

Bosch, Bruegel, Everyman and the Northern Renaissance

The term 'Northern Renaissance' occupies an ambiguous place in the history of art, so problematic that 'Late Middle Ages' (*Spätmittelalter*) or 'Late Gothic' is sometimes substituted, or it is used simply to designate the art produced in northern Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries even though the 'Renaissance' component – that is, its relation to the art and literature of the ancient world – occupies a minor place in the author's account.¹ The difficulty arises in large part because it continues to be common practice to follow Erwin Panofsky and identify a Renaissance work by an 'intrusion of Italianisms'² – direct contact with Italian art and those qualities Panofsky associated with it such as formal properties of measure, idealization and rationality and subjects taken from ancient mythology, history and serious philosophy.³ Albrecht Dürer was Panofsky's benchmark,⁴ a Renaissance artist because his debt to Italy is clear, while Hieronymus Bosch working close in time to Dürer was considered an eccentric, an anachronism whose art was more medieval than 'modern'.⁵ Because the art produced in the north before the 1520's rarely meets Panofsky's criteria, dissatisfaction with an Italian-driven conception of the Renaissance has gained momentum with one scholar describing the 'Northern Renaissance' as a flawed conception, irrelevant and misleading because it 'only defines a handful of art works produced by only a few artists'.⁶

Recent revisionist efforts have sought to modify the conventional conception of the Renaissance as a revival of Greco-Roman art and literature emanating from Italy by expanding the geographical areas considered and media included.⁷ This has increased the scope of the Renaissance to include areas distant from Italy, analyzing the travels and influence of Italian expatriates and the ways in which the imported style was affected by indigenous sources.⁸ It has also broadened the conception of a Renaissance work of art beyond the traditional areas of sculpture, painting and architecture to include other media such as tapestries, metal work, music and court pageantry.⁹ Yet there is little change in the stylistic features used to identify a Renaissance work of art.¹⁰ Panofsky's criteria remains dominant and this has left a number of crucial questions unanswered. Foremost among these are the unprecedented paintings and prints produced in the north during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that do not follow Italian classicizing models or have a traditional religious, historical, or mythological subject.

The present study raises similar objections to an Italocentric conception of the Renaissance, but differs in a fundamental way. In recognizing a Renaissance work of art the creative use of ancient literary models takes precedence over stylistic criteria derived from Italian art. Rather than rejecting, or minimizing, the influence of the Graeco-Roman world the ancient inheritance is treated as an essential component in initiating many of the changes that take place in northern art.¹¹ The confrontation

between past and present is the dynamic in any renaissance, the impetus for change and source of new ideas. In this study it is proposed that the genre of satire and the work of its principal exponents, Juvenal, Horace, Lucilius, Varro, Lucian, Persius and Martial inspired some of the northerners most creative innovations.

The Genre of Satire

Satire is the genre inherited from the ancient world in which wrongdoing is exposed in an entertaining way.¹² It was ideally suited to serve the reformist interests of Christian humanists in the north and its influence is already apparent in the Renaissance of the twelfth century.¹³ In his *De contemptu mundi* (On Despising the World) for example, Bernard of Morval writes, '*hic satiram sequor*' (here I follow satire), he refers to his ancient models, 'Flaccus Horatius et Cato, Persius et Juvenalis', and then launches into a vivid attack on the vice and errors of his own time.¹⁴ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this understanding of the genre as a vehicle for criticism indebted to a specific group of ancient writers remains fundamentally unchanged. In his *De inventione dialectica* written in 1479, Rudolph Agricola says in satire the practice and the subject-matter is the same as in Horace, Persius and Juvenal, that is they 'correct manners and behavior and censure vices (*reprehendant vitia*)'.¹⁵ Erasmus, in his *Dialogus Ciceronianus* of 1528, advises that if you wish to write satire follow Horace, if comedy Terence,¹⁶ distinguishing the two genres on the basis of ancient models with Horace placed first among the satirists as he was Erasmus's favorite.¹⁷

What is new in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the extraordinary enthusiasm that the genre evoked. Scholarly humanists analyzed it at length, produced lengthy commentaries, and defended the educational value of the satirists.¹⁸ They debated its sources, discussed its two branches - the prosaic claimed by the Romans as their own, and fantastic or Menippean satire derived from Greece. Typical examples of their efforts include Polydore Vergil's discussion of satire and its origins in his influential *De rerum inventoribus* first published in 1500,¹⁹ and Jacques Pelletier's *Art poétique* published in 1555. Pelletier defines satire as a 'biting genre (La Satire est un genre de poème mordant)', discusses the etymology of the word, describes it is a genre filled with people and things, and says the satirist tells the truth under cover of laughter.²⁰

With the advent of the printing press the influence of the genre expanded as ancient satires became available to the *mediocriter literati*, a growing audience, urban and literate, who valued the wisdom of the past as a guide in the present.²¹ The popularity of Juvenal 'both in the school curriculum and as a source of ethical precepts, freely cited in religious as well as secular works,' made his satires familiar even to those with a relatively modest education.²² In the years around 1500 editions of Juvenal's *Satyræ* were published at Louvain in 1475, at Zwolle around 1495, Nürnberg in 1497, six editions at Lyons between 1495 and 1517, at Paris in 1505/1506 and 1519, and Cologne in 1510, with many showing a 'trend away from scholarly research to works primarily designed for the younger student'.²³ There is a similar increase in the number of extant Horatian manuscripts and the use of Horace in the schools,²⁴ and by the beginning of the sixteenth century the satires of Horace and Juvenal were available in affordable printed editions,²⁵ the satiric epigrams of Martial were published,²⁶ there were editions of Persius whose satires were prized for their moral philosophy,²⁷ and the often ribald satires of Lucian were translated from the Greek into Latin and enthusiastically received.²⁸ Peter Gillis, for example, urged the pupils at the Latin school at Antwerp to profit from the opportunity offered by the new golden age of classical studies, praising the '*Luciani dialogos ab Erasmo*' and recommending the value of the '*genus sordidis*'.²⁹

These lively ancient models encouraged the publication of new satires including

such influential works as Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools) published in Basel in 1494 and Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium* (Praise of Folly) of 1511. The progeny of Brant's book alone is enormous and includes Jacob Locher's *Stultifera navis* of 1497, the Latin rendition of Brant's book that disseminated the satire throughout Europe and enabled it to reach an ever larger audience,³⁰ the *Stultifere navicula*, a free treatment of Brant's book by Jodocus Ascensius Badius published at Paris in 1501,³¹ and Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg's, *Navicula sive speculum fatuorum* of 1510. In England, Alexander Barclay's *The Ship of Fools*, published in 1509, is indebted to the Latin version of Brant's book, as is the French version by Pierre Riviere, *La nef des folz du monde* that appeared in 1497, and the Dutch rendition, *Der Zotten ende der Narren Scip*, published by Guy Marchant at Paris in 1500 and reprinted 1504.³² Like their forerunners in the ancient world these new satires vary in tone from bitter invective to gentle and ironic rebuke, but whether written in Latin, a vernacular language, or a 'macaronic' mixture of the two they follow the traditions of the genre, promoting the good by reprehending the bad and using proverbs and pedestrian language, the commonplace and colorful, to hold the attention of their readers.

Northern writers were not alone in recognizing the relevance of the genre of satire for their own concerns. The close relation between poets and painters and their license to create whatever they pleased, a fundamental precept in Horace's *De arte poetica*,³³ gave northern artists the freedom to follow the traditions of an ancient genre and create a new kind of art. For some artists their interest was short-lived, the results sporadic,³⁴ but for Hieronymus Bosch and Peter Bruegel the Elder the genre

1
Hieronymus Bosch, *Everyman*
(Traveler), c. 1500-1510, oil on wood
panel, diameter 71.5 cm. Rotterdam,
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.



Hieronymus Bosch, *Everyman* (Traveler), c. 1500-1510, oil on wood panel, exterior wings of the *Haywain* triptych, 135 x 90 cm. Madrid, Prado Museum.



of satire was a cornerstone of their careers, inspiring some of their most innovative works including the two examples that follow: Hieronymus Bosch's paintings of *Everyman*, or *Traveler* (figs. 1-2), and Peter Bruegel the Elder's drawing for the print of *Everyman* or *Elck* published in 1558 (fig. 8). Bosch's *Everyman* is related to the genre of satire and Christian humanist interests in the years around 1500. Bruegel's *Everyman* is viewed as a continuation of the Boschian heritage adapted in ways that reflect the interests of his own audience and the cultural and economic conditions of his time. The juxtaposition of these works by two artists whose careers spanned some sixty years underscores the longevity of the satirists as a source of innovation in northern art. Each generation of artists responded to the genre in terms of their own concerns, but there is no diminution in its influence.

2a
Detail of fig. 2, Everyman robbed
by thieves.



Hieronymus Bosch's *Everyman* (or *Traveler*)

Bosch's everyman exists in two versions, a painting in Rotterdam believed to be part of an elaborate ensemble (fig. 1),³⁵ and a similar image on the exterior wings of the *Haywain* triptych in the Prado (fig. 2). Created around 1500, or shortly thereafter, they feature a male figure in ordinary clothing walking through a bleak and ominous countryside. He is burdened with a large pack and looks back fearfully at the dog barking at his heels. The two paintings are much alike, but while the placement of the traveler on the outer wings of the *Haywain* triptych is useful for establishing the general meaning of the figure, inferences made on the basis of details have more validity when they refer to the Rotterdam version where Bosch's own hand is clearly in evidence.³⁶

In most scholarly accounts the man bent under his heavy pack is seen as a negative image, a conception consistent with the satiric orientation of Bosch's secular paintings.³⁷ Otherwise, as Vandebroek notes, it would be the 'only instance in which Bosch shows an ordinary person "walking the straight path" as the principal theme of a painting.'³⁸ Understood as an example of behavior to be avoided the man and his burden accords with the growing interest in the genre of satire in the years around 1500 and the northern tradition of using the ancient satirists for moralizing purposes. Although Bosch includes fanciful *grylli* and imaginary settings in other paintings,³⁹ the kind of imagery appropriate in Menippean satires, here he follows the more realistic Roman branch of satire. He shows the bad example - Horace's '*exemplis vitiorum*' (*Satires* I. iv. 106) - an ordinary person in a scene from daily life because, as Horace says, it is an effective way to instill morality. As the man travels through the world the large pack on his back, as well as the moneybag he wears at his belt in the Rotterdam version, suggests he represents Everyman, the fool devoted to the ephemera of the world.⁴⁰ It was a failing attacked as vigorously by the ancient satirists as it was by Christian moralists.

By 1500 the satirists had long served as a rich source for Christian moralizing with St. Jerome serving as both intermediary and example, a crucial link with the classical past as he adapted the genre for his own reformist agenda and appropriated

the satirists for use in a Christian context.⁴¹ In the following centuries phrases from the satirists permeate medieval sermons and religious tracts with Christian writers adopting the vivid images most effective for holding the attention of their audience. Attacking the sin of gluttony, for example, Bernardus Silvestris invokes the satirists when he says that ‘Horace attests that this vice casts down a particle of divine breath to the earth’ (*Satires* 2.2.79).⁴² Alan de Lille is equally explicit in his influential *Art of Preaching*. In the chapter *De Contemptu mundi* (On Despising the World) Alan connects the opening lines of Persius’ first satire with Ecclesiastes 12:8. He says,

‘If the preacher wishes to invite his listeners to despise the world, let him bring before them this text: “Vanity of Vanities! All is vanity!” And on the same subject, Persius, writing in comic vein says, “How great a folly are the cares of mankind over affairs”’.⁴³

This long-standing habit of joining the classical with the Christian and quoting a line from the satirists in support of a passage from the Bible was familiar to Bosch and his viewers. Bosch’s great contribution was to adopt the integrative strategy that Christian humanist writers used with such success, drawing on the same sources – the satirists and the Bible – to break new ground and create an unprecedented kind of painting.

The fool driven by materialistic concerns is a staple of Roman satire with Juvenal, Horace and Persius launching numerous diatribes against the inordinate love of money and possessions. For Bosch’s contemporaries, familiar with the use of the ancient satirists as confirmation for a Christian viewpoint, Bosch’s *Everyman* traveling through the world was an appropriate image to evoke the famous phrase from Juvenal’s tenth satire,

‘*Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*’ (he sings a song in the face of the robber because he travels with an empty purse).⁴⁴

From the mid-fifteenth century on, in detailed commentaries the humanists struggled over individual passages from Juvenal’s *Satires* and discussed them at length.⁴⁵ In time, many of Juvenal’s phrases acquired proverbial status making them an ideal choice for an artist who wished to satisfy Christian concerns as well as humanist enthusiasms. ‘*Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*’ (he sings a song in the face of the robber because he travels with an empty purse), was one of the most familiar of these proverbs with Juvenal using the *viator* (traveler) to make the point that only the man unburdened by possessions can travel safely through the world. It was a message, like so many others, in which the ancient satirists gave trenchant expression to a view consistent with a Christian perspective.

However, for Bosch to follow Juvenal and make the same point in a visual satire it was necessary to show the bad, not the good – the fearful man who can *not* sing because he is burdened with material concerns and carries his goods with him on his journey.⁴⁶ The traveler with his heavily laden pack and worried expression was an effective way for Bosch to translate Juvenal’s phrase into visual terms. Juvenal’s criticism is not directed solely against the wealthy. He satirizes everyone who is so concerned with their worldly possessions that they go through life in a state of fear. Bosch’s traveler is not rich, but neither is he poor. The cumbersome pack on his back is large, he is fully clothed, a money bag hangs from his belt in the Rotterdam version, and the emotion of fear is suggested by his furrowed brow and anxious eyes, details especially notable in the Rotterdam version. Juvenal says even if ‘you carry but a few plain silver vessels’ on your journey you will fear ‘the sword and cudgel of a free-

booter' and 'tremble at every shadow'. In the *Haywain* version of Bosch's *Everyman* the violent attack of thieves predicted by Juvenal is enacted in the background on the left where a traveler is being robbed, tied to a tree by one thief while the others slit open his pack and steal his clothing (fig. 2a). On the right peasants unencumbered by possessions sing and dance. Erasmus, whose background was similar to that of Bosch in many respects,⁴⁷ makes a similar association between the emotion of fear and possession of wealth. He includes the proverb '*Timidus Plutus*' (Fearful Plutus) in his *Adages* and after discussing how Plutus's wealth makes the god fearful, he ends by quoting Juvenal's tenth satire and the relevant line – '*cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*' – only the empty-handed traveler can travel without fear.⁴⁸

The truly poor man is naked. The proverb '*Der naeckde is quat tzo berouen*' (it is hard to rob a naked man) is included in the *Proverbia Communia* from around 1480 and variations appear in other proverb collections.⁴⁹ '*Centum viri unum pauperem spoliare no possunt*' (a hundred men cannot rob one poor man), for example, is included by Erasmus in the *Adages* and he explains the proverb by again invoking Juvenal's tenth satire and the line, '*cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*'.⁵⁰ In educational playing cards from around 1480 the figure identified as MISERO leans motionless on his stick, without shoes or hat and only a bit of material to cover his nakedness (fig. 3). Cards depicting the fool, *Le Fol*, *Le Mat* and *Il Matto*, show him as a traveler, fully

³
Misero, educational playing card,
 15th century, engraving. From: A.M.
 Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, IV,
 pt. 1, plate 230.



4
 Playing cards with fool traveler,
 15th-16th century, woodcuts.



4a
Il Matto. From: R. Tilley, *Playing Cards*, New York 1967, p. 16.



4b
Le Fol. From: R. Cavendish, *The Tarot*, New York 1975, p. 60.



4c
Le Mat. From: R. Cavendish, *The Tarot*, New York 1975, p. 11.



5
Matto, playing card from the Sola-Busca Tarocchi, 15th century, engraving. From: A.M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, IV, pt. 1, plate.

dressed, carrying a bundle, and with a dog barking at his heels (fig. 4a-c).⁵¹

If Bosch has used a quiescent figure, nearly naked and unburdened by possessions, it would have raised different expectations on the part of his viewers and without a text to clarify the message the moral of Juvenal's satire would be lost. The visual satirist is constrained in ways that do not affect the writer. Irony, a favorite weapon in literary satires, is always susceptible to misinterpretation and if it is not easy to 'say the one and give the contrary' in literature it is even more difficult in a painting. Erasmus could refer to Juvenal and discuss the proverb while Bosch needed to show the bad, the negative image, the fearful and foolish man laden with his belongings.

The lesson of Bosch's traveler – only the fool lives in fear because of his material possessions – was an important point of convergence between the classical world and the Christian. It was a favorite topic for Seneca whose letters were published in the north at least seven times between 1470 and 1510.⁵² In his *Letters to Lucilius* Seneca derides the man who 'fears for his belongings, aghast at every crack or rustle ... half dead with fright at the least movement: his packs make a coward of him'.⁵³ In *De consolatione philosophiae*, a book frequently published in Bosch's area, Boethius makes the same point, 'Now you are fearful of losing your life, but if you had walked the road of life as a poor pilgrim, you could laugh in the face of thieves.'⁵⁴ If pagans recognized the danger of being attached to material goods it was a matter of even greater moment for a Christian. The Christian writer Lactantius, for example, uses similar imagery when he says, 'The path of virtue does not accept those who carry much baggage. Only he who is free and clear of things can hold to it'.⁵⁵ Erasmus, in keeping with both the pagan and Christian traditions says, 'the poor man need not fear a claimant's charge. You walk in fear of ambush if your bags are of the kind you fear to lose; the poor man's trip is safe', adding that 'Juvenal's line is well-known: "If small the pack you bear ...there is no reason why you should fear."⁵⁶

In the painting of *Everyman* in Rotterdam, the version Bosch executed himself, details that have been interpreted as signs of the traveler's poverty are more plausible as evidence that he is a mad fool and his misplaced values have affected his mind. In a playing card marked MATTO the fool's shirt is in disarray, he has a hole in his pants and in one of his stockings, while the other stocking falls down around his ankles (fig. 5). Bosch's traveler exhibits a similar disorderly appearance. His hair sticks through his hood, he is unshaven - the stubble on his chin is visible - he has a hole in the knee of his pants and wears a boot on one foot, a slipper on the other. For ancient writers signs such as these were evidence of a disordered mind. In his 9th satire Juvenal says the secret torments of the soul can be detected by outward appearance such as a troubled face and shaggy, unkempt hair ('*vultus gravis, horrida ... comae*').⁵⁷ Seneca, in *De Ira*, says the disorder of one's clothing and lack of personal care are a sign of mental unbalance.⁵⁸

Showing the traveler with his clothing in disarray was a device for externalizing his inner condition, exposing him as a mad fool, the impious man who does not put his trust in God and instead fears for his possessions and his safety. Like the fool in a woodcut by Hans Holbein the Younger his tattered clothes with one shoe missing identify him as mad and impious (fig. 6).⁵⁹ The fact that he carries his hat in the Rotterdam painting -- is 'out of hat' -- is a sign of his madness according to Bax,⁶⁰ and impiety is suggested by his bandaged leg. An ulcerated leg is the price paid for robbing holy altars in Juvenal's 13th satire where the unrepentant thief says, 'Just let me keep the money ... it is worth having phthisis or running ulcers or losing half one's leg at the price'!⁶¹ In *De Copia*, Erasmus' list of negative terms includes 'a dissolute man, a running sore, a trouble maker, an ulcer', associations that suggest the double meaning of 'furnunculus' in Latin as either a petty thief, or a suppurating tumor or boil.⁶² A similar detail appears in a negative context elsewhere in Bosch's art - the bandage on the leg of the 'tree-man' in the Hell panel of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*, and



on the leg of the Antichrist figure in Bosch's *Adoration of the Magi*.⁶⁵ Equally telling, the linguistic association in a sixteenth-century dictionary connects impiety with the traveler or tramp. In Kiliaan's *Dictionarium TeutonicoLatinum* (Antwerp, 1574), 'Landtlooper' is defined as 'Erro, Erraticus, Erroneus'.⁶⁴

Understood as a satire in the *de contemptu mundi* tradition, a condemnation of greedy and impious Everyman, the placement of Bosch's burdened traveler on the outer wings of the *Haywain* triptych is an appropriate introduction to the scene on the interior. When the triptych is opened the message of Juvenal's satire is played out on a grand scale in the center panel (fig. 7). Dozens of figures surround a gigantic hay wagon, fighting each other and grabbing for hay – in fifteenth century usage an object of little worth⁶⁵ – while Christ, a small figure visible in the sky above, reacts with dismay to this panoramic display of avarice and error. Just as the preachers turned to the satirists when attacking worldly concerns Bosch uses Juvenal's impious *viator*, the ordinary sinner, to introduce this grandiose vision of a world gone mad where everyone – popes, kings and ordinary people – is consumed with their greed for the material things of this world. The pack he carries is not that of a peddler carrying goods for sale. In the context of the *Haywain* triptych his burden serves a symbolic function analogous to the role of hay on the interior. Bosch's subject was not novel although it continued to concern his contemporaries. What marks the *Haywain* as a remarkable innovation is Bosch's ingenious use of the triptych arrangement to give visual form to a time-honored subject – to 'paint satire'.

By tradition, satires are exceptional in the degree to which real life and the concerns of the satirist's own time and place have an important role in their genesis – one reason an artist's debt to the literature of the ancient world is often overlooked. As a visual expression of Juvenal's satire and the *de contemptu mundi* theme that was a staple in the sermons and moralizing works of the period Bosch's *Everyman* was timely.⁶⁶ Erasmus's own contribution, his *De contemptu mundi* was probably written between 1502 and 1513, the same period when Bosch created his version of this popular subject.⁶⁷ Christian humanist interests were gaining momentum in the north during Bosch's lifetime and his use of the traditions of a satire to address the concerns of his contemporaries make him as much a man of his times as Erasmus, Sebastian



7
Hieronymus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych, center panel, c. 1500-1510, oil on panel, 135 x 90 cm. Madrid, Prado Museum.

Brant and other northern satirists. Bosch's translation of a literary genre into visual form, the originality of works such as *Everyman*, and the *Haywain*, and the sheer audacity of elevating the mundane and ordinary as worthy of the attention of a serious artist, marks him as a man of the Renaissance. In his imaginative use of the literature of the ancient world and ambition to create something never seen before – a goal articulated by his contemporary, Albrecht Dürer⁶⁸ – Bosch's aspirations were not that different from Dürer's.

Bruegel the Elder's *Everyman (Elck)*

Although Bruegel was working some fifty years after Bosch he addressed the same *de contemptu mundi* theme in his drawing for *Everyman* – the error of neglecting spiritual concerns in the pursuit of material gain (fig. 8).⁶⁹ Bosch based his satire on a famous ancient proverb. Bruegel does the same. The drawing is dominated by men who hold outsize lanterns as they hunt among barrels and bales, baskets and boxes, but the point of the satire – *Nosce teipsum* (know yourself) – is established by the picture-within-the-picture placed on the wall in the background where a man studies himself in a mirror with the line '*niema[n]t en kent he[m] selve[n]*' (nobody knows himself) written below (fig. 8a).⁷⁰ In the print, this inclusive condemnation of those who do not know themselves is emphasized by the Latin NEMO NON (literally, no no one, therefore everyone) added in large Roman letters on the large bale in the center (fig. 9). The use of '*nemo non*' to mean everyone is a staple in satire from the time of Aristophanes.⁷¹ In the Renaissance it evolved into the 'nobody'

8
Peter Bruegel the Elder, *Everyman (Elck)*, 1558, pen and brown ink, 208 x 240 mm. London, The British Museum. Copyright: the trustees of the British Museum.





tradition in which everyone is guilty, but nobody recognizes his own responsibility.⁷² In another change, the Flemish word ELCK (Everybody, or Everyman) was added at seven different places. This repetition, as well as the large globe lying on its side in the foreground, an anomaly among all the ordinary objects, serves to emphasize the universality of Bruegel's subject and underscore the lack of self-knowledge as a problem that affects everyone.

'Nobody knows himself' is a vernacular version of Persius's famous lament in his fourth satire with its repetition of the word '*nemo*' – '*Vt nemo in sese temptat descendere, nemo ...*' (No one – no, not one, seeks to get down into his own self). In abbreviated form Persius's line, '*Nemo in se descendere*' (no one gets down into himself),⁷³ became proverbial in the Renaissance as the counterpart of the famous precept, 'Know yourself'. Erasmus includes the passage from Persius in his *Adages* and explains that the proverb, 'to get down into yourself' means to contemplate one's own faults.⁷⁴ In a typical conjunction of the Biblical with a line from a satirist, Erasmus refers to Persius again in his *Paraphrase on John* when discussing the story of Christ and the woman taken in adultery. He says Christ 'warned those who were dragging the guilty woman to their cruel punishment to sink down within themselves and examine their own conscience', teaching us that each person 'must sink down within himself'.⁷⁵ In the epitome of Erasmus's adages, published at Antwerp in 1553, just five years before Bruegel's *Everyman*, the proverb, '*Nemo in se descendere*' is attributed to Persius and accompanied in the margin by the Flemish phrase, '*Ne seluen metter nuese nemen*' (fig. 10). Predictedly, the proverb is placed directly after its antithesis, '*Nosce teipsum*' (Know yourself).⁷⁶

'Know Yourself' was perhaps the most famous maxim inherited from the ancient world. In his *Enchiridion militis christiani* Erasmus refers to it as that 'well-worn proverb'.⁷⁷ It was reiterated by ancient writers from Seneca in his letters⁷⁸ to Epictetus in his 'golden sayings'.⁷⁹ The proverb, *Know Yourself*, even served Varro as the title of one of his satires.⁸⁰ However, its fame in the Renaissance was due in large part to Juvenal's eleventh satire. Juvenal commends the proverb with highest praise saying that, "'Know yourself" came down to us from the skies' and the precept is so important it should be 'imprinted in the heart, and stored in the memory'.⁸¹ Macrobius, for example, cites Juvenal when he says that, 'In a diatribe both witty and pungent a famous quotation was used seriously: "From the sky has come to us the saying,



9
Peter van der Heyden (?) after Peter Bruegel the Elder, *Everyman (Elck)*, ca. 1558, engraving, 225 x 295 mm. Brussels, Bibliotheque royale de Belgique.

Know Yourself”⁸² Erasmus paraphrases Juvenal in the *Enchiridion* when he says, ‘the beginning of wisdom is to know yourself, a saying that antiquity believed to have come down from heaven’, and one they considered to be the ‘epitome of all wisdom.’⁸³ Juvenal is again the authority in the Dutch version of Brant’s *Ship of Fools* - ‘Juvenalis seyt. Wt den hemel quam dit ghebodt *Nosce teipsum*, dat is bekent v seluen’.⁸⁴

Bruegel’s *Everyman* represents the negative side of Juvenal’s ‘Know yourself’ just as Bosch’s fearful *Everyman* is the reverse of Juvenal’s carefree traveler. It was necessary for Bruegel to show the bad, not the good, in order to make Juvenal’s message clear and *Everyman* is about those who do *not* know themselves – the foolish man who searches among the material things of this world instead of seeking self-knowledge within himself. The mirror, ubiquitous in satire and in discussions of self-knowledge, is included in Bruegel’s *Everyman* where the man in the picture on the back wall contemplates himself in a mirror (fig. 8a). In the prologue to the *Ship of Fools* Sebastian Brant says his satire will be a ‘mirror’ for fools in which each one will see his face and ‘discover who they are’.⁸⁵ Erasmus, in his *Oration on the Pursuit of Virtue* links the mirror with self-knowledge when he says, ‘I shall show you to yourself as though in a mirror so that you can know yourself.’⁸⁶ Hans Holbein the Younger’s marginal sketch in a copy of Erasmus’s *Praise of Folly* shows a fool looking at himself in a mirror (fig. 11). A mirror functions in the same way in an etching by Dirck Coornhert after Maarten

MODESTIA.

Athenæus. Πιπταλώσα.
 Athenæus libro. ii. cōmemorat poculi genus, quod olim
 πιπταλώσα dicebatur, quod in publicis ludis adhibeba-
 tur. Ephebi quidam cursu contendebant Athenas. Curre-
 bant autē gestantes vitæum ramū onustum fructu, qui di-
 cebatur ὄρχος. Initium cursus erat à templo Bacchi, vsq;
 ad templum Palladis, cui cognomen εὐκίβιας, Victor in cer-
 tamine capiebat calicem dictum πιπταλώσα, atq; ita tri-
 pudabat in choréa. Nomen inditum calici, q; in eo quin-
 que rerum species essent commixta, vinum, mel, casus, fa-
 rina & paululum olei. Accommodari poterit ad oratio-
 nem ex varijs argumentis confarctatam.

Copie cornu.
 Vide bona fortunæ,
 Centones.
 Vide adagium: Farcire centones.

MODESTIA. MODVSQVE.

Demittere sese ad aliorum mediocritatem.
 Vbi quis moderatur data opera vires suas ad aliorū me-
 diocritatem, Veluti si quis præceptor tradat auditoribus,
 non quantum ipse docere posset, sed quantum illi capere:
 conueniet illud Homeri;
 Ἡ δὲ μάλ' ἀνόχηται ὄπισθ' ἀμ' ἰπείατο πρὸς αἰ.
 ἀμφὶ πηλοῖτ' ὀλοῦνός τε, νόσφ' ἄ' ἰπιβαλλίμ' ἰμάσταν, ἰ.
 Hæc ita lora regens, pedes vt comes iret Vlysses
 Tum comitum quoq; turba, modo rationeq; certa
 Infigat scutica.

Nosce teipsum. τὴν αἰ διαντὸν.
 In quo modestia mediocritatisq; commendatio est, nō
 nobis vel maiora, vel etiam indigna sequamur. Iuuenalis:
 E cælo descendit, γυνῶνι ἀμυτόν.

In se descendere.
 Est sua ipsius vitia quempiam inspicere. Persius,
 Vt nemo in sese tentat descendere, nemo:
 Sed præcedenti spectatur mantica tergo.

In tuum ipsius sinum inspuere.
 Iobet hominem aliena vitia taxantem, in suum ipsius si-
 num inspuere.

Ter abstergere.

Refert

10 ◀
 D. Erasmus, *Erasmus's Adagia, adagiorum epitome post nouissimam D. Erasmi Roterodami exquisitam recognitionem, per Eberhardum Tappium, ad numerum adagiorum magi operis nunc primum aucta...*, Antwerp 1553, p. 266v. Courtesy of Rauner Library, Dartmouth College.



11 ▲
 Hans Holbein the Younger, marginal sketch of fool in Erasmus's *Stultitiae Laus (Praise of Folly)*. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinet, inv. 1662.166, fol. E2 verso.

van Heemskerck published by Hieronymus Cock in 1550 where a man looks at himself in a mirror and the caption reads, 'Self-knowledge inspires the conscience with abhorrence' (fig. 12).⁸⁷ In Bruegel's *Everyman* the mirror indicates how self-knowledge should be achieved. The man in the picture on the rear wall ignores the objects around him. He looks in the mirror and faces the truth about himself.⁸⁸ The mirror may reveal he is a fool, but as he is engaged in a search for self-knowledge rather than material possessions he is not as misguided as the other fools in Bruegel's drawing.

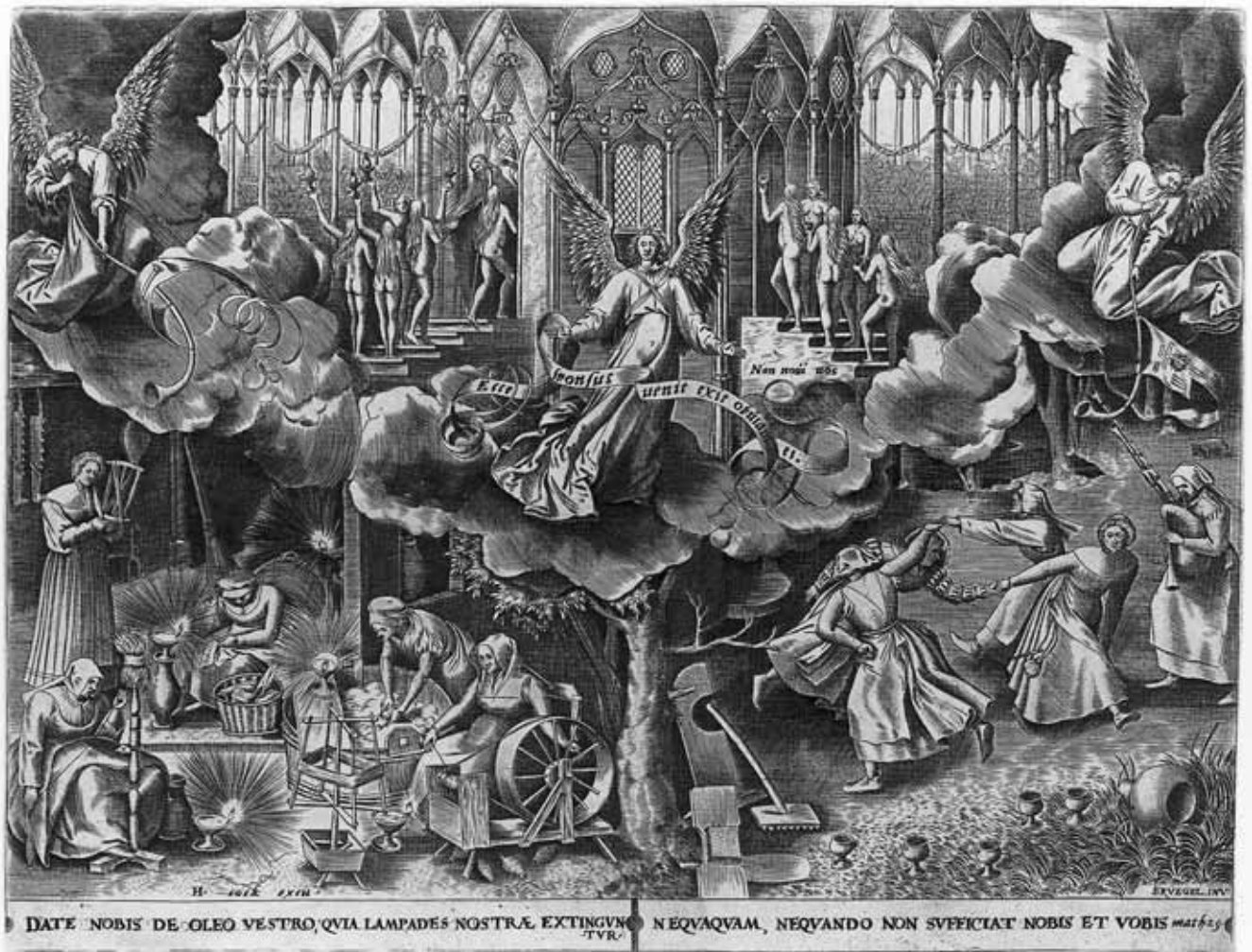
A successful satire was 'stuffed full', the condition of plentitude associated with the genre,⁸⁹ and like Bosch before him Bruegel enriched his satire with clever details that elaborate the subject and enhance the viewing experience. There is an unlighted candle in a niche in the building in the background while a lighted candle is visible through the open door of the large lantern held by the man in the center as he hunts among the boxes, barrels and bags. Candles and lamps, lit and unlit, recur in Bruegel's art. In Bruegel's *Wise and Foolish Virgins*, a print from approximately the same period as *Everyman*, lighted lamps separate the wise from the foolish (fig. 13).⁹⁰ According to Matthew 25 1-13 if you let your lamp go out you will be found wanting at the Last Judgment. The wise virgins in Bruegel's print work diligently at their tasks surrounded by their lighted lamps while the foolish virgins dance and let their lights go out. In Bruegel's *Everyman* light is being used to search for wealth and worldly advantage. In this context the lighted candle in the large lantern held by the man in the center serves an ironic function. His lamp is lighted, but he is not engaged in the spiritual

Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck, 'Self-knowledge inspiring the conscience with abhorrance', 1550, etching from *The Road to Eternal Bliss*, 216 x 139 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



preparation required of a Christian.⁹¹ Like the foolish virgins he will be turned away from the gates of Heaven.

Bruegel also elaborates the satire by including two men fighting for possession of a long piece of cloth. One man stands on the ground, the other on a pile of boxes. The text beneath the print, in three languages, makes specific reference to these disputants. The Latin text gives the reason for their behavior as well as the action itself – ‘this one pulls, that one pulls, all have the same love of possessions.’⁹² The French text is similar although there is no reference to ‘pulling’, while the Dutch locates their respective



13
 Peter Bruegel the Elder, *The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, ca. 1558, engraving, 222 x 288 mm. Private collection.

positions and their activity – ‘*Elck* pulls for the longest end, as one sees here. One from above, the other from below’. In his study of the print Grauls assumed that Bruegel was illustrating a folk proverb, ‘Everyman pulls for the longest end’, although he cited no evidence that this proverb existed prior to 1558.⁹³ ‘Yes and no is a long dispute’, a proverb included in the *Proverbia Communia* from around 1480, conveys the idea of conflict but does not specify a physical object, or a word for ‘pulling’ or ‘end’.⁹⁴ For those who recognized the prominent role of the satirists in Bruegel’s conception of *Everyman* there was another possibility – Horace’s ‘*rixari de lana caprina*’ (literally, ‘to fight over the wool of a goat’) – a line from the satirist that had become proverbial for those who fight over trifles.⁹⁵ Erasmus, for example, refers to the satirist’s ‘lock of goat’s-wool’ in his introduction to the *Praise of Folly*, and assumes the proverb will be recognized.⁹⁶ Representing Horace’s ‘wool of the goat’ with wool woven into cloth was a way to illustrate the proverb with an object that lent itself to a dramatic confrontation and depiction of people ‘fighting.’ The two men as a visual version of Horace’s proverb is made even more plausible by the fact that the phrase ‘*ex rixa est de lana caprina*’ appears in a letter written by Erasmus in 1524, a letter owned and treasured by Bruegel’s friend and admirer, Abraham Ortelius.⁹⁷ In the letter Erasmus refers to Horace’s proverb when expressing his distaste for religious controversy, a repugnance shared by Ortelius.⁹⁸ Ortelius’ possession of Erasmus’ letter, and the great value he placed on it, underlines not only his own interest in an Erasmian perspective, but the currency of this proverb about fighting over non-essentials.

Two men disputing over a trifle was an appropriate extension of the idea that

material possessions are an impediment to the search for self-knowledge. However, two details in the upper left of Bruegel's drawing were an invitation to consider other efforts that were similarly misguided. One man with a lantern is positioned near a large army, and in an even smaller and less obtrusive detail, another man, lantern in hand, approaches a church. These two searchers add new dimensions to the problem of self-knowledge and expand the interpretative possibilities. For those influenced by the ideals of the *devotio moderna* and an Erasmian perspective these men were a reminder that self-knowledge is a highly personal matter, an inner search that cannot be mediated by organized religion or attained through the power of the state.

Inside the barrel, half visible in the lower corner, Bruegel added still another figure that could be associated with the problem of self-knowledge. This man holds a lantern and wears spectacles like the *elck* in the center of the composition. The presence of the barrel as well as the prevalence of lanterns throughout Bruegel's *Everyman* has suggested to some scholars that this detail refers to Diogenes emerging from a cask and 'having lighted a candle in the daytime, said, I am looking for an honest man'.⁹⁹ Because the man in the barrel appears to be searching for material goods rather than looking for an honest man this is an appropriately ironic association. However, an alternative interpretation is suggested by the man's downward focus and Bruegel's placement of the barrel. Its position in the composition, so low it seems partly submerged, is an arrangement that suggests Persius's – 'no one gets down into himself.' Erasmus explains the derivation of the proverb by saying that the idea of getting down into yourself came from underground storage pits or cellars because people go down into them to 'see what is kept in store'.¹⁰⁰

Bruegel's achievement in his version of *Everyman* was to provide the viewer with a rich and varied experience 'looking to life and manners as his model (*exemplar vitae morumque*)', the procedure recommended by Horace in his *de arte poetica* (the *Art of Poetry*).¹⁰¹ For his viewers there was the obvious pleasure of seeing familiar objects accurately portrayed. Bruegel's drawing is filled with the paraphernalia of daily life. Some details such as the initials on one of the bales were probably witty 'insider' jokes intended for the amusement of the few without any expectation the general public would recognize them. Other details had more general associations. Bruegel includes a scholar's desk, open book and pen case, perhaps a sly suggestion that book-learning and self-examination do not necessarily go together. Other impediments to the search for self-knowledge are indicated by such pleasurable distractions as the game board, dice and playing cards. Merchants and all those who devote themselves to the buying and selling of worldly goods instead of the search for self-knowledge are the most obvious targets of Bruegel's *Everyman* - the bulging moneybag under the arm of the central *elck* establishes avarice as central to the satire - but the criticism is more inclusive. The merchant is not the only one at fault. It applies to everyone who fails to get down into themselves.

To a remarkable degree Bruegel's *Everyman* reflects the interest of his contemporaries in the problem of self-knowledge and recognition that it was central to the satirist's mission. In a drawing dated 1556, just two years before Bruegel's *Everyman*, two satyrs appear on either side of a Renaissance cartouche framing the Greek words ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ, or golden mean (fig. 14).¹⁰² The winged female satyr on the left holds a mirror and behind the mirror a banner says, *Nosce teipsum* (know yourself). On the right, a male satyr holds a pair of large spectacles. His banner says *Nosce vero altos* (know the truth about others). The *satyr/satura* confusion, endemic in the genre, is expressed visually - satyrs are used to convey the message associated with the ancient satirists. The print even makes a distinction between the kind of satire that tends toward invective (telling the truth about others) and satire at its most philosophical (learning the truth about oneself). The glasses held by the goat-like satyr on the right



are useful for looking at other people and his headdress is similar to that worn by the fool as it appears, for example, on Giotto's figure of Folly in the *Arena Chapel*. The wings on the female satyr identified with the phrase 'know yourself', elevate her status and the mirror she holds allows her to contemplate herself. Not only is the print additional evidence of an interest in self-knowledge among Bruegel's contemporaries it underscores the sophistication of their understanding of the genre.¹⁰³ Bruegel's *Everyman* is equally indebted to the ancient world and he makes a similar distinction between the fool willing to face himself and the fool who pursues the things of this world without regard for his own failings.

Self-knowledge was also a principal concern of men with whom Bruegel associated. Dirck Coornhert's belief in the value of *bonae litterae* and wish to make the wisdom of the ancients accessible to his countrymen prompted him to return to the study of Latin when he was about thirty years old in order to translate a number of Latin author - among them Seneca in which 'know yourself' is central to his Stoic perspective.¹⁰⁴ The Antwerp publisher, Christopher Plantin was also self-taught and an enthusiastic promoter of ancient literature. His publications include the satirists Juvenal, Horace and Persius,¹⁰⁵ and in 1558, the same year that Cock published Bruegel's print, Plantin published the manual of Epictetus.¹⁰⁶ Self-knowledge is a cornerstone of Epictetus' Stoicism and his admonition to 'Give yourself more diligently to reflections: Know yourself', rests on the premise that, 'the beginning of philosophy is to know the condition of one's own mind'.¹⁰⁷ Bruegel's version of *Everyman* is consistent with the viewpoint of these men and the kind of popular philosophy they valued and believed worth disseminating. In *Everyman* serious ideas are presented in an entertaining guise, the goal that motivated the ancient satirists. Explaining the purpose of Menippean satires in *Academics* I.4-9 Cicero says that the satirists did not aim 'to provide a complete philosophical education but to stimulate people's thinking about moral problems'.¹⁰⁸ The Roman satirists did the same, one reason they are called *ethici* in the medieval and Renaissance periods.¹⁰⁹

After the publication of Bruegel's *Everyman* in 1558 the subject of self-knowledge surfaced in highly public settings. In 1563, 'Human Folly and Self-Knowledge' was the subject of the Antwerp *Ommegang*. In this great procession a pageant wagon carried three personages including the figure of True Savior holding a mirror with an

effigy of death. 'Know Yourself' was written on the reverse of the mirror, an admonition directed at Everyman, the figure who preceded this wagon. Another tableau, probably inspired by Bruegel's two contenders in the engraving of *Everyman*, showed an old man and a young man, each pulling the end of a piece of cloth.¹¹⁰ 'Guilds, Administrators and Lawyers' fought for the best advantage in another scene, 'seeking themselves in baskets filled with hair' – or perhaps wool, as it was readily available – and while Kavalier says this does not seem to refer to Bruegel's print lawyers and administrators were among those who needed a reading knowledge of Latin and the objects of their dispute may simply be a more pedantic way of presenting Horace's 'fight over goat's wool' with the ancient proverb acknowledged, but presented in a less imaginative form.¹¹¹ The sense of Horace's proverb remained even when the 'trifle' varied. Later Bruegel reused the idea of fighting over things of little worth in two paintings, *Proverbs* and *Children's Games* with the object of contention changed in keeping with the general subject.

Bosch and Bruegel's *Everyman* compared

The inordinate love of money and material objects is a traditional target in ancient satire and Bosch and Bruegel follow this tradition using foolish Everyman - short-sighted and avaricious – to attack all those more concerned with acquiring the things of this world than attending to their spiritual well-being. Both artists draw on classical as well as Christian sources and follow the traditions of satire, but they develop the *de contemptu mundi* theme in somewhat different ways. In Bosch's *Everyman* it is the 'carrying of baggage', the attachment to your possessions that interferes with one's spiritual journey through life and commitment to Christian values, but in Bruegel's *Everyman* the emphasis is shifted in a subtle but significant way. Materialistic values are attacked but it is inordinate greed, the consuming desire to add to your store that is emphasized rather than the fear of losing what you have.

The differences between Bosch's depiction of *Everyman* and that of Bruegel may be due in part to their individual proclivities as well as the difference in medium – words such as NEMO NON could be included in a print, but were inappropriate in a painting – but they also reflect changes that had taken place during the sixty or so years that separate the two artists. In Bosch's time the preachers laid great stress on the perils of sexual activity and dangers associated with the tavern. Erasmus even complained that preachers mined the satires of Juvenal for their most salacious passages.¹¹² In Bosch's *Everyman* painting in Rotterdam the dangers posed by the tavern with its prostitute are indicated in the subsidiary scene and here, as elsewhere in Bosch's art, sinful sexuality has an important place. For Bruegel, on the other hand, working in the burgeoning economic environment of Antwerp in the 1550's, there were economic and social reasons for emphasizing the dangers of violence and greed. Bruegel fills his version of *Everyman* with the emblems of trade and worldly concerns - the boxes, barrels and bales familiar in the city of Antwerp, objects that reflected the rapid changes that were taking place in the economic sphere and the city's new eminence as a great mercantile and trading center. Antwerp had become a place where money, as Juvenal would have it, 'carries the day',¹¹³ one of the satirist's many trenchant observations on the problems of urban life, and as Bruegel presents the subject of self-knowledge it is not simply the attachment to possessions that is foolish and unchristian, but the unbridled passion to acquire them.

A more subtle understanding of temptation may also be operative. In his *Colloquies* Erasmus wrote that to 'denounce whoring, drunkenness, adultery would not touch the heart of the matter, since these evils deceive nobody. The danger to true godliness

comes rather from evils that are not perceived or that entice in the guise of righteousness'.¹¹⁴ In the mercantile society of Bruegel's Antwerp the acquisition of wealth was frequently seen to have a positive value, but the unrestrained ambition to acquire it may have seemed to some observers a more deceptive and dangerous temptation than the sins associated with sexual desire.

By the 1550's, Bruegel's working conditions and the audience for art had also changed. Bosch worked within the structure of an extended family business and his paintings were found in the collections of the nobility and important clerics.¹¹⁵ Bruegel had to operate within a competitive commercial environment and cultivate a new and expanded audience in which the church and nobility were joined by new customers with more modest means, the professional classes, lawyers, doctors, administrators and educators as well as merchants with their cosmopolitan interests.¹¹⁶ Humanist culture was more pervasive than in Bosch's time and the interests as well as the composition of the audience for art had changed. Many of Bosch's viewers acquired their knowledge of ancient literature from secondary sources such as sermons and moralizing literature, but in Bruegel's time humanist interests were shared by a larger segment of the literate populace and were no longer the exclusive province of the courts, universities and clergy. Antwerp, in the 1550's, was a great publishing center and a person with more modest means could purchase a small, portable edition of a classical work such as the satires of Juvenal, Persius or Horace at a price comparable to one of the prints published by Hieronymus Cock.¹¹⁷

The elements in Bosch's art that derive from classical sources show the influence of sermons and other religious tracts in which ancient literature was valued when it reinforced a Christian perspective and lent authority to a Biblical text. Classical writers were a venerable and respected authority, a source for colorful examples that could help make the moral message memorable. Bruegel's subject in *Everyman* - the lack of self-knowledge - is a concept with greater prominence in the moralistic writings of the pagans and while it received some attention from Christian writers it did not have the same importance. The increased attention given to the problem of self-knowledge in Bruegel's time is consistent with the development of northern humanism by the 1550's and reflects increased familiarity with ancient literature. By mid-century a classical precept such as 'Know Yourself' had acquired value in its own right as a goal for the proper conduct of life - a purpose consistent with a Christian perspective, but one articulated and made familiar by ancient writers.

Conclusions

There is no mythic or heroic subject in Bosch and Bruegel's *Everyman*, no muscular Italianate figures, classical drapery, arches, columns or other antique architectural details. Instead, Bosch and Bruegel exercise the proverbial freedom of poets and painters - Lucian's '*liberi poetae et pictores*'¹¹⁸ - and develop their innovative art on the basis of ancient precedent. They follow the traditions of satire, the venerable genre in which wrongdoing is exposed in an entertaining way, dressing their protagonists in contemporary costumes and surrounding them with scenes and objects familiar in daily life.

The novel art of Bosch and Bruegel was justified by ancient authority, based on ancient models and consistent with the Christian humanist perspective of their contemporaries. Their subject, *de contemptu mundi* (On despising the world), was an important area of convergence between the Christian and the pagan and following the precepts of satire they show the negative example, the fool who does *not* despise the things of this world. Proverbs have an important place in ancient satire and Juvenal's '*Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*' (he sings a song in the face of the robber because

he travels with an empty purse) is relevant for Bosch's *Everyman* or *Traveler*; Persius's '*Nemo in se descendere*' (nobody gets down into himself) and Juvenal's 'Know Yourself', for Bruegel *Everyman* or *Elck*. Following the example of the Roman satirists they use the contemporary and commonplace to attack the problems of their own time. It is not surprising that when ordinary people and daily life emerge as important subjects in northern art in the years around 1500 it accompanies the widespread enthusiasm for satire, the availability of the satires of Juvenal, Horace, Lucian, Persius, and Martial and expansion of an audience with Christian humanist interests.

To deny Renaissance status to works in which the artist follows the traditions of an ancient genre and captures the spirit and ideas of ancient models underestimates the originality and independence of northern artists. It narrows the scope of the northern Renaissance in an unhistorical way. Bosch and Bruegel were exceptional in their ability to assimilate the underside of the ancient world and use it creatively, but they were not the only northern artists to take advantage of the possibilities offered by this lively literature and the traditions associated with it. Lucas van Leyden, Quentin Metsys, Jan van Hemessen, Marinus van Reymerswaele, Hans Baldung Grien, Pieter Aertsen, and Albrecht Dürer drew on these same sources although a preoccupation with stylistic criteria and a limited range of ancient literature has obscured their debt to the ancient world.¹¹⁹ For Panofsky the male nudes in an Italianate 'figural' style were the only 'Renaissance' feature of Dürer's *Bathhouse* otherwise it was a 'simple and rather commonplace genre subject'.¹²⁰ Aside from the problems raised by his use of the word 'genre' for a print created around 1497, well before the term had acquired its present connotations,¹²¹ Panofsky's assessment overlooks Dürer's interest in the seamier side of the ancient world as well as the salacious role of the bathhouse in its literature.

The protean possibilities of ancient literature, recognized to some extent with northern specialties such as landscape,¹²² and proverbs,¹²³ seems equally important for works of art that feature the low, ribald and commonplace. When Christian humanist interests provide a viable explanation for the emergence of many of these unprecedented works of art it raises doubts about identifying a Renaissance work solely on the basis of Italianate stylistic factors and a limited range of ancient literature. The northerners had their own history, their own preferences, and their own concerns. If the Renaissance in the north is not simply an offshoot of the Italian, perhaps it is more accurate to describe it as a parallel phenomenon in which the northerners were similarly engaged with the art and literature of the ancient world, but on their own terms and in their own way.

NOTES

¹ See, for example, J. Snyder's popular text, *Northern Renaissance art, painting, sculpture and the graphic arts from 1350 to 1575*, Englewood Cliffs NJ/New York 1985. The term 'Renaissance' appears in the title but rarely in the text, references to 'humanism' are few, and for Snyder Dürer is 'in many ways the founder of the Northern Renaissance' (p. 316), a statement that remains unchanged in the revision by L. Silver & H. Luttikhuisen, Upper Saddle River NJ 2005 (p. 303). They also follow Snyder in making the northern Renaissance dependent on the Italian. C. Harbison, *The Mirror of the artist, northern Renaissance art in its historical context*, New York/Englewood Cliffs NJ 1995, prefers to use Renaissance in the general sense of 'new birth or sense of discovery' rather than 'the rebirth (renascence) of an interest in classical Greek and Roman culture' because, in his view, 'that does not readily apply to much that was taking place north of the Alps', pp. 7-8.

² E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish painting, its origins and character*, vol. I, New York/ Evanston/San Francisco/London 1971, p. 354.

³ Panofsky formulated his theory of Renaissance art broadly requiring only a reintegration of 'classical themes with classical motifs', E. Panofsky, 'Iconography and iconology: An introduction to the study of Renaissance art', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Garden City NY 1955, p. 51. However, in practice he excluded the unseemly side of classical art and literature, the distorted, grotesque, the genre of satire and authors such as Juvenal, Horace, Persius, Martial and Lucian. Even Pliny's *Natural History* receives little mention even though it was available to innovative northern artists such as Jan van Eyck. See, for example, H. Buttenwieser, 'Popular Authors of the Middle Ages: the testimony of the manuscripts', *Speculum* 17 (1942), pp. 50-55, and C.G. Nauert, Jr., 'Caius Plinius Secundus', *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries, annotated lists and guides* (hereafter *CTC*), vol. 4, Washington DC 1980, pp. 304-315. As Grafton observes, 'No text fascinated the humanists more, from the fifteenth century onwards, than Pliny's *Natural History*', A. Grafton, 'The New science and the traditions of humanism', in:

The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Literature, J. Kraye, ed., Cambridge 1996, p. 214. Ambitious artists were motivated to consult Pliny's *Natural history* because it includes a wealth of information on subjects that concerned them whether it was the status of ancient artists and the genres in which they excelled or a technical matter such as a kind of varnish used and its effects.

⁴ In Panofsky's view the 'Belgae' ..achieved the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance under the guidance of Dürer.. and above all, direct contact with Italy'. Panofsky 1971 (note 2), p. 356.

⁵ Albrecht Dürer and Hieronymus Bosch were both creating some of their most innovative work in the years around 1500-1510, but for Panofsky Bosch is 'lonely and inaccessible', an artist 'who sank his roots into the soil and sub-soil of popular and semi-popular art', creating an archaic art that reflected the 'eccentricities of the International Style'. Panofsky 1971 (note 2), p. 357. Recent work on Bosch has expanded knowledge of his social and economic milieu and while he appears less isolated his art is still separated from the 'Renaissance' art of contemporaries such as Dürer and Quentin Metsys. See, for example, the revision of Snyder published in 2005 (note 1) where the chronological position of Bosch is changed - he is treated in the same section as Dürer and Metsys - but the fundamental view of his art remains unaltered.

⁶ P.F. Cuneo, *Art and politics in early modern Germany, Jörg Breu the Elder and the fashioning of political identity, ca. 1475-1536*, Leiden 1998, p. 62.

⁷ Some of the problems are addressed in, C. Soussloff's, 'Art', in J. Woolfson (ed.), *Renaissance historiography*, Palgrave Advances in Renaissance Historiography, New York 2005, pp. 141-155, and C. Harbison, 'Iconography and iconology', in B. Ridderbos, A. van Buren and H. van Veen (eds.), *Early Netherlandish paintings, rediscovery, reception and research*, Amsterdam 2005, pp. 378-406.

⁸ For example, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art*, Chicago/London 2004; J. Brotton, *The Renaissance bazaar, from the silk road to Michelangelo*, Oxford 2002; and L. Jardine and J. Brotton, *Global Interests:*

Renaissance art between East and West, Ithaca NY, 2000. Similar efforts in historiography include J.J. Martin (ed.), *The Renaissance: Italy and Abroad*, London 2003.

⁹ For example, M. Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance, Burgundian arts across Europe*, Cambridge 2002, where armor, pageantry and other media are treated at greater length than painting.

¹⁰ Soussloff, for example, says 'in the sense in which it is treated in the history of art the Renaissance remains an essential idea associated with the stylistic characteristics found in works of art ... from the period c. 1350- c. 1580 in Europe, particularly Italy'. Soussloff 2005 (note 7), pp. 145-146. 'Unlike other disciplines formerly invoked by the term 'Renaissance studies' art history has not found the letting go of an extreme idea of the Renaissance to be particularly advantageous', p. 145. In a 'historiographical summary' of some of the 'more influential conceptions' of the Renaissance Belozerskaya says 'recent attempts to broaden the parameters of the Renaissance have continued to use Italy as the core from which to survey and evaluate the mental landscapes of the period'. Belozerskaya 2002 (note 9), p. 44.

¹¹ Strietman treats humanism in the north as a more pervasive cultural phenomena, but humanist interests and ancient literature such as Pliny's *Natural history* are not related to the development of the 'ars nova in painting' that occurs 'in the southern Low Countries with Jan van Eyck and others making great innovations', E. Strietman, 'The Low Countries', in *The Renaissance in National Context*, R. Porter and M. Teich (eds.), Cambridge 1992, p. 70. Preimesberger reference to Pliny's *Natural History* as it relates to van Eyck's novel art is exceptional even though Pliny was readily available to northern artists (note 3). R. Preimesberger, 'Zu Jan van Eyck Diptychon der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991), pp. 459-489. The innovative potential of ancient literature is similarly overlooked in studies of Bosch and Bruegel's art.

¹² For ancient satire see, for example, U. Knoche, *Roman Satire*, E.S. Ramage, trs., Bloomington IN 1975, and J.C. Relihan, *Ancient menippean satire*, Baltimore/

London 1993. For satire in the Renaissance see B. Könniker, *Satire im 16. Jahrhundert, Epoche, Werke, Wirkung*, Munich 1991; O. Trtnik-Rossetini, *Les influences anciennes & italiennes sur la satire en France au XVI siècle*, Florence 1958, and W.S. Blanchard, *Scholars' bedlam, menippean satire in the renaissance*, Lewisburg/London/Toronto 1995. For satire and its traditions as a source of innovation in northern art see M.A. Sullivan, *Bruegel's peasants: art and audience in the northern Renaissance*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 37-38, 'Aertsen's kitchen and market scenes: audience and innovation in northern art', *Art Bulletin* 81/2 (1999), pp. 244-247, and 'The Witches of Dürer and Hans Baldung Grien', *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000), pp. 332-401.

¹³ For satire in the twelfth century see, for example, R.E. Pepin, *Literature of satire in the twelfth century: a neglected genre*, Lewiston, NY 1988, and C. Witke, *Latin Satire: the structure of persuasion*, Leiden 1970. Satire was valued as a purposeful genre with criticism and instruction presented in an entertaining way. Bernard Silvestris, for example, says, 'Some poets (such as the satirists) write for instruction ...' and follows this with Horace's *Ars poetica* 333-334, 'Poets aim to benefit or to amuse or to utter words at once both pleasing and helpful to life'. Bernardus Silvestris, *Commentary on the first six books of Virgil's Aeneid* by Bernardus Silvestris, E.G. Schreiber and T.E. Maresca (trs.), Lincoln, NE/London 1979, p. 4.

¹⁴ Bernard of Morval, Monk of Cluny (fl. 1150), *De contemptu mundi: A bitter satirical poem of 3000 lines upon the morals of the XIIth century*, H.C. Hoskier (ed.), London 1929, Bk. II, 133, p. 42, and 805-807, pp. 64-65. See also, *Scorn of the World: Bernard of Cluny's 'De Contemptu Mundi': The Latin text with English translation and Introduction*, R.E. Pepin (trs.), East Lansing MI 1991, line 133, p. 83 and 805, p. 125. In his introduction Pepin notes a printed edition of Bernard's work in 1557 suggesting that the poem remained of interest during the period when Bosch and Bruegel were working.

¹⁵ P. Mack, 'Rudolph Agricola's reading of literature', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985), p. 37.

¹⁶ Erasmus, *Dialogus Ciceronianus/ Dialogus/a dialogue in the ideal Latin style*, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, in progress, Toronto,

1974 – (hereafter *CWE*), *Literary and Educational Works* 6, vol. 28, p. 398. To the question, 'What if you were writing satire?' the answer is, 'Horace even more'. 'Suppose you were thinking of comedy?' 'Then I'd look to Terence for my example', followed by the explanation 'because of the vast difference in subject'.

¹⁷ In his *Dialogus Ciceronianus* Erasmus says that from an early time he had 'a secret affinity of spirit' with Horace, (note 16), p. 440. Lucian is also important for Erasmus, Juvenal less so.

¹⁸ Peter Luger introduced the *studia humanitatis* at the University of Heidelberg in 1456 by lecturing on the satires of Horace. J. Overfield, *Humanism and scholasticism in late medieval Germany*, Princeton NJ 1984, pp. 66 and 103-104. Between 1451 and 1461 Juvenal's satires were taught at the University of Vienna and a course on Juvenal was given at the University of Rostock early in the 1490's, pp. 103, and 106-107. When attacked for including the satirists in the curriculum the defense was based on moral grounds, that 'Horace, Persius and Juvenal all warned against lust, pride, gluttony, and other diseases of the soul', p. 179.

¹⁹ *Polydore Vergil, on discovery*, Cambridge, MA/London 2002, B.P. Copenhaver, trs., Bk. I, ch. xi, pp. 105-106. He says satire 'is scurrilous and meant to snipe at human vice'. See also J.W. Joliffe, 'Satyre: Saturā: ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ A Study in Confusion', Notes and Documents, *Bibliothèque Humanisme et Renaissance* 18 (1956), nr. I, pp. 84-95.

²⁰ Jacques Pelletier, 'Art poétique', in *Traité de poétique et de rhétorique de la Renaissance*, Paris 1990, pp. 300-301.

²¹ See K.R. Bartlett and M. McGlynn (eds.), *Humanism and the northern renaissance*, Toronto 2000, for the view that by the early sixteenth century conditions were right for the 'development of an indigenous humanist culture in the north dependent upon its different social, political, cultural and religious traditions', p. xix. For widening the concept of the northern Renaissance from 'belles lettres to bonae litterae' such as those of Erasmus and other humanists', and dating it earlier see Strietman 1992 (note 11), p. 71.

²² E.M. Sanford, 'Juvenal', *CTC*, vol. I, p. 178. For Juvenal and his

influence in the Renaissance see also, G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist, a study*, Oxford 1954, pp. 206-212.

²³ Sanford (note 22), pp. 175-238. For John of Westphalia's edition of Juvenal and Persius published at Louvain in 1475 see G. van Thienen and J. Goldfinch, *Incunabula printed in the Low Countries, a census*, Nieuwkoop 1999, no. 1374, p. 253. For Juvenal's *Satyrae tres selecta* published by Peter van Os at Zwolle in 1519 see W. Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 's-Gravenhage 1919, vol. I, pt. I, no. 1245, p. 450. For Sebastian Brant's edition of Juvenal's satires published at Strasbourg by J. Knobloch in 1508, Juvenal's, *Inter Latinos satyrographos consummatissimi* in 1513 and again in 1518 see: M.U. Chrisman, *Bibliography of Strasbourg Imprints, 1480-1599*, New Haven/London 1982, pp. 64-65. For Juvenal's satires published at Cologne in 1510 see *British Museum general catalog of printed books* (hereafter *BMGCPB*), London 1959-1966, vol. 129, col. 138. For continued interest in Juvenal in the later period see col. 137-138. This is by no means a complete list and does not include the many editions of Juvenal's *Satyrae* published in the north between 1520 and 1570. As Büttenwieser says, 'the fact is that little exhaustive information has been sought concerning the number of extant exemplars of classical works and their distribution ...' H. Büttenwieser, 'Popular authors of the Middle Ages: the testimony of the manuscripts', *Speculum* 17 (1942), p. 55, a statement that also applies to printed editions.

²⁴ The growing interest in Horace is viewed by Jensen as a clear sign that the Renaissance was becoming an actuality in the north, K. Friis-Jensen, 'Commentaries on Horace's 'Art of poetry'', *Renaissance studies* 9/2 (June 1995), p. 229. 'Of all the extant Horace manuscripts, 404, that is almost half, were written in the fifteenth century', p. 229. See also Büttenwieser 1942 (note 23), pp. 50-55.

²⁵ Friis-Jensen 1995 (note 24), pp. 230-231. For publications of Horace in Bosch's geographic area, at Zwolle c. 1503 and Deventer in 1509 and 1515 see: Nijhoff and Kronenberg 1919 (note 23), nos. 3199, 3200, and 3201, pp. 488-489. Also, Thienen and Goldfinch 1999 (note 23), nos. 1251-1253, pp. 227-228.

²⁶ F-R. Hausmann, 'Martial', *CTC* vol. 4, pp. 249-296. To be used

in the schools Martial had to be treated with caution and an abridged version was published at Leipzig in 1488 and at Deventer in 1512, p. 256. Nijhoff and Kronenberger (1919, note 23) also list the *Carmina selecta* from Martial published by Jacobus de Breda at Deventer in 1512, vol. I, no. 3500, pp. 609. For Martial, see also J.P. Sullivan, *Martial: The unexpected classic, a literary and historical study*, Cambridge 1991.

²⁷ An early example is Persius' *Satyræ* that was published with Juvenal's *Satyræ* at Louvain in 1475, Thienen and Goldfinch 1999 (note 23), no. 1374, p. 253. Persius's satires were published at Zwolle in 1503, and at Deventer by Pafraet in 1512 and 1516, see Nijhoff-Kronenberg 1919 (note 23), vol. I, pt. 2 nos. 1697, 1698 and 1699, pp. 607-608. For the importance of Persius in this period see D. Robathan and F.E. Cranz, 'Persius', *CTC* vol. 3, pp. 201-312, esp. 207. For Badius Ascensius' publications of Persius at Lyon and Paris see pp. 273-275.

²⁸ For five editions of Lucian's *Charon de greco in latinum translatus* published at Deventer around 1500 see Thienen and Goldfinch 1999 (note 23), nos. 1498, 1499 and 1501, pp. 274-275, and 1502 and c. 1510-15, pp. 424-425. Before 1487 a 'commedia Luciani', appears in the accounts of the Chapter of St. Donatian at Bruges, see J. IJsewijn, 'Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries' in: H.A. Oberman and T.A. Brady, Jr. (eds.), *Itinerarium Italicum, the profile of the italian renaissance in the mirror of its european transformation*, Leiden 1975, pp. 246-247. For the Latin translations of Lucian's satires by Erasmus and Thomas More published at Paris in 1506 that included 'Menippus', 'Timon', and 'Cynicus', see the frontispiece of the facsimile edition, *The Translations of Lucian in The Complete works of St. Thomas More*, C.R. Thompson (ed.), New Haven/London 1947, vol. 3, pt. 1. For Lucian's importance in the Renaissance see D. Marsh, *Lucian and the Latins, humor and humanism in the early Renaissance*, Ann Arbor MI 1998; F.G. Allison, *Lucian, Satirist and Artist*, New York 1963; C. Robinson, *Lucian and his influence in Europe*, London 1979 and D. Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles, a study in the humanist tradition*, New Haven 1981.

²⁹ D. Erasmus, *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, Amsterdam 1969 -, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 368.

³⁰ Gaier observes that Locher's Latin edition 'links Brant's book directly with Roman satire and its four main exponents, Lucilius, Horace, Persius and Juvenal'. U. Gaier, 'Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* and the humanists', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 83/1 (1968), p. 266, and U. Gaier, *Studien zu Sebastian Brant*, Tübingen 1966, p. 4. For the numerous translations and adaptations of Brant's satire see, *The 'Ship of Fools' of Sebastian Brant*, E.H. Zeydel (trs.), New York 1944, pp. 24-31 and A. Pompen, *The English versions of the Ship of Fools*, New York 1967, pp. 14-19. During Brant's lifetime there were twelve authorized and pirated editions. The fortunes of Brant's book exemplify the impact of humanist interests on the various vernacular literatures. For the complex relation between Latin and the vernacular see also, G. Castor and T. Cave, (eds.), *Neo-latin and the vernacular in Renaissance France*, Oxford 1984.

³¹ See A. Gerlo, 'Badius Ascensius *Stultiferae Naves* (1501), a Latin addendum to Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1494) (Ship of Fools)': in *Folie et déraison à la Renaissance: colloque international tenu en novembre 1973 sous les auspices de la federation internationale des instituts et sociétés pour l'étude de la Renaissance*, Brussels 1976, pp. 119-127.

³² See J.R. Sinnema, 'A Critical study of the Dutch translation of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*', Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati 1949. It was also published in 1548, 1584, 1610 and 1635 (p. xii).

³³ Horace, *Ars poetica*, lines 9-10, pp. 450-451. All references are to the Loeb Library Edition, *Horace, satires, epistles and ars poetica*, H.R. Fairclough (trs.), Cambridge MA/London 1978. For publications of Horace's *Ars poetica* at Deventer see note 24.

³⁴ Dürer's interest, for example, was limited to the early years of his career. See Sullivan 2000 (note 12).

³⁵ For the technical examination and conclusion that the Rotterdam panel was once part of a triptych see F. Lammertse and A.R. Boersma, 'Jheronimus Bosch, *The Pedlar*, reconstruction, restoration and painting technique': in H. Verougstraete and R. van Schoute (eds.), *Jérôme Bosch et son entourage et autres études*, Leuven/ Paris/ Dudley MA 2003, pp.102-118, and in the same volume, J. Hartau,

'A Newly established triptych by Hieronymus Bosch', pp. 33-38. It is significant that all the paintings related to the Rotterdam panel have similarly negative connotations.

³⁶ The concept is clearly Bosch's own, but the execution suggests workshop participation. For the problem see R.H. Marijnissen with P. Ruyffelaere, *Hieronymus Bosch, the complete works*, Antwerp 1987, p. 52.

³⁷ For Bosch's two versions of *Everyman* see, for example, Marijnissen and Ruyffelaere 1987 (note 36), pp. 57-58 and pp. 410-419; W.S. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch*, New York/Washington 1973, pp. 101-106; A. Pigler, 'Astrology and Jerome Bosch': in J. Snyder (ed.), *Bosch in perspective*, Englewood Cliffs NJ 1973, pp. 81-87; V.G. Tuttle, 'Bosch's image of poverty', *Art Bulletin* 63/2 (1981), pp. 88-95; R. Graziani 'Bosch's wanderer and a poverty commonplace from Juvenal', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 45 (1982), pp. 211-216. Because it is difficult to square the man's large pack with a poverty image the problem is resolved in some accounts by identifying him as a peddler. See for example, E. de Bruyn, 'Hieronymus Bosch's so-called Prodigal Son tondo: the Pedlar as repentant sinner', in: J. Koldewij, B. Vermet and B. van Kooij *Hieronymus Bosch, new Insights into his life and work*, Rotterdam 2001, and P. Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch, De verlossing van de wereld*, Ghent/Amsterdam 2002, pp. 141-145 where he also calls the man a *Marskramer* (peddler/tramp).

³⁸ P. Vandenbroeck, 'Hieronymus Bosch: the wisdom of the riddle', in: J. Koldewij, P. Vandenbroeck and B. Vermet, (eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch, the complete paintings and drawings*, Rotterdam 2001, p. 183.

³⁹ Pliny's use of the term 'gryllus' to categorize fantastic imagery made the imaginative and unrealistic legitimate subjects for the Renaissance artist. He says 'Antiphilus painted a figure in a ridiculous and absurd costume (*deridiculi habitus*) known by the joking name of Gryllus' and this name was then applied to 'every picture of that sort (*genus picturae grylli*)', Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, xxxv. xxxvii, in *Pliny Natural History in Ten Volumes*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, London/Cambridge, MA 1968, vol. IX pp. 344-345. As scholarly activity moved from

Italy to the North at the end of the fifteenth century 'the shift in the center of Plinian studies was unusually drastic,' see Nauert, Jr. 1980 (note 3), p. 311. This is an indication of the importance of Pliny's *Natural History* in the north and its potential for influencing artists and their practice as well as the response of their viewers.

⁴⁰ Marijnissen relates the center panel of the *Haywain* to the Dutch play *Elckerlyc* (Everyman), but says the man on the exterior wings of the triptych is 'definitely not Everyman' although he says 'there is a certain kinship,' an opinion based on his view that 'a number of elements from the morality play *Everyman* are entirely inappropriate to the scene being discussed,' Marijnissen and Ruysffelaere 1987 (note 36), pp. 57-58. Because the concept of Everyman was used more generally in Bosch's time this conclusion seems arbitrary. See, for example J. Cunningham, 'Comedic and Liturgical Restoration in *Everyman*,' in: *Drama in the Middle Ages*, Comparative and Critical Essays, 2nd series, New York 1991, pp. 368-378.

⁴¹ See, for example, D.S. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist: a study in Christian Latin thought and letters*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, vol. 34, Ithaca NY 1964 and M.E. Pence, 'Satire in St. Jerome,' *Classical Journal* 36/6 (March 1941), pp. 322-336. Because Bosch's name was Jerome it is reasonable to assume he had a special interest in St. Jerome and his activities. Jerome's letters were published with Cicero's letters and Horace's *Sermonum liber primus I* at Deventer by R. Pafraet between Oct. 1499 and June 1500. See Thienen and Goldfinch 1999 (note 23), no. 1182, p. 215. For the large number of Jerome's works published at Deventer, Brussels, Gouda and Zwolle in the 1490's see nos. 1183-1196, pp. 216-219. Jerome was Erasmus's favorite father and an important influence on his own satires.

⁴² Bernardus Silvestris 1979 (note 13), p. 79. In *Satires* 2.2.79 Horace is discussing gluttony, pp. 142-143. Bernardus makes extensive use of both Horace and Juvenal. For other examples of the use of the satirists see S. Wenzel, *Fasciculus Morum: a fourteenth-century preacher's handbook*, University Park PA/London 1989.

⁴³ Alan de Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, (Cistercian series 23), G.R. Evans (trs.), Kalamazoo MI 1981, p. 23.

Robathan and Cranz note 'the frequency of comments made on Persius's opening (note 27), p. 277. For examples of Alan's use of ancient sources and the influence of his *Art of Preaching* on the manuals that followed, see D.L. Bland, 'The Uses of proverbs in two medieval genres of discourse: the *Art of Poetry* and the *Art of Preaching*,' *Proverbium* 14 (1997), pp. 10-12. Also M.-T. d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille, Textes inédits avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris 1965, for example, 'a sermon found in the last chapter of his *Ars praedicandi* (Art of Preaching) where the theme is borrowed from Juvenal *Satire* xi, 27 and Macrobius, *In Somn. Scip.* I. 9', pp. 130 and 259. Alan is an important source for understanding the interests and expectations of Bosch's audience. His name appears, for example, in the list of authors in Joducus Badius Ascensius', *Silvae morales*, his commentary published at Lyon in 1492 that includes 'extracts from Vergil, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Baptista Spagnuoli Mantuanus ... and Alan de Insulis', *BMGCPB* (note 23), vol. 9, col. 959. Alan's *Doctrinale altum seu liber paraboliarum*, a collection of proverbial statements drawn from scriptural and classical sources was published at Deventer by J. de Breda in 1492, 1494, and 1499, and by R. Pafraet in 1495 and 1499. See Thienen and Goldfinch 1999 (note 23), nos. 35-39, pp. 7-8. His *De maxima theologiae* was published at Strasbourg by Knobloch in 1497, and his *Liber paraboliarum* in 1513, see Chrisman 1982 (note 23) p. 5. The number of publications is an indication that Alan's views remained influential in the fifteenth century.

⁴⁴ Juvenal, *Satire* X, 22: in *Juvenal and Persius*, Loeb Library Edition, Cambridge MA/London 1979, G.G. Ramsay (trs.), pp.194-195. Unless otherwise indicated all references are to this edition. For Juvenal's satires published in the north in Bosch's time see note 23.

⁴⁵ Sanford says, 'it is regrettable that no one has yet studied the relative popularity of individual lines and passages of the Satires, as shown by citations and by marginal notes and underscorings in the mss' (note 22), p. 96. In early printed editions it is not unusual to find the lines on Juvenal's *viator* marked by the reader.

⁴⁶ Graziani was the first to observe a connection between this line from Juvenal's tenth satire and Bosch's traveler (Graziani 1982, see note 37). However, Graziani assumed Bosch was showing a positive figure,

the poor man who *can sing* because he carries no possessions. Because Bosch's traveler is heavily burdened, more anxious than cheerful, and a positive interpretation is at odds with the satiric orientation of Bosch's other secular paintings, this conclusion seems doubtful. Tuttle also saw this traveler as a poverty image, but related it to Italian Franciscan literature (Tuttle 1981, see note 37). However, Juvenal's satires were more readily available, widely read, and influential. See, for example, Sebastian Brant's popular *Ship of Fools* where he refers to Juvenal's tenth satire when he says if a man has an empty sack and is naked he has nothing to fear - 'The poor sing through the woods with cheer, for losses they need never fear,' (note 30), ch. 83, 'Contempt of Poverty', p. 273.

⁴⁷ Erasmus and Bosch were contemporaries, grew up in the same geographical area and were exposed to many of the same influences including the *devotio moderna*, the Brethren of the Common Life and the literature published at Deventer, Antwerp and Zwolle. Vandebroek situates Bosch in the context of northern humanism (for example, note 37, pp. 150-156), an important advance over earlier studies, but while Erasmus, Sebastian Brant, Rudolf Agricola and other northern humanists are mentioned in his account the ancient literature they found fascinating is not considered relevant for Bosch's innovative art. *Satyra* is mentioned, but not treated as an ancient genre with specific traditions, uses, and models even though Juvenal, Horace, Persius and Lucian were published in the north at the time Bosch was working, p. 240.

⁴⁸ D. Erasmus, *Erasmus's Adagia, adagiorum epitome post novissimam D. Erasmi Roterodami exquisitam recognitionem, per Eberhardum Tappium, ad numerum adagiorum magni operis nunc primum aucta...*, Antwerp 1553, p. 266v. Aristophanes is given as the source for 'Timidus Plutus.' Erasmus's *Adages*, first published in 1500, reflect the interests of the Christian humanists in the north at the end of the fifteenth century and their use of ancient literature to support a Christian perspective. See, for example, M.A. Sullivan, 'Bruegel's proverbs: art and audience in the northern Renaissance,' *Art Bulletin* 73/3 (Sept. 1991), esp. pp. 434-438.

⁴⁹ R. Jente (ed.), *Proverbia communia: a fifteenth century collection of Dutch proverbs together*

with the low German version, Folklore Series 4, Bloomington IN 1947, no. 172, pp. 54 and 154-155. As possible sources Jente includes Plautus, *Asinaria* 92, *Seneca Epistolae* 14, 9, and Juvenal *Satirae* 10, 22, pp. 154-155. The proverb also appears in A. Tunnicius, *Die Älteste Niederdeutsche Sprichwörterammlung*, Berlin 1870, no. 242, p. 33. See also A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890, nos. 247, 1249, 1250.

⁵⁰ Erasmus 1553 (note 48), *Adagia*, p. 289v. 'Centum viri unum pauperem spoliare nō possut', as well as the variant, 'Nudus nec à centum viris spoliatur (a naked man cannot be robbed by a hundred men)', p. 126 r. In the *Ship of Fools* Sebastian Brant also stresses nakedness as a sign of poverty, 'the poor have naught to lose ... whoever's naked, who's undressed,' (note 30), p. 273.

⁵¹ Playing cards were portable and images such as the traveler fool widely dispersed. The game of tarots, for example, first appears in Italy in the fifteenth century, but spread rapidly. For playing cards and their uses in sculpture, medals, woodcuts and other media see: A.M. Hind, *Early Italian engraving*, New York 1970, vol I, pt. 1, p. 221 ff. For the deck of cards in which the fool/traveler appears see: D. Hoffmann, *The Playing card, an illustrated history*, New York 1973, fig. 4, p.16. For the Visconti-Sforza and the Marseilles tarots see: H. Huber, *Der Narr, Beiträge zu einen interdisziplinären Gespräch*, *Studia Ethnographica Friburgensia* 17, Freiburg 1991, pp. 76-79.

⁵² *BMGCPB*, vol. 219, col. 51. R. Pafraet published *Proverbia Seneca* at Deventer in 1490, 1491 and 1485 (see Thienen and Goldfinch 1999 (note 23), nos. 1945, 1946, and 1947, p. 360). Seneca's *De quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus* was published at Zwolle in around 1495, and by Jacobus de Breda at Deventer around 1497 (nos. 1948 and 1950, pp. 360-361).

⁵³ Seneca, *Letters to Lucilius*, Oxford 1932, E.P. Barker (trs.), vol. I, letter lvi, p. 177.

⁵⁴ Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, Indianapolis/New York 1962, R. Green (trs.), Prose 5, p. 33. Boethius' *De Consolatione philosophiae* was published at Deventer by R. Pafraet around 1480-1485, and again around 1488-1490, 1489, 1492, and 1495 with another edition by Jacobus de Breda in 1485-1487, Thienen

and Goldfinch 1999 (note 23), nos. 407-414, pp. 75-76, and also at Zwolle around 1480, no. 406 and at Louvain in 1484, no. 415.

⁵⁵ B. McGinn, *Apocalyptic spirituality: treatise and letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-der, Joachim of Fiore, the spiritual Franciscans, Savonarola*, New York 1979, p. 27.

⁵⁶ Erasmus, *In Nucem Ovidii commentarius/ Commentary on Ovid's nut-tree*, *CWE* vol. 29, p. 146.

⁵⁷ Juvenal, *Satires* IX, 12-15, pp. 182-183.

⁵⁸ Seneca, *De ira* II xxxv 3 in *Seneca, Moral essays*, Loeb Library Edition, London/New York 1928, J.W. Basore (trs.), vol. I, pp. 244-247.

⁵⁹ Folly and impiety are linked in fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts where the historiated initial D introducing Psalm XIV, 1 – 'The fool hath said in his heart there is no God' – frequently shows a fool. See M.A. Sullivan, 'Fools and Folly', in H.E. Roberts (ed.), *Encyclopedia of comparative iconography, themes depicted in works of art*, 2 vols., Chicago/London 1998, vol. I, pp. 330-334.

⁶⁰ D. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch, his picture-writing deciphered*, Rotterdam 1979, pp. 80, 298. He says *buten hoede* implies that a person has taken no precautions against sin. Bax attributes negative connotations to other details such as the knife, pp. 20-21; spoon, n. 87, p. 300; and pig's trotter, pp. 230-233.

⁶¹ Juvenal, *Satire* XIII. 95-6, 'et phthisis et vomicae putres et dimidium crus sunt tanti', pp. 252-253. This is followed by reference to a fleeing figure -'such a one plays a part like the runaway buffoon of the witty Catullus (*fugitivus scurra Catulli*)', pp. 254-255.

⁶² Erasmus, *CWE*, vol. 24, Literary and Educational Writings 2, 'De Copia/De ratione studii', p. 385.

⁶³ See L.B. Philips, 'The Prado Epiphany by Jerome Bosch', in: Snyder 1973 (note 37), pp. 88-107.

⁶⁴ Cornelius Kiliaan, *Dictionarium teutonicolatinum*, reprint of the 1574 ed. published by C. Plantin, Hildesheim/New York 1975, unpaginated. This is similar to Hadrianus Junius' *Nomenclator* in which 'Error', is defined in 'German' as 'Bachant/vagant/landstreicher' and in 'Belgium', as 'Landlooper', Antwerp 1567, p. 549.

⁶⁵ See, for example, Marijnissen 1987 (note 36), p. 59, n. 111.

⁶⁶ The long-standing and widespread interest in the *de contemptu mundi* theme is indicated by the popularity of Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi sive de miseria humanae conditionis* with some 672 manuscripts and, by the mid-seventeenth century, 52 printed editions, *Lotario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III), De miseria conditionis humane*, Athens GA 1978, R.E. Lewis (trs.), pp. 3-5. Lewis notes his many references to the satires of Horace and Juvenal, evidence that from an early time the satirists were favored when treating the *de contemptu mundi* theme (pp. 288-296). It remained of interest in Bosch's time with three editions of his *Liber de contemptu mundi, sive De miseria humanae conditionis* published in Bosch's time – Louvain c. 1485, Haarlem 1486 and Antwerp around 1490. See Thienen and Goldfinch 1999 (note 23), nos. 1275-1277, pp. 232-233.

Other evidence of interest in the subject includes Savonarola's *Epistola de contemptu mundi di Frate Hieronymo da Ferrara*, C.F. Murray (ed.), London 1894; Thomas à Kempis, *De imitatione christi et contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi*, in: *De imitatione christi*, Fryburg 1904, and Bernard of Morval's satire, *De contemptu mundi* (note 14). The *De contemptu mundi* poem included in the popular *De art bene vivendi beneque moriendi* (the art of living and dying well) appeared at least five times between 1489 and 1510, (note 14). St. Jerome addressed the subject *de contemptu mundi* in his letters and these were published at Deventer in 1506 and at Antwerp in 1515. See Nijhoff and Kronenburg 1919 (note 23), vol. I, pt. 2, nos. 1072 and 1075, pp. 387-388. Erasmus referred to St. Jerome in his *De contemptu mundi, CWE* vol. 66, pp. 130-175. The subject was a staple in sermons well into the sixteenth century. For example, in *Garantua* Rabelais writes, 'I'll read him a fine, long sermon *de contemptu mundi et fuga seculi* (on contempt for the world and the avoidance of secular things)'. See Françoise Rabelais, *The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Harmondsworth Middlesex, England/ New York 1979, J.M. Cohen (trs.), Bk. I, ch. 42, p. 130.

⁶⁷ Erasmus, *CWE* (note 66), pp. 39-86. For the early date for Erasmus' *De contemptu mundi* see Rummel's views, p. 131.

⁶⁸ W.M. Conway, *The Writings of Albrecht Dürer*, New York 1958, p. 243.

⁶⁹ For Bruegel's *Everyman* see: J. Müller, *Das Paradox als Bildform, Studien zur Ikonologie Pieter Bruegels d.Ä.*, Munich 1999, pp. 56-81, and J. Müller in: N.M. Orenstein (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, drawings and prints*, New York 2001, pp. 168-170; E.M. Kavalier, *Pieter Bruegel, parables of order and enterprise*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 77-90; B. Rothstein, 'The Problem of looking at Pieter Bruegel's *Elck*', *Art History* 26 (2003), pp. 143-173; R. Grosshans, *Pieter Bruegel d.Ä. Die niederländischen Sprichwörter*, Berlin 2003, pp. 68-72; I.L. Zupnick, 'The Meaning of Bruegel's *Nobody*', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 67 (1966), pp. 257-270; R.H. Marijnissen, *Bruegel, tout l'oeuvre peint et dessiné*, Antwerp 1988, pp. 100-2; J. Grauls, *Volkstaal en volksleven in het werk van Pieter Bruegel*, Amsterdam 1957; and C. De Tolnay, *The Drawings of Pieter Bruegel the Elder with a critical catalogue*, New York 1953, p. 71. Grauls related the print to three proverbs 'Everyman seeks himself', 'Nobody knows himself', and 'Everyman pulls for the longest end' (p. 176). De Tolnay found Graul's third proverb unconvincing 'since the garment of the figure on the wall is unmistakably that of a fool' (p. 71). However, his costume does not include a traditional fool identifier such as the eared cap.

⁷⁰ There are a series of marks next to the man's head in the drawing that were eliminated in the print. De Tolnay (1953, see note 69), read them as the word OMEN – the Latin word NEMO (no man, or nobody) in reverse which is appropriate given the subject, but as the marks are nearly illegible this remains problematic.

⁷¹ M. Bayless, *Parody in the middle Ages: the Latin tradition*, Ann Arbor MI 1996. In this wide-ranging study Bayless includes Renaissance examples such as Ulrich von Hutten's poem about Nemo published in 1512 (p. 86). Nemo parodies existed in both Latin and the vernacular, in 'official and unofficial culture' (p. 2), and are another instance where there is little distinction between the learned and the popular. Bayless classifies parody as a 'subgenre of satire' (p. 5).

⁷² G. Calmann, 'The Picture of Nobody, an iconographical study', *Journal of the Warburg and*

Courtauld Institutes 23 (1960), pp. 60-104. For the use made of the nobody tradition by the humanists – for example, Ulrich von Hutten's *Nemo* – see pp. 77-84.

⁷³ Persius, *Satire* 4. 23, (note 44), pp. 360-361. For the importance of Persius in this period see Robathan and Cranz (note 27).

⁷⁴ Erasmus, 'In se descendere (to venture down into oneself is to contemplate one's own faults)', *CWE* vol. 32, *Adages*, no. 86, p. 57.

⁷⁵ Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John/Paraphrasis in Joannem*, *CWE*, vol. 46, New Testament Scholarship, p. 106, and also Erasmus, 'Deum sequere, Follow God', in the *Adages*, *CWE* vol. 33, no. 38, p. 93. Erasmus is referring to the 'dicta of ancient sages which are known to have circulated with proverbial force: ... "follow God and "know ourselves" and "seek nothing to excess"'.
⁷⁶ Erasmus, *Adagia* of 1553, (note 48), p. 187v. See also, 'Nosce teipsum (know yourself)', *CWE* vol. 32, *Adages*, no. 95, pp. 62-63.

⁷⁷ Erasmus, *Enchiridion militis christiani/The handbook of the Christian soldier*, *CWE* vol. 66, p. 122.

⁷⁸ Seneca, for example, treats it as proverbial in *Epist.* XCIV. 28 (note 53), vol. 2, p. 126. For a detailed history of the phrase see P. Courelle, *Connais-toi, toi-même de Socrate à Saint Bernard*, 3 vols., Paris 1974-1975.

⁷⁹ Epictetus xlvi, in: *The Golden Sayings of Epictetus*, (The Harvard Classics), New York 1937, H. Crossley (trs.), p. 132.

⁸⁰ In his discussion of the proverb, 'Know yourself' in the *Adages*, Erasmus refers to a wide range of sources including the observation that 'Nonius Marcellus quotes a satire by Varro, the title of which was *Know Yourself*', *CWE* vol. 32, pp. 62-63.

⁸¹ Juvenal, *Satire* XI. 27-28 (note 44), pp. 222-223. Horace treats the same subject in *Satire* I. iii, 21-23, where he asks, 'ignoras te?'

⁸² Macrobius, *Commentary on the dream of Scipio*, New York 1952, W.H. Stahl (trs.), p. 124.

⁸³ Erasmus (note 77), p. 40. He returns to the subject again in the *Enchiridion* where he says, 'the only road to happiness is first, know yourself, and then not to act in

anything according to the passions but in all things to the judgment of reason' (p. 46).

⁸⁴ Sinnema 1949 (note 32), p. 126.

⁸⁵ Brant (note 30), p. 58. See also, Sebastian Brant 'Das Narrenschiff', M. Lemmer (ed.), Tübingen, 2004, for "narren Spiegel", line 31-35, p. 4. Brant also refers to his satire as a painting, 'Der bildnis ich hab har gemacht', line 25, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Erasmus, *Oration on the Pursuit of Virtue/Oratio de virtute amplectendae*, *CWE* 29, p. 3.

⁸⁷ For the complete series of fourteen etchings titled *Coornebert's concept of Salvation: Jacob's Ladder, or Allegory of the Road to Eternal Bliss* (1550), see I.M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch humanism in the sixteenth century*, *Maarssen* 1977, M. Hoyle (trs.), pp. 57-62.

⁸⁸ The man in the picture looks in the mirror in contrast to the 'Nobody' figure in a print by Georg Penz from c. 1535 who extends his hands toward the material goods with which he is surrounded. For the print see: *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400-1700*, compiled by R. Zijlma, Roosendaal 1991, vol. 31, p. 258. For other examples, see Calmann 1960 (note 72), figs. a-f, plates 10-11. De Tolnay identified this man as a fool (1953, see note 69), but this ignores the way the mirror is being used, the importance of the proverb 'know yourself' in the art and literature of this period, and the lack of any fool identifiers. The man does not wear an eared cap or have feathers in his cap like the nobody figures illustrated by Calmann. When he looks in the mirror he may recognize that he is a fool, but he is searching for self-knowledge and therefore he is not as foolish and misguided as the other men in Bruegel's drawing.

⁸⁹ In Robert Estienne's *Thesaurus Latinae Linguae* published in 1531, 'Satyra ... appears to be said like satura, on account of the variety of metre or because of the abundance of subjects that are treated in it', see Jolliffe 1956 (note 19), p. 90. See also J.E. Clark, 'An Early sixteenth century art poétique by Guillaume Tellin', in: *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 31 (1969), p. 135. Published in 1534 it includes the line, 'et ainsi dit Satire comme saoule (soûl, meaning glutton, sated): ... pour l'abundance des choses qui la sont traictees'.

- ⁹⁰ See the entry by M. Sellink in Orenstein 2001 (note 69), no. 86, pp. 208-209.
- ⁹¹ For the print as a stimulus to the discussion of religious issues see Müller 1999 (note 69), pp. 72-76 and Müller 2001 (note 69).
- ⁹² For the text in full see Orenstein 2001 (note 69), pp. 166-167.
- ⁹³ Grauls 1957 (note 69), p. 176.
- ⁹⁴ Jente 1947 (note 49), no. 427, p. 76.
- ⁹⁵ Horace, *Epistles* XVIII. 15 (note 33), pp. 368-369.
- ⁹⁶ Like Juvenal's '*Nosce teipsum* (know yourself)' and Persius' '*in se descendere* (get down into yourself)', '*De lana caprina*' was included in the 1553 epitome of Erasmus' adages under *INANIS OPERA* and attributed to Horace, (note 48), pp. 120r-121v.
- ⁹⁷ For Ortelius's ownership of Erasmus' s letter see: J.H. Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii geographi Antverpiensis ... cum aliquot alius epistulis et tractatibus ...* Cantabrigiae 1887, p. 3.
- ⁹⁸ For Ortelius, see J. Harris, 'The Religious Position of Abraham Ortelius': in A-J. Gelderblom, J.L. de Jong, M. van Vaecck (eds.), *The Low Countries as a crossroads of religious beliefs*, Intersections: Yearbook for early modern studies 3, Leiden/Boston 2004, pp. 89-139.
- ⁹⁹ The suggestion that Diogenes was relevant was originally made by R. van Bastelaer and G.H. de Loo, *Peter Bruegel l'Ancien, son oeuvre et son temps; étude historique, sive des catalogues raisonnés de son oeuvre dessiné et gravé*, Brussels 1905, p. 12. For the emblem with Diogenes see Müller 1999 (note 69), fig. 10 and p. 60. Kavalier also discusses Diogenes and illustrates an emblem from Guillaume de la Perrière's *La Morosophie*, Lyons 1551. See Kavalier 1999 (note 69), pp. 80-83 and fig. 38. However, Diogenes is described as emerging from the cask rather than looking inside it. It is curious that Rabelais makes no mention of the lantern of Diogenes in his 'Lanternland' although he includes the 'Lantern of Aristophanes, Epictetus's Lantern and Martial's many sprouted lantern' among many others, in: *Gargantua and Pantagruel* Bk. V, ch. 32, *Françoise Rabelais, Oeuvres*, P. Jourda (ed.), Paris 1962, p. 681.
- ¹⁰⁰ Erasmus, *CWE* vol. 32 no. 86, p. 57. 'But the reference', Erasmus adds, 'is to those cavernous recesses of the human heart, which Momus thought should have been supplied with windows'.
- ¹⁰¹ Horace, *Ars poetica* 17 (note 33), p. 476.
- ¹⁰² See Eliza G. Wilkins for, 'MHΔEN ATAN in Greek and Latin Literature', *Classical Philology* 21/2 (Apr. 1926), pp. 132-148.
- ¹⁰³ Sixteenth century commentaries on the satires testify to a sophisticated understanding of the genre (*CTC*, notes 3, 22, 26 and 28). See also R. de Smet (ed.), *La satire humaniste*, Actes du Colloque international des 31 mars, 1er et 2nd avril 1993, Brussels 1994, in particular: I. de Smet, 'The Legacy of the gourd re-examined: the fortune of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and its influence on humanist satire' (pp. 48-75), and G. Tourney, 'The Beginnings of neo-Latin satire in the Low Countries' (pp. 95-109). See also Joliffe 1956 (note 19), pp. 84-95, for concern with the etymology of *satura*/satyr.
- ¹⁰⁴ G. Voogt, *Constraint on trial, Dirck Volckertsz Coornbert and religious freedom*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies 52, Kirksville MO 2000, p. 20. For Coornbert's translation of Seneca see H. Bongers, *Leven en werk van D.V. Coornbert*, Amsterdam 1978, p. 31.
- ¹⁰⁵ Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589), A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published at Antwerp and Leyden*, 4 vols., Amsterdam 1980, vol. 3, no. 1493, pp. 1292-1293. *Juvenalis: Satynarum libri V; Persius: satynarum liber I*, was published at Antwerp in 1565. Horace was frequently published by Plantin with an edition in 1564, no. 1377, p. 1163.
- ¹⁰⁶ Voet 1980 (note 105), vol. 4, no. 1966, p. 1836, *Les épistres de Phalaris et d'Isocrates: avec le manuel d'Épictète*, Antwerp 1558.
- ¹⁰⁷ Epictetus cxv (note 78), p. 159, and xlvi, p. 132
- ¹⁰⁸ Cicero, *Academics* I. 4-9. In this passage Cicero has Varro say about his satire, 'And yet in those old works of ours which we composed in imitation of Menippus .. sprinkling a little mirth and sportiveness over the whole subject, there are many things mingled which are drawn from the most recondite philosophy .. but I added these lighter matters in order to make the whole more easy for people of moderate learning to comprehend...' Cicero, *The Academic Questions, Treatise de finibus, and Tusculan disputations of M.T. Cicero*, C.D. Young (trs.), London 1853, p. 7. See also C.W. Mendell, 'Satire as Popular Philosophy', *Classical Philology* 15 (Jan. to Oct. 1920), pp. 138-157.
- ¹⁰⁹ G. Highet, *The Anatomy of satire*, Princeton NJ 1962, p. 250, note 19. 'In the Middle Ages John of Salisbury and Peter de Blois call both Juvenal and Horace *ethicus*', Mendell 1920 (note 108), p. 139.
- ¹¹⁰ S. Williams and J. Jacquot, '*Ommegangs Anversois du temps de Bruegel et de van Heemskerck*', in: *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, Paris 1960, vol. 2, p. 378. The inclusion of a '*boywagen* (hay wagon)' as the second pageant wagon indicates that the relationship between Bosch's subject in the *Haywain* triptych and Bruegel's subject in *Everyman (Elck)* - devotion to the things of this world - was well understood.
- ¹¹¹ Kavalier 1999 (note 69), p. 89.
- ¹¹² Erasmus, defending himself in the introduction, *Moriae Encomium, The Praise of Folly* by Desiderius Erasmus, H.H. Hudson (trs.), Princeton NJ, p. 4.
- ¹¹³ Juvenal, *Satire* I. 110 (note 44), pp. 10-11. Juvenal follows this with the comment, 'no deity is held in such reverence ... as Wealth', I. 112, pp. 12-13.
- ¹¹⁴ D. Erasmus, *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, C.R. Thompson (trs.), London 1965, pp. 631-632.
- ¹¹⁵ B. Blonde and H. Vlieghe, 'The Social Status of Hieronymus Bosch', *Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989), pp. 699-700. Bosch owned a stone house on the marketplace and in 1505/1506 'only 46 houses out of a taxed total of 2,395 were valued higher than his'. The authors conclude that 'Bosch belonged to the socially highest and wealthiest class rather than the middle bourgeoisie'. See also G.C.M. van Dyck, 'Hieronymus van Aken/Hieronymus Bosch: His Life and Portraits', in: Koldeweij, Vermet, Van Kooij 2001 (note 39), pp. 8-23, and in the same volume, E. Vink, 'Hieronymus Bosch's Life in 's-Hertogenbosch', pp. 18-23.
- ¹¹⁶ See F. Vermeylen, 'The Commercialization of Art: Painting and Sculpture in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', in: M.W. Ainsworth (ed.), *Early Netherlandish painting at the*

crossroads, a critical look at current methodologies, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia, New York 2001, pp. 46-61, and D. Ewing, 'Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's pand', *Art Bulletin* 72 (Dec. 1990), pp. 558-84. For the marketing of prints in particular see T.A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock (1510-1570): printmaker and publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds*, New York/London 1977, and J. van der Stock, *Printing images in Antwerp: the introduction of printmaking in a city, fifteenth century to 1585*, Rotterdam 1998. For general background see L. Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', *Burlington Magazine* CXVIII (1976), pp. 188-198; J.M. Montias, 'Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century: A survey', *Art Bulletin* 72/3 (Sept. 1990), pp. 358-373; and R. van Uytven, *Production and consumption in the Low Countries, 13th-16th centuries*, Aldershot Hampshire, Gr. Brit./Burlington VT 2001, esp. ch. IV, pp. 102-124.

¹¹⁷ 'The prices of Cock's prints as recorded in the purchases made by Plantin, vary according to the

size of the print and number of prints in a set, but it is interesting to note that they fall into almost exactly the same price range as the books published by Plantin', Riggs 1977 (note 116), p. 207. See also M. Rooses, *Christophe Plantin imprimeur anversoïis*, Antwerp 1882, p. 246.

¹¹⁸ The proverb '*Liberi poetae et pictores* (the freedom of poets and painters)', appears in the 1553 Antwerp edition of Erasmus's *Adages*, (note 48), p. 169v.

¹¹⁹ For Aertsen and ancient literature as a source of innovation in art see Sullivan 1999 (note 12), and for Bruegel see M.A. Sullivan, 'Bruegel's *Misanthrope*: Renaissance art for a humanist audience', *Artibus et historiae* 26 (1992), pp. 143-162.

¹²⁰ E. Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton NJ 1971, p. 50. When Panofsky senses a 'satirical spirit' in a work of art such as Quentin Metsys, *Ugly Duchess* (as in note 2, vol. I, p. 356) - he refers to Erasmus rather than an ancient source such as Horace or Lucian that influenced and informed Erasmus's own satires and were equally available to Erasmus's

contemporaries such as Metsys, Sebastian Brant and Hieronymus Bosch.

¹²¹ W. Stechow and C. Comer, 'The History of the Term *Genre*', *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, 33/2 (1975-1976), pp. 89-94. They say, 'it is the very specificity with which the term is employed at present is puzzling. At some point *genre*, a French word meaning "kind" or "type"., began to characterize the sort of painting which depicts scenes of everyday life' (p. 89). In their view this development should be dated sometime in the eighteenth century.

¹²² For landscape and classical literature, see, for example, E.H. Gombrich, 'The Renaissance theory of art and the rise of landscape', in *Norm and form, studies in the art of the Renaissance*, London/New York 1978, pp. 107-121.

¹²³ For the humanist context of proverb collections, see Sullivan 1991 (note 48), and M.A. Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's 'Netherlandish Proverbs' and the practice of rhetoric*, Zwolle 2002.