

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

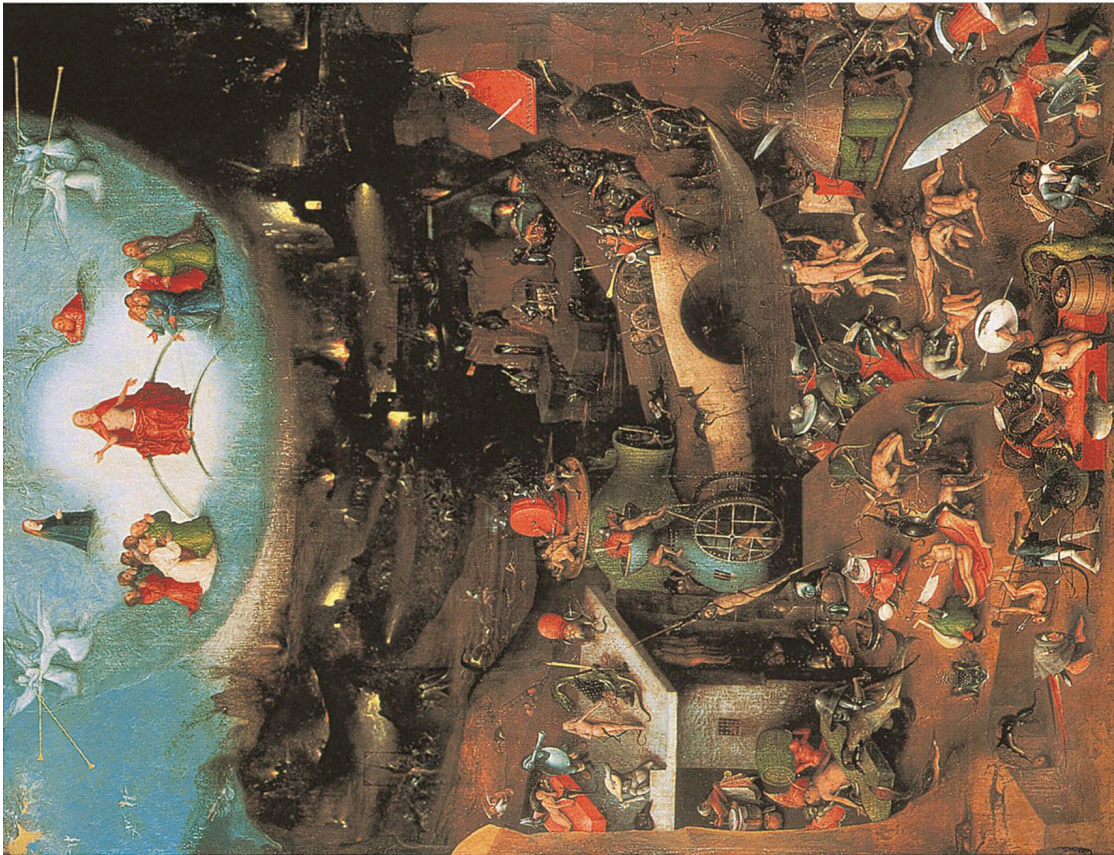
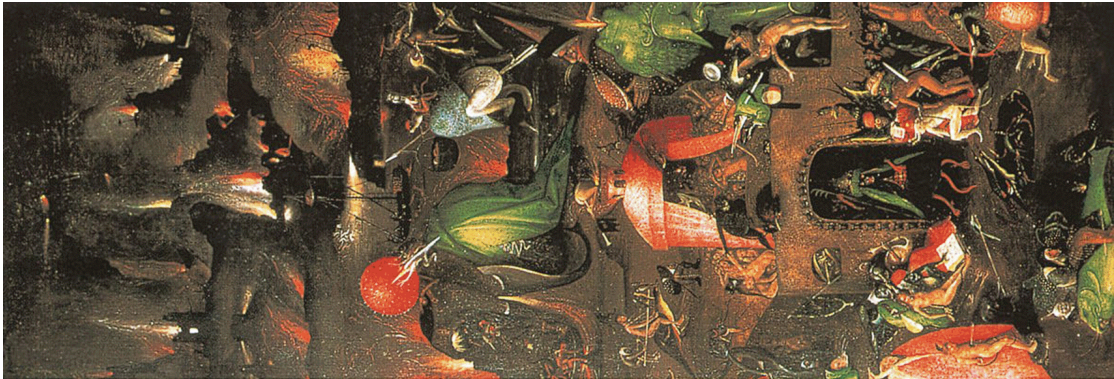
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The *Last Judgment* from the Gemäldegalerie of the Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien (GG-579-581), is considered by the members of the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP1) to be a work by Jheronimus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516) and his workshop,<sup>1</sup> dated to the years 1500–1505 [fig. 1]. The scholars of the Gemäldegalerie of the Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien, however, consider it to be an authentic work of Bosch, and they date its creation to the years 1504–1508.<sup>2</sup> A similar opinion is expressed by an international group of art historians whose short publication was issued on the 500th anniversary of the painter's death.<sup>3</sup> Even though the researchers from the BRCP1 point out the differences in style of the underdrawing and the paint layer of the three panels, they admit that the iconography of the *Last Judgment* as a whole, as well as many of the individual motifs and figures, reflect Bosch's imagery.

Bosch, through his unique visual language, presents here his vision of the history of mankind in three panels. One could even say he "preaches" a negative theology of history (Matthew 22:14). Christ dressed in a red robe sitting on the double arch of a rainbow, two groups of apostles, Mary, St. John the Baptist, the angels with *arma Christi*, and the angel-trumpeters in the upper zone of the middle panel are motifs/ figures that allow the triptych to be identified as a representation of the Last Judgment. The upper zone of the left wing shows the fall of the rebel angels, and below are three episodes from the Book of Genesis: the creation of Eve, the disobedience of the first people to God, and the banishment from paradise (Genesis 2:16-17; 2:21-22; 3:1-24). The middle panel and the right wing of the triptych show a wide panorama of hellish retribution measures; some of the demons use musical instruments. The incursion into the earthly world of evil, which comes from a non-empirical reality (Lucifer's rebellion; Isaiah 14:12-15), almost leads to the complete annihilation of humanity. Salvation, as shown by the painter in the upper left corner of the central panel, where angels raise human souls towards the light, is only for the few. On the backs of the triptych's wings, there are figures of two saints made in grisaille: St. Hippolyte (patron saint of Hippolyte de Berthoz, a high ranking official at the Burgundian court who commissioned the *Last Judgment*) and St. James the Greater.

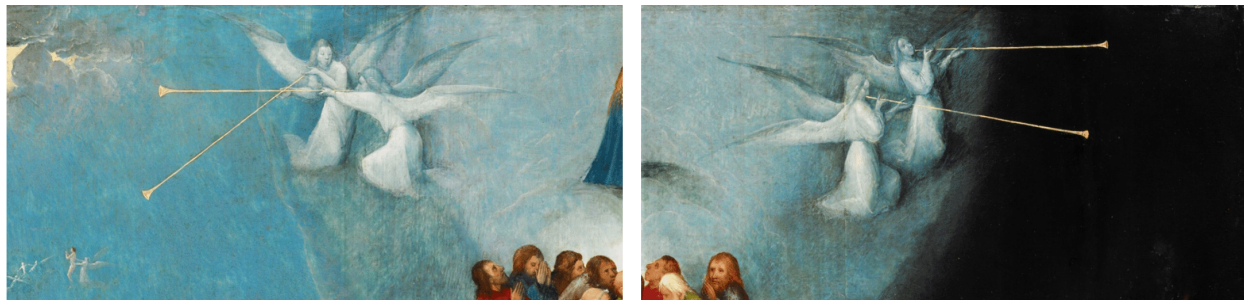
Both angels and demons are shown in the composition with trumpets. While the former constitute a typical, almost canonical element of Last Judgment iconography, infernal beings rarely appear with musical instruments in representations of the very spectacular, in biblical terms, final event in human history (Matthew 24:29-31; 25:31-46). On the one hand, this distribution of trumpets confirms the ambivalent status of the instrument, belonging to the *sacrum* and *profanum* spheres in visual arts, and on the other hand, it proves Bosch's creative approach to the Last Judgment as a subject. In this article, I present a multifaceted analysis and interpretation of the topos of angel-trumpeter and demon-trumpeter. The research horizon is determined by the iconographic context: the location of angels and demons in two panels of the triptych, the activities they perform, and how their musical attributes are presented. Due to the issues raised, the article, apart from its references to panel painting, wall painting, and illuminated manuscripts, contains obviously musicological and theological comments.



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. Hans Memling, *Last Judgment* (ca. 1467-1473). Oil on panels, middle panel: 220.9 × 160.7 cm, wings: 223.5 × 72.5 cm. Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe, MNG/SD/413/M.



3a & b. Jheronimus Bosch (and workshop), Angel trumpeters, details of the Vienna *Last Judgment*.

**TUBA DEI OR NOVISSIMA TUBA.** Connecting a certain part of the angelic *universum* with the trumpet (*tuba*) took place in the New Testament, where these beings act as trumpeters in the description of parousia (Matthew 24:31) and in the apocalyptic vision of cataclysms and plagues (Revelation 8:2.6-13; 9:1-21; 10:7; 11:14-19).<sup>4</sup> In the art of Western Europe, the basic iconographic elements of the Last Judgment, including the motif of an angel-trumpeter, were dynamically shaped between the eighth and eleventh centuries, and gained an evolved form in portal sculpture in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> In fifteenth century Netherlandish panel painting, depictions of the *Last Judgment* usually feature two types of trumpet bands: a duet and a quartet of angels. The latter, represented in three works by Bosch, was influenced by the text of the Gospel according to St. Matthew: "And he will send out his angels with a trumpet blast (*cum tuba et voce magna*), and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of the heavens to the other" (Matthew 24:31).<sup>6</sup> Let us call attention to the fact that in the above passage there is no mention about the numbers of angel-trumpeters that were to call all humanity to judgment, but the information about the four corners of the world (four winds) is fundamentally important. Depicting four trumpeters in both *Last Judgment* triptychs (Vienna and Bruges, Groeningemuseum, ca. 1495–1505) and in *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, ca. 1510–1520), Bosch continues the tradition began by Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400–1464) in early Netherlandish painting, a tradition that Petrus Christus (1415/20–1475/76), Hans Memling (ca. 1435–1494) [fig. 2]<sup>7</sup> and others belonged to.

The quartet of angel-trumpeters in the Vienna *Last Judgment* is shown inside the "heavenly" sphere established by the presence of Christ, Mary, angels, St. John the Baptist, and the apostles [figs. 3a & 3b]. The angel-trumpeters in a symmetrical 2 + 2 arrangement are situated at the level of Mary and St. John the Baptist, at the edge of this sphere, and use golden painted trumpets. Aerophones protruding beyond the space graphically separated by the blue color seem to constitute *quasi* links between two worlds, that of the divine and that of damned humanity.

After the fall of the Roman Empire in 476, metal trumpets fell into oblivion for several centuries. Based on iconographic records, we know that at the time instruments were built from natural materials, such as horns and wood. The reappearance of long instruments in Western Europe, as evidenced by literary and iconographic sources, is most likely the result of contact with the Arab-Muslim culture during the Crusades in the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Let us add that the historical research on trumpets takes into account the musical tradition dating back to antiquity (Roman aerophones).<sup>9</sup>



4. Copy of the London Billingsgate trumpet (14<sup>th</sup> century), made by Nathaniel J. Wood; original instrument is kept in the Museum of London, BWB83[335] 225.



5. Hans Memling, *Christ with Singing and Music-Making Angels* (ca. 1483–1494). Oil on panels, left wing: 170 × 231.5 cm, middle panel: 167.7 × 212.7 cm, right wing: 170 × 231 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 778-780.

The trumpets blown by the angels shown in the Vienna *Last Judgment* are instruments with a very long, straight (and slightly conical) tube, ending with a small-sized bell. High-resolution image analysis does not allow one to see any elements connecting the individual sections of aerophones.<sup>10</sup> Due to the very limited number of late medieval musical artifacts, it is not possible to reliably evaluate angelic instruments in an organological context. It is also not facilitated by the scale in which the winged trumpeters were presented. The oldest medieval trumpet preserved in its entirety is considered to be the so-called Billingsgate trumpet (Museum of London, BWB83 [335] 225) [fig. 4].<sup>11</sup> It was found in London and dated to the end of the fourteenth century. The instrument consists of four sections, two of which have ferrules. The trumpet measures approximately 144 cm and its total length of disassembled sections is 161 cm. Thus, it is an instrument much shorter than the ones pictured by Bosch. Perhaps the earliest example of an instrument with a more technologically advanced construction is an aerophone (private collection in France?) found at the Dordogne castle.<sup>12</sup> Made in 1442, by Marcian Guitbert of Limoges, it consists of seven sections, which can be combined into an S-shaped trumpet and a twice-folded, rectangular-shaped trumpet, among others. The second instrument reflects the changes in the construction of brass aerophones that took place at the end of the fourteenth century. An S-shaped trumpet was developed then, and by the early fifteenth century this design was refined to produce trumpets in the twice-folded form. In the fifteenth century single and double-slide mechanisms were also invented.<sup>13</sup>



6. Jan Provoost, *Last Judgment* (ca. 1525). Oil on panel, 57.8 × 60.6 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, 89.35.

In *Musica getutscht und außgezogen* (1511) by Sebastian Virdung (ca. 1465–after 1510), the earliest printed treatise on musical instruments, there are illustrations (B4v and C) of three types of trumpets: *Felttrummel*, *Clareta*, and *Thurner Horn*.<sup>14</sup> The first two are twice-folded instruments, while the *Thurner Horn* is an S-shaped trumpet. Probably the lack of information (as well as illustrations) about the straight instrument in the treatise is the response of its author to the particular technological changes in the construction of trumpets that took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Aerophones in the twice-folded form became more compact and were simply more convenient to use. Nevertheless, we know that straight trumpets were still used, as evidenced by iconographic data. In three panels depicting Christ among angel-musicians (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, ca. 1483–1494) [fig. 5], which once constituted the top register of an unpreserved Marian polyptych, Hans Memling portrays a large vocal-instrumental ensemble. Although the combination of instruments does not correspond to historical realities, it is an important visual record from the organological point of view.<sup>15</sup> The group of loud instruments (*haute musique*) consists of a shawm, two twice-folded trumpets, and a straight trumpet. The latter trumpet, with visible constructional elements



(ferrules and bosses), is much shorter than the instrument in the Vienna *Last Judgment*.<sup>16</sup>

In fifteenth century Netherlandish painting, trumpets represented in scenes of the Last Judgment are usually short instruments with a conical, slightly bent tube, and sometimes, like in the polyptych by Rogier van der Weyden, with a large, gradually expanding bell. In the first half of the sixteenth century, painters such as Jan Provoost (ca. 1465– 1529), Joos van Cleve (ca. 1485–ca. 1541), and Lucas van Leyden (ca. 1494– 1533) gave the trumpets fanciful forms.<sup>17</sup> For example, the first of the above-mentioned painters in one of his visions of the *Last Judgment* (Detroit Institute of Arts, ca. 1525) depicts three angels with trumpets, among whom the one situated in the middle uses a triple instrument [fig. 6]. In turn, Jan Mostaert (ca. 1475– 1552/53) in his *Last Judgment* (Bonn, LVR-Landes Museum, ca. 1514) shows one of the angels with a twice-folded trumpet, thus confirming the importance of the above-mentioned innovations in the construction of brass instruments.

Aerophones similar to those painted by Bosch are found in the *Last Judgment* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca. 1441) by Jan van Eyck (ca. 1380/85–1441) and his workshop [fig. 7]. Although the iconographic symmetry between the instruments is easily discernible, it seems unlikely that Bosch used Jan van Eyck’s models (direct inspection, written/ oral account, drawings?). This convergence should be treated as a coincidence, all the more so because van Eyck painted as many as nine trumpeters, probably alluding to nine angelic choirs. Italian painters in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in large and medium-sized projects of the Last Judgment, often depicted angels with long straight trumpets. Examples include a fresco by Giotto di Bondone (ca. 1267–1337) in the chapel of Santa Maria della Carità in Padua (west wall of the chapel, ca. 1303– 1306), a panel painting (Florence, Museo nazionale di San Marco, ca. 1431) by Fra Angelico (ca. 1395–1455) or the fresco (ca. 1500) by Fra Bartolomeo (1473–1517) transferred from the Church of Santa Maria Nova to the Museo nazionale di San Marco in Florence [fig. 8]. These types of instruments are also found in German panel painting of the fifteenth century. An example is the *Last Judgment* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, ca. 1488) created in the Master of Saint Severin studio (active ca. 1480–1515/20) [fig. 9].

7. Jan van Eyck and workshop assistant, *Last Judgment* (ca. 1441). Oil on canvas transferred from wood, 56.5 × 19.7 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 33.92ab.



8. Fra Angelico, *Last Judgment* (ca. 1431). Tempera on panel, 105 × 210 cm. Florence, Museo nazionale di San Marco.

In fifteenth century manuscript illuminations, the angel-trumpeter motif most often takes the form of a duet whose members use short instruments with a bent tube. Nevertheless, there are representations of the Last Judgment in which two or four angels are shown with instruments with long straight (or almost straight) tubes. A group of two angel-trumpeters is included in illuminations (respectively: fol. 59v, fol. 109r and fol. 44v) in the *Book of Hours* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB, 74 G 35) [fig. 10] made in Delft, ca. 1440–1460, the *Book of Hours* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.1001) made in Poitiers, ca. 1475, and the *Book of Hours* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB, 133 M 124) created in Leyden, ca. 1475–1500. In turn, four very long instruments (fol. 64v) were painted in the *Hours of Claude Molé* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.356) made in Paris, ca. 1500.

The trumpets depicted by Bosch in the Vienna *Last Judgment* are instruments of exceptional length, the color of which suggests that they were made of gold. Certainly, their prototypes are not real late-medieval instruments, of which so few have survived. The trumpets of angels appear as iconographic constructs intended to correspond with the importance of an eschatological event. The aforementioned analogies between instruments from the Bosch triptych and the painting by Jan van Eyck are not sufficient to confirm the painter's sources of inspiration within early Netherlandish panel painting. Undoubtedly, the patterns that Bosch could and may have reached for are in illuminated manuscripts, a few of which we have cited earlier.<sup>18</sup> The painter, by eliminating certain motifs/ figures (which will be discussed later) and introducing new ones in the left wing of the triptych, broke with the centuries-old tradition of depicting the Last Judgment, however, by showing four angel-trumpeters with straight instruments, he remained largely a "traditionalist".

Apart from the quoted passage from the Gospel according to St. Matthew (Matthew 24:31), two passages from the Letters of St. Paul precisely define both the tasks of the angel-trumpeters and the consequences of their sonic actions; here they are: "in an instant, in the blink of an eye, at the last trumpet (*novissima tuba*). For the trumpet will sound, the dead will be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (1 Corinthians 15:52) and "For the Lord himself, with a word of command, with the voice of an archangel and with the trumpet of God (*tuba Dei*), will come down from heaven, and the dead in Christ will rise first" (1 Thessalonians 4:16). The iconography of the central panel of the Vienna *Last Judgment* contradicts 1 Corinthians 15:52 and 1 Thessalonians 4:16. In areas traditionally reserved for people rising from graves or thrown by the sea, the archangel Michael with a sword or scales, angels fighting devils and demons for souls, or angels leading the





9. Master of Saint Severin and workshop, *Last Judgment* (ca. 1488). Oil on panel, 146.0 × 166.5 cm. Köln, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, WRM 0183.

saved to the gate of paradise, Bosch shows hell or earth turned into hell, where infernal fauna have taken over. Undoubtedly, we are dealing with a historical moment just after the judgment of mankind; above the platform with a dancing woman and a man lying on bed, you can see an angel leading the last saved person towards the left.<sup>19</sup> Taking into account the above remarks, it should be stated that angel-trumpeters do not fulfill the traditional functions of eschatological trumpet players, as is the case in the works of Rogier van der Weyden or Hans Memling. Moreover, their location near the Judge of the World seems, on the one hand, to be associated with the function of the angels of assistants and guardians of Christ's throne (2 Thessalonians. 1:7; Revelation 5:11), and on the other hand, reminiscent of a secular ritual. In medieval Europe, trumpets began to play a prominent role in ritual music as early as the beginning of the twelfth century. In the Duchy of Burgundy, during the reign of Charles the Bold (1432–1477), in 1469 the ensemble of musicians playing the *trompettes de guerre* (ceremonial, non-melodic instruments) consisted of five members, in 1474 another seven were added.<sup>20</sup> A representative ensemble of twelve also operated at the court of Philip the Handsome (1478–1506).<sup>21</sup> Maintaining such bands was not only the privilege of strictly secular rulers. For example, there were four *trompetten* and four *claroenen* (instruments of smaller size) in the ensemble



10. The Last Judgment in the Book of Hours, fol. 59v (ca. 1440–1460). Vellum, 11.5 × 8.5 cm. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB, 74 G 35.

maintained by the bishop of Utrecht in 1496.<sup>22</sup> Taking into account the location of the angel-trumpeters and the content of the central panel, it should be concluded that the tasks of the winged creatures do not correspond to the New Testament parousial messages. Thus, it seems reasonable to define these angels as heraldic trumpeters who announce the presence and majesty of Christ to the whole world.

**SIGNUM TEMPORIS.** Even looking with the naked eye at the central panel of the Vienna *Last Judgment*, one can see the characteristic gestures of two angel-trumpeters located on the left side of the “heavenly” sphere. While the other two continue to do their acoustic duties, this pair seems to put down their instruments. Their gestures, especially the gesture of the angel closer to the edge of the sphere, clearly testify that (as Bosch emphasized in the two panels of the triptych), an extra-historical existence begins, and time ceases to exist. According to Christian teaching, hell, as one of the dimensions of the ultimate reality, enters the initial phase of eternal existence. The proposed interpretation of the angel’s gestures as a sign of the times — *signum temporis*, is based on the author’s reflection on the pericope from the Gospel according to St. Matthew: “You know how to judge the appearance of the sky, but you cannot judge the signs of the times



11. Music-making devils and five nobles in *Breviari d'Amor* of Matfre Ermengaud, fol. 204v (ca. 1300–1325). Parchment, 35.0 × 25.5 cm. London, The British Library, MS Royal 19 C I.

(*signa temporum*). An evil and unfaithful generation seeks a sign, but no sign will be given it except the sign of Jonah" (Matthew 16:3–4).<sup>23</sup> The crisscrossing trumpets that Bosch showed in the Vienna triptych may bring to mind the cross of Christ (figure *imaginatio crucis*), however, it seems that such reasoning would be an over-interpretation. Without doubt their visualization is the result of Bosch's compositional assumptions.<sup>24</sup>

**DIABOLUS IN MUSICA.** The devil or demon-musician motif, unlike the angel-trumpeter motif, is not derived from the Bible. The Patristic period already viewed certain aspects of music and dance in a negative light. It was then that the relationship between one of the most popular Greek wind instrument (aulos) and a creature hostile to God (equated with the devil in Christian tradition) who was behind the fall of the first people was recognized (Genesis 3:1–24). Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315–403) wrote thus: "In fact the aulos itself is an imitation of the serpent through which the Evil One spoke and tricked Eve. For it was in imitation of that type that the aulos was made, for the purpose of deceiving mankind" (Panarion XXV.4).<sup>25</sup> Sound phenomena – as evidenced by literary sources – are an imminent element of ultimate reality.<sup>26</sup> Music resounds in paradise and its various acoustic effects can also be heard in hell. However, very few literary works mention musical instruments. We can read about the existence of a specific sonosphere in the place of condemnation in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (ca. 1357). In the Vale of Enchantment, called also the Vale of Devils "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" (XXXI).<sup>27</sup>

Devils and demons with musical instruments began to appear in iconography in the twelfth century. They play loud instruments: trumpets, horns, bagpipes, pipes (flutes), and drums.<sup>28</sup> Representations of devils with short aerophones from this earliest period include a miniature (fol. 108v) in the *Psalterium Cantuariense* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS latin 8846) produced in Canterbury, ca. 1176–1200. In turn, we find a rendering of devils with long straight trumpets in one of the miniatures (fol. 204v) in *Breviari d'Amor* (The British Library, MS Royal 19 C I), a manuscript made in France (Toulouse?) ca. 1300–1325 [fig. 11]. For example, in fifteenth century German painting, Stefan Lochner used the devil-musician motif. In the aforementioned *Last Judgment* (note 24), two inhabitants of hell play the trumpet (fire bursts out of the bell) and kettle-drums [fig. 12].

As mentioned, musicians in the service to the prince of darkness rarely appear in representations of the Last Judgment. In Netherlandish panel painting of the fifteenth century and the first decade of the sixteenth century, there are no infernal musicians to see apart from what Bosch created.<sup>29</sup> Let us note that in the case of Memling's painting, we are dealing with the proliferation of the angel-musician motif, the analogous phe-



12. Stefan Lochner, Devil musicians in hell, fragment of the *Last Judgment* (ca. 1435). Oil on panel, 124.5 × 173 cm. Köln, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, WRM 0066. — 13. Jheronimus Bosch, Musicians in hell, fragment of the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (ca. 1495–1505). Oil on panels, middle panel: 190 × 175 cm, wings: 187.5 × 76.5 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P002823.

nomenon, as the demon-musician motif occurs in the works of Bosch.<sup>30</sup> In the right wing of the Vienna *Last Judgment*, a trumpet inserted into a demon's anus is shown twice. This obscene way of playing that distinguished aerophone has an earlier counterpart in the right wing of *The Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych (Museo Nacional del Prado, ca. 1495–1505) [fig. 13], a work that Bosch perhaps made earlier than the Vienna triptych. A flute appears where the back of the sinner separates into two equal halves.

Ideological sources for imagery of the anal trumpet date back to antiquity.<sup>31</sup> Aristophanes (ca. 446–ca. 386 BC) was the first to mention in his *Clouds* the three elements together: anus, sound, and trumpet. A student, in a conversation with Strepsiades, referring to Socrates's opinion on how mosquitoes make sounds, says:

He said that the gnat's intestine's extremely narrow  
And through this delicate passage the air is forced  
Until it makes its way to the animal's rump:  
That's where the hollow space at the end of the gut,  
he anus that is, releases a forceful blast. (lines 160–164)

Strepsiades concludes: "A trumpet then for an anus, that's what gnats have!" (*Clouds*, line 165).<sup>32</sup> Saint Augustine (354–430) makes a peculiar remark (taking into account the character of the cited work), about making sounds with the back of the body: "There are some who can at will, and without any odor, produce such a variety of sounds from their anus that they seem to be singing in that part" (*The City of God* XIV.24).<sup>33</sup> We read about the trumpet made of the devil's rump in *The Divine Comedy* by Dante Alighieri (ca. 1265–1321): "They wheeled round by the bank on the/ left, but first each pressed his tongue between/ his teeth at their leader for a signal, and he/ had made a trumpet of his ass" (*Inferno* XXI.136–139).<sup>34</sup> In the first half of the sixteenth century, the topic that so stirred St. Augustine was also undertaken by Martin Luther (1483–1546). He writes about his meetings with the devil with a great deal of humor: "But I resist the devil, and often it is with a fart that I chase him away. When he tempts me with silly sins, I say, 'Devil, yesterday I broke wind too. Have you written it down on your list?'" (*Table Talk*, entry dated 1531).<sup>35</sup>



14. Acrobat on horseback and an anal trumpet (fol. 153v) in the Maastricht Hours (ca. 1300-1325). Parchment page, 9.5 × 7 cm. London, British Library, Stowe MS 17. — 15. Hybrid creature with a bow and trumpet (fol. 201r) in the Maastricht Hours (ca. 1300-1325). Parchment page, 9.5 × 7 cm. London, British Library, Stowe MS 17. — 16. Human with a butt trumpet (fol. 134r) in the Rothschild Canticles (ca. 1300). Parchment page, 11.8 × 8.4 cm. New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS 404.



17. Jheronimus Bosch (and workshop), Lucifer and demon musicians, fragment of the right wing of the Vienna *Last Judgment* (fig. 1).

The motif of a trumpet applied to an inappropriate part of the human or animal body is known in late medieval iconography long before its appearance in Bosch's works. It appears commonly in illuminated manuscripts in the fourteenth century. We find it several times, among others, in the Maastricht Hours (British Library, Stowe MS 17), made in Liège, ca. 1300–1325. The margin of one of the folios (fol. 61v) is decorated with two monkeys with brass instruments, the other (fol. 153v) with an acrobat riding a horse with a trumpet in its rump [fig. 14]. This type of aerophone is also used by a hybrid creature with two faces painted on folio 201r [fig. 15]. In turn, a miniature (fol. 134r) in the Rothschild Canticles (Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS 404) made in Flanders or the Rhineland, ca. 1300, shows a man with one instrument [fig. 16], while the miniature (fol. 157r) in the Book of Hours (Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, MS W.88) created in Flanders ca. 1300–1310, for the diocese of Cambrai, portrays a human using two instruments simultaneously.

In the right wing of the Vienna *Last Judgment*, an instrument anally applied is used by a demon, a member of the infernal music group located on the left side of the entrance to Lucifer's Palace [fig. 17]. Apart from the trumpeter, the band consists of a singing woman, a lute player, a musician whose beak ends with a shawm, and a demon with a book with musical notation. They are accompanied by a harpist shown in the building's window. On the opposite side, a naked man with his eyes blindfolded is led before the ruler of hell. His body is pierced by a sword, and a bird's beak is stuck in his anus. Both human figures are placed in the context of punishment for the sin of impure love in earthly life.<sup>36</sup> The punishment for the woman seems to be forced vocal activity in the presence of demon-musicians. She "greet[s]" with singing everyone going through the gate of the palace of the prince of hell to the pleasure tent. The way the demon makes use of the harp held unnaturally above his head, allows one to describe his playing as upside-down sound creation. The aerophones of two demons indicate the amusical, but not the aphonic character of their playing. Feces fly out of a short trumpet aimed at the condemned woman, and fire emerges from the beak-instrument's bell.



18. Jheronimus Bosch (and workshop), Demon trumpeter and a pleasure tent, fragment of the right wing of the Vienna *Last Judgment* (fig. 1).

The unnatural way of using a brass instrument, presented by Bosch as an anal trumpet, directly evokes various aspects of scatological impurity. It seems, however, that this obscene motif, derived from manuscript illuminations, has a broader semantic field. The painter suggestively illustrates that “music” in the *dominium* of Lucifer is not only audible but also felt by other senses. This sonic-olphatic conglomerate, intensely engaging the sense of sight, is in Bosch’s vision an integral element of hell. Taking into account the context of the sin of lust, demonic music brings to mind ethical dissonance, spiritual disharmony, understood as a departure from the norms of Christian morality by people who are ultimately damned.

**INFERNAL REGIO DISSIMILITUDINIS.** In Christian theology, heaven is understood as a metaphorical space in which people begin a new way of existence after death. Although we read in the New Testament that God “wills everyone to be saved and to come to knowledge of the truth” (1 Timothy 2:4), nevertheless heaven remains definitively closed to certain classes of sinners: “neither fornicators nor idolaters nor adulterers nor boy prostitutes nor practicing homosexuals nor thieves nor the greedy nor drunkards nor slanderers nor robbers will inherit the kingdom of God” (1 Corinthians 6:9-10). To be excluded from the kingdom of Christ and God (Ephesians 5:5) means that the destined for eternal damnation will exist without experiencing the *visio beatifica*. They will not see God “face to face” (1 Corinthians 13:12) but will see, as illustrated by Bosch in the right wing of the Vienna *Last Judgment*, His opposite.

The red tent is one of the most visually striking elements in the right wing of the Vienna triptych [fig. 18].<sup>37</sup> Situated on the roof of Lucifer’s palace, it is a place of torment for the debauched, punishing their senses *par excellence*. One of the demons on the roof of the building is armed with a drum and a flute (instruments which accompany dancing), and a wine vessel. These attributes evoke the earthly context of lust.<sup>38</sup> The pleasure tent is topped with a chimney on which a demon kneels. He has a trumpet in his anus. This straight golden instrument is shorter than the angels’ aerophones. Its distinguishing feature is a black banner with a brown spot hanging from the instrument’s tube. This detail is related to historical realities because we



19. Jheronimus Bosch, *Last Judgment* (ca. 1495–1505). Oil on panels, left wing: 99.5 × 28.8 cm, middle panel: 99.2 × 60.5 cm, right wing: 99.5 × 28.6 cm. Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 0000GRO.0208.I.

know that trumpets in the Middle Ages, and also later, were equipped with flags with a coat of arms confirming the identity of the fiefdom.<sup>39</sup> This characteristic element, common in military iconography, sometimes in the depictions of the Last Judgment in manuscript illuminations,<sup>40</sup> is present in the Bruges *Last Judgment* [fig. 19], considered today as Bosch's work. A cross adorns the banners with long ribbons. As a symbol of faith, it refers directly to Christ, the Sovereign and Judge of the World, while irresistibly evoking the events of Golgotha (Matthew 27:33-38; Mark 15:22-27).

In art-historical literature devoted to Bosch's painting, musical aspects are usually marginalized or even ignored.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly, several scholars in the twentieth century spotted the trumpet with the banner, and thus provided short commentaries. Jacques Combe notices lewd and scatological elements in the representation of a demon with a trumpet.<sup>42</sup> Walter S. Gibson associates this image with the devil from Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Inferno XXI.139).<sup>43</sup> Reinhold Hammerstein interprets the demon-trumpeter motif as a parody allusion to guardian angels.<sup>44</sup> Although Dirk Bax does not refer to the instrument itself, he points to the fire and smoke rising from the chimney, which, according to the scholar, may symbolize carnal love and impurity, respectively.<sup>45</sup> He also notes that the white rash that covers the body of the trumpeting demon is an indication of Spanish pox, otherwise known as syphilis in the Netherlands.



Numerous medieval and Renaissance representations of the Last Judgment, in addition to the actual judgment scene, contain images of heaven and hell. The former sometimes feature angel-musicians. For example, Hans Memling, in the left wing of the *Last Judgment* triptych, painted the gate of paradise where the saved are greeted by St. Peter and angels, including winged musicians on two levels of the edifice. As part of the play with the iconography of the Last Judgment, Bosch in the right wing of the Vienna triptych used the topos of the angel-trumpeter and the motifs of the gate of paradise and *musica coelestis*, but subjected them to inversion.<sup>46</sup> There is a demon at the top of the pleasure tent in the role of a trumpeter. He indicates, through auditory and visual means (aerophone with a banner), the center of hell. He proclaims – like the angel-trumpeters announce the appearance of Christ – the presence of Lucifer, and at the same time summons condemned humanity, especially those who committed sins of lust during their lifetime. In addition to the armed bodyguards (demons leading a man), the ruler of the anti-heaven, the land of *dissimilitudinis* (*regio dissimilitudinis*), is accompanied by musicians whose performance in front of the palace, is the opposite of the euphonic sound of angelic bands welcoming the saved to the gate of paradise.<sup>47</sup>



Bosch, as we have illustrated in the article, creatively approached the potential in painting traditions. By transforming petrified motifs, he built new narratives, previously unheard of in early Netherlandish panel painting, as part of the iconography of the Last Judgment. Bosch's auditory sensitivity was undoubtedly of great importance in their creation. By transforming a liturgical/ cult image into a work of art, yet not depriving it the status of a religious image with a moralizing overtones, the painter has been providing scholars and intellectually sophisticated art lovers with material for erudite exploration for more than half a millennium.

Translated from Polish by Kimba Frances Kerner

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Matthijs IJssink, Jos Koldeweij, Ron Spronk, et al., *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman: Catalogue Raisonné*, trans. by Ted Alkins (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2016), 290-307. Since the BRCP1 researchers did not receive permission from the Akademie der bildenden Künste to analyze the triptych, they based their conclusions, among others, on the illustrations of two publications: Stefan Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch: The Complete Works*, trans. by Karen Williams (Köln: Taschen, 2013), 154-175 and 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. Roger Van Schoute and Monique Verboomen expressed their doubts about the authenticity of the Vienna triptych in their book, Roger Van Schoute and Monique Verboomen, *Jérôme Bosch* (Tournai: Renaissance du Livre, 2001), 158-163. I accept the dating of the Bosch painting proposed by the BRCP1 team, originally researched during the years 2010–2016 (first stage); see <boschproject.org> (accessed 13 April 2021). The project's second stage (BRCP2) started in 2017 and will run through 2023. In 2017, after the publication of *Catalogue Raisonné*, the new director of the Gemäldegalerie of the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna gave her permission for the painting to be technically analysed. Now the BRCP2 team considers the Vienna *Last Judgment* to be authentic work of Bosch; see <jheronimusbosch.org> (accessed 28 June 2022).

<sup>2</sup> See <www.akademiegalerie.at/de/Sammlung> (accessed October 2020).

<sup>3</sup> Nils Büttner, Julia M. Nauhaus, Erwin Pokorny and Larry Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch in the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna*, trans. Andrew Boreham (Wien: Bibliothek der Provinz, 2017); the book was published in German in 2016. The same reasoning is found in the following publications: Roger H. Marijnissen and Peter Ruyffelaere, *Hieronymus Bosch: Das vollständige Werk*, trans. By Hugo Beyer (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 1999), 214-233; Larry Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2006), 337-348; Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 154-75, 250-251; Gary Schwartz, *Jheronimus Bosch: The Road to Heaven and Hell* (New York and London: Overlook Duckworth, 2016), 160-164. See also Nils Büttner, "Das »Wiener Weltgericht« des Hieronymus Bosch: Status quaestionis", *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*, ed. by Julia M. Nauhaus (Wien: Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien, 2020), 43-67.

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the motif of angel-trumpeters, see Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (Bern and München: Francke, 1962), 205-217; Andreas Jaschinski and Emanuel Winternitz, "Engelsmusik-Teufelsmusik", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), Sachteil, vol. 3, 16-17. Introduction to medieval angelology: David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> See Yves Christe, "Giudizio Universale", *Enciclopedia*

dell'Arte Medievale, ed. by Angiola M. Romanini (Rome: Treccani, 1995), vol. 6, 791-805; Yves Christe, *Jugements derniers* (Chantilly: Zodiaque, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> Biblical quotes in this article are from the New American Bible: <www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0839/\_INDEX.HTM> (accessed 22 October 2021). Latin text of the Bible is from the Vulgata available at: <www.bibelwissenschaft.de/online-bibeln> (accessed 22 October 2021).

<sup>7</sup> The Prado panel is regarded by the BRCP1 researchers as a work from Bosch's workshop or of his follower. However, they admit that the subject of the work appears Boschian. The above-mentioned works of Rogier van der Weyden, Petrus Christus and Hans Memling are found respectively in Beaune (Musée de l'Hôtel Dieu, ca. 1445-1448), Berlin (Gemäldegalerie, 1452), and Gdańsk (Muzeum Narodowe, ca. 1467-1473).

<sup>8</sup> See Edmund A. Bowles, "Eastern Influences on the Use of Trumpets and Drums in the Middle Ages", *Anuario Musical* XXVI (1971), 1-28; Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1993), 72-76; Philip Bate, *The Trumpet and Trombone: An Outline of Their History, Development, and Construction* (2nd ed., London and New York: Ernest Benn Ltd and W.W. Norton, 1978), 107-108; Edward Tarr, *The Trumpet*, trans. by S. E. Plank and Edward Tarr (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1988), 35-41; John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan, *The Trumpet* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 71-74.

<sup>9</sup> See Don L. Smithers, "A New Look at the Evolution of Lip-Blown Instruments: Classical Antiquity Until the End of the Middle Ages", *Historic Brass Society Journal* I (1989), 3-64. See also Keith Polk, "Brass Instruments in Art Music in the Middle Ages", *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. by Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997; repr. 2002), 38-41.

<sup>10</sup> Digital photographic documentation of the Vienna triptych is available at <jheronimusbosch.org> (accessed 9 January 2022).

<sup>11</sup> John Webb, "The Billingsgate Trumpet", *The Galpin Society Journal* XLI (1988), 59-62; Graeme Lawson and Geoff Egan, "Medieval Trumpet from the City of London", *The Galpin Society Journal* XLI (1988), 63-66; Graeme Lawson, "Medieval Trumpet from the City of London II.", *The Galpin Society Journal* XLIV (1991), 150-156. See also Sabine K. Klaus and John Schofield, "The Billingsgate Trumpet Re-examined and Re-assessed", *Galpin Society Journal* LXXI (2018), 95-108, 273-274.

<sup>12</sup> Pierre-Yves Madeuf, Jean-Francois Madeuf and Graham Nicholson, "The Guitbert Trumpet: A Remarkable Discovery", *Historic Brass Society Journal* XI (1999), 181-186; Martin Kirnbauer, "<Ian mil cccc xlii marcianguitbert mefit a limoges>: Zu einer neu aufgefundenen Trompete aus dem Jahr 1442", *Zur Geschichte von Cornetto und Clarino: Symposium im Rahmen der 25. Tage Alter Musik in Herne 2000*, ed. by Christian Ahrens and Gregor Klinke (München and Salzburg: Musikverlag Katzbichler, 2001), 91-105.

<sup>13</sup> For basic information on technological and technical aspects of trumpets see Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 50-55; Robert Barclay, "Design, technology and manufacture before 1800", *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. by Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997; repr. 2002), 24-37; Wallace and McGrattan, *The Trumpet*, 65, 75-76.

<sup>14</sup> Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht: A Treatise on Musical Instruments (1511)*, ed. and trans. by Beth Bullard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 108.

<sup>15</sup> See Jeremy Montagu, "Musical Instruments in Hans Mem-

ling's paintings", *Early Music* XXXV/4 (November 2007), 505-523.

<sup>16</sup> Combining straight trumpets with S-shaped trumpets is proven in the miniature (fol. 79v) in *Les Fais et les Dis des Romains et de autres gens* (London, The British Library, Harley MS 4372), a manuscript from Normandy, ca. 1460-1487.

<sup>17</sup> The works of Joos van Cleve and Lucas van Leyden are found respectively in New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca. 1525-1530) and Leiden (Museum De Lakenhal, ca. 1526-1527).

<sup>18</sup> On Bosch's sources for inspiration see Eric De Bruyn, "Textos e imágenes: Las fuentes del arte del Bosco", *El Bosco: La exposición del V Centenario*, ed. by Pilar Silva Maroto (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016), 73-89.

<sup>19</sup> For an introduction to Christian eschatology see: Jürgen Moltmann, *Das Kommen Gottes: Christliche Eschatologie* (2nd ed., Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005); Paul O'Callaghan, *Christ Our Hope: An Introduction to Eschatology* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> David Fallows, "Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400-1474", *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. by Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; repr. 2008), 146. Basic information on the *trompettes de guerre* and *trompettes des ménestrels* see Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 55-56.

<sup>21</sup> Martin Picker, "The Habsburg Courts in the Netherlands and Austria, 1477-1530", *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century*, ed. by Iain Fenlon (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1989), 219, 221.

<sup>22</sup> Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons, and Performance Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; repr. 2004), 50.

<sup>23</sup> In the quote above (Matthew 16:3-4) Christ addressed the Pharisees and Sadducees asking for a sign confirming his messianic mission. The signs of the messianic times, or miracles performed by Christ, are understood in Christian theology as signs of God's interference in human history.

<sup>24</sup> The gesture of an angel putting down the trumpet or holding an instrument that is not in use or crossing instruments are not commonly found in iconography. Nevertheless, let us point out a few such examples. Fra Angelico in the *Last Judgment* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, ca. 1435-1440) showed two trumpeters holding unused instruments with their bells facing up. In German painting, crossed brass instruments were depicted by Stefan Lochner (ca. 1400 /10-1451) in the *Last Judgment* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, ca. 1435). An analogous exemplification in illuminated manuscripts is the miniature (fol. 64) in the *Book of Hours* (The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.189) created in Paris, ca. 1500.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted from James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987; repr. 1993), 78.

<sup>26</sup> See Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993).

<sup>27</sup> *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. C.W.R.D. Moseley (London: Penguin Books, 1983; repr. 2005), 173.

<sup>28</sup> See Reinhold Hammerstein, *Diabolus in musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter* (Bern and München: Francke, 1974), 22-37; Jaschinski and Winternitz, *Engelsmusik-Teufelsmusik*, 23-25. For more on the devil in medieval culture see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984).

<sup>29</sup> See database incorporating 4107 entries (mostly panel

paintings) on the website of Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium. It contains all fourteen volumes of Max J. Friedländer's English edition of *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1967-1976); <xv.kikirpa.be/friedlaender-30> (accessed 17 February 2022).

<sup>30</sup> For the list of musical instruments pictured by Bosch and his studio see Kees Vellekoop, "Music and Dance in the Paintings of Hieronymus Bosch", *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights Into His Life and Work*, ed. by Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet and Barbera van Kooij, trans. by Beth O'Brien, et al. (Rotterdam and Ghent: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen/ NAI Publishers and Ludion, 2001), 201-205. The multitude and variety of musical motifs in Bosch's paintings gives grounds to claim that the artist was an extremely attentive observer of life in its sonic dimension. It is worth noting that in 's-Hertogenbosch, the city authorities in the years 1500-1530 employed four musicians (*stadpipers, scalmeyers*) playing the shawms and trumpets; see Keith Polk, "Ensemble Instrumental Music in Flanders, 1450-1550", *Journal of Band Research* XI (1975), 13 (table 1). Vocal music was performed, among others, by the Marian brotherhood *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* associated with St. John's Church (Sint-Janskerk). In 1486/87 Bosch enrolled as an ordinary member of the brotherhood, in 1487/88 he became a "sworn member"; see Albert Smijers, *De Illustre lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Amsterdam: Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis, 1932); Véronique Roelvink, *Gegeven den Sangeren: Meerstemmige muziek bij de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch in de zestiende eeuw* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Adr. Heinen, 2002).

<sup>31</sup> On obscenity in medieval literature and art see for example: Jan M. Ziolkowski, ed., *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Nicola McDonald, ed., *Medieval Obscenities* (Woodbridge UK: Boydell and Brewer Ltd, 2006; repr. 2014). In the latter publication, an article by Emma Dillon ("Representing Obscene Sound", pp. 55-84) deserves special attention, however, there are no references to Bosch's paintings.

<sup>32</sup> Aristophanes, *Clouds, Women at the Thesmophoria, Frogs*. A verse translation, with introduction and notes, trans. by Stephen Halliwell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 26-27.

<sup>33</sup> Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. by Robert W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2002), 626-627.

<sup>34</sup> Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Inferno*, trans. by Charles S. Singleton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970; repr. 1989), vol. 1, 221.

<sup>35</sup> Quote from Mark A. Lampport, ed., *Encyclopedia of Martin Luther and the Reformation* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, 2017), vol. 1, 350.

<sup>36</sup> See for example Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch and Lucas Cranach: Two Last Judgement Triptychs: Description and exposition*, trans. by M.A. Bax-Botha (Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1983), 222-223, 233-234.

<sup>37</sup> Larry Silver pays special attention to this motif when writing: "above and behind the entry to Hell's walls, a pleasure tent appears, now crammed with despairing rather than delighted nudes, in a reversal of the indulgence of luxuria"; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 347.

<sup>38</sup> Sebastian Brant (1457-1521) perceives dance as a catalyst for the sin of lust in *The Ship of Fools* (Of dancing, 61), however, in the Bible, this function is filled by wine (Ephesians 5:18). Bosch seems to have considered lust the most serious of the seven deadly sins when he painted the pleasure pent in the center of hell. For comparison, in *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*, the status of the most grievous sin is held by anger.

<sup>39</sup> See Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1940; repr. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1978), 281; Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 43-44.

<sup>40</sup> See fols. 59v and 123v respectively in the *Book of Hours* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB, 74 G 35) made in Delft ca. 1440-1460 and in other *Book of Hours* (KB, 131 G 5) stored in the same library, created in the Northern Netherlands, ca. 1475-1500.

<sup>41</sup> Besides the quoted in this article Reinholda Hammerstein's book (1974) and the article by Kees Vellekoop (2001) it is important to mention: Albert P. Mirimonde de, "Le symbolisme musical chez Jérôme Bosch", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* LXXVII (1971), 19-50; Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, "La música, elemento natural de lo fantástico en la pintura de El Bosco", *El Bosco y la tradición pictórica de lo fantástico*, ed. by Victoria Malet (Barcelona and Madrid: Galaxia Gutenberg and Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado, 2006), 127-166; Magda Polo Pujadas, "La música instrumental y la música vocal en Hieronymus Bosch", *Matèria: Revista internacional d'Art X-XI* (2016), 149-168.

<sup>42</sup> Jacques Combe, *Hieronymus Bosch*, trans. by Ethel Duncan (London: B.T. Batsford, 1946), 81.

<sup>43</sup> Walter S. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973; repr. 2001), 57.

<sup>44</sup> Hammerstein, *Diabolus in musica*, 100.

<sup>45</sup> Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 244.

<sup>46</sup> On the subject of the world "upside down" in the painting of Bosch see Gloria Vallese, "Follia e Mondo alla Rovescia nel 'Giardino delle Delizie' di Bosch", *Paragone* CDXLVII (1987), 3-22; Keith Moxey, "Hieronymus Bosch and the 'World Upside Down'. The Case of The Garden of Earthly Delights", *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, ed by Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University, 1994), 104-140.

<sup>47</sup> The phrase *regio dissimilitudinis* appears in the works of many theologians and philosophers, however its popularity is mostly due to St. Augustine, who in *Confessions* writes: "And I found myself far from you 'in the region of dissimilarity (*regio dissimilitudinis*)'" (VII.X.16); Augustine, *Confessions*, transl. by Henry Chadwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991; repr. 2008), 23.