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# Listening to the angels... or why the *Last Judgement* from the collection of the Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow was not painted by Jheronimus Bosch

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Among the six known paintings depicting the Last Judgement with quotations from the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, c. 1495-1505)<sup>1</sup> is the *Last Judgement* triptych (Fig. 1) kept at the Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow (c. 1550).<sup>2</sup> In addition to the figures of Christ, Mary, Saint John the Baptist, apostles or human figures rising from graves, one of the key elements of the iconography of the final spectacle on earth are angel-trumpeters. It is this motif that is the subject of this article. The group of trumpeting angels from the Cracow painting will be shown in the context of analogous motifs from both *Last Judgement* triptychs (Bruges, Groeningemuseum [c. 1495-1505] and Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste [c. 1500-1505])<sup>3</sup> by Jheronimus Bosch (c. 1450-1516) and the *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, c. 1510-1520)<sup>4</sup> probably created in the painter's studio or by a follower of Bosch. Comparative material, including predominantly paintings from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the organological treatise *Musica getuscht und außgezogen* by Sebastian Virdung from 1511, also includes two preserved late-medieval aerophones. First, I will define the 'canonical' motif of an angel-trumpeter, which was consistently used by Bosch. Afterward, formulating my conclusions, I will answer the essentially rhetorical question contained in the title. The research perspective I have adopted is determined mainly by the iconographic context, that is the location of angel-trumpeters in the iconosphere of a specific painting, the activities they perform, and the way of presenting their musical attributes. Due to the issues raised, the article contains historical and musicological remarks.

In the central panel of the Bruges *Last Judgement* (Fig. 2a), four angel-trumpeters are depicted symmetrically on either side of Christ seated on a single rainbow arch with his feet resting on a globe. Two groups of apostles / saints separate the trumpeting angels. These flank the red-robed figure of the Judge of the World, shown inside a light blue circle with a lily and a sword. Two angel-trumpeters positioned above the apostles / saints, face each other, and point their instruments upwards; the other two point their aerophones toward the infernal reality, where only retribution mechanisms operate. Banners and long ribbons hang from the trumpet's tubes. The trumpet quartet in the Vienna *Last Judgement* (Fig. 2b) is shown inside the 'heavenly' sphere established by the presence of Christ in red robes enthroned on a double rainbow arch, Mary, angels, Saint John the Baptist, and the apostles / saints accompanying them. Angel-trumpeters also symmetrically arranged but in a structurally different set up (2 + 2), are situated at the height of Mary and Saint John the Baptist, at the edge of that sphere. They use trumpets painted gold; the instruments in the Bruges triptych are depicted in the same color. Aerophones, with a horizontal orientation 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.

The association of angels with this musical attribute, namely the trumpet (*tuba*), occurred in the New Testament, where these beings appear as trumpeters in the description of the Parousia - Second Coming of Christ (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). The Gospel According to



Figure 1

Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *Last Judgement*, c. 1550, wood, central panel: 90.0 × 57.0 cm; wings: 95.0 × 25.0 cm, c. 1550, Kraków, Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, cat. 1011 (Photo by Anna Stankiewicz)



Figure 2a

Angel-trumpeters, detail from the central panel: Jheronimus Bosch, *Last Judgement*, c. 1495-1505, oak, central panel: 99.2 × 60.5 cm, left wing: 99.5 × 28.8 cm, right wing: 99.5 × 28.6 cm, Bruges, Groeningemuseum, cat. 0000GRO.0208.I

Figure 2b

Angel-trumpeters, detail from the central panel: Jheronimus Bosch (and workshop), *Last Judgement*, c. 1500-1505, oak, central panel: 164.0 × 127.0 cm, wings: 164.0 × 60.0 cm. Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, cat. GG-579-581



Figure 3  
Angel-trumpeters and the condemned, detail from the central panel: Jheronimus Bosch, *Last Judgement*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum, cat. 0000GRO.0208.I

Matthew reads: '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>5</sup> Although the above text does not mention the number of angels necessary to summon humankind to judgement, the information about the four corners of the world (*four winds*) is of fundamental importance because one can derive the iconographic image of four angel-trumpeters from it.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the above passage from the Gospel According to Matthew, two quotations from the Epistles of Saint Paul precisely define both the tasks of the angel-trumpeters and the consequences of their sonic actions: '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 panels in both the Bruges and Vienna triptychs contradicts Matthew 24:31, 1 Corinthians 15:52, and 1 Thessalonians 4:16. In areas reserved for where people would be rising from their graves or washed ashore, the archangel Michael with a sword or scales, angels fighting devils and demons for souls, or angels guiding the saved toward the gate of paradise, Bosch showed hell or earth turned into hell, where infernal fauna took over. In the visions of the master from 's-Hertogenbosch, angels do not perform the functions of typical eschatological trumpeters. The painter demonstrated in both triptychs that they do not call the dead to judgement because this has already ended. The new reality has entered the initial and at the same time final phase of eternal existence. The location of the winged trumpeters near the Judge of the World seems to be related to the function of the angels as assistants and guardians of Christ's throne (see 2 Thessalonians 1:7; Revelation 5:11). Therefore, it seems reasonable to define angels as heraldic trumpeters who announce to the whole world (while viewing the work we see only the condemned) the presence and majesty of Christ.

Bosch undoubtedly used the motif of an angel-trumpeter because it was an essential element of depictions of the Last Judgement and, as such, should be included in the central panel of the triptych.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, in my opinion, the painter, as part of his own specific play with the iconography of the Last Judgement, expanded on or even went beyond the traditional semantic field of the topos of an angel-trumpeter.<sup>8</sup> In the Bruges triptych (Fig. 3) two members of the quartet situated below the groups of apostles / saints, play their instruments turned directly toward the harp and bell. Bosch apparently invites the viewer to creative reflection, co-creating the meaning of the image. He seems to suggest that the ones responsible for the acoustic-mechanical suffering of the convicts (one crucified on harp strings, the other serving as the heart of the bell) are the angels. If so, then according to the laws of acoustic resonance, the harp strings and the bell (and the heart of the bell) take on the energy from the source of vibration: the trumpets. The above hypothesis, in which I identify the unconventional tasks of angels, is based on a biblical foundation.<sup>9</sup> The Revelation mentions seven angel-trumpeters who initiate natural phenomena (Revelation 8:1-11:19) that



Figure 4  
Angel-trumpeters and ascent of the blessed, detail from the central panel: Jheronimus Bosch  
(and workshop), *Last Judgement*, Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, cat. GG-579-581



Figure 5

Last Judgement, detail from: Jheronimus Bosch (workshop or follower), *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*, c. 1510-1520, poplar, 139.5 × 119.5 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. P002822





Figure 6

Brass replica of the London Billingsgate trumpet (XIV c.) made by Nathaniel J. Wood. Original instrument, c. 144 cm long, is kept in the Museum of London, cat. BWB83[335] 225 (© 2014 Nathaniel J. Wood)

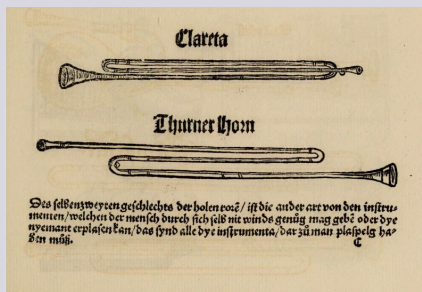
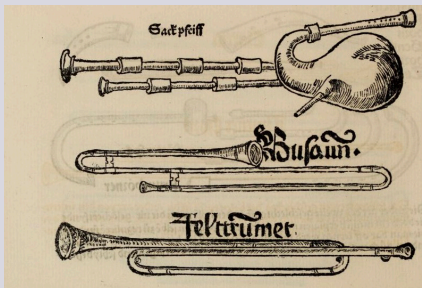


Figure 7 a-b

*Feldtrümmet, Claretta and Thurner Horn* (illustrations no. B4v and C) in: *Musica getuscht und außgezogen* (1511) by Sebastian Virdung



Figure 8

Christ, archangel Michael and angel trumpeters, detail from the central panel: Rogier van der Weyden, *Last Judgement*, c. 1445-1448, oak, c. 220 × 546 cm, Beaune, Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu

have catastrophic consequences for the earth (including hail, fire, falling celestial bodies, and a solar eclipse). Moreover, as we read in the ninth chapter of the Revelation, after the sixth trumpet: 'the four angels were released, who were prepared for this hour, day, month, and year to kill a third of the human race' (Revelation 9:15).<sup>10</sup> In the Vienna triptych (Fig. 4), we are dealing with the historical moment right after the judgement of humanity. Above the platform with the dancing woman among the demons, an angel leads the last of the saved to the left (perhaps toward the earthly paradise not shown in the triptych). In the upper left corner of the central panel, angels lift several figures toward the heavenly paradise, as in the painting *Assent of the Blessed* belonging to the group of four panels depicting *Visions of the Hereafter* (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, c. 1505 - 1515). Among the angel-trumpeters, one on the left side of the 'heavenly' sphere puts down his instrument, thus performing the completion of his duty. I interpret the gesture of this winged creature as a 'sign of the times',<sup>11</sup> clearly demonstrating - according to the Christian teaching on the eternity of hell - that an extra-historical existence begins and time ceases to exist.<sup>12</sup>

In *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*, one medallion depicts the *Last Judgement* (Fig. 5), in which the number of motifs and figures, probably due to the limited painting surface, has been reduced to a minimum. Nevertheless, the author of the iconographic program decided to reach for the topos of an angel-trumpeter having - as in Bosch's triptychs - the form of a quartet. In this case, for a painting with a moralistic meaning, the tasks of angel-trumpeters correspond to the New Testament messages of Parousia; we see eight figures rising from the graves. The instrumentalists are in a symmetrical arrangement, similar to that of the Bruges *Last Judgement*, with the difference that two angels located below the groups of saints direct the aerophones not toward the vertical axis of the composition but outwards. Banners hang from the tubes of instruments painted gold.

After the fall of the Roman Empire in 476, metal trumpets (*tuba*, *cornu*, *lituus*, and *buccina*) fell into oblivion for several centuries. Nevertheless, natural materials such as horns and wood were used for building instruments. Most likely, contact with the Arab-Muslim culture during the Crusades in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries was responsible for the reappearance of straight metal trumpets in Western Europe.<sup>13</sup> One of the historical terms, namely *cor sarrazinois*, clearly indicates the eastern origin of the instrument.<sup>14</sup> Long cylindrical trumpets began to appear in iconography in the twelfth century. They grew in popularity during the next three centuries, both in religious and secular art, chiefly in painting and printmaking. From the thirteenth century, trumpeters, initially in pairs and later in much larger ensembles, began to be employed in aristocratic circles. Thus, the trumpets gained the status of noble instruments with very limited access and use, including, apart from the royal, princely and aristocratic courts, mainly military bands and town musicians.<sup>15</sup>

Since no trumpet from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has survived, I will refer to two aerophones chronologically (from the period preceding painter's activity) closest to Bosch's time in the following paragraph. The oldest late-medieval trumpet preserved in

its entirety is considered to be so called the Billingsgate trumpet (Fig. 6).<sup>16</sup> The aerophone found in London is dated to the end of the fourteenth century. The instrument (Museum of London, BWB83 [335] 225) consists of four sections, two of which have ferrules. The trumpet after assembling measures approx. 144 cm and its total length in parts is approx. 161 cm. On the other hand, perhaps the earliest example of an instrument with a more technologically advanced design is the aerophone (private collection in France?) found in the Dordogne castle.<sup>17</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. This aerophone reflects the changes in the construction of brass instruments from the end of the fourteenth century when the S-shaped trumpet was developed. The next century brought the trumpet in twice-folded form and the invention of the single and double-slide mechanisms.<sup>18</sup> The new compact form made it easier to use the instrument, especially when walking or riding a horse, and thus became the norm. Typical ceremonial and military instruments from this point onwards became twice-folded trumpets.<sup>19</sup> Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getuscht und außgezogen* (Fig. 7a-b) from 1511, the first printed treatise devoted to musical instruments, confirms this. The illustrations (B4v and C) in the treatise show three types of trumpets: *Felttrummel*, *Clareta*, and *Thurner Horn*.<sup>20</sup> The first two are twice-folded instruments, while the *Thurner Horn* has an S-shaped construction. Most likely, the lack of information (and also illustrations) about the straight instrument is Virdung's response to the technological changes in the construction of trumpets taking place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A valuable testimony in the organological discourse are three panels painted by Hans Memling depicting *Christ among angel-musicians* (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, c. 1485-1490); they once formed the top register of the unpreserved Marian polyptych. The group of loud instruments (*haute musique*) includes a shawm, two twice-folded trumpets, and a straight trumpet. The content of the Antwerp paintings proves that at the end of the fifteenth century, two types of trumpets still functioned in parallel. However, in the famous cycle of woodcuts *Triumph of Emperor Maximilian I* (London, Victoria & Albert Museum, c. 1516-1519), all the trumpets shown, without exception, have structures reflecting the most advanced technological achievements of the time (e.g. VAM 13079 113, 114, 115).

In Netherlandish painting of the fifteenth century, the trumpets shown in scenes of the Last Judgement are usually short instruments with a conical, straight, or slightly curved tube, and sometimes as in Rogier van der Weyden's polyptych (Beaune, Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu, c. 1445-1448) (Fig. 8) with a large, gradually expanding bell. The *Last Judgement* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, c. 1441), made by Jan van Eyck and his workshop, displays aerophones similar to those shown by Bosch. Although the iconographic symmetry between the instruments is easy to grasp, the assumption that Bosch reached for Jan van Eyck's models (direct inspection, written / oral account, drawings?) seems unlikely. Italian painters in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in medium and large-format projects of the Last Judgement (e.g. Giotto di Bondone, Bonamico di Martino, Nardo di Cione, Fra Angelico, Fra Bartolomeo) often depicted angels with long, straight trumpets in groups of two or, less frequently, four. Even Michelangelo remained faithful to the earlier tradition while

creating his monumental fresco on the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican in 1536 - 1541. Long, straight instruments also appear in German paintings of the fifteenth century. Examples include the *Last Judgement* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, c. 1435) by Stefan Lochner and the *Last Judgement* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, c. 1488) made in the studio of Master of Saint Severin.

In fifteenth-century book paintings, the motif of an angel-trumpeter most often takes the form of a duo whose members use short, straight trumpets or instruments with a curved tube. Nevertheless, there are depictions of the Last Judgement showing two or four angels holding instruments with long, straight (or almost straight) tubes. The first type is contained in the illuminations in the *Book of Hours* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB, 74 G 35, respectively: fol. 59v, fol. 109r, and fol. 44v) (Fig. 9) made in Delft for the use of the diocese of Utrecht, dated c. 1440 -1460, *Book of Hours* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.1001) made in Poitiers c. 1475 and *Book of Hours* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB, 133 M 124) created in Leyden c. 1475 -1500. Four extremely long instruments were painted c. 1500 by an illuminator active in Paris in *Hours of Claude Molé* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.356, fol. 64v).

The location of the trumpeting angels near the Judge of the World, as was mentioned earlier, is related to the function of the angels as assistants and guardians of Christ's throne. However, it also brings to mind a secular ritual. In the Duchy of Burgundy, during the reign of Charles the Bold (1432-1477), in 1469 the ensemble of *trompettes de guerre* (ceremonial, non-melodic instruments) consisted of five members. In 1474, it was enlarged by another seven.<sup>21</sup> A representative ensemble of twelve also functioned at the court of Philip the Handsome (1478-1506).<sup>22</sup> The maintenance of such bands was not the prerogative of strictly secular rulers only. For example, the ensemble maintained by the bishop of Utrecht in 1496 consisted of four *trompetten* and four *claroenen* (instruments of smaller size).<sup>23</sup> Let us recall that ceremonial aerophones at the end of the fifteenth century and the following century usually had the form of a twice-folded instruments. Those still built as straight trumpets generally would not exceed 180 cm in length. For the last statement, I rely solely on iconographic sources.

The trumpets blown by the angels shown in the Bruges and Vienna *Last Judgement* triptychs are instruments with a long, straight tube, ending with a small-sized bell. In light of the above statements, we can conclude that the patterns of this type of trumpet are not inherent in fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting. Illuminated manuscripts are without a doubt potential sources of inspiration.<sup>24</sup> And what was the impact of performance practice, and more precisely, ceremonial music, on Bosch's imagination in the context of the instruments discussed here? Undoubtedly this question must remain without a conclusive answer. The painter heard and saw musicians perform in his hometown many times. Archival data confirms that the city officials of 's-Hertogenbosch, between the years 1500-1530, employed four musicians (*stad pijpers, scalmeyers*) playing shawms and trumpets.<sup>25</sup> Regardless of where his sources of trumpet imagery lie, these prototypes were creatively transformed in Bosch's



Figure 9

*Last Judgement*, Book of Hours, c. 1440-1460, vellum, 11.5 × 8.5 cm. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Cat. KB, 74 G 35 (fol. 59v)

imagination. I dare to suppose that the size of instruments corresponds to the importance of the eschatological event. Significantly, the trumpets are painted as if they are made of gold. This precious metal, symbolizing heavenly light or heaven itself for centuries, appears in the Bible in an eschatological context. In the Revelation Messianic Jerusalem is described as a city that 'was pure gold, clear as glass' (Revelation 21:18). Saint Paul, alluding to the Day of the Lord, invoked gold as the material to endure the trial by fire of judgement (1 Corinthians 3:12-15). Moreover, we note that gold, a precious metal, is commonly used for liturgical utensils. The character of a symbolic activity is demonstrated both by the use of the Eucharistic cup and by playing the trumpet in the presence of Christ - the Judge of the World.<sup>26</sup>

The organology of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries does not confirm the idea that trumpets could be made of gold. The only precious metal used to build ceremonial brass instruments was silver, which was alloyed with copper to make the tubes more durable. Generally, brass-making before the modern era was done by combining copper with calamine, a common ore of zinc.<sup>27</sup> Both chemical elements, with some traces of lead and tin, are present in the aforementioned Billingsgate trumpet. Naturally, brass or silver trumpets could be completely or partially gilded. Ribboned banners hang from the tubes of the instruments depicted in the Bruges triptych. This detail is related to historical reality, as we know that representative trumpets in the Middle Ages and later were equipped with banners with a coat of arms confirming the identity of the feudal lord.<sup>28</sup> An element commonly seen in military iconography and sometimes in depictions of the Last Judgement in book painting,<sup>29</sup> appears also in the *Last Judgement* medallion in the *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*. In the Bruges triptych, banners with long ribbons are decorated with a cross. As a symbol of faith, it refers directly to Christ, the Ruler and Judge of the World. In turn, the instruments of the Lord's Passion visible on the banners attached to the angels' trumpets in the medallion in the Madrid panel irresistibly evoke the events of Golgotha (Matthew 27:33-38; Mark 15:22-27).

The multitude of musical motifs in Bosch's painting confirms that he was a careful observer of everyday life in its sonic dimension. His precision and accuracy in depicting some musical instruments in paintings and drawings indicate that he possessed considerable knowledge about them.<sup>30</sup> With great freedom and visual 'eloquence', he combines the images of existing musical instruments and those that were only products of fantasy. Illustrating the sin of lust in the *Ship of Fools* (Paris, Musée du Louvre c. 1500-1510) and in the central part of the *Haywain Triptych* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, c. 1510-1516), Bosch showed the authentic aspects of the contemporary musical practice (singing to lute accompaniment). The depictions of the hurdy-gurdy and harp, and to a lesser extent the lute in the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (Fig. 10) are considered historically reliable and may serve as models in ancient instrument reconstruction. As for brass instruments, Bosch depicted a twice-folded trumpet, a contemporary musical instrument in the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. In turn, the aerophone being a product of the painter's imagination is the trumpet used by the figure in the lower left corner of the right wing of the *Temptation of Saint*



Figure 10  
*Hell*, detail from the right wing: Jheronimus Bosch, *Garden of Earthly Delights*, c. 1495-1505, oak, central panel: 190.0 × 175.0 cm, wings: 187.5 × 76.5 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. P002823

*Anthony* triptych (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, c. 1500-1510). Another example of an artifact belonging to the category of non-existent musical instruments is the element constituting the end of the demon's beak in the central panel of the *Haywain Triptych*. In modern terminology, this object could be considered a bionic instrument. Bosch also painted horns many times (e.g. *Haywain Triptych*) and another aerophone combined with judicial authority, namely *banhorn* (e.g. *Christ Carrying the Cross*, (Spain, Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, c. 1495-1505). In addition, let us note that musical instruments function as sophisticated torture devices in his visions of hellish punishments in both *Last Judgement* triptychs and the *Garden of Earthly Delights*.

Summarizing the considerations so far, we can make the following conclusions: Bosch, by eliminating some typical motifs/ figures and introducing new ones in the Bruges and Vienna triptychs, broke with the centuries-old tradition of depicting the Last Judgement, although, by showing four angel-trumpeters, he remained largely traditionalist. An innovative feature is the weaving of an angel-trumpet motif into a multi-threaded or multi-layered narrative - a story about the end of the earthly world (angels of punishment and angels announcing the completion of linear running time). The long, straight trumpets used by the angels are instruments that do not reflect the latest technological solutions in the construction of brass instruments, even though the banners hanging from the tubes confirm the links with historical reality (the Bruges *Last Judgement*, the medallion in the *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*). The models for these trumpets may have been, as has been suggested earlier, instruments found in illuminated manuscripts. Even if this is true, it should be acknowledged the choice of straight aerophones was Bosch's conscious decision, linking this type of instrument with a function, namely heraldic trumpeting.<sup>31</sup> This statement is further supported by the following two examples. Trumpets used to perform fanfares, not to make music, appear in the left wing of the Bruges *Last Judgement*. Three angels on bow of the ship with the pleasure tent use straight trumpets to signal the vessel's movement. In the right wing of the Vienna *Last Judgement*, a demon kneeling on top of a tent placed on the roof of Lucifer's palace plays the role of an infernal trumpeter. Sonically and visually (aerophone anally applied with a banner), he points to the center of hell. He announces - similarly to the angel-trumpeters heralding Christ - the presence of Lucifer, at the same time calling condemned humanity, especially those who committed sins of impure love (*luxuria*).

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Apart from the Cracow *Last Judgement*, I am familiar with the iconography of four other triptychs and one central panel from the group of six paintings with quotations from the *Garden of Earthly Delights* mentioned at the beginning of the article. Generally, the central panels of these triptychs reflect, excluding the musical instruments, the iconography of the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The presence of Christ, saints, and angel-trumpeters reveals that we are dealing with representations of the Last Judgement. Musical instruments of supernatural size, each time distributed differently, are emblematic motifs in the wings of these triptychs. The group of four angel-trumpeters in the Cracow painting



shows structural similarity to the parallel group from the medallion in the *Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*.<sup>32</sup> And that's where the similarities end. The trumpets of winged creatures performing their duties are instruments with strongly curved tubes and a gradually expanding bells; the way the painter represented the trumpets suggests that he wanted to convey that they were metal instruments. Since the Cracow *Last Judgement* is derivative of the iconography of the right wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, one could say that it is a 'mosaic' made of original Bosch motifs and figures. Therefore, I do not combine the motif of the angel-trumpeter with other motifs, including musical ones, and I do not perceive any connections or hidden meaning which needs to be discovered or deciphered in the process of 'deep reading'.

Proving the attribution of the Cracow *Last Judgement* to a Bosch-follower is of course possible on stylistic and dendrochronological grounds.<sup>33</sup> The essence of these efforts to define the 'canonical' motif of the angel-trumpeter in Bosch's painting is to show that acquired knowledge can be used as a quick iconographic 'test'. Examining only the shape, length and the color of the depicted instruments allows us to assess - of course taking into account a certain percentage point margin of error - whether a painting representing the *Last Judgement* is authentic or not. Using the above method, one can easily assess the status of, for example, the Last Judgement triptych kept in the Krona Museum in Uden (1565-1600).<sup>34</sup> The slightly curved tubes of three trumpets ended with large bells differ significantly from the Bosch models.

The study of the sources of inspiration of the author of the Cracow *Last Judgement* (and other followers of Bosch) concerning the trumpets shown in the triptych unquestionably deserves a separate study. At this point let me present an outline of my future research. Firstly, apart from the works of well-known fifteenth and early sixteenth century Netherlandish masters, I would investigate the *Last Judgement* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, c. 1413) by Lieven van den Clite, in which the painter depicted four curved instruments in two sizes. Another chronologically important point of reference are the representations of the *Last Judgement* created in the 1520s, whose authors include, among others, Jean Bellegambe (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, c. 1525), Lucas van Leyden (Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, 1526-1527) and Joos van Cleve (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, c. 1525-1530). The trumpets shown in these paintings have fanciful forms. In the case of Joos van Cleve, one of the leading Antwerp painters, the instruments fit perfectly into the formula of the so-called Antwerp Mannerists. Due to the lack of surviving instruments, it will be necessary to reach for marginal illuminations in book painting and historical documents containing, among others, information on various theatrical and para-theatrical forms, such as living pictures (*tableaux vivants*), very often allegorically addressing religious and mythological themes.<sup>35</sup>

Translated from Polish by Kimba Frances Kerner

1. See De Vrij 2012, pp. 499-501 (ill. C.2.4-C.2.9). Four of them are triptychs, two have survived in

- incomplete form, as a central panel and two wings. Apart from the Cracow *Last Judgement*, the locations of the remaining paintings from the group C.2.4-C.2.9 are unknown.
2. See Winiewicz-Wolska 2021, pp. 34-39. I would like to thank the Visual Documentation Department at the Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow (Zamek Królewski na Wawelu) for providing me with a high-resolution photograph of the triptych by Anna Stankiewicz.
  3. See Ilsink, Koldewej, Spronk *et al.* 2016, pp. 278-89, 290-307. I accept the dating of the Bosch painting proposed in the above *Catalogue Raisonné*. For more on the Bruges triptych see Silver 2006, pp. 357-59; Silva Maroto (ed.) 2016, pp. 318-21 (T.-H. Borchert). Regarding the Vienna triptych see Bax 1983; Marijnissen, Ruyffelaere, 1999, pp. 214-33; Silver 2006, pp. 337-48; Fischer 2016, pp. 222-55; Büttner, Nauhaus, Pokorny *et al.* 2017; Nauhaus (ed.) 2020. See also two websites of the Bosch Research and Conservation Project: <http://boschproject.org> and <https://jheronimusbosch.org>.
  4. See Ilsink, Koldewej, Spronk *et al.* 2016, pp. 356-79. Let us note that Pilar Silva Maroto from the Museo Nacional del Prado considers the painting from the Prado Museum to be an authentic work by Bosch, and she believes that the so called 'Tabletop' was done c. 1505-1510. See Silva Maroto (ed.) 2016, pp. 302-12 (P. Silva Maroto).
  5. Biblical quotations in this article are from the New American Bible: [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0839/\\_INDEX.HTM](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0839/_INDEX.HTM) (accessed 6 April 2023). Latin expressions follow the text of Vulgata, available on: <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de> (accessed 6 April 2023).
  6. In early Netherlandish painting a quartet of angel-trumpeters is found in representations of the *Last Judgement* by Rogier van der Weyden (Beaune, Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu, c. 1445-1448), Petrus Christus (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, 1452) and Hans Memling (Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe, c. 1467-1473), among others. For more information on the motif of an angel-trumpeter see Hammerstein 1962, pp. 205-17; Jaschinski, Winternitz 1995, vol. 3, pp. 16-17.
  7. See Christe 1995, vol. 6, pp. 791-805; Christe 2000.
  8. I concur with Keith Moxey's poststructuralist theory under which the works of Jheronimus Bosch, through their 'pictorial signs' of open-ended, vague meanings are not only polysemic, but also possess an inter-textual nature. The meanings of the works created by the painter, the author of 'visual texts', are revealed in the process of interpretation rooted in erudition and intellectual abilities of a specific historical viewer. See Moxey 1994, pp. 111-47.
  9. See Kubies 2016, pp. 178-98.
  10. The Bible as one of Bosch's most important sources of inspiration is indicated by Dick Heesen and Jeanne van Waadenonij; see Heesen 2010; Van Waadenonij 2010, pp. 334-49. Briefly on medieval angelology see Keck 1998. A very suggestive image of an angel of destruction is found in the Old Testament: 'That night the angel of the LORD went forth and struck down one hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the Assyrian camp. Early the next morning, there they were, all the corpses of the dead' (2 Kings 19:35); see also 2 Samuel 24:16. Except the Bible angels of punishment/ destruction are also mentioned in apocryphal literature, e.g. in *The Ethiopian Book of Enoch* (10:9), as well as *The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (44:3).
  11. The proposed interpretation of the angel's gesture as a sign of the times - *signum temporis*, is based on my reflection on the pericope from the Gospel According to Matthew: 'You know how to judge the appearance of the sky, but you cannot judge the signs of the times (*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).

12. Kubies 2022, in print. An introduction to Christian eschatology see: Moltmann 2005; O'Callaghan 2011.
13. See Bowles 1971, pp. 1-28; Baines 1993, pp. 72-76; Bate 1978, pp. 107-08; Tarr 1988, pp. 35-41; Wallace, McGrattan 2011, pp. 71-74. In historical research on trumpets, European musical tradition dating back to antiquity is also taken into account, see Smithers 1989, pp. 3-64. See also Polk 1997, pp. 38-41.
14. Munrow 1976, p. 19. See also note 13.
15. Wallace, McGrattan 2011, p. 75.
16. Webb 1988, pp. 59-62; Lawson, Egan 1988, pp. 63-66; Lawson 1991, pp. 150-156; Klaus, Schofield 2018, pp. 95-108. See <https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/collections>.
17. Madeuf, Madeuf, Nicholson 1999, pp. 181-186; Kirnbauer 2001, pp. 91-105.
18. Basic information on the technological and technical aspects of trumpets see Tarr 1988, pp. 50-55; Barclay 1997, pp. 24-37; Wallace, McGrattan 2011, pp. 65, 75-76. The most important centers of trumpet-making apart from Nuremberg were Dresden, Basel, Bruges and Genoa. Regarding the Schnitzer Family of Nuremberg see Jahn 1925, pp. 23-52. A well preserved twice-folded trumpet made by Anton Schnitzer in 1581 is kept in Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, inv. 248); see <https://www.khm.at>.
19. See Montagu 1976, pp. 76-79.
20. *Musica getutscht. A Treatise on Musical Instruments (1511) by Sebastian Virdung*, ed. and transl. B. Bullard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, ill. p. 108.
21. Fallows 1983, p. 146. Basic information about *trompettes de guerre* and *trompettes des ménestrels* see Tarr 1988, pp. 55-56.
22. Picker 1989, pp. 219, 221.
23. Polk 1992, p. 50.
24. On Bosch's sources of inspiration see De Bruyn 2016, pp. 73-89.
25. See Polk 1975, table 1, p. 13 (complete text pp. 12-27).
26. In the Bible, the primary attribute of gold is its value, the secondary is its durability. In the Book of Job, it even symbolizes God Himself: 'Then the Almighty himself shall be your gold and your sparkling silver' (Job 22:25).
27. See note 18.
28. See Sachs 1940, p. 281; Tarr 1988, pp. 43-44.
29. See ff. 59v and 123v respectively in the *Book of Hours* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB, 74 G 35) made in Delft c. 1440-1460, and in other *Book of Hours* (KB, 131 G 5) stored in the same library, produced in the Northern Netherlands c. 1475-1500.
30. For the list of musical instruments pictured by Bosch and his studio see Vellekoop 2001, pp. 201-205. It is worth noting that Bosch from 1486 (1487) onwards was a member of the Marian brotherhood *Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* associated with St. John's Church (Sint-Janskerk), which nurtured vocal music; see Smijers 1932; Roelvink 2002.
31. Unlike Bosch, Jan Provost referring in his paintings to the ingenious imagery of the master from 's-Hertogenbosch, in each of his visions of the Last Judgement showed different types of trumpets used by a duo, trio and quartet of angel-instrumentalists. The triple trumpet in the Detroit painting is an example of a brilliant product of the painter's imagination. Four *Last Judgement* paintings by Provost are kept in the following locations: Cambridge (MA, Harvard Art Museums, c. 1505), Hamburg (Kunsthalle, after 1505), Bruges (Groeningemuseum, 1525) and Detroit (Institute of Arts c.

- 1525).
32. Very similar instruments were painted by the author of a painting sold last century at Christie's (auction closed 1 January 1970; lot 84); see <https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-173304> (accessed 12 April 2023). In the catalogue by Marc Rudolf de Vrij illustration C.2.4.
  33. I received information by email from Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska, the curator of paintings in the Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow, that the triptych was examined dendrochronologically, and its completion is estimated at around 1550.
  34. The Uden triptych (De Vrij C.2.1) belongs to a small group of paintings depicting the Last Judgement. It consists of two triptychs, one central panel and two fragments of the wings of the triptych. A characteristic feature of the iconography of these paintings is the presence of a white tent with the saved in the left wing and a red bed with a condemned man in the right wing. The motif of the angel-trumpeter has the form of a quartet. De Vrij links these paintings to the Antwerp workshop of Marcellus Coffermans (c. 1525-1575), even suggesting that they reflect a lost Bosch original; De Vrij 2012, pp. 496-98 (ill. C.2-C.2.3).
  35. See Winternitz 1979, pp. 211-25. On the above pages, the author analyzes paintings by Filippino Lippi, Piero di Cosimo and Lorenzo Costa in the context of archival documents from the 15th and 16th centuries dealing with *sacre rappresentazioni*, *intermedii*, *trionfi*, weddings, funerals, etc.

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