

**LUXURIA DAMNATA IN THE LAST JUDGMENT
OF JHERONIMUS BOSCH (AND HIS WORKSHOP) AT
THE AKADEMIE DER BILDENDEN KÜNSTE IN VIENNA**

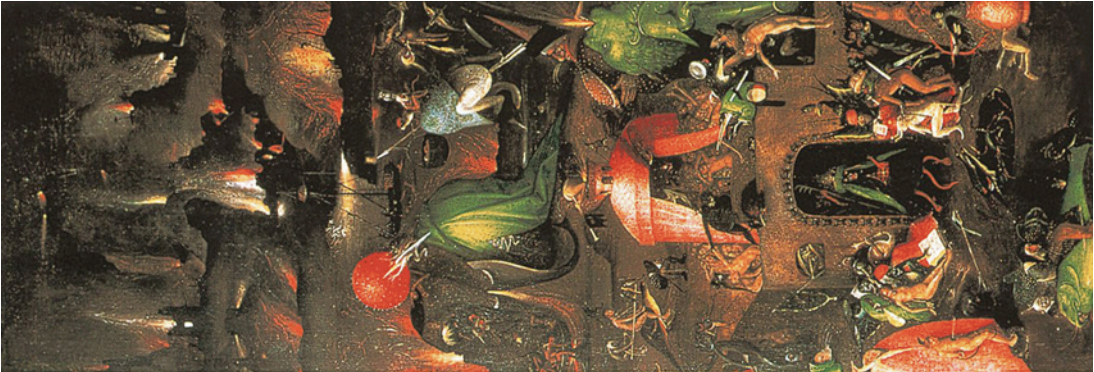
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Until 2016, when the *Catalogue Raisonné* of the works of Jheronimus Bosch (1450–1516) was published, authored by eight scholars from the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP), the *Last Judgment* from the painting gallery of the Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien (GG-579–581) was widely regarded as the undisputed work of the master from 's-Hertogenbosch [fig. 1].¹ Members of the BRCP, relying on the research (and illustrations) of Stefan Fischer and Renate Trnek, due to the unfortunate fact that the authorities of the Akademie der bildenden Künste did not permit them to have the triptych undergo technical research, consider the Vienna *Last Judgment* (which they date to ca. 1500–05) to be the work of Bosch and his workshop.² Despite pointing to many clear stylistic differences in the underdrawing (the drawings done by the painter himself are interpreted to be only those on the backs of the wings) and the paint layer of the three panels, they nevertheless consider that the iconography of the triptych as a whole, as well as many individual motifs and figures reflect Bosch's imagery.³ Researchers from the Akademie der bildenden Künste's painting gallery deem the *Last Judgment* to be authentic work of Bosch, and date its creation between 1504 and 1508.⁴ An international group of art historians also concurred this in a short publication released in Vienna on the five-hundredth anniversary of painter's death.⁵

The Vienna *Last Judgment* is an example of a reinterpretation of a traditional and rather precisely defined iconography.⁶ Identification of the triptych as a representation of the *Last Judgment*, allows the presence of certain motifs/figures in the central panel: Christ sitting on a double arched rainbow, two groups of apostles, the Virgin, Saint John the Baptist and angel trumpeters (Matthew 24:29–31; 25:31–46). The left wing in the highest section shows the fall of the rebel angels (Isaiah 14:12–15) and in the foreground and middle ground shows three episodes from the Book of Genesis: the creation of Eve (Genesis 2:21–22), the Fall, and the exile from Eden (Genesis 2:16–17; 3:1–24). The wide panorama of various hellish tortures, highly physical in nature, depicted in the central panel and the right wing, is in correspondence with the theology of evil presented in the left wing.⁷ Its penetration into the earthly realm (it stems from a reality that exists beyond the empirical) leads to an almost complete destruction of humanity. Whereas salvation, as highlighted by the artist in the left uppermost corner in the central panel, where angels carry souls towards the light, can only be experienced by a select few (Matthew 22:14).

Reminiscences and allusions to lust (*luxuria*) are present in several places within the Vienna *Last Judgment*.⁸ Even though a few scenes contain musical instruments, which are often associated with love in art, not excluding erotic and sexual references, in Bosch literature instruments are often marginalized or even omitted.⁹ There are two research goals set forth in this article. The first is to carry out musicological profile analysis of the emblematic scene in the central panel of the triptych: a man lying on a bed and a dancing woman among demons. The second research objective is an attempt to delve into the ideological sources of connection in Bosch's vision of afterlife of three elements: penalties corresponding to one of the capital sins as



1. Jheronimus Bosch (and workshop), *Last Judgment* (ca. 1500–1505). Oil on oak panels, central panel: 164 × 127 cm, wings: 164 × 60 cm. Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, GG-579-581.



2. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Ship of Fools* (ca. 1500–1510). Oil on oak panel, 58.1 × 32.8 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, R.F. 2218.

well as music and dance. The essential research horizon is determined by iconographic and literary sources. Due to the nature of the pursued issues, the article contains some theological reflection with references to biblical logosphere.

LUST IN CHRISTIAN ETHICS. According to the New Testament teaching “For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies: These are the things which defile a man” (Matthew 15:19–20).¹⁰ The message of the whole pericope (Matthew 15:10–20) is easy to grasp, yet when it comes to impurity, it is the kind connected to the sexual domain.¹¹ While sexual drive is a common biological fact, sexuality is defined culturally in every society. Sex, as Ruth Mazo Karras writes, is “a



3. Jheronimus Bosch, *Gluttony and Lust* (ca. 1500–1510). Oil on oak panel, 34.9 × 31.4 cm. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1959.15.22.

particularly complicated issue because it involves questions of religious morality, public order, and gender relations as well as the individual psyche.”¹² In the moral teaching of the Church, certain sexual behaviours like adultery, concubinage, debauchery, prostitution, and relations *contra naturam*, are considered unclean, therefore, sinful.¹³ The consequence of evil deeds committed through free will is eternal damnation. Saint Paul warned: “Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God” (1 Corinthians 6:9–10). Under the scope of medieval Christian ethics, many behaviours that were favourable to, or lead to any fornication outside the marital bed (or even in the marital bed but not procreative), were considered impure. This meant anything along the lines of lustful thoughts, wistful glances, sensual dances or songs about carnal love.¹⁴

The tradition of teaching about the capital sins, one of which is lust, reaches to the patristic era. Gregory the Great (540–604) birthed the separation of the seven deadly sins, specifically the seven major vices (*septem principalia vitia*) in *Moralia in Job* (31.45 & 87), which after a few modifications, became accepted into medieval theology and has survived in the teaching of the Catholic Church to the present day.¹⁵

LUST AND MUSIC IN BOSCH’S PAINTINGS. The sin of lust is portrayed in three works and is completely spotlighted in the *Haywain Triptych*. This clearly shows the emphasis that the painter placed on that sin, perhaps even the commissioners themselves. Here is the list of paintings in which the dating of Bosch’s



4. Jheronimus Bosch, *Lust*, fragment of the central panel of the *Haywain Triptych* (ca. 1510–1516). Oil on oak panel. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P002052.

works proposed by the scholars from BRCP was accepted: the left wing of the *Wayfarer Triptych*: the *Ship of Fools/ Gluttony and Lust* (Paris, Musée du Louvre / New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, ca. 1500–10) [figs. 2 & 3], the central panel of the *Haywain Triptych* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 1510–16) [fig. 4] and *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, ca. 1510–20) [fig. 5].¹⁶

In the *Ship of Fools*, lust is personified by Clarisse or Beguine and a Franciscan singing with an accompanying lute.¹⁷ Right next to them on a wooden board is a plate of cherries, displaying erotic connotations. A fool finds himself among the passengers of the boat full of food and drink, also enjoying sensual pleasures, which clearly points to the stupidity of the crowd. Impure love in *Gluttony and Lust* is invoked by a couple drinking wine in a tent, while other people, along with a man sitting on a barrel and playing a lute-kind instrument, remain connected with the sin of gluttony. In the Madrid triptych as a representation of transgressive love is interpreted the scene at the top of the haystack in the central panel.¹⁸ A pair in an intense embrace is accompanied by a lute player and a vocal duet. The scene is framed by an angel in prayer looking towards Christ on the left, and a demon accompanying the musicians, playing an aerophone that forms part of his nose, on the right. In *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*, a painting of Bosch's workshop or a follower, lust characterizes itself as couples from upper classes. Two people sit at the entrance of a tent drinking wine from the same vessel, while inside a man and a woman stand, devoting themselves to flirting.¹⁹ A fool crawls his way towards the pitcher for wine and a table, on which there are, among others, an orange and some cherries. A man stands behind the fool and holds a large wooden spoon upwards, just a split-second away from hitting the fool on his posterior. This motif most likely derives from an old Dutch



5. Jheronimus Bosch (workshop or follower), *Lust*, fragment of the *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (ca. 1510–1520). Oil on poplar panel. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P002822.

saying “door de billen slaan” (to strike the buttocks) which is an allusion to profligate, dissolute behaviour.²⁰ Musical instruments make themselves present in the scene to accompany sinful love, alongside food and drink. The harp, flute and drum, lie in the grass by the crawling fool, unused.

Bosch, in combining certain expressions of impure behaviour with eating, drinking (not being analysed in this article) and music, portrayed the *sui generis* symbiosis

of the rudimentary elements of his contemporary social life.²¹ The first of these, though not fitting into the system of ethical norms (*burgermoraal*) in the Netherlands, was heavily condemned by the Church, calling upon a moral teaching formulated on biblical terms.²² Music, though part of the Church’s liturgy in the late Middle Ages generally as monophonic and polyphonic compositions *a cappella*, was criticised in instrumental form (as well as certain genres and modes of singing) since patristic times.²³ The presence of instrumentalists and singers in Bosch’s scenes of lust evokes aspects of real performance practice in the context of private music making in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁴ However, the impossibility of verifying the auditory experiences of Bosch himself does not allow for the in-depth musicological exploration of the cultural sphere influenced by the activities of Franco-Flemish composers.²⁵

Different dimensions of love, connected to music and dance, are shown in late medieval representations, whether as drawings, paintings or engravings, such as a *May Boat*, *Garden of Love* and *Children of Venus*. A good example of the latter is the drawing (fol. 15r) in the medieval *Hausbuch* (private collection; until 2008 in Castle Wolfegg, Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg, ca. 1475–85) [fig. 6].²⁶ In the multi-figure scene with erotic motifs, exposed food and drink, the music and dance elements deserve a special attention. In addition to the *alta cappella* (two shawms and a slide trumpet), there is a hurdy-gurdy, plater-spiel as well as a pipe and tabor. The musician playing the pipe and tabor accompanies two young men from a rural environment jumping merrily, while the *alta cappella* accompanies the dance of four noble couples. Excluding the unverifiable experiences of the artist himself, in this iconosphere are rooted the main sources of the musicalized scenes of lust depicted in the aforementioned works of Bosch.



6. Anonymous artist, Children of Venus (fol. 15r) in the *Hausbuch* (ca. 1482), fol. 15r. Pen on parchment, 25 × 15 cm. Private collection; until 2008 in Castle Wolfegg, Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg.

DAMNED COUPLE (LUXURIA DAMNATA), MUSIC AND DANCE IN THE VIENNA LAST JUDGMENT. As to the punishment for the sin of lust and sensual pleasures in the *Vienna Last Judgment*, one is guided to a scene taking place on a rectangular platform, on the left side of the central panel [fig. 7].²⁷ A naked man lies or sleeps on a red bed, alongside some zoomorphic demons. An anthropomorphic female demon, wearing a horned hat (a double hennin), leans over the man, scratching his back. An unclothed woman, with a serpent-lizard around her loin, is led in a dance by a dragon which holds a candle in its right paw. Amongst the infernal creatures twirling around the damned pair, two play music. The accompaniment to the dance is performed by a demon playing the lute and another whose beak's end is an aerophone.



7. Jheronimus Bosch, *Lust*, fragment of the central panel of the *Last Judgment* in Vienna.

The item which shows the explicit the erotic connotations is the red bed, the *locus peccati* on the earthly side of life, while in the vision of Bosch, the place of punishment. A piece of furniture of the same color and a pair of sinners are found in the medallion illustrating Hell in *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* [fig. 8]. A bed with a condemned man in the tent of pleasure is also visible in the central panel of the Bruges *Last Judgment* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum, ca. 1495–1505), which is now considered to be an autograph work of Bosch [fig. 9].²⁸ The motif of a bed on which a sinner or an unchaste soul must lie in hell appears in late medieval Dutch literature, among others, in *Dat sterf boeck* (fols. 65r, 120r), an incunabulum printed in 1488, in Zwolle and Delft.²⁹ One miniature (fol. 6r) which provides a clear visual example of an erotic scene being carried out in bed is in the *Talbot Shrewsbury Book* (London, The British Library, MS Royal 15 E VI, 1444–45) [fig. 10]. It shows Nectanebus and Olympias in a bed, next to it sits a dragon. Undoubtedly, in the scene in the Vienna triptych one must combine the procurer (the hennin wearer) with the damned couple for a complete picture of lust, and according to Dirk Bax, also the two-legged lizard with the toad-like creatures that are found on and under the bed.³⁰

The analyzed scene, due to the presence of the hennin wearer and other particular characters, evokes historical realities, for we know that musicians performed in brothels and other places of questionable repute. The miniature (fol. 244r) in *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Dep. Breslau 2, vol. 2, ca. 1470), showing a bathhouse with a musician playing the lute for a naked throng (in some medieval towns these public buildings were tolerant of prostitution), confirms to some extent the literary evidence that has survived [fig. 11].³¹

The dance that the nude led by the dragon performs, accompanied by the two musicians (it calls to mind the *basse danse*), seems a prelude to the retribitional act that will take place together with the man and possibly the zoomorphic demons. It is this exact form of entertainment that Sebastian Brant (1457–1521) saw as a serious threat to the morality of his contemporaries. In *The Ship of Fools*, a poem published in 1494, he writes:



8. Jheronimus Bosch, Hell, medallion in the *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*.

The dance by Satan was invented
 When he devised the golden calf
 And taught some men at God to laugh,
 And Satan dancing still doth use
 To hatch out evil, to abuse.
 It stirs up pride, immodesty,
 And prompts men ever lewd to be.
 The pagan Venus gives her hand
 And purity is rudely banned (61).³²

The dancing pair painted in the Vienna *Last Judgment* is a similar motif to one found in the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, ca. 1495–1505), a work most likely completed earlier [fig. 12].³³ On a round platform on top of the “Tree-man’s” head, named by Reindert Falkenburg a “speculum of Luxuria”, three pairs dance around a bagpipe (one of the hellish dance leaders holds a torch instead of a candle).³⁴ Naked dancing figures also find themselves around a similar bagpipe in the central panel of the Bruges *Last Judgment*. Perhaps the basse danse, popular court dance for couples depicted, among others, by Israhel van Meckenem (ca. 1445–1503) in an engraving *Dance of the Daughters of Herodias*



9. Jheronimus Bosch, Pleasure tent, fragment of the central panel of the Bruges *Last Judgment* (ca. 1495–1505). Oil on oak panels. Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 0000.GRO0208.I.

(New York, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, no. 1958–122–5, ca. 1490), found its reflection in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*.³⁵ In turn, the dance motif in the Vienna *Last Judgment* can be seen as the auto-quotation from the *Garden of Earthly Delights* [fig. 13]

Illuminated manuscripts, which undoubtedly fueled Boosch's imagination, contain numerous examples of dance, with clear allusions to amorous and indulgent behaviour.³⁶ Among the few miniatures in *Breviari d'Amor* of Matfre Ermengaud (London, The British Library, MS Royal 19 C I, ca. 1300–1325) that show temptations of lovers, one portrays a dance of five upper class people (fol. 204v; fig. 14). Their leader is a devil, accompanied by two creatures of darkness that play trumpets. One of the miniatures in *Roman d'Alexandre* (Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, MS Bodl. 264, ca. 1338–1344), portrays a monk with his right hand raised and a stick clasped in the other, seemingly trying to hold back, or maybe even condemning the dance procession of five people swaying to a chordophone (fol. 21v). The dance is led by a person dressed as a stag, followed by a woman, two men dressed as a wolf and a rabbit and one other woman. The lower part of the miniature in *Cité de Dieu* of Saint Augustine (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS RMMW, 10 A 11, ca. 1475) shows five naked people dancing (fol. 36v, fig. 15): two women and three men in masks, and a naked



10. Nectanebus and Olympias in bed, *Talbot Shrewsbury Book* (ca. 1444–1445), fol. 6r. Tempera on parchment. London, The British Library, MS Royal 15 E VI.

musician, playing a pipe and tabor who accompanies them. Instances of the dance of death (*danse macabre*) with musical elements also appear amongst the influential sources of artistic inspiration. The illustrations in the incunabulum *Der doten dantz mit figuren/clage vnd antwort schon/von allen staten der werlt* (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, GW M47257, ca. 1488) are good examples [fig. 16]. One of them portrays a young woman led by Death with a snake in its jaw and a toad on its skull (fol. 20r).

Instruments depicted in the scene discussed were commonly used during the painter's lifetime in the court and city/town milieu; both instruments frequently appear in late medieval iconography.³⁷ The lute represents a melodic chordophone from the group of soft instruments (*basse musique*), used in chamber music. The aerophone of the demon-musician, which is a part of the beak of the creature, is related to the shawm, a loud instrument (*haute musique*), usually forming part of the *alta cappella*.³⁸ It should be noted that in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century performances, both were not played together, and the lute was not a typical instrument for dance accompaniment. In this function pipes and tabors as well bagpipes were very common; shawms and slide trumpets were reserved for the court dances.³⁹

The genesis of the lute and "organic" shawm duet stems from manuscript painting. Original musical motifs decorate the margins of, among others, the *Rutland Psalter* (London, The British Library, Add MS 62925, ca. 1260). People as well as animals and fantastic hybrid beasts are shown with various musical instruments (for example fols. 45r, 48v, 49v, 5v, 52v, 53v, 54r, 54v, 56v, 73r, 73v, 86v, 100r). The lute played by a humanoid creature similar to one of the demon-musicians is depicted in the right margin of the miniature in a *Breviary* for the use of Rome (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.8, ca. 1511; fol. 219r; fig. 17). Whereas prototype examples of the beak-aerophone appear in the margins of a few miniatures (fols. 7r, 20v, 53v, 193v) in the *Missal* of Richard Chambellan (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 879,



11. Bathhouse with a musician (fol. 244r) in *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus (ca. 1470). Tempera on parchment, 44.2 × 33.4 cm. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Dep. Breslau 2, vol. 2.

ca. 1485–90) [figs. 18 & 19].⁴⁰ A demon-musician with a similar appendage is also visible in the right wing of the Vienna *Last Judgment* and in the central panel of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, ca. 1500–10) [fig. 20].⁴¹ In turn, a lute player coming from the same evil environment can be found in both abovementioned paintings and is also present in the work by Bosch's workshop after the *Last Judgment* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, ca. 1510–20).⁴²

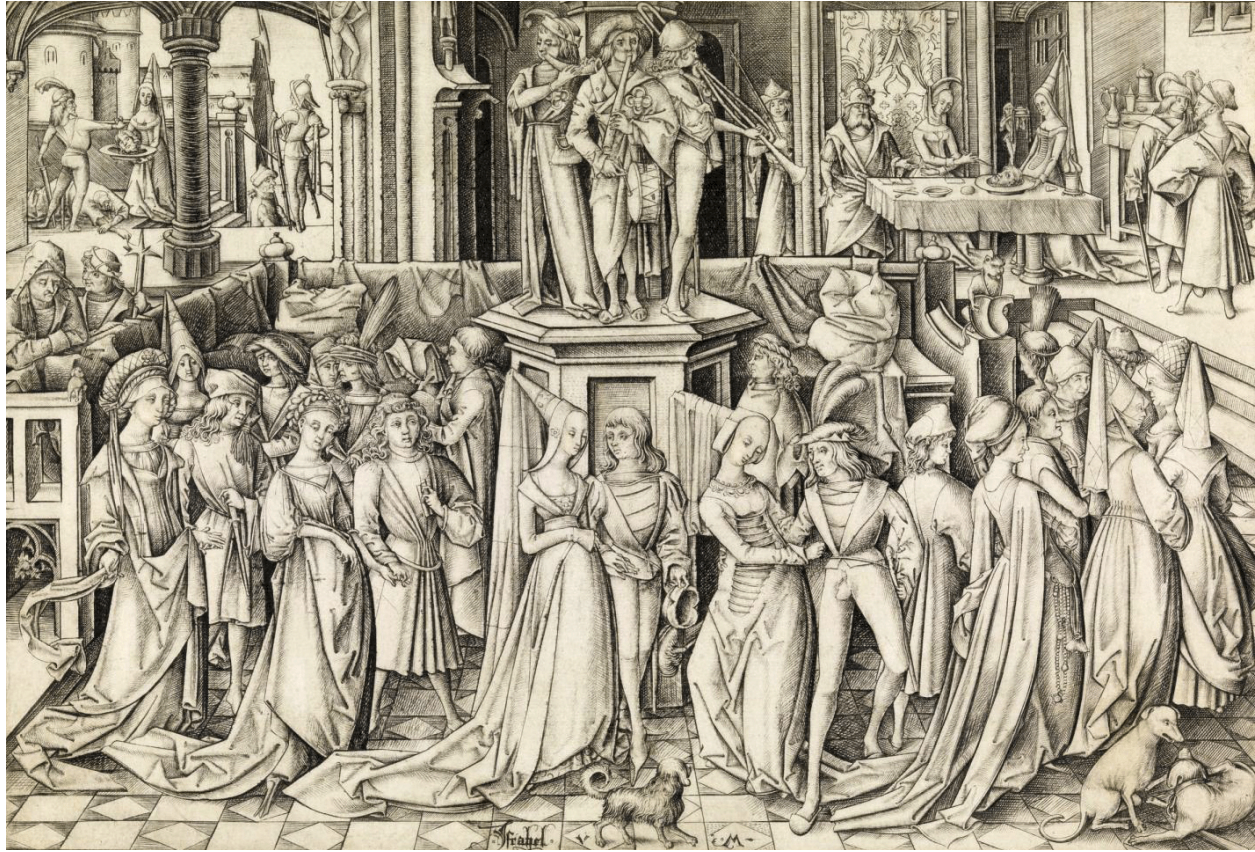
One can deduce that the music is of a perverse nature from the way the demon plays the lute held unnaturally above his head (similarly to the demon-harpist in the right wing of the Vienna triptych), and from the pose of the second musician.⁴³ Their musical rendition stands opposite to the euphonic sound of angelic choirs and ensembles.⁴⁴ This duet of the lute and "organic" shawm is interpreted as an accompaniment to dance, nevertheless, its important aspect is to torment the sense of hearing, which is so essential to *ars amandi*.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the original sonic-visual conglomerate seems to be also an allusion to the moral ugliness, spiritual disharmony of the damned.



12. Jheronimus Bosch, Dance of three damned pairs around a bagpipe, fragment of the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (ca. 1495–1505). Oil on oak panel. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P002823.

INTERLUDE. Although the iconography of hell shows many varied punishments, especially in illuminated manuscripts, it is very rare to see inscriptions allowing torments to be connected with a specific class of sins.⁴⁶ The key to interpreting Bosch's paintings is the medallion with Hell in *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*. The inscription *luxuria* appears on the headboard of a bed that a pair of lovers share with some demons. The author of this article is unaware of miniatures depicting hell in which punishments of extremely erotic/sexual connotations are combined with musical and dance elements; there are relatively few representations of hell in which devils or demons are portrayed with musical instruments.⁴⁷ In Netherlandish panel painting of the fifteenth century and the first decade of the sixteenth century there is no such connection besides Bosch's works.⁴⁸

LUXURIA IN LITERARY SOURCES: HELL IN CHRISTIAN TEACHING AND PUNISHMENTS FOR LUST. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* states that hell is a "state of definitive self-exclusion from communion with God and the blessed" (CCC 1033), and the essence of punishment is the "eternal separation from God" (CCC 1035).⁴⁹ A similar thought runs through translated into almost all European languages, and thus widely read *Tundale's Vision* (1149): "For no punishment is more serious than to be separated from the companionship of divine majesty and of the holy angels" (9).⁵⁰ The Brabant mystic and theologian Jan van Ruusbroec (1293–1381) concurs with the above mentioned idea in his treatise *The Christian Faith* (2.2). The theological interpretation of the punishment of loss, the deprivation of the vision of God (*poena damni*), explained in such a way, was hardly reflected in the iconography of hell, which was, in turn, inspired by visionary literature along



13. Israhel van Meckenem, *Dance of the Daughters of Herodias* (ca. 1490). Engraving on white paper, 21.4 × 31.8 cm. New York, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, no. 1958-122-5.

with eschatological biblical texts. “As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of this world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; And shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth” (Matthew 13:40–42). The same Gospel says: “Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels” (Matthew 25:41). In the Gospel according to Mark, we find out that in the place of eternal punishment, “their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched” (Mark 9:48). In the Apocalypse, a place of torment is the lake in which the devil, the Beast and the False Prophet “shall be tormented day and night forever and ever” (Apocalypse 20:10). Debauchers also partake “in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone” (Apocalypse 21:8), as well as seven other categories of sinners alongside them. Additionally, darkness is an inherent property of hell (Matthew 8:12; 22:13; 25:30).⁵¹

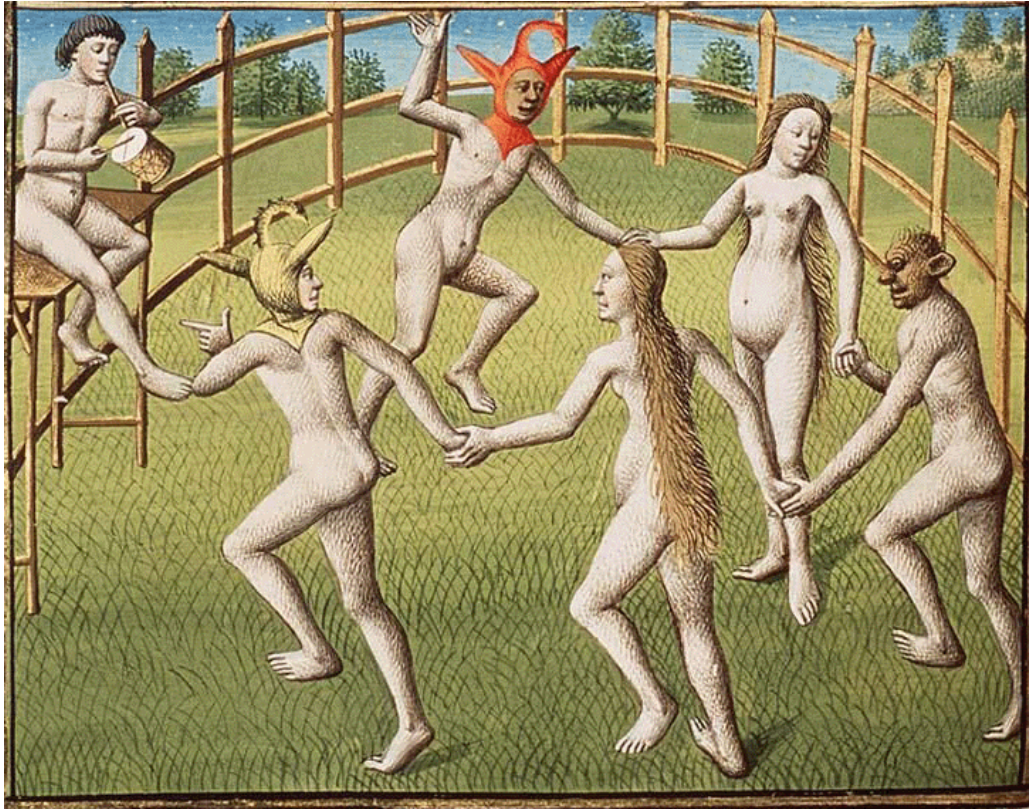
The doctrine behind the eternity of condemnation, based within the New Testament, was proclaimed by Pope Innocent III (ca. 1160–1216) in his Profession of Faith (DS 801) at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. On the other hand, the Profession of Faith (DS 856) of Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (1223–1282) presented at the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, includes a decision on the differences of punishments in hell. The foundation of this teaching lies in the Bible, where we read in the Book of Jeremiah: “I the LORD search the heart, I try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings” (Jeremiah 17:10).⁵² This citation goes on par with a sentence from *The Imitation of Christ*, a spiritual treatise of *devotio moderna*, attributed to Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1379–1471): “There [in hell], no vice will lack its proper torment” (1.24).⁵³



14. Dance of five nobles with music-making devils (fol. 204v) in *Breviari d'Amor* of Matfre Ermengaud (ca. 1300-1325). Tempera on parchment, 35.0 × 25.5 cm. London, The British Library, MS Royal 19 C I.

Saint Paul taught: “For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God” (Ephesians 5:5). Similar formulas for excluding sinners from the saved can be found in other letters of the apostle (1 Corinthians 6:9-10; Galatians 5:19-21). Despite the fact that the letters of Saint Paul contain important eschatological message, just like in the doctrinal statements of the Church, there are no references to the nature of punishments corresponding to individual sins. In general, within literary sources including early Christian apocalypses, medieval visions and mystical writings, the primary infernal element is fire (*poena ignis*), which we see in two panels of the *Vienna Last Judgment*.⁵⁴ In the chapter dedicated to the Judgment and punishment of sins, the author of *The Imitation of Christ* warns: “Truly, we deceive ourselves by our excessive self-confidence. What else will the fire feed up upon but your sins? The more lax you are now and the more you attend to bloating your own self-importance, the more severely will you pay for it later on – and the more fuel will you gather for the burning [...]. There, the luxurious and the lovers of pleasure will be drenched in burning tar and stinking brimstone” (1.24).⁵⁵

Those convicted with eternal suffering are granted various kinds of punishments, and a few writings describe penalization directly inflicted on sexual organs. In the *Apocalypse of Peter* (before 135), once incorporated into the canon of the New Testament, the following torture is prescribed for men engaged in prostitution: “And the men who laid with them [women] in fornication will be hung by their loins in that place of fire.”⁵⁶ In the already-mentioned *Tundale's Vision*, from the twelfth century, a time of the greatest flourishing of the genre, we have another description. In the passage devoted to punishment for fornicators, the monk Mark writes: “They were also tortured in their genitals with great pain; but in response their genitals, putrid and corrupt, seemed to gush with worms” (9).⁵⁷ The medieval picture of the afterlife was equally formed by *Tundale's Vision* as by *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* (ca. 1180-1184), both from the same Irish environment. The penalties described by Henry of Sawtry are not accompanied by explanations. Nevertheless, the parts of the body that are subjected to torture mentioned in the work can sometimes be associated with specific sins or a class of sins. In one of the passages we read: “Some were hung over the flames by hot iron hooks passed through their eyes and noses, others by their ears and mouths, others by their breasts and genitals”.⁵⁸ Jan van Ruusbroec, when writing about eternal damnation in *The Christian Faith*, recalls the topos of fire known from the Bible, recognizing that this element has a dual nature; it is both spiritual and carnal (2.2). The mystic believed that the punishments in hell are not only subject to differentiation in relation to indi-



15. Dance of five naked people with a musician (fol. 36v), *Cité de Dieu* of Saint Augustine (ca. 1475). Tempera on parchment, 44.0 × 30.0 cm. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS RMMW, 10 A 11.

vidual sins, but also have different degrees of intensity. “But you must know for sure that greatness of pain shall correspond to greatness of pleasure sought and practiced against God’s commandments and the ordinances of holy Church. And people shall be particularly tortured and suffer great pain in the same members they serve the devil and the flesh with” (2.2).⁵⁹

The following two sources deserve special attention within the context of this research. In *Thurkill’s Vision* (1206), where Saint Julian the Hospitaller guides the villager from Essex through hell, we find a description of a theatre, where devils are entertained by a spectacle of earthly sins. The damned perform sex to eventually be dismembered. “An adulterer was now brought into the sight of the furious demons together with an adulteress, united together in foul contact. In the presence of all they repeated their disgraceful love-making and immodest gestures to their own confusion and amid the cursing of the demons. Then, as if smitten with frenzy, they began to tear one another, changing the outward love that they seemed to entertain toward one another before into cruelty and hatred. Their limbs were torn to pieces by the furious crowd around them.”⁶⁰ Mechthild of Magdeburg (ca. 1207–ca. 1294), the German Beguine and mystic, describes a three-part structure of hell in *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*. The first level, the *dominium* of Lucifer, consists of fire, darkness, stink and horror. Here Christians are subjected to varied and extremely severe punishments. “Those who were unchaste together on earth have to lie bound in like manner before Lucifer; but if such a one comes there alone, the devil is his partner” (3.21).⁶¹ The scene of the man lying on bed with the company of monsters (perhaps zoomorphic incarnations of the devil), waiting for the woman, seems to be a reminiscence of the erotic threads outlined in *Thurkill’s Vision* and *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*.⁶² However, for a true symmetry to exist between these writings and the scene in the Vienna *Last Judgment*, there is admittedly a lack of musical and dance elements.

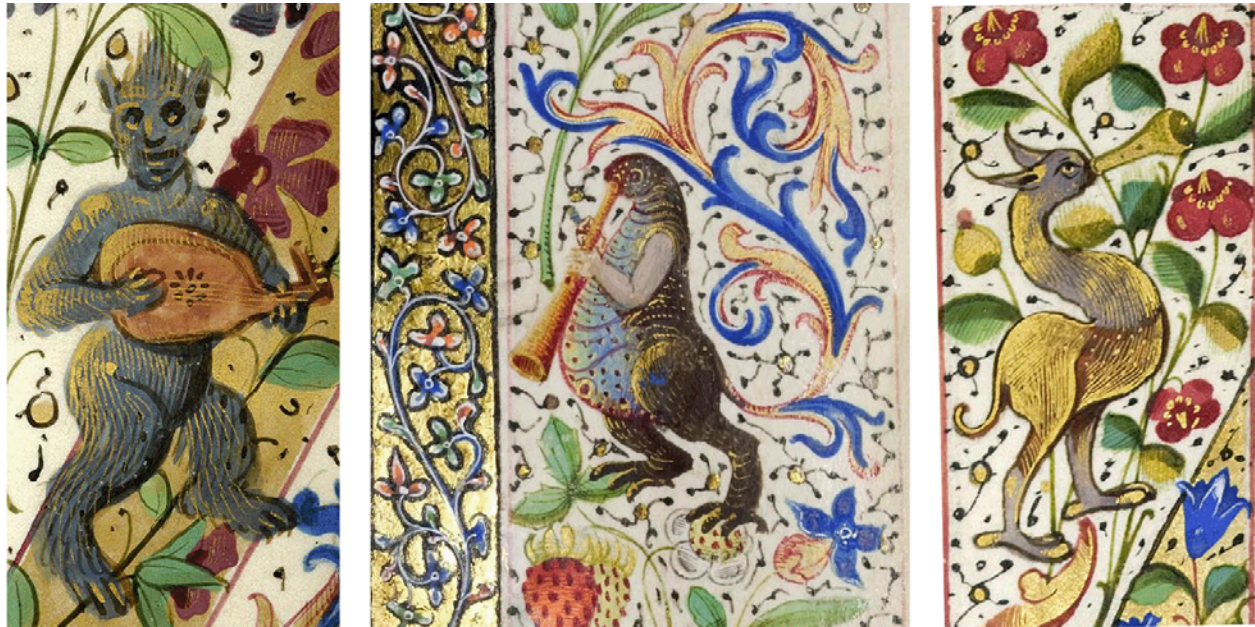
Münc
 frauwe.
 in dem
 groifen
 swanze
 Ir geb
 ret auch
 an my
 nen dan
 ze Dilt
 hoiffart
 hant ye
 gedriebe
 Beter were yf in demüdickeyt bliebe
 Ir hant vff uweren haude getragen
 Dose müdr der nye steet zu sagen.
 Kummert her nach ich uch nü lere
 In allen denzen dye leste lere.

Es müß nü dye
 warbeyt sagen
 Ich wolte der
 werlt zu maill
 behagen. Wye
 danzen vñ mye
 springen. Vnd
 auch mye süßem
 syngen. Dilt genügen hain ich be
 sehen. Vñ der gebode gottes vergehe
 O müter der barmhertikeyt. Dilt
 mye myn lunde synt mye leyde.

Der doitt. **die iunckfrawe**

16. Young woman led by Death (danse macabre) (fol. 20r) in *Der doten dantz mit figuren, clage vnd antwort schon von allen staten der werlt* ([Heidelberg]: [Knobloch-zer], ca. 1488). Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, GW M47257.

Medieval sermons on penance are worth mentioning in the pursuit of sources for Bosch's inspirations. The fifteenth century had its fill of wandering preachers who conducted their activities primarily in the south and west of Europe, focusing their public speeches on the seven deadly sins and the four last things. These preachers were able to attract audiences in the thousands. However, most of these sermons have not survived to this day, and we know them mostly from descriptions. Moreover, in penitential sermons, there is a tendency to focus on pointing to the way to salvation rather than enumerating and describing infernal punishments.⁶³



17. Humanoid creature playing the lute in the marginal decoration of the Breviary for the use of Rome, fol. 219r (France, ca. 1511). New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.8. — 18 & 19. Fantastic creatures in the marginal decorations of the Missal of Richard Chambellan, fol. 7r and 53v (ca. 1485-1490). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 879.

LEX TALIONIS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. In the attempt to consolidate the three elements of Bosch's vision of the hereafter: the infernal domain of *luxuria* as well as music and dance, one must take the Bible into account, an important source of artistic inspiration, and what is more, one that is widely available.⁶⁴ The principle of *lex talionis* of the Old Testament, the law that states that punishment must be equal to the crime/offence, is phrased as such: "And if a man cause a blemish in his neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be done to him; Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him again [...]. And he that killeth a man, he shall be put to death" (Leviticus 24:19-21; see also Judges 1:7). In *The Imitation of Christ* the same law is present: "In whatever ways you have sinned, in those same ways will you be severely punished" (1.24).⁶⁵ The two scenes in the *Ship of Fools* and the *Haywain Triptych* and their corresponding scene in the Vienna triptych, indicate the creative reflection of Bosch on the excerpt from the Book of Leviticus and *The Imitation of Christ*. Elements that appear both in the earthly realm and in the ultimate reality are suitors or lovers, damned, demons and musical instruments which are used as accompaniment for singing or dancing. The correspondence between these motifs proves the existence of a coherent mental-ideological system in the Bosch's workshop, where the punishment of eternal damnation bears the stigma of earthly pleasures. What was once performed voluntarily and was pleasurable becomes inverted in the new reality.

SOUNDS OF HELL. Sound phenomena constitute an inherent element of ultimate reality, as medieval literature attests.⁶⁶ Music resounds through heaven, and all kinds of acoustic effects are also heard in hell, its negative counterpart, where they complement the "wailing and gnashing of teeth" (Matthew 13:42) of the damned. Henry of Sawtry in *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* writes that during the first meeting of Owen with the demons, "a noise was heard around the building, as if all the people in the world, with the animals and beasts, were making it."⁶⁷ Many writings ascertain that hell has its own sonosphere, however, there are only a few that actually mention instruments. The author of the article is not aware of literary sources in which tools for making sounds are associated with penalties for lust. It is worth paying attention to the description of the entrance to hell found in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (ca. 1357), one of the bestselling works of the



20. Jheronimus Bosch, Demon musicians, fragment of the central panel of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (ca. 1500–1510). Oil on oak panel. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 1498.

late Middle Ages: “A little way from that place towards the River Phison [Ganges] is a great marvel. For there is a valley between two hills, about four miles long; some men call it the Vale of Enchantment, some the Vale of Devils, and some the Vale Perilous. In this valley there are often heard tempests, and ugly, hideous noises, both by day and by night. And sometimes noises are heard as if of trumpets and tabors and drums, like at the feasts of great lords. This valley is full of devils and always has been, and men of those parts say it is an entrance to Hell” (31).⁶⁸

CODA. The originality of the scene analyzed in the article lies in the unconventional visualization of the existence of condemned souls in the afterlife, specifically earned through the sin of lust perpetrated in earthly life. *Luxuria* in Bosch’s vision receives its inverted comeuppance (dance and sexual act). The musical instruments appear as tools of penitence used by the demons for their tasks of retribution.⁶⁹ In light of the thoughts expressed in *Tundale’s Vision* (9) and *The Christian Faith* (2.2), as to the severest punishment being the feeling of the absence of God, one can admit that the sight of the hellish creatures serves to enlighten the damned as to the scale and vastness of their misfortune, placed beyond the threshold of linearly running time, in eternity. Even though, there are particular motifs in the analyzed scene in the Vienna *Last Judgment* which can be sourced from illuminated manuscripts and incunabula, the narrative form undertaken by Bosch using the potential of his imagination, powered by certain literary ideas is equally innovative and unique in late medieval religious iconography.⁷⁰ The connection of penalties corresponding to lust as well as music and dance in Bosch’s vision of hell can not be derived directly from any work cited in the article. Of the literary sources of inspiration for the painter that we have considered the most important are the Bible (Leviticus 24:17–21) and *The Imitation of Christ* (1.24).

Translated by Kimba Frances Kerner

NOTES

¹ See, among others, Roger H. Marijnissen and Peter Ruyfelaere, *Hieronymus Bosch: Das vollständige Werk*, trans. by Hugo Beyer (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 1999), 214-233; Jos Koldeweij, Paul Vandebroek and Bernard Vermet, *Hieronymus Bosch: The Complete Paintings and Drawings*, trans. by Ted Alkins (Amsterdam: Ludion Ghent; Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2001), 176-182; Larry Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2006), 337-348; Stefan Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch: The Complete Works*, trans. by Karen Williams (Köln: Taschen, 2013), 154-175, 250-251. The same interpretive line is followed by Gary Schwartz, *Jheronimus Bosch: The Road to Heaven and Hell* (New York and London: Overlook Duckworth, 2016), 160-164. The BRCP team researched during the years 2010-2016; see <boschproject.org/team.html> (accessed 1 October 2020). This website contains digital images of Bosch's works, his workshop and his followers in high resolution.

² Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 154-175; Renate Trnek, "Patron Lost: First Insights into the Underdrawings of the Last Judgment Triptych by Jheronimus Bosch in Vienna", *Jheronimus Bosch: His Patrons and His Public*, ed. by Frances Kemp, Jos Koldeweij and Hannah Gooiker ('s-Hertogenbosch: Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 2014), 264-279.

³ Matthijs Ilsink, Jos Koldeweij, Ron Spronk, et al., *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman: Catalogue Raisonné*, trans. by Ted Alkins (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2016), 290-307. The scholars from the BRCP question the oft-stated hypothesis in art-historical literature, that the *Last Judgment* was supposedly commissioned by the Duke of Burgundy Philip the Fair (1478-1506), and believe that the triptych was rather ordered by Hippolyte de Berthoz (d. 1503), a high ranking official at the Burgundian court during the years 1472-99. The BRCP team interprets the figure painted in grisaille on the right wing of the triptych not as Saint Bavo but as Saint Hippolytus therefore the patron saint of the donor of the work; the left wing shows Saint James the Greater. For the content of the duke's commission see Godfried C.M. van Dijk, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken alias Bosch: De feiten, familie, vrienden en opdrachtgevers, ca. 1400-ca. 1635* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 2001), 91. In 2017, after the publication of *Catalogue Raisonné*, the new director of the painting gallery of the Akademie der bildenden Künste gave her permission for the painting to be technically analysed. The result of the cooperation between the members of the BRCP and the team from the University of Antwerp is an article in which the scholars prove that the painting commissioner was, in fact, Hippolyte de Berthoz; Jos Koldeweij, Luuk Hoogstede, Matthijs Ilsink et al., "The Patron of Hieronymus Bosch's *Last Judgment Triptych* in Vienna", *The Burlington Magazine* CLX/1379 (2018), 106-111.

⁴ <www.akademiegalerie.at> (accessed 10 October 2020). So far, the final results of the technical and iconographic studies of the Vienna *Last Judgment* started in 2011 by the team led by Renate Trnek have not been published. The only publication of Trnek related to the Bosch project is the one mentioned in note 2. See <www.akbild.ac.at/Portal/kunst-forschung/projekte/forschungsprojekte/2015> (accessed 13 July 2018).

⁵ Nils Büttner, Julia M. Nauhaus, Erwin Pokorny and Larry Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch in the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna*, trans. by Andrew Boreham (Wien: Bibliothek der Provinz, 2017); the German edition of the book was published in 2016.

⁶ The central panel of the painting is 164 × 127 cm, wings are 164 × 60 cm. See Beat Brenk, "Weltgericht", *Lexikon der Christli-*

chen Ikonographie, ed. by Engelbert Kirschbaum (Roma: Gerd Mohn, 1972), vol. 4, 513-523; Yves Christe, "Giudizio Universale", *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, ed. by Angiola M. Romanini (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995), vol. 6, 791-805; and Yves Christe, *Jugements derniers* (Saint-Léger-Vauban: Zodiaque, 1999). See also Bernhard Ridderbos, "Objects and Questions", *Early Netherlandish Painting: Rediscovery, Reception, and Research*, ed. by Bernhard Ridderbos, Anne van Buren and Henk van Veen, trans. by Andrew McCormick and Anne van Buren (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 31-36, 78-86.

⁷ On infernal punishments in the works of Bosch see Larry Silver, "Crímenes y castigos: Los Infiernos del Bosco", *El Bosco: La exposición del V Centenario*, ed. by Pilar Silva Maroto (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016), 115-133. On torture and violence in medieval literature see *Crime and Punishment in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Mental-Historical Investigations of Basic Human Problems and Social Responses*, ed. by Albrecht Classen and Connie Scarborough (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); Larissa Tracy, *Torture and Brutality in Medieval Literature: Negotiations of National Identity* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012); Faustine Harang, *La Torture au Moyen Âge, XIV^e-XV^e siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2017). On the ultimate source of evil see Larry Silver, "Jheronimus Bosch and the Issue of Origins", *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 1/1 (2009).

⁸ See Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch and Lucas Cranach: Two Last Judgment Triptychs. Description and exposition*, trans. by M.A. Bax-Botha (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1983), 75-284 and 443 (index: *Luxuria* [unchastity]). Dirk Bax's monograph, which is a must-have book for the study of Bosch's painting (with which one can and sometimes should polemize), is one of the most comprehensive studies devoted to the iconography of the Vienna *Last Judgment*. Here we should also mention an extensive publication: Julia M. Nauhaus, ed., *Hieronymus Boschs Weltgerichts-Triptychon in seiner Zeit: Publikation zur gleichnamigen internationalen Konferenz vom 21. bis 23. November 2019 in der Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste* (Wien: Akademie der bildenden Künste, 2020); that book deserves special attention, however, there are no musicological analysis of Bosch's paintings.

⁹ See Yona Pinson, "Music", *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art*, ed. by Helene E. Roberts (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), vol. 2, 634-636. The two other scenes that contain musical elements are found in the central panel, on the right from the vertical axis of the composition, a bit higher than the platform with the dancing woman, and in the right wing of the triptych. See Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 347; Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 164. Albert Pomme de Mirimonde and Reinhold Hammerstein devoted a bit more attention to the musical scenes within the Vienna *Last Judgment*; Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Le symbolisme musical chez Jérôme Bosch", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 77 (1971), 37-38; Reinhold Hammerstein, *Diabolus in musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter* (Bern and München: Francke, 1974), 98-100.

¹⁰ Biblical quotes in this article are from *The King James Bible* (1769 version); <www.kingjamesbibleonline.org> (accessed 12 October 2020).

¹¹ See also Exodus 20:14-17; Matthew 5:27-28; 15:10-20; Mark 7:14-23; 1 Corinthians 6:9-10.12-20; Galatians 5:19-21; Ephesians 5:3-7; Colossians 3:5-6; 1 Thessalonians 4:3-7; Hebrews 13:4.

¹² Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing*

Unto Others (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 3.

¹³ See James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987; repr. 1990), 487–550 (author's discussion on the above pages covers the period 1348–1517). See also Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage, ed., *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1982); Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage, ed., *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 1996; repr. 2010).

¹⁴ See examples of inappropriate behaviour given by Johann Herolt (ca. 1386–1468) from Nuremberg. His sermons and homiletic guides circulating in manuscripts and incunabula were very popular in Europe; Ian D.K. Siggins, *A Harvest of Medieval Preaching: The Sermon Books of Johann Herolt, OP (Discipulus)* (Bloomington, Ind.: Xlibris Corporation, 2009), 70–73.

¹⁵ For the list of the seven capital sins see The Catechism of the Catholic Church (nr 1866); <www.vatican.va> (accessed 12 October 2020). Gregory the Great named the seven major vices as: *inanis gloriae* (vainglory), *invidia* (envy), *ira* (wrath), *tristitia* (sadness), *avaritia* (greed), *ventris ingluvies* (gluttony), *luxuria* (lust) (*Moralia* 31,45.87). In the late Middle Ages there was another popular list, called SALIGIA (the acronym from the first letter of each of the sins in Latin): *superbia* (pride), *avaritia* (greed), *luxuria* (lust), *ira* (wrath), *gula* (gluttony), *invidia* (envy), *acedia* (sloth). See Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, *I sette vizi capitali: Storia dei peccati nel Medioevo* (Torino: Einaudi, 2000); Richard Newhauser, ed., *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005); Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard, ed., *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins* (Woodbridge and Rochester, N.Y.: York Medieval Press, 2012).

¹⁶ See IIsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch*, 316–35, 336–55, 468–75. The scholars from BRCP consider the *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* to be the work of Bosch's workshop or one of his followers. However, they do admit that the subject of the work appears Boschian. Pilar Silva Maroto from the Museo Nacional del Prado, does not question the "Tabletop" as Bosch's work, and beyond that believes that the painting was done between 1505–1510; Silva Maroto, ed., *El Bosco*, 302–312 (the author of the catalogue entry is P. Silva Maroto).

¹⁷ See Walter S. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973; repr. 2001), 40–44; Erik Larsen, *Bosch: The Complete Paintings by the Visionary Master* (New York: Smithmark, 1998), 139; Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 191–192. See also Laurinda Dixon, *Hieronymus Bosch* (New York: Phaidon, 2003; repr. 2006), 76. The scholars from BRCP see in the members of two religious orders an allusion to indecency; IIsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch*, 328. Friso Lammertse, the author of the entry in the Prado catalogue, perceives the behaviour of the nun and monk to be play (*jolgorio*); Silva Maroto, ed., *El Bosco*, 298.

¹⁸ See Ludwig von Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1960; org. Wien 1943), 25; Roger Van Schoute and Monique Verboomen, *Jérôme Bosch* (Tournai: Renaissance du Livre, 2001), 140; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 270; Charles D. Cuttler, *Hieronymus Bosch: Late Work* (London: Pindar Press, 2012), 56; Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 201; Silva Maroto, ed., *El Bosco*, 287 (P. Silva Maroto).

¹⁹ One more promending pair is painted farther away on the right side of the tent.

²⁰ Hans van Gangelen and Sebastiaan Ostkamp, "Parallels Between Hieronymus Bosch's Imagery and Decorated Material Culture from the Period Between circa 1450 and 1525", *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights Into His Life and Work*, ed. by Jos Kolde-

weij, Bernard Vermet and Barbera van Kooij, trans. by B. O'Brien et al. (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, Ludion 2001), 162.

²¹ The literary work which casts light on the studied matters is *The Praise of Folly* by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467–1536). In his book, completed in 1509 and first printed in 1511, he writes: "But there are some, you'll say, and those too none of the youngest, that have a greater kindness for the pot than the petticoat and place their chiefest pleasure in good fellowship. If there can be any great entertainment without a woman at it, let others look to it [...]. For to what purpose were it to clog our stomachs with dainties, junkets, and the like stuff, unless our eyes and ears, nay whole mind, were likewise entertained with jests, merriments, and laughter? But of these kind of second courses I am the only cook; though yet those ordinary practices of our feasts, as choosing a king, throwing dice, drinking healths, trolling it round, dancing the cushion" (18). Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, trans. by John Wilson (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2003), 15. On food and drink in the works of Bosch see Gerd Unverfehrt, *Wein statt Wasser: Essen und Trinken bei Jheronimus Bosch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

²² On secular ethics in the late Middle Ages in the Netherlands see Herman Pleij, *Het gilde van de Blauwe Schuit. Literatuur, volksfeest en burgermoraal in de late middeleeuwen* (2nd ed., Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1983); Herman Pleij, *Op belofte van profijt. Stads-literatuur en burgermoraal in de Nederlandse letterkunde van de middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1991). The issue of the system of ethical/moral values of the city patriciate in Brabant in connection with the painting of Bosch was examined by Paul Vandenbroeck; Paul Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch. Tussen volksleven en stads-cultuur* (Berchem: EPO, 1987); a new edition of the book from 1987: *Jheronimus Bosch: De verlossing van de wereld* (Ghent and Amsterdam: Ludion, 2002). See also notes 11 and 13.

²³ Among the staunchest critics from the patristic era two writers should be mentioned: Saint John Chrysostom (ca. 350–407) and Saint Jerome (ca. 347–420). For example see John Chrysostom, *In caput XXIX Genesim, Hom. 56.2* (PG 54.486), and Jerome, *Epistola 107.8* (PL 22.875). Translations into English see James McKinnon, ed., *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press 1987; repr. 1993), 83–84, 142.

²⁴ See Keith Polk, "Instrumental Performance in the Renaissance", *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, ed. by Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 335–352. See also Victor Coelho and Keith Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420–1600. Players of Function and Fantasy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). A scene in *Gluttony and Lust* takes place in an unusual audiosphere. Two people, alone in a tent, enjoy the wine, and their intimate meeting is accompanied by the sounds of a luituus, a loud signaling instrument combined with municipal administration and judicial authority.

²⁵ On musical culture during the Renaissance see Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York and London: Norton, 1998); Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1999); Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds., *The New Oxford History of Music: Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), vol. 3/1; Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin, ed., *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich, eds., *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

²⁶ Illustration source: <iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk>

(accessed 9 October 2020).

²⁷ See Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 30; Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 56; Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 1983, 154-159; Renate Trnek, *Das Weltgerichtstriptychon von Hieronymus Bosch in der Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien* (Rosenheim: Rosenheimer Verlagshaus, 1989), 42; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 347; Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 167; Büttner et al., *Hieronymus Bosch*, 9; Guillaume Cassegrain, *Hieronymus Bosch: Triptych*, trans. by James Geist (Vanves: Éditions du Chêne, 2017), 45. It is here worth noting that Nils Büttner expresses a similar opinion as Dirk Bax, that that dancing woman can also be a personification of vanity (*superbia*), and the sleeping man of laziness (*acedia*).

²⁸ See Ilsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch*, 278-289.

²⁹ See Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 1983, 158. Besides the literary works, the most important sources of inspiration for Bosch are deemed to be peripheral areas of art: drôleries of miniature paintings, architectural sculptures and ornamentation of religious buildings. See Eric De Bruyn, "Textos e imágenes: Las fuentes del arte del Bosco", Silva Maroto, ed., *El Bosco*, 73-89. Regarding the relationship between illuminated manuscripts and Bosch's panel painting see Suzanne Sulzberger, "Jérôme Bosch et les maîtres de l'énluminure", *Scriptorium* 16 (1962): 46-49; Erwin Pokorny, "Bosch and the Influence of Flemish Book Illumination", *Jheronimus Bosch: His Sources*, second International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, 22-25 May 2007, 's-Hertogenbosch, Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, ed. by Jill Bradley, Eric De Bruyn, Jos Koldewei et al. ('s-Hertogenbosch: Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 2010), 281-292. See also Thomas Kren and Maryan W. Ainsworth, "Illuminators and Painters: Artistic Exchanges and Interrelationships", *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. by Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), 35-57, spec. 44-47.

³⁰ Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 1983, 156. The scholar believes that similar connotations are shown with the other demons in the scene (p. 157).

³¹ See Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 1983, 140, 156-157, 233, 240. On prostitution in medieval Europe see Vern L. Bullough, "Prostitution in the Later Middle Ages", Bullough and Brundage, ed., *Sexual Practices*, 176-186, 275-277; Jacques Rossiaud, *La prostitution médiévale* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988); Ruth Mazo Karras, "Prostitution in Medieval Europe", *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, 243-260.

³² Sebastian Brant, *The Ship of Fools: Translated into rhyming couplets with introduction and commentary by Edwin H. Zeydel, with the original one hundred and fourteen woodcuts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944; repr. 1962), 205.

³³ See Ilsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch*, 356-79. Pilar Silva Maroto proposes an earlier date (ca. 1490-1500); Silva Maroto, ed., *El Bosco*, 330-346.

³⁴ Reindert Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness: Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Zwolle: W Books, 2011), 234. Dirk Bax undertook the task of naming each of the hellish creatures. In his opinion they are: a *copulatrix*, a brothel-keeper (?) and a *meretrix*; Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch, His Picture-Writing Deciphered*, trans. by M.A. Bax-Botha (Rotterdam: Balkema, 1979), 240. The scholar believes that the *conciliatrix* makes use of the bagpipes.

³⁵ The basse danse, a stately dance popular among the nobility and gentry, was usually performed in pairs. Our knowledge of Burgundian dance in the late Middle Ages is based to a large extent on the *Basses danses dites de Marguerite d'Autriche* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Ms. 9085, ca. 1490). The manuscript contains seventeen folios with music and choreographies. Two other popular types of medieval dance were the

circle and line dances. For a deeper look into dance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see Ingrid Brainard, *The Art of Courtly Dancing in the Early Renaissance* (West Newton, Mass.: I.G. Brainard, 1981); Peggy Dixon, *Dances from the Courts of Europe* (London: Nonsuch Productions, 1999), vol. 1; Margaret M. McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008); Robert Mullally, *The Carole: A Study of a Medieval Dance* (Farnham, Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2011). See also Timothy J. McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1990).

³⁶ Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 1983, 156.

³⁷ For a list of musical instruments depicted by Bosch and his studio see Kees Vellekoop, "Music and Dance in the Paintings of Hieronymus Bosch", *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights*, 201-205. For more information about musical instruments, including organological issues see Jeremy Montagu, *The World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments* (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1976; repr. 1980), 31-33, 40, 65, 73, 99-101, 118; David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 25-26, 39-42.

³⁸ Make note that the city officials of 's-Hertogenbosch, between the years 1500 and 1530, employed four musicians (*stad pijpers, scalmeyers*) playing shawms and trumpets. See Keith Polk, "Ensemble Instrumental Music in Flanders, 1450-1550", *Journal of Band Research* XI/2 (1975), 12-27: 13, table 1. See also Patrick Tröster, *Das Alta-Ensemble und seine Instrumente von der Spätgotik bis zur Hochrenaissance (1300-1550): Eine musikikonographische Studie* (Tübingen: Medien Verlag Köhler, 2001).

³⁹ The flute and drum (pipe and tabor) belong in the highest degree to the realm of *profanum*. Both instruments are given to the demon in the right wing of the Vienna *Last Judgment*. In the miniature (fol. 160v) in *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 829, ca. 1400-1410), devils are portrayed with a double pipe and drum. Bagpipes, due to their visual similarity to the male genitalia (especially when rendered in pink or red) were endowed with extremely erotic symbolism in the late Middle Ages. John H. Planer derives it from dances in the rural environment. See John H. Planer, "Damned Music: The Symbolism of the Bagpipes in Art of Hieronymus Bosch and his Followers", *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwynn S. McPeck*, ed. by Carmelo P. Comberiati and Matthew C. Steel (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1988), 335-353.

⁴⁰ Jacques Combe was the first to see the connection between the fantastic creature on fol. 7r in the Missal of Richard Chambellan and the demon-musician in the scene on top of the haystack depicted in the Madrid triptych. See Jacques Combe, *Hieronymus Bosch*, trans. by Ethel Duncan (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1946; orig. 1946), 58, note 53.

⁴¹ See Ilsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch*, 140-159. From the bell of the aerophone shown in the Lisbon triptych smoke is released, but from the bell of the aerophone found in the right wing of the Vienna triptych comes out fire. In both cases the non-musical aspects of the instruments have been highlighted. In panel painting the motif of the fire trumpet was depicted in the *Last Judgment* (Köln: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, ca. 1435) of Stefan Lochner (ca. 1400/10-51).

⁴² See Ilsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch*, 380-91.

⁴³ Another unnatural musical element in the Vienna *Last Judgment* is the obscene way the trumpet is played (the right wing); its earlier counterpart can be found in the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. In the Madrid triptych, in the place

where the back of the sinner splits into two, we see a flute.

⁴⁴ The proliferation of the angel-musician motif in Netherlandish painting of the fifteenth century occurred through the work of Hans Memling (ca. 1435-94). See Albert P. de Mirimonde, "Les anges musiciens chez Memling", *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1962-1963): 5-55; Godelieve Spiesens, "Toepassing van voorschriften voor de bouw van muziekinstrumenten bij Memling", *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1967), 7-12; Mia Awouters, "Muziekinstrumenten ten tijde van Memling", *Hans Memling: Essays*, ed. by Dirk De Vos (Brugge: Ludion, Stedelijke Musea, 1994), 45-49; Jeremy Montagu, "Musical instruments in Hans Memling's paintings", *Early Music* XXXV/4 (November 2007), 505-523.

⁴⁵ According to Jan van Ruusbroec (1293-1381) the saved will be given exterior as well as interior ears. The first will be used for listening to the singing of the angels and the saved, and the second will be used for listening to the words of God the Father, that carry knowledge and truth with them (*The Christian Faith* 2.1).

⁴⁶ Let's make note of a few of these examples. In the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MSS M.917 and M.945, ca.1440), beneath the three-holed Hellmouth (fol. 168^v), the illuminator portrayed the five scrolls sprouting from a green demon's mouth along with the seven capital sins. Taddeo di Bartolo (ca. 1362-1422) while painting *Hell* in collegiate church of Santa Maria Assunta in San Gimignano (ca. 1393-1413), labeled each sin and punishment. Correct identification of the damned in the vision of the *Last Judgment* (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, ca. 1447) of Fra Angelico (ca. 1395-1455) allows inscriptions. In one of the hellish circles there are *LIBIDINOSI*.

⁴⁷ They are usually loud instruments, like trumpets, horns, bagpipes and drums. As exemplifications we can indicate the miniatures in *De civitate Dei* by Saint Augustine (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 9006, ca. 1420-1435) and in *Schachzabelbuch* by Konrad von Ammenhausen (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Cod.poet.et phil. fol. 2, 1467). The miniature (fol. 265^v) in Saint Augustine's text shows a *Hell* where amongst the demon torturers, one plays the bagpipes. The miniature (fol. 97^v) in *Schachzabelbuch* shows a devil blowing a horn, sitting on the mouth of Leviathan who breathes fire. An example of panel painting is the previously mentioned *Last Judgment* of Stefan Lochner, where devils are shown in hell with a trumpet and a drum.

⁴⁸ The research of the author of the article took into account the resources of European and American museums and the database containing 4,107 items (paintings) available on the website of Studiecentrum Vlaamse Primitieven. See <xv.kikirpa.be/friedlaender-30> (accessed 28 June 2020).

⁴⁹ Quoted from the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* available at: <www.vatican.va> (accessed 28 October 2020).

⁵⁰ Eileen Gardiner, ed., *Visions of Heaven and Hell Before Dante* (New York: Italica Press, 1989), 168.

⁵¹ The differences between the punishment of loss – the privation of the vision of God (*poena damni*) and the punishment of the senses (*poena sensus*) are described by Saint Thomas of Aquinas (1224/25-74) in *Summa theologiae* (2a2ae q. 79 a. 4 ad. 4) and in *De Malo* (q. 5 a. 2). In Christian tradition, in addition to the punishments listed above, remorse (*poena vermis*) is also mentioned.

⁵² Briefly on Christian eschatology see Paul O'Callaghan, *Christ Our Hope: An Introduction to Eschatology* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2011); on hell: 189-222.

⁵³ Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ: A New Reading of the 1441 Latin Autograph Manuscript*, transl. by William C. Creasy (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1989; repr. 2007), 29. On the religious movement *devotio moderna* founded in the fourteenth century in the Netherlands as well as the writings connected to it see Émile Brouette and Reinhold Mokrosch, "Devotio moderna", *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. by Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1981), vol. 8, 605-616; John Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna. Basic Writings* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Rudolf van Dijk, *Twaalf kapitels over ontstaan, bloei en doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012).

⁵⁴ A good introduction to the issue of travelling to the afterlife in the apocalyptic literature is the book by Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983). See also Jan N. Bremmer, "Descents to Hell and Ascents to Heaven in Apocalyptic Literature", *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. by John J. Collins (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 340-357. The literature devoted to journeys to hell, purgatory and heaven is numerous, here are a few of the more important works from the last thirty years: Peter Dinzelsbacher, ed., *Mittelalterliche Visionsliteratur: Eine Anthologie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989); Peter Dinzelsbacher, *Revelationes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991); Claude Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après la littérature latine (V^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Roma: Ecole Française de Rome, 1994); Fabienne Pomel, *Les voies de l'au-delà et l'essor de l'allégorie au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Champion, 2001); Maximilian Benz, *Gesicht und Schrift: Die Erzählung von Jenseitsreisen in Antike und Mittelalter* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013). On European mysticism see Kurt Ruh, *Geschichte der abendländischen Mystik* (München: C.H. Beck, 1990-1999), 4 vols.; Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad, 1991-2017), 6 vols.

⁵⁵ Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, 28-29.

⁵⁶ Gardiner, ed., *Visions of Heaven and Hell*, 6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁵⁹ Jan van Ruusbroec, *Vanden blinkenden steen: Vanden vier becoringhen. Vanden kerstenen ghelove. Brieven*. Opera omnia 10, ed. by Guido de Baere, Thomas Mertens, Hilde Noë, trans. by André Lefevere (English), Laurentius Surius (Latin), (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 430.

⁶⁰ Gardiner, ed., *Visions of Heaven and Hell*, 230.

⁶¹ Mechthild of Magdeburg, *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, trans. by Frank Tobin (Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press 1998), 129.

⁶² Images of damned lovers entwined in a loving embrace contain illuminated manuscripts, see for example fol. 211r in *Cité de Dieu* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 19, ca. 1470) and fol. 298^v in *Histoire romaine* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9186, ca. 1470).

⁶³ The abovementioned tendency has been accentuated in the book: Thom Mertens, Maria C. Sherwood-Smith, and Michael Mecklenburg et al, eds., *The Last Judgment in Medieval Preaching* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

⁶⁴ On the Bible in medieval culture see Bernard S. Levy, ed., *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992); Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, ed., *The Practice of the Bible in*

the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Ian Ch. Levy, *Introducing Medieval Biblical Interpretation: The Senses of Scripture in Premodern Exegesis* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2018). In regards to Bosch's painting see: Jeanne van Waadenonij, "The Bible and Bosch", Bradley et al., *Jheronimus Bosch: His Sources*, 334-45.

⁶⁵ Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, 28.

⁶⁶ See classic studies: Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (Bern and München: Francke, 1962); Kathi Meyer-Baer, *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death: Studies in Musical Iconology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); Hammerstein, *Diabolus in musica*; Michael Walter, Andreas Jaschinski and Emanuel Winternitz, "Engelsmusik - Teufelsmusik", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), Sachteil vol. 3, 8-27.

⁶⁷ Gardiner, ed., *Visions of Heaven and Hell*, 138.

⁶⁸ *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. by C.W.R.D. Mo-seley (London: Penguin Books, 1983; repr. 2005), 173.

⁶⁹ The lute and "organic" shawm are not shown as direct instruments of torture like in the Bruges *Last Judgment* or in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, where the damned are, among others,

strung up through the strings of a harp or lodged in the inside of a bell. See Grzegorz Kubies, "Angel Trumpeters and Poena Sensus: A Reflection on Jheronimus Bosch's *Last Judgment* Triptych in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges", *Jheronimus Bosch: His Life and his Works. Fourth International Bosch Conference, April 14-16, 2016, Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 's-Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands*, ed. by Dawn Carelli and Hannah Gooiker ('s-Hertogenbosch: Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 2016), 178-198.

⁷⁰ The meaning of the categories *inventio* and *fantasia* in the painting of Bosch is easier to understand in the context of the inscription in his drawing *The Wood has Ears, the Field has Eyes* (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, KdZ 549), originating in the thirteenth-century treatise *De disciplina scholarium*. The following quotation is placed above the drawing: "miserimi quippe est ingenii semper uti inventis et numquam inveniendis." It's worth mentioning the thoughts expressed by members of BRCP: "A typical feature of Bosch's painted oeuvre is the powerful way it appeals to his viewers to contemplate the painted scene. The painter goes to great lengths to grab his beholders' attention, so that they will look at the painting for longer and meditate on its content. He is determined to create a link between viewer and subject matter. Bosch makes it personal, through the technique he uses on the one hand, and the imagery on the other"; IIsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch*, 44.