The Garden of Earthly Delights by Hieronymus Bosch: The Iconography of the Central Panel

Author(s): Walter S. Gibson

Source: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, 1973, Vol. 24 (1973), pp. 1-26

Published by: Brill

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/24706821

The Garden of Earthly Delights by Hieronymus Bosch: The Iconography of the Central Panel

Walter S. Gibson

One of the earliest surviving descriptions of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights (fig. 1)* appears in the *Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo,* written by Fray José Siguënza in 1605; by this time, the triptych had been in Spain for some years and was placed in the monastery of the Escorial. Siguënza called this work the 'Strawberry Plant', probably because this fruit is represented several times in the central panel *(fig. 2)*. Bosch's picture, he explained, is 'of the vanity and glory and transient taste of strawberries or the fruit of the strawberry plant and its fragrance, which one can hardly smell when it passes'.[1] For Siguënza, there was no doubt that the *Garden of Earthly Delights* conveyed the same message as another work by Bosch in the Escorial, the *Haywain Triptych;* the inner panels of both represented, from left to right, the Fall of Man, humanity in a state of sin, and the punishments meted out to sinners in the afterlife.

Until twenty-five years ago, no one would have thought of questioning the validity of Siguënza's interpretation. Then, in 1947, Wilhelm Fränger proposed his now famous theories which set previous assumptions on their heads.[2] Fränger refused to see the central panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* as a picture of mankind wallowing in sensual pleasure. 'Quite the contrary', he insisted, 'these beings are peacefully frolicking about the tranquil garden in vegetative innocence, at one with the animals and plants, and the sexuality that inspires them appears to be pure joy, pure bliss.' [3] Fränger also noted that the left wing represented not the Fall of Adam and Eve, but their marriage in the presence of God, while he felt that none of the punishments inflicted in the right wing could be specifically associated with carnal lust.[4] On the basis of these and other observations, Fränger proposed that the triptych represented not the condemnation of the life of the flesh, but the glorification of it according to the practices of the Bretheren of the Free Spirit, or Adamites, an heretical group which flourished all over Europe long after their first appearance in the thirteenth century. The precise nature of their doctrines remains unclear [5], but Fränger assumed that sexual activity played an important part in their religious rites.[6] He thus concluded that the traditional interpretation of the inner panels should be revised: the left wing represents the innocent state of man before the Fall, while the right wing shows not Hell but the present world plunged into sin and misery as a result of abandoning the 'innocent

sexuality' of Adam and Eve. The central panel, finally, presents the blissful state of the Adamites, in which sexual intercourse becomes one of the means to achieve spiritual salvation. The various activities and forms in the garden allude to the doctrines and rites of the Adamites, which Fränger, as a glance through his index will confirm, derived from such heterogeneous sources as the Orphic mysteries, Egyptian mythology and medieval alchemy: an impressive display of erudition which, however, reveals more about Fränger's own scholarly interests than it does of Adamite theology. Fränger further supposed that Bosch was himself a member of this heretical brotherhood and that he was commissioned to paint the *Garden of Earthly Delights* to commemorate the marriage of the Grand Master of the Adamites.[7]

Fränger has since interpreted other paintings by Bosch in terms of Adamite doctrine [8], but his study of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* remains his best known work. Although severely criticized by a number of scholars, most notably Dirk Bax [9], the book has been favorably received by the general public, as well as by several critics and historians of art.[10] The reasons for Fränger's success are easy to discern. His theories are sensational in nature,

1 *Hieronymus Bosch, Garden of Earthly Delights,* Inner Panels. Madrid, *Prado.*

they appeal to people seeking medieval precedents for current ideas of free love and uninhibited sexuality [11], and they seem to explain the curiously light-hearted, holiday mood which prevails in the central panel. This last consideration is perhaps the most important, for it cannot be denied that the diminutive nude figures and fanciful vegetable forms appear to be as innocent of evil as the medieval drolleries which undoubtedly inspired them.

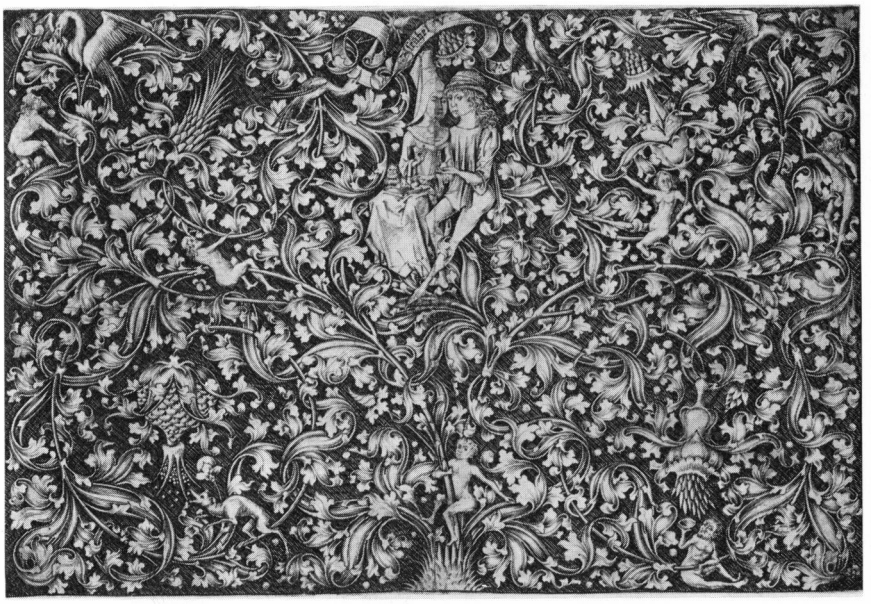
2 Detail fig. 1.

Similar forms can be found in the borders of illuminated manuscripts and in ornamental engravings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries *(figs. 3, 4):* the great hollow fruits, in particular, bear more than a passing resemblance to the pomegranates on a set of German playing cards which appeared during Bosch's lifetime *(fig. 5)*.[12] The idyllic atmosphere of the Garden is further enhanced by the rhythmical organization of the figure groups and

by the bright, high-keyed colors. Indeed, many critics since Fränger, as we shall see, have found it difficult to believe that Bosch painted this scene as an image of sinful humanity.

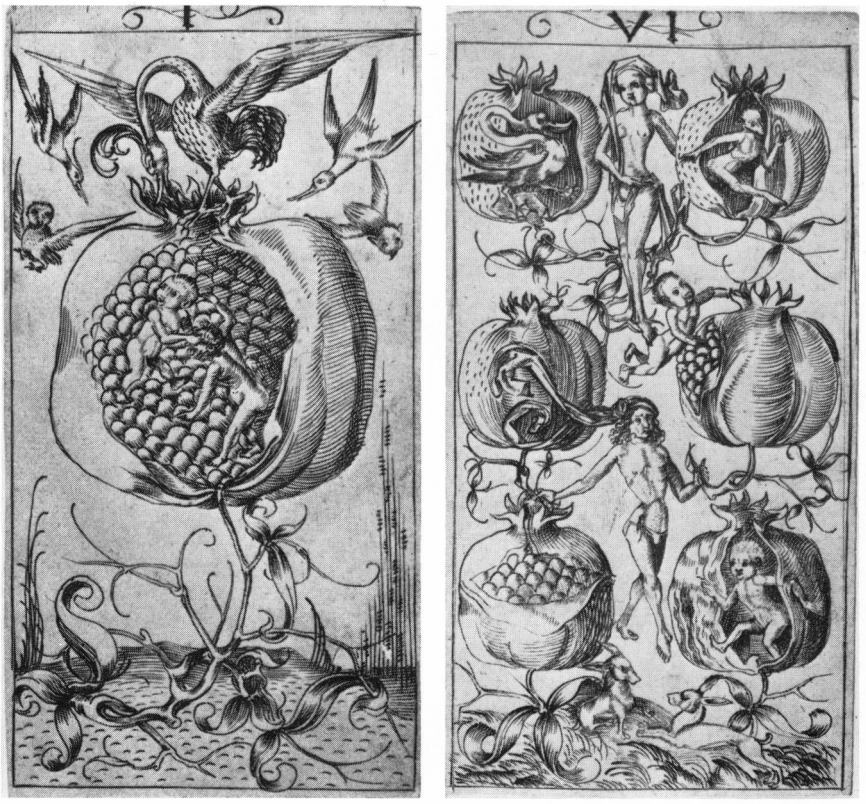
Nevertheless, there is good reason to assume that Fränger was wrong in

3 Detail from a page in *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves,* c. 1440. New York, *Pierpont Morgan Library,* Ms. 917, fol. 74.



4 *Israhel van Meckenem, Panel of Ornament with Two Lovers,* Engraving. Washington, D.C., *National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection.*

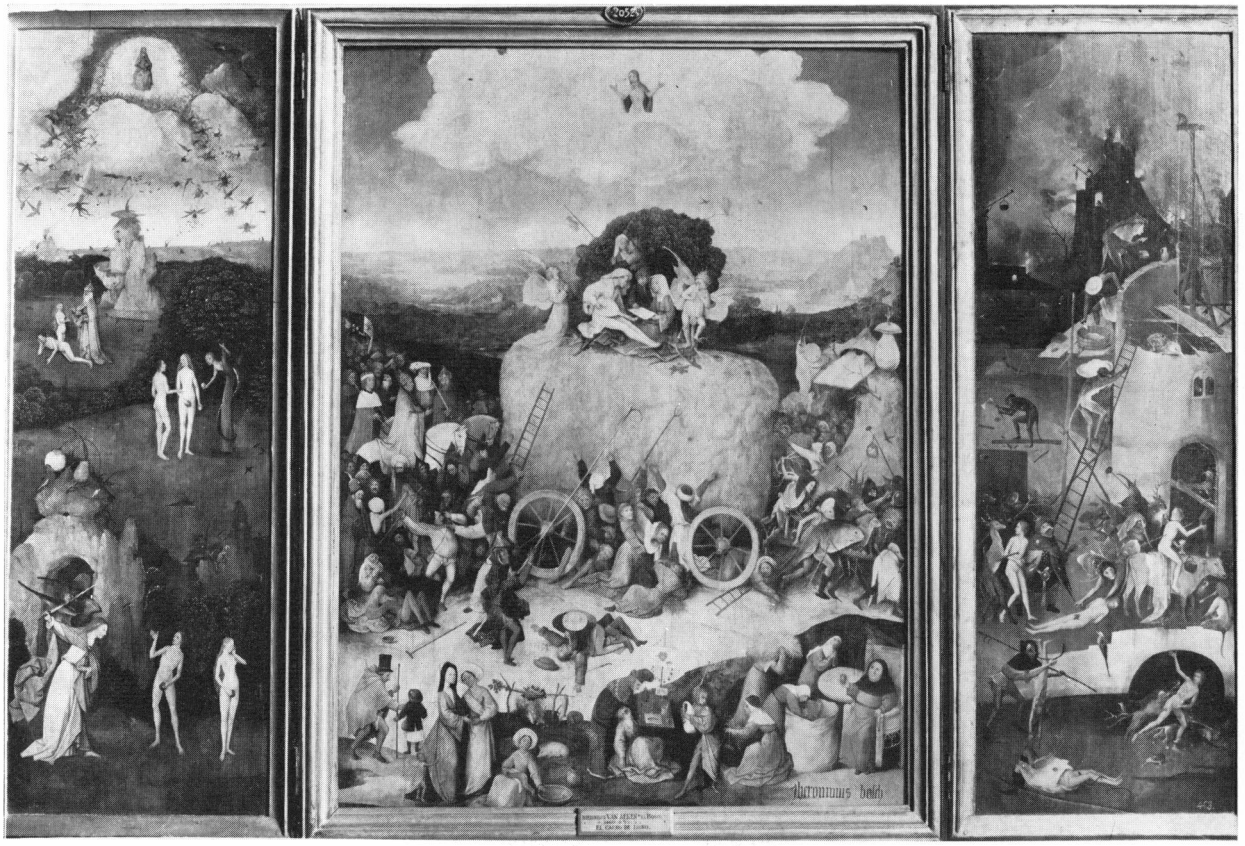
every respect. To begin with, we have no evidence that Bosch was ever an Adamite or executed altarpieces at the behest of this sect. There is no record of the Adamites in 's-Hertogenbosch during Bosch's lifetime; in fact, the last certain reference to them in the Netherlands occurred in Brussels in 1411.[13] But even if the Adamites survived somehow undetected into the early sixteenth century, Bosch himself can hardly have been anything other than an orthodox Christian. He was a member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady [14], a guild of clergy and laity dedicated to the Virgin and quite different from the Bretheren of the Free Spirit. Bosch executed several commissions for this brotherhood and was also frequently patronized by highly placed members of the Church and nobility. In fact, as both Steppe and Gombrich have recently suggested, it is very likely that the *Garden of Earthly Delights* itself was commissioned by Hendrick III of Nassau, for a work very much like it was seen in Hendrick's palace in Brussels by an Italian traveler, Antonio de Beatis [15]; this was in 1517, only one year after Bosch's death. Hendrick may have been rather unrefined in manners and given to crude practical jokes, as Gombrich tells us [16], but there is no reason to suppose that he was a heretic, any more than Queen Isabella of Spain or Margaret of Austria, both of whom had paintings by Bosch in their possession, or Duke Philip the Handsome, who commissioned a Last



5 German, 15th Century, *The Ace and Six of Pomegranates,* Engravings from a Set of Playing Cards. London, *British Museum.*

Judgment altarpiece from him in 1504.[17] And it is surely significant that after the middle of the century, a number of Bosch's pictures, including, once more, the *Garden of Earthly Delights,* was acquired by the most orthodox Catholic of them all, Philip II of Spain.[18] This was, moreover, the time of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation, when the Inquisition acquired new life and men everywhere were peculiarly sensitive to questions of religious dogma and doctrine. It is highly unlikely, therefore, that Bosch's pictures would have been collected so avidly had there been any suspicion that his imagery reflected the doctrines of an heretical sect. Only toward the end of the sixteenth century is there evidence that some Spaniards regarded his works as 'tainted with heresy', but this charge was soundly refuted by Fray Siguënza.[19]

But if the *Garden of Earthly Delights* was not painted as an Adamite manifesto, it might be maintained that Fränger was nevertheless correct when he insisted that Bosch's garden of naked lovers is really beneficent. Such an interpretation has been advanced, in fact, by both Wertheim-Aymès and Spychalska-Boczkowska [20], whose iconographical studies of Bosch's triptych differ from Fränger's in other respects. Yet even this part of Fränger's thesis cannot be salvaged, for there can be no doubt that Bosch intended his garden as an image of evil. Despite Fränger's observation that



6 *Hieronymus Bosch, Haywain Triptych,* Inner Panels. Madrid, *Prado.*

the left wing does not represent the Fall of Man, it is clear that the garden, placed as it is between images of Eden and Hell, must be read as the intermediate stage in the human drama which leads from the introduction of sin into the world to its ultimate punishment. The pattern thus conforms to that established by Bosch's *Haywain Triptych (fig. 6).* And just as the *Haywain* depicts the desire for worldly gain, or the sin of Avarice, so the *Garden of Earthly Delights* shows us the life of the flesh, in particular, the deadly sin of Lust.

That Bosch's garden represents the sin of Lust is also the conclusion of Dirk Bax, whose excellent, detailed study of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* has contributed much to our understanding of its imagery.[21] He has identified many of the forms in the central panel – fruit, animals, the exotic mineral structures in the background – as erotic symbols inspired by popular sayings, songs and slang expressions of the late Middle Ages. For example, many of the fruits nibbled and held or carried about by the garden's inhabitants serve as metaphors of the sexual organs[22]; the fish which appear twice in the foreground occur as phallic symbols in Old Netherlandish proverbs.[23] The group of youths and maidens picking fruit in the right middleground also possesses erotic connotations: to pluck fruit

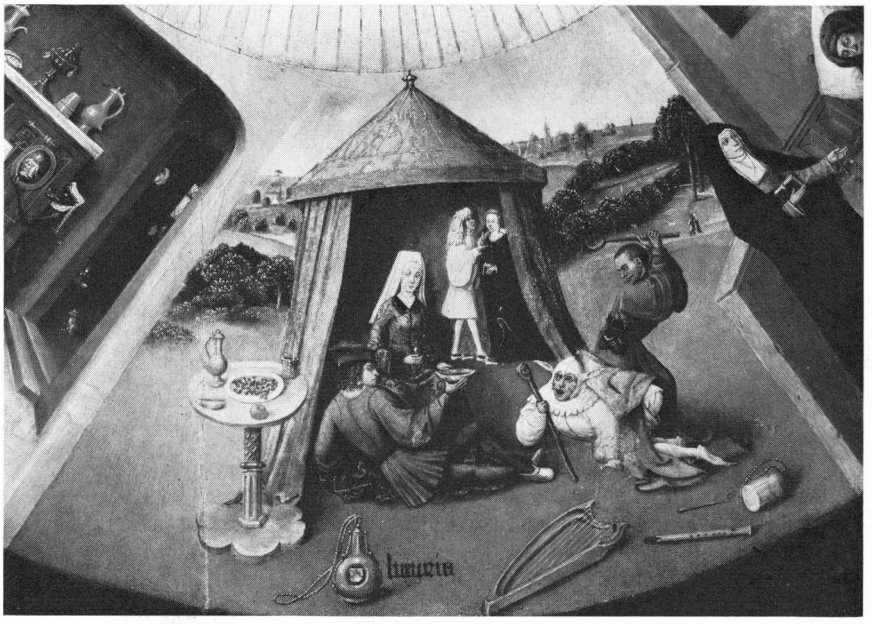
7 Detail of fig. 1.

– or flowers – was a euphemism for the sexual act.[24] Most interesting, perhaps, are the large, hollow fruits and fruit peelings into which some of the lovers have crept *(fig. 7)*. Bax sees them as a play on the medieval Dutch word *schel* or *schil,* which signified both the rind of a fruit and quarrel or controversy. Thus to be in a *schel* was to engage in a struggle with an opponent, and this had its erotic connotations as well.[25] Moreover, the fruit peels themselves signified something worthless [26], which was, of course, the way in which the medieval moralizers viewed the carnal act. And although Bax does not mention it, Bosch may also have been thinking of the sinister fruit which Flavius Josephus described as growing on the ruins of Sodom; they were fair to behold, but when bitten into, revealed nothing but ashes and smoke.[27]

Although some of the details of Bax's interpretation have been disputed [28], much of it is buttressed by convincing evidence and it demonstrates both the complexity of Bosch's thought and the variety of his sources. To repeat all of Bax's findings at this point, however, would give us little more than an encyclopedia of Netherlandish folklore; no less important for our understanding of the central panel are the basic themes which Bosch employed for this multitude of symbolic figures and forms.

8 French, 15th Century, *Garden of the Rose,* Illumination from the *Roman de la Rose.* London, *British Museum,* Ms. Harley 4425, fol. 12v.

9 *Alart du Hameel, Lovers by a Fountain,* Engraving. London, *British Museum.*

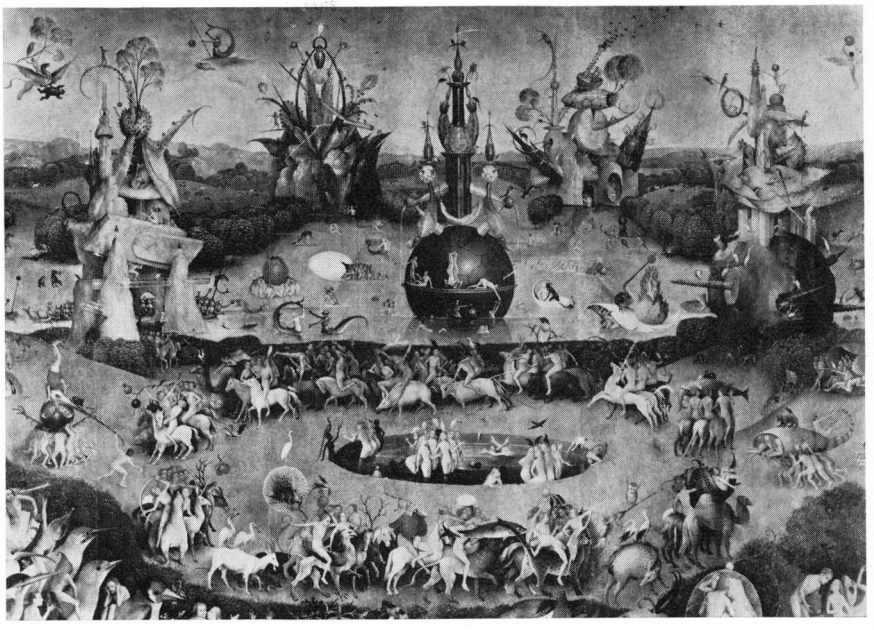


10 *Hieronymus Bosch, Luxuria,* detail from the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins.* Madrid, *Prado.*

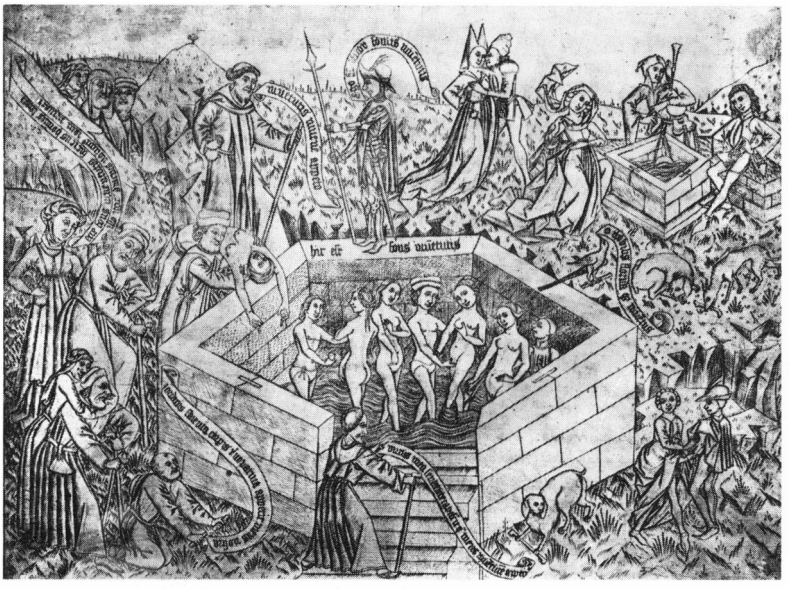
In the first place, it is significant that Bosch conceived of his image of carnal delight as a great garden or pleasure park. For centuries, the garden had functioned as a setting for lovers and love-making. The most famous love garden, of course, was the one described in the *Romance of the Rose,* written in the thirteenth century: it was translated into many languages, including Dutch, and influenced later literature and art.[29] These love gardens generally contain beautiful flowers, sweetly-singing birds, and a fountain or pool around which lovers gather to stroll or sing, as can be seen in many tapestries, miniatures, and engravings of the later Middle Ages *(fig. 8).*[30] Bosch was familiar with this tradition, for an abbreviated love garden appears in an engraving by Alart du Hameel *(fig. 9),* who was employed for some years as an architect on the church of St. John in 's-Hertogenbosch, and Bosch himself employed a similar motif in his representation of *Luxuria* on the Prado *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins (fig. 10).* In the *Garden of Earthly Delights,* he incorporated many more elements of the traditional love garden, including the fountain and pavilions which dominate the lake in the background *(fig. 11).* These curiously-wrought forms recall the fountains and buildings constructed of gold, coral, crystal and other precious materials which are described in many literary gardens of love.

Although the *Garden of Earthly Delights* thus owes much to the conventional love garden, it must be admitted that the inhabitants of the latter generally conduct themselves with somewhat more discretion. Very seldom do they gambol about in the nude or make love in the water. Nevertheless, Bosch was not lacking precedents. In the long section which he added to the *Romance of the Rose,* Jean de Meun had already described the Golden

11 Detail of fig. 1.



12 Italian, 15th Century, *Garden of Venus,* Illumination from *De Sphaera.* Modena, *Biblioteca Estense,* Lat. 209, fol. 9r.



13 *Master of the Banderoles, Pool of Youth,* Engraving. Vienna, *Albertina.*

Age under the rule of Saturn, when the world enjoyed perpetual springtime and mankind did little else but make love beneath the trees, free from the religious and social constraints of later ages [31]; this idyllic scene, incidentally, has nothing to do with the Adamite paradise evoked by Fränger. Moreover, the association of love and lovemaking with water was firmly established by Bosch's day. In scenes of the labors of the months, May was represented by lovers embracing in a pool or tub of water.[32] Astrological illustrations frequently show the 'children of Venus' as mixed couples bathing in the open air *(fig. 12),* and to 'swim in the bath of Venus', as Bax tells us, was a sixteenth-century Netherlandish expression for being in love.[33] Even representations of the Fountain – or Pool – of Youth often received an erotic twist. In a German engraving of this subject of about 1460 *(fig. 13),* the rejuvenated bathers engage in amorous horseplay even before they emerge from the pool.[34] Bosch does not show a fountain of youth, as no one is being rejuvenated, but this or similar representations may well have inspired the water sports in his garden. Water was also the home of mermaids and sirens, whose songs were thought to lure men into lust and other fleshly sins [35]; a merman mistrel plays a similar role in the fourteenth-century *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* by Guillaume de Deguilleville.[36] Such beliefs probably account for the presence of the mermaid and her armored consorts in the background lake of the central panel *(fig. 11).* To the garden of love and the bath of Venus can be added a third major theme in the *Garden of Earthly Delights.* The background lake is given over to mixed bathing, but in the middle section, the sexes are carefully segregated *(fig. 14).* The circular pool is occupied only by women, while the men ride around it on the backs of animals of different species. The

14 Detail of fig. 1.

lively antics of the acrobatic riders, one performing a somersault on the back of his mount, suggest that they are excited by the presence of the women, one of whom is already climbing out of the water. What Bosch is showing us here is not difficult to guess: the sexual attraction of men and women, and it is significant that he has placed the pool and circle of riders in the center of the garden, as the source and initial stage of the activity elsewhere. As the medieval moralists constantly complained, it was woman who took the initiative in leading man into lechery and other sins, following the precedent set by Eve.[37] The cavalcade of riders circling the pool may

15 *Israhel van Meckenem, Ornament with Grotesque Figures (Morris Dance),* Engraving. Washington, D.C., *National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection.*

16 *The Vices Mounted on Symbolic Animals,* Woodcut from *Dyt sint de seuven dotsunde de stryden myt den seuven dogeden,* Magdeburg, 1490. (From *A. Schramm, Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke* XII, Leipzig 1929).

be an allusion to Psalm 11 : 9 (Latin Vulgate version): 'The wicked walk around in a circle',[38] but the power which woman exerted over man was often illustrated by placing her in the midst of her male admirers who frequently dance in ecstasy. Thus, in a late fifteenth-century engraving by Israhel van Meckenem, a group of men prance wildly around a foolish young maid against a background of stylized, thorny foliage *(fig. 15)*. The dance they execute is probably the Morris Dance which had its origins in old fertility rites [39], as, indeed, the bared breasts of the lady suggest, while the presence of the fool points up the moralizing intention of the print. By means of similar dances fools demonstrate their submission to 'Dame Venus' in several German carnival plays of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[40] In the *Ship of Fools,* Sebastian Brant tells us that when Cupid shoots arrows into his victims, 'deprived they are of sense and wit, They dance about like fools insane'.[41]

The circular motion and agitated movement of Van Meckenem's dancers anticipate the cavalcade in the *Garden of Earthly Delights,* but Bosch has increased the number of participants of both sexes and has placed the men on animals. For the Middle Ages, animals symbolized the lower or animal appetites.[42] In devotional treatises, as in the visual arts, personifications of the vices were frequently shown on the backs of symbolic beasts *(fig.*

17 French, 15th Century, *Idolatry and Lascivious Games of the Ancient Romans,* Illumination from *St. Augustine, Cité de Dieu.* The Hague, *Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum,* Ms. 11, fol. 36v.

18 *Benvenuto di Giovanni, Hercules at the Crossroads,* Marriage Plate. Venice, *Cà d'Oro,* Photo: Alinari.

16) [43]*;* while the act of riding, as Bax tells us, occurs in medieval literature as a metaphor for the sexual act.[44]

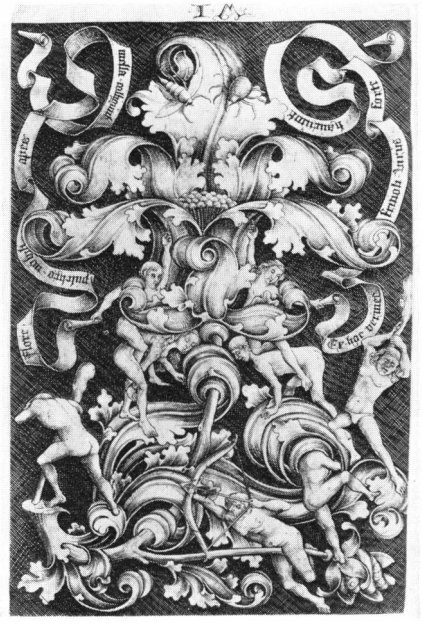
To create his image of sensual pleasure, Bosch thus drew upon several erotic themes current in the Middle Ages, including the Fountain of Youth, the Power of Women and various symbols for lechery, fusing them together within the framework of the garden of love. Bosch was not the only artist of the period to utilize such motifs for moralizing purposes. The garden of love itself was occasionally depicted in a satirical vein, as in the engraving by Du Hameel previously referred to *(fig. 9),* where the fool seated beneath the fountain slyly slips his hand under the lady's gown.[45] The love garden also provided a wealth of imagery for depicting the sin of the flesh in other contexts. In a fifteenth-century manuscript of St. Augustine's *City of God,* the saint's condemnation of the lascivious customs of ancient Rome is illustrated with a picture of nude couples dancing in an enclosed garden *(fig. 17).*[46] In several early editions of the Latin version of Brant's *Ship of Fools, Voluptas* is represented as a nude woman standing by a fountain or before a rose arbor, serenaded by several male admirers.[47] In a painted Italian plate of the later fifteenth century representing the popular humanist theme of 'Hercules at the Crossroads', Pleasure invites the hero to accompany her down a path where we see a group of lovers splashing in a little

pool *(fig. 18)*. A parallel to Bosch's plant symbolism, moreover, can be found in an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem, in which diminutive nude figures clamber through the leaves of a gigantic blossom *(fig. 19)*[48]; the accompanying inscription tells us that 'from a beautiful and noble flower do bees collect their honey. From this, however, do the frivolous vermin extract a stronger potion.' That the pejorative connotations of such images were still understood in the mid-sixteenth century is demonstrated by a drawing, the *Allegory of Luxuria,* which Pieter Bruegel the Elder made in 1557 for an engraving *(fig. 20);* not only do nude couples cavort in the pleasure garden in the distance on the left but the couple ensconced in the transparent bubble in the foreground paraphrases a detail from Bosch's garden.

This use of similar motifs by Bosch's contemporaries and followers offers additional evidence for interpreting the *Garden of Earthly Delights* as an allegory of Lust. Yet we may still feel inclined to ask just why Bosch chose to portray this unsavory sin in such visually enchanting forms and colors. To answer this question, it must be remembered that medieval man was taught that sin presented itself in the most attractive guises and that beneath physical beauty and agreeable sensations often lurked death and damnation. As the *Malleus Malificarum* expresses it, quoting St. Thomas Acquinas who in turn followed St. Augustine: 'This evil of the Devil creeps in through all the sensual approaches; he gives himself to figures, he adapts himself to colors; he abides in sounds; he lurks in smells; he infuses himself into flavors' [49], a passage which many modern commentators on Bosch would do well to keep in mind. The thirteenth-century poet Konrad von

19 *Israhel van Meckenem, Ornament with Flower and Eight Wild Folk,* Engraving. Washington, D.C., *National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection.*

20 *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Allegory of Luxuria, 1557,* Drawing. Brussels, *Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier.*



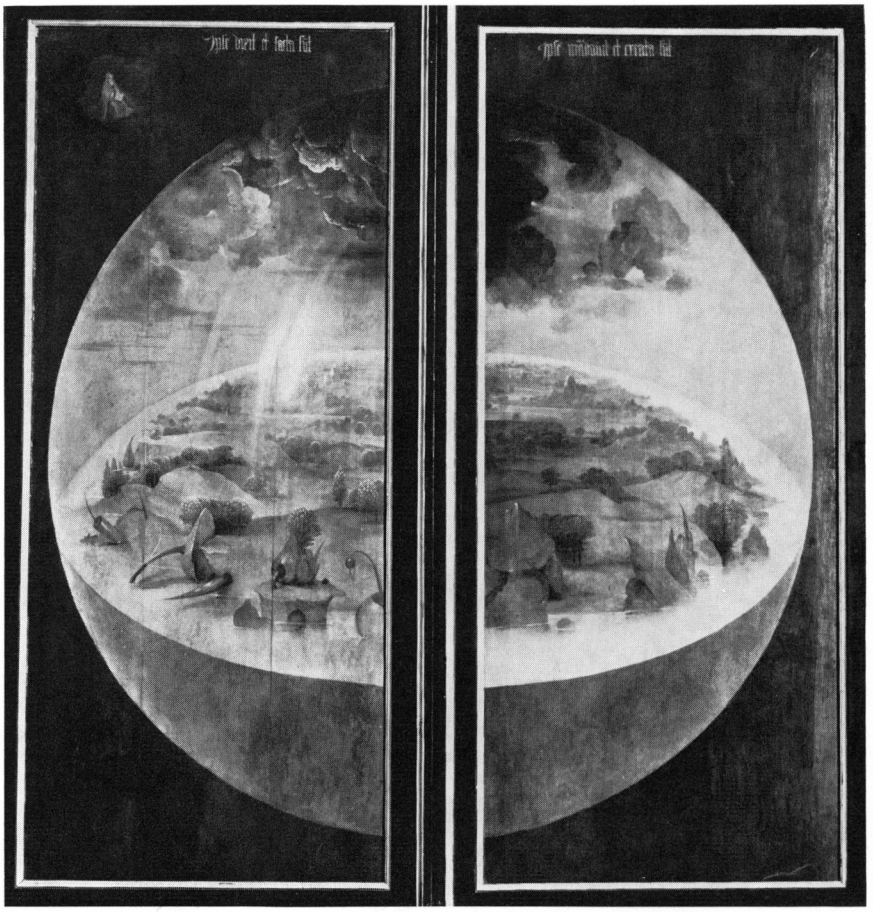
Würzburg pictured the world as a woman of shining beauty whose back is filled with adders and toads [50], an image given plastic form in a sculptured figure on the Cathedral of Worms.[51] Likewise, from Bosch's day there have survived several little ivory carvings showing voluptuous nude women or embracing lovers; when turned around they reveal a rotting corpse or the figure of death.[52]

Bosch's garden of love, therefore, might be more accurately described as a false paradise, one whose beauty leads mankind to destruction. False paradises of this sort abound in medieval literature; there is, for instance, the legend of the Venusberg, best known from the story of Tannhäuser, which was an underground kingdom where devils disguised as lovely women lured unwary travellers to their doom.[53] Both Marco Polo and Jehan de Mandeville tell about the Old Man of the Mountain who created a false garden of love, well stocked with fountains, handsome lads and lovely maidens, with which he attracted young knights to do his bidding, even at the cost of their lives.[54] A comparable motif can be found in the garden of the *Romance of the Rose*. In the section by Jean de Meun, Genius warns the barons of love that the garden which the lover saw is one in which the 'dances will reach their end and dancers fail'.[55] Everything in it will crumble to dust, for death lies in wait for all. Even the fountain in the Garden of the Rose intoxicates and brings death, while the fountain in the Heavenly Garden brings eternal life.[56]

In this speech of Genius can perhaps be seen the origin of the garden of evil, or the false paradise as it would later be developed not only by Bosch, but also by Ariosto and other sixteenth-century poets, to culminate in the Bower of Acrasia in Spenser's *Fairie Queene*.[57] And in the visual arts, the garden of love invaded by Death remained a favorite motif for several centuries after Traini introduced it into his frescoes in the Campo Santo, Pisa.[58]

To return to the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the full significance of Bosch's false paradise is revealed only when we consider its relationship to the other panels of the triptych. The outer wings show the world as it stood on the third day of Creation *(fig. 21)*. In the center of the panel, light has been separated from darkness and within the sphere of light, the waters have been divided above and below the firmament. The dry land has emerged already sprouting vegetation. Dwarfed by the magnitude of his creation, God appears in a rift in the clouds at upper left, the Divine fiat inscribed in the banderol near the upper edge in a passage from Psalms 32 : 9; and 148 : 5 (Latin Vulgate version): *Ipse dixet et facta sunt, Ipse mandavit et creata sunt* (For He spoke, and they were made; for He commanded, and they were created). On the left inner wing *(fig. 1)*, the other three days of Genesis have been accomplished. The earth has brought forth its 'swarms of living creatures'; birds fill the air, and Adam and Eve have been created

N K I. Vol 2a

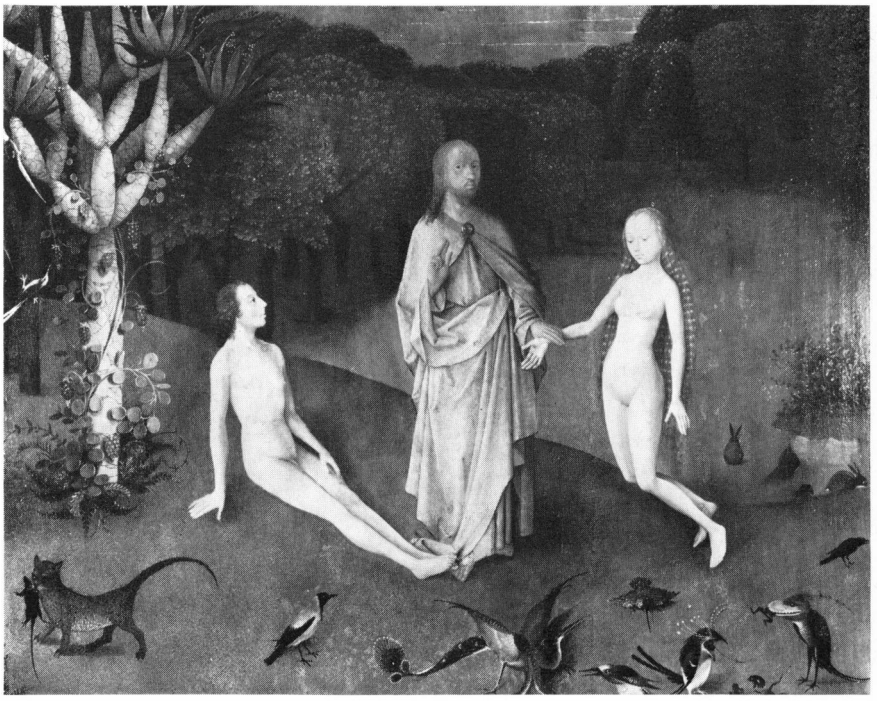


21 *Hieronymus Bosch, Garden of Earthly Delights,* Outer Panels. Madrid, *Prado.*

to rule the garden. The fact that some of the animals in this antediluvian landscape are being pursued and devoured by others should not disturb us as it does De Tolnay [59]; it was generally agreed that the animals were corrupt even before the Fall of Man.[60] Meister Bertram also understood this when he painted the Grabow altarpiece (begun 1379); in the *Creation of the Animals,* a wolf-like animal boldly attacks a sheep in the presence of the Creator himself.[61]

In the Eden panels of both the *Haywain* triptych and the *Last Judgement* altarpiece in Vienna, Bosch represented the temptation of Adam and Eve by the Serpent and their expulsion from Eden. In the *Garden of Earthly Delights,* however, he showed their marriage by Christ *(fig. 22),* whose youthful features contrast with those of the venerable figure of God on the outer wings. The presence of Christ reflects the medieval belief that all Three Persons of the Trinity had participated in the act of Creation.[62] The union of Adam and Eve by a youthful Deity is depicted in several fifteenth-century Dutch Bibles [63]; it illustrates the moment when he blessed them, saying in the words of Genesis 1 : 28: 'Be fruitful and multiply, and

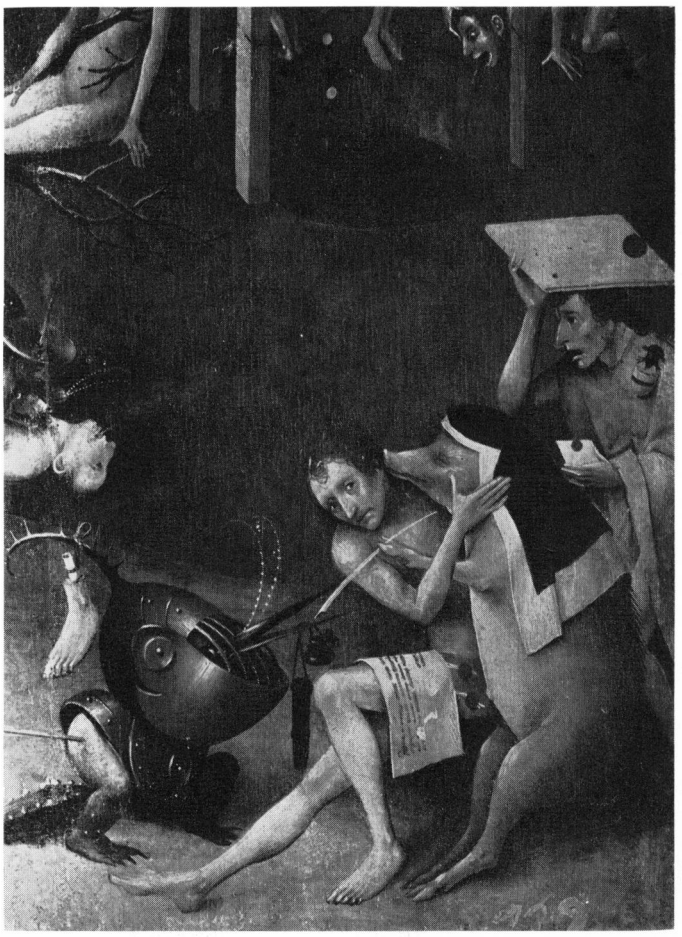
fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over everything that moves on earth.' God's injunction 'be fruitful and multiply' could be construed as a mandate to indulge in the sort of licentious behaviour shown in the middle panel; indeed, Chaucer's Wife of Bath quotes just this passage to justify her five



22 Detail of fig. 1.

previous husbands and her search for a sixth.[64] For this liberal attitude, however, she would have received little support from the Church whose position on the subject was much more strict. In an early fifteenth-century collection of English sermons, for example, we are warned that God's command to our first parents should not be interpreted as encouraging sexual promiscuity.[65] On the contrary, it was generally assumed that before the Fall, Adam and Eve would have mated without feeling carnal desire, solely for the purpose of begetting children, and that lust was the first sin committed after eating the forbidden fruit. This account of man's fall from a state of perfection was eleborated by St. Augustine in the *City of God* [66]; Honorius of Autun summed it up more succinctly in his *Elucidarium:* after the Fall, Adam and Eve realized that they were naked and 'immediately burned with concupiscence for each other and . . . there arose that disorderly union from which human propagation proceeds'.[67] Such beliefs, incidentally may explain certain erotic representations of Adam and Eve which appeared in Germany and the Netherlands during the early sixteenth century.[68]

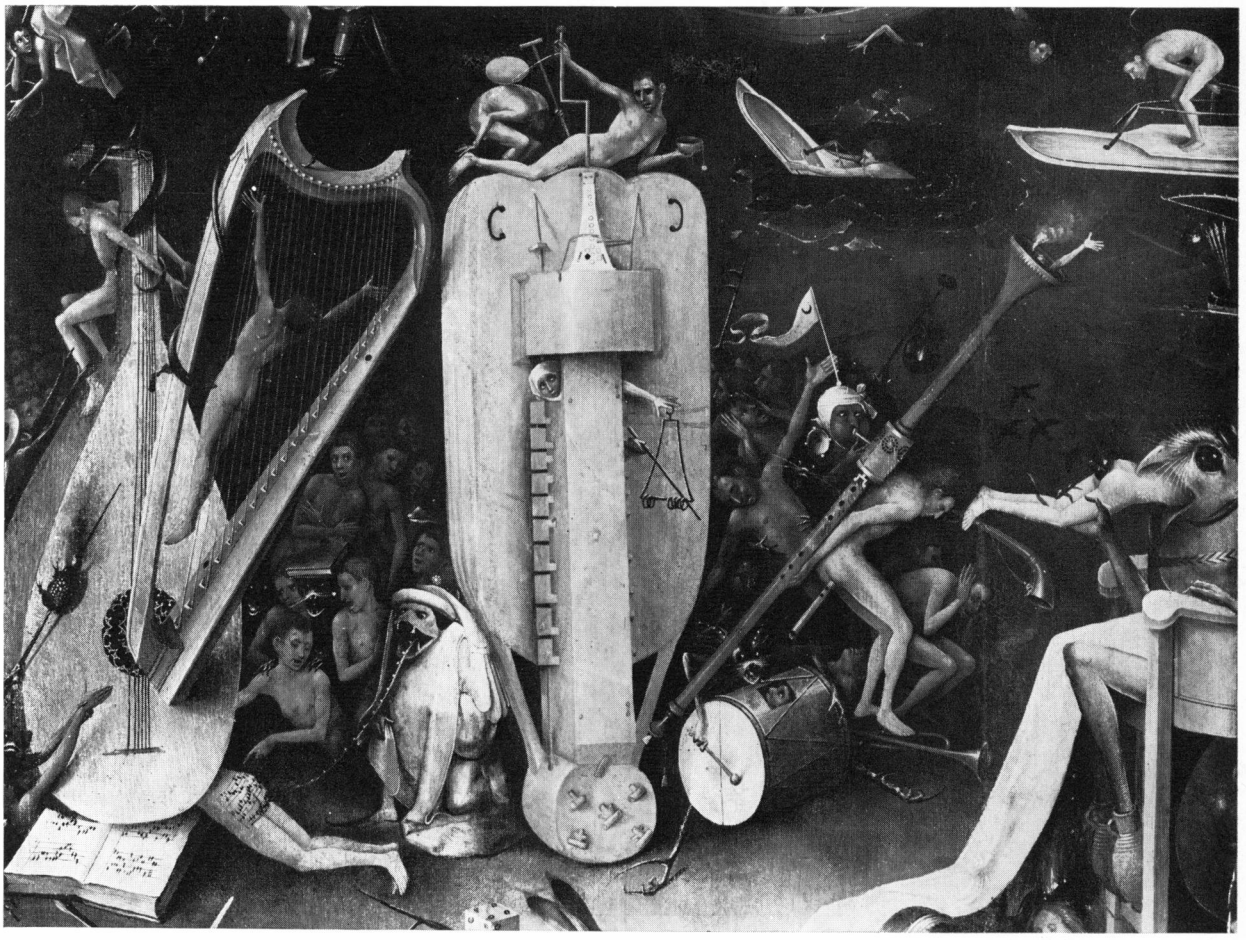
In this respect, it is significant that Bosch shows no children in the garden



23 Detail of fig. 1.

of the central panel. Its inhabitants, far from subduing the earth, are overshadowed by the giant birds and fruit, and they have given themselves over not only to lechery but also to gluttony and sloth, which were allied with lust as sins of the flesh.[69] The garden thus shows not the fulfillment of God's injunction to the First Couple, but its perversion. Man has abandoned the True Paradise for the false; he has turned from the fountain of life to drink from another kind of fountain which, like the fountain in the garden of the *Romance of the Rose,* intoxicates and brings death.

The destiny which God reserves for those who live the life of the flesh is, of course, the subject of the right inner wing *(fig. 1)*. We should not be surprised, as Fränger was [70], to find sins other than Lust punished in this particular Hell. According to St. Augustine, *fornicatio* could refer not only to the sexual act but to any turning away from God in general, an interpretation accepted by later writers [71], and it was also generally agreed that lechery engendered other sins.[72] Thus, to mention only a few sins in passing [73], the unfortunate lady constrained to admire her charms reflected in



24 Detail of fig. 1.

the backsides of a devil, is probably guilty of the sin of Pride [74]; this is a variation of the *Superbia* scene in the Prado Tabletop. The slothful man in bed is attended by devils, while the glutton is forced to disgorge his food. But Lust is by no means neglected, for it is undoubtedly punished in the lower right corner where a naked man resists the advances of an amorous sow *(fig. 23)*, and it is also very likely the subject of the oversized musical instruments and rather frantic choral singing in the left foreground *(fig. 24)*. As Bax has observed, musical instruments possessed erotic connotations, as did music-making in general. Thus the bagpipe, which we see balanced on the head of the Tree-Man in the center figured as a euphemism for the male organ of generation, while to play the lute signified making love.[75] Moreover, the attractions of the flesh were often depicted under the guise of a devilish musician leading his victim astray through the sweetness of his melody [76], a concept which is also reflected in the long-snouted demon serenading the lovers on top of the wagon in the *Haywain Triptych (fig. 25)*. In Bosch's infernal concert, however, this enticing music of the

25 Detail of fig. 6.

flesh has changed to harsh discords, mingled with the cries of the damned who are punished by the very means which brought them pleasure during life.

The iconography of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* could be further explored, but hopefully enough has been said to enable us to grasp the basic meaning of its imagery. Far from being an exposition of heretic doctrine, the triptych is the very essence of medieval orthodoxy in content, however bizarre its form. Properly understood, the *Garden of Earthly Delights* takes its place in the great moralizing tradition which arose in the thirteenth century with the manuals on the Virtues and Vices, and which includes not only Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools,* but also many of Bosch's other paintings such as the *Death of the Miser* and the *Haywain.* Traditional, too, is the manner in which the program of the triptych encompasses the whole of history, from the Creation to the Final Judgement, betraying the same urge for universality that we see in the facade sculptures of Gothic cathedrals or in the mystery play cycles of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. But if Bosch's triptych thus unquestionably belongs to the Middle Ages, it also reflects the Renaissance taste for highly original, recondite allegories whose complete meaning is apparent only to a limited and sophisticated audience. In this respect, the *Garden of Earthly Delights* may be compared to Botticelli's *Primavera,* for instance, or the *Melencolia I* of Albrecht Dürer.

Botticelli's mythological scenes were inspired by the Neoplatonists at the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Dürer worked for the humanist

circle in Nuremberg. The nature of Bosch's patronage, however, remains obscure. Even though its triptych format and grisaille-colored outer wings had long been customary for religious altarpieces in the Netherlands, we must agree with Bax that the *Garden of Earthly Delights* was probably not intended to stand on a public altar in a church [77]; its intricately involved subject matter would make this unlikely. If it was commissioned by Hendrick III of Nassau, as has been suggested, he probably intended it to serve his private edification and pleasure. In any case, the patron for whom Bosch painted this triptych – as well as that of the *Haywain* – should not be sought in the Church but among lay circles, perhaps the *rederijkers,* or rhetoricians, whose literary activities contributed much to the cultural life of the Netherlands during this period. Their plays and poems show a fondness for similar abstruse allegories; often these were traditional moralizing themes such as the Virtues and Vices. The same subjects, moreover, frequently appear in tapestries woven in Flanders during the first third of the century.[78] Bosch's own complicated moralizing pictures would have found a receptive audience among the nobility and wealthy bourgeoisie who patronized the *rederijkers* and displayed the tapestries in their homes; and it is not without significance that both the *Haywain* and the *Garden of Earthly Delights* were frequently reproduced in Flemish tapestries well into the sixteenth century.[79]

Notes

This article was developed from a paper which has been read on a number of occasions during the last five years, including the Fourth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Ohio State University, February 23, 1973; and the Seminar on Medieval and Renaissance Culture, Slippery Rock State College, Pennsylvania, on March 31, 1973. I have greatly benefited from the questions raised and suggestions offered at these meetings, but my warmest thanks goes to Dr. Charity Cannon Willard for her unfailing encouragement and for her valuable advice on many points in this article. Part of the material here presented is summarized in W. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch,* London 1973.

1 Fray José de Siguënza, *Tercera parte de la Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo,* Madrid 1605, reprinted in F. J. Sanchez-Cantón, *Fuentes literarias par la historia del arte español,* I, Madrid 1923, 430.

2 W. Fränger, *Hieronymus Bosch. Das tausendjährige Reich: Grundzüge einer Auslegung,* Coberg 1947. All subsequent references are to the English edition: *The Millennium of Hieronymus Bosch: Outlines of a New Interpretation,* trans. by E. Wilkins and E. Kaiser, Chicago 1951.

3 Fränger, *op. cit.* (see note 2), 10.

4 Fränger, *op. cit.* (see note 2), 10–11.

5 For what is known about the history and doctrines of the Bretheren of the Free Spirit, see N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium,* 2nd ed., New York 1970, 148–186; and R. E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages,* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1972. I have not had the opportunity to

consult R. Guarnieri, *Il movimento del Libero Spirito,* Rome 1965.

[6] Fränger, *op. cit.* (see note 2), 16–31.

[7] Fränger, *op. cit.* (see note 2), 138–153.

[8] A list of Fränger's studies on Bosch, published between 1947 and 1963, can be found in C. de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch,* Baden-Baden 1966, 415.

[9] Fränger's theories have been rejected by many scholars, including Tolnay, *op. cit.* (see note 8), 361, 415; Lerner, *op. cit.* (see note 5), 162; G. F. Hartlaub, 'Hieronymus Bosch, Wege und Abwege seiner Deutung', *Das Münster,* 10 (1957), 374–377; L. von Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch,* New York 1960, 227–229; L. van Puyvelde, *La peinture flamande au siècle de Bosch et Breughel,* Brussels 1962, 28–34. The most comprehensive refutation, however, has been given by D. Bax in the reference cited in note 21 below. For a critique of Fränger's interpretation of the musical themes in the Hell panel, see H. H. Lenneberg, 'Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights, Some Musicological Considerations and Criticisms', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6e per., 58 (1961), 135–144. A rejection of Fränger's thesis is also implicit in E. H. Gombrich, 'Bosch's "Garden of Earthly Delights": A Progress Report', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 32 (1969), 162–170; and in B. Lindberg, 'The Fire Next Time', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 35 (1972), 188–199.

[10] Cf. the reviews by H. Read in *New Republic,* 127 (Sept. 1, 1952), 18; and G. Ring in *Burlington Magazine,* 92 (1950), 28–29. More recently, Fränger's thesis has been accepted by P. Reuterwärd, *Hieronymus Bosch (Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, Figura,* n.s. VII), Uppsala 1970; reviewed by M. Frinta, *Art Bulletin,* 55 (1973), 145–148. A somewhat more favorable view of Fränger is taken by C. Linfert, *Hieronymus Bosch,* New York 1972.

[11] In *Time* magazine for July 15, 1966, 74, we are informed that one such advocate of 'uninhibited sensuality', Norman O. Brown (*Life against Death, 1959; Love's Body,* 1966), points to a reproduction of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* hanging in his office as an illustration of his theories put to practice.

[12] W. L. Schreiber, *Die ältesten Spielkarten und die auf des Kartenspiel Bezug habenden Urkunden des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts,* Strassburg 1937, 13, cat. no. 10. Facsimiles of these cards appear in W. Y. Ottley, *A Collection of One Hundred and Twenty-Nine Fac-Similes of Scarce and Curious Prints by the Early Masters,* London 1828, pls. 69–70. I am grateful to Mr. Henry Kleinhenz for calling these cards to my attention.

[13] Cohn, *op. cit.* (see note 5), 168–169; Lerner, *op. cit.* (see note 5), 157–163.

[14] P. Gerlach, 'Jheronimus van Aken alias Bosch en de Onze Lieve Vrouw-Broederschap', *Jheronimus Bosch, Bijdragen,* 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, 48–57.

[15] J. K. Steppe, 'Jheronimus Bosch, Bijdrage tot de historische en de ikonografische studie van zijn werk', *Jheronimus Bosch, Bijdragen,* 's-Hertogenbosch 1967, 10–11; E. Gombrich, 'The Earliest Description of Bosch's *Garden of Delight', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 30 (1967), 403–406.

[16] Ibidem, 405.

[17] For the early owners of Bosch's pictures, see P. Gerlach, 'Studies over Jeronimus van Aken (alias Bosch) II', *Spiegel der Historie,* 2 (1967) 627; cf. also K. G. Boon, 'Hieronymus Bosch', *Burlington Magazine,* 102 (1960), 457–458. For the pictures by Bosch owned by Queen Isabella of Spain, see F. J. Sanchez-Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica,* Madrid 1950, 182–184. I would like to thank Mrs. Diane Scillia for this reference.

[18] For the pictures by Bosch acquired by Philip II, see J. Folie, 'Les oeuvres authentifiées des primitifs flamands', *Bulletin Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique,* 6 (1963), 233–240.

[19] Sanchez-Cantón, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 430.

[20] C. A. Wertheim Aymès, *Hieronymus Bosch, eine Einführung in seine geheime Symbolik, Berlin, 1957* (unfavorably reviewed by Hartlaub, *op. cit.* (see note 9), 376–

377); A. Spychalska-Boczkowska, 'Material for the Iconography of Hieronymus Bosch's triptych 'The Garden of Delights'', *Studia Muzealne,* 5 (1966), 49–95.

[21] D. Bax, *Beschrijving en poging tot verklaring van het Tuin der Onkuisheiddrieluik van Jeroen Bosch,* Amsterdam 1956, 135–185, contains a detailed refutation of Fränger's theories while other comments on Fränger appear in the notes to other chapters. An earlier discussion of Fränger can be found in D. Bax, *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch,* The Hague 1949, 297–305. My own interpretation of Bosch's triptych had been largely formulated before I had an opportunity to read Bax's fine study, which has provided welcome verification on several points.

[22] Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 44–45.

[23] Bax, *Ontcijfering* (see note 21), 34–35.

[24] Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 38–39, 45.

[25] Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 45; and *Ontcijfering* (see note 21), 65.

[26] Bax, *Ontcijfering* (see note 21), 65.

[27] Josephus Flavius, *The Jewish War,* IV: 483–485, (*Josephus with an English Translation,* by H. St. J. Thackeray, III, London and New York 1928, 143–145). St. Augustine also speaks of the apples in the land of Sodom which 'under a deceitful appearance of ripeness, contain ashes within' (*The City of God,* XXI: 8, quoted from the translation by M. Dods, New York 1950, 777).

[28] Cf. Baldass, *op. cit.* (see note 9), 228–229.

[29] Descriptions of some of these love gardens can be found in W. A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love,* New York 1967 (Cambridge, Mass. 1899); and A. B. Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic,* Princeton, N. J. 1966, 11–86. Bax has also drawn attention to the relationship of Bosch's central panel to conventional love gardens *(Tuin* (see note 21), 73–77, where he cites a Dutch version of the *Romance of the Rose).*

[30] For examples, see R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane au moyen âge à la Renaissance, et la décoration des demeures,* The Hague 1931–1932, II, 426–432.

[31] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose,* trans. by H. W. Robbins, New York 1962, pp. 169–171. For the classical sources of this theme and its erotic interpretation by Jean de Meun, see H. Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance,* New York 1972 (1969), 32–57.

[32] Cf. a fifteenth-century German tapestry showing the Labors of the Months in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (B. Kurth, *Die deutschen Bildteppiche des Mittelalters,* Vienna 1926, II, pl. 128a); and a woodcut from a series of the same subject attributed to Hans Sebald Beham (C. Dodgson, 'Rare Woodcuts in the Ashmolean Museum, II', *Burlington Magazine,* 63 (1933), 117, fig. IIa).

[33] Bax, *Ontcijfering* (see note 21), 102.

[34] Bax also cites the Fountain of Youth as a possible source for Bosch (*Tuin* (see note 21), 54, 74). For a discussion of this theme in art, see Marle, *op. cit.* (see note 30) II, 432–445. The association of bathing and love-making probably owes much to the health spas and mineral baths of the Middle Ages. One such resort, in Baden, Switzerland, was described by the Florentine diplomat and humanist Poggio Bracciolini who saw them in 1417: the baths were frequented by people of all classes, including monks and nuns; men and women mingled together in the water and dined off floating tables (K. F. Reinhardt, *Germany, 2000 Years,* I, rev. ed., New York 1961, 187). The municipal bath houses were hardly better; indeed, some seem to have been little more than brothels. Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, for example, reserved the baths of Valenciennes for members of an English delegation, supplying them with 'everything required for the calling of Venus' (J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* Garden City, N. Y. 1954, 109).

[35] In the Middle Ages mermaids were often confused with sirens who where thought to incite men to carnal desire; see the discussions by H. Rahner, *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery,* New York 1963, 366–370; and D. W. Robertson, Jr., *A Preface to Chaucer,* Princeton, N. J. 1963, 142–145; as well as several visual examples cited

by R. Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery,* Princeton. N. J. 1935, 19–20. In the *Lumen animae* by Mathias Farinator, c. 1330, the figure of Luxuria bears a siren on her shield (M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins,* n. p. 1952, 138).

[36] Guillaume de Deguilleville, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man,* trans. by John Lydgate (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, vols. 77, 83, 92), London 1899—1902, 573–575. Actually a siren, he tells the Pilgrim that men may call him a 'mermayden off the se'.

[37] In this connection, it is tempting to suppose that Bosch's pool of women represents a parody of the pool of Diana, renowned for her chastity. Similar groupings can be seen, for example, in Italian representations of Diana and Actaeon (A. Spychalska-Boczkowska, 'Diana with Meleagros and Actaeon. Some Remarks on a XV-Century Italian Cassone', *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie,* 9 (1968) Nr. 2, 30, fig. 1; 35, fig. 4).

[38] I would like to thank Mr. Charles Scillia for this suggestion.

[39] I am grateful to Miss Jean Anne Vincent for information concerning the origin of the Morris Dance. Van Meckenem repeated this subject in another engraving (ill. in *Israhel van Meckenum, Gedenkausstellung zum 450. Todestag des Künstlers, 1503—1953,* Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne 1953, cat. no. 130, fig. 2); for the Morris Dance and related themes, see H. Kohlhaussen, 'Die Minne in der deutschen Kunst des Mittelalters', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft,* 9, (1942), 145–172.

[40] J. Lefebvre, *Les Fols et la Folie: étude sur les genres du comique et la création littéraire en Allemagne pendant la Renaissance,* Paris 1968, 71–73.

[41] Sebastian Brant, *The Ship of Fools,* trans. by E. H. Zeydel, New York 1944, 89.

[42] For the association of animals with various sins in the Middle Ages, see Bloomfield, *op. cit.* (see note 35), 150–151, 245–249. Bosch's use of this symbolism in his circle of riders is discussed by Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 54–60. See also the similar explanation offered by Siguënza for the presence of these animals (Sanchez-Cantón, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 430).

[43] For other examples of the personified vices mounted on animals, see S. Chew. *Pilgrimage of Life,* New Haven, Conn., and London 1962, 88–89, and 336–337, n. 10, 12. To these may be added a fresco by Aimone Duce in the Chiesa della Missioni, Villafranca Sabouda, and an anonymous fresco in San Fiorenzo, Bastia, painted in 1472 (A. Griseri, *Jaquerio e il realismo gotico in Piemonte,* Turin n. d., pls. 120 and 121 respectively).

[44] Bax, *Ontcijfering* (see note 21), 68 and n. 79; for a variation of this motif, see Robertson, *op. cit.* (see note 35), 253–254.

[45] A similar satirical spirit pervades a rustic love garden engraved by the Master E. S., L. 215; ill. in *Prints 1400—1500, A Loan Exhibition from Museums and Private Collections,* The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis 1956, pl. 10. A copy of this print exists in the Housebook of Count Waldburg-Wolfegg.

[46] Mr. Charles Scillia very kindly brought this illumination to my attention.

[47] See the woodcuts illustrated in E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg,* XVIII), Leipzig and Berlin 1930, pl. XIX, fig. 31; and A. P. de Mirimonde, 'La musique dans les allégories de l'amour', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6e per., 68 (1966), 279, fig. 24.

[48] For the meaning of the engraving, see R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages,* Cambridge, Mass. 1952, 148–150.

[49] Jakob Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer, *Malleus Maleficarum,* trans. by M. Summers, New York 1970 (1928), 59.

[50] Cited in B. Kurth, *Die deutschen Bildteppiche des Mittelalters,* Vienna 1926, I, 200, n. 1.

[51] For this figure and male versions of the subject, see W. Stammler, *Frau Welt, eine mittelalterliche Allegorie,* Freiburg Schweiz, 1959, figs. I-VII, X-XI. I would like to thank Mr. E. de Jongh for calling this book to my attention.

[52] Cf. R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français,* Paris 1924, cat. no. 1239, pl. CCI; cat. no. 1245, pl. CCV.

[53] See Neilson, *op. cit.* (see note 29), 133–135 with further literature; also A. F. Remy, 'The Origin of the Tannhäuser-legend', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* XII (1913), 32–77.

[54] The Travels of Sir John Mandeville, London 1923, 183–185; *The Travels of Marco Polo,* trans. by A. Ricci, London, 1931, 49–52. See also Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 77–78, for a similar observation.

[55] *The Romance of the Rose,* Robbins trans. (see note 31), 432. For a recent interpretation of the whole poem as a moralizing sermon on sin, see J. V. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose, a study in allegory and iconography,* Princeton, N. J. 1969.

[56] *The Romance of the Rose,* Robbins trans. (see note 31), 432–433.

[57] For the false paradise in Renaissance literature, see Giamatti, *op. cit.* (see note 29), esp. 123–164. Similar gardens of evil enchantment appear in devotional emblem books of the seventeenth century (M. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery,* 2nd ed., Rome 1964, 149–150).

[58] Illustrated, for example, in F. Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art,* Englewood Cliffs, N. J., and New York n.d., 102, fig. 119. For an interesting fresco of this theme in Palermo, see L. Guerry, *Le thème du Triomphe de la Mort dans la peinture italienne,* Paris 1950, fig. 16. Other examples from Northern Europe can be found in Marle, *op. cit.* (see note 30), II, 402–406.

[59] Tolnay, *op. cit.* (see note 8), 32, apparently attributes a sinister significance to these details, as does Lindberg, *op. cit.* (see note 9), 195, who suggests that Bosch was representing the 'carnivorous behaviour of the beasts, produced by the fall – for originally all animals ate green herbs only (Gen. i, 30)'.

[60] In speaking of the nature of animals before the Fall of Man, St. Thomas Aquinas writes as follows: 'Some say that animals which are now savage and kill other animals would have been tame in that state, and not only towards man but towards other animals too. But this is altogether unreasonable. For man's sin did not so change the nature of animals, that those whose nature it is now to eat other animals, like lions and hawks, would then have lived on a vegetable diet . . . so clashes and antipathy would have been natural between certain animals even then' *Summa Theologiae,* Ia, 96, art. 2, par. 2, Blackfriars edition, London and New York 1964, XIII, 127).

[61] Illustrated in P. Portmann, *Meister Bertram,* Zurich 1963, pl. 5. Similarly, the storks are shown fishing for eels in the *Fifth Day of Creation,* an engraving by the Master with the Banderoles (L. 2; illustrated in M. Lehrs, *Late Gothic Engravings of Germany and the Netherlands,* New York 1969, fig. 331).

[62] Christ himself declared that 'He that seeth me seeth Him that sent me' (John: 12:45). For a discussion of the role of the Trinity in the Creation, see A. Heimann, 'Trinitas Creator Mundi', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 2 (1938—39), 42–52. Cf. also J. Combe, *Jheronimus Bosch,* Paris 1946, 64. n. 115; and Lindberg, *op. cit.* (see note 9), 195–198. The latter came to my attention only after the completion of the present article.

[63] Several examples are cited by Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 20–21; another is illustrated in A. W. Byvanck, *La miniature dans les Pays-Bas septentrionaux,* Paris 1937, pl. LI, fig. 163.

[64] *The Poetical Works of Chaucer,* edited by F. N. Robinson, Cambridge, Mass. 1933, 91, lines 26–29.

[65] Bloomfield, *op. cit.* (see note 35), 209–210.

[66] *City of God,* XIV: 17, 21–26, (Dods. trans., 465–466, 468–476).

[67] *Elucidarium,* I: 13, 14; quoted in G. Boas, *Essays in Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages,* Baltimore 1948, 78. For other medieval interpretations of the Fall of Man, see H. Rondet, *Original Sin, the patristic and theological background,* Shannon, Ireland 1972, 25–168. In this connection, it is interesting to note that

for the early fifteenth-century Dutch writer Dirk van Delff, *Luxuria* was the deadly sin that dominated the first age of the world, extending from Adam to Noah (*Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove,* ed. by L. M. Fr. Daniels, Antwerp and Utrecht 1937, II, 72, 140).

[68] Examples can be found in Dürer's *Small Woodcut Passion* (B 17), c. 1509—11, and in several drawings by Jan Gossaert discussed by H. Schwarz, 'Jan Gossaert's *Adam and Eve* Drawings', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6e per., 62 (1953), 145–168. It is possible, of course, that such representations were also influenced by the widespread belief that prior to the Fall, Adam and Eve were dominated by the sanguine humor, whose characteristics included strong amorous tendencies (E. Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albert Dürer,* Princeton, N. J. 1955, 85).

[69] For the division of the deadly sins into fleshly and spiritual, see Bloomfield, *op. cit.* (see note 35), 140 et passim; the 'lusts of the flesh' are also discussed by D. R. Howard, *The Three Temptations,* Princeton, N. J. 1966, 44–56.

[70] Fränger, *op. cit.* (see note 2), 10–11.

[71] Cf. Robertson, *op. cit.* (see note 35), 73.

[72] Robert of Brunne, for example, warns us that those who commit lechery are thereby made more susceptible to the other sins (Robert of Brunne, *Handelynge Synne, A.D. 1303,* ed. by F. J. Furnivall (Early English Text Society, Original Series, vols. 119, 123), London 1901, I, 235, lines 7344–7348. For a similar opinion from the fifteenth century, see, Alfonso Martinez de Toledo, *Little Sermons on Sin; The Archpriest of Talavera,* trans. by L. B. Simpson, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1959, 80–81.

[73] The most detailed analysis of the Hell panel appears in Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 82–128. See also the study by Lenneberg, *op. cit.* (note 9), and R. L. McGrath, 'Satan and Bosch, the *Visio Tundali* and the Monastic Vices', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6e per., 71, 1968, 45–50. Many writers have speculated on the significance of the letter *M* engraved on the knife supported by a pair of ears at the upper left, and which also appears on a knife in the Vienna *Last Judgement.* Both Tolnay, *op. cit.* (see note 8), 363 and Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 118, see it as standing for *Mundus* or *world.* Another possibility, perhaps, is that it signifies *Malignus,* the name given in one fifteenth-century treatise to Antichrist, as descriptive of his character (F. Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 5 [1942], 87–88).

[74] The punishment of Bosch's proud lady may have been inspired by a little tale told by Geoffrey de La Tour-Landry, in which the victim, looking into her mirror, beheld the rump of a devil instead of her own fair face. *(Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry,* trans. by G. S. Taylor, London [1930], 62).

[75] Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 112; and *Ontcijfering* (see note 21), 193 respectively. The erotic significance of bagpipes and bagpipe-players in medieval art is discussed by Robertson, *op. cit.* (see note 35), 128–133.

[76] Robertson, *op. cit.* (see note 35), 126–134. The erotic connotations of the musical motifs in Bosch's Hell scene have been most recently discussed by A. P. de Mirimonde, 'Le symbolisme musical chez Jérôme Bosch', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6e per., 77 (1971), 19–50, esp. 43–47.

[77] Bax, *Tuin* (see note 21), 131–134.

[78] Cf. H. Gobel, *Wandteppiche,* I. Teil, Band II, Leipzig 1923, pls. 81, 85, 87–89; D. T. B. Wood, 'Tapestries of the *Seven Deadly Sins', Burlington Magazine,* 20 (1911—1912), 210–222, 277–289.

[79] O. Kurz, 'Four Tapestries after Hieronymus Bosch', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 30 (1967), 150–162; Steppe, *op. cit.* (see note 15), 28–37. Francis I of France owned five tapestries after Bosch, including a copy of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (S. Schneebalg-Perelman, 'Richesses du Garde-Meuble Parisien de Francois Ier', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6e per., 78 [1971], inv. nr. 283, 289–290).