direct connection between the cosmological symbolism found in this material and Michelangelo's fresco seems plausible and, in addition, to be related to the idea of Michelangelo's knowledge of the Copernican universe which may reasonably be argued. Indeed, arguing 'backwards,' and considering the proliferation of cosmological concepts concerning the circular universe and the Deity as Sun in a mass of theological, literary and philosophical works familiar to Michelangelo, together with his recent probable exposure to Copernicus' heliocentric theory (which would surely have recalled the more traditional cosmological symbols to both artist and patrons) it begins to seem impossible for Michelangelo to have conceived the Last Judgment in any other way.\(^2\)

It was acknowledged by early observers\(^3\) that the fresco did contain certain hidden meanings and the way in which the religious, philosophical and scientific aspects of the argument all accord and correspond closely with the actual physical disposition of the fresco seems to render the present explanation probable if not provable. Short of the discovery of handwritten explanatory notes by the artist, concrete proof of this type of art-historical interpretation is virtually impossible to establish. Plausibility is the keynote. It is not simply a question of correcting a few points of detail or discovering a few new facts: a whole new frame of reference for complex underlying ideas is being built up, with the intention to reconstruct rather than to rediscover. If the weight of evidence consistently adds up to a sufficiently convincing argument, with nothing in contradiction, then that argument is worthy of serious consideration and the hypothesis may be considered to be satisfactory, not as 'absolute truth' but, as in a court of law, 'beyond all reasonable doubt.'\(^4\)

Modern art historical method, which embraces what Gombrich terms

\(^2\)This method is used by Baxandall in *Patterns of Intention*.

\(^3\)See preface, above.

'historical detective work' within this type of interdisciplinary framework, has been carefully discussed in the literature. The arguments of Gombrich, Wind and Panofsky in particular have attempted to determine the method and purpose of an iconological approach. Panofsky determines the differences between iconography and iconology, and evaluates the process of analysis, divided into different levels of meaning from primary or natural subject matter to the existence of intrinsic meaning which may be hidden; Gombrich warns of the dangers of citing too many obscure sources, forcing a work into a preconceived mould and reading in meanings which were clearly not the original intention of the artist. Gombrich also warns of the problems ensuing when an iconological interpretation becomes too detached from formal art history. While it can be argued that there may be different levels of meaning in a work, he says, the probable existence of a dominant theme in a work of art usually precludes the likelihood of multiple and divergent meanings. All the different areas of interpretation must appear to correspond with each other, and, if the whole sequence does fit, then the possibility that it is due to accident or coincidence must be very remote.

Better known examples of this type of interdisciplinary approach to art historical interpretation in Renaissance studies include works by Gombrich himself, as well as studies by Lavin and Ginzburg on Piero and by Steinberg on Michelangelo. These authors have set out criteria by which iconological interpretation of an analytic type may be assessed. Steinberg requires of art


historical interpretations that they should be 'probable if not provable' and 'make visible what had not previously been apparent,' so that 'the picture seems to confess itself.' He points out the dangers of underestimating an artwork as well as the problems of 'over-interpreting.' Ginzburg requires that 'every piece of the puzzle must fit into place' and 'the pieces must form a coherent composition'; in addition, the simplest and neatest hypothesis should 'generally be taken as the most probable.' Another factor deserving of consideration, but not often mentioned, in the assessment of this type of art historical interpretation is the author's state of conviction concerning the truth of his own hypothesis which should also carry some weight, within the context of being 'satisfied beyond all reasonable doubt.' In the case of the present interpretation of Michelangelo's Last Judgment, not only do the multiplicity of sources point to a single overall meaning, but the intellectual background also corresponds closely to the work's formal aspects.

ii) Hypothesis or Truth

The difficulties of distinguishing between truth and hypothesis were already recognized in the sixteenth century. In the absence of concrete proof of Copernicus' Sun-centred view of the universe, the publisher, Osiander, stressed the importance of reasoned hypothesis. As Osiander said of Copernicus' theory, it is important to consider new ideas and hypotheses, especially if they appear to be well-argued and plausible, even though absolute certainty is not possible. Osiander chose to add his preface in order to present Copernicus' theory as 'hypothesis' rather than 'truth,' and he may well have done this in order to alleviate potential criticism of the

10 Ibid., Preface.
12 Gombrich, 'Botticelli,' p. 31f., and Steinberg, 'Line of Fate,' p. 107, and 'Corner of the Last Judgment,' pp. 240, 256, 260, seem to express some doubts concerning their own ideas.
13 Quoted in full above, opening quotation of this chapter.
heliocentric theory. It is possible to argue that the theory survived because it was only presented as theory not truth, an idea unlikely to have been put forward by Copernicus himself. Whether Widmanstadt presented 'Copernicus' teaching concerning the motion of the earth' to the Pope as hypothesis or truth can never be known, but if the idea that it was influential upon such an important fresco is accepted, this would seem to indicate that it was presumably proposed as 'truth,' for an artist is surely less likely to incorporate an 'hypothesis.'

Space does not allow full philosophical discussion of the concept of 'truth' here, nor the associated concepts of logic, probability and deductive reasoning. It is perhaps enough to acknowledge that lack of absolute proof does not necessarily render a thing untrue. The fact that Copernicus was unable to prove that it was the sun and not the earth which was the centre of our planetary system did not, of course, mean that the concept was not true. As it happened, proof was found at a later date, by Galileo, and it was his telescopic observations which contributed to

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14 As was pointed out in chapter 8 above, Copernicus' own motives concerning delay in publication were rather for fear of ridicule by the ignorant than because of fear of persecution.

15 The incorporation of scientific theory in art has also been claimed for our century, showing how ideas at first in the possession of the intelligentsia gradually become 'public property' even if not fully understood (as, for example, the influence claimed of General Relativity on the Cubists, for which see L. D. Henderson, The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

16 In fact, according to modern scientific theory, whether the earth moves around the sun or vice versa is actually irrelevant, suggesting that Osiander's point of view was way ahead of his time. According to Einstein's theory of General Relativity, either view may present a workable system of co-ordinates, which renders the struggle between the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems quite meaningless. Einstein explains this in his work for non-specialists (A. Einstein and L. Infeld, The Evolution of Physics, From Early Concepts to Relativity and Quanta, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966, p. 212).


18 For a Biblical parallel, see John 3:1-15; and 20:25-29; regarding 'Doubting Thomas' Jesus says 'Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.'

19 Scientifically speaking, of course, Copernicus was incorrect in placing the sun at the centre of the universe, although it does lie at the centre of our planetary system (more correctly, at one of the foci of the elliptical orbits of the planets). The earth and other planets revolve around the sun but the sun, in turn, possesses movement imparted by the rotation of our Galaxy.
the final banning of Revolutions. Although the present art historical argument cannot be presented as absolute truth, it may still serve to increase our understanding of the artist and his times and can be regarded as an eminently workable system of reference which explains many features of the work and which may well in fact be true — even if it must necessarily be presented as hypothesis.

iii) Conclusions

Michelangelo was nurtured on Ficino, then exposed to Valdésian and Evangelical thought, and commissioned to paint what was traditionally a cosmological subject at a time when Copernican heliocentricity was receiving a great deal of attention in Vatican circles. It seems highly probable that his interpretation of the Last Judgment could have developed out of the common ground shared by the different sources of knowledge suggested above (religious, philosophical, literary and scientific), where the broad concept of the God-centred and Sun-centred universe is pertinent to all four areas of source material.

It is, above all, Michelangelo's supreme synthesis of the whole, his combination of tradition and innovation, and his 'assimilation' (rather than direct 'borrowing') from a number of different areas of source material into his own personal expression which predominates. Michelangelo's Last Judgment is not a direct illustration of the Scriptures, Dante, Ficino or Copernicus — nor of the quotations featured, by way of example, at the beginning of each chapter of this thesis. It is not to be claimed as the result of 'borrowings' of individual features from a variety of existing art works, such as versions of the Last Judgment by Giotto, Traini, Fra Bartolommeo or Signorelli, Early Christian Sun-symbols, Castagno's Beardless Christ of the Resurrection, Botticelli's illustrations to Dante, or the Apollo Belvedere, with which comparison has often been made (respectively figs. 36, 40, 46, 48, 74, 76, 82, 85, 107, 110). Nor can it be claimed as a naturalistic view of the sun itself and the phenomenon of light rays, although this too may well have played a part, as it probably did in Dante's description of the Sun-Christ and his rays in Paradiso XXIII, 72–80 (see fig. 130). Rather, it is a synthesis, conscious
or even unconscious, of all these motifs. If, as is currently fashionable, it is necessary to make excursions into the realms of psychoanalysis in the study of Michelangelo's art (mentioned at the end of chapter 4), this is the field in which it appears to be necessary — in the study of the ways in which previous visual experience may consciously or subconsciously affect the artist in his formation of images. Although Vasari describes Michelangelo's exceptional capacity for visual retention, the tracing of similarities is not necessarily proof of direct dependence, and it seems that many factors can merge in order to produce a final result.

It is in this fresco of the Last Judgment that the various elements in Michelangelo's thinking appear to come together in a single work. But, in addition to these conclusions, it is important to assess what further significance this study might have. Conclusions drawn from this study can provide information in a number of fields: firstly concerning the painting itself but also about a number of other areas of interest — about Michelangelo's late works, about theology and philosophy in the mid-sixteenth century, about Copernicus' theory and the reactions to it, and about the kind of questions in the History of Ideas which concerned man in the late Renaissance/Reformation period.

As far as the work of the Last Judgment itself is concerned, this study, which

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20Quoted and discussed by Panofsky, Studies in Iconology, p. 171.

21It has been argued, for example, that, consciously or otherwise, Traini's Christ of the Last Judgment is the probable source for Michelangelo's (Von Einen, Michelangelo, p. 155), that the pose of Duccio's figure of Mary is forerunner of Michelangelo's David (Wilde, Michelangelo, p. 39 and figs. 29 and 30), and that Maitani's figure of a damned soul is the source for Michelangelo's Christ in the Florentine Pieta (Hartt, Michelangelo's Three Pieta, New York: Abrams, 1975, p. 83, followed by Liebert, Psychoanalytic Study, pp. 398–401), as if those artists could 'invent' those poses while Michelangelo could not.

differs substantially from those previous interpretations which have been discussed, explains several unusual aspects which have long puzzled scholars. Apart from the assessment of the overall cosmological theme of the composition, it offers an explanation of apparently inexplicable features like the beardless Christ, who seems to be depicted like a Sun-Deity without being presented as a pagan solar god; the circular composition which is contrary to all iconographic tradition; the presence of the Cave over the altar; the unveiling on the 31st October and the special significance of an additional Christmas celebration; the reason for the abandonment of the scheme for the Resurrection and Fall of Lucifer; the probable constructional method used; and the reason why, while still retaining some traditional features, the work is so different from any previous treatment of the subject. The hypothesis is thus an eminently 'workable' one.

In addition, there seem to be far too many 'coincidences' (apart from the ubiquity of the major themes of Sun-symbolism and cosmology) in the proposed source material for the hypothesis not to be considered seriously: for example, Dante's emphasis on Lucifer's thigh; the overlapping visits of Copernicus and Michelangelo in Rome and Bologna; the links between Ficino and Copernicus, through writings as well as through Paul of Middleburg at the Lateran Council; the presence of Michelangelo, Clement VII and Paul III in both the house of Lorenzo de' Medici and at S. Miniato in 1533; the presence of Valdés as Clement's secretary; the probable date of Michelangelo's meeting with Vittoria Colonna; the link between Widmanstadt, who gave the lecture on Copernicus to the Pope, with Giles of Viterbo, who probably advised Michelangelo on the Sistine ceiling; the relationship of Cardinal Salviati, present at the lecture, to Michelangelo's friend Jacopo Salviati (his son); the dating of Paul III's breve and Schönberg's letter (Nov. 1536); the celebration on the Vigil of All Saints and its correspondence with the proposed biblical source of the fresco; and, above all, the dating of the Vatican lecture (June 1533) and the commission of the Last Judgment (Sept. 1533) — as well as the visual appearance of Michelangelo's Last Judgment.

Derived from the present interpretation of the real meaning of the fresco,
further deductions can be made about Michelangelo's late period. According to this hypothesis, influences which have previously been relegated to different and separate periods of Michelangelo's oeuvre are combined in this late work. The complexity of his thought even at this late stage of his career, shows that the simplistic approach which is often argued, namely, that of Neoplatonism in his early works and Catholic influences in his later works, no longer holds. Themes were integrated throughout his career as Neoplatonism was combined with Christian ideals. Neoplatonic ideas continued to feature in the late works as a life-long influence and are by no means to be regarded as classical and irreligious — and even less as pagan. Much of the existing literature attributes Neoplatonism to Michelangelo's early works, contrasting this with a later spirituality, but readings which categorize the work of this artist simplistically into various Neoplatonic and religious stages are inappropriate. The two trains of thought are not to be regarded as mutually exclusive. Evidently Michelangelo's association with the Spirituali in the 1530's exerted a great influence upon the artist, but his interest in Neoplatonic and Dantean themes continued at this time and, as with other members of the Catholic Reformation, were incorporated within a Christian framework. Similarly, as Hartt points out, it is unrealistic to maintain that he had 'ever been anything but profoundly religious' and Christian and Neoplatonic themes have been acknowledged together in the Sistine ceiling.

As far as the movement for Catholic reform in the 1530's up to about 1542 is

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23For example, Liebert, Psychoanalytic Study, pp. 294 ('[Michelangelo] relinquished Neoplatonism and turned to Christian beliefs in the 1530's'), 312 ('battle between Christianity and Neoplatonism') and pp. 340 and 355-356 ('pagan quality of Michelangelo's painting; pagan substratum of the fresco'); H. A. Enno van Gelder, The Two Reformations in the Sixteenth Century, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1964, pp. 95-97; Blunt, Artistic Theory, p. 70; Chastel, Humanism, n. 46 on p. 320; Réau, Iconographie Chrétienne, pp. 753-754 ('le paganisme foncier de Michel-Ange' and 'le triomphe de la paganisation de l'art chrétien' [Last Judgment]); Steinberg, Merciful Heresy ('Colonna...the agent of his religious conversion'), idem, Line of Fate, p. 208 ('recently undergone a profound religious conversion'). See also E. Garin, 'Thinker,' in Salmi, Complete Works, pp. 517-530, for Michelangelo and Neoplatonism.

24Hartt, 'Evidence for the Scaffolding of the Sistine Ceiling,' p. 285. One has only to contemplate the early Rome Pietà of 1499 to reject the idea of Michelangelo as 'pagan' at any stage.
concerned, through the study of the rendering of such an important fresco, further
information concerning Catholic attitudes is provided. It reinforces the concept of
the Catholic Reformers' wishes to return to the ideals of the Early Christian church,
as well as the importance of Christology and the view of Christ as Saviour. Christ
appears to be regarded less as an angry Judge than as a powerful Saviour, according
to Biblical concepts which show that the just have nothing to fear from the Last
Judgment. It does not seem possible to categorize the painting simply as either
benign or pessimistic. The atmosphere seems rather to be inspirational, where
Christ is depicted as immensely powerful, neither as 'gentle Jesus meek and mild'
nor as a vengeful judge. The elements of hope and light (which the cleaning will
probably reveal more fully) relates well to the problems of the age of Catholic
reform, when the Church was threatened, but not in total despair. It has been said
that the pessimism of the theme of Judgment relates to despair at the effect of the
Reformation and the split in the Church but, at the time of the Last Judgment
(1533-41) reconciliation with the Protestants was still very much envisaged. As the
contemporary historian, Guicciardini, writes, Clement VII had great hopes for a
solution to the major problems of 1533, including the secession of the English
Church under Henry VIII. The Sack of Rome in 1527 had taken place six years

25 As with the study of the Florentine Pietà (see Shrimplin—Evangelidis,
'Michelangelo and Nicodemism,' and 'Once more, Michelangelo and Nicodemism').
As far as other late works are concerned, it is interesting to note that the drawing of
the 'Dreamer' of 1533 is suggestive of the earth (in the form of human beings
depicting the Seven Deadly Sins) in a circular formation around a globe or sun (De
Tolnay, Michelangelo, vol. 5, p. 181 and fig. 131). The circular emphasis in the
Pauline frescoes, (The Conversion of St Paul, 1542-45, and the The Crucifixion of St
Peter, 1546-50) has also received comment (De Tolnay, Michelangelo, vol. 5, pp.
70-77 and figs. 58 and 59). The way in which the picture space in both of these tips
forward towards the viewer could be read as suggestive of a moving or rotating
earth.

26 As for example, John 3:17, where Nicodemus is told that Christ is sent to save not
condemn; and 1 Corinthians 15:55 ('O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is
thy victory?') — references already cited and also emphasized in the Beneficio di
Cristo, where it is maintained that to doubt salvation is to 'call God a liar' (ed. cit.
pp. 56, 58, 60). Michelangelo himself wrote in a letter to his father (1510), 'God has
not created us in order to abandon us,' in similar optimistic vein (Murray,
Michelangelo, Life, Work and Times, p. 63). For further discussion of Christological
meaning, see Dixon, 'Christology of Michelangelo,' and idem, 'Michelangelo's Last
Judgment, Drama of Judgement or Drama of Redemption?'

27 Guicciardini, History of Italy, pp. 401-405.
earlier and marked a particularly bad time for Italy and for the Pope himself. Shameful captivity of the Pope was followed by rebellion in Florence, plague and a humiliating peace treaty, but, as Guicciardini relates, by 1528 the Pope, who had fallen from power, been held in captivity and suffered the loss of Rome and his dominions, was 'within the space of a few months ... restored to liberty' and 'once more restored to his former greatness.' Peace was established not unfavourably to the Pope, and the Emperor assisted Clement in quelling the rebellion in Florence, which 'put an end to the long and grave wars which had continued for more than eight years with so many horrible occurrences.'

A call was made for a Council to reform the Church which displeased the Pope because he feared loss of power, but he was able to stave this off and 'tranquility' continued through 1530–32. All this, added to the departure of the Turks from Eastern Europe and the removal of this contingent threat to Italy by 1532, meant that Pope Clement was once more in a strong position by the time of the commission of the Last Judgment. Just after the earliest preliminary discussions concerning the redecoration of the Sistine Chapel, Guicciardini relates the Pope's 'incredible' joy over the marriage treaty with France (the betrothal of his niece Catherine in late 1533), and how he 'returned to Rome with the greatest reputation and marvelous happiness, especially in the eyes of those who had seen him prisoner in the Castel Sant' Angelo,' which hardly describes an atmosphere of doom and pessimism in late 1533/early 1534. As in the metaphor of Plato's Cave, the Pope and his entourage had come out of the darkness and into the light in the years 1528–33.

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29The Treaty of Barcelona between Pope and Emperor and the Treaty of Cambrai between the Emperor and the King of France, manipulated by Salviati and Schönberg, were signed in the summer of 1529 (ibid., pp. 408–412). Florence was brought back under Medici rule in 1530, with the assistance of the Emperor (ibid., pp. 417f. and 430).
30Ibid., p. 425.
31Ibid., p. 440. Compare Chastel et al, Sistine Chapel, p. 181 (a period of 'catastrophe').
Clement's sense of success was short-lived for he died soon afterwards, but his successor Paul III, who saw the commission 'unchanged' through to its conclusion, similarly experienced quite a strong position. The relationship between patron and artist, which was deemed rather special in the case of Michelangelo, has encouraged the idea that the programme or approach to the fresco was probably discussed and approved by the Popes. According to the doctrine of Free Will, which was also emphasized by Dante in the *Divina Commedia*, the choice of repentance and forgiveness lies with the individual. Such ideas stressed by the movement for Catholic Reform (and the Nicodemists) contrast with the stricter attitudes of the Counter Reformation, with which Michelangelo does not appear to have been as involved. In any case, the fresco predates the Counter Reformation, the inception which is usually dated from 1542, and it was largely members of the Counter Reformation (after the first session of the Council of Trent, 1545) who campaigned to have the fresco destroyed.

Scientifically speaking, the cosmological and Copernican interpretation of Michelangelo's fresco may be regarded as further evidence of the early acceptance of the heliocentric theory within the upper reaches of the Catholic Church. This is particularly significant because of the 'about turn' of the Catholic Church in the early seventeenth century, and especially in view of often held misconceptions concerning the position of Copernicus and the potential heresy of his theory at the time of its publication. Even if the theory escaped condemnation for so long because it was regarded as hypothesis only, the fact remains that it was not condemned as heresy at the time, and it did apparently tie together several aspects of existing philosophical and scientific thinking in placing the sun, regarded by contemporaries as an analogy of the Deity, at the centre of the universe. The theory apparently fitted in extremely well with the Renaissance background and attitudes which have been discussed, which perhaps helps to explain why there was, at first, little

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32 Authors who emphasize the expression of Counter-Reformation attitudes include De Campos, *Michelangelo, Last Judgment* p. 85.

objection to it. The final waning of the Medieval view is confirmed, alongside the solving of problems inherent in the spherical geocentric system of thinkers like Dante Alighieri.

Finally, the interdisciplinary nature of this study appears significant for the light it may shed on the History of Ideas in the sixteenth century and the wider context of Man's view of this universe. The inclusion of Catholic, Dantean, Classical or Neoplatonic themes in Michelangelo's late work of the Last Judgment demonstrates that this type of inter-related thought was important in the mid-sixteenth century. Neoplatonism as a phenomenon of the Italian Renaissance was not something which flourished and died in late Quattrocento Florence, but it continued to influence art and iconography (and indeed philosophy and even scientific thinking) well into the sixteenth century. It is, perhaps, the key to the understanding of the Renaissance as being 'classical' without being 'pagan.'

Concerned particularly with his own faith and salvation, Michelangelo in his Last Judgment created more than just a simple image of a scene from Revelations, as with its Medieval counterparts, but, in a combination of tradition and innovation, the work shows involvement also with the widest of concepts. The type of questions which are raised by Michelangelo's fresco of the Last Judgment and which concerned man at this stage of his history are still pertinent to man in the twentieth century: the immense questions concerning human fate, life after death, salvation and the immortality of the human soul, the human condition and the relationship between sin and punishment. Michelangelo's sophistication is revealed here as the threat of Hell fire and boiling oil are omitted as unsubtle disciplinary propaganda; instead, his figures show a psychological aspect where 'conscience' is regarded as a safeguard for human conduct. At the same time, the concept of light and hope is also conveyed in the figures of the saved and Christ Himself. In its cosmological framework, the awesome concepts of the end of time and creation, and of the universe, are considered — whether space is infinite and time eternal. To coin

34For information on the later influence of Neoplatonism, see Robb, Neoplatonism, and Shorey, Platonism Ancient and Modern, passim.
a word, what might be termed 'telophobia,' the fear of the end, is a concept which is of perennial concern. Although viewed in terms rather different from the Christian Last Judgment, concern with the fate of our planet is still related to the idea of whether man is the master of his environment or whether it might be controlled by a greater force, be it physics or a Deity.

Deductions made in the light of this interdisciplinary research into the intellectual background of Michelangelo's Late Period, and confirmed by direct analysis of the Last Judgment itself, demonstrate that it is important for the specifically cosmological and heliocentric interpretation of the fresco to be acknowledged and not dismissed, as it has been thus far in the literature, because of misconstrued dating or unwarranted implications of heresy. To understand Michelangelo, including his late works, it is necessary to read Dante and Ficino, the Scriptures and the artist's own poetry, and also, for the Last Judgment in particular, not to fail to overlook the intricate overlapping and interweaving of the sources provided in the Gospels and in Renaissance literature, philosophy and even science, as demonstrated above. The Copernican theory of heliocentricity, combined with the Catholic reformers' emphasis on Christian concepts which analogized Christ with the sun, Dante's Cosmology and Neoplatonic Sun-symbolism, would appear to present convincing sources for the overall iconography and circular composition of the fresco around a central Sun–Christ — and to provide a valid framework within which to consider, once more, Michelangelo's Last Judgment fresco.

From the Greek τέλος — 'end.'
Appendix I

Selected versions of the Last Judgment, Sixth to Seventeenth Century

Information includes date, artist if known, present location and medium. Figure nos. of those illustrated in the present text are indicated in bold type. Alternatively, a source of illustration or information is provided.¹

### Early Christian, Byzantine, Medieval

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6th C.</td>
<td>Cosmas Indicopleustes, m/s.</td>
<td>fig. 15. De Campos, Michelangelo, p. 70.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7th C.</td>
<td>St. Péter’s, Rome, wall painting</td>
<td>fig. 16. Künstle, Ikonographie, fig. 297.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>9th C.</td>
<td>Sacra Parallela, Paris, m/s.</td>
<td>Künstle, Ikonographie, fig. 298.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>c. 1000</td>
<td>Reichenau Psalter, Bamberg, m/s.</td>
<td>Lazarev, Storia, p. 158.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11th C.</td>
<td>Bamberger Apocalypse, msc.</td>
<td>Ainalov, Origins, p. 42.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>c. 1028</td>
<td>Panaghia Halkeon, Thessaloniki, fresco.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>11th C.</td>
<td>Psalter, no. 752, fol.44, Vatican, msc.</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>1072–1087</td>
<td>S. Angelo in Formis, fresco.</td>
<td>fig. 19. Demus, Romanesque, fig. 241.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>c. 1100</td>
<td>St. George, Oberzell, fresco.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>11th C.</td>
<td>St. Jouin de Marne, fresco.</td>
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### Twelfth Cen

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¹ Short titles have been cited; for full details of source references, see Bibliography. Abbreviations used in this section: m/s = manuscript; sc = sculpture; msc = mosaic; frsc = fresco; alt = altarpiece; dwg = drawing; o/c = oil on canvas; C = century, c = circa.
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<td>1115–36</td>
<td>Moissac, sc.</td>
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<td>1129–43</td>
<td>Palatine Chapel, Palermo, msc.</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>1130–40</td>
<td>Gislebertus, Autun, sc.</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>Beaulieu, Corrèze sc.</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>12th C.</td>
<td>Carennac, Lot, sc.</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>1135–44</td>
<td>St Denis, Paris, sc.</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>St Trôphime, Arles, sc.</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>1160–1225</td>
<td>Laon, sc.</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>12th C.</td>
<td>Benedictine altarpiece in Vatican.</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>1174–82</td>
<td>Monreale, Sicily, msc.</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>late 12C.</td>
<td>Sta Maria Assunta, Torcello, msc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>1185</td>
<td>Porte de St Gall, Bâle, sc.</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>12th C.</td>
<td>Mount Sinai, icon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>late 12C.</td>
<td>Bordeaux Cathedral, sc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>late 12C.</td>
<td>St Sulpice, Favières, sc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>late 12C.</td>
<td>Portail des Libraries, Rouen, sc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1194</td>
<td>Wolfenbuttel evangeliar, m/s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>1196</td>
<td>Antelami, Baptistery, Parma, sc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Thirteenth Century**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location, Artwork, Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>1200–1260</td>
<td>South portal, Chartres, sc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1210–1275</td>
<td>West portal, Bourges, sc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>1211–90</td>
<td>North Portal, Rheims, sc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>1220–88</td>
<td>West Portal, Amiens, sc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>c.1235</td>
<td>Princes Portal, Bamberg, sc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>1246</td>
<td>SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome, frsc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2For other French examples, see Mâle, *Gothic Image*, p. 365, '... scenes of the Last Judgment decorate almost all the cathedrals of the thirteenth century.'
41 1250–90 Leon Cathedral, Spain, sc. Martindale, Gothic, fig. 93.
42 1259 Nicola Pisano, Pisa Baptistery, Pope–Hennessy, Gothic, p. 3.
Pulpit, marble, sc.
43 1265–8 Nicola Pisano, Siena, Pope–Hennessy, Gothic, p. 4.
Pulpit, marble, sc.
44 1270–1330 Lorenzo Maitani, Duomo, Orvieto, fig. 31.
marble, sc.
45 1290–1301 Giovanni Pisano, Pistola, Pulpit, fig. 29.
marble, sc.
46 c. 1293 Cavallini, S. Cecilia, Rome, frsc. fig. 32.
47 late 13C. Coppo di Marcovaldo, Florence, fig. 33.
Baptistery, msc.
49 1296 Lagrasse, Aude, France, frsc. Deschamps, Peinture Murale, plate 5.
50 c 1290, Chimabue, Upper Church, fig. 35.
S. Francesco, Assisi, frsc.

Fourteenth Century

51 1305–08 Giotto, Arena Chapel, Padua, frsc. fig. 36.
52 14th C. Giovanni da Modena, S. Petronio, Chastel, Sistine Chapel, p. 183.
Bologna, frsc.
53 1308 Cavallini (and assistants), Schmeckebier, Handbook, p. 9.
Sta Maria, Naples, frsc.
54 c.1310 Giovanni Pisano, Pisa Duomo, Ayrton, Giovanni Pisano, fig. 299.
Pulpit, marble, sc.
55 1310 S. Lorenzo, Genoa, frsc. Nelson, 'Genoa,' fig. 3.
56 1317–20 Pietro da Rimini, Sant' Agostino, Smart, Italian Painting, fig. 163.
frsc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Artist/Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1336</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maso di Banco (Giotto), Bardi chapel, S. Croce, Florence, frsc.</td>
<td>Schmeckebier, <em>Handbook</em>, p. 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th C</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bolognese school, Pinacoteca, Bologna, alt.</td>
<td>fig. 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1345-57</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nardo di Cione, Strozzi chapel, S. Maria Novella, Florence, frsc.</td>
<td>figs. 37, 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1350</td>
<td></td>
<td>Orcagna, Sta. Croce, Florence, frsc. (fragments).</td>
<td>fig. 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 14C</td>
<td></td>
<td>Follower of Giotto, Bargello, Florence; fragment, frsc.</td>
<td>fig. 43.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 14C</td>
<td></td>
<td>Master of the Bambino Vispo, alt. (now in Munich).</td>
<td>fig. 42.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1355</td>
<td></td>
<td>Magl. II.I, 212, f. 64v. Florence, Biblioteca Nationale, m/s.</td>
<td>Meiss, <em>Florence &amp; Siena</em>, fig. 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360</td>
<td></td>
<td>Traini (or Orcagna or Buffalmacco) Campo Santo, Pisa, frsc.</td>
<td>fig. 49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 14C</td>
<td></td>
<td>Niccolo di Tommaso, Livorno, alt.</td>
<td>Meiss, <em>Florence and Siena</em>, p. 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1368</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lombard school, Church of Lentate, Milan, frsc.</td>
<td>Schmeckebier, <em>Handbook</em>, p. 64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3 For other eastern, Byzantine examples see *ibid*, and Hughye, *Larousse*. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Artist/Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>1424</td>
<td>Jan van Eyck, New York, Metropolitan Museum, alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>1430</td>
<td>Stephan Lochner, Cologne, alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>1430</td>
<td>Fra Angelico (or follower), San Marco, Florence, alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>1430's</td>
<td>Fra Angelico, Galleria Corsini, Rome, alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>1445-48</td>
<td>Fra Angelico (or Zanobi Strozzi), Berlin, alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>c. 1445</td>
<td>Fra Angelico, Orvieto, frsc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>15th C.</td>
<td>Bertoldo di Giovanni, medallion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>1445</td>
<td>Giovanni di Paolo, Bologna, alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>1445-52</td>
<td>Rogier van der Weyden, Beaune, alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>1448</td>
<td>Vecchietta, Sta Maria Annunziata, Siena, frsc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>1455</td>
<td>Petrus Christus, Berlin, alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>mid 15C</td>
<td>Domenico di Bartolo, Sta Maria della Scala, Siena, frsc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>c1470</td>
<td>Dieric Bouts, Munich, alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>1471</td>
<td>Ulm cathedral, archway, frsc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>1473</td>
<td>Hans Memlinc, Notre Dame, Danzig, triptych.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>1488</td>
<td>Voronets, Moldavia, frsc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Neamt, Moldavia, frsc.

Martin Schongauer, Brisach, frsc.

Illustration to Savonarola's, Aria del ben Morire, woodcut.

Fra Bartolommeo, San Marcò, Florence, frsc.

Sixteenth Century

Albi Cathedral, fresco

Signorelli, Capella Brizio, Orvieto, fresc.

Cranach, Berlin, alt.

Bosch, Venice, alt.

Dürer, Washington, woodcut

Jean Provost, Bruges, alt.

Lucas van Leyden, Leyden, alt.

Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, frsc.

Post—Michelangelo

Pontormo, S Lorenzo, drawing for frsc., now destroyed.

Pieter Pourbus, Musée Communal de Beaux Arts, Bruges, alt.

plate 58.

Bréhier, Art Chrétien, p. 184.

Résu, Iconographie, p. 756.

fig. 47.

fig. 46.

Bréhier, Art Chrétien, p. 394.

figs. 48, 49.

Bax, Bosch and Cranach, fig. 1.

Bax, Bosch and Cranach, fig. 11

Harbison, Last Judgment, fig. 13

Friedlander, Early Netherlandish, vol. 2, fig. 207.

Friedlander, Early Netherlandish, vol. 10, fig. 113.

see fig. 1 and details.

4For other examples by Dürer and followers, see Harbison, Last Judgment, pp. 271–276.

5Versions which are so heavily influenced by Michelangelo as to be termed 'copies' rather than independent works are not included here. See chapter 4, section iii and De Maio, Michelangelo, plates 8–35, passim.
101 1550  Herman tom Ring, Vienna, dwg.  
102 1560  Giorgio Vasari, S Maria del Fiore, Florence, frsc.  
103 1568  Tintoretto, Madonna dell'Orto, Venice, oil on canvas.  
104 1580-83  Bastianinio, Ferrara cathedral, apse frsc.  
105 1589  Tintoretto, oil sketch for *Paradiso*, Louvre, Paris.  
107 1615-19  Rubens, Munich, oil on canvas  
108 1618-20  Rubens, Munich, oil on canvas  

Benesch, *Renaissance*, fig. 74.  
fig. 68.  

Newton, *Tintoretto*, fig. 18.  

De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, vol. 5, fig. 289.  
fig. 69.  

fig. 70.  

Appendix II

List of Important dates

1468
Birth of Alessandro Farnese, later Pope Paul III

1473
Birth of Nicolas Copernicus

1474
Birth of Giovanni de' Medici, later Pope Leo X

1475
Birth of Michelangelo Buonarroti

1478
Birth of Giulio de' Medici, later Pope Clement VII

1481
Landino's Neoplatonic Commentary on Dante published

1490's
Michelangelo, Leo; Clement and Paul in house of Lorenzo de' Medici

1496
Copernicus and Michelangelo in Bologna

1496
Ficino's edition of Plato's works published

1500
Michelangelo and Copernicus in Rome

1512
31st Oct. — Unveiling of Sistine Ceiling frescoes

1514
Copernicus' Commentariolus in circulation

1514
Fifth Lateran Council

1524
Copernicus' Letter against Werner in circulation

1527
Sack of Rome

1531
Satires on Copernicus in Northern Europe

1533
Valdés secretary to Clement VII

1533
Michelangelo in Rome until end of June

1533
Lecture on Copernicus in Vatican (probably June)

1533
Michelangelo in Florence (working on Laurentian Library, Medici chapel)

1533
17th July — Sebastiano's letter concerning 'a contract for such a thing...'

1533
22nd Sept. — Michelangelo, Clement VII and Paul III at S. Miniato

1533
Bayonne drawing of Last Judgment

1533-4
Clement returns from successes in France, Michelangelo in Florence

1534
Buonarroti drawing of Last Judgment
1534 Sept. — Michelangelo returns to Rome; Clement dies; Paul III elected Pope
1535 April — scaffolding erected in Sistine chapel for Last Judgment
1536 April — preparations complete
1536 March 1536 — probable date of Michelangelo's meeting Vittoria Colonna
1536 between April and early summer — painting commenced
1536 1st Nov — Schönberg's letter to Copernicus encouraging publication
1536 17th Nov — Papal breve re: Last Judgment commission
1537 Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia for Catholic Reform
1540 Narratio Prima of Copernicus' theory published
1540 Beneficio di Cristo written and circulating
1541 Second edition of Narratio Prima
1541 31st October — completion and unveiling of Last Judgment
1541 Death of Valdés
1542 Revival of Inquisition; Death of Contarini; Apostasy of Ochino
1543 Death of Copernicus, publication of Revolutions
1545 First session of Council of Trent
1545 Opposition to Michelangelo's fresco and Heliocentric theory commences
Appendix III
Letter of Nicholas Schönberg

Nicholas Schönberg, Cardinal of Capua, to Nicholas Copernicus, Greetings.

Some years ago word reached me concerning your proficiency, of which everybody constantly spoke. At that time I began to have a very high regard for you, and also to congratulate our contemporaries among whom you enjoyed such great prestige. For I had learned that you had not merely mastered the discoveries of the ancient astronomers uncommonly well but had also formulated a new cosmology. In it you maintain that the earth moves; that the sun occupies the lowest, and thus the central, place in the universe; that the eighth heaven remains perpetually motionless and fixed; and that, together with the elements included in its sphere, the moon, situated between the heavens of Mars and Venus, revolves around the sun in the period of a year. I have also learned that you have written an exposition of this whole system of astronomy, and have computed the planetary motions and set them down in tables, to the greatest admiration of all. Therefore with the utmost earnestness I entreat you, most learned sir, unless I inconvenience you, to communicate this discovery of yours to scholars, and at the earliest possible moment to send me your writings on the sphere of the universe together with the tables and whatever else you have that is relevant to this subject. Moreover, I have instructed Theodoric of Reden to have everything copied in your quarters at my expense and dispatched to me. If you gratify my desire in this matter, you will see that you are dealing with a man who is zealous for your reputation and eager to do justice to so fine a talent.

Farewell.
Rome, 1 November 1536.

—from Copernicus, De Revolutionibus, ed. cit., p. xvii.
Appendix IV

To His Holiness, Pope Paul III, Nicholas Copernicus’ Preface to his book on the Revolutions

I can readily imagine, Holy Father, that as soon as some people hear that in this volume, which I have written about the revolutions of the spheres of the universe, I ascribe certain motions to the terrestrial globe, they will shout that I must be immediately repudiated together with this belief. For I am not so enamored of my own opinions that I disregard what others may think of them. I am aware that a philosopher’s ideas are not subject to the judgement of ordinary persons, because it is his endeavor to seek the truth in all things, to the extent permitted to human reason by God. Yet I hold that completely erroneous views should be shunned. Those who know that the consensus of many centuries has sanctioned the conception that the earth remains at rest in the middle of the heaven as its center would, I reflected, regard it as an insane pronouncement if I made the opposite assertion that the earth moves. Therefore I debated with myself for a long time whether to publish the volume which I wrote to prove the earth’s motion or rather to follow the example of the Pythagoreans and certain others, who used to transmit philosophy’s secrets only to kinsmen and friends, not in writing but by word of mouth, as is shown by Lysis’ letter to Hipparchus. And they did so, it seems to me, not, as some suppose, because they were in some way jealous about their teachings, which would be spread around; on the contrary, they wanted the very beautiful thoughts attained by great men of deep devotion not to be ridiculed by those who are reluctant to exert themselves vigorously in any literary pursuit unless it is lucrative; or if they are stimulated to the non-acquisitive study of philosophy by the exhortation and example of others, yet because of their dullness of mind they play the same part among philosophers as drones among bees. When I weighed these considerations, the scorn which I had reason to fear on account of the novelty and unconventiality of my opinion almost induced me to abandon completely the work which I had undertaken.

But while I hesitated for a long time and even resisted, my friends drew me back. Foremost among them was the cardinal of Capua, Nicholas Scönb erg, renowned in every field of learning. Next to him was a man who loves me dearly, Tiedemann Giese, Bishop of Chelmno, a close student of sacred letters as well as of all good literature. For he repeatedly encouraged me and, sometimes adding reproaches, urgently requested me to publish this volume and finally permit it to appear after being buried among my papers and lying concealed not merely until the ninth year but by now the fourth period of nine years. The same conduct was recommended to me by not a few other very eminent scholars. They exerted me no longer to refuse, on account of the fear which I felt, to make my work available for the general use of students of astronomy. The crazier my doctrine of the earth’s motion now appeared to most people, the argument ran, so much more the admiration and thanks would it gain after they saw the publication of my writings dispel the fog of absurdity by most luminous proofs. Influenced therefore by these persuasive men and by this hope, in the end I allowed my friends to bring out an edition of the volume, as they had long sought me to do....

[Copernicus goes on to describe his dissatisfaction with the current system of astronomy which resulted in his searching in the writings of the ancient philosophers. He explains how, building on the basic concept of the mobility of the earth, he then developed his own theory, which he outlines, section by section, giving further references to his sources of inspiration and encouragement.]

\(^1\)Written in 1542, from Copernicus, De Revolutionibus, ed. cit., pp. 3–6.
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NICOLAI COPEPNICI
net, in quo terram cum orbe lunari tanquam epicyclo contineri diximus. Quinque loco Venus nono mente reductur. Sextum
denique locum Mercurius tenet, octoginta dierum spacio cire turres, in medio uero omnium reores Sol. Quis enim in hoc

pulcherimo templo lampadem hanc in aliou meliori loco postet, quia unde totum simul posse illuminar? Si quidem non
inepte quidam lucernam mundi, ali mens, ali res foris vescant. Trimegisti usibilem Deum, Sophoclis Elea transeunte
omnia, ha profecto sanquam in folio regali Sol recti desque cum
agentem gubernat Aeternum familiam. Tellus quoque nunquam
fraudatur lunari ministris, sed ut Aristoteles, de amarum
sit, maxima Luna cum terra cognationem habet. Concepistimus et
Sole terra, & impregnatur annuo partu. Inuentum est uero

Sistine Chapel, interior, looking towards the altar. Vatican, Rome.
4 Sistine Chapel, reconstruction of its fifteenth-century appearance.

5 Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, c. 440. Mosaics of the vault.
7 Zanobbi Strozzi (or Fra Angelico), *Annunciation*, 1430–45. Panel from S Domenico, Fiesole, 192 x 192 cm., Prado, Madrid.

Christ enthroned on the Sphere of the Universe, first quarter sixth century. Apse mosaic, S. Vitale, Ravenna.
11  Theophany, c. 520. Floor mosaic, Beth Alpha.

12  Joshua Stopping the Sun, c. 432–430. Mosaic, S Maria Maggiore, Rome.
Vatican Library, Rome.
Last Judgment, Wolfenbutteler Evangeliar, 1194.
18  Last Judgment, 1100. Fresco, St George, Oberzell (monastery of Reichenau).

19  Last Judgment, 1072–87. Fresco, Sant'Angelo in Formis.
Last Judgment, twelfth century. Mosaic, Sta Maria Assunta, Torcello.


30 *Last Judgment*, before 1246. Fresco, Chapel of St Sylvestro, SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome.


34 Coppo di Marcovaldo (attributed), *Last Judgment*, detail of Christ.

Fra Angelico, *Last Judgment*, c. 1440–50, Central panel of triptych, 54 x 74 cm. Galleria Nazionale (Corsini), Rome.


Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, schematic diagram (with diagonal 'rays').
Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, inner circle of figures, Christ the Judge and the Virgin, with St John the Baptist (left), St Peter (right), and other apostles, saints and saved.
Michelangelo, _Last Judgment_, detail, Christ.
Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, St John the Baptist.
Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, St Peter.

60  Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, the left lunette.

61  Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, the right lunette.
Michelangelo, Last Judgment, detail, group of trumpeting Angels.

Peter Paul Rubens, *Last Judgment*, 1615. Oil on canvas, 605 x 474cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
Detail from a plan of the Vatican area, showing orientation of St Peter's and the Sistine Chapel.
The Good Shepherd, early third century. Wall painting, diameter 710mm, Catacomb of St Callixtus, Crypt of Lucina, Rome.
Christ in Majesty, c. 500. Apse mosaic, chapel of Sant'Aquilino, San Lorenzo, Milan.

The Raising of Lazarus, c. 520. Mosaic, S Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.
Christ as the Sun-God, third century. Mosaic, Cemetery under St Peter's, Tomb of the Julii, Rome.


79 Christ enthroned as Master of the Universe, detail from the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, fourth century. Crypt of St Peter's, Rome.
The Creation and Fall of Man, Pantheon Bible., first half of the twelfth century. Illuminated manuscript, 454 x 285mm. (Vat. Lat. 12958, folio 3 verso) Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican.
Christ the Saviour, thirteenth century. Mosaic, north wall of nave, St Mark's, Venice.
Albrecht Dürer, *St John devouring the Book*, 1498. Woodcut from the *Apocalypse* series, 391 x 284mm. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.
86 Sandro Botticelli, *Lamentation*, early 1490s. Panel, 207 x 140cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

87 Sandro Botticelli, *Transfiguration*, c. 1500. Central panel of altarpiece, 272 x 194mm, Galleria Palavici, Rome.

89 Florentine School, *The Lamb with the Cross in the radiating Sun*, fifteenth century. Window, Sulmona, Abruzzi.


Domenico di Francesco (called Michellino), *Dante and his Poem*, 1465. Fresco, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence.
Modern Diagram of Dante's system of the Universe, drawn by B. Moser.
Modern Diagram of Dante's system of the Universe.
Diagram of Cosmos, Florentine, second half of fifteenth century. Tinted schematic drawing, 295 x 220mm., Biblioteca Riccardiana (1038, 240v), Florence.

Dante confronts the three beasts in the Dark Wood, illustration to Inferno I, Bolognese, early fifteenth century. Miniature, 343 x 233 (sheet), Biblioteca Angelica (1102, 1r), Rome.
Charon ferries Dante, Virgil and some souls across Acheron, illustration to *Inferno III*, Pisan, c. 1345. Tinted drawing, 330 x 245mm., Musée Condé (597, 50r), Paris.

Minos, illustration to *Inferno V*, Florentine, 1405. Miniature, 400 x 293mm. (sheet), Biblioteca Trivulziana (2263, 16r), Milan.
102 Topography of Hell, schematic diagram of Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, Florentine, second quarter of fifteenth century. Miniature, 251 x 154mm (sheet), Biblioteca Nationale (Palat. 320, fol. IIIv), Florence.
103 Dante before Beatrice, who points to the Stars and the Sun, illustration to Purgatorio XXXIII, North Italian, 1456. Tinted drawing, 255 x 350mm. (sheet), Biblioteca Laurenziana (Plut. 40.1, 206r), Florence.

104 Giovanni di Paolo, Beatrice and Dante hour beside the Heaven of the Sun, illustration to Paradiso X, mid-fifteenth century. Miniature, 320 x 221mm. (sheet), British Museum (Yates Thompson 36, 146r), London.

107 Sandro Botticelli, illustration to Paradiso XXIV, detail, 1480s–1497. Silverpoint/pen and ink on parchment, 320 x 470mm. (sheet), Staatliche Museen, East Berlin.

108 Sandro Botticelli, illustration to Paradiso XXVI, detail, 1480s–1497. Silverpoint/pen and ink on parchment, 320 x 470mm. (sheet), Staatliche Museen, East Berlin.
109 Giovanni di Paolo, *Beatrice and Dante hover before Christ within the Heaven of the Primum Mobile*, illustration to *Paradiso* XXVII, mid-fifteenth century. Miniature, 320 x 221mm. (sheet), British Museum (Yates Thompson 36, 178r), London.

110 Sandro Botticelli, illustration to *Paradiso* XXVII, detail, 1480s–1497. Silverpoint/pen and ink on parchment, 320 x 470mm. (sheet), Staatliche Museen, East Berlin.
112 Pietro Buonaccorsi, Diagram of Paradiso, from Il cammino di Dante, Florentine, c. 1440. Tinted schematic drawing, size not given, Biblioteca Ricc (1122, fol. 28r), Florence.
113 Domenico Ghirlandaio, Picino, Landino and Poliziano, (identified by Vasari), c. 1486. Fresco, detail from Scenes in the Life of John the Baptist, Sta Maria Novella, Florence.
115 Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, detail, lower zone, showing area of Hell.

115 Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, detail, lower zone, showing area of Hell.

Michelangelo, Last Judgment, detail, figures emerging from the Cave.

Altar of the Sistine Chapel, in front of the Cave.

118  Altar of the Sistine Chapel, in front of the Cave.

Codex Graecus Monacensis 151, title page showing inscription, fifteenth century. Greek illuminated manuscript (presented by Clement VII to Albert Widmanstadt), dated '6.33,' Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
Michelangelo, Last Judgment, detail of Christ's thigh.
Photographic study of Sun and Cloud effects.