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# Angel trumpeters and *poena sensus*

A reflection on Jheronimus Bosch's *Last Judgement* triptych in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges

*Grzegorz Kubies*

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Kubies is an independent scholar and art and music historian. After studying at the University of Silesia in Katowice (1992–1997) and Jagiellonian University (1996–2001), he earned his PhD in art history from the University of Warsaw in 2011. His dissertation was titled “Musician angels in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Netherlandish painting: Iconographic and musicological study”. His research interests and publications relate to music culture in ancient Israel/Palestine as well as eschatological and musical iconography in early Netherlandish painting. Currently he is researching musical motifs in paintings by Jheronimus Bosch. Kubies has been a member of the Polish Composers' Union (Musicologists' Section) since 2012 and now lives and works in Warsaw.

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Members of the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP)<sup>1</sup> consider the *Last Judgement* kept in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges (0000.GRO.0208.I) to be, without question, the work of Jheronimus Bosch (c. 1450-1516). The person who commissioned the triptych, as well as its original destination and function, remain unknown. Dendrochronological dating places the triptych between 1478/1480-1486.<sup>2</sup> Scholars from the BRCP<sup>3</sup> have estimated the creation of the work to be around 1495-1505. According to Frédéric Elsig,<sup>4</sup> the triptych was created between approximately 1500 and 1505. Gerd Unverfehrt<sup>5</sup> placed its creation around the year 1510, and Stefan Fischer<sup>6</sup> near the year 1515. Erik Larsen<sup>7</sup> suspected that the *Last Judgement* was painted after Bosch's death in the first half of the second decade of the sixteenth century.

In this article, I will attempt to illustrate the connection (and thus the interpretation) between the images of the angel trumpeters flanking Christ, and the figures of the damned linked to a harp and bell, enduring the punishment of the senses (*poena sensus*), depicted in the centre panel of the triptych. I will base this connection on two categories: *inventio* and *fantasia*.<sup>8</sup> I will discuss the functions and responsibilities of the trumpeters and the musical instruments, considering both their iconographical and musical contexts.

The *Last Judgement* in the Groeningemuseum,<sup>9</sup> like the *Last Judgement* from the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Vienna (c. 1504-1508), a work of Jheronimus Bosch (and workshop?),<sup>10</sup> is an example of a reinterpretation of the iconography of a subject rather precisely defined by tradition.<sup>11</sup> Both *Last Judgements* play with the convention of altar-pieces.<sup>12</sup> Bosch transformed the liturgical/cult image into an erudite rebus – not without, however, the status of religious image – designed for an intellectually sophisticated audience.<sup>13</sup>

In this vision of the end of the earthly world, destined almost entirely for destruction (Mt 22:14) and excluded from the eschatological banquet (Mt 25:1-12), Bosch used a few motifs that allow the Bruges triptych to be identified as a representation of the Last Judgement. In the centre panel, Christ is enthroned on a rainbow with his feet resting on the globe. He is depicted in a luminous circle with a lily and a sword on either side of his head. He is surrounded by two groups of apostles/saints and four angel trumpeters. Below – in the area usually used to depict people being raised from the dead, the archangel Michael with a sword or scale, angels fighting with the forces of evil, or sometimes the gateway to the heavenly Jerusalem – the painter introduced a panorama of various acts of retribution,<sup>14</sup> carried out by infernal creatures and polymorphous fauna<sup>15</sup> that also dominate in the right wing section of the triptych. A common horizon joins the centre panel with the wings of the triptych. The left wing presents an earthly paradise<sup>16</sup> where the reward is a sensual experience that includes one through auditory sensation: an angel dressed in red robes, similar to those of Christ, plays the harp for three saved souls.<sup>17</sup> The temporary nature of this “space” is indicated in the upper zone, where winged souls are aiming toward an illuminated cloud, which is probably the gateway to the empyrean heavens.<sup>18</sup>



Figure 1

Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgement*, c. 1495-1505, oak, left wing 99.5 × 28.8 cm, centre panel 99.2 × 60.5 cm, right wing 99.5 × 28.6 cm, Bruges, Groeningemuseum, Cat. no. 0000.GRO.0208.1

The relationship between angels and the trumpet, a brass instrument (σάλπιγξ, *tuba*), appears in the New Testament where these beings act as trumpeters in the descriptions of the Second Coming of Christ (Mt 24:31; 1 Cor 15:52; 1 Thess 4:16) and the apocalyptic visions of disasters and plagues (Rev 8:2.6-13; 9:1.13-14; 10:7; 11:15).<sup>19</sup> Angel trumpeters in the iconography of the Last Judgement in early Netherlandish panel painting usually appear in one of two ways: as a duet or a quartet.<sup>20</sup> The latter, already commonly represented in Romanesque art, based itself on the evangelical text according to Matthew, which reads: 'And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other' (Mt 24:31).<sup>21</sup> In depicting four angels with trumpets in both of his *Last Judgement* triptychs, Jheronimus Bosch continued the Netherlandish painting tradition started by Roger van der Weyden (1399/1400-1464),<sup>22</sup> which includes, amongst others, Petrus Christus (1415/20-1475/ 76)<sup>23</sup> and Hans Memling (c. 1435-1494).<sup>24</sup>

The placement of the angel trumpeters around the figure of Christ, above the arc of the rainbow and away from the burial places of the dead, was first depicted in early Netherlandish painting by Jan van Eyck (c. 1385/ 90-1441) and his workshop in the *Last Judgement* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the right wing of the diptych; c. 1440).<sup>25</sup> The angel trumpeters seem to be connected with the function of the angel assistants and guardians around the throne of the Christ-God (2 Thess 1:7; Rev 5:11), here announcing the coming of the Judge of the 'living and the dead' (Acts 10:42). This placement of the nonet is most likely a symbolic representation of nine choirs of angels<sup>26</sup> whose members are using ceremonial instruments, although they are reminiscent of secular ritual. Duke Philip the Good (1396-1467) maintained a small band of trumpeters, with the addition of a few minstrels.<sup>27</sup> During the reign of Charles the Bold (1432-1477) in the Burgundian Netherlands, a quintet<sup>28</sup> played *trompettes de guerre* (which were natural trumpets) in 1469, and this was increased to 12 musicians in 1474. An ensemble of this size also functioned at the court of Philip the Fair (1478-1506).<sup>29</sup>

There are noticeable similarities in terms of location and function between the four angel trumpeters presented in the Bruges *Last Judgement* and the Vienna *Last Judgement* and those in the group of trumpeters depicted in the painting from New York. In the centre panel and right wing of the triptych from the Groeningemuseum, I assume that they are depicted in the role of heraldic trumpeters (*Herold, héraut*). The tasks of the angels, as signified by Jheronimus Bosch, do not correspond to the New Testament announcement of the Second Coming; they cannot be endowed with the function of eschatological trumpeters *sensu stricto* (see *Last Judgement* by Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling's triptych). Furthermore, the common element in the corresponding motif in both works is the form which the instruments take: aerophones with a long thin tube finished by a little bell (*buisine, trompa*). Their re-emergence in Europe before the year 1100 is probably the result of contact with the Arab-Muslim culture during the Crusades in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> The original feature of the trumpets portrayed in the Bruges triptych is their hanging banners with the sign of the cross and long ribbons, revealing *par excellence* the heraldic character of





Figure 2

Jheronimus Bosch and workshop, *The Last Judgement*, c. 1504-1508, oak, left wing 164 × 60 cm, centre panel 164 × 127 cm, right wing 164 × 60 cm, Vienna, Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Cat. no. GG-579-GG581



Figure 3  
Jan van Eyck and workshop, *The Last Judgement* (the right wing of the diptych), c. 1440-1441, canvas, 56.5 × 19.7 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cat. no. 33.92ab (source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org>)



the trumpeters. The four aerophones painted in the medallion of the *Last Judgement* from *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado; c. 1505-1510), which is believed to be the work of Bosch (workshop or follower?),<sup>31</sup> have the same appearance but lack ribbons.

Instruments with banners are very often found in fifteenth-century manuscript paintings. They are represented in scenes of coronation, ceremonial entrances into towns, military campaigns, tournaments and weddings, amongst others. A good example in religious art is a miniature showing the *Last Judgement* (fol. 151r) in the *Utrecht Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MSS 917 and 945), which was created around 1440. Apart from the impact of illuminated manuscripts,<sup>32</sup> models of such images were provided by late medieval European culture. Trumpets decorated with banners depicting coats of arms confirmed the identity of the feudal lord; in the thirteenth century, there were already attempts to restrict the use of them to nobility and the knight class.<sup>33</sup>

Hans Janssen, Olaf Goubitz and Jaap Kottman carried out research studies on the material culture of 's-Hertogenbosch, within the context of objects of everyday use painted by Jheronimus Bosch around the year 1500.<sup>34</sup> Janssen, who studied objects made of ceramics and metal, made a distinction between objects that retained their proportions in regards to the human figures and those of supernatural sizes. In general, the latter were rendered realistically when playing a key role in certain scenes. This observation holds true for the bell,<sup>35</sup> which signalled the "beat" of everyday life<sup>36</sup> for medieval towns. The harp<sup>37</sup> is a creation of the painter's imagination, probably suggesting with the white colouring of its body that it is made of ivory; it belongs to the Goubitz classification of objects made from organic materials. The chordophone, used for musical entertainment in secular circles, does not have the tuning keys at the neck, and the strings are not attached to the soundboard. This instrument was associated with King David<sup>38</sup> and embodied rich symbolical meaning in the middle ages.<sup>39</sup>

Both of the aforementioned instruments, as well as the lute and the self-playing bagpipes from the Bruges *Last Judgement*, were represented in the right wing of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado; c. 1490-1500).<sup>40</sup> The harp and bell<sup>41</sup> appear in both triptychs as instruments of torture. In the triptych from the Groeningemuseum, a damned man is suspended on the strings of the harp, which belongs to the 'tent of delights'.<sup>42</sup> A demon approaches the damned man's naked body, and his arms are arranged like those of Christ at his death. Nicetas of Remesiana (d. after 414) was most likely the first Christian writer to connect the cross of Golgotha (Mt 27:33) with the mystical cross of the stringed instrument. This appeared in the form of tightened strings across the wooden corpus of the chordophone, referred to in Latin as *cithara* (*De psalmodiae bono* [*De utilitate hymnorum*; 4]).<sup>43</sup> Saint Augustine (354-430), commenting on the Book of Psalms (*Enarrationes in psalmos*; 149, 3),<sup>44</sup> also developed the symbolism of the cross in regards to musical instruments around the same time. It should be noted that the harp appears in a negative context in the scene depicting lust in *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*. If Bosch was aware of these aspects of



Figure 4  
Workshop or Follower of Jheronimus Bosch, *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*,  
c.1505-1510, poplar, 119.5 × 139.5 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, Cat. no. 2822

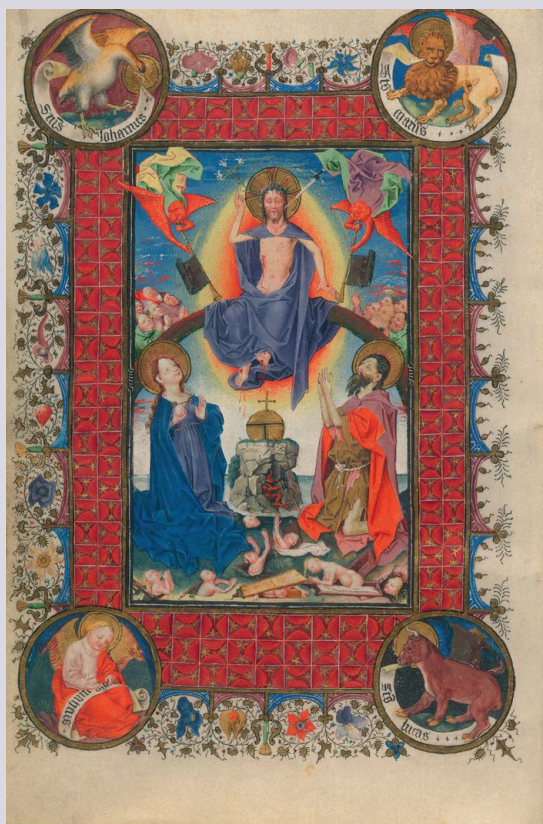


Figure 5

The Last Judgement, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, c. 1440, parchment, New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MSS 917 and 945, fol. 151r (source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org>)





Figure 6

Detail (harp) from: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgement*, c. 1495-1505, oak, centre panel 99.2 x 60.5 cm, Bruges, Groeningemuseum, Cat. no. 0000.GRO.0208.1





Figure 7

Detail (bell) from: Jheronimus Bosch, *The Last Judgement*, c. 1495-1505, oak, centre panel 99.2 x 60.5 cm, Bruges, Groeningemuseum, Cat. no. 0000.GRO.0208.I

patristic thought – the critical point of assumption – we can accept, as Kees Vellekoop<sup>45</sup> suggested, that the motif of the harp refers to punishment for sins of transgressive love. However, it seems that the number of strings (9 attached to the lower frame (this element should be the soundboard) and 11 in the neck) does not have any symbolic meaning. The bell is depicted a bit lower than the harp, on the opposite end of the vertical line of the composition, marked by the figure of Christ and the huge funnel. Dirk Bax<sup>46</sup> interpreted the scene above the oyster being opened by a supernaturally large knife, where a man fulfils the function of a bell clapper, as punishment connected to sexual sins. Assuming the correctness of both interpretations, a curious predilection for the painter to stigmatise the sins of this particular class emerges.

Two members of the quartet of angel trumpeters, depicted beneath the group of apostles/saints, play with their instruments turned in the direction of the harp and bell. Taking into account the phenomenon of acoustic resonance – my interpretation follows the expressive iconographical suggestion by Jheronimus Bosch – I suggest that the sounds from the trumpets are intended to create vibrations on the strings of the harp and the bell clapper, causing an acoustic and mechanical torture for the condemned. The angels would thus be the driving force behind this refined form of torture, in response to amoral living seen in the light of Christian ethics.

The above hypothesis, in which I identify an unconventional task for angel trumpeters (eternal or temporary?), is based on biblical foundations.<sup>47</sup> In addition to the accounts of angels adoring the God-Christ (Heb 1:6; Rev 5:11-13) and carrying out the tasks which are in accordance with their primary nature (*ἄγγελος*, *angelus*), their other actions in the Bible are catastrophic toward individuals (2 Macc 3:26-27), communities (Gen 19:13.24-25), enemies of the chosen people (2 Kgs 19:35) and the inhabitants of the earth in the vision of the final punishment (Rev 8:1-11:19; 15:1-16:21). The Book of Revelation says: 'And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men' (Rev 9:15). The sounding of the seventh trumpet precedes 'lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail' (Rev 11:19). A specific parallel of seven angel trumpeters is 'seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God' (Rev 15:1).<sup>48</sup> The angels of destruction/ punishment, absent in the iconography of the Last Judgement in early Netherlandish panel painting, are mentioned in apocryphal literature, in the *Ethiopian Book of Enoch* (10, 9) and in the *Hebrew Book of Enoch* (44, 3), among others.<sup>49</sup>

Jan van Ruusbroec (1293-1381), a Flemish theologian and mystic, wrote in *The Christian Faith* (*Vanden kerstenen ghelove*; 2, 2),<sup>50</sup> that the greatest punishment in Hell is the inability to experience the presence of God. Such an illustration of the theological definition of the punishment of damnation (*poena damni*, *poena perpetua*)<sup>51</sup> does not find any reflection in the iconography of Hell, but rather accentuates the element of fire, as is primarily emphasised in the Bible.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, a reference to the adequate penalties for the offence contained in the above





Figure 8

Jheronimus Bosch, *The right wing of The Garden of Earthly Delights*, c. 1490-1500, oak, 187.5 x 76.5 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, Cat. no. 2823

work (2, 2) as in *The Imitation of Christ* (*De imitatione Christi*; 1, 24),<sup>53</sup> a *devotio moderna* treatise, attributed to Thomas à Kempis (c. 1379-1471), undoubtedly found its expression in the vision of ultimate reality by Jheronimus Bosch, an anti-heaven shown in the category of a cosmic event.

Bosch, within the context of his own iconographical game in the Bruges *Last Judgement*, departed from the traditional topos of an angel trumpeter and in reaching for motifs of instruments connected to King David (harp) and the Church (bell), went beyond positive connotations related to them. The Last Judgement, with its evocative eschatological significance and easily graspable moralistic emphases, appears through demanding intellectual effort, open interpretive associations (exemplified in this article through several motifs), as a response to the expectations of humanistically educated clients, *kunstliefhebbers* coming from higher social classes, contesting the traditional concept of mimesis as a source of imagery in painting.

Translated by Kimba Kerner

- 1 M. Ilsink, J. Koldeweij, R. Spronk *et al.*, *Hieronymus Bosch, painter and draughtsman. Catalogue Raisonné*, Brussels, 2016, pp. 278, 288. See <http://boschproject.org>. In the publication accompanying the exhibition of works of Jheronimus Bosch in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam in 2001, the triptych was attributed to Bosch and/or his workshop. However, Bernard Vermet, taking into account the differences in the technique, as well as the practice of signing the name of the painter on paintings made by his followers (signature appears in the lower right corner of the centre panel), found that the triptych was more likely painted by Bosch himself than his workshop. B. Vermet, "Hieronymus Bosch. Painter, workshop or style?", in: J. Koldeweij, P. Vandenbroeck, B. Vermet, *Hieronymus Bosch. The complete paintings and drawings*, Rotterdam, 2001, pp. 95-6. For a brief overview of the previous opinions on the attribution of the Bruges *Last Judgement*, see D. Buzzati and M. Cinotti, *L'opera completa di Bosch*, Milan, 1966, p. 109.
- 2 B. Vermet, "Hieronymus Bosch. Painter, workshop or style?", *op. cit.*, table p. 88; P. Klein, "Dendrochronological analysis of works by Hieronymus Bosch and his followers", in: J. Koldeweij, B. Vermet, B. van Kooij (eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch. New insights into his life and work*, Rotterdam, 2001, table p. 124.
- 3 Ilsink, Koldeweij, Spronk *et al.* 2016: 278, 288. In the book: P. Silva Maroto (ed.), *El Bosco. La exposición del V centenario*, Madrid, 2016, the *Last Judgement* from the Groeningemuseum is dated c. 1505-1515 (p. 318).
- 4 F. Elsig, "Hieronymus Bosch's workshop and the issue of chronology", in: J. Koldeweij, B. Vermet, B. van Kooij (eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch. New insights into his life and work, op. cit.*, pp. 97-8; Idem, *Jheronimus Bosch. La question de la chronologie*, Geneva, 2004, s. 70-6.
- 5 G. Unverfehrt, *Hieronymus Bosch. Die Rezeption seiner Kunst im frühen 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1980, p. 209.
- 6 S. Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch. The complete works*, Cologne, 2013, p. 264.
- 7 E. Larsen, *Bosch. The complete paintings by the visionary master*, New York City, 1998, p. 136.



- 8 The indisputable importance of both categories in the works of Jheronimus Bosch becomes easier to grasp in the context of the inscription from the drawing *The Wood Has Ears, The Field Has Eyes* (Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett; KdZ 549), originating in the thirteenth-century treatise *De disciplina scholarium*. The following Latin quotation was placed above the drawing: 'miserimi quippe est ingenii semper uti inventis et numquam inveniendis'.
- 9 Left wing 99.5 × 28.8 cm, centre panel 99.2 × 60.5 cm, right wing 99.5 × 28.6 cm. When closed, the triptych displays a *grisaille* of *Christ Crowned with Thorns*.
- 10 The BRCP attribution and dating: Jheronimus Bosch and workshop, c. 1500-1505. The *Last Judgement* from Vienna is linked by some scholars with the commission of Philip the Fair. See among others S. Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch. The complete works, op. cit.*, pp. 157-70, 250-1.
- 11 See B. Brenk, "Weltgericht", in: E. Kirschbaum (ed.), *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, v. 4, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1972, col. 513-23; Y. Christe, "Giudizio Universale", in: A. M. Romanini (ed.), *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, v. 6, Rome, 1995, pp. 791-805; Idem, *Jugements derniers*, Chantilly 2000. See also B. Ridderbos, "Objects and Questions", in: B. Ridderbos, A. van Buren, H. van Veen (eds.), *Early netherlandish painting. Rediscovery, reception, and research*, Amsterdam, 2005, pp. 31-6, 78-86.
- 12 See L. F. Jacobs, "The triptychs of Hieronymus Bosch", in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31, 2000, pp. 1009-41; S. Laemers, "Hieronymus Bosch and the tradition of the early Netherlandish triptych", in: J. Koldeweij, B. Vermet, B. van Kooij (eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch. New insights into his life and work, op. cit.*, pp. 77-85.
- 13 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 intertextual nature. The meanings of the works created by the painter, the author of 'visual texts', are revealed in the process of interpretation rooted in the erudition and intellectual abilities of a specific historical viewer. See K. Moxey, *The practice of theory. Poststructuralism, cultural politics, and art history*, Ithaca, NY, 1994, p. 111-47. Moxey wrote: 'Bosch's imagery was to a large extent incapable of being read and that it was this very quality that enhanced its appeal for a humanistically educated audience' (p. 113). It is worth noting here the thought expressed by members of the BRCP: 'A typical feature of Bosch's painted oeuvre is the powerful way it appeals to his viewers to contemplate the painted scene. The painter goes to great lengths to grab his beholders' attention, so that they will look at the painting for longer and meditate on its content. He is determined to create a link between viewer and subject matter. Bosch makes it personal, through the technique he uses on the one hand, and the imagery on the other.'; Ilsink, Koldeweij, Spronk *et al* 2016: 44. On the circle of clients of the painter, see J. M. Cruz Valdovinos, "La clientela del El Bosco", in: V. Malet (ed.), *El Bosco y la tradición pictórica de lo fantástico*, Barcelona-Madrid, 2006, pp. 97-125; J. Timmermans (ed.), *Hieronymus Bosch, his patrons and his public. Hieronymus Bosch 3rd International Conference, September 16-18, 2012 Hieronymus Bosch Art Center 's-Hertogenbosch, in the Netherlands, 's-Hertogenbosch*, 2014. See also the findings made by two scholars: P. Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch. Tussen volksleven en stadscultuur*, Berchem, 1987; Idem, *Hieronymus Bosch. De verlossing van de wereld*, Ghent-Amsterdam, 2002; S. Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch. Malerei als Vision. Lehrbild und Kunstwerk*, Cologne, 2009. Vandenbroeck created a very detailed reconstruction of the social values in Brabant manifested in Bosch's works. Fischer paid special attention to the importance of circles connected with the Church.
- 14 See E. Peters, *Torture*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1999, pp. 40-73; A. Classen and C. Scarborough (eds.),

- Crime and punishment in the Middle Ages and early Modern Age. Mental-historical investigations of basic human problems and social responses*, Berlin-Boston, 2012. See also M. B. Merback, *The thief, the cross, and the wheel. Pain and the spectacle of punishment in medieval and renaissance Europe*, Chicago, 1999.
- 15 See L. Peñalver Alhambra, *Los monstruos de El Bosco. Una estética de la figuración visionaria*, Valladolid, 2003.
  - 16 See J. Delumeau, *History of paradise. The Garden of Eden in myth and tradition*, New York City, 1995.
  - 17 The grouping of the figures is in direct connection with the symbolism of the number three rooted in the ancient world (it depicts completeness; see Aristotle's treatise *On the Heavens* [1, 1] written c. 350 B.C.). Trinitarian connotations of this number are the most common in medieval iconography.
  - 18 In terms of iconography, the Bruges triptych is similar to several other works by the artist and his workshop, amongst others *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado), the *Last Judgement* (Vienna, Akademie der Bildenden Künste) and the *Haywain Triptych* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado). See P. Vandenbroeck, "Hieronymus Bosch. The wisdom of the riddle", in: J. Koldeweij, P. Vandenbroeck, B. Vermet, *Hieronymus Bosch. The complete paintings and drawings*, op. cit., pp. 179-82; L. Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, New York City, 2006, pp. 357-8; S. Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch. The complete works*, op. cit., pp. 264-5; Ilsink, Koldeweij, Spronk et al. 2016: 282-8.
  - 19 See R. Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel. Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1962, pp. 205-17; A. Jaschinski, E. Winternitz, "Engelsmusik – Teufelsmusik", in: L. Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, v. 3, Kassel, 1995, col. 16-17.
  - 20 See G. Kubies, "Motyw anioła-fanfarzysty w ikonografii Sądu Ostatecznego w malarstwie niderlandzkim" [The motif of angel as a trumpet player in the Last Judgement iconography in early Netherlandish painting], in: K. Zalewska-Lorkiewicz (ed.), *Czas apokalipsy. Wzjęcie dni ostatecznych w kulturze europejskiej od starożytności do wieku XVII*, Warsaw, 2013, pp. 166-76.
  - 21 Quoted from *The Holy Bible King James Version* (KJV Standard): <http://kingjamesbiblesociety.org>. Latin text of Mt 24, 31: 'et mittet angelos suos cum tuba magna, et congregabunt electos eius a quattuor ventis, a summis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum'. Quoted from *Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft*: <http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de>; last access 17-3-2016.
  - 22 *Last Judgement* polyptych (Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu; before 1451).
  - 23 *Last Judgement* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie; 1452). The second panel located in Berlin Gemäldegalerie presents the *Annunciation* and *Nativity*. Perhaps both were once wings of the triptych.
  - 24 *Last Judgement* triptych (Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe; c. 1471).
  - 25 The *Last Judgement* is the right wing of the diptych (on the left *Crucifixion*). Oil on canvas, transferred from wood.
  - 26 See *The Celestial Hierarchy* (chapters 6-10) by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (V-VI c.).
  - 27 J. Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420-1467)*, Strasbourg, 1939 (repr. 1974), pp. 104, 264-75.
  - 28 D. Fallows, "Specific information on the ensembles for composed polyphony, 1400-1474", in: S. Boorman (ed.), *Studies in the performance of late mediaeval music*, Cambridge, 1983 (repr. 2008), p. 146.
  - 29 M. Picker, "The Habsburg courts in the Netherlands and Austria, 1477-1530", in: I. Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance. From the 1470s to the end of the 16th century*, Basingstoke-London, 1989, pp. 219 and 221.

- For basic information about *trompettes de guerre* and *trompettes des menestrels*, see E. Tarr, *The Trumpet*, London, 1988, pp. 55-6.
- 30 See A. Baines, *Brass instruments. Their history and development*, London, 1976 (repr. 1993), pp. 72-6; P. Bate, *The trumpet and trombone. An outline of their history, development, and construction*, 2nd ed., London-New York, 1978, p. 108; Tarr 1988: 35-9; K. Polk, "Brass instruments in art music in the Middle Ages", in: T. Herbert and J. Wallace (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to brass instruments*, Cambridge, 1997 (repr. 2002), pp. 40-1; J. Wallace and A. McGrattan, *The trumpet*, New Haven, 2011, pp. 71-4. A study on the presence of trumpets in the culture of medieval Europe also takes into account the native musical traditions dating back to antiquity. See also E. Tarr, "Trumpet (History 1500)", in: *Grove Music Online*: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>; Last access 17-3-2016.
  - 31 The BRCP attribution and dating: Workshop or follower of Jheronimus Bosch, c. 1510-1520.
  - 32 Regarding the relationship between Bosch's manuscript painting and panel painting, see S. Sulzberger, "Jérôme Bosch et les maîtres de l'enluminure", in: *Scriptorium*, 16, 1962, pp. 46-9; T. Kren and M. W. Ainsworth, "Illuminators and painters. Artistic exchanges and interrelationships", in: T. Kren and S. McKendrick (eds.), *Illuminating the Renaissance. The triumph of Flemish manuscript painting in Europe*, Los Angeles, 2003, pp. 44-7; E. Pokorny, "Bosch and the influence of Flemish book illumination", in: J. Bradley, E. De Bruyn, J. Koldeweij et al. (eds.), *Jheronimus Bosch: His sources. Jheronimus Bosch 2nd International Conference, May 22-25, 2007 Jheronimus Bosch Art Center 's-Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands, 's-Hertogenbosch*, 2010, pp. 281-95.
  - 33 A. Baines, *Brass instruments. Their history and development*, op. cit., p. 83; Tarr 1988: 43-4; C. Sachs, *The history of musical instruments*, New York City, 1940 (repr. 1978), p. 281; Polk 1997: 41. See also H. Mayer Brown and K. Polk, "Instrumental music, c. 1300- c. 1520", in: R. Strohm and B. J. Blackburn (eds.), *The new Oxford history of music. Music as concept and practice in the late Middle Ages*, v. 3/1, Oxford, 2001, pp. 137-8.
  - 34 H. Janssen, O. Goubitz, J. Kottman, "Everyday objects in the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch", in: J. Koldeweij, B. Vermet, B. van Kooij (eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch. New insights into his life and work*, op. cit., pp. 171-91.
  - 35 See P. Price, C. Bodman Rae, J. Blades, "Bell", in: *Grove Music Online*: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>; last access 17-3-2016.
  - 36 In the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, 's-Hertogenbosch was a thriving centre of religious life with numerous monasteries and churches. See S. Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch. Malerei als Vision. Lehrbild und Kunstwerk*, op. cit, pp. 16-75. This Brabant town was also famous for its bell foundry (owned by the Moer family). See W. S. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch*, London, 1973 (repr. 2001), p. 13; J. Koldeweij, "Hieronymus Bosch and his city", in: J. Koldeweij, P. Vandenbroeck, B. Vermet, *Hieronymus Bosch. The complete paintings and drawings*, op. cit., pp. 32-4.
  - 37 See J. Rimmer, R. Evans and W. Taylor, "Harp (The Middle Ages and the early Renaissance)", in: *Grove Music Online*: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>; last access 17-3-2016.
  - 38 See H. J. Zingel, *König Davids Harfe in der abendländischen Kunst*, Cologne, 1968; M. Boyer-Owens, "The image of King David in prayer in fifteenth-century books of hours", in: *Imago Musicae*, 6, 1989, pp. 23-38; J. W. McKinnon, "David", in: L. Finscher (ed.), *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, v. 2 (Sachteil), Kassel-Stuttgart, 1995, col. 1094-1101. In medieval iconography, in addition to King David, the harp is commonly portrayed with angels, lay musicians and fantasy creatures.

- 39 See M. van Schaik, *The harp in the Middle Ages. The symbolism of a musical instrument*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam-New York, 2005. See also T. Seebass, "Idee und der Status Harp them europäischen Mittelalter", in: *Basler Jahrbuch für Musikpraxis*, 11, 1987, pp. 139-52.
- 40 The BRCP attribution and dating: Jheronimus Bosch, c. 1495-1505.
- 41 The bell with two people inside it, portrayed as clappers, was depicted in a drawing (private collection) that has been attributed to Jheronimus Bosch. See M. Ilsink, J. Koldewey, *Jheronimus Bosch. Visions of genius*, 's-Hertogenbosch-Brussels, 2016, il. 34, p. 115.
- 42 In this scene, the painter portrayed bagpipes next to a harp, around which dance naked figures, a deformed aerophone (horn) and a lute with an owl sitting in the sound hole. The owl is a bird with ambivalent symbolism, intertwined between abandonment, death and rejection of the teachings of Christ. Albert P. de Mirimonde described these instruments as being connected with the punishment for lust; *Idem*, "Le symbolisme musical chez Jérôme Bosch", in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 77, 1971, p. 45.
- 43 'Qui adhuc puer in cithara suaviter fortiterque canens, malignum spiritum qui operabatur in Saule, compescuit: non quo citharae illius tanta virtus erat, sed quia figura crucis Christi, quae in ligno et extensione nervorum mystice gerebatur, iam tunc spiritum daemone opprimebat'. PL 68, 371. Quoted from The Patrologia Latina Database: <http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk>; Last access 19-3-2016.
- 44 PL 37, 1953.
- 45 K. Vellekoop, "Music and dance in the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch", in: J. Koldewey, B. Vermet and B. van Kooij (eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch. New insights into his life and work*, op. cit., pp. 201-2. Reinhold Hammerstein pointed out the same kinds of sins; *Idem*, *Diabolus in musica. Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter*, Bern, 1974, pp. 101-2.
- 46 D. Bax, *Beschrijving en poging tot verklaring van het tuin van der onkuisheid drieluik Jeroen Bosch, gevolgd door kritiek op Fraenger*, Amsterdam, 1956, pp. 105-6. For more on the symbolism of musical instruments in Christian literature, see J. McKinnon, "Musical instruments in medieval psalm commentaries and psalters", in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21, 1968, pp. 3-20; H. Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik der Musikinstrumente im Schrifttum der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche*, Regensburg, 1978; J. McKinnon (ed.), *Music in early Christian literature*, Cambridge-New York, 1987 (repr. 1993); J. S. Custer, "The psalter, the harp and the fathers. A biblical image and its interpreters", in: *The Downside Review*, 114, 1996, pp. 19-31; M. van Schaik, *The Harp in the Middle Ages ...*, op. cit.
- 47 See D. Heesen, *De geheime boodschap van Jeroen Bosch*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 2010; J. van Waardenoijen, "The Bible and Bosch", in: J. Bradley, E. De Bruyn, J. Koldewey, T. Vriens (eds.), *Jheronimus Bosch. His sources ...*, op. cit., pp. 334-49.
- 48 Latin texts of Rev 9:15; 11:19 and 15:1: 'Et soluti sunt quattuor angeli, qui parati erant in horam et diem et mensem et annum, ut occiderent tertiam partem hominum', 'et facta sunt fulgura et voces et terraemotus et grando magna', 'angelos septem habentes plagas septem novissimas, quoniam in illis consummata est ira Dei'.
- 49 On medieval angelology, see D. Keck, *Angels and angelology in the Middle Ages*, New York City, 1998; S. Chase, *Angelic spirituality. Medieval perspectives on the ways of angels*, New York City, 2002; I. Iribarren, M. Lenz (eds.), *Angels in medieval philosophical inquiry. Their function and significance*, Aldershot – Burlington, VT, 2008; T. Hoffmann (ed.), *A companion to angels in medieval philosophy*, Leiden, 2012.
- 50 For the original text of *Vanden kerstenen ghelove* see *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* (DBNL): <http://www.dbnl.org>.

- 51 Teachings about the existence and eternity of hell, based on the New Testament (2 Tess 1, 9), were confirmed by the conciliar documents: Fourth Lateran Council [DS 801] – 1215., Second Council of Lyon [DS 858] - 1274., Council of Florence [DS 1351] - 1442.
- 52 Eg Mt 25:41; Mk 9:47-48; Rev 20:10. This element has been particularly elaborated upon in the work by Dirc van Delf, *Tafel van den kersten gelove* (c. 1404); the work is available on the DBNL website: <http://www.dbnl.org>.
- 53 For text in Dutch (middel nederlandse) translation, see DBNL: <http://www.dbnl.org>. In recalling the works of Jan van Ruusbroec and Thomas à Kempis, I want to highlight the relationship between some elements of late medieval eschatological thought and the iconography of the triptych from the Groeningemuseum. See G. Kubies, "Późnośredniowieczna myśl eschatologiczna a wizje Sądu Ostatecznego Hieronima Boscha" [Late medieval eschatological thought and the visions of Last Judgement by Jheronimus Bosch], in: J. C. Kałużny, A. Żywiołek (eds.), *Kulturowe paradygmaty końca. Studia komparatystyczne*, Częstochowa, 2013, pp. 273-92.

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