Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle's Boschian *Haywain* Tapestry: From Reformation to World Renunciation

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ABSTRACT

Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle's Boschian *Haywain* Tapestry:
From Reformation to World Renunciation

Eleanor Yuri Dumouchel

This thesis shall address the changes and additions to the *Haywain* triptych that resulted in the *Haywain* tapestry, as well as how this work would have appealed to Catholic humanists and ecumenical reformers such as Cardinal Granvelle in the period 1530-1566. Following an exposition of the historical context of Catholic reformism in the Netherlands, this thesis will consider the circular composition of the *Haywain* tapestry – notably, the *globus* that circumscribes the image – and its affiliation with circular formats found in late medieval devotional manuals meant for solitary moral self-reflection. The thesis will also reflect on references in the tapestry to the subjects of Reformation-era debates such as Merit, Grace, and the Sacraments, as well as how the work's composition—borrowed from modern devotional graphics and concepts—trained the viewer's contemplation towards these topical issues.

What will emerge from this study is an object that, in its recognition of the theological and political turmoil of the sixteenth-century, functions as a prompt for humanist reflections on ideological controversy and unending conflict. These reflections will be divided into two distinctly humanist responses vis-à-vis the tapestry: the stoic response, in the form of struggle for reform and conciliation, which takes place within the space inside of the *globus,* and an attitude of world renunciation, associated with the seascape with the clear horizon. Finally, the meaning of the tapestry's seascape shall be interrogated as a reflection of the humanist perception of the 'New World' as utopic alternative to a strife-ridden Europe.

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Special thanks goes to Dr. Steven Stowell for his support for this project from the start, and his compassion in considering each of the many drafts of this thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. Catherine Mackenzie for bringing her unique and scholarly perspective to the final revision process, as well as the members of the faculty at Concordia who helped me to become a more rounded art historian. Last, but not least, I thank my family.

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Introduction

In the last lines of a 1955 article on a then recently discovered painting by Pieter Bruegel, *Landscape with the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles at the Sea of Tiberias* (*fig. 1*), Charles de Tolnay poses what constituted then—as now—a provocative question to the history of art community. De Tolnay took the opportunity to speculate on the possible meaning of Bruegel's biblical scene and landscape with a distant sea horizon, appearing from the grassy bank as the bright aperture between two peninsulas. His final conclusion is that the three most prominent Netherlandish painters of the sixteenth century painted landscapes within a cosmology affected by world exploration. De Tolnay writes that Bosch, Patinir, and Bruegel "painted [landscapes] in order to satisfy a deep-seated yearning for the infinite," and that such feelings were fanned by the advent of transatlantic travel.[1]

The satisfaction of such yearnings did not, however, take place exclusively among Antwerp landscape painters. As Europe entered the 16th century, an educated humanist class, dissatisfied with the status quo of religious and political affairs, expressed reformist sentiments in written and visual descriptions of the 'New World'.[2] These took several forms: millenarian apocalyptic prophecies, descriptions of civic utopias, and world maps showing geographic locations of mythological civic utopias. Such documents provided a literate, humanist class with an alternative to the ideological crisis of the Reformation and subsequent bloodshed known as the Wars of Religion. Allusions to world exploration and even millenarianism were coded with positive value as speculative alternatives to a fast-crumbling Europe. As part of the larger

[1] Charles De Tolnay, "An Unknown Early Panel by Pieter Bruegel the Elder," *The Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 97, No. 629 (Aug., 1955): 240. De Tolnay points out that Antwerp served coincidentally as centre for landscape production as well as the primary port for transatlantic voyages.

[2] In the remainder of this thesis, the term New World will not be placed in single quotations as the reader is expected to understand this term as relating to a specific, if historically inaccurate, construct in sixteenth-century European thought as it serves the purposes of this paper.

historical effort to explore the humanist reaction to political and religious unrest, this thesis explores the variety of possible understandings and interpretations of a tapestry based on a composition by Bosch, featuring a similar landscape view as the Bruegel panel. This is the so-called *Haywain* tapestry, owned by Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, and with a *terminus ad quem* of 1560 (*fig. 2*).[3] The *Haywain* tapestry is one of a set of five original tapestries featuring recognizable Boschian motifs. The tapestries in the Escorial include the *Saint Anthony in the Wilderness, Saint Martin,* and *Haywain,* tapestries, as well as an exact version of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych in the Prado. Except for the *Garden of Earthly Delights* tapestry, no corresponding models exist for the tapestries. In the course of this discussion, aspects of the *Saint Martin* and (now lost) *Siege of the Elephant* tapestries from the same series will be brought to bear on the *Haywain* tapestry.

A humanist and astute collector of art, Cardinal Granvelle (1517-1586) dedicated himself to these interests both personally and professionally as Philip II's personal collections manager and talent scout. In spite of his close affiliation with the king, Granvelle surrounded himself with reformist thinkers in a Spanish Empire ideologically divided along the fault lines of Protesantism. According to Maurice Piquard, following his dismissal in 1564 from his position as advisor to Margaret of Parma, Spanish governor of the Netherlands, Granvelle found calmer pastures in areas firmly aligned with the Counter-Reformation, dividing his time between Madrid and Rome.[4] During his "séjours Romains," which took place between 1566 and 1571, and again

[3] S. Schneebalg-Perelman, "Richesses du garde-meuble parisien de François I[er]. Inventaire inédits de 1542 et 1551", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 113 (November, 1971):289-290. The earliest known example of the *Haywain* tapestry's design is the set of five Boschian tapestries (now lost) listed in the 1542 inventory of King Francis I.

[4] Maurice Piquard, "Le Cardinal de Granvelle, Amateur de Tapisseries," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art,* 19 (1950): 114.

[4] Simon-Pierre Dinard, "La collection du cardinal Antoine de Granvelle (1517-1586). L'inventaire du palais Granvelle de 1607." in Frédérique Lemerle, Yves Pauwels et Gennaro Toscano (dir.), *Les Cardinaux de la Renaissance et la modernité artistique*, Villeneuve d'Ascq, IRHiS-Institut de Recherches Historiques du Septentrion « Histoire et littérature de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest », n° 40 (2009), published online October 15, 2012, accessed May 7, 2014, http://hleno.revues.org/229, 161; Paul Vandenbroeck, "Meaningful caprices. folk culture, middle class ideology (ca 1480-1510) and aristocratic recuperation (ca 1530-1570): a series of

from 1575 to 1579, Granvelle kept close company with other humanists and humanist churchmen. [5] Granvelle's known associates included Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin and the cartographer Gerardus Mercator, who were accused of heresy and Protestant sympathizing, respectively.[6] Granvelle's own political or theological beliefs, which this thesis hopes to contextualize, will be instrumental to understanding how the Bosch tapestry would have been perceived in Granvelle's quarters.

While the Prado triptych of the *Haywain* (*fig. 3)* has long been studied as a conservative caution against forms of avarice, the evolution of this moral subject from the triptych (1510) to the tapestry version has yet to be studied with the same level of detail.[7] A primary area of inquiry for this thesis is how the tapestry makes reference to specific contemporary religious and political issues. Focusing on imagery that has been altered from the *Haywain* panel to the tapestry, seen, for example, in the respective uses of hay imagery, in addition to the presence of religious and political figures, this thesis will demonstrate that the tapestry makes explicit reference to the religious debates unfolding in Northern Europe. In doing so, this thesis will show how the *Haywain* tapestry conveys the complexity, ambiguity, and range of attitudes to Church reform in the generation after Bosch's death. The result is an image by which humanists could discuss and reflect on the world—represented here as defined by the ideological crisis that consumed Europe.

Brussels tapestries after Hieronymus Bosch," *Antwerp Royal Museum Annual* (2009): 263. Specific information regarding the whereabouts of the Bosch tapestries during this period is unknown. The tapestries were bequeathed to Granvelle's nephew, Jean-Thomas. After Jean-Thomas's death in 1588, the Count of Cantecroix, Cardinal Granvelle's other nephew, sold the tapestries to the Emperor Rudolf II, whose 1600 inventory includes a record of the Bosch tapestries.
Piquard, 114.

[6] Dinard, "Collection du Cardinal Antoine de Granvelle," 166. Plantin's press in Antwerp printed the anonymous work, *Briefve instruction pour prier,* judged as heretical.

[7] Roger Marijnissen and Ruyffelaere, Peter, *Hieronymus Bosch: the complete works* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2007), 52. Marijnissen provides a complete, synoptic historiography for the *Haywain* triptych, but he mentions the *Haywain* tapestry only once: "Although the composition of the tapestry is not identical to the [*Haywain* triptych's central panel], it ought nevertheless to be considered as material for comparison."

The first part of this thesis consists of an introduction to the tapestry by way of visual analysis as well as an examination, based on historical primary documentation, of the place it held in the Cardinal's collection. This is followed by a discussion of the Prado *Haywain* triptych in terms of the anti-Papal and secular context of its commission, and how this is manifested in both the visual elements and compositional structure of the work. The rest of the thesis shall address the changes and additions to the *Haywain* triptych that resulted in the *Haywain* tapestry, as well as how this work would have appealed to Catholic humanists and ecumenical reformers—such as Granvelle—who shared a partiality for works of art that questioned pre-established values.

Having laid out the historical context of Catholic reformism in the Netherlands, this thesis will consider the circular composition of the *Haywain* tapestry – notably, the *globus* that circumscribes the image – and its affiliation with circular formats found in late medieval devotional manuals meant for solitary moral self-reflection. This thesis argues that the late medieval formats and practices supplied the compositional structure for the tapestry and signal the tapestry's use as a means of examining one's beliefs. The following section will also reflect on the tapestry's assimilation of references to the subjects of Reformation-era debates such as Merit, Grace, and the Sacraments and how the work's composition—borrowed from modern devotional graphics and concepts—would have incited the viewer to reflect on these topical issues.

What will emerge over the course of this thesis is an object that, in its recognition of the theological and political vicissitudes of the sixteenth-century, functions as a prompt for humanist deliberation on ideological controversy and unending conflict. These can be divided into two humanist responses: the stoic response, in the form of struggle for reform and conciliation, which

takes place within the space inside of the *globus,* and an attitude of world renunciation associated with the space negative to the *globus*—the seascape with the clear horizon. Finally, the meaning of the seascape shall be interrogated as a reflection of the humanist perception of the 'New World' as utopic alternative to a strife-ridden Europe.

Historical context: Granvelle's commission

This brief section will clear up some issues regarding the earliest date of Granvelle's possession of the tapestries, as well as situate the tapestries in the historical context of 1560s Brussels, the city in which Granvelle had built himself a palace, and which, ultimately, he had to flee due to the iconoclastic riots. The ends to which Granvelle went to retrieve the set of Bosch tapestries while he was stationed in Malines indicate their special importance to the Catholic humanist, especially since we know that many other works of art were abandoned by Granvelle and eventually auctioned off by the Protestant Magistrate of Brussels in 1578.[8]

Although much of the existing scholarship on Granvelle's set of Boschian tapestries has referred to 1566 as the earliest mention of the tapestries being in Granvelle's possession, evidence recently presented by Almudena Pérez de Tudela amends this date to 1560. According to De Tudela, correspondences from this year between Granvelle and don García de Toledo, whom Granvelle was assisting in the commission of a set of tapestries, allude to the Boschian tapestries, including the *Haywain* tapestry, as being in Granvelle's possession at this earlier date.[9] This evidence would agree with Guy Delmarcel's interpretation of the often cited 16 June

[8] Piquard, "Cardinal de Granvelle, amateur de tapisseries," 126. In 1578, the Magistrate of Brussels ordered the auctioning of all of Granvelle's remaining tapestries and possessions, with the justification that he and his "frères" were the "directeurs de nostre oppression et ennemys du pays."
[9] Almudena Pérez de Tudela, "Las relaciones artísticas de Antonio Perrenot con la ciudad de Nápoles previas a su virreinato en su correspondecia conservada en el Palacio Real de Madrid," *Dimore signorili a Napoli: Palazzo Zevallos Stigliano e il mecenatismo aristocratico dal XVI al XX secolo* (Turin: Intesa Sanpolo prismi, 2013): 326.

1566 letter received by Granvelle, in which his secretary Maxmilien Morillon states that "les tapisseries nouvelles *et* de Bosche" (original emphasis in Delmarcel) are on their way to Malines.[10] This would mean that the Bosch tapestries, no longer new, were already in the possession of Granvelle, and that he had requested they be sent northward thirty kilometers to Malines along with an unidentified recent commission.

The fact that the tapestries were sent for is evidence of their importance to Granvelle; it may also indicate the extent of the threat posed by Protestant encroachment to both tapestry makers and amateurs. In a letter written from Brussels on 16 August, 1566 by Granvelle's *maître des comptes*, Viron, two months after the Bosch tapestries were sent northward, the tone has shifted from business-like to urgent. It would appear that Granvelle had requested that Viron go on a salvage mission to the workshop of master Willem de Pannemaker, who was responsible for overseeing the production of the highest quality Flemish tapestries of this period.[11] Viron reports searching Pannemaker's workshop for specific tapestries in production that Granvelle has requested to no avail. He goes on to tell Granvelle that he has grabbed what "patrons," or cartoons, he could find and sent them along with a list of prices for the works. "Le temps present n'est pour vendre" (now is not the time to sell), reports Viron, "n'y a seigneur par deça pour les acheter," alluding to the exodus of well-heeled patrons and their business in light of the threat that the 1566 iconoclasm riots would also affect Brussels.[12] Therefore, if not for Granvelle's swift action, it is possible that the *Haywain* tapestry would not have survived the troubles in

[10] Guy Delmarcel, "Le Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle et la Tapisserie. Etat de la Question et Nouvelles Données," *Les Granvelle et les Anciens Pays-Bas, conference proceedings* (Universitaire Pers Leuven: Leuven, 2000): 292.
[11] Thomas Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 279. "[Willem de Pannemaker's] mark appears on a substantial portion of the most valuable sets acquired by the Habsburg court during the 1540s, 1550s, and 1560s."
[12] Viron to Granvelle (Brussels, 16 August 1566), in Piquard, "Cardinal de Granvelle, Amateur de Tapisseries," 119; imperial officials to Margaret of Parma (Brussels, July 1566), in Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 97. In July 1566, Margaret of Parma, governor of the Spanish Flanders in Brussels, received a letter from officials in Vuerne warning her that the Calvinists were gearing up to undertake "the scandalous pillage of churches, monasteries, and abbeys."

Brussels. In addition, the anxious relocation of the tapestries speaks to the breaking down of talks between Protestants and Catholics, which, as later sections will demonstrate, the *Haywain* tapestry, designed some twenty years earlier, augured.

Preliminary visual introduction to the tapestry

A trompe l'oeil classical architectural border, whose entablature is decorated with a beautiful garland of fruits, frames the tapestry, which is roughly 4m wide and 3m tall. According to Guy Delmarcel, the border would have "confer[red] to the works of the master of 's-Hertogenbosch the status of a work 'à l'antique.'"[13] Moreover, this classical treatment of the border was unusual, the only existing examples besides the Bosch tapestries being two tapestries of scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* from a set commissioned to the Flemish master weaver Hans Karcher by Ercole II d'Este in 1545.[14] Contained within the frame are two distinct areas: a circular scene based on the *Haywain* scene in Bosch's triptych from 1510 in the Prado, and a seascape. The contents of the circular orb, which resembles a *globus cruciger*—the crucifix-topped glass orb frequently shown being held by Christ to represent his dominion over the world—differ from the central panel of the Prado triptych, and no known original Bosch painting exists that can be identified as the closer source material for the tapestry. But some elements are consistent between the two works in the Prado and the Escorial; the cavalry bearing the Spanish-Habsburg flag, showing the two-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire, and the flag of the House of Valois are examples.

[13] Delmarcel, "Cardinal Granvelle et la Tapisserie," 287.
[14] Marie-Hélène de Ribou, "Tenture des Métamorphoses d'Ovide," Louvre, accessed August 16, 2015, http://www.louvre.fr/oeuvre-notices/tenture-des-metamorphoses-d-ovide.

New elements in the tapestry include the landscape scene that contains a city, partly aflame, in the far distance, a hilly landscape, which is overtaken by warring battalions wearing helmets of Spanish mercenaries, and a cross on a Golgotha-like hill. In the centre of the composition, and only in the tapestry version, three demons extend bunches of hay to the congregation below from on top of the eponymous hay wain, at which people throw themselves in apparent ecstatic worship. On the ground below these, a nun with a rosary hanging at her side stares up and out of the picture, locking eyes with viewer (*fig. 4*). The figure of Death is found at lower-right (*fig. 5*) and inserted in the far left middle-ground is a priest with a red cap and white robe holding a reliquary before a small crowd of people waiting their turn to kiss the object (*fig. 6*).

Surrounding the circular orb is a seascape; transgressions between the areas of the orb and the seascape can be found at lower right where a monstrous fish tries to extract a melancholic figure by his legs (*fig. 5*). On the opposite side of the *globus*, a blue-winged demon on a ladder pulls a limp figure wearing a frightened expression out of the orb. Inside a boat, a Franciscan friar is about to deliver a blow to a demon he is trying to subdue (*fig. 7*). On the right hand portion of the seascape, fish can be seen consuming other fish. The high horizon line of the seascape, a conceit seen in Bosch's landscape works—for example, the *Haywain* triptych—appears glowing, calm, and unbounded. It is generally peaceful, in spite of the three angels panicking around the crucifix in the upper-right foreground.

The Prado *Haywain* triptych: a precedent

The first point of departure for understanding the composition of the *Haywain* tapestry is the triptych of the same subject painted by Bosch around 1510, at the end of his career before his

death in 'S-Hertogenbosch in 1516 *(fig. 3)*.[15] The *Haywain*, in a narrative that flows from left to right, establishes humankind's incontrovertibly sinful nature. This begins in the upper register of the left-hand Paradise wing where the rebel angels, depicted as extra-legged toads and insects, are seen falling from grace.[16] This episode is the birth of sin on earth, whose legacy will play out across the span of the triptych.

The central panel's primary subject—and the anchor of the Escorial tapestry's composition—is a giant haystack balanced on a cart or wain being towed by bestial demons, as a frenzied rabble hoards as much hay as they can snatch from the stack and each other. The haystack itself, which dominates the triptych's composition from the exact centre of the panel, is a perplexing object at first glance. The gold-colored, globular mass has been consistently interpreted as expressing the mundaneness of all worldly things. As put by the Castilian humanist historian Ambrosio de Morales in 1549, the haystack functions as a representation of "nothingness," but one that men and women covet and fight over, illustrating to the viewer the capital sin of avarice. [17] Art historians have also connected the haystack with the contemporary Dutch proverb "*al is hoy*"; all is hay.[18] However, other art historians find the source for the image in the Book of Isaiah in which the Old Testament prophet writes, "All flesh is grass, and all its beauty is like the flower of the field. The grass withers, the flower fades…," which naturally plays on the materiality of the sin of lust and the transience of youth.[19]

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[15] Peter Klein, "Dendrochronological analysis of works by Hieronymus Bosch and his followers," in *Hieronymus Bosch: new insights into his life and work*, eds. Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2001), 127. Klein's dendrochronological analysis places 1508 as the earliest date of execution.

[16] Marijnissen points to *Die dietsche Lucidarius,* a 14th version of Anselm's *Elucidarium*, as a possible reference: "…so they fell like toads from Heaven/ It was due to their pride/ That they were cast into the valley of Hell." *Hieronymus Bosch*, 58n102.

[17] Ambrosio De Morales: "This 'wagon of hay,' as it is called in Flemish, means the same thing as a 'wagon of nothingness' in Castilian." ed. James Snyder, *Bosch in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1973), 32.

[18] Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 53. Marijnissen traces such art historical references to Dutch proverbs to P.J. Harrebomee's dictionary of the Dutch language and proverbs, *Spreekwoordenboek der Nederlandische Taal* (1858-1870).

[19] Isa. 40:7-8; Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch,* 52; "From around 1600...hay has often been regarded in the art literature as a reference to two bible passages, where it symbolizes the transitoriness of earthly life" (citing Isaiah 40:7-8 as well as Psalm 103:15: 'As for man, his days are like grass; he flourishes like a flower of the field'). Paul Vandenbroeck, "Meaningful Caprices," 234.

In any case, the basic moralizing principle of the panel, whether against lust or avarice, takes many forms. A motley assortment of contemporary vices are represented by the pairs of lovers on top of the haycart (*fig. 8*), the violent men and women fighting each other for hay (*fig. 9*), and a variety of potentially deceitful persons, such as the quack doctor in the foreground, possible false beggars, dubious conjurors, in addition to Muslims, most likely intended to be Ottoman Turks, and Franciscans. Looking down from the highest and most central point of the panel is Christ, depicted as *Man of Sorrows* against a field of gold, his eyes downcast, and his stigmatized hands raised in resignation (*fig. 10*).

Inserted into the triptych's allegorical schema are three of the most important figures in European affairs of state and religion around 1500: (from left to right) the King of France, the Pope, and the Holy Roman Emperor (*fig. 11*). Mounted on horseback, they lead the phalanx from their position behind the hay, which they, in turn, follow in the direction of the hell panel. Their horses are staggered, causing their heads, each bearing some crown, to be evenly spaced and horizontally aligned. According to Frédéric Elsig, the targeted use of specific contemporary figures is meant to indicate the larger contemporary issue of humankind's inevitable course towards damnation around the year 1500 under these figures' rule.[20] The triptych's placement of the political figures as leaders of a procession parodies the displays the religious feast day processions known as *ommegang,* "the middle Dutch word for a going around."[21] From the mid-fifteenth century on, the Dukes of Burgundy cultivated religious and political capital through by generously patronizing local devotional *ommegang* throughout the duchy. [22] Similar uses of the

[20] "En mettant en évidence la Chute des anges et les éléments anticléricaux, il reflète les critiques virulentes à l'encontre de l'Eglise et de la société en général qui, peut-être favorisées par les inquietudes propres au millenarisme, se multiplient autour de 1500." Frédéric Elsig, *Jheronimus Bosch*: *La question de la chronologie* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2004), 37.
[21] Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots,* 23.
[22] *Ibid.,* 24. Additionally, ptrilgrimage sites were the documented objects of strategic Burgundian—which led to Habsburg—patronage: "Notre Dame de Halle near Brussels was so patronized by Burgundian lords that the veneration had strong political valences...Charles V even donated a cloak for the Virgin [at Notre Dame de Halle]..."

mock-procession theme are found in Dürer's 1494 frontispiece to Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (*fig. 12*), and Lorenzo Costa's 1488 *The Triumph of Death* fresco in San Giacomo de Bologne, where skeleton-driven cattle are seen leading "the entire hierarchy of humanity" behind (*fig. 13)*.[23] These examples feature a similarly moral use of the hay cart, or the beef cattle, insomuch as they constituted working populations' livelihood, and, by extension, their greediness. Depictions of carts can be related to attachment to worldly goods, as Reindert Falkenburg has shown in the illuminations from a fifteenth century edition of Thomas Aquinas's *Civitas dei*, in which a landowner, in contrast to "the citizen of the kingdom of God in the guise of a monk," is tethered by tentacle-like lines to the means of agricultural production (*fig. 14*).[24]

The foremost figure in the procession behind Bosch's haycart, dressed in red robes, is, according to Elsig, the Habsburg emperor Maxmilian I, who presided over the Holy Roman Empire from 1493 to 1519.[25] This would explain the Habsburg or Holy Roman Empire banner featuring the two-headed eagle being carried behind this group, followed by the banner of the House of Valois. The latter would identify the last horseman as the French king, however he cannot be exactly identified due to the unknown date of the triptych's execution.[26] Roger Marijnissen has compiled various interpretations regarding this group, such as the identification of Pope Alexander VI as antichrist.[27] The reading of the entire *Haywain* procession as a parody of the spoils of the crusades that Pope Alexander VI endorsed in 1501 is expressed by Elsig in his opinion that "the pope's active attitude, with his right hand held out, as well as the placement

[23] Elsig, *Jheronimus Bosch,* 38.
[24] Reindert Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir: landscape as image of the pilgrimage of life* (Philadelphia: Benjamins Pub. Co., 1988), 72.
[25] Elsig, *Jheronimus Bosch,* 38.
[26] *Ibid.,* 38. The date of the triptych varies among art historians. If the triptych were from 1508, then the French king at this time would have been Louis XII, who reigned in France from 1498 until 1515.
[27] Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch,* 55. On the pope in the *Haywain* as antichrist, Marijnissen quotes Jörg Traeger, *Der reitende Papst. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Papstums,* (Munich, 1970).

within a crowd that includes Ottoman figures may constitute an allusion to the failed crusade in 1501."[28]

The presence of the Pope in the procession may be a reflection of the anti-Papal attitudes among municipal political leaders who were opposed to the centralization of power in the hands of the Papacy at the time the triptych was painted. Elsig has interrogated this work from a social-historic standpoint, focusing specifically on its anti-Papal undercurrents and the context in which it was first commissioned. This context was firmly cosmopolitan, the work being commissioned, according to Elsig, by the Spanish courtier and ambassador, Diego de Guevara, a significant collector of Flemish art.[29] In 1498 or 1499, De Guevara was sworn as a member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 'S-Hertogenbosch, the same lay fraternity as Bosch.[30] Urban lay fraternities such as the Brotherhood of Our Lady were elite societies independent from the established hierarchy of the Church whose members gained their wealth and prestige as merchants or entrepreneurs. Elsig points out that the imperial crown worn by God in the left panel gives credence to the view that the triptych endorses imperial government in lieu of papal authoritarianism.[31] In addition, the emperor-figure among the cavalry does not gesture forward towards hell like the pope. Instead, the emperor casts his eyes downwards, wearing an expression similar to Christ's, and acknowledging a mutual futility and acceptance of humankind's inevitable fate. In short, the evidence of political partisanship in the representations of

[28] Elsig, *Jheronimus Bosch,* 38.
[29] Elsig, *Jheronimus Bosch,* 40. When De Guevara died in Brussels in 1520, his *Haywain* triptych was bequeathed to his son Felipe, who, as indicated in an inventory, gave the work to Philip II in 1574. Since then, it has been a part of the Spanish royal collection.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.,* 39. De Guevara's interest in the Habsburg empire is evident in in his arrangement of two power-consolidating marriages between Margaret of Austria (daughter of Maxmilian I) with John, Prince of Austria (son of Queen Isabella I of Castille), as well as that between Philip IV of Burgundy (Habsburg son of Maxmilian I and inheritor of the Duchy of Burgundy and Burgundian Netherlands) with Queen Joanna of Castille, (heiress of the House of Aragon) and thereby establishing the Habsburg dynasty in Spain.

contemporary figures supports the argument that the *Haywain* was originally located in a private collection.

The hypothesis that the triptych was intended for a secular audience comes up again if one considers the *Haywain* triptych as a critical version of Christian cosmology. This theme of contempt for the world will be developed further in my discussion of the tapestry.

Detailed visual analysis of the *Haywain* tapestry's central *globus*

If one were to excise the hovering Christ, the central panel of the *Haywain* triptych might be thought of as a version of the *orbus terrarium* held by Christ in Joos Van Cleve's *Salvator mundi* (*fig. 15*) whose contents have been unfurled and tacked at the four corners of a rectangular wooden panel. Although no direct influence can be assumed, both works exemplify the tendency in early sixteenth-century landscapes works to represent "the sinful world, for whose Salvation Christ sacrificed himself on the Cross [*sic*]," as blue-hued, and featuring minute, sometimes threatening, details.[32] Following this logic, the tapestry in the Escorial takes the idea of the *Haywain* scene as microcosm of the world and applies it more rigorously.[33] In the tapestry, the *Haywain* scene has been returned to Van Cleve's *globus cruciger,* which here bobs along the waves of a vast seascape populated with sea monsters. While some of the temporal and avaricious contents of the woven *Haywain* scene correspond with those of the triptych, the tapestry's details bear crucial differences between the two works.

[32] Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir: landscape as image of the pilgrimage of life,* 70. According to Falkenburg, the landscape in the orb in the Van Cleve painting "is composed of the same elements as the background landscapes in Bosch's *Haywain Triptych* and Patinir's *Landscape with St Jerome* in Paris [*sic*]."

[33] Joseph Koerner, "Hieronymus Bosch's World Picture," in *Picturing Science Producing Art,* eds. Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (London: Routledge, 1998), 309. On the triptych's status as 'world landscape': "In the *Hay Wain* [sic], world is most of all present as the triptych's depiction of landscape. Bosch constructs the first genuine *Weltlandschaft* [world landscape] in Western painting. The bird-s-eye view unfolds sideways to Paradise and hell, and outward into space, toward infinity at the horizon. Narrow at the sides but expansive to the distance, Bosch imagines a world limited in time but infinite in space.

Unlike the crowd in the triptych's linear progression towards Hell, the phalanx of laypeople, churchmen, and bishops in the tapestry snakes through the image from the left, disappearing behind the hay cart, and making a hairpin turn around a large rock formation. As in the triptych, cavalry bearing the Spanish-Habsburg flag and the flag of the House of Valois lead the parade. However, the sumptuously dressed individuals from the triptych have been slightly reconfigured. A Pope, recognizable by the Papal tiara, stands on the ground directly behind the hay cart with a bishop and cardinal, surrounded by a group of tonsured friars. As in the triptych, the two horsemen behind these figures most likely represent the sovereigns associated with the flags behind them: the King of France and the Holy Roman Emperor.

The tapestry version contains many embodiments of 'sinfulness' not found in the triptych version, as described earlier. These include the nun, mentioned earlier, leaning against a walking stick while she walks in her pattens and is followed or led by a stern looking friar (*fig. 4*); to her right, a boy wearing a surplice over a red cassock is ringing two handbells (*fig. 16*). An image that begs allegorical explanation is the naked man with a distended belly in the lower left section of the orb who holds a mysterious crosier-like staff in one hand and feeds a man hay with the other (*fig. 17*). In addition to his physique, which suggests the sin of gluttony, this person's genitals are afflicted with a terrible plague, splitting them into three barbed tentacles. Contemporary emblems of deception such as the woman on the back of a donkey with three children (*fig.18*)—a trope for representing false pilgrims who scoop up others' children to elicit sympathy and alms—and false beggars are coupled with scenes critical of idolatry, such as that in the far left middle-ground where a priest, previously mentioned, presents a reliquary to a congregation.[34]

[34] Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 62. Lucas van Leyden's *False Pilgrims* engraving (1520) depicts a group similar to the tapestry's 'family' of 'pilgrims.' According to Silver, the work

Detailed visual analysis of the *Haywain* tapestry's seascape

One of the most striking differences found in the tapestry, which goes hand in hand with the circumscription of the hay wagon scene inside a *globus cruciger,* is the seascape. Here, a body of water teems with menacing seamonsters equipped with beaks, horns, and tendrils, which are of a similar type to those found surrounding Iceland in Abraham Ortelius's atlas (*fig. 19*).[35] On the right hand portion, fish are consuming other fish, illustrating the proverb "the big fish eat the little fish," an adage that describes the world as an unjust place where the strong prey on and profit off of the weak. This is also the subject of a print based on a design by Pieter Bruegel the Elder from 1556 called *Big Fishes Eat Little Fishes* (*fig.20*). In the upper left quadrant of the tapestry's seascape, a large fish surfaces to spout fire, curling smoke, and what appears to be a flock of small birds that recalls the pestilent swarm of hybrid-insect-demons that shower earthly paradise in the first episode of the *Haywain* triptych. Closer inspection reveals the subtle transformation of blue, curving shadows within the clouds of smoke into tiny blue birds, rendered plainly by crossed flecks of navy (*fig. 21*).

Each of these episodes, encircling the *globus* like a menacing frame, takes place close to the viewer, near the lower edge of the picture plane, which is also the choppiest part of the seascape. The sky features a few thin clouds and is generally peaceful. All that mars the serenity of the horizon are the three angels panicking around the crucifix, one angel raising his hands above his head, looking up only at the scene's border, and another with his head bowed, his

"accuses a wandering pilgrim of accumulating crowds of children who are not really his in order to deceive townsmen into giving to him more generously."

[35] Chet van Deuzer, *Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps* (London: British Library, 2013), 116. Seamonsters resembling those in the *Haywain* tapestry's seascape are to be found in the details of early modern geographic maps. It was with the turn of the seventeenth century that animals living in the sea were portrayed accurately, removing them from the "category of monster."

hands held over his face in prayer (*fig. 22*). The trio appears to be expressing grief for the abandonment of the world by God. In the following sections, I will demonstrate how all of these elements are meaningful when seen from the unique perspective of Reformation-era Catholic humanists.

Cardinal Granvelle's relationship to third party Catholic Reformers

Although typically associated with his role ensuring that royal policy was implemented in the Netherlands from 1559 to 1564, Granvelle's biography tells a different story of a man who was a friend to artists and humanists, including those from the more Protestant side of the political spectrum.[36] In his analysis of Cardinal Granvelle's library, preserved in the municipal library of Besançon, Simon-Pierre Dinard considers the cardinal's collection of works by Erasmus as a witness to the Cardinal's interest in spiritual practice, "or at least an interest in the question of personal spirituality…so as to deepen the faith of a man too often considered essentially, see exclusively, political."[37] A humanist who studied law at the University of Padua and then divinity at the University of Louvain, Granvelle was neither a radical reformer (he was, after all, a cardinal) nor a staunch Papist. In fact, he owned four volumes of Savonarola's sermons, "perhaps," as Dinard suggests, "for their reformist aspects…although [Savonarolas'] forcibly democratic political projects would not have been to the Cardinal's tastes."[38] Granvelle's association with the humanist movement can be measured by his financial backing of the

[36] Henk van Nierop, "The Nobles and the Revolt," *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt,* ed. Graham Darby (London: Routledge, 2001), 59. As Nierop explains, the king's policy in Spain in the wake of his departure to Madrid in 1559 is summarized "erroneously" as the introduction of the 'Spanish Inquisition.' Granvelle's official role was to implement Philip II's "long-prepared plan for a reform of the bishoprics in the Low Countries...[which] would render the struggle against heresy more effective and increase the king's influence in the affairs of the church...Broad popular opposition against the planned reform of the bishoprics...forced the king to withdraw his minister [Granvelle] in March 1964."
[37] Dinard, "Collection du cardinal Antoine de Granvelle,"160.
[38] *Ibid.*

Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin, and his intervention regarding the publication of humanist authors, among them, Granvelle's friend, the Roman humanist Fluvio Orsini.[39]

Granvelle can be credited with building a robust network of artists from across the Habsburg Empire that included Titian, Jacopo Sansovino, Hans Collaert, Lambert Lombard, Leone and Pampeo Leoni, and the portraitist Antonis Mor. He was a true friend to these artists, securing many of them lucrative commissions on behalf of Philip II. In this respect, Granvelle was something of a mastermind behind the king's collection, which was carefully and thematically hung throughout the monumental Escorial.[40]

The most focused study concerning Granvelle's relationship with artists as both patron and champion remains M. Jules Gauthier's article from 1901.[41] According to Gauthier, the artists and portraitists employed by Granvelle had deep faith in their patron, insomuch as they "lauded him by their own accord, Granvelle's motto *DURATE* becoming the expression of [the artists'] hopes in the presence of ominous difficulties; the Protestants and the revolts in Holland [*sic*]." Sentiments of optimism and hope in their patron's ability to quell the mounting unrest in the Netherlands in the 1550s, according to Gauthier, is clearly legible in sculptor Leone Leoni's portraits of Granvelle that the cardinal himself commissioned. [42] In a letter to Granvelle dated 16 October, Leoni describes the preparations for a bronze medal commissioned by the cardinal (*fig.*

[39] *Ibid.* 162.
[40] Fernando Checa Cremades, *Felipe II: Mecenas de las Artes* (Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 1992), 138-139; Iain Buchanan, "The contract for King Philip II's tapestries of the 'History of Noah'." *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 148, No. 1239 (Jun. 2006), This article cites correspondences between Granvelle and the king's secretaries demonstrating Granvelle's active participation in the commissioning and conception of the 'Noah' tapestries' borders. The conception of the final product, in which the borders illustrate the Four Elements—a humanist theme—through various birds, fish, and fauna, seems as if it could be at least partially credited to Granvelle.
[41] M. Jules Gauthier, "Le Cardinal de Granvelle et les artistes de son temps," *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation du Doubs,* 7e série, 6e vol. (1991), 305-351. Appended to the text is a transcription of the inventory from 1607 of the tapestries, sculptures, and paintings in Granvelle's estate.
[42] Quotation translated from the original French; "Les artistes aussi bien que les lettrés lui tressent à l'envi des couronnes et sa devise DURATE, deviant l'expression de leurs souhaits en presence des difficultiés qui le menacent; les protestants et les révoltés de Hollande l'attaquent sournoisement d'abord, puis en face." *Ibid.,* 312.

23).[43] He writes, "considering the subject represented on the *ducat* [the face-side of the coin, i.e. Granvelle], I could not see myself making a reverse full of dogs in relief, of the kind found in tapestries...thus, I applied myself to rendering water, figures, and their distance in perspective, and to the composition of Neptune who, in calming the water, defends Thetis in the process of killing a seamonster."[44] As Gauthier suggests, it would appear that the depiction of Neptune restoring calm to the waters was meant by Leoni to strike a parallel between the all-powerful sea-God and the work's patron.[45]

Another commendatory reference to Granvelle's diplomacy is found in Giorgio Ghisi's engraving of Raphael's 1510 fresco *The Dispute About the Holy Sacrament,* dedicated to Granvelle by the humanist printer Hieronymus Cock in 1552. Flanking either side of the glowing Trinity, the Church Fathers, Popes, cardinals, as well as humanist paragon Dante Alighieri appear in mid-deliberation on the controversial topic (*fig. 24*).[46] The editors of a recent catalog of Cock's prints point out that, in accordance with the theme of *The Dispute About the Holy Sacrament*, Granvelle was known to breach Philip II's policy of religious intolerance on behalf of artists of various ideological persuasions; as, for example, when he pardoned sculptor Pampeo Leoni and painter Guillaume Coxcie (son of Michel) during an Inquisition hearing in the 1580.[47] Granvelle's stoic attitude, which artists such as Leone Leoni applauded, exemplifies the Catholic movement for Protestant reconciliation in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. As later

[43] Eugène Plon, *Leon Leoni, sculpteur de Charles-quint, et Pompeo Leoni, sculpteur de Philippe II*, (Paris: Plon, Nourrit, et cie., 1887), 109. As Plon points out, in 1555 the commission for the coin designs was long overdue to Granvelle.
[44] Leone Leoni to Cardinal Granvelle, Milan (16 October, 1555) in Plon, *Leon Leoni,* 111. Quote translated from French, translated from the original Italian. In his letter, Leoni also mentions the depiction of, on the side of the coin with Neptune, "the massacre of the timid mariners thrown into the sea, all things that do not stray from the subject."
[45] Gauthier, "Le Cardinal de Granvelle et les artistes de son temps," 310. Gauthier points out the uncanny symmetry of the ship's sail—or "grande voile"—on the reverse of the Leoni medal and the Cardinal's family name: "..c'est Leoni qui imagine de representer Granvelle sous les traits de Neptune calmant les flots irrités, sur plusieurs médailles de divers modules... C'est lui qui perpétue cet emblème parlant d'une grande voile (*Gran-vela*) don't le secours fera flotter à travers les écueils [of the Reformation?] le navire de l'État.."
[46] *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print.* Edited by Joris van Grieken, Ger Luitjen, and Jan van der Stock. Brussels: Mercatorfonds, in association with Yale University Press, 2013. Exhibition Catalog, 130-133.
[47] *Ibid.,* 316.

analysis in this thesis shows, neither Granvelle—nor his collection of tapestries—can be properly understood without this historical context.

Historians have only recently recognized catholic reformers of the first half of the sixteenth century as a substantial movement in the Low Countries.[48] During this period, the Catholic Church sent its most capable representatives to numerous ecumenical councils in hopes of reconciling with the Protestants over a theological controversy. The most fundamental points of contention that made the gulf between Lutheran Protestants and clericalists virtually unbridgeable were the notions held by the Catholic Church regarding Grace, Merit, Justification, and the role of free will in the process of sanctification, a notion that Martin Luther's notion of Grace controverted absolutely. After all, it was the Church's doctrine—that that the clergy could administer the redemption of those who had completed "good works" –that led to the exploitation of this power in such forms as the selling of indulgences.

However, it would be wrong to suppose that followers of Luther were the only ones calling for reform in these areas at the Council of Trent. In their genuine effort to reconcile with the Protestants at the first meeting of the Council in 1545, the ecclesiastical reform commission (*Concilium de emandanda Ecclesia*), led by the University of Padua-educated Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, hoped to win the Protestants over with their own reformist position regarding the abuses of the Church. The criticisms leveled at the Church by what Peter Matheson has called "a third party, identified with neither Protestant nor Catholic [parties]," called for many of the same reforms as the Protestants.[49] For example, at the opening of the Council, Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto, a member of the ecclesiastical reform commission, "attacked the Roman curia on

[48] Lucy Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford University Press, 2000). The scholarship on Catholic reformist thought in the Low Countries lags slightly, but this text by Wooding on the Catholic movement in England provides a useful model.
[49] Peter Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 5.

grounds of avarice, luxury, and ambition," and called for a return to the Primitive Church.[50] This policy of empathy towards the Protestants in the 1530s and 1540s was made possible by the large number of humanist cardinals nominated under Pope Clement VII who felt they were the last line of defense against social collapse and bloodshed across the Holy Roman Empire.[51] This contingent of cardinals shared the vision of the reformed Church described by Erasmus in his *De Amabile Ecclesiae Concordia* (1533), summarized by Matheson as the belief that "points held in common should be stressed, and there should be tolerance for differing views on non-essential matters."[52]

By the 1560s, factious extremism had taken hold of the Protestant movement and the aforementioned efforts of the Church had been replaced by the Spanish empire's coldblooded policies of pacification under Philip II. Conceived when the riots and iconoclasm of the 1560s were but scary figments on the horizon, Granvelle's tapestries are a product of an era that witnessed the dying out of an Erasmian hope for reconciliation. However, as will be shown later, this period's conciliatory message would endure in the *Haywain* tapestry and other works from the middle third of the sixteenth century intended for a northern humanist audience.

By 1560, Granvelle was acutely aware of the controversial nature of his Bosch tapestries relative to Philip II's stringently intolerant regime—particularly the subject of the *Haywain* tapestry. There is evidence that Granvelle preferred his Bosch tapestries to be seen only by a select few, particularly while he was living in Rome; he advised other amateurs of Bosch to do the same. In a letter from the aforementioned 1560 exchanges between Granvelle and García de Toledo, Granvelle, writing from Antwerp, advises the Viceroy of Catalonia not to pursue the commission of a similar set of Bosch tapestries since, in Spain, these 'disparates' would not

[50] Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 327.
[51] Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome,* 328.
[52] Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini,* 6.

perform so well.[53] After explaining to the Viceroy how long it would take to complete the tapestries with Pannemaker's resources, he explains that, "furthermore, in Spain, works by Bosch, like the ones you have mentioned, the hay cart, and the paradise and hell, and Saint Martin, have been defended before the Inquisition."[54] Taking heed, García de Toledo replies from Barcelona, "I see what you mean about the lack of such paintings in Spain," and decides to postpone his commission.[55]

An anomaly that has always left Granvelle scholars stumped is the fact that Granvelle's coat of arms do not appear on any of the tapestries in the Escorial. This makes it appear as though he did not request for them to be included.[56] In any case, one must ask, what special meaning did these "escandalizan" tapestries hold for Granvelle? What sensibilities and political views in the *Haywain* or *Saint Martin* tapestries had to be guarded from Granvelle's imperial or Papist contemporaries? Since the critical subject matter, which the following sections explore, would have been incriminating in the possession of a cardinal, is it possible that this omission was intentional?

The *Haywain* tapestry: hay as Reformation iconography

Considering the moderate reformist background of the tapestry's collector, one of the tasks of this thesis is to reconcile the iconographic role of hay—whose possible allusions had multiplied since the triptych version—with the Catholic humanist-reformist context just described. Given

[53] Granvelle to D. García de Toledo, Antwerp (20 May 1560) in Tudela, "Relaciones artísticas de Antonio Perrenot," 328.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] Otto Kurz, "Four Tapestries after Hieronymus Bosch," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 30 (1967): 152. Kurz believes (erroneously) that the Bosch tapestries now in the Escorial must have been the set that belonged to the Duke of Alba because "it seems that Granvella was always careful to have his coat-of-arms on all tapestries woven for him." However, the lack of arms says nothing definitively about the tapestry's owner; Piquard, on the other hand, finds it valid to question whether a tapestry in the Royal Collection in Madrid (referred to in Granvelle's correspondences as "la tapisserie des vignes") that features no proprietary arms belonged to Granvelle. Piquard, "Cardinal de Granvelle, Amateur de Tapisseries," 121.

Granvelle's reformist leanings, I argue that the imagery of the *Haywain* tapestry has clear connections to the hot issues that were debated between Protestant and Catholic reformers at Worms (1521), Speyer (1529), Augsburg (1530), Leipzig (1534), and Regensberg (1541). The tabernacle overflowing with hay, which leads the mini procession in the lower left quadrant of the *globus*, is most likely in reference to the debates regarding the nature of the Eucharist, traditionally stored in the tabernacle (*fig. 25*). One of the seven Sacraments, the Eucharist's ability to convey grace to the recipient was a fundamental point of dispute for Lutheran Protesants. [57] Another Protesant-leaning condemnation is the presence of the Pope, bishop, and hooded cardinal who, in the tapestry version, stand first in line to receive their share of hay from the demon on top of the hay cart.

However, it would be wrong to interpret the *Haywain* tapestry as a political banner of purely Protestant grievances. Rather, I will argue that the events being criticized within the *globus* are more indicative of the frustrations felt by Erasmian reformers such as Granvelle within the College of Cardinals. According to Matheson, the failed ecumenical council at the Diet of Regensburg in 1541 had resulted in "a premature polarization of the situation [that appeared] to have destroyed the chances of a moderate reform of the Church."[58] For the group left stuck in the middle, the so-called "third party" of Erasmian reformers, the final decision at Regensburg to agree to disagree—but more vehemently this time—was disquieting, to say the least. Furthermore, doctrinal issues were increasingly compounded with social politics, which resulted in the increasing number of Protestants across the Holy Roman Empire.[59] By the 1540s, the Erasmian mission was frustrated, if not invalidated, by the "endless succession of

[57] *Oxford Dictionary of Christianity*, 3rd rev. ed., s.v. "sacrament."
[58] Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini,* 5.
[59] *Ibid.*

controversy" and "stream of polemics" in areas whose populations hastily adopted ill-defined and mercurial Protestant tenets.[60]

Though it is tempting to reduce the meaning of the hay to a simple allusion to the Eucharist controversy based on its placement in the tabernacle, the ubiquity of the hay within the *globus* complicates such an exclusive definition of this motif. In 1522, Erasmus published his correspondences, making public his response to Martin Luther's 1520 treatise, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, in which he accuses Luther of having "made the evil [that is, the growing schism] to all appearance incurable."[61] I propose that in the tapestry, the hay represents this "evil". Moreover, the simultaneous appearance of hay in scenes that make doctrinal allusions, as well as scenes of base violence and deceit, identifies it with a general sense of turbulence that spanned the ideological and every day in a Low Countries town or city in the early sixteenth century. In the diffusion of hay-coveting bishops, false pilgrims, burghers, and violent skirmishes, the hay does not serve to recriminate a particular faction in these debates, but rather to denounce the de-stabilizing societal repercussions of those seeking to dissolve the unity of the Church.

A literary reference to the moral symbolism of hay as not simply a sign of transience but of impulsive judgment is made by Petrus Berchorius (also known as Pierre Bersuire) in his multivolume dictionary of Biblical moral imagery, *Reportium Morale* (ca. 1355).[62] According to Berchorius, hay "symbolizes hypocrisy and instability, because it does not last, although it appears fresh at first."[63] A clear association between hay and 'deceit,' in accord with Berchorius's definition, which introduces human judgment and behavior, is found in the 1563

[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974-), Ep 1204, CWE 8:212.
[62] Mirella Levi D'Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance: botanical symbolism in Italian painting* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1977), 170.
[63] Berchorius, *Repertorium* Morale, vol. II (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1499), 63, col. 2. Quoted in D'Ancona.

ommegang procession in Antwerp celebrating the Ascension of the Virgin: a series of floats condemning the follies of *Elk* (everyman) included a hay cart with a character named 'Bedrieghelijk aenlocken', or 'Alluring deceit' on top of the cart.[64]

This thesis will present a conception of the hay's 'instability' that goes beyond the common interpretation of Bosch's hay cart as representing the 'transience of material wealth.' By taking into account the hay's presence amid Reformation themes, the suggestion will be made that, in the tapestry, the hay is a caution against the rash adoption and frailty of religious beliefs during the Reformation. In the next section, I will argue that the viewing strategy implied by the schematic composition of the tapestry is modeled after private devotional imagery used to induce inward reflection. In practice, these works advocated against impulsivity since their function is conducive to solitary deliberation of one's faith in God. In other words, this process of looking involves the tapestry's viewer's resistance to the fluctuating doctrinal fads represented by the scenes surrounding the hay cart.

Haywain globus as "mirror of conscience"

Painted works on panel from the period that coincided with the height of the *devotio moderna* movement (the second half of the fifteenth century) used circular formats to appeal to viewers' inwardly focused spirituality. The *devotio moderna* movement, which Alain Tapié credits as providing the "solid base" for Flemish humanism, is defined broadly by its renunciation of the Church's abstract, rigidly regulated, reason-based theology, in favor of "the sources of faith" derived from the internalization of the Scripture.[65] As art historians have demonstrated, similar

[64] Gibson, "The Turnip Wagon: A Boschian Motif Transformed," *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Summer, 1979): 187.
[65] Alain Tapié, *Fables du paysage flamand—Bosch, Bles, Brueghel, Bril* (Paris: Somogy editions d'Art, 2012), 37. Quote taken from Tapié's quotation of the Bretheren of the Common Life's credo.

strategies for approaching the "source" of one's faith were found in graphic material intended for vision-based devotional exercises in the Church as well as the home. One of the strategies that migrated from *devotio moderna* texts to this visual material was the evocation of the mirror's reflective surface as a metaphor for the act of spiritual self-reflection and observation.

According to Michel Weemans, the advent of oil painting in the Netherlands in the second quarter of the fifteenth century was concurrent with a more structural innovation: the application of subsequent glazes of detailed paintwork to "wooden panels that are made to look like mirrors."[66] A *tondo* that may have served this purpose in a fifteenth-century domestic setting is a 20 centimetre in diameter *tondo* by Hans Memling and his workshop from the last quarter of the fifteenth century depicting in half-length the *Salvator mundi* against a peaceful, seemingly infinitely receding landscape (*fig. 26*). In Rogier van der Weyden's 1434 *Annunciation* triptych, a comparable *tondo* hangs over the Virgin's bed; upon closer inspection, the contents of the roundel is the bronze cast or painted figure of Christ as *Salvator mundi* (*figs. 27-28)*. According to Mary Sprinson de Jesús, *tondi* such as these*,* which were in high demand in the fifteenth century, "may have had a dual purpose: to serve as a blessing for a marriage and to encourage virtuous conduct."[67] In general, moralizing *tondi* from this period used a deliberately mirror-shaped format, were created to be hung in the home, and bore compositions in which a central Holy figure is placed before a receding landscape. This part of the thesis will argue that the central *globus* of the *Haywain* tapestry is part of this tradition of Northern Renaissance art, the

[66] Weemans, *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700,* eds. Celeste Brusati, Karl Enekel and Walter Melion (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 263. The idea of roundels representing or imitating mirrors is in agreement with the expansive and meticulously rendered landscapes in the two works by Memling and his workshop. In Karel van Mander's Life of Van Eyck, by Michel Weemans's account, the practice of "painting in oil on wooden panels that are made to look like mirrors" was simultaneous to the invention of what Van Mander calls *netticheyt*: the meticulous detail of a work that "makes [viewers] tarry long."

[67] *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: early Netherlandish painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* Edited by Maryan Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, with Yale University Press, 1998. Exhibition catalog, 236.

main function of which is to facilitate a specific state of cognition: the introspective examination of one's own soul.

In the last few decades, writers on Bosch have brought attention to early modern Christian poems, exegeses, and mystical devotional literature in which a "flawless mirror" is used as a metaphorical device to describe the omniscient vision of God.[68] Sixteenth-century painters and their patrons understood the *tondo* shape as presenting the Eye of God in its capacity to mirror the world in all of its variety of sin and virtue. The metaphorical objectification of God's vision as a mirror furnished artists with a way of representing the watchful eye of God, resulting in what Weemans has referred to as the "mirror or eye landscapes" endemic to the Netherlands. In Nicholas of Cusa's 1453 treatise, *Vision of God* (*De vision dei*), addressing the Lord who "dost observe all things", Cusa writes, "*Thou art an Eye*…, thy sight being an eye or living mirror, seeth all things *in thyself*." Cusa goes on to endow this divine vision with corporeality by comparing God's omnipotence to a sphere: "the angle of thine Eye, O God, is not limited, but is infinite, being the angle of a circle, nay, of a sphere, also, since thy sight is an eye of sphericity and of infinite perfection."[69]

Certain Eye of God paintings make the mirror-eye metaphor more explicit by fashioning the already mirror-shaped *tondo* in imitation of an actual eyeball. Using anatomical language, Walter Gibson has described Bosch's *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* tabletop's central *tondo* as a "pupil [in] which appears the half-length figure of Christ" (*fig. 29*)[70] Gibson goes on to refer to the outer ring in which the genre scenes depicting the seven sins are found as

[68] The Vision of God, or *De visione dei,* was a work associated with the *devotio moderna* movment written in 1453 by the German theologian and philosopher Nicolas de Cusan on the omniscience of God.
[69] Quoted in Gibson, "Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of man: The Authorship and Iconography of the "Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins," *Oud Holland,* Jaarg. 87, No. 4 (1973): 217.
[70] *Ibid.*, 209.

"the cornea" located outside "the golden striations of the iris."[71] These two regions of the mirror-eye *tondi*—the pupillary centre and peripheral or corneal area—typify the compositional structure of other contemporary mirror-eye diagrams. Graphic renditions of the Eye of God are found in works from the fifteenth century such as *Image of Brother Claus* (*fig. 30*), which Joseph Koerner likens to an "all-seeing eye."[72] In this section, mystic and devotional Christian texts that employ mirror imagery to describe the Eye of God will be presented as the theoretical basis for the so-called mirror-eye landscapes. Moreover, I will also demonstrate that the use of formal juxtaposition between the concentric parts of the mirror-eye of God persists in the *Haywain* tapestry's composition.

In his commentary on Plato's dialogue *Alcibiades I* in which Socrates answers the Delphic exhortation to "know thyself," the fourth century Roman bishop Eusebius asserts that to look into the "the most noble part of the soul" that most closely resembles God—the pupil—is the way to obtain knowledge of one's own soul. In the fourteenth-century religious poem *The Prik of Conscience,* the anonymous Yorkshire writer cites Saint Augustine,

> "the righteous shall see all things in God as a mirror of a glass that is clear;
> they shall see themselves and all other men who dwell on earth and in
> Heaven and Hell, and all the secrets of God."[73]

To see oneself—to see one's soul—one should look into God's mirror, which the Flemish mystic Jan van Ruysbroeck called a "flawless mirror, in which the image remains steadfast."[74] Put simply by Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, "…look back into your soul as you would in a mirror,

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[71] *Ibid.*
[72] Joseph Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) 136.
[73] Gibson, "Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man," 217. Gibson attributes the poem to Richard of Rolle, hermit of Hampole, although this attribution has since been overturned. See James H. Morey, "Prik of Conscience: Introduction," http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/morey-prik-of-conscience-introduction. [accessed July 16, 2015] Notwithstanding, Gibson appends the citation of this text with a list of works from the Middle Ages, including Dante's *Divine Comedy*, that employ mirror-God metaphor.
[74] *Ibid.,*, 221. Quote taken from John of Ruysbroeck, *Adorment of the Spiritual Marriage*.

discern her structure and you will be able to see that you are made to the image and likeness of God."[75] According to Gibson, the image at the centre of the *Seven Deadly Sins* tabletop "shows man what he is, [and] also shows him what he should strive to be."[76]

However, the majority of the mirror's surface on *Seven Deadly Sins* tabletop provides negative exempla of Christian behavior. The peripheral scenes of the tabletop, populated with narcissistic or lustful maidens and chair-hurling men, are as unforgiving as one of Erasmus's biting satires. The desired effect of these corneal reflections recall the twelfth-century poet and satirist Nigellus Wireker's purpose in calling his book *Speculum stultorum* (Mirror of Fools): so that "foolish men may observe as in a mirror the foolishness of others and may then correct their own folly."[77] Likewise, a mirror-shaped[78] work by Bosch known as the Rotterdam *Wayfarer tondo* (*fig. 31*), in which a frail and elderly pilgrim approaches a rickety bridge in a sinister landscape, asks viewers to reflect on the perpetrations of sin and folly that surrounds them. Bosch's meek pilgrim with mismatched shoes recalls the protagonist figure in secular moral tracts such as Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* (1355)[79], a connection suggesting the virtuousness of the moral choice made by Bosch's wayfarer. This universal pilgrim's road of life however, is beset by the sinfulness around the brothel in the middle-ground, in whose doorway, for example, a woman is being groped. Like the corneal area of the *Seven Deadly Sins tondo,* the Rotterdam *tondo* functions as synecdoche for the Vision of God, in

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[75] Gibson, "Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man," 221. Quotation from Thomas Aquinas, *Three Theological Virtues*.
[76] *Ibid.*, 222.
[77] *Ibid.,* 219. Quotation from *The Book of Daun Burnel the Ass, Nigellus Wireker's Speculum stultorium,* trans. By G. W. Regenos (Austin, Tex., 1959), 23-24.
[78] "The image of the wayfarer in the Rotterdam tondo is conceived as a reflection in a mirror. With the later-added frame removed, we may observe that Bosch deliberately shaped his composition as a mirror, tracing its circular frame. (The painter's efforts to create an illusion of a wooden edge can be better observed in the infrared reflectogram assembly)." Yona Pinson, "Hieronymus Bosch: Homo viator at a Crossroads: A New Reading of the Rotterdam tondo," *Artibus et Historiae,* Vol. 26, No. 52 (2005): 71.
[79] *The pilgrimage of the life of man, English by John Lydgate, A. D. 1426, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, A. D. 1330, 1335. The text ed. by F. J. Furnivall ... With introduction, notes, glossary and indexes by Katharine B. Locock ...* Guillaume, de Deguileville, 14th cent. London: Pub. for the Early English text society by K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & co., limited, 1899-1904.

whose Eye is reflected a world in which the sins of lust, intemperance, sloth—to name those evident in the Rotterdam *tondo* landscape—proliferate.

Returning to the object of this study, it would appear that the central *tondo-globus* of the *Haywain* tapestry has the same format as the painted examples of the mirror-eye landscapes discussed above. The *Haywain'*s woven landscape displays a world of sin similar to that found in the outer area of the *Seven Deadly Sins* and the Rotterdam *Wayfarer*; in the tapestry the repertoire of negative exempla has been expanded to include relic worship, the Papacy, and the Sacraments. The characteristics of the various mirror-eye *tondi* described above establish a precedent for the *Haywain* tapestry as a medium of introspection in the tradition of Medieval devotional poems and treatises. In the next section, several examples will be presented that use similar compositional structures but which include references to the problems of the Reformation. Such additions to the kinds of vices is seen in the designer of the *Haywain* tapestry's choice of religious figures, such as nuns and saints, which were controversial among Erasmian humanists. In the following section, these controversial emblems of reformist debate will become, both literally and figuratively, the central object of the Catholic humanist viewer's deliberative gaze.

Centrepoints: icons of ambiguity in three tapestries

Beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, mirror-shaped paintings were used as a means of spiritual self-evaluation. Moreover, concepts from the *devotio moderna* movement regarding God's omnipotence designated specific schematic regions of the works, namely, the centre-point and the surrounding ring-shaped area, with spiritual meaning. The pages that follow will consider the figure of the nun, located at the exact centre of the *Haywain* tapestry's *globus,* as following the

same function as the image of Christ in the *Seven Deadly Sins* tabletop or Brother Claus's image of Christ. In other words, the nun will be similarly designated as a figure that functions as an aid for meditating on the state of one's soul. Furthermore, it will be seen that the *Haywain* tapestry's use of the mirror-eye *tondo* format specifically served the viewer's deliberation on points of debate relating to the Reformation.

Recalling Walter Gibson's suggestion that the central figures of mirror-eye *tondi* "show man what he is, [and] also show him what he should strive to be," I suggest that by the same means, the tapestries employ figures that stimulate the viewer's self-reflection on contemporary topics.[80] This makes it possible for the early modern viewer to ask, "given this figure's identity and historical context—which is my context, too—what feelings or outcomes do I project on the figure at centre?" By following this exercise, the viewer achieves introspection comparable to the desired effect of the previously discussed, more traditional, mirror-eye *tondi.* I will argue that the *Haywain* tapestry, as well as two other tapestries from the same series, champions the act of empathy and deliberation as a possible solution to interminable, divisive religious conflict.

Wearing wooden pattens on her feat, leaning on a walking stick with a rosary dangling at her side, and led closely by another figure who is one step ahead of her, the nun corresponds with representations of blind figures found in a number of Netherlandish landscapes from the end of the fifteenth century. These include Bosch's Metropolitan *Adoration of the Magi* (1475), in which the right-hand landscape shows a woman being led across a bridge into dense verdure by a bourgeois or aristocratic man dressed in black (*figs. 32-33*). The woman's left arm, bent perpendicularly to her body, seems to feel for the space in front of her, indicating her blindness. Also, in the left-foreground in the central panel of the *Haywain* triptych, a man wearing a tall hat leans on his walking-stick and reaches to touch the shoulder of a boy with his back to the viewer.

[80] Gibson, 222.

They both clutch the walking stick, suggesting that the boy has been leading the man by the stick. A similar blind traveler is found dotting several of the receding landscapes by Joachim Patinir. Reinhardt Falkenburg interprets the figure shown being led by a child in the right middle-ground of the Prado *Landscape with St Jerome* (*fig. 34-35*) by Patinir as a Christian being led astray on the pilgrimage of life.[81] Building on Falkenburg's argument, I propose that the *Haywain* tapestry addresses the idea that there are two types of vision—spiritual vision, and physical vision—that occur independently from one another. In other words, it is possible for a person to be physically blind while possessing spiritual vision (and vice versa).

In the tapestry, the crucial question posed to the viewer by the nun is whether she is in fact blind or not. Are the eyes staring at the viewer those of a blind woman?—or are her eyes opened *metaphorically* to God for the first time? In a 1579 play by Lauris Jansz, *De geboren Blinde* (The Man Born Blind), the main character, blind his whole life, is suddenly healed of his blindness—both spiritually and physically. [82] The miraculous restoration of the man's vision is placed in stark opposition with the Pharisees in the story, who, although not physically blind, remain spiritually so in their disbelief in Christ. Has a similar transformation occurred in the nun? And if yes, to what degree?

This question is posed by Herri met de Bles in his inclusion of the blind peddler motif in the *Preaching of John the Baptist* (*fig. 36-37*) in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. According to Weemans, the blind peddler's position in the landscape is "consistent with a schema that opposes the blind figure with the sacred protagonist personifying spiritual vision," also known as John the Baptist, who, according to the Scripture, is responsible for physically

[81] "[The blind man and the boy leading him] may represent the inhabitants of the 'civitas terrena" who fail to see that the road to life leads in the opposite direction." Reindert Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir: Landscape as an image of the Pilgrimage of Life*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1988), 95.
[82] Michel Weemans, *Herri met de Bles: Les Ruses du paysage au temps du Bruegel et d'Érasme* (Paris: Hazan, 2013), 118.

pointing out Christ, making him visible as the son of God to his future followers.[83] If the viewer takes the peddler as blind in every sense, then the figure stands for humanity's benighted peregrinations on earth as it awaits the Last Judgment and in perfect contrast with St. John. If the viewer sees the figure as possessing sight—whether metaphorically or physically—he becomes a paragon for the potential of salvation. But by itself, without the viewer's adjudication, the work remains incomplete.[84]

If we accept, based on evidence found in other examples of blindness in literature and art, that the nun shown here (*fig. 4)* is blind but apparently opening her eyes, perhaps for the first time, then she has embodied the paradox that the blind person is more virtuous by the fact that her interior vision or spirituality has been perfected. Up until the moment depicted in the tapestry, the nun has lived a life without the material things whose value is amplified by physical sight. Unaware of the perils of Roman Catholicism, she adhered to the faith (and her rosaries) in blissful ignorance of rampant abuses. Now that her eyes are open, her internal spirituality is tested by the external displays of 'spirituality' that surround her. In short, she must re-evaluate belonging to the same faith as the masses in the rest of the *globus*, and, possibly, she may distinguish herself by completely rejecting it in the next moment. However, she remains frozen in pre-decision. Would she join the throng indiscriminately latching onto the hay? Or purify herself of the system of belief that surrounds her, which is susceptible to idol worship, greed, and which can only lead to violence? Further evidence from a second tapestry in this series supports the notion that the nun's permanent attitude of composed deliberation was considered by humanists to be a virtue. It would appear that in the *Haywain* tapestry, the virtue being espoused

[83] *Ibid.* Regarding the blind peddler: "Son apparition dans une douzaine paysages de Bles, dont cinq *Prédication,* correspond dans chaque cas à un schéma qui l'oppose au protagonist sacré incarnant la vision spirituelle."
[84] *Ibid.*, 126., Erasmus made a similar appeal to his reader, stressing a reformist context and comparing spiritual vision to the New Church in a paraphrase of Saint Paul's epistle of Romans: "C'est l'heure de vous réveiller enfin du sommeil, car maintenant le salut est plus près de nous que lorsque nous avons cru. La nuit est avancée, le jour approche. Dépouillons-nous des oeuvres des ténèbres, et revêtons les armes de la lumière" (Rom: 13, 12).

is a certain cool-headedness that leaves differing and hypothetical alternatives open to discussion.

A figure embodying a similar open-ended quandry as the nun is found in the tapestry depicting Saint Martin leaving the gates of a city on horseback (*fig. 38*).[85] In the original story by Sulpicius Severus (ca. 396), St. Martin, a Roman cavalry officer and catechumen, severed his cloak, giving half to a beggar at the gates of Amiens. In some representations, Christ appears to Martin holding the piece of cloth given to the beggar and proclaiming Martin's good deed. In Medieval art, this scene is synonymous with the virtue of Charity. However, this Boschian version, set in the early modern present, is not as clearly an extolment of charity as a virtue. [86]

With his hand loosely clutching the blue and gold mantle draped over his shoulder, Saint Martin looks down at a beggar on one knee with a wooden alms-bowl in his mouth (*fig. 39*). The saint's expression could be described as spiteful; Erwin Pokorny sees the Saint as about to trample a cripple with his horse and "show[ing] no sign of Christian compassion."[87] As put by Martin Walsh, "the tapestry […] portrays a moment before commitment to the act of charity, perhaps even a moment of alienation or doubt."[88] Unable or unwilling to fulfill a simpler, more heroic image of charity, the possibility that St. Martin exemplifies what Walsh calls "the new attitude of Christian stoicism" brings to mind the nun found at the centre of the *Haywain*

[85] Martin Walsh, "'Martín y muchos pobres': Grotesque Versions of the Charity of St Martin in the Bosch and Bruegel Schools," *Essays in Medieval Studies,* Vol. 14 (1997), http://www.illinoismedieval.org/ems/VOL14/walsh.html. Walsh refutes the tapestry's design's attribution to Bosch on account of its 'diffuse' composition. Bosch certainly produced paintings on the subject: the inventory of Philip II's collection in 1598 mentions three paintings attributed to Bosch depicting St. Martin.
[86] Pilar Silva Maroto, "The Wine of St. Martin's Day. Pieter Bruegel the Elder," *Museo Nacional del Prado,* last modified September 2010, accessed August 18, 2015, https://www.museodelprado.es/en/research/estudios/el-vino-de-la-fiesta-de-san-martin-pieter-bruegel-el-viejo/el-tema-del-vino-de-la-fiesta-de-san-martin/. The tapestry depicts contemporary celebrations of the feast of St. Martin showing boar-baiting competition as well as a Martinmas feast, closed to the poor, on the right side of the tapestry. All partook in the consumption of Saint Martin's wine, the first wine of the season. The city gates St. Martin passes through architecturally resemble the Porte de Hal in Brussels.
[87] Erwin Pokorny, "Bosch's Cripples and Drawings by His Imitators," *Master Drawings,* Vol. 41, No. 3, Early Netherlandish Drawings (Augut,n, 2003): 301.
[88] Walsh, 'Martín y muchos pobres.'

tapestry.[89] Like the nun, St Martin is shown at a moment of deliberation of what would locate him on one side of Reformist debate.

The most un-bridgeable theological gulf between Protestant reformers and Catholics concerned the mechanics by which one acceded to salvation. In brief, the Catholics at Trent argued that salvation—for which the technical term used was Justification—was "imparted" or rewarded to those who accomplished Good Works, such as giving half of one's cloak to a shivering beggar.[90] By contrast, the Lutheran Protestants believed that Divine Grace was "imputed," that is, ascribed by similarity or association, and not based on the logic of exchange or reciprocity.[91] Critics such as Luther were quick to point out that the doctrine of Good Works enabled beggars as parasites.[92]

However, the tapestry appears to withhold judgment of the Saint's famous act when compared to other contemporary works that are critical of the act of St. Martin and his feast day. For example, in Pieter Bruegel's *The Wine of St. Martin's Day's* (*fig. 40*), condemnation of the Saint's legacy is a fait accompli. On the right side of the painting, the Saint is seen from behind about to gallop away from the dissolute feast which, according to Pilar Silva Maroto, "bears his name but over which, apparently, he has no control."[93] At the centre of the composition, a mob scales a giant barrel of wine, "creating the effect of a mountain of humanity driven by gluttony."[94] Maroto points out that the condemnation of Saints' feast days in Bruegel's work is

[89] *Ibid.*
[90] *Oxford Dictionary of Christianity*, 3rd rev. ed., s.v. "justification."
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] Martin Luther, forward to *Liber Vagortum,* quoted in Pokorny, "Bosch's Cripples."
[93] Maroto, "Wine of St. Martin's Day."
[94] *Ibid.*

shared with several satirical works by Erasmus.[95] However, the tapestry's and St. Martin's final position on the matter of Good Works remains undecided.

Depicting a moment of decision that precludes the Saint's identification with one side of the debate surrounding the doctrine of Good Works, Granvelle's St. Martin tapestry extolls the virtue of careful judgment. A variation on this theme, in the now lost *Elephant* tapestry, which is presumed to have been a part of Granvelle's original series of Bosch tapestries, presents a more general image in support of contained stoicism. If Granvelle's tapestry set is based on the same cartoons used to create King Francis I's set of Bosch tapestries, mentioned earlier, then, according to an inventory of Francis's possessions, a fifth tapestry in Granvelle's set would have depicted an elephant.[96]

A version of the *Elephant* tapestry printed by Hieronymus Cock in 1563 shows a centrally placed armoured elephant—heavily-guarded by crossbow-wielding soldiers in Spanish armour—being besieged by a more humble militia using an elaborate apparatus of ladders *(fig. 41)*.[97] The Latin inscription on the lower edge, written by an unknown humanist poet in the service of Cock, reads (in translation) "the impulses of recklessness are as sudden as they are violent; unbalanced by their incitement, man's mind is unable to heed its own dangers nor to judge freely the deeds of others."[98] According to the editors of a recent catalog of Cock's prints, "the caption is social in nature and describes in humanist Latin the stoical ideal of repressing

[95] "Painted at a key moment in the Reformation, whose ideas Bruegel shared, the present painting reflects to some extent the issue of the cult of saints and the efficacy of good works, of which St. Martin's charity was among the finest examples." *Ibid.*
[96] Schneebalg-Perelman, "Richesses du garde-meuble parisien," 290.
[97] "Print: The war elephant," *British Museum,* accessed August 18, 2015, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=60130001&objectId=1403498&partId=1. "Print: The siege of the elephant," *British Museum,* accessed August 18, 2015, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1335551&partId=1&searchText=F,1.17.&page=1. The earliest known representation of this subject is a print executed by Alart du Hameel which "may depend on a lost painting" by Bosch from ca. 1478-1506. Du Hameel and Bosch worked together on the Sint-Janskathedraal in 's-Hertogenbosch, leading the curators ask if the print could be connected to a lost drawing of painting by Bosch.
[98] "Print: The siege of the elephant," *British Museum.*

emotion."[99] The centrally located beast—put in harm's way by its drivers—is an exemplum of tenacity for viewers belonging to a third-party. Much like the reforming Catholics, the elephant in Cock's print finds itself equally imperiled by *both* of the opposing parties.

As a recommendation for those trying to maintain an independent stance in this age of polemic and extremism, the *Elephant* tapestry corroborates the anti-factious themes highlighted earlier in the *Haywain* tapestry. Recklessness, the inscription of the *Elephant* engraving warns, is the evil that leads to sectarianism and the violence seen in the print. It is quite possible that the lost tapestry version of the *Elephant* also advocated that viewers calmly consult with their convictions before adhering to a particular faction. Each tapestry in this set, including the *Saint Martin* and the *Haywain* tapestries, demonstrates different applications of the theme or mindset of Christian stoicism that was adopted by Catholic reformists in the mid sixteenth-century. It should come as no surprise, then, that the virtuous representation of the will to keep one's beliefs intact amid the *vita activa* during the Time of Troubles borrowed from the compositional forms, such as the mirror-eye *tondo,* that originated within a context of inward and subjective spirituality.

World renunciation in the tapestry's seascape

On the outer wings of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the earth is represented as a perfect circle floating in a black painted space (*fig. 42*). Generally accepted to be a representation of the world on the third day of Creation, the *orbis terrarium* on the exterior wings is presented to the viewer as an object of contempt.[100] This contempt is not merely based on the fact that, historically, the

[99] *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print.* Edited by Joris van Grieken, Ger Luitjen, and Jan van der Stock. Exhibition Catalog, 246.
[100] Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch,* 88.

orbis, done in grisaille, precedes the central interior panel's scene of vain, fruitless lust.[101] Joseph Koerner alleges that, in works with this compositional schema, including the *Haywain* tapestry, "Bosch pictures [the] world…as that which could be otherwise,...in order to teach his viewer a proper contempt for this world."[102] In other words, works that share this compositional formula provide the viewer with a detached point of view that allows the imagining of different worlds. In this section, it will be argued that the composition and juxtaposition of space in the *Haywain* tapestry—analogous to that on the exterior wings of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych—encourages the viewer to think of alternative worlds to that represented by the *Haywain's globus.*

The humanist version of world renunciation, which Hanan Yoran presents in his informative text, *Between Utopia and Dystopia: Erasmus, Thomas More, and the Humanist Republic of Letters,* was a prevalent theme among writers and artists from the beginning of the sixteenth century.[103] This section will argue that the *Haywain* tapestry, particularly the subject matter of its secondary marine space, alludes to the recent 'discovery' of the New World. From this period, creative use of knowledge of the New World is found in the hypothetical terrestrial paradises of works such as Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516)*,* Gerónimo de Mendieta's *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (completed ca. 1604; first published in 1870), and in Christopher Columbus's various prophetical writings claiming that the Holy Ghost caused the discovery of 1492, and making it the first step towards the second coming of Christ.[104] While these authors come from very different philosophical and spiritual schools of thought (More was an Erasmian, Mendieta a Franciscan, Columbus a millenarian), all three cases express the sixteenth-century

[101] The interior panels of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* are faithfully reproduced in one of the Bosch tapestries in Granvelle's set.
[102] Joseph Koerner, "Bosch's Contingency" in *Poetik und Hermeneutik*, Vol. 17, eds. Gerhart von Graevenitz and Odo Marquard (Wilhelm Fink: Munich, 1998), 264.
[103] Hanan Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia: Erasmus, Thomas More, and the Humanist Republic of Letters* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2010).
[104] For Thomas More: Hanan Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2010). For Mendieta and Columbus: John Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970) For Columbus regarding his view of his role in fulfilling the apocalypse: Phelan, 19-23.

wish to start civilization afresh in a New World as a solution to the ideologically beleaguered continent.

Here it will be argued that the tapestry's seascape presents alternative responses to the Time of Troubles for humanist deliberation. The overall purpose of this final section is to propose that the *Haywain* tapestry encouraged humanists in the Low Countries to discuss the hard choice between, on the one hand, enduring in the spirit of the humanist commitment to the *vita activa* and the good of society—as embodied by the nun—and, on the other, withdrawing from the troubles of the Reformation. Recent readings of Erasmus and Thomas More have demonstrated how humanist discourse used such contradictory arguments rhetorically; in light of these, the following pages delineate one of the multiple arguments that compose the *Haywain* tapestry. In other words, this section will demonstrate how contradictory arguments unfold from the tapestry's worldly centre to the escapist seascape and into the physical space of humanist discourse.

Humanist thought in disagreement: Bruegel's *Misanthrope* (1568)

The humanist inclination toward world renunciation was widely disseminated in the sixteenth century by the character of "Timon, the Misanthrope." Appearing in a wide variety of humanist images and re-printings of texts by Cicero, Seneca, and the satirical plays of Aristophanes and Lucian, Timon "is the quintessential symbol for a hatred of humanity and retreat into isolation."[105] Humanists, such as Joannes Sambucus, who included an engraving and Latin description of an episode in the life of Timon in his 1564 *Emblemata,* used Timon to make a

[105] Margaret Sullivan, "Bruegel's 'Misanthrope': Renaissance Art for a Humanist Audience," *Artibus et Historiae,* Vol. 13, No. 26 (1992):147-149. Erasmus had a large role in bringing the ancient archetypal misanthrope to the literate masses (the *mediocriter literati*—merchants, artisans, and professionals who read Latin, but usually not Greek). Erasmus's translations of Lucian's dialogues and compilations of ancient adages were virtually never out of print throughout the sixteenth century in Europe.

negative example of extreme detachment, friendlessness, and miserliness.[106] Timon is also the subject of Bruegel's canvas *tondo* (an exceptional support for Bruegel) entitled the *Misanthrope.* In this paitning, the figure of Timon appears as an ageing man with a long grey beard who turns his back on the World, which appears personified by the figure dressed in rags and crouching, 'wearing' the worldly *globus cruciger* (*fig. 43*).[107] The inscription below this scene reads: "Because the world is so deceitful, I go in mourning."[108] The misanthrope, while he thinks himself as virtuously self-denying, is actually no less deceitful and greedy than the personification of the world who cuts the string of his purse. According to Sullivan, his attitude is juxtaposed with the shepherd in the background who "continues…to care for his flock even though fire looms on the horizon," and who in this way resembles the elephant in the Hieronymus Cock print.[109]

The misanthrope exemplifies the humanist use of allegories and symbols to represent the attitude of world renunciation. According to Sullivan, to the inhabitants of Antwerp—a humanist stronghold of the Low Countries—the shrouded figure would have represented a literal renunciation of the world. "Available for a participatory viewing experience," according to Sullivan, the "small group of friends spending their leisure hours together" would have identified the misanthrope with the course of action taken by an estimated 100,000 burghers and artisans who fled from Antwerp to the city of Frisland, England, or France between 1567 and 1568, due,

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[106] *Ibid.,* 151-153. *Suidas,* the "encyclopedia," originally in Greek, from which Renaissance writers compiled their collections of adages, according to Sullivan, "is even more likely [than Aristophanes] as Bruegel's source." However, Suidas directly quotes Aristophane's description of Timon.
[107] *Ibid.,* 145. A similar crouching, globe-encased figure is found in Bruegel's *Proverbs* from 1559, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin;.
[108] *Ibid.,* 147.
[109] *Ibid.,* 157. Sullivan claims that the shepherd represents the stoic "middle way," or "the answer" to the situation in which "both protagonists are wrong."; Marisa Bass, "Patience Grows: The First Roots of Joris Hoefnagel's Emblematic Art," *The Anthropomorphic Lens: anthropomorphism, microcosm, and analogy in early modern thought and visual arts,* eds. Walter S. Melion, Bret Rothstein, and Michel Weemans, 145-178 (Leiden: Brill, 2015). Addressing a drawing from 1596, Marisa Bass contradicts the ascription of the image of a farmer working land that is barren and dusty to stoicism. In Hoefnagel's drawing "The Patient Masses," two shepherds are depicted "not resting from toil but seem to have abandoned their livelihood completely." (*Ibid.,* 171) The drawing displays a "resentment of [iconoclastic] war [in Antwerp] and its assault on commercial productivity." *Ibid.,* 116.

according to Sullivan, to the "increase in violence, the threat of war, and…economic disruptions" in the city.[110] This thesis argues that an articulation of the 'world renunciation' position is achieved in the *Haywain* tapestry's seascape; that the sea horizon proposes a real or metaphorical 'fleeing' from a world embroiled in ideological conflict. The next section discusses how the idea of world renunciation was explored earlier in the sixteenth century by humanists in terms of a New World-based utopia—an articulation of this theme that this thesis argues is present in the *Haywain* tapestry's seacape.

Proposals for a thisworldly paradise: the *Haywain* tapestry's infinite horizon

To writers, cartographers and missionaries influenced by Erasmus, the New World was a geographic place where Erasmus' ideals of pacifism and learning could be realized. In Thomas More's 1516 work, *Utopia*, a description of the archipelago Utopia arises from a debate between two characters, Hythloday and Morus, on whether a society according to humanist ideals could be achieved within the current social structure in Europe. The greater part of the work consists of Hythloday's detailed first-hand account of this communal, single-faith society and the rules of its governance. Paradoxically, considering that the word utopia means "no-place," Hythloday's reasoning is endowed with what Hanan Yoran calls a "concrete dimension: he tells stories and cites the examples from his travels."[111] I would like to argue that, like Hytholday's account, the *Haywain* tapestry's seascape is a record of a place where aspirations to thisworldly paradise remain a wish, just beyond the horizon. The two works discussed below, Bruegel's *Landscape with Christ Appearing to the Apostles at the Sea of Tiberias* (*fig. 1*) and Herri met de Bles's Cleveland *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist* (*fig. 44*), feature unspecified rivers, or series of

[110] *Ibid.*,156.
[111] Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia,*162.

bays, that conclude at the mouth of a sea bearing a clear horizon at dusk. Whether the geographies represented are of Europe, the New World, or elsewhere is beside the point. Bruegel's recently discovered landscape, which is supposed to represent the calling of the apostles, inspires the viewer to visit other possible lands in their imaginations. In the essay cited at the beginning of this thesis, Charles De Tolnay groups the painting in a category of landscapes that "had the function of giving the beholder the illusion of undertaking adventurous journeys."[112] In a similar manner, I would argue that the horizon lines in these paintings, as well as that found in the *Haywain* tapestry's seascape, would have functioned as 'placeholders' for yet undiscovered lands or terrestrial utopias.

The use of utopian 'placeholders' has been well documented in written and cartographic sources. Contemporary cartographic treatises on fictitious islands were immensely popular in the sixteenth century. Islands in general possessed a particular mystique as imaginary venues of the ideal Renaissance commonwealth, a phenomenon that Leonardo Olschki refers to as "romantic insularism."[113] Granvelle himself owned several titles on the topic, including Alonzo de Santa Cruz's *Islario general de todas las islas del mundo* (1542), Benedetto Bordoni's *Isolario,* or Book of Islands (1528), and the Italian humanist Alessandro Piccolomini's *Trattato della grandeza della terra e dell' acqua,* or Treatise on the size of the world's land and water (1558).[114] The most renowned of these islands was Antilla, a mythic utopian archipelago of seven islets that was supposed to exist somewhere in the Atlantic. In direct contradiction of the islands' appearance in various locations on different cartographic maps from 1435 until Mercator's 1587 projection map, part of Antilla's lore was the caveat that although "it has been

[112] De Tolnay, "An Unknown Early Panel by Pieter Bruegel the Elder," 240.
[113] Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans,* 70.
[114] Collection Granvelle. Bibliothèque Municipale de la Ville de Besançon. Besançon, France.

seen from afar,…it disappears upon approaching it."[115] Furthermore, Ferdinand Columbus tells how, in his own time, it was said that, "several Portuguese had gone to it, who could not find the way to it again."[116] Columbus and others trace the mythic backstory of Antilla's occupants to the 714 invasion of Spain by the Moors at which point "seven bishops and their people" sailed to what would be known as Antilla and founded a Christian theocracy.[117] Even millenarians such as the Franciscan missionary Gerónimo de Mendieta, who describes his otherworldly, apocalypse-begetting utopia as "just like the island of Antillia of the Ancients," relied on this piece of folklore.[118] The question is whether the *Haywain* tapestry equally relied on viewers to have an awareness of places existing somewhere between the real and imaginary.

A detail in the harbor of Herri met de Bles's Cleveland *Preaching of Saint John* bears witness to the semi-fantastic motivations behind transatlantic expeditions (*fig. 44*). In addition to the search for mythological islets like Antilla, expeditions were motivated by the idea that discovery of the New World and conversion of its inhabitants were part of a series of events that would bring about the end of the world. Many texts from the mid sixteenth century proclaimed that the "renewal of the world" would take place under Charles V, who was hailed upon his joyous entry to Antwerp in 1520 as the "singular pastor" elected by God.[119] In Bles's *Preaching of Saint John,* Weemans points out how the central detail of the Holy Spirit, present in the depiction of Christ's baptism, is juxtaposed with Charles V's coat of arms, painted on the nearby barge *(fig. 45*).[120] The setting of the landscape, in which St. John is seen preaching on the left, is simultaneously the city of Machaerus—where Saint John's decapitation, visible in the city's

[115] Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia* III, 103-104. Cited in Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom,* 69. It should be noted that Granvelle was friends with both Mercator and the humanist cartographer Abraham Ortelius, who featured Antilla on his map from 1570 found in William Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic; a study in Medieval geography* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1922), 75, 77.
[116] Babcock, *Legendary Islands,* 72.
[117] *Ibid.*
[118] *Historia III,* 103-104. Cited in Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom,* 69.
[119] Weemans, *Herri met de Bles*, 128.
[120] "Cette symétrie, que l'aigle et la colombe du Saint-Esprit représentés de part et d'autre du bateau."*Ibid.*

centre squrare, took place—and, in Weemans's opinion, Antwerp, "capital of exchange with the New World."[121] It makes sense that the scene of St. John preaching would be used as a vehicle for the message of evangelization of the New World since St. John was the last of the prophets whose mission it was to bring all the nations of the world out of darkness.[122] However, one cannot deny the prevailing sentiment of hope in this picture. As Weemans points out, the particular hope that the empire would restore the world order (before returning it to its Creator) was "supplemented" by other contemporary convictions: the hopes of liberating Christianity from heresy, the Turks, and the Protestant Reformation, respectively.[123] Placed in the context of the empire's chasing of the millennium, the detail of the Holy Ghost and the Habsburg coat of arms pointed out by Weemans provides the twenty-first-century viewer with a stepping stone for understanding how this harbor landscape would have been understood by a sixteenth-century-viewer. Just as in the *Haywain* seascape, the subject of Bles's landscape is the imagined possibilities of the New World. In the Bles landscape, these possibilities include millennialism, the epitome of world-renunciation.

Common to these landscapes and texts is the proposal that the solution to the world's troubles can be found in the New World, beyond the literal horizon. The island ideology surrounding the archipelago Antilla, which is rumoured to exist, but which can never be found, sinking evermore into the fog before oncoming ships, is analogous to the humanists' cautious notion of utopia. Although the sun is not visible in the *Haywain* tapestry, it appears to be setting on the left-hand side since the placid waters in the distance approach the blinding otherworldly quality found on the horizon of Bruegel's *Landscape with Christ Appearing to the Apostles at*

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[121] *Ibid.,*131.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] *Ibid.,*128. "L'espoir était alimenté par des causes historiques variées: l'attente d'un renouveau de l'Église, la volonté de libérer la chrétienté de l'hérésie, la lute contre les Turcs ou celle contre la Réforme protestante à l'intérieur du Saint Empire romain germanique, mais aussi la politique d'exploration, de colonization et d'évangélisation des peuples du Nouveau Monde."; see also: Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom,* 71-73.

the Sea of Tiberais. The high horizon line of the seascape, a conceit seen on land in, for example, the *Haywain* triptych, appears as glowing, calm, and unbounded. Close inspection reveals a band of gold that marks the horizon as well as clouds above, all carefully shaded with hues of woven yellow silk *(fig. 21*).

However, whether the humanist viewer standing before the tapestry would commit to seeking the unknown alternative lands and potential utopia on the seascape's horizon is not for us to say. It is possible the surrounding space is criticizing the enterprise of renouncing the world in search of otherworldly paradise. This is seen in the figure of the Franciscan friar in his boat, which is reminiscent of Caspar Plautius's depiction of Benedictine missionary Bernardo Buil of Catalonia on his way to the New World (*fig. 46*).[124] Having left the world, the Franciscan has found himself doomed to a fate of beating back demons. No doubt, Franciscan missionaries sent to the New World were some of the most zealous representatives of world renunciation in action. However, in their conviction that their missionizing would bring an end to the world, Franciscan missionaries represented a vision for the New World that was more aligned with Thomas Aquinas's *Civitas Dei* and the *Vita contemplativa* than would be acceptable to a thisworldly humanist.[125] Whether the Franciscan has done a righteous or foolish, un-stoic thing is the question posed to the viewer by the detail of the figure wrestling with a demon in the boat. In any case, it appears that the toppling *globus* is about to crush him and his boat, hinting at a critique of the friar's hubristic mission. Notwithstanding misguided Franciscans missionaries, the horizon at the top of the tapestry remains inscrutable, yet appealing.

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[124] Van Deuzer, *Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps,* 116. The illustration accompanied the title *Novus typis transacta navigatio,* "an account of the evangelization of the New World by the Benedictine Bernardo Buil, who accompanied Christopher Columbus on his second Voyage."

[125] Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom,* 73. Phelan presents this same duality from the perspective of the Franciscan millenarian Gerónimo de Mendieta: "Otherworldliness did not exist in the ideal commonwealth of the humanists. Mendieta would not have his Indians spending their leisure hours reading Plato, as More's Utopians were supposed to do. The Indians would sing the praises of God."

Two existing opinions propose exceedingly worldly interpretations of the seascape. Otto Kurz thinks that the seascape is the "primordial ocean," and Paul Vandenbroeck associates it with the worldly "secular ocean" (*mare saeculi*) of misery as part of a world given over to madness. [126] However, as this section has shown, the seascapes or horizons breaking through sinewy landscapes are not static and do not have a single iconographic meaning. Rather, the seascape horizon has to be reconciled with the other sections of the tapestry. According to this model, the central figure of the nun represents stoicism while the peripheral seascape represents the reverse response: to escape from the world's problems. The motif of the seascape horizon functions in the *Haywain* tapestry within a cosmographic frame wherein competing worlds are placed in competition by the artist, leaving it to the viewer to decide on the ultimate sum of the tapestry's parts.

World renunciation was an essential part of the humanists' collective identity, which they called the Republic of Letters, an appellation that stood as an "emblem of intellectual autonomy."[127] However, this contradicted the humanists' ethical presupposition that their work should have positive impacts on society. This conflict served to fuel discussions among humanist viewers. As shown in the example of Bruegel's *Misanthrope*, viewers in the late-1560s were caught between sympathy and antipathy for the shrouded Timonian figure, in spite of the critical depiction of Bruegel's misanthrope. The secondary space of the *Haywain* tapestry is ultimately an argumentative counter-weight to the scene in the *globus,* affirming the humanist belief that meaning and interpretation are derived from conflict and contradiction.

[126] Kurz, "Four Tapestries after Hieronymus Bosch," 154; Vandenbroeck, "Meaningful Caprices," 181.
[127] Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia,* 3.

Conclusion

Rather than adhere to iconographic analysis, which accounts for the majority of art historical treatment of Granvelle's tapestries, this thesis has undertaken an analysis according to the historical and cultural context of its owner in the mid sixteenth century. By 'context,' I not only mean the tapestries' physical location in Granvelle's lodgings, but also the implications of Granvelle's Catholic-humanist-reformist profile.

Paul Vandenbroeck, who is responsible for much of the recent literature on Granvelle's Bosch tapestries, dismisses the idea that Bosch was "truly 'understood' by this new group of [sixteenth-century] *aficionados*" e.g. "the circles of the Burgundian-Netherlandish-Spanish nobility" that sought posthumous versions of his works.[128] However, analyses of the tapestry such as Vandenbroeck's adhere to the scholarship on the triptych in the Prado, therefore limiting the *Haywain* tapestry's meaning to an abstraction of avarice while ignoring the implications of the tapestry's context.

Setting the *Haywain* tapestry within a social-art historical context required situating it within a visual tradition of devotional art and diagrams. Traced back to the mirror-eye *tondi* of the fifteenth century and earlier, pictorial aids to modern devotion ushered the practice of independent, self-reflective looking. This thesis has argued that the division of the tapestry's pictorial surface into spatial zones representing differing points of view allowed the viewer to weigh the contradictions that typically mark periods of political and spiritual unrest. This practice of deliberation is also reflected in conventional forms of humanist discussion practiced by the rhetoric chambers, or *rederijkerskamers,* of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. By way of conclusion, I will consider the relationships between modern devotional culture and more formal tendencies in humanist debate.

[128] Vandenbroeck, *"Meaningful Caprices,"* 261.

As Bart Ramakers has shown, in the mid-sixteenth century, plays known as *zinnespielen* offered audiences of laypeople in cities such as Antwerp solutions to religious debates shown as products of the protagonist's inward reflection. The plays, written by municipal rhetoric societies in response to a prompt (for example, in the case of the 1539 *zinnespielen* contest in Ghent, "What is the greatest comfort for a man dying?"), feature a sinner-protagonist who, after being confronted by personifications of Conscience, Despair, etc. settles on a resolution of the prompt's theme.[129] For historians, the outcome of these reflections is less of an indication of Catholic reformist culture than the contemporary *practice* of reflection being dramatized, which, according to Ramakers, owes much to the "inward-looking, personalised [sic], Christ-centred" style of devotion that defined the *devotio moderna.*[130] Likewise, this thesis has not been interested in pin-pointing a single meaning in the *Haywain* tapestry as much as exploring how the relationship to God cultivated in the *devotio moderna* may have impacted the form and use of the sixteenth century tapestries discussed above.

Ramakers concedes that practical affiliations between visual art and the *devotio moderna* style of free-thinking, such as this study accomplishes, "have previously been acknowledged, but have never been fully explored."[131] Konrad Jonckheere, in contrast, believes that the "extent [to which visual art] was itself part of the rhetorical tradition" is seen in works by Gillis Mostaert and Frans Pourbus—both of whom were privy to the meetings of the Antwerp rhetorical society known as the *Violieren.* [132] According to Jonckheere, the "not neutral" "visualizations of the

[129] Bart Ramakers, "Eloquent Presence: Verbal and Visual Discourse in the Ghent Plays of 1539," in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe,* eds. Celeste Brusati, Karl A.E. Enekel, and Walter Melion (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 218.
[130] *Ibid.,* 256.
[131] *Ibid.,,* 257. "…both [*zinnespiele* playwrights] demonstrate the ability to read and interpret Scripture independently, and in addition, they reveal that they are skilled in Biblical argumentation. This too reflects a tradition that had started before the Reformation and showed humanist characteristics. Its implications for the visual arts and literature of the sixteenth century in the Low Countries have previously been acknowledged, but have never been fully explored."

[132] Koenred Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm: experiments in decorum* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2012), 53, 56.

various *solutions* [to the ongoing turmoil] they [Pourbus and Mostaert] devised" (emphasis mine) are the primary subjects of works painted in the period 1560-1585.[133] However, in this thesis, I have answered Jonckheere differently by making the case that the *Haywain* tapestry was used as a kind of equilibrated touchstone or object of reference for those debating the proper response to the crisis of spiritual identity at a time when Christian spiritual identity, according to Lucy Wooding, was "in fact an amorphous array of available opinions."[134]

This kind of scholarly consideration of the tapestry as primarily an object of humanist discussion is common to reception theory, a methodology that originates in literary criticism. This methodology, which is "guided by the expectations and assumptions of a historical 'interpretive community'—in this case, the artist's original audience," is vital to Sullivan's claim that Bruegel's *Misanthrope tondo* was intended as an object of humanist discussion.[135] As Robert Williams and Thomas Frangenberg point out, reception theory in art history addresses, among other things, the "discursive potential" of art based on different culturally constructed modes of reading pictures.[136] According to Margaret Sullivan's application of this far-reaching methodology, "the structure of the viewing experience, as well as the structure on the page, panel, or canvas, is the [art historical] 'object of description.'"[137] However, locating the *Haywain* tapestry's humanist reception amid the various existing theories and models of reception study would constitute a future venture.[138]

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[133] *Ibid.,* 47.
[134] Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism,* 20.
[135] Margaret Sullivan, "Bruegel's Proverbs: Art and Audience in the Northern Renaissance," *The Art Bulletin,* Vol. 73, No. 3 (Sep., 1991), 431, 460. In support of the idea that the context of group debate was shared by paintings by Bruegel and proverb collections alike, Sullivan writes: "for Christian humanists, but especially for those with whom Bruegel was associated, the study of proverbs was 'serious play.'"
[136] Robert Williams and Thomas Frangenberg, "Introduction," *The Beholder: The Experience of Art in Early Modern Europe,* eds. Robert Williams and Thomas Frangenberg (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), 3.
[137] Margaret Sullivan, "Bruegel's Proverbs," 431.
[138] Whatever the outcome of such a study, it would abide by the notion, expressed by John Shearman, that "the reading [or reception] of works of art is an activity which ought to be susceptible to historical discrimination." John Shearman, *Only Connect* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University press, 1992), 5. For the pioneering text regarding historical perspectives on reception,

In the discussion of the *Haywain* tapestry, this thesis highlighted the tapestry's potential to incite reflection and discussion by presenting the viewer with a contradiction, such as the worldly *globus* in combination with the escapist seascape. Likewise, the chapter heading "icons of ambiguity" is meant to foreground the role of paradox in works that subject established icons, such as saints, to question. As I have argued, viewers were invited to identify with centrally located 'icons' of ambiguity—chosen for their controversial status—as a means of figuring out their own spiritual or political position. The last section demonstrated how a subsequent layer of meaning is added to the *globus* by the surrounding seascape. In a rhetorical fashion typical of humanist argument, this area challenges the deliberative, thisworldly, problem-solving attitude hailed by stoic humanists and preceded by *devotio moderna* practices. In the seascape, the logical conclusion of the ability to think critically—equally fundamental to both the *devotio moderna* movement and humanist values—is the complete renunciation of the world run by the fickle 'masses.'

The opportunity exists for further research into sixteenth-century works that likewise exhibit humanist New World ideology. In this project, the *Haywain* tapestry demonstrates the trajectory of the humanist cause from its spiritual roots to the crisis of critical detachment's logical conclusion. In spite of a long history of exclusion from innumerable monographs of Bosch's paintings, the inclusion of the tapestry within a culture of argumentation re-focuses our attentions on Bosch as an artist whose appeal flourished in a climate of competing faiths—a condition that continues to describe the modern era.

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especially with regards to humanism in the Italian Renaissance see: Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

FIGURES

Fig 1 Pieter Bruegel, *Landscape with Christ Appearing to the Apostles at the Sea of Tiberias,* oil on panel, 60 x 100 0cm, New York, private collection.

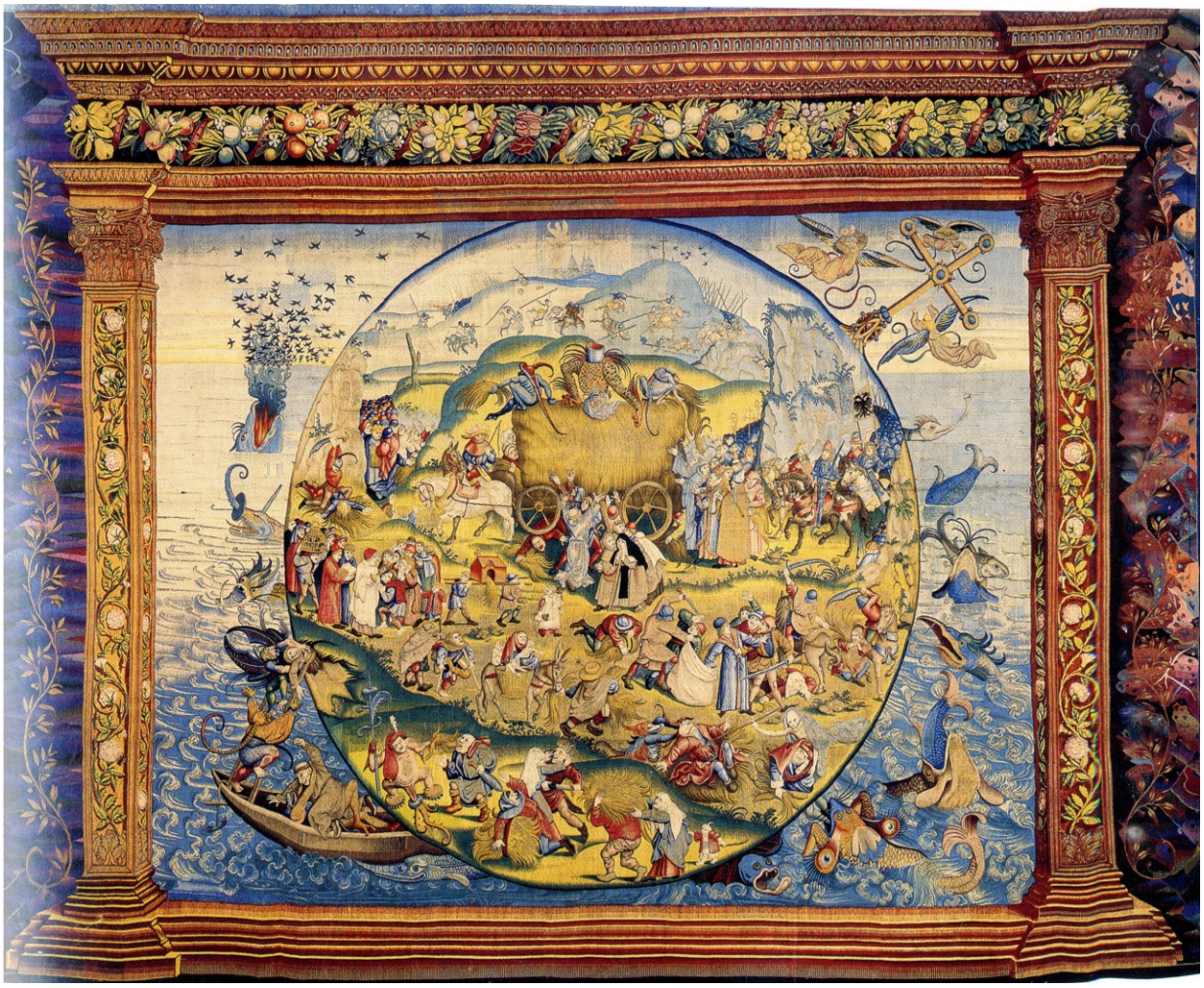

Fig. 2 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain,* silk, gold, silver thread, 298 x 368 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 3 Hieronymus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych, oil on panel, 135 x 200 cm, 1510, El Prado.

fig. 4 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail)*,* silk, gold, silver thread, 298 x 368 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 5 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail), silk, gold, silver thread, 298 x 368 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 6 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail), silk, gold, silver thread, 298 x 368 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 7 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail), silk, gold, silver thread, 298 x 368 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 8 Hieronymus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych (detail), oil on panel, 135 x 200 cm,1510, El Prado.

Fig. 9 Hieronymus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych (detail), oil on panel, 135 x 200 cm,1510, El Prado.

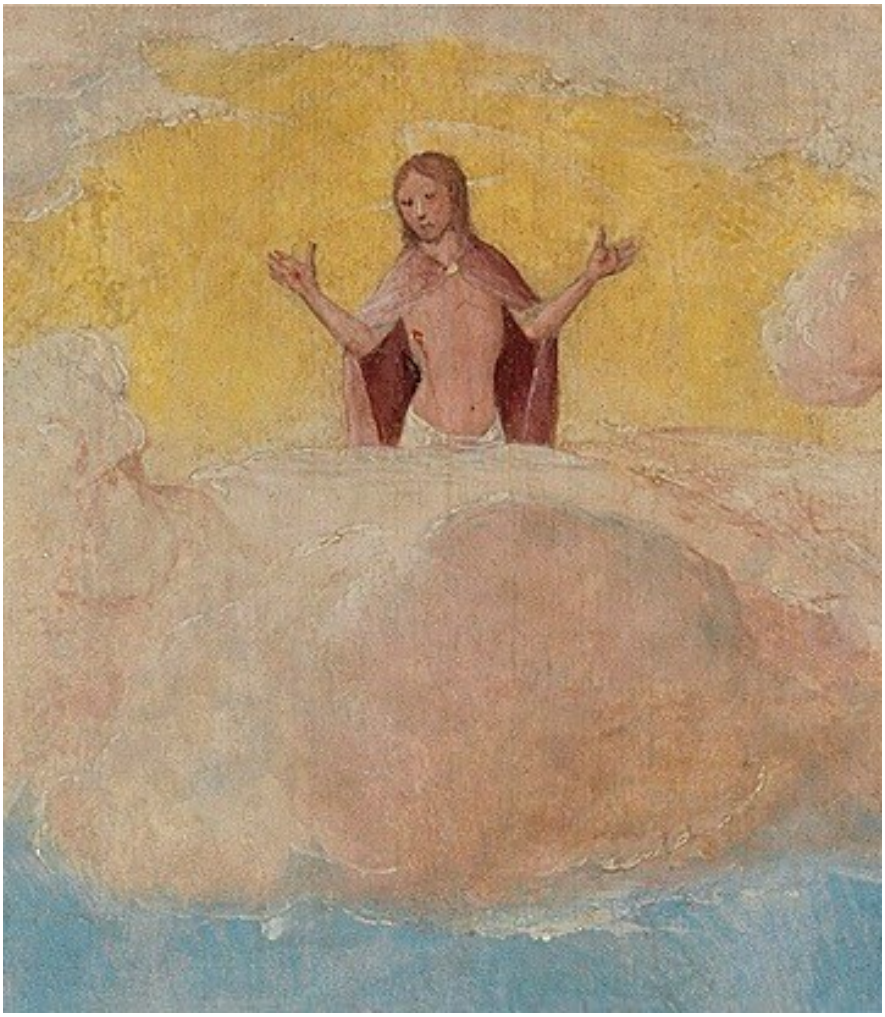

Fig. 10 Hieronymus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych (detail), oil on panel, 135 x 200 cm,1510, El Prado.

Fig. 11 Hieronymus Bosch, *Haywain* triptych (detail), oil on panel, 135 x 200 cm,1510, El Prado.

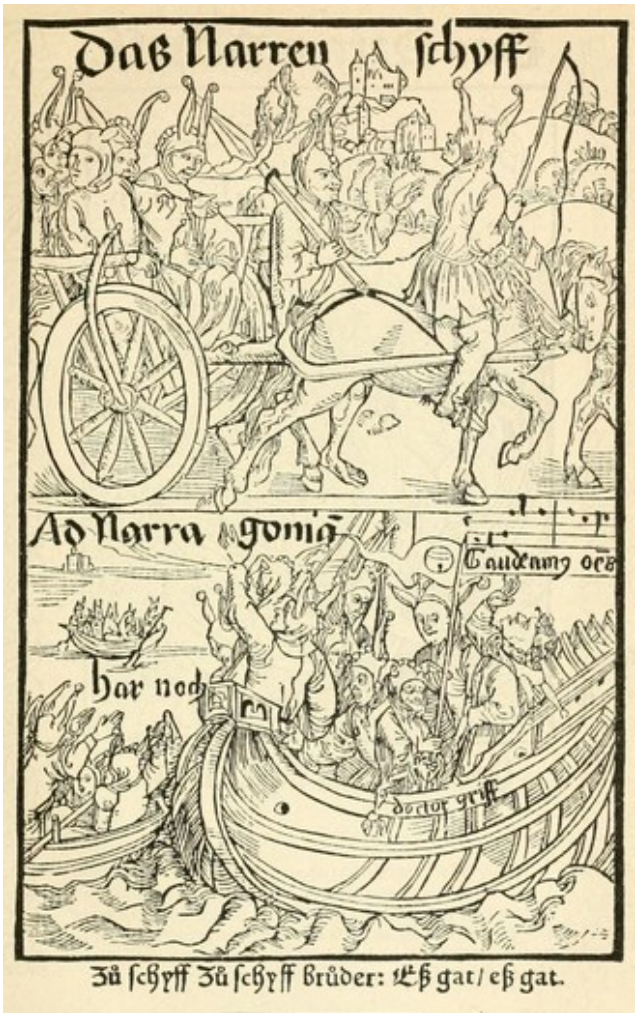

Fig. 12 Albrecht Dürer, frontispiece to Sebastian Brand's *Narrenschiff*, "The Fools on a Cart," 1494, published by Johann Burgmann von Olpe.

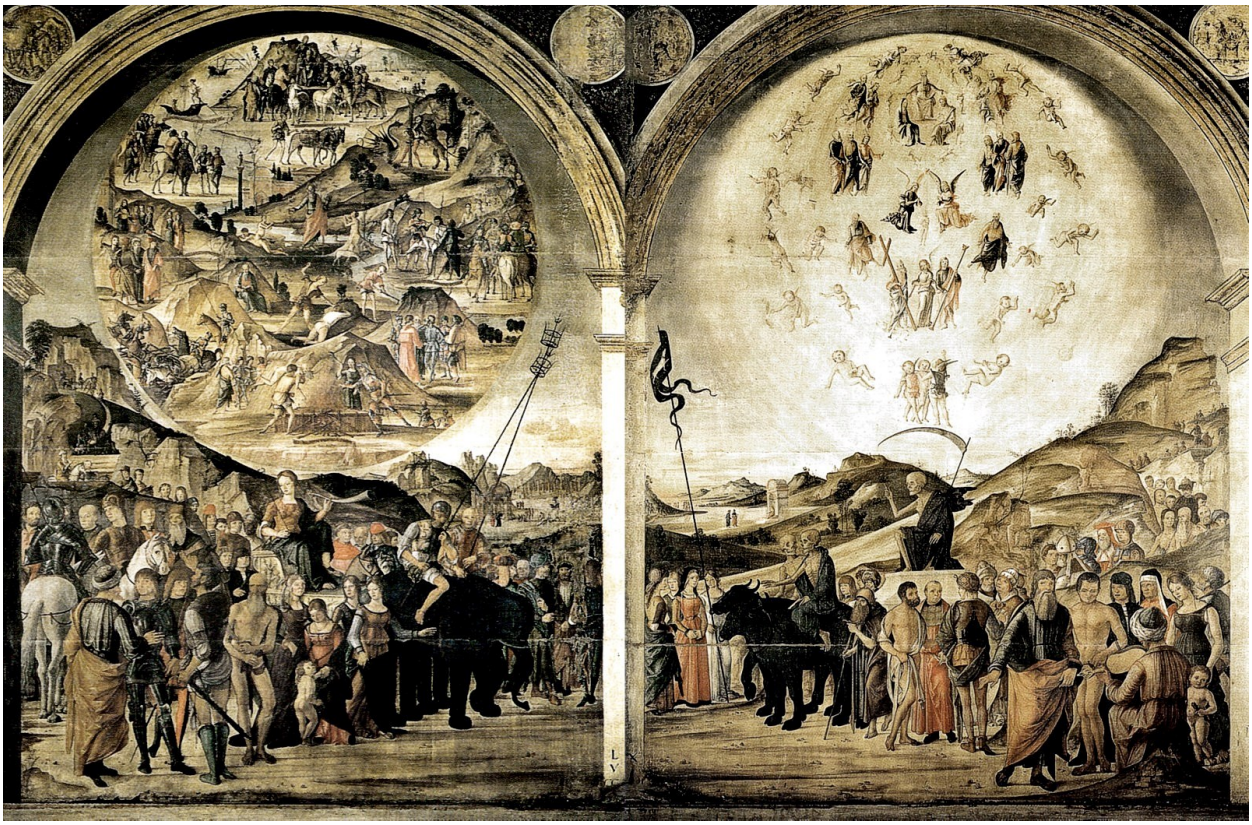

Fig. 13 Lorenzo Costa, *The Triumph of Death,* fresco, Basilica of San Giacomo, Bologna

Fig. 14 Anonymous, *The inhabitants of the "civitas Dei" and the "civitas terrena".* Miniature in a 15th century manuscript of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei.* Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 55. I. fol. 3.

Fig. 15 Joos van Cleve, *Salvator Mundi,* 54 x 40 cm, 1516-1518, Louvre.

Fig. 16 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail), silk, gold, silver thread, 298 x 368 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 17 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail)*,* silk, gold, silver thread, 298 x 368 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 18 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail), silk, gold, silver thread, 298 x 368 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 19 Abraham Ortelius and assistants, map of Iceland in *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1598), British Library.

Fig. 20 Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel, *The Big Fish Eat the Little Fish,* engraving, 22.9 x 29.6 cm engraving, 1557, Royal Library of Belgium, Print Room.

Fig 21 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail)*,* silk, gold, silver thread, 296 x 364 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 22 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail)*,* silk, gold, silver thread, 296 x 364 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 23 Leone Leoni, bronze medallion showing Granvelle (bottom) and marine scene with Neptune (top), 51 mm diameter, reproduced in Plon, Plate XXXII, fig. 4.

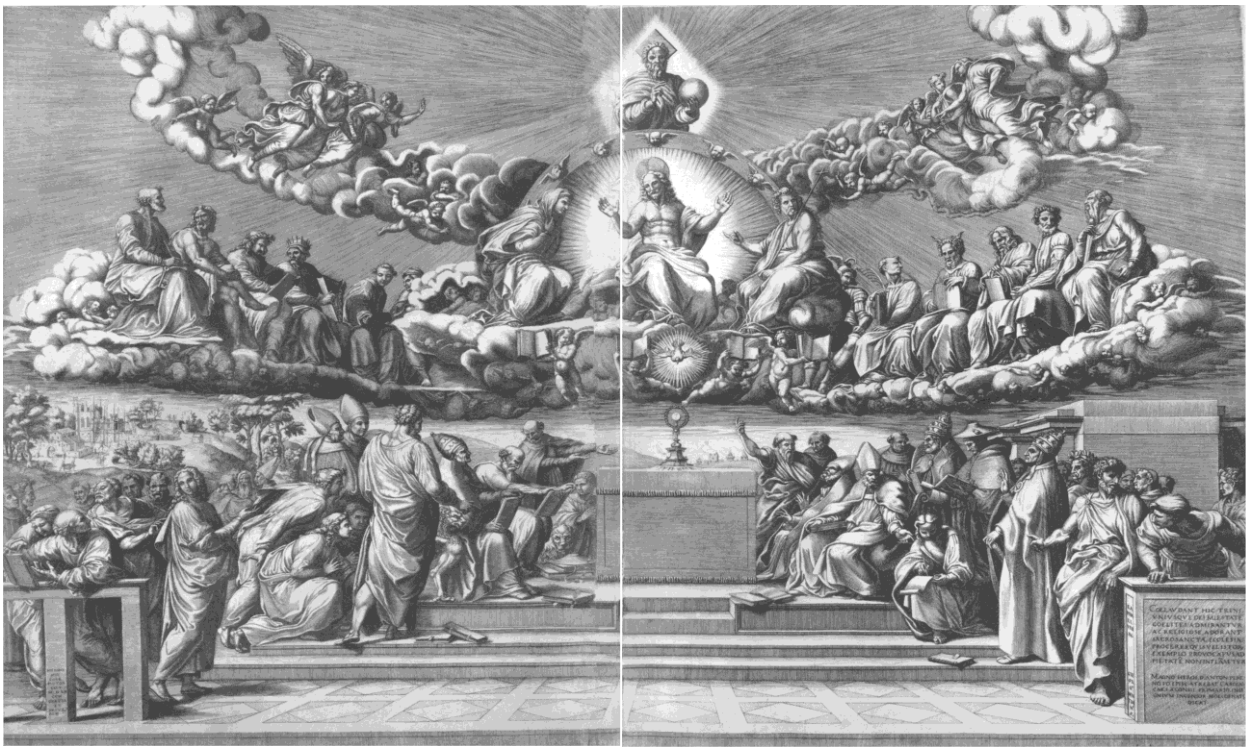

Fig. 24 Giorgio Ghisi after Raphael, *The Dispute About the Holy Sacrament*, engraving, 508mm x 838.2mm, 1552.

Fig. 25 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Haywain* (detail), silk, gold, silver thread, 298 x 368 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 26 Hans Memling (workshop), *Salvator Mundi,* oil on panel, diameter 27.3 cm, 1475-1499.

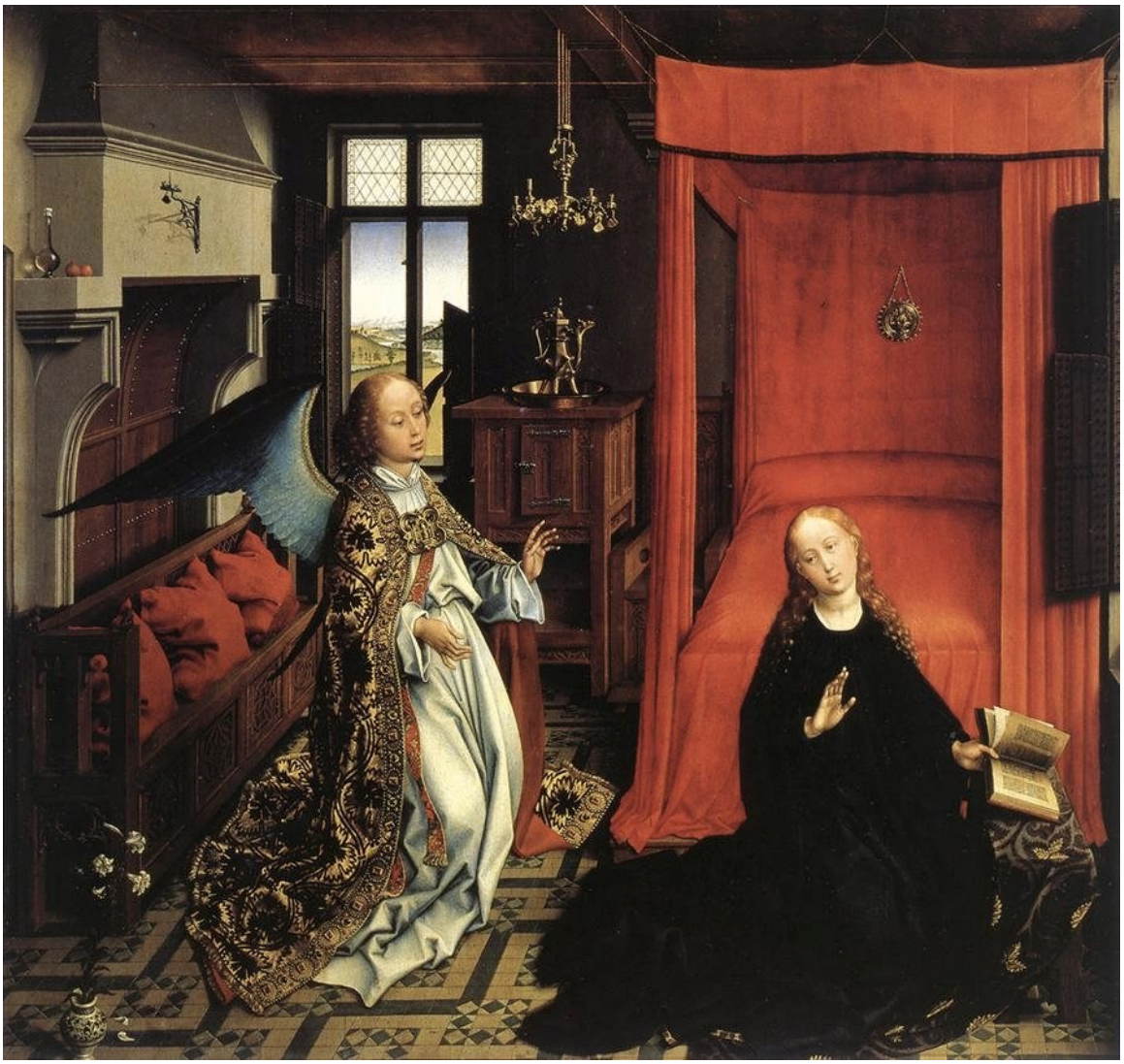

Fig. 27 Rogier van der Weyden, *Annunciation* triptych (central panel), oil on panel, 36.5 x 89 cm (length of entire triptych), 1434, Louvre.

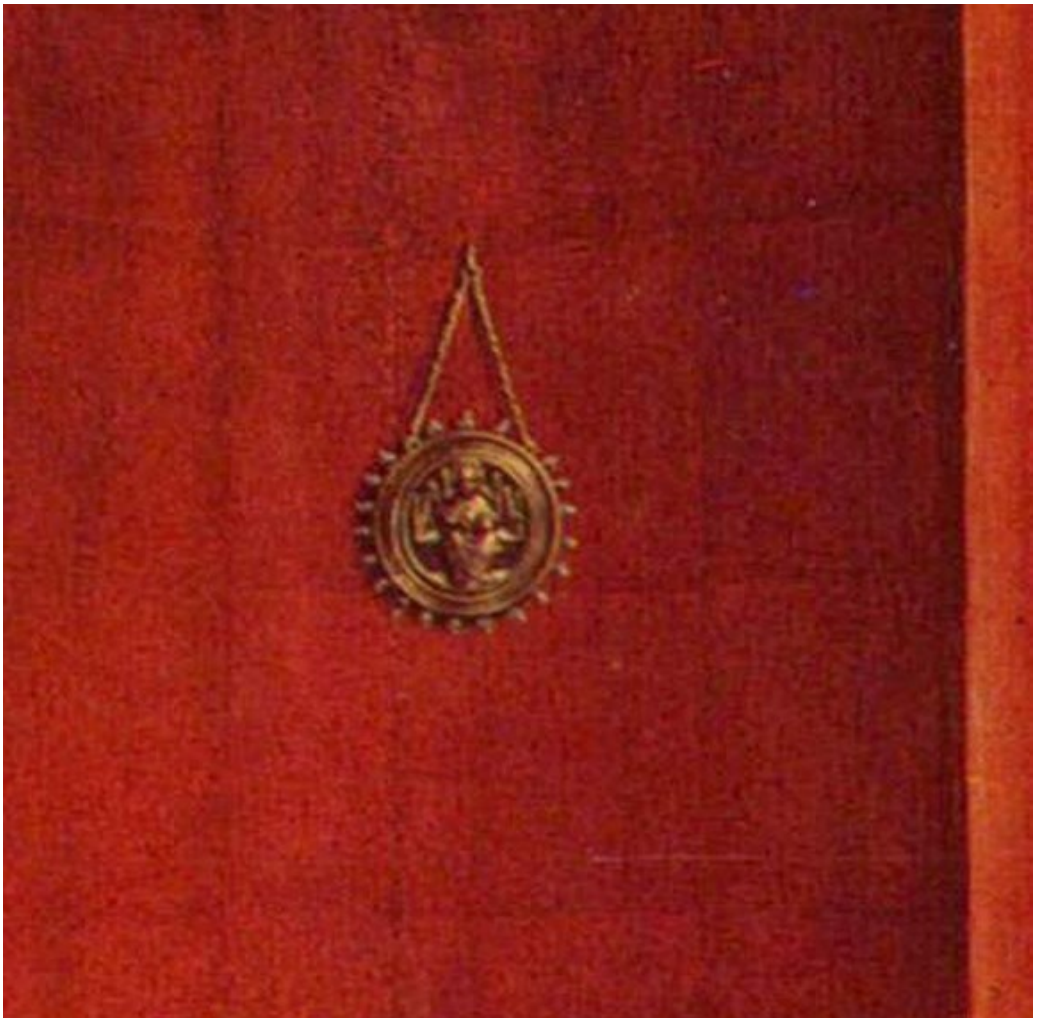

Fig. 28 Rogier van der Weyden, *Annunciation* triptych (central panel, detail), oil on panel, 36.5 x 89 cm (length of entire triptych), 1434, Louvre.

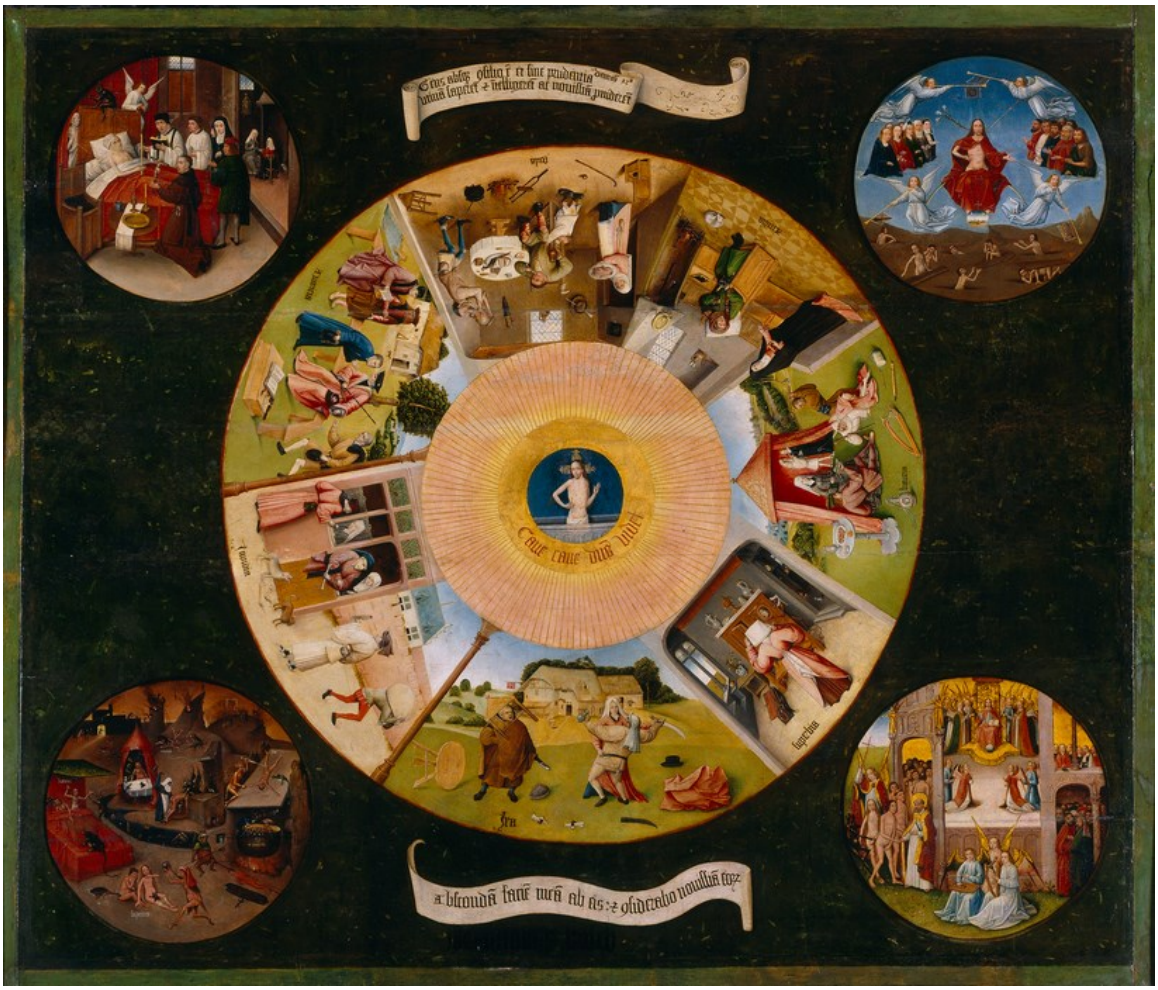

Fig. 29 Hieronymus Bosch, *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* tabletop, oil on panel, 120 x 150 cm, 1500, Prado

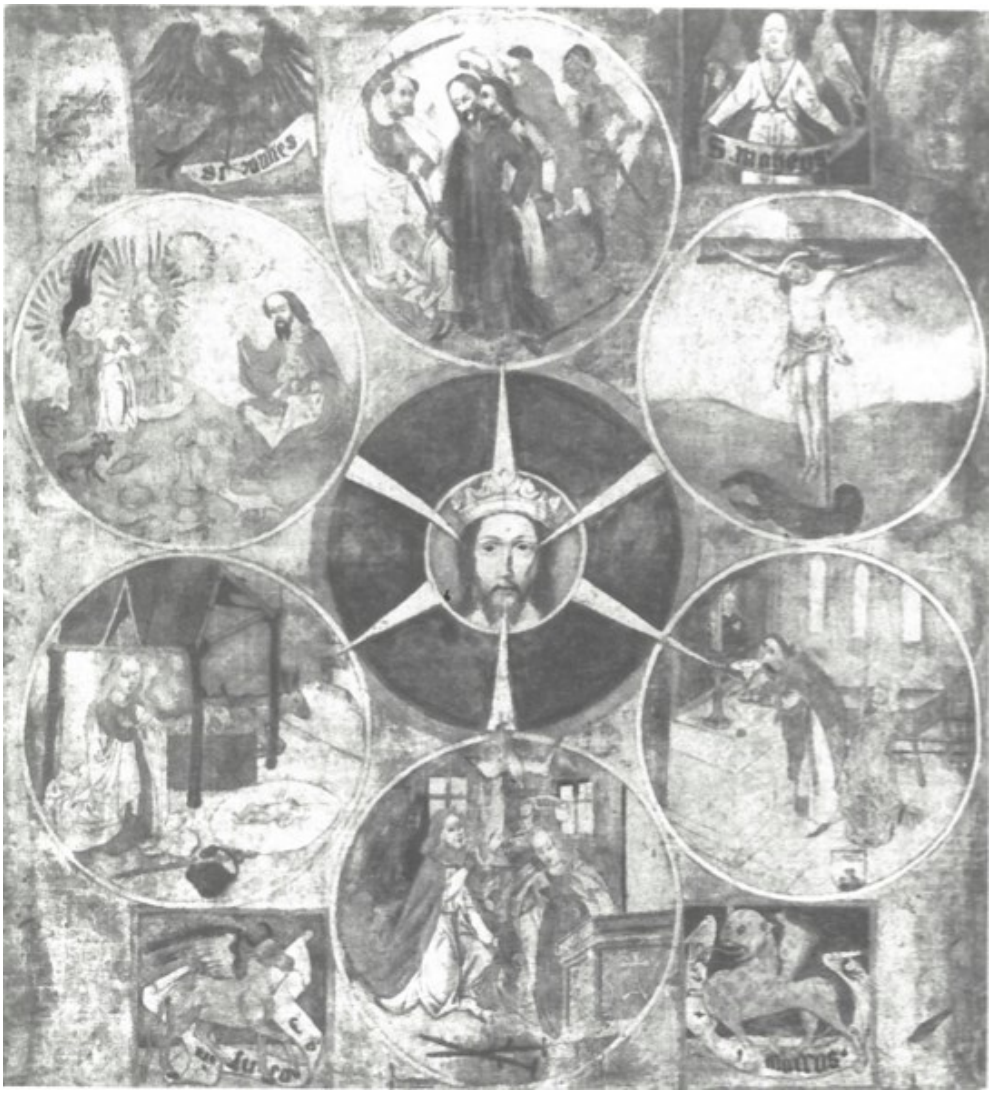

Fig. 30 Meditational Image of Brother Claus, Swiss, 1460-1470, panel, Parish Church, Sachseln

Fig. 31 Hieronymus Bosch, *Wayfarer*, oil on panel, 71.5 cm diameter, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Fig. 32 Hieronymus Bosch, *Adoration of the Magi,* oil and gold on panel, 71.1 x 56.5 cm, 1470-1475, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 33 Hieronymus Bosch, *Adoration of the Magi* (detail), oil and gold on panel, 71.1 x 56.5 cm, 1470-1475, Metropolitan Museum of Art

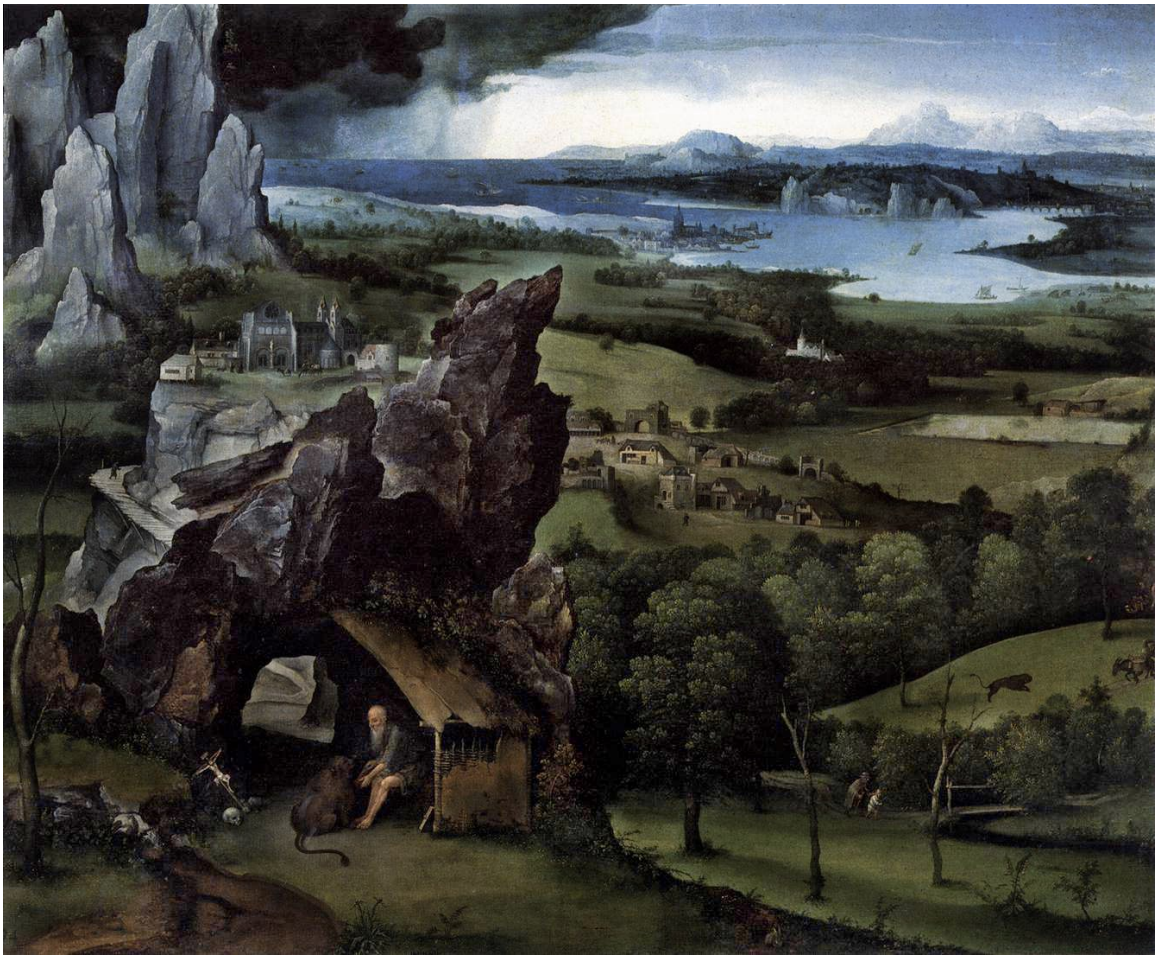

Fig. 34 Joachim Patinir, *Landscape with Saint Jerome,* oil on panel, 74 x 91 cm, 1515-1519, El Prado

Fig. 35 Joachim Patinir, *Landscape with Saint Jerome* (detail)*,* oil on panel, 74 x 91 cm, 1515-1519, El Prado

Fig. 36 Herri met de Bles, *Preaching of Saint John*, 1550, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya

Fig. 37 Herri met de Bles, *Preaching of Saint John* (detail), 1550, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya

Fig. 38 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Saint Martin,* silk, gold, silver thread, 296 x 364 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 39 Hieronymus Bosch (?), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, *Saint Martin* (detail), silk, gold, silver thread, 296 x 364 cm, *terminus ad quem* 1560, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Fig. 40 Pieter Bruegel, *Feast of Saint Martin's Wine,* oil on panel 1565-1568, El Prado

Fig. 41 Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after a print by Alart du Hameel, after Bosch (?), *The Siege of the Elephant,* engraving, 402 x 538 cm, 1563.

Fig. 42 Hieronymus Bosch, *Garden of Earthly Delights* (outer panels), oil on panel, 220 x 97 cm (each panel), 1500.

Fig. 43 Pieter Bruegel, *Misanthrope*, tempera on canvas, 86 x 85 cm, 1568, National Museum of Capodimonte, Naples

Fig. 44 Herri met de Bles, *Preaching of Saint John,* oil on panel, 29.8 x 42 cm, 1525-1572, Cleveland Museum of Art

Fig. 45 Herri met de Bles, *Preaching of Saint John* (detail)*,* oil on panel, 29.8 x 42 cm, 1525-1572, Cleveland Museum of Art

Fig. 46 Anonymous, *St. Brendan's ship on the back of a whale, and his men praying*, in Honorius Philoponus, *Nova typis transacta navigatio,* 1621, British Library

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