 57 The average (absolute) deviation is the average distance from the average. The average of 1 and 21 is 11. The average deviation is 10. The average of 10 and 12 is also 11, but the average deviation is only 1. Suppose these were the temperatures in two weekends, only the deviations would show the huge differences between them.