BEYOND BOSCH

The Afterlife of a Renaissance Master in Print

Marisa Bass and Elizabeth Wyckoff
with an essay by Matthijs Ilsink
and a contribution by Peter Fuhring

SAINT LOUIS ART MUSEUM

Contents

Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as "Inventor"

Marisa Bass

An engraving of monstrous figures contorting their bodies in and out of barrels, baskets, and boats; walking on stilts; performing handstands; and breaking wind makes a suspect claim about its purported creator (fig. 1).[1] An inscription in the lower left corner declares Hieronymus Bosch the "inventor" of the sheet, while the lines of text printed along the base of the engraving go even further, eliding the artist with the twisted subjects depicted:

> These Hieronymus Bosch fools [*drollen*], prophesized ere long: behold, how each shows the meaning of his struggle. With the same excess, now each mocks the world's strife as well, so that every barrel makes visible what it has inside it.[2]

The text refers to the inhabitants of the print as *drollen*, or foolish characters, a natural descriptor given their absurd antics and postures. At the same time, Bosch's name modifies the word *drollen* like an adjective: not only is the print's design attributed to Bosch, but its strange inhabitants are also branded as inherently "Boschian," such that "Hieronymus Bosch the inventor" becomes visually synonymous with his inventions, the fools themselves. The doubling of Bosch's name both as inventor and subject in the bottom corner of the sheet makes this point emphatic. The scatological joke in the last line of the text describing how every barrel makes visible, or literally "gives out" (*gheeft uit*), what it has inside it further suggests that this kind of circularity is fundamental to human existence. As numerous figures in the engraving demonstrate, if a monster sticks itself into one side of a barrel, something monstrous comes out on the other end. The sheet as a whole discloses a similar circularity in Bosch's creative process: whatever emerges from the artist's mind, however grotesque, cannot but embody the artist himself. The flatulence of these monsters becomes, by a strange perversion, emblematic of Bosch's generative activity as creator.[3]

But what do this engraving and Hieronymus Bosch really have in common? As indicated by the inscription in the lower right corner, this work was produced by Volcxken Diericx, the widow of the great print publisher Hieronymus Cock, whose publishing house Aux Quatre Vents (At the Sign of the Four Winds) flourished in the thriving metropolis of Antwerp during the latter half of the sixteenth century.[4] It must date sometime after 1570, as the label "Aux Quatre Vents" appears predominantly on prints Diericx published after her husband's death in that year. A pendant sheet of cripples, fools, musicians, and beggars in similarly theatrical postures was also published by Diericx and ascribed to Bosch's name (cat. 2). Yet the artist

Detail fig. 1

Hieronymus Bosch was born around 1450 and died in August 1516; by the time this engraving was published, he had been dead for more than fifty years. The composition looks much like a drawn study sheet, as if its figures were a collection of Bosch's sketches and doodles now preserved and circulated via what was still a relatively new reproductive medium. While the engraving of cripples derives from an extant study sheet by one of Bosch's followers (cat. 2a), no such drawing of the *drollen*, either by Bosch or his circle, survives.

Fig. 1. In the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *Various Fantastic Figures (Hieronymus Bosch drollen)*, n.d. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The *drollen* engraving belongs to a much larger group of prints that explicitly claim the early Netherlandish painter as their "inventor," despite the fact that they were produced decades after his death and, at best, have only tenuous connection to his known works. There is no indication that Bosch himself ever designed for the print medium. These prints are not literal reproductions of extant paintings or designs by the artist; rather, they are images inspired—often quite loosely—by Bosch's creative legacy but which equally often conspired, through their compositions and accompanying inscriptions, to be taken as Bosch's own original work.

While their association with Bosch doubtless increased the popular demand for such prints at the time they were published, their derivative status has long been their scourge in modern art-historical scholarship. As such, they have never received due research attention. The most comprehensive catalogue of these prints after Bosch was compiled in the early twentieth century by Paul Lafond, a French artist and close friend of Edgar Degas who turned to a career as an art historian, serving as curator at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Pau and publishing on other early modern artists, including Rogier van der Weyden and El Greco.[5] Yet Lafond approached his subject as a connoisseur rather than a historian, and although the prints his volume encompasses have since appeared in various exhibitions and scholarly studies, the larger questions raised by these works concerning the issues of authorship and the role of the print medium in shaping Bosch's afterlife have yet to be addressed in any depth.

The sixteenth-century prints ascribed to Bosch, no matter how distantly removed from the artist's own pen and paintbrush, trace their origins to a moment of dramatic shift in the notion of innovation itself. Beginning around 1500, the concept of an ingenious Renaissance

"inventor" was being redefined in Bosch's northern European milieu through everything from new experiments with architectural form and an emergent awareness of classical antiquity to advances in university education and an increasingly rebellious stance towards the accepted forms and iconography of religious images. Innovation became a way to approach art-making with new rigor but also a means to playfully query past artistic tradition.

This is not to say that an interest in creativity and invention was suddenly new in the sixteenth century, as its currents can be traced back through the Middle Ages to antiquity.[6] Nor is it to imply that the modern secular notion of artistic "genius" applies to Bosch's context either.[7] However, one trend does emerge in northern Europe during the early sixteenth century: artists themselves more consistently began to use the terminology of "invention" to describe and theorize their own works.[8] In particular, the Latin term *ingenium*, which refers most simply to an innate quality or natural disposition, was increasingly employed to describe an individual's talent, wit, and creativity.[9] The term surfaces in the context of artists as well as many other kinds of inventors, from scholars to engineers.[10] It also mingled with the Renaissance understanding of imagination as derived from the ancient writings of Aristotle, according to which the imagination was not just a concept but instead an actual ventricle of the brain, a physical storehouse of images gathered from one's sensory experience of the world; artists could harness their imaginations towards creative visual endeavor, but in turn, imagination could also overpower their ability for rational command.[11] *Ingenium* was not always a positive qualification in Bosch's sixteenth-century context either, and it could refer at times to a consciously subversive approach to invention.[12] Even in the English language, the verb "to invent" has long had a dual meaning: to create on the one hand and to falsify by making something up. A person possessing *ingenium* might exercise their innate faculty in the pursuit of innovation as well as deception, and we will see that both dialectic poles were at play in Bosch's art and in the works inspired by and attributed to him.

Only by pursuing an understanding of invention as it was conceptualized in Bosch's own lifetime and during the course of the succeeding decades when the prints after him were disseminated can we begin to understand the label "Hieronymus Bosch inventor" as more than a commercial strategy on the part of the sixteenth-century art market. The common usage of the Latin words *inventor* and *invenit*—as formulas for ascribing authorship of a print's design—becomes slippery and destabilized when applied to Bosch, as the *drollen* engraving itself suggests.[13] Past discussion of the prints produced under the artist's name has tended to focus on subject matter, whether religious, hellish, or comical, as defining the limits of what constituted a "Boschian" production in the eyes of the original buying public. This essay instead argues that the vastly disparate body of prints inspired by Bosch and created by numerous different artists reflects—albeit paradoxically—Bosch's legacy as the first northern European artist to assert his art as the product of his unique *ingenium*. As such, these works reveal a desire not only to profit on Bosch's market appeal but also to situate his particular creative innovation within the history of Netherlandish art as a whole. All the participants in Bosch's afterlife were, to varying degrees, in on the same clever jape.

Hieronymus Bosch and the Power of Ingenium

Hieronymus Bosch was born into a family of painters in the town of 's-Hertogenbosch, also known as Den Bosch, in the Netherlandish province of North Brabant.[14] He trained as a cleric and probably attended Latin school before devoting himself to an artistic career. His family name was actually van Aken, but as noted in an archival document dating from his lifetime, he signed his works "Jheronimus Bosch," the name by which he is known today.[15] Renaissance artists across Europe—from Leonardo da Vinci to Albrecht Dürer—included their hometown in their signatures, and for Bosch as well, this practice was a means to assert pride in his place of origin. Bosch's identity was profoundly defined by his local context; he enjoyed an unusually elevated social stature as an artist in the city of his birth, in no small part through his marriage to Aleid van der Meervenne, who hailed from a wealthy and prominent 's-Hertogenbosch family. In the years 1486–87, Bosch was admitted to the lay Confraternity of Our Lady in his hometown, a brotherhood dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to the salvation of the souls of its deceased members, where he mingled with his fellow urban elite.[16]

Bosch's comfortable life in 's-Hertogenbosch might well seem at odds with the hellish works for which he is famous. The monumental triptych known today as *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (fig. 2) presents a sea of cavorting bodies in its central panel, the space traditionally reserved for the most important religious subject of a devotional painting or altarpiece.[17] This landscape of "men and women, both black and white, engaged in various actions and poses, birds, and animals of every sort" so overwhelmed the Italian courtier Antonio de Beatis when he saw the painting in 1517 that he declared it "impossible to describe well."[18] Beatis did not even attempt to account for the eerie reptiles already invading the paradisiacal domain of Adam and Eve in the left panel, let alone record his thoughts on the infernal tortures depicted in the right wing.

The Garden of Earthly Delights, despite its strangeness, attests that Bosch's prominence during his lifetime extended from 's-Hertogenbosch to patronage by the highest Netherlandish

Fig. 2. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (interior view), c. 1500–05. Oil on panel. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

elite.[19] Beatis only set eyes on the painting because it was hung prominently at the Brussels palace of the nobleman Henry of Nassau, whose uncle Engelbert of Nassau was most likely its commissioner.[20] In September 1504, the "painter Hieronymus van Aken, known as Bosch" received payment for another monumental painting from Philip the Fair, son of the Burgundian-Habsburg emperor Maximilian I, which is described as a representation of the Last Judgment; the payment document refers to a lost work even larger than the triptych of that subject preserved in Vienna today (fig. 3), which is ascribed to Bosch and his workshop.[21]

Several paintings under Bosch's name are also documented in the collections of other prominent members of the nobility, though in the case of these inventory records, it is difficult to ascertain whether we are ultimately dealing with images by the artist himself or his assistants.[22] The fact that Bosch ran a workshop with assistants who put out paintings under his name further evinces the great demand for his art from contemporary buyers. It also makes determining the exact boundaries of his oeuvre within his own lifetime and beyond more complicated. A workshop piece such as the Vienna *Last Judgment* differs significantly in its painterly sophistication and technique from an autograph panel such as *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. As recent scholarship has begun to consider, even paintings long accepted as "by Bosch" may instead have been part of the output of his workshop.[23] The same issues arise in assessing the body of drawings associated with the artist, a significant number of which also seem to have been created in his workshop or by later imitators.[24]

While many Renaissance artists had workshops, few could rival Bosch in the volume of images bearing his name—yet created by so many different hands—both during his lifetime and long thereafter. During the course of the sixteenth century, Bosch's renown only increased, as did the proliferation of works by admirers and imitators eager to capitalize on his successful brand. While Bosch's workshop paintings surely remained closer to his own creative enterprise, those produced after his death in 1516 were at much greater remove from this point of origin. What was understood to constitute an invention by Bosch seems to have become defined more by its aura of originating in the artist's conception than by its actual proximity to Bosch's hand. This is especially true for the Boschian prints, a medium—it must be emphasized again—for

Fig. 3. Hieronymus Bosch, *Last Judgment* (interior view), c. 1504–08. Oil on panel. Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien

which Bosch never explicitly designed. Was the later sixteenth-century understanding of Bosch as "inventor" driven only by the market demand for works associated with his name, or did it begin somehow with Bosch himself?

Bosch's autograph drawing *The Field Has Eyes, the Forest Has Ears* (fig. 4) speaks to these questions of invention and originality, if not to the very problem of delimiting Bosch's creative production from that of his followers.[25] The drawing illustrates a Netherlandish proverb about the consequences of human action. What we say and do is witnessed and judged by those around us, as Bosch's literal representation of eyes and ears in this landscape so provocatively suggests. The watchful owl at center contrasts pointedly with the garrulous magpies that fly around him in the tree above, oblivious to his knowing and silent gaze.[26]

Fig. 4. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Field Has Eyes, the Forest Has Ears*, n.d. Pen and brown ink. Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin KDZ 549

This drawing is one of a handful of autograph sheets by Bosch that contain sketches and doodles by his assistants on their verso, demonstrating the collaborative nature of his workshop's output and suggesting that the work itself remained in his private possession, accessible only to a few.[27] Still more significantly, it represents Bosch's innovative approach to drawing as a medium. Together with his *Tree-Man* sheet in Vienna (cat. 4a), *The Field Has Eyes* seems to be a drawing that the artist created as an independent invention, not as a preparatory study for a painting.[28] Bosch was one of the first Renaissance artists to treat drawing in this manner. *The Field Has Eyes* also embeds more personal connotations that would have resonated in the intimate context of the drawing's creation and reception. The landscape setting may allude to Bosch's hometown; the word *bosch* in Dutch means a small wood or forest.[29] The figure of the owl has even been taken as a disguised self-portrait embodying Bosch himself as a wise and wily creator, an association that may account for the many owls that appear in the later prints ascribed to his name. One might even consider the image as a figuration of Bosch within his own workshop, as the owl encircled by followers who may not always grasp the teachings of their perceptive master.

The drawing's resonance with Bosch's understanding of his own creative endeavor emerges still further through a remarkable inscription along its upper edge: "It is indeed the mark of a miserable talent [*ingenium*] to always use what has been invented and never feel compelled to invent himself."[30] The line derives from *On the Discipline of Scholars*, an educational treatise extremely popular during Bosch's lifetime, which was written in Paris in the early thirteenth century and falsely ascribed to the early medieval writer Boethius.[31] Although there is no other exemplar of Bosch's handwriting with which to compare the inscription, and its authenticity has sometimes been doubted, it fits both in terms of the artist's contemporary pedagogical context and with the inventive nature of the image as an unprecedented visual realization of its proverbial subject. No Netherlandish artist prior to

Bosch left any comparable textual comment about the creative process on one of their works, and as such, its inclusion here is as innovative as the drawing itself.

In the context of a Renaissance workshop such as Bosch's, the distinction between imitation and original creation was a logical one. Bosch's assistants would have trained by copying their master's inventions as a learning process, with the goal of eventually becoming inventors in their own right. A student who failed to launch from the nest, so to speak, might well be deemed a "miserable talent." In *The Field Has Eyes*, however, the contrast between the sentient owl and the magpies—birds known for their imitative chatter—takes on a more sinister cast, as does the question of just who these chatty birds may be said to represent. By depicting a realistic landscape endowed with otherworldly perception through its many ears and eyes, Bosch creates an almost ominous sense that the drawing, the powerful product of his creative mind, is watching us as viewers and judging whether we, like the magpies, are too mindless to invent ourselves. Surrounding every owl is a cluster of magpies. True *ingenium*, Bosch seems to suggest, is rare indeed.

Guevara, Sigüenza, and the Boundary Between Ingenium *and Imagination*

The Field Has Eyes and its accompanying inscription show Bosch thinking in an unprecedented way about his own *ingenium* and representing its powers as both generative and discerning. Bosch sees what others do not see, and in doing so, he is capable not only of producing unique creations but also of judging others who pursue the same endeavor. There is a duplicity here between Bosch as creator and observer: he produces a work to be seen by others, which then also looks back at them. The problem of Bosch as double also applies, in a larger sense, to recognizing the artist simultaneously as the singular creator of works such as *The Garden of Earthly Delights* and as conductor of a busy workshop, one neatly reflected in the double-sided *Field Has Eyes* drawing with Bosch's invention on the recto and the doodles by his followers on the verso.

Responding to this problem, some early writers sought to make firm distinctions between Bosch and the works that emerged from the machinations of his imitators. The first sixteenth- century commentator to expound on this phenomenon was the Spanish scholar Felipe de Guevara, who hailed from a Netherlandish family and possessed works by and after Bosch in his own collection.[32] In his *Commentaries on Painting* (c. 1560), Guevara laments that many considered Bosch merely "the inventor of monsters and chimeras" because they knew his art only through his inferior followers.[33] Bosch's own inventive capacities were of a higher order, Guevara argues, because "he paid much attention to propriety and always most assiduously stayed within the limits of naturalness."[34] In following the model of nature in his hell paintings, Bosch had to "depict devils and imagine them in unusual compositions," but Guevara claims that he never did so gratuitously.[35]

In the early seventeenth century, another Spanish commentator, Fra José de Sigüenza, also made a strong division between Bosch's "great ingenuity" (*ingenio*) and the absurdities that were painted by others and falsely associated with his name.[36] For Sigüenza, Bosch's fantastic

Fig. 5. Hieronymus Bosch, *Temptation of St. Anthony* (interior view), c. 1500. Oil on panel. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon

depictions of religious subjects, such as *Temptation of St. Anthony* (fig. 5), had a more profound meaning.[37] The artist's demons were created not as ends in themselves but "in order to prove that a soul that is supported by the grace of God and elevated by His hand to a like way of life cannot at all be dislodged or diverted from its goal even though, in the imagination and to the outer and inner eye, the devil depicts that which can excite laughter or vain delight or anger or other inordinate passions."[38] Sigüenza distinguishes between the fantasies of Bosch's *ingenium* and the demonic powers that can overtake the imaginations of both artist and viewer; he even refers to the devil himself as a kind of twisted and perturbing creator.[39] According to early modern theory, the imagination (*imaginatio* or *phantasia*)—a powerful organ that was not always in the control of the waking mind—could as easily produce wondrous creations as it could cross over into darker realms.[40] The great German Renaissance artist Albrecht Dürer, writing already in the early sixteenth century, expressed comment on this tension when he wrote that artists should be cautious of the boundary between nature and "dream works" (*traumwerck*), and actively choose whether to represent bodies as they appear in the world or hybrid fantasies of a different order.[41] Dürer's reference to the suspicious powers of *traumwerck* contrasts with his employ of the term *ingenium* (and its German counterpart, *Gewalt*) as a positive means of describing his deliberate creative endeavors and his intellectual property.[42]

Centuries prior to the foundation of psychoanalysis and its theorization of the unconscious as the seat of repressed urges and the fomenting force behind the act of dreaming, the early modern approach to dreams and the imagination was defined far more by a notion of vision.[43] Dreamlike imaginings were understood to visualize and prophesy events to come, or to make visible the mind's subjugation to external forces, whether divine or demonic. When Sigüenza describes how the devil depicts things that have the potential to rouse sinful passions, he is contrasting uncontrolled cognitive processes with the deliberate creations of Bosch's *ingenium*, which in Sigüenza's view pointed not towards hell but instead towards a higher spiritual path. To Sigüenza, the sensationalized imitations of Bosch's works confused

this boundary in that they failed to recognize what we today might call the "conscious" intentionality underlying Bosch's visual excavation of the demonic underworld.

From this analysis by Bosch's early commentators, we can surmise that a print such as the *drollen* engraving, created as part of Bosch's posthumous reception, would have been met with disdain by both Guevara and Sigüenza because it perpetuates an image of Bosch as merely a creator of monsters for their own sake, devoid of higher intent, rather than as a means to reveal the truths of the divine and natural world. Yet in assessing Bosch's afterlife through the lens of invention, it becomes clear that not all Bosch's earlier commentators persisted in the sharp delineation that Guevara and Sigüenza wished to make; sometimes they conflated *ingenium* and the demonic imagination as one and the same.

The notion that Bosch's mind touched the limits of the perceptible realm and transgressed into the domain of the spirits was no less integral to his later reputation.[44] Perhaps the most direct embodiment of this idea occurs in Hendrick Hondius's 1610 portrait *The Painter Hieronymus Bosch* (cat. 1), which depicts a literal window into the artist's psyche populated by a scene of hellfire and rowdy monsters. Bosch himself appears with furrowed brow and consternated expression, as if mentally tormented by these demons, a portrayal that builds on its original counterpart in Dominicus Lampsonius's 1572 treatise *Effigies of Several Famous Painters of the Low Countries*—the first publication on the history of Netherlandish art.[45] Specifically, Hondius's image responds to Lampsonius's own poem that addresses Bosch in person and inquires about all the "ghostly specters" flitting about between his ears.[46] A painting by the Flemish artist Joos van Craesbeeck, *Temptation of St. Anthony* (c. 1650), one of the many creative reinterpretations after Bosch's *St. Anthony* triptych, tropes the same notion of the Boschian imagination by showing a monstrously oversized head—perhaps that of van Craesbeeck himself—with demons in his mouth and with his forehead cut open to reveal a diminutive artist drawing furiously within the frontal ventricle (*imaginatio*) of his brain.[47]

According to this posthumous characterization propagated by Lampsonius and Hondius, Bosch's inventive capacities might thus be understood as embodied by the ingenious variety of monsters in the *drollen* engraving published by Hieronymus Cock's widow. The word *drolerie* itself originally conveyed a sense of the demonic but had shifted meaning by the later sixteenth century to refer more broadly and benignly to all manner of comedic subjects.[48] A key representative of this shift was the great Antwerp artist Pieter Bruegel the Elder, who was known a "new Bosch" during his lifetime and whose art was also said by Lampsonius to have transformed Bosch's "ingenious dreams" (*ingeniosa . . . somnia*) into laughter.[49] Lampsonius's phrase directly sandwiches the concepts of ingenuity and dreaming together, implying both that Bosch's original imaginings were demonically born and that Bruegel's innovation was to endow those imaginings with comic valence. Bruegel's later biographer Karel van Mander further described Bruegel's inventions as "specters and burlesques" and nicknamed the artist himself "Pieter the Droll."[50] During the latter half of the sixteenth century, the prints created after both Bosch and Bruegel alike were referred to as *drolerie*, even when their subjects were the Temptation of St. Anthony or the Deadly Sins.[51]

It has been argued recently that Bruegel's Boschian revival—specifically his morphing of hell-inspired inventions into a springboard for funny new creations—accounts for many of the Boschian prints published by Hieronymus Cock and others in the latter half of the sixteenth century.[52] At the same time, the writings of Guevara and Sigüenza have been mined by modern scholars to explain the distance between Bosch and his later imitators. Guevera, Sigüenza, Lampsonius, and van Mander were all writing during a period, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, when Bosch's afterlife had exploded across media well beyond Bruegel's oeuvre. Their disparate interpretations of Bosch's inventive capacity reflect a contemporary art world flooded with Boschian paintings, prints, and even tapestries, which varied in quality and authorship but were loosely united by an emphasis on hell scenes and human folly. This inundation of Boschian works invited artists and commentators to play around with Bosch as a creative persona, to remake his image anew, just as Hondius did in his portrait of the artist.

This kind of play points to another facet to Bosch's reception that underlies the body of printed works published as his "inventions," one by which the label "Bosch" refers not just to humorous or hellish subject matter but to creative capacity itself. In returning to Bosch's own characterization of his *ingenium* in his drawing *The Field Has Eyes*—and to his early-sixteenth-century context—we find the particular origins of his reception in print. Bosch's dual persona as singular creator and cunning discerner has provocative counterpart in the visual and written output of his immediate contemporaries, as well as in the innumerable works produced after him.

Alart du Hameel and the Art of Relentless Invention

Bosch's circle of interlocutors remains elusive and difficult to reconstruct with any precision, but the early history of printed works associated with his name provides a first foothold. The architect Alart du Hameel was Bosch's most significant artistic contemporary in 's-Hertogenbosch and also the first designer of Boschian prints.[53] Hameel's *ingenium* manifests not only in the realm of built design but also in his clever response to Bosch's art.

Hameel enjoyed a successful career as an architect (*bouwmeester*) and designer of Flamboyant Gothic structures. He served as architect of St. John's Cathedral in Den Bosch, for which he notably designed the south porch (c. 1470–90) and built the church nave and chapel of the Confraternity of Our Lady. From 1478 to 1495, Hameel was himself a member of that confraternity, the same to which Bosch belonged, which confirms that the two men knew each other and were aware of their mutual creative endeavors. For a time, Hameel also worked outside his hometown. He designed the sacrament house for the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp, in collaboration with the sculptor Thomas Best, between 1485 and 1487, and during the years 1494–95, he was jointly appointed city architect of Leuven and *magister operis* of the city's St. Peter's Church. In 1502 he became a citizen of Antwerp, though he must have still maintained connection to Den Bosch; the latter city commissioned him to make an engraved portrait of Philip the Fair in 1504. In late January 1507, a memorial mass was said in Hameel's name at St. John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch,

the church he had helped to build. That Hameel, like Bosch, took pride in his hometown is evident from his small but remarkable output as a printmaker. His twelve signed engravings encompass narrative scenes, architectural designs, ornament prints, and a cluster of compositions inspired by Bosch.[54] Hameel inscribed his prints with his name and hallmark (which includes the letter "A" for "Alart"), paralleling a practice common among northern printmakers of the period.[55] More exceptionally, however, he also inscribed his plates with the word *bosche*, in reference to his town of origin.

Already we can see an affinity between Hameel's self-presentation and that of Bosch in his *Field Has Eyes* drawing; here is a designer who asserts his authorial status in direct relation to the intimate context of Den Bosch itself. The three Boschian prints that Hameel produced—*Saint Christopher* (cat. 5), *The Last Judgment* (cat. 12), and *The Besieged Elephant* (cat. 15)—all include his hometown marker. It may be that Hameel's later-sixteenth-century audience, and especially the publisher Hieronymus Cock, who issued updated renditions of two of these prints (cat. 14, 16), mistook the inscription as a reference to Bosch the artist, a confusion that ultimately derived from Bosch's own use of his hometown (rather than his family name) in signatures on his paintings.

The actual relationship between Hameel's Boschian engravings and works by Bosch himself remains uncertain, but both the subjects of Hameel's prints and many of their individual details—men battling animals, flatulent demons, and somersaulting monsters (fig. 6)—seem unthinkable without the precedent of his celebrated fellow townsman. That is not to say that Hameel's engravings should be understood as reproductive prints after finished compositions by Bosch. In some cases, Hameel may have been following models emerging from Bosch's workshop; yet as with the many prints after Bosch produced in the latter half of the sixteenth century, it is equally likely that Hameel was drawing free inspiration from his prominent contemporary.[56] Even in works that do not have explicitly Boschian subjects, there is evidence of an affinity in the two artists' approach to invention.

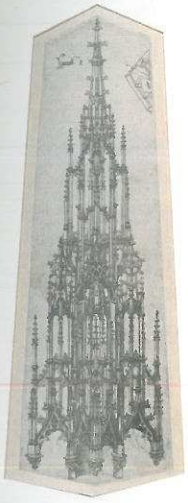
Fig. 6. Alart du Hameel, detail cat. 12

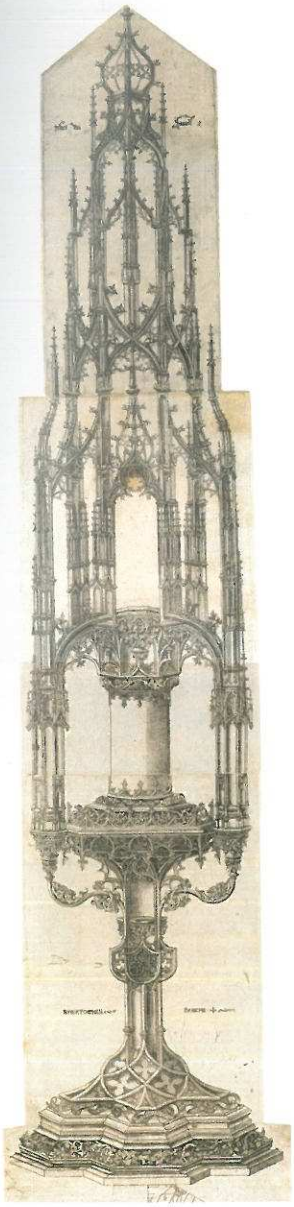
LEFT: Fig. 7. Alart du Hameel, *The Lovers with a Fool by a Fountain*, 1478–1506. Engraving. The British Museum, London 1854,0513.36

ABOVE: Fig. 8. Hieronymus Bosch, *Studies for a Temptation of Saint Anthony*, n.d. Pen and brown ink. Musée du Louvre, Paris 20871 recto

A particularly witty engraving by Hameel depicts two lovers courting beside a fountain that is powered by a micturating boy, who looks up at a bird as he casually sends his stream into the basin below (fig. 7).[57] The sense of amorous potentiality conveyed by the trellis of ripe grapes and the boy's euphemistic act of release is mocked by a fool beneath the fountain who smirks sardonically as he reaches up the lady's skirt. The fool's face and posture strongly recall a character in the lower left of one of Bosch's own drawing sheets (fig. 8), which would suggest that Hameel had specific knowledge of that figure study.[58] It is even more intriguing that Hameel inscribed his hallmark and the word *bosche* directly in line with the little boy's genitals. Fountains in late medieval and early Renaissance works were often figured as emblems of artistic creativity, drawing on an understanding of the mind as inherently generative and animated by fluid spirits coursing through the body; the male member was even considered metonymic of an artist's pen or paintbrush.[59] By this association, Hameel almost seems to imply that the town of 's-Hertogenbosch was also a generative font of invention, powered by the imaginative creations of himself and Bosch alike. Hameel demonstrates the productive nature of his own *ingenium*, while cleverly drawing on Bosch's subversive model as a source of inspiration.

A few of Hameel's engravings do not include the *bosche* inscription, perhaps because they represent specific projects he produced for other cities; for instance, his *Gothic Baldachin* (fig. 9)—plausibly linked to the sacrament house he created for Antwerp's cathedral—has only his name and hallmark.[60] Although it is impossible to date Hameel's prints with any precision, there is also no reason to assume that any engraving inscribed *bosche* necessarily





predates his departure for Antwerp in 1494. The inscription more likely evinces Hameel's desire to tout his local origins and support an image of 's-Hertogenbosch as a site of significant artistic activity. Although his hometown could hardly compete with Antwerp's burgeoning art market, Bosch's art had put it on the map, and Hameel clearly defined his own creative endeavors in relation to that context, regardless of where else he worked.

The strongest evidence for Hameel's glorification of Den Bosch as a locus of invention comes in the form of his most impressive engraving, a monumental image printed from three separate plates and measuring more than three-and-a-half feet high (fig. 10).[61] The print documents his design for a monstrance commissioned by St. John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch in the years 1484–85.[62] The actual monstrance, which would have been a costly goldsmith work of extremely large size, does not survive today.[63] Hameel's engraving not only proffers the object as an exemplar of Flamboyant Gothic invention but also publicizes the work as a prestigious local commission, which through the medium of print had the potential to reach a wider audience than even the original monstrance itself.[64]

There were several engravings showing tour-de-force goldsmith works created by contemporary engravers such as Martin Schongauer and the Master W with the Key, but both Hameel's *Monstrance* and his *Gothic Baldachin* are unusual in their inclusion of ground plans that showcase the objects' geometrical sophistication and Hameel's own ingenuity as an architect.[65] The composition of the *Monstrance* engraving in particular, with vertical view above and ground plan below, recalls the format used in architectural drawings for sacrament houses and tabernacles from around the same period.[66]

At the very bottom of Hameel's *Monstrance*, the plan shows his design to one-sixth scale and from an aerial perspective, such that we see all the object's sections collapsed in a single diagram.[67] When expanded, the diagram reveals a triangular outer structure surrounding an inner hexagon. The hexagonal base serves as platform for the glass tube that would have held the host itself. The dense areas of the ground plan represent the points on this base from which the spindly buttresses ascend upwards and join at the object's pinnacle. It is here at the summit where Hameel has inscribed his full name in foliate Gothic lettering, while at the base of the monstrance, in counterpoint to his personal signature, the name *S'HERTOGHEN BOSCH* appears in all capitals.

TOP: Fig. 9. Alart du Hameel, *Design for a Gothic Baldachin*, c. 1478–1506. Engraving. The British Museum, London 1924,0617.5

BOTTOM: Fig. 10. Alart du Hameel, *Monstrance*, c. 1484–85. Engraving. Albertina, Vienna

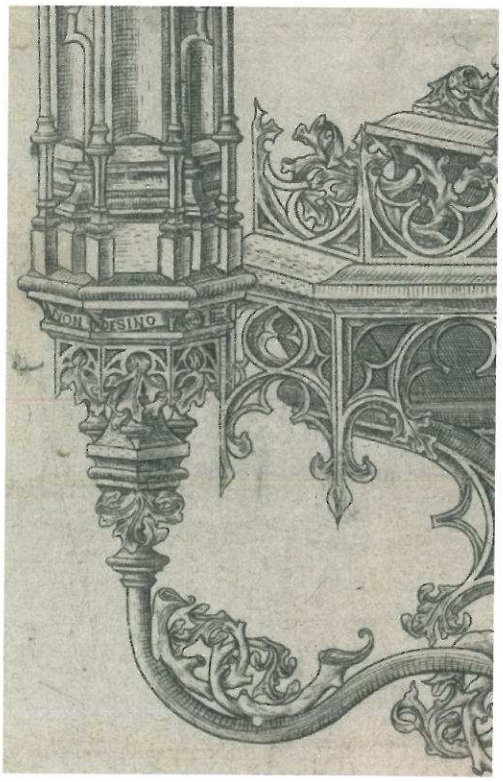


Fig. 11. Alart du Hameel, detail fig. 10

Hameel's *Monstrance* engraving frames the object simultaneously as the product of Hameel's *ingenium* and as the result of sophisticated artistic patronage in his hometown. Yet Hameel's own self-presentation does not end there. Adorning the pillar base on the left-hand side of the print, a banderole that reads *non desino* ("I do not cease") is accompanied by two minuscule depictions of what appear to be an astrolabe and a short line of musical notation (fig. 11).[68] Through this personal motto, Hameel can only have intended to present the relentless pursuit of architectural invention as his unique contribution to the liberal arts in his local milieu. Architecture, after all, was understood by fifteenth-century writers such as Nicholas of Cusa to share an important kinship with the sister arts of astronomy and music, in their concern for measurement and in their governance by the celestial harmony of the spheres.[69] Creation in all three realms was spurred by the abstract pursuit of divine perfection. Yet while astronomy and music were inherently immaterial endeavors, architecture had the added challenge of achieving immateriality through material form. Hence Hameel's assertion that he is ceaseless in his efforts to push beyond the limits of his medium.

The juxtaposition of teeming Boschian monsters with elevated Gothic design in Hameel's printed oeuvre reflects his primary working realm as architect: the physical space of the late medieval church, both its ascendant structure and the playful grotesques creeping about its margins.[70] At the same time, Hameel's conscious promotion of design as intellectual endeavor rather than mere craft shows his self-awareness as a creator, much as Bosch did through his unprecedented approach to drawing as independent medium and his pseudo-Boethian commentary on his *Field Has Eyes* composition. For the Boschian prints produced in the later sixteenth century by Pieter Bruegel and other artists, Hameel's precedent for claiming the status of "inventor" in oblique relation to Bosch's model was a foundational move. Bruegel actively drew on Hameel's Boschian prints in making his own engravings of the Deadly Sins.[71] And when Hieronymus Cock issued updated interpretations of Hameel's *Last Judgment* and *Besieged Elephant* in the mid-sixteenth century, he was further extending the chain of association; Hameel's compositions, inspired but not slavishly derived from Bosch's example, become the models for still further invention. It is to the ingenious mind, rather than the physical hand, of Hieronymus Bosch to which both Hameel's prints and those published by Cock foremost trace their origins.

Joris van Halewijn and the Art of Deception

We have seen that the positive force of *ingenium* provided motive for the early dialogue with Bosch's art, but the sinister potential of the mind's creative powers proves equally relevant to his afterlife. How should we understand the more uncanny side of Bosch, the sense that he is not only a creator but also a spy covertly observing the creative endeavors of others? Inklings of this more devious conception of *ingenium* already emerge in the writings of another of the artist's contemporaries, the Netherlandish nobleman Joris van Halewijn, who served in the employ of Philip the Fair and thus mingled in the elite courtly circle that patronized Bosch's works.[72] Halewijn stands out among his fellow members of the local nobility for his output as a humanist writer, including works—in the tradition of the pseudo-Boethian *On the Discipline of Scholars*—concerned with the proper education of youth in the Low Countries.[73] Most of Halewijn's writing survives only in manuscript form, but his treatise *On the Restoration of the Latin Language*, composed around 1508, did eventually reach the printing press in 1533.[74]

As a whole, Halewijn's treatise argues that a strong foundation in Latin is essential to an understanding of grammar, to elegant expression in vernacular languages, and to the molding of a sophisticated mind. One especially provocative chapter points to the ways in which the liberal arts can deceive alike a young student not properly trained in the discernment of truth or an elderly mind that has grown weak with age. Halewijn first discusses this issue in relation to grammar and then goes on to single out astrology and music for their deceptive potential, the same liberal arts to which Hameel alludes emblematically in his *Monstrance* engraving. Halewijn then proceeds, at the close of the chapter, to discuss even shadier activities that might seem the oppositional counterpart to humanist endeavor:

> There are many other arts of deception, which indeed prefer to go under the name of profit. By these arts, tricksters and others shrewd in wit [*ingenio*] have deceived through the appearance [*verisimilitudine*] of reason those who are ignorant, less keen, and credulous, and [this has been true] for ages already, since the beginning of the world. For instance, take alchemy, as it is commonly called, and many other kinds of divinations; among them are fowling and augury . . . and so it is with soothsayers, diviners, prophets, imposters, pyromancers, geomancers, necromancers, magicians, and many others.[75]

Halewijn's delightful list of crooks encompasses above all those who mislead through the manipulation of material matter and through the performance of supernatural vision. In the writer's starkly Christian milieu, these kinds of magical manipulations were suspect, if not heretical. Alchemists, who claim to transform base metals into gold, and the various types of augurs, who purport to read heavenly signs, all employ specific media for their craft, whether fire, birds, or the bodies of the dead. Soothsayers and diviners claim to have powers of seeing beyond the human realm and of communicating with the kind of ghostly specters said by Lampsonius to inhabit the mind of Bosch himself. Although Halewijn does

not make reference to visual artists, his emphasis on attending to false appearances, and his description of deception itself as a form of clever invention, has more than a little resonance with that profession.

Several of the Boschian prints produced in the mid-sixteenth century imply that the artist was understood precisely as this kind of creative trickster. In the 1567 *Shrove Tuesday* engraved by Pieter van der Heyden and published by Hieronymus Cock (cat. 23), the inscription ascribing the work to Bosch as "inventor" appears on an image within the image, a picture tacked above the fireplace of an owl with a peg leg dressed in the guise of a pilgrim. By figuring Bosch as a duplicitous creature who postures as something he is not, the print points to the deviousness of the artist's creations. The peg leg also associates the owl with the category of crippled beggars, such as those depicted in the pendant to the *drollen* engraving. In that respect, the owl's ingenious disguise might also lead to profit, as Halewijn's own description of tricksters emphasizes. The picture above the hearth might even be taken as a printed image itself, in which case the notion of gain through creative deception becomes a droll comment on Antwerp's thriving mid-century print market, on which so many of these Boschian images were bought and sold.

Even more provocative is the engraving *The Conjuror* (or *Charlatan*) (cat. 27), a composition that also survives in both drawn and painted versions associated with Bosch's name. The work was engraved by a fellow native of 's-Hertogenbosch, Balthasar van den Bos, who, like Hameel, seems to have taken an interest in perpetuating and disseminating the tradition that Bosch had established in his hometown. The fraudulent conjuror on the right side of the composition compels his credulous victim to spew forth a frog from her mouth, while another man snatches her purse from behind. In addition to the conceit of profiting on the gullibility of ignorant minds, the composition also comments on the cunning wiles of Bosch's art. At the base of the conjuror's makeshift table, a little dog in a fool's costume is depicted beside the inscription "Hieronymus Bosch inventor," along with a hoop through which his owner presumably compels him to jump and perform tricks but which here frames the word "inventor" itself, alluding again to the playful snares of Boschian creations. There is an affinity between Bosch's art and that of the conjuror, whose craft entrances his clientele to gape in awe and fall slavishly under his spell.[76] At the same time, the hoop is like a magnifying lens or monocle, zooming in on something that the unknowing crowd does not see; the conjuror, like Bosch, is using the powers of his *ingenium* that his audience lacks.[77] The conjuror even conceals a peeping owl in the basket that he wears around his waist, which by the later sixteenth century had almost become a kind of Boschian signature itself.[78]

Yet closest by far to Bosch's double nature as expressed in *The Field Has Eyes* are the tactics employed by his greatest imitator, Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Despite his characterization by Lampsonius and van Mander as an artist who transformed Bosch's ingenious dreams into laughter, Bruegel got what Bosch was about on his own terms. His 1557 engraving *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (cat. 11) famously blurs the line between deception and invention through the inscription in the lower left ascribing the design to Bosch, even though Bruegel's extant preparatory drawing confirms that he was its true creator.[79] This move on the part of Bruegel,

in collaboration with his publisher, Hieronymus Cock, is singular in the history of Renaissance prints and should be understood to reflect the peculiar nature of Bosch's legacy.

Perhaps the only immediately comparable example to this authorial sleight of hand surfaces in the visual reception of Albrecht Dürer, the other early-sixteenth-century artist in northern Europe who took equivalent interest in positioning himself as an inventor. The German artist's afterlife, like that of Bosch himself, endured prolifically following his death, well into the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[80] Sebald Beham's woodcut *The Head of Christ*, first issued circa 1520, recalls Dürer's famous painted *Self-Portrait* of 1500 and includes the latter's monogram at its base rather than Beham's own personal marker.[81] There is some uncertainty whether it was Beham or a later printer who added Dürer's initials to the plate, but it cannot be ruled out that Beham himself orchestrated this deception. Both the marketability of Dürer's name and Beham's sense of belonging to a local artistic school may well have motivated his conflation of his own artistic identity with that of his great northern predecessor.

This is certainly true of the relationship between Bosch and Bruegel posited by the *Big Fish* engraving. Like the disguised owl in *Shrove Tuesday* and the titular figure in *The Conjuror*, Bruegel has now become the one whose true identity is hidden under the guise of another. Yet just as the owl in Bosch's *Field Has Eyes* is more revealing of the artist's creative identity than a mere signature, Bruegel's *Big Fish* demonstrates the dual nature of his artistic *ingenium* as both generative and guileful at once. It is the ultimate response to the innovative path that Bosch had forged in the history of Netherlandish art and invention.

Ingenuity Reprised

Bruegel's *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* was the first print disseminated on the Antwerp market to claim Bosch as its inventor, and it became a motivating force behind the many other Boschian prints published in its immediate wake. The engraving also marks the moment—around the same time of Guevara's *Commentaries on Painting* and a just over a decade before Lampsonius's treatise on the Netherlandish painters—when Bosch and his foundational counterparts such as Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden increasingly came to be canonized as part of the history of art in the Low Countries. Artists and theorists alike felt strongly that the works and legacy of Bosch, together with those of his early Netherlandish peers, constituted a tradition that should be perpetuated.

Uniquely, however, Bosch is the sole figure among the early Netherlandish artists for whom that perpetuating impulse was significantly pursued through prints, alongside the many copies and adaptations of his works in painting, drawing, and tapestry. Alart du Hameel's engravings, as an early printed response to Bosch that emerged from his hometown, already offered a precedent for the dramatic Boschian revival that Bruegel would later incite in Antwerp. Bosch's own status as an artist of exceptional imaginative capacity lent itself especially well to the print medium. The category of "inventor" to designate the individual

Fig. 12. Johann Theodor de Bry after Pieter van der Heyden, in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Oyster Shell*, from *Emblemata saecularia*, 1596. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

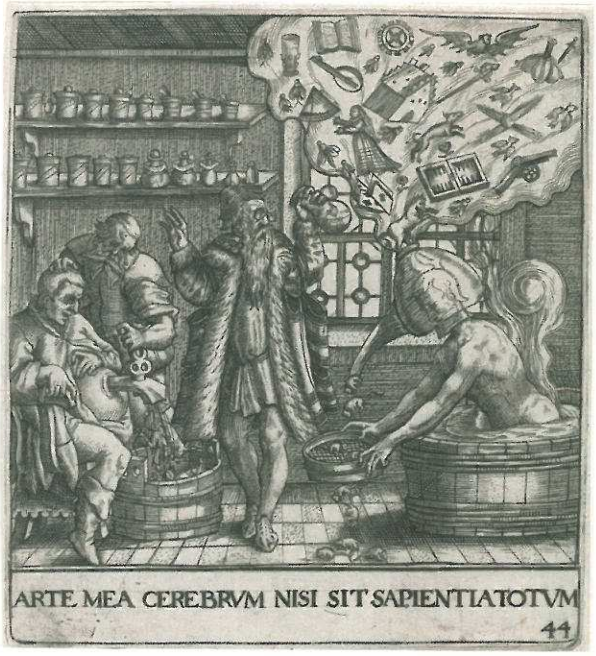


Fig. 13. Johann Theodor de Bry after unknown artist, *The Fool's Doctor*, from *Emblemata saecularia*, 1596. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

whose conception underlay a work's design, even if not the same as the individual who actually incised the woodblock or metal plate, was already built into the print production and publishing industry. By asserting his foundational role as inventor, Bosch helped to provoke his own vast and long-enduring afterlife in the reproductive medium.

Of course, not all the machinations of Bosch's followers were as inventive as Bruegel's *Big Fish*, with its sneaky and sophisticated evocation of Bosch's authorial status. As Bosch's own *Field Has Eyes* drawing already implied, true *ingenium* is hardly a ubiquitous quality. It was far more common to obscure authorship and agency in print by ripping off an earlier artist's design, by simply using what had already been invented by others—what we might think of today as less aligned with artistic appropriation and more akin to bald plagiarism. As a coda to the history traced in this essay, it bears considering an interesting example of that far more blatantly derivative phenomenon.

In the book *Worldly Emblems* published in 1596 by Johan Theodor de Bry, several of the individual images exploit the oeuvre of prints after both Bosch and Bruegel without any acknowledgment of their original inventors.[82] The Boschian compositions *Merrymakers in a Mussel Shell* (fig. 12, cat. 20), *The Loving Couple* (cat. 25), and *The Blind Leading the Blind* (cat. 17, 18) appear among its pages, as do Bruegel's *Lean Kitchen* and *Fat Kitchen*. These images mingle in the series with many other genre scenes of drunkenness, excess, lust, and laziness.

Yet one emblem from de Bry's publication stands out because it mocks not base human instincts but instead the aspirations of an inventive mind (fig. 13).[83] A doctor wearing a scholar's fur-lined robe, cap, and opaque glasses asserts through the Latin inscription below,

"By my art, the mind will be nothing but all wisdom."[84] His assistant helps an obese man to crank out all the fools and donkeys from his belly, while the doctor himself inspects a vile containing yet another fool inside it. On the right, a man immersed in a hot bath wears a glass encasing on his head as he sieves out rodents from his brain and emits a vaporous cloud of pure inventions above. As if a visualization of *ingenium* itself, the cloud includes instruments of science, music, war, and engineering, as well as games, birds, insects, and even a bat.[85] But of course, the doctor's alleged art is no more authentic than that of an alchemist or a conjuror: there is no real way to separate out the mind's higher feats from its baser impulses. That this image of the doctor's failed ingenuity finds a home among de Bry's other emblems of more typical Boschian and Bruegelian folly—some of them brazenly stolen from the two artists' works—suggests the ways that the double-sided nature of *ingenium* continued to resurface in dialogue and juxtaposition with Bosch's mottled legacy.

The art historian Erwin Panofsky, at the close of his foundational 1953 study *Early Netherlandish Painting*, wrote that he would not address Bosch's works because their meaning remained so elusive. "This, too high for my wit, I prefer to omit," Panofsky declares, thus concluding pages of analysis in which he had confidently unpacked the symbolic meanings of so many works by van Eyck and the other early Netherlandish masters.[86] Even for Panofsky, Bosch's powers of *ingenium* were of a different order. Bosch is always at once a generative creative mind and an entrancing conjuror, presiding over his inventions and watching to see whether we can make sense of it all.

Notes

In writing this essay, I am especially indebted to discussions with Joseph Koerner and Peter Parshall, to Denise Gill for her penetrating reading, and to Christopher Wood, whose seminar long ago first got me started down the Boschian path.

1 Paul Lafond, *The Prints of Hieronymus Bosch* [1914], ed. and trans. Susan Fargo Gilchrist (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 2002), 91–92, cat. 21.

2 "Dese Ieronimus bosch drollen, lang gheprophiteert / siet, hoe elck sijnen strijt hier den sin gheeft. / Soo ongheschickt, nu oock tsweerelts strijt verabuijseert / alsoo dat elck vat, gheeft uit, sulcks hij in, heeft." I am very grateful to Samuel Mareel for his assistance with this translation.

3 For further discussion of the conflation between invention and bodily emissions in "grotesque" ornament prints, see Madeleine C. Viljoen, "The Airs of Early Modern Ornament Prints," *Oxford Art Journal* 37.2 (2014): 117–33.

4 On Hieronymus Cock's activities as print publisher, see Elizabeth Wyckoff's essay in this volume, as well as Joris van Grieken, Ger Luijten, and Jan van der Stock, *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2013).

5 Lafond, *The Prints of Hieronymus Bosch*. See also Denys Sutton and Jean Adhémar, "Lettres inédites de Degas à Paul Lafond et autre documents," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 109 (1987): 159–80, esp. 159–61, 161n1.

6 See the canonical study by Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), esp. 38–60; and also Jane Chance Nitzsche, *The Genius Figure in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975); Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Früher Künstlerstolz: Mittelalterliche Signaturen als Quelle der Kunstsoziologie," in Karl Clausberg, Dieter Kimpel, Hans-Joachim Kunst, and Robert Suckale, eds., *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: Anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte* (Gießen: Anabas-Verlag Günter Kampf, 1981), 7–34; Penelope Murray, "Poetic Genius and Its Classical Origins," in Murray, ed., *Genius: The History of an Idea* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 9–31; Stephen Perkinson, "Engin and Artifice: Describing Creative Agency at the Court of France, ca. 1400," *Gesta* 41.1 (2002): 51–67; and Arne Moritz, ed., *Ars imitator naturam: Transformationen eine Paradigmas menschlicher Kreativität im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2010).

7 Martin Kemp, "The 'Super-Artist' as Genius: The Sixteenth-Century View," in Murray, ed., *Genius: The History of an Idea*, 33–53; and Jürgen Klein, "Genius, Ingenium, Imagination: Aesthetic Theories of Production from the Renaissance to Romanticism," in Frederick Burwick and Klein, eds., *The Romantic Imagination: Literature and Art in England and Germany* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), 19–62. For discussion of how the scholarly interpretation of the notion of genius has changed over time, see also Patricia A. Emison, "The Historiography of *Ingegno*," in *Creating the 'Divine' Artist from Dante to Michelangelo* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 321–48.

8 The emergence of "invention" terminology among artists, architects, and theorists in Italy is evident already in the fifteenth century. For an excellent summary, see Martin Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration, and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347–98.

9 For the ancient origins of this term, see David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 99–101.

10 For discussion of only a few of many possible examples, see Emilio Hidalgo-Serna, Lynne Ballew, and Holly Wilson, "'Ingenium' in the Work of Vives," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 16.4 (1983): 228–41; Jan Bialostocki, "Vivitur ingenio," in Stephan Füssel and Joachim Knape, eds., *Poesis et pictura: Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Handschriften und alten Drucken: Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1989), 223–34; Hélène Vérin, *La gloire des ingénieurs: l'intelligence technique du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Michel, 1993); Jutta Bacher, "'Ingenium vires superat': Die Emanzipation der Mechanik und ihr Verhältnis zu *Ars*, *Scientia* und *Philosophia*," in Hans Höllander, ed., *Erkenntnis, Erfindung, Konstruktion: Studien zur Bildgeschichte von Naturwissenschaften und Technik vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Mann, 2000), 519–55.

11 See Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia,'" esp. 361–75; E. Ruth Harvey, *The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1975), esp. 43–51; and further discussion below.

12 For an interesting exploration of this notion, see the various collected essays in Sharon Gregory and Sally Anne Hickson, eds., *Inganno – The Art of Deception: Imitation, Reception, and Deceit in Early Modern Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

13 According to David Landau and Peter Parshall, the first instance of the Latin verb *invenit* in the history of printmaking appears in Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving *Bathers* (c. 1509–10) in reference to Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*. Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 143–44.

14 For a useful summary of Bosch's life in his hometown, see G. C. M. van Dijck, "Hieronymus van Aken / Hieronymus Bosch: His Life and 'Portraits,'" in Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet, and Barbera van Kooij, eds., *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 9–16; and Ester Vink, "Hieronymus Bosch's Life in 's-Hertogenbosch," in ibid., 18–23.

15 On the van Aken family, see G. C. M. van Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken, alias Bosch, de feiten: Familie, vrienden en opdrachtgevers ca. 1400 – ca. 1635* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 2001), 13–41. For the reference from the ledgers of the Confraternity of Our Lady from 1509–10: "... Jheronimi van Aken, schilder ofte maelder die hem selver scrift Jheronimus Bosch," see ibid., 182; and Vink, "Hieronymus Bosch's Life in 's-Hertogenbosch," 1916. See further discussion of Bosch's signature in Tobias Burg, *Die Signatur: Formen und Funktionen vom Mittelalter bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2007), 427–34.

16 See van Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 51–55; and Stefan Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch: Malerei als Vision, Lehrbild und Kunstwerk* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), 23–30.

17 Stefan Fischer, *Jheronimus Bosch: The Complete Works* (Cologne: Taschen, 2013), 247–49, no. 11, with prior literature. On Bosch's innovative approach to the triptych format, see Lynn F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 189–219.

18 Antonio de Beatis, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona durch Deutschland, die Niederlande, Frankreich und Uberitalien, 1517–1518*, ed. and trans. Ludwig Pastor (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1905), 116: "Ce son poi alcune travole de diverse bizzerrie, dove se contrafanno mari, aeri, boschi, campagne et molte altre cose, tali che escono da una cozza marina, altri che cacano grue, donne et homini et bianchi et negri de diversi acti et modi, ucelli, animali de ogni sorte et con molta naturalità, cose tanto piacevole et fantastiche che ad quelli che non ne hanno cognitione in nullo modo se li potriano ben descrivere." For English translation, see Beatis, *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis: Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, France and Italy, 1517–1518*, ed. J. R. Hale, trans. J. R. Hale and J. M. A. Lindon (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1979), 94. For discussion of this passage, see especially Jan Steppe, *Jheronimus Bosch: bijdragen bij gelegenheid van de herdenkingstentoonstelling te 's-Hertogenbosch 1967* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Hieronymus Bosch Exhibition Foundation, 1967), 8–12; Joseph Koerner, "Bosch's Equipment," in Lorraine Daston, ed., *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 27–65, esp. 41–45; Reindert Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness: Hieronymus Bosch: The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Zwolle: WBooks, 2011), 18–19.

19 For an overview of Bosch's known and possible patrons, see van Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 57–71.

20 See discussion in Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness*, 271–74.

21 Fischer, *Jheronimus Bosch*, 250–51, no. 13, with prior literature. It is disputed whether Philip's commission can be identified with the Vienna *Last Judgment*. For the payment document, see van Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 91: "A Jeronimus van Aeken dit Bosch paintre . . . ung grant tableau de paincture de neuf pietz de hault et onze pietz de long, ou doit estre le Jugement de dieu assavoir paradis et infer." Original document in Rijssel, Archives départementales du Nord, archives du Nord, côte B.2185, fol. 230v.

22 Margaret of Austria had a *St. Anthony Abbot* in her 1516 Mechelen palace inventory explicitly attributed to Bosch, for which see Dagmar Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken durch Kunst: Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 269–70. Philip of Burgundy, bastard son of the Duke of Burgundy Philip the Good, owned *A Stone Operation* that can also be associated with Bosch. See Jos Sterk, *Philips van Bourgondië (1465–1524): Bisschop van Utrecht als protagonist van de Renaissance, zijn leven en maecenaat* (Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 1980), 55, 248.

23 Fritz Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch: Die Zeichnungen: Werkstaat und Nachfolge bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout: Brepols 2012), 28–57, 86–113. The ongoing Bosch Research and Conservation Project, which will culminate in a 2016 exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch and Madrid, also promises to shed new light on the question of Bosch's workshop and original output.

24 Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch*, passim.

25 Ibid., 170–75, no. 51, with additional literature.

26 On the owl in Bosch's art, see Paul Vandenbroeck: "Bubo significans: Die Eule als Sinnbild von Schlechtigkeit und Torheit, vor allem in der niederländischen und deutschen Bilddarstellung und bei Jheronimus Bosch: I," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (1985): 19–136.

27 Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 176–77, no. 5v. On Bosch's unique approach to drawing as medium, see especially Joseph Koerner, "Impossible Objects: Bosch's Realism," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 46 (2004): 73–97.

28 Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 14, 24–25. It is debated whether the *Tree-Man* drawing predates or postdates Bosch's representation of that figure in the hell scene of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, but regardless, the drawing is too elaborate to be considered merely a preliminary study.

29 For extended analysis of Bosch's *Field Has Eyes* and *Tree-Man* drawings in relation to his creative and local identity, see Matthijs Ilsink, *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch: kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel (c. 1528–1569) en Jheronimus Bosch (c. 1450–1516)* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Orange House, 2009), 30–89.

30 "miserrimi quippe e[st] i[n]genii se[m]p[er] uti i[n]ve[n]tis et nu[m]q[uam] i[n]veni[en]dis."

31 For historical background and a modern edition of the text, see Pseudo-Boethius, *De disciplina scolarium, edition critique, introduction et notes*, ed. Olga Weijers (Leiden: Brill, 1976). The passage derives from book V, line 4 and appears in the context of a larger discussion of good pedagogy and learning methods. See further analysis in Paul Vandenbroeck, "Over Jheronimus Bosch, met een toelichting bij de tekst op tekening KdZ 549 in het Berlijnse Kupferstichkabinett," *Archivum artis Lovaniense: bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de kunst der Nederlanden* (1981): 151–88.

32 Van Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 102–3. Felipe was the son of Don Diego de Guevara, a majordomus of Philip the Fair, who patronized Bosch during the artist's lifetime.

33 Felipe de Guevara, *Commentarios de la Pintura*, in F. J. Sánchez Cantón, ed., *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte Español*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta Clásica Española, 1923), 159–61, esp. 159: "...inventor de monstruos y quimeras." For English translation, see James Snyder, *Bosch in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), 28–30. For a discussion of Bosch's reception in literary writings, especially in Spain and Portugal, see Helmut Heidenreich, "Hieronymus Bosch in Some Literary Contexts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 171–99. For Guevara's notion of invention as related to his interest in Netherlandish art, see Marieke van Wamel, "An Iberian Dialogue: Francisco de Holanda versus Felipe de Guevara," in Thijs Weststeijn, ed., *Art and Knowledge in Rome and the Early Modern Republic of Letters, 1500–1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 23–38, esp. 33–34.

34 Guevara, *Commentarios*, 160: ". . . haber sido observantisimo del decoro, y haber guardado los limites de naturaleza cuidadosisimamente."

35 Ibid., 159: "Non niego que no pintase extrañas efigies de cosas, pero esto tan solamenta a un propósito que fué tratando del infierno, en la qual materia, quiriendo figurar diablos, imaginó composiciones de cosas admirables."

36 Fra José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, in *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 12 (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1909), 635–39. For English translation, as quoted here, see Synder, *Bosch in Perspective*, 34–41.

37 Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 246–47, no. 10. The most extensive study of this painting remains Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture-Writing Deciphered*, trans. M. A. Bax-Botha (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1979).

38 Sigüenza, *Historia*, 366–67: ". . . y todo esto para mostrar que una alma ayudada de la divina gracia, y llevada de su mano a semejante manera de vida, aunque en la fantasia y a los ojos de fuera y dentro represente el enemigo lo que puede mover a risa ó deliete vano, ó yra y otras dessordenadas passiones, no seran parte para derribarle ni moverle du su proposito." English translation from Snyder, *Bosch in Perspective*, 37.

39 For exploration of demonic perturbations as manifest in works of art and as impactful on their viewers, see Michael Cole, "The Demonic Arts and the Origin of Medium," *The Art Bulletin* 84.4 (2002): 621–40; Tanja Klemm, "Bildbesessenheit: 'Der Heilige Antonius von Dämonen gepeinigt' in graphischen Darstellungen der Renaissance und die *perturbationes* des Bildbetrachters," in Matthias Jung and Jan-Christoph Heilinger, eds., *Funktionen der Erlebens: Neue Perspektiven des qualitativen Bewusstseins* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 305–33; and Klemm, *Bildphysiologie: Wahrnehmung und Körper in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), 247–70.

40 See Claudia Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 14–22; Swan, "Eyes Wide Shut: Early Modern Imagination, Demonology, and the Visual Arts," *Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur frühen Neuzeit* 7.4 (2003): 560–81; Linda C. Hults, *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 27–56; Roland Kanz, *Die Kunst des Capriccio: Kreativer Eigensinn in Renaissance und Barock* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002), esp. 62–69, 89–93; Noel L. Brann, *The Debate over the Origin of Genius during the Italian Renaissance: The Theories of Supernatural Frenzy and Natural Melancholy in Accord and in Conflict on the Threshold of the Scientific Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); and Eugenio Garin, "*Phantasia* e *imaginatio* fra Marsilio Ficino e Pietro Pomponazii," in M. Fattori and M. Bianchi, eds., *Phantasia-Imaginatio* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ataneo, 1988), 3–20.

41 See the important discussion in Peter Parshall, "Graphic Knowledge: Albrecht Dürer and the Imagination," *Art Bulletin* 95.3 (2013): 393–410.

42 Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 213–14; and Jan Bialostocki, "Vernunft und Ingenium in Dürers kunsttheoretischem Denken," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1971): 107–14.

43 Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle, "Introduction: The Literatures of Dreaming," in *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions: The Early Modern Atlantic World* (Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 1–30; Maria Ruvoldt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration: Metaphors of Sex, Sleep, and Dreams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Klemm, *Bildphysiologie*, 209-45.

44 Christine Göttler, "Fire, Smoke, and Vapour. Jan Brueghel's 'Poetic Hells': 'Ghespoock' in Early Modern European Art," in Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber, eds., *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 19–46, esp. 19–22; and Walter S. Gibson, "Bosch's Dreams: A Response to the Art of Bosch in the Sixteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 74.2 (1992): 205–18.

45 Dominicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* (Antwerp: the widow of Hieronymus Cock, 1572).

46 For the full text of this poem, see cat. 1, in this volume.

47 Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, oil on canvas, 30 3/4 x 45 11/16 in. (78 x 116 cm), inv. no. 2764. See Michael Philipp, et al., *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius*

von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst (Munich: Hirmer, 2008), 129–31, cat. 24.

48 Walter S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 28–66, esp. 33–35. Cotgrave's 1611 French–English dictionary defines *drolerie* as "rye, waggerie, good roguerie; a merrie pranke, a pleasant, and knavish part; good fellowship." As reprinted in Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (Menston: The Scolar Press Limited, 1968), Ee6v.

49 Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium*, no. 19: "Quis novus hic Hieronymus Orbi / Boschius? ingeniosa magistri / Somnia peniculoque, styloque / Tanta imitarier arte peritus. / Ut superet tamen interim et illum ? / Macte animo, Petre, mactus ut arte / Namque tuo, veterisque magistri Ridiculo, salibusque referto / In graphices genere inclita laudum / Praemia ubique, et ab omnibus ullo / Artifice haud leviora mereris."

50 "...spoockerijen en drollen." For Bruegel's biography, see Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the First Edition of the* Schilder-boeck *(1603–1604)*, ed. Hessel Miedema, trans. D. Cook-Radmore, 6 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994–99), 1:190–94, fol. 233r–234r.

51 A. J. J. Delen, "Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar," *De Gulden Passer* 10 (1932): 1–24, 11: "12 Sainct Antoine drolerie" and "4 les 7 pechez droleries" purchased from Cock and sent by Plantin to the Parisian book dealer Martin le Jeune.

52 See Kerry Barrett, "Boschian Bruegel, Bruegelian Bosch: Hieronymus Cock's Production of 'Bosch' Prints," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5.2 (2013): http://www.jhna.org/index.php/past-issues/volume-5-issue-2-2013/209-boschian-bruegel-bruegelian-bosch-hieronymus-cocks-production-of-bosch-prints. For a similar conclusion about painted copies after Bosch, see Eric de Bruyn, "De navolgers van Jheronimus Bosch: 'zotte' moraalridders van het penseel," in Jan Op de Beeck, et al., *De zotte schilders: moraalridders van het penseel rond Bosch, Bruegel en Brouwer* (Mechelen: Centrum voor Oude Kunst, 't Vliegend Peert, 2003), 11–15.

53 For the details of Hameel's biography, see especially *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon: Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 68 (Munich: Saur, 1992–), 429–30; and C. Peeters, *De Sint Janskathedraal te 's-Hertogenbosch* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1985), 39–40. See also Adam von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, Walter L. Strauss, ed. (New York: Abaris Books, 1978–), 9.II, 231–32; Jos Koldeweij, Paul Vandenbroeck, and Bernard Vermet, *Hieronymus Bosch: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 45–47; P. Gerlach, "Bossche architekten ten tijde van Jeroen Bosch," *Brabants Heem* 22 (1970): 154–62; P. Gerlach, "Het testament van de Bossche bouwmeester Alart DuHameel en Jan Heyns," *Bossche bijdragen: bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van het Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch* 30 (1970–71): 206–15; C. R. Hermans, "De kunstschilder Hieronymus van Aeken of Bos, en de bouwmeester en plaatsnijder Alard du Hamel," *Handelingen van het Provincaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1861): 60–74.

54 See Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*; and the still useful catalogue by Max Lehrs, "Verzeichniss der Kupferstiche des Alart du Hameel," *Oud Holland* (1894): 15–25; and Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog der Deutschen, Niederländischen, und Französchichen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert* [1930], 9 vols. (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 7:233–49.

55 Tobias Burg, "Signaturen in der frühen Druckgraphik," in Nicole Hegener, ed., *Künstler Signaturen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013), 284–93, and Burg, *Die Signatur*, 456–59. See also P. Gerlach, "Het huismerk van Alart du Hamel," *Brabants Heem* 22 (1970): 124.

56 For further discussion of these prints, see cat. 5, 12, and 15, in this volume.

57 Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 9.II.008; Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 244–45, no. 8.

58 Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 119, 156–59, no. 2r. On the close connection in production time and style between this drawing and Hameel's lovers by a fountain, Koreny writes (159n10): "Diese Verbindung zu Bosch spricht ebenso wie der Stil des Stiches für seine Entstehung nach 1500."

59 See my "The Hydraulics of Imagination: Fantastical Fountains in the Drawing Books of Jacopo Bellini," in Horst Bredekamp, Christiane Kruse, and Pablo Schneider, eds., *Imagination und Repräsentation. Zwei Bildsphären der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2010), 149–60. The words "genitals," "generation," and "genius" all have shared etymological origins in the Latin verb *gignere* ("to beget").

60 Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 9.II.010; Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 247, no. 10; Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ, c. 1270–1600* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 185, fig. 206; Tobias Pfeifer-Helke, et al., *Mit den Gezeiten: frühe Druckgraphik der Niederlande: Katalog der niederländischen Druckgraphik von den Anfängen bis um 1540/50 in der Sammlung des Dresdener Kupferstich-Kabinetts* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013), 94, 96, no. 11. The *bosche* inscription also does not appear on Hameel's *Apostle Peter* (Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 9.II.003; Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 237, no. 3), which may represent a sculpture designed for the south portico of St. Peter's Church in Leuven.

61 Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 9.II.009; and Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 245–47, no. 9. Hameel's *Monstrance* survives only in two known impressions, preserved in the Rothschild Collection in Paris and the Albertina in Vienna.

62 Max Lehrs, "Über gestochene Vorlagen für gothisches Kirchengeräth," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 6 (1893): col. 65–74; G. de Werd, "Alart Duhameels monstrans-ontwerp voor de Sint Jan te 's-Hertogenbosch (1484–1484)," *Brabantia* 20 (1971): 102–3; A. M. Koldeweij, "Goud- en zilversmede te 's-Hertogenbosch," in Koldeweij, ed., *In Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch: De cultuur van late middeleeuwen en renaissance*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Maarssen, 1999), 2:465–72, 608–9, esp. 467–70, fig. 5; Liesbeth M. Helmus, "Drie contracten met zilversmeden," in ibid., 2:473–81, 609–11, esp. 476; and *Ornemanistes du XVe au XVIIe siècle, gravures et dessins* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1987), 49–50, no. 62.

63 A circa 1880 replica of the monstrance was created on the basis of Hameel's design by Lambert van Ryswyck during the period of Gothic revival in the Netherlands, for which see Jean-Pierre van Rijen, "De kunstreis van het Bernulphusgilde naar de Sint-Jan: Alart du Hamel en Lambert Hezenmans," in Wim Denslagen, et al., eds., *Bouwkunst: Studies in vriendschap voor Kees Peeters* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Pers, 1993), 427–39.

64 On the phenomenon of microarchitecture circa 1500 and the increasing emphasis on virtuosic invention over the intrinsic value of materials, see Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 165–97.

65 For discussion of the innovation in elevation plans around 1500

as central to the increasing sophistication of microarchitecture, see Timmermann, *Real Presence*, 13–17. There is a striking early instance of an actual sacrament house by Stephan Weyrer in Nördlingen (c. 1511–15) being constructed on the basis of a similar print with canopy design and ground plan, *Gothic Tabernacle* (c. 1475–1500) attributed to Wenzel von Olmütz. See ibid., 140–42, figs. 147–50.

66 Johann Josef Böker, *Architektur der Gotik / Gothic Architecture: Bestandskatalog der weltgrößten Sammlung an gotischen Baurissen (Legat Franz Jäger) im Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien* (Munich: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2005), esp. 97–101, no. 16.828 (including a coat of arms with the mark of the architect, unusual for drawings but played up in Hameel's print); 122–23, no. 16.838; 159–60, no. 16.866; 160–64, no. 16.867; and 352–53, no. 17.038v. See also R. Meischke, "Het architectonische ontwerp in de Nederlanden gedurende de late middeleeuwen en de zestiende eeuw," in G. W. C. van Wezel, ed., *De gothische bouwtraditie: studies over opdrachtgevers en bouwmeesters in de Nederlanden* (Amersfoort: Uitgeverij Bekking, 1988), 127–207, esp. 148, 159, 181, figs. 42–43 (for Hameel's *Monstrance* and *Gothic Canopy*); and for a walk-through of one of these architectural plans, see Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, 183–85.

67 I am very grateful to Ethan Matt Kavaler and Robert Bork for their assistance interpreting this ground plan.

68 The inscription on the opposite side of the monstrance reads as "hameel" to my eye, and according to Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 245, but it is difficult to decipher in either of the two extant impressions.

69 See Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, 96–97; and on the humanistic pursuit of geometry in the sixteenth century, see Timothy J. Reiss, *Knowledge, Discovery and Imagination in Early Modern Europe: The Rise of Aesthetic Rationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. 135–54.

70 For comment on the productive tension in Gothic design between geometry and creativity, see Robert Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); and Paul Binski, "Notes on Artistic Invention in Gothic Europe," *Intellectual History Review* 24.3 (2014): 287–300. See also Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

71 See cat. 12, in this volume.

72 For Halewijn's biography, see Peter G. Bietenholz, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation, Volumes 1–3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 158–59. For the suggestion that Halewijn's writings might prove relevant to reconstructing Bosch's intellectual milieu, see Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness*, 273–74.

73 On Halewijn's literary output, see especially Françoise Fery-Hue, "Une oeuvre inconnue de George D'Halluin: le *Livre de toutz langaiges*," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 57 (2008): 115–48.

74 Modern edition of the original Latin in Joris van Halewijn, *Georgii Haloini Cominiique domini De restauratione linguae latinae*, ed. Constant Mattheeussen (Leipzig: Teubner, 1978).

75 Halewijn, *De restauratione*, bk. I, ch. 10, 69: "Aliae multae sunt artes deceptivae ac vero nomine potius lucrativae, quibus ioculatores et alii ingenio sagaces rationum verisimilitudine alios indoctos, minus subtiles ac credulos iam diu ab orbis initio deceperunt, ut alchemia vulgo nominata et divinationum genera plura; inter quae sunt aucupia et auguria…ita et haruspices, extispices, vates, praestigiatores, pyromantici, geomantici, necromantici, magi et alii multi." Similar statements appear in vernacular and moralizing literature produced in Bosch's Netherlandish milieu, for which see Paul Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch: de verlossing van de wereld* (Ghent: Ludion, 2002), 71.

76 Larry Silver has made a similar point about Gerrit Dou's 1652 painting *Quack* (Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam), in which Dou includes his own self-portrait directly above the false doctor selling his wares. See Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 58.

77 See the small 1523 etching by Dirck Vellert, *Drummer with a Boy* (Hollstein [Vellert, no. 17]) for a provocative use of a hoop to frame a small detail in the background and as a signal for the viewer to look closer; see also Stephen H. Goddard, "Dirck Vellert's Drummer and Child with a Hoop," in Achim Grann and Heinz Widauer, eds., *Festschrift für Konrad Oberhüber* (Milan: Electa, 2000), 262–70.

78 See van Mander, *The Lives*, 1:136–37, fol. 219v for the biography of Herri met de Bles, who was said to have signed his paintings with a little owl.

79 See cat. 11 and extensive discussion of the engraving and preparatory drawing in Matthijs Ilsink's essay, in this volume.

80 See especially Giulia Bartrum, Joseph Koerner, et al., *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (London: British Museum, 2002); and, most recently, Andrea Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: The Appropriation of Art, 1528–1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

81 See Bartrum, Koerner, et al., *Dürer and His Legacy*, 82–83, no. 5, where it is proposed that the woodcut is more likely a later sixteenth-century falsification. However, given the scarcity of surviving early impressions, the date of the monogram's first appearance remains inconclusive.

82 Johann Theodor de Bry, *Emblemata saecularia, artificiose et eleganter omnia in aere sculpta, recenterque publicata* (Frankfurt: Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry, 1596).

83 Paul Vandenbroeck, "Zur Herkunft und Verwurzelung der 'Grillen': Vom Volksmythos zum Kunst- und literaturtheoretischen Begriff," *De zeventiende eeuw* 3 (1987): 53–84, esp. 63, fig. 15.

84 "Arte mea cerebrum nisi sit sapientia totum."

85 De Bry's cloud of *ingenium* has precedent in earlier sixteenth-century representations of human invention and inventive folly. See, for instance, Peter Flötner's *Allegory of Mathematics and the Mechnical Arts* (1547), as discussed in Alexander Marr, "Walther Ryff, Plagiarism, and Imitation in Sixteenth-Century Germany," *Print Quarterly* 31 (2014): 131–43, esp. 140, fig. 119; and also the various examples mentioned in Vandenbroeck, "Zur Herkunft und Verwurzelung der 'Grillen,'" 54–60.

86 Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 358. Panofsky is quoting from a comment made by a modern translator of Marsilio Ficino, who found himself similarly stumped by the third book of Ficino's treatise *De vita triplici*.