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Sun-symbolism and cosmology in Michelangelo's Last Judgment

Shrimplin-Evangelidis, Valerie

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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

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[2]This method is used by Baxandall in *Patterns of Intention.*

[3]See preface, above.

[4]The concept of 'absolute certainty' is avoided in the legal systems of the western world. See, for example, J. H. Wigmore, *Evidence*, 10 vols., Boston: Brown, 1981 ed., especially vol. 9, for discussion of the problem of proof and evidence; also L. J. Cohen, *The Probable and the Provable*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1977, especially pp. 247–252 ('Proof Beyond Reasonable Doubt'), and pp. 252–256, ('Proof on the preponderance of evidence').

'historical detective work'[5] 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.[6] 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.[7] 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.[8]

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.[9] These authors have set out criteria by which iconological interpretation of an analytic type may be assessed. Steinberg requires of art

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[5]E. H. Gombrich, 'Aims and Limits of Iconology,' in *Symbolic Images, Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1972, pp. 1–25, p.6.

[6]Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, pp. 1–22; Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, especially chapter 1, 'The Language of Mysteries;' Panofsky, '*Studies in Iconology*,' chapter 1, pp. 1–31.

[7]Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, especially, pp. 1–17; *idem. Meaning in the Visual Arts*, p. 54; Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, p. 18.

[8]Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, pp. 19–20.

[9]For studies of this type, see for example, E. H. Gombrich, 'Botticelli's Mythologies,' in *Symbolic Images*, pp. 31–81; M. A. Lavin, *Piero della Francesca's Baptism of Christ*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981; C. Ginzburg, *The Enigma of Piero*, London: Verso, 1985; Steinberg, *Michelangelo's Last Paintings*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1975.

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 art work as well as the problems of 'over–interpreting.'[10] 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.'[11] 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.'[12] 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.[13] 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

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[10]*Ibid.*, Preface.

[11]Ginzburg, *Enigma of Piero*, p. 21, also introduction by P. Burke, entitled 'Carlo Ginzburg, Detective, *ibid.*, pp. 1–4. For the deductive process, see also U. Eco and T. A. Sebeok (eds.), *The Sign of Three*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983, especially C. Ginzburg, 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes. Clues and Scientific Method,' pp. 81–118.

[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.[14] 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,[15] this would seem to indicate that it was presumably proposed as 'truth,' for an artist is surely less likely to incorporate an 'hypothesis.'[16]

Space does not allow full philosophical discussion of the concept of 'truth' here, nor the associated concepts of logic, probablity and deductive reasoning.[17] It is perhaps enough to acknowledge that lack of absolute proof does not necessarily render a thing untrue.[18] 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*.[19] 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 becom '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).

[17]For which see, for example, J. L. Mackie, *Truth, Probablity and Paradox, Studies in Philosophical Logic*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973; C. J. F. Williams, *What is Truth?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976; C. Gilmour, *Theory and Evidence*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1980.

[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,[20] the tracing of similarities is not necessarily proof of direct dependence,[21] and it seems that many factors can merge in order to produce a final result.[22]

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

[21]It has been argued, for example, that, consciously or otherwise, Traini's Christ of the *Last Judgment* is the probable source for Michelangelo's (Von Einem, *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 *Pietà* (Hartt, *Michelangelo's Three Pietàs*, 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.

[22]See J. Piaget and B. Inhelder, *The Psychology of the Child*, New York: Basic Books, 1969, section 3, chapters 3 and 4, 'Drawing' and 'Mental Images,' for influences on the formation of visual images. Freud's famous analysis of Leonardo examines such themes but focuses on underlying sexual motivation, which remains questionable (see 'Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood,' in S. Freud, *The Complete Psychological Works*, ed. J. Strachey, London: Hogarth, 1773, pp.63–137). This type of analysis has often been applied to Michelangelo (see end of chapter 4). An interesting recent study by Gay raises the question of whether it is possible to 'psychoanalyze the dead,' and discusses G. R. Elton's admonitions against the prevalence of 'some pretty awful bits of Freudian or post–Freudian commonplaces' in analyses of historical figures (P. Gay, *Freud for Historians*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 5 and 9).

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 attri' ıtes Neoplatonism to Michelangelo's early works, contrasting this with a later spirituality,[23] 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.[24]

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

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[23]For 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.

[24]Hartt, '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.[25] 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.[26] 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.[27] The Sack of Rome in 1527 had taken place six years

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[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 I 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.'[28] Peace was established not unfavourably to the Pope, and the Emperor assisted Clement in quelling the rebellion in Florence,[29] which 'put an end to the long and grave wars which had continued for more than eight years with so many horrible occurences.'[30]

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.[31] 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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[28] *Ibid.*, respectively pp. 384–390, 391–392, 394, 397 and 398. Ramsden also refers to the period as 'relatively peaceful' and to the 'triumph' of the marriage treaty with France (*Letters*, vol. 2, p. 286).

[29] The 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).

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

[31] *Ibid.*, 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.[32] In any case, the fresco predates the Counter Reformation, the inception of 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.[33]

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.

[33]See especially De Maio, *Michelangelo e la Controriforma*, especially chapter 9, pp. 409–432.

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.'[34]

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

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[34]For 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,[35] 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.

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[35]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

1	6th. C.	Cosmas Indicopleustes, m/s.	**fig. 15.**
2	7th C.	St. Peter's, Rome, wall painting	De Campos, *Michelangelo*, p. 70.
3	9th C.	Sacra Parallela, Paris, m/s.	**fig. 16.**
4	c. 1000	Reichenau Psalter, Bamberg, m/s.	Künstle, *Ikonographie*, fig. 297.
5	11th C.	Bamberger Apocalypse, msc.	Künstle, *Ikonographie*, fig. 298.
6	c. 1028	Panaghia Halkeon, Thessaloniki, frsc.	Lazarev, *Storia*, p. 158.
7	11th C.	Psalter, no. 752, fol.44, Vatican, msc.	Ainalov, *Origins*, p. 42.
8	11th C.	Byz. Paris. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 74, fol. 51, m/s.	De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, vol. 5, fig. 260a.
9	11th C.	Plut. 9. cod. 28, (copy of no.1), Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence.	Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine*, p. 182.
10	1072–1087	S. Angelo in Formis, frsc.	**fig. 19.**
11	1175	St. Michael, Burgfelden, frsc.	Demus, *Romanesque*, fig. 241.
12	c. 1100	St. George, Oberzell, frsc.	**fig. 18.**
13	11th C.	St. Jouin de Marne, frsc.	Bréhier, *Art Chrétien*, p. 291.

Twelfth Century

14	1105–28	Angoulême, sc.	Bréhier, *Art Chrétien*, p. 290.

[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.

15	1115–25	Ste. Foy de Conques, Avreyon sc.	**fig. 23.**
16	1115–36	Moissac, sc.	Focillon, *Romanesque*, fig. 102
17	1129–43	Palatine Chapel, Palermo, msc.	Réau, *Iconographie*, p. 735.
18	1130–40	Gislebertus, Autun, sc.	**fig. 22.**
19	1135	Beaulieu, Correze sc.	Hughye, *Larousse*, fig. 596.
20	12th C.	Carennac, Lot, sc.	Focillon, *Romanesque*, fig. 99.
21	1135–44	St Denis, Paris, sc.	**fig. 24.**
22	1150	St Trôphime, Arles, sc.	Bréhier, *Art Chrétien*, p. 290.
23	1160–1225	Laon, sc.	Mâle, *Gothic Image*, fig. 172.
24	12th C.	Benedictine altarpiece in Vatican.	**fig. 21.**
25	1163–1250	Notre Dame, Paris, sc.	**fig. 25.**
26	1174–82	Monreale, Sicily, msc.	Réau, *Iconographie*, p. 735.
27	late 12C.	Sta Maria Assunta, Torcello, msc.	**fig. 20.**
28	1185	Porte de St Gall, Bâle, sc.	Réau, *Iconographie*, p. 749.
29	12th C.	Mount Sinai, icon.	Nelson, 'Genoa,' fig. 18.
30	late 12C.	Bordeaux Cathedral, sc.	Mâle, *Gothic Image*, fig. 177.
31	late 12C.	St Sulpice, Favières, sc.	Mâle, *Gothic Image*, fig. 178.
32	late 12C.	Portail des Libraries, Rouen, sc.	Mâle, *Gothic Image*, fig. 180.
33	1194	Wolfenbutteler evangeliar, m/s.	**fig. 17.**
34	1196	Antelami, Baptistery, Parma, sc.	Künstle, *Ikonographie*, fig. 301.

Thirteenth Century

35	1200–1260	South portal, Chartres, sc.	Aubert, *Gothic*, fig. 181.
36	1210–1275	West portal, Bourges, sc.	**fig. 26.**
37	1211–90	North Portal, Rheims, sc.	Aubert, *Gothic*, fig. 194.
38	1220–88	West Portal, Amiens, sc.	Mâle, *Gothic Image*, fig. 179.[2]
39	c.1235	Princes Portal, Bamberg, sc.	Künstle, *Ikonographie*, fig. 305.
40	1246	SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome, frsc.	**fig. 30.**

[2]For 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, Pulpit, marble, sc.	Pope–Hennessy, *Gothic*, p. 3.
43	1265–8	Nicola Pisano, Siena, Pulpit, marble, sc.	Pope–Hennessy, *Gothic*, p. 4.
44	1270–1330	Lorenzo Maitani, Duomo, Orvieto, marble, sc.	fig. 31.
45	1290–1301	Giovanni Pisano, Pistoia, Pulpit, marble, sc.	fig. 29.
46	c. 1293	Cavallini, S. Cecilia, Rome, frsc.	fig. 32.
47	late 13C.	Coppo di Marcovaldo, Florence, Baptistery, msc.	fig. 33.
48	late 13C.	Guido da Siena, Grossetto, frsc.	Schmeckebier, *Handbook*, p. 40.
49	1296	Lagrasse, Aude, France, frsc.	Deschamps, *Peinture Murale*, plate 5.
50	c 1290,	Cimabue, Upper Church, S. Francesco, Assisi, frsc.	fig. 35.

Fourteenth Century

51	1305–08	Giotto, Arena Chapel, Padua, frsc.	fig. 36.
52	14th C.	Giovanni da Modena, S. Petronio, Bologna, frsc.	Chastel, *Sistine Chapel*, p. 183.
53	1308	Cavallini (and assistants), Sta Maria, Naples, frsc.	Schmeckebier, *Handbook*, p. 9.
54	c.1310	Giovanni Pisano, Pisa Duomo, Pulpit, marble, sc.	Ayrton, *Giovanni Pisano*, fig. 299.
55	1310	S. Lorenzo, Genoa, frsc.	Nelson, 'Genoa,' fig. 3.
56	1317–20	Pietro da Rimini, Sant' Agostino, frsc.	Smart, *Italian Painting*, fig. 163.

57	c. 1320	Christ in Chora, Constantinople, msc.	Rice, *Byzantine Art*, plate 6.[3]
58	1336	Maso di Banco (Giottino), Bardi chapel, S. Croce, Florence, frsc.	Schmeckebier, *Handbook*, p. 29.
59	14th C.	Bolognese school, Pinacoteca, Bologna, alt.	fig. 41
60	1345–57	Nardo di Cione, Strozzi chapel, S. Maria Novella, Florence, frsc.	figs. 37, 38.
61	1349	Lombard school, Milan, S Viboldone, frsc.	Schmeckebier, *Handbook*, p. 64.
62	c1350	Orcagna, Sta Croce, Florence, frsc. (fragments).	fig. 39.
63	mid 14C.	Follower of Giotto, Bargello, Florence, fragment, frsc.	fig. 43.
64	mid 14C	Master of the Bambino Vispo, alt. (now in Munich).	fig. 42.
65	1355	Magl. II.I, 212, f. 64v. Florence, Biblioteca Nationale, m/s.	Meiss, *Florence & Siena*, fig. 90.
66	1360	Traini (or Orcagna or Buffalmacco) Campo Santo, Pisa, frsc.	fig. 40.
67	mid 14C	Niccolo di Tommaso, Livorno, alt.	Meiss, *Florence and Siena*, p. 76.
68	1365	Andrea da Firenze, Spanish Chapel, S. Maria Novella, Florence, frsc.	Schmeckebier, *Handbook*, p. 32.
69	1368	Lombard school, Church of Lentate, Milan, frsc.	Schmeckebier, *Handbook*, p. 64.
70	1370s	Antonio Veneziano, Torre degli Angeli, frsc.	Schmeckebier, *Handbook*, p. 36

[3]For other eastern, Byzantine examples see *ibid*, and Hughye, *Larousse*.

Fifteenth Century

71	1424	Jan van Eyck, New York, Metropolitan Museum, alt.	fig. 27.
72	1430	Stephan Lochner, Cologne, alt.	Réau, *Iconographie*, p. 756.
73	1430	Fra Angelico (or follower), San Marco, Florence, alt.	fig. 45.
74	1430's	Fra Angelico, Galleria Corsini, Rome, alt.	fig. 44.
75	1445–48	Fra Angelico (or Zanobi Strozzi), Berlin, alt.	Pope–Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, fig. XXXIII.
76	c. 1445	Fra Angelico, Orvieto, frsc.	Pope–Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, fig. 121.
77	15th C.	Bertoldo di Giovanni, medallion.	De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, vol. 5, fig. 276.
78	1445	Giovanni di Paolo, Bologna, alt.	De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, vol. 5, fig. 270.
79	1445–52	Rogier van der Weyden, Beaune, alt.	fig. 28.
80	1448	Vecchietta, Sta Maria Annunziata, Siena, frsc.	Van Os, *Vecchietta*, fig. 28.
81	1455	Petrus Christus, Berlin, alt.	Friedlander, *Early Netherlandish*, vol. 1, fig. 77a.
82	mid 15C	Domenico di Bartolo, Sta Maria della Scala, Siena, frsc.	Réau, *Iconographie*, p. 749.
83	c1470	Dieric Bouts, Munich, alt.	Friedlander, *Early Netherlandish*, vol. 3, plate 126.
84	1471	Ulm cathedral, archway, frsc.	Künstle, *Ikonographie*, p. 548.
85	1473	Hans Memlinc, Notre Dame, Danzig, triptych.	Friedlander, *Early Netherlandish*, vol. 6a, fig. 8.
86	1488	Voronets, Moldavia, frsc.	Stryzgowski, *Art Chrétien*,

			plate 58.
87	c. 1490	Neamt, Moldavia, frsc.	Bréhier, *Art Chrétien*, p. 184.
88	1490	Martin Schongauer, Brisach, frsc.	Réau, *Iconographie*, p. 756.
89	1496	Illustration to Savonarola's, *Arte del ben Morire*, woodcut.	fig. 47.
90	1499–1500	Fra Bartolommeo, San Marco, Florence, frsc.	fig. 46.

Sixteenth Century

91	1500	Albi Cathedral, fresco	Bréhier, *Art Chrétien*, p. 394.
92	1500	Signorelli, Capella Brizio, Orvieto, fresc.	figs. 48, 49.
93	c. 1500	Cranach, Berlin, alt.	Bax, *Bosch and Cranach*, fig. 1.
94	1503–04	Bosch, Venice, alt.	Bax, *Bosch and Cranach*, fig. 11
95	1510	Dürer,[4] Washington, woodcut	Harbison, *Last Judgment*, fig. 13
96	1525	Jean Provost, Bruges, alt.	Friedlander, *Early Netherlandish*, vol. 2, fig. 207.
97	1526	Lucas van Leyden, Leyden, alt.	Friedlander, *Early Netherlandish*, vol. 10, fig. 113.
98	1533–41	Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, frsc.	see fig. 1 and details.

Post–Michelangelo[5]

99	1546–56	Pontormo, S Lorenzo, drawing for frsc., now destroyed.	fig. 67.
100	1551	Pieter Pourbus, Musée Communal de Beaux Arts, Bruges, alt.	De Maio, *Michelangelo*, fig. 19.

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

[5]Versions 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.	Benesch, *Renaissance*, fig. 74.
102	1560	Giorgio Vasari, S Maria del Fiore, Florence, frsc.	fig. 68.
103	1565	Tintoretto, Madonna dell'Orto, Venice, oil on canvas.	Newton, *Tintoretto*, fig. 18.
104	1580–83	Bastianinio, Ferrara cathedral, apse frsc.	De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, vol. 5, fig. 289.
105	1589	Tintoretto, oil sketch for *Paradiso*, Louvre, Paris.	fig. 69.
106	1589	Tintoretto, *Paradiso*, Doge's Palace, Venice.	Réau, *Iconographie*, p. 756.
107	1615–19	Rubens, Munich, oil on canvas	fig. 70.
108	1618–20	Rubens, Munich, oil on canvas	Baudouin, *Rubens*, p. 190.

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	Copernicu *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 Emmendanda 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[1]

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.

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[1]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[1]

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 exortation 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 Schönberg, 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 reqested 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 exorted 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.]

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[1]Written in 1542, from Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus*, ed. cit., pp. 3–6.

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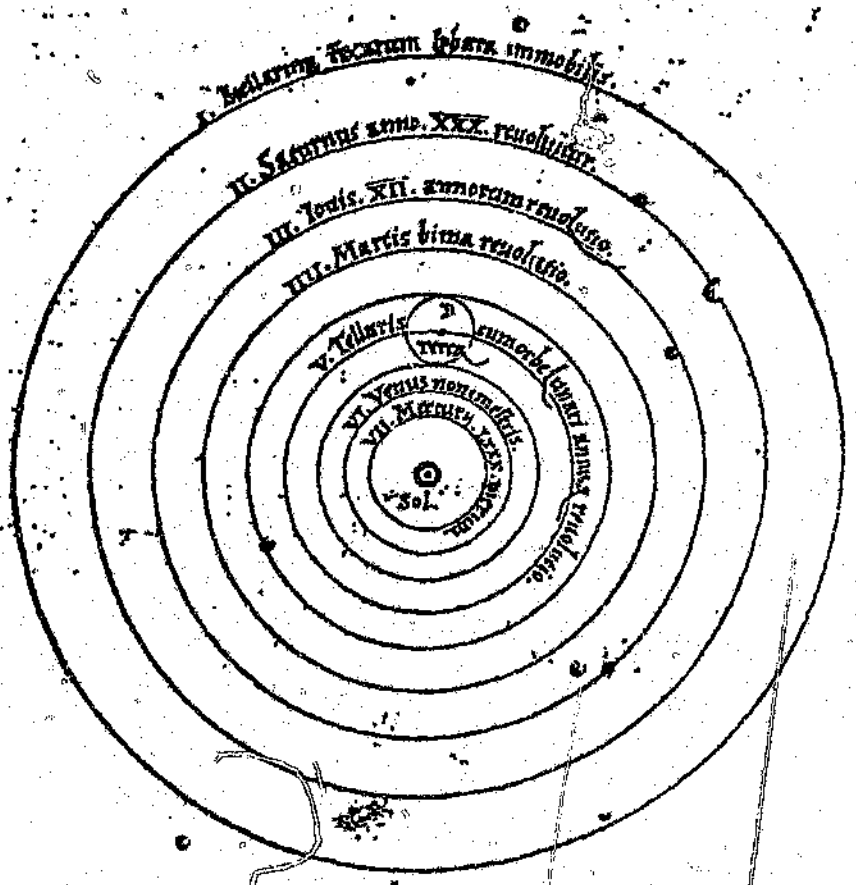
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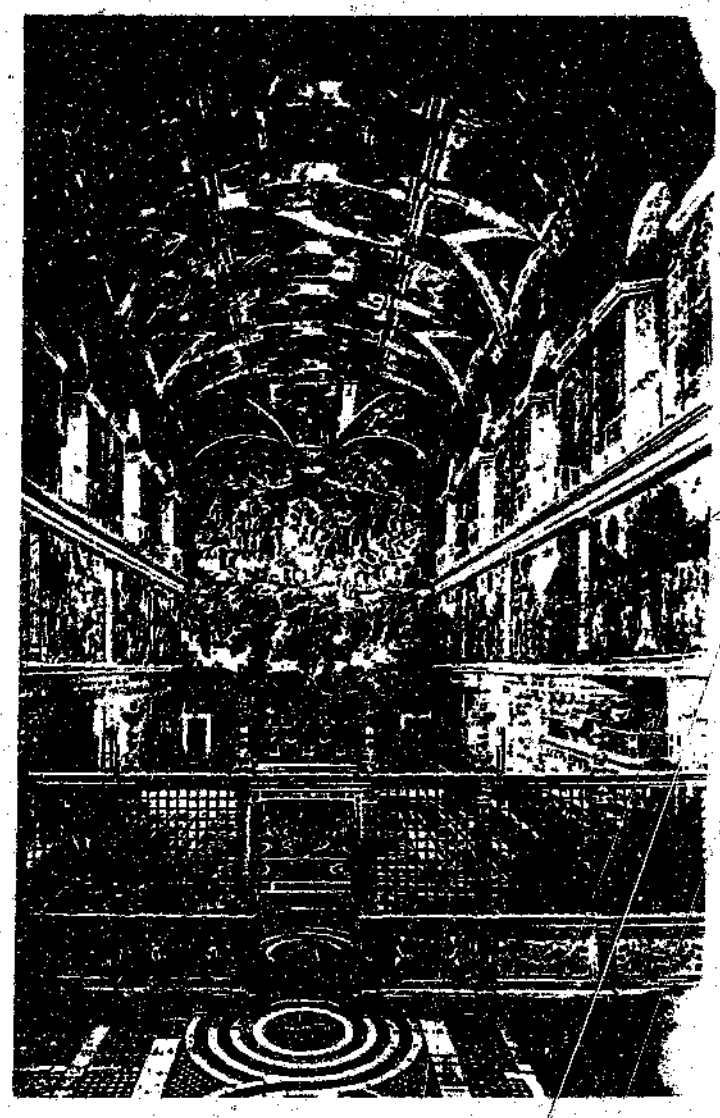
1 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment* (1536–41). Fresco, (13.7 x 12.2m), Sistine Chapel, Vatican City, Rome.

net, in quo terram cum orbe lunari tanquam epicyclo contineri diximus. Quinto loco Venus nono mense reducitur. Sextum denique locum Mercurius tenet, octuaginta dierum spacio circũ currens. In medio uero omnium residet Sol. Quis enim in hoc

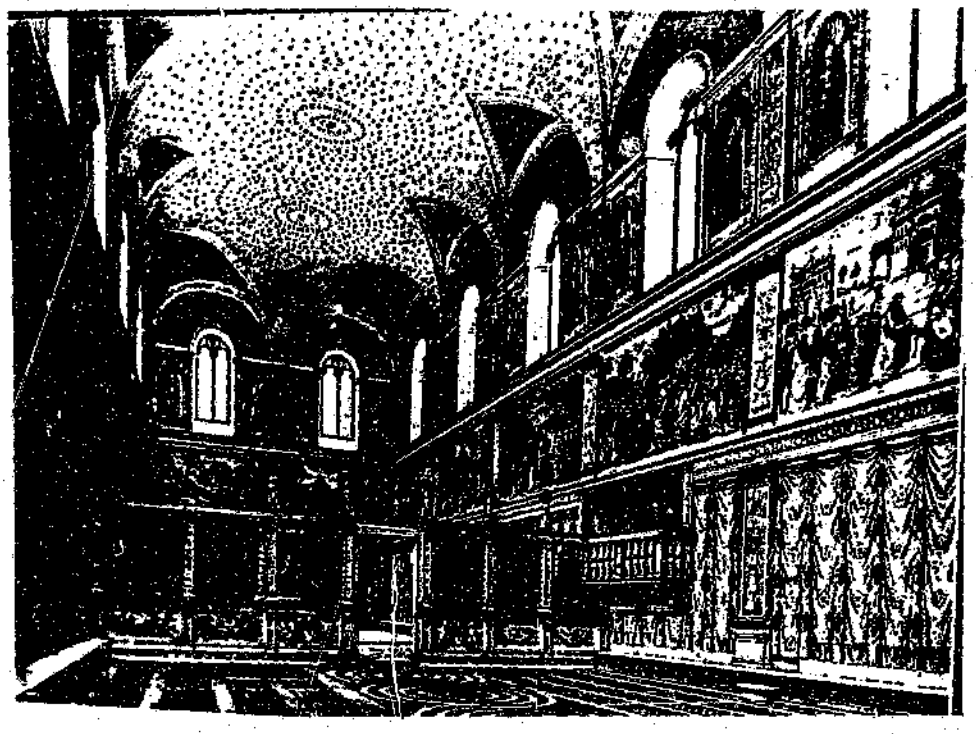


pulcherimo templo lampadem hanc in alio uel meliori loco poneret, quàm unde totum simul possit illuminare? Siquidem non inepte quidam lucernam mundi, alij mentem, alij rectorem uocant. Trimegistus uisibilem Deum, Sophoclis Electra intuentẽ omnia. Ita profecto tanquam in solio regali Sol residens circum agentem gubernat Astrorum familiam. Tellus quoq; minime fraudatur lunari ministerio, sed ut Aristoteles de animalibus ait, maximã Luna cũ terra cognationẽ habet. Concipit interea à Sole terra, & impregnatur annuo partu. Inuenimus igitur sub his

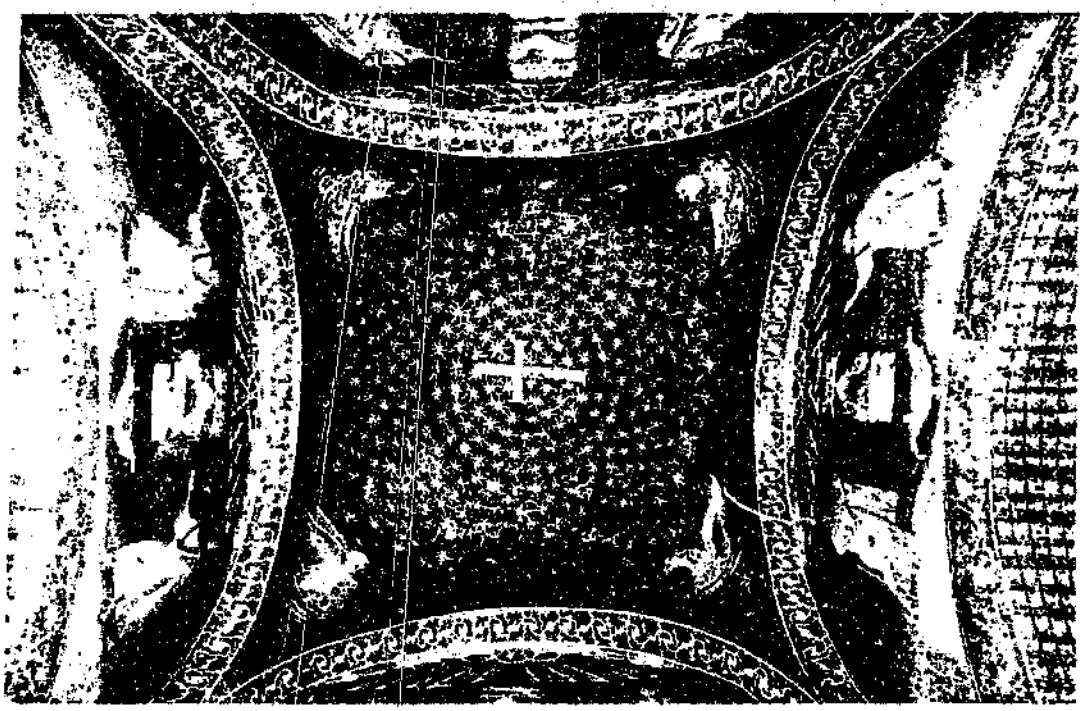
2 Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*, Book 1, chapter 10, in its printed form. Houghton Library, Harvard University.



3 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.



6 *Resurrection of Christ*, fifth century. Ivory panel, Bavarian National Museum, Munich.



7 Zanobbi Strozzi (or Fra Angelico), *Annunciation*, 1430–45. Panel from S Domenico, Fiesole, 192 x 192cm., Prado, Madrid.



8 Andrea Verrochio, *Baptism of Christ*, c. 1470–73. Panel, 177 x 151cm. Uffizi, Florence.



9 Unknown Sicilian–Byzantine Artist, *God Creating the Universe*, c. 1175. Mosaic, Cathedral of Monreale, Sicily.



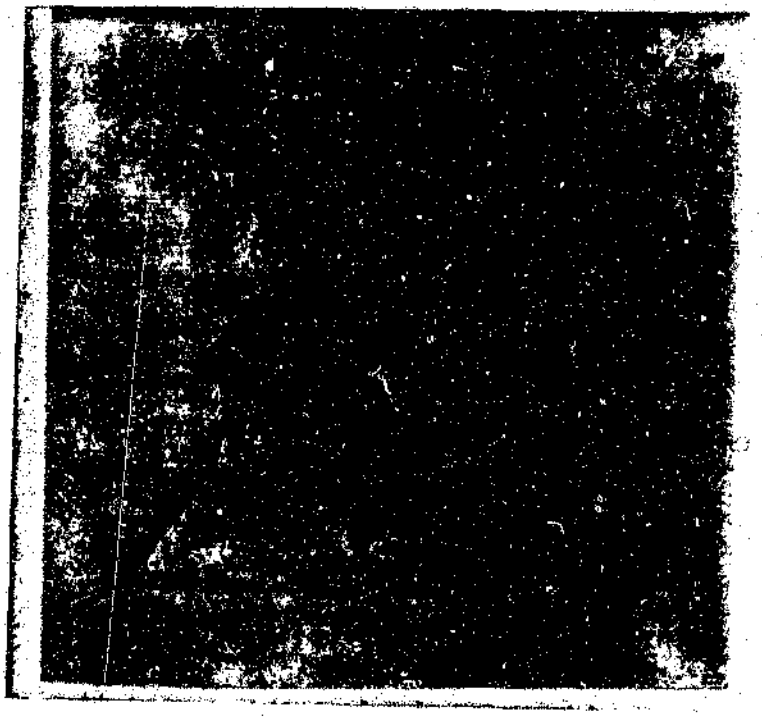
10 ***Christ enthroned on the Sphere of the Universe***, first quarter sixth century. Apse mosaic, S. Vitale, Ravenna.



11 *Theophany*, c. 520. Floor mosaic, Beth Alpha.



12 *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, c. 432–430. Mosaic, S Maria Maggiore, Rome.



13 Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography* (Vat. Gr. 699), diagram of the Universe, sixth century. Vatican Library, Rome.



14 Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography* (Vat. Gr. 699), cross-sectional diagram of the Universe, sixth century. Vatican Library, Rome.



15 Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Last Judgment* (Vat. Gr. 699), sixth century. Vatican Library, Rome.



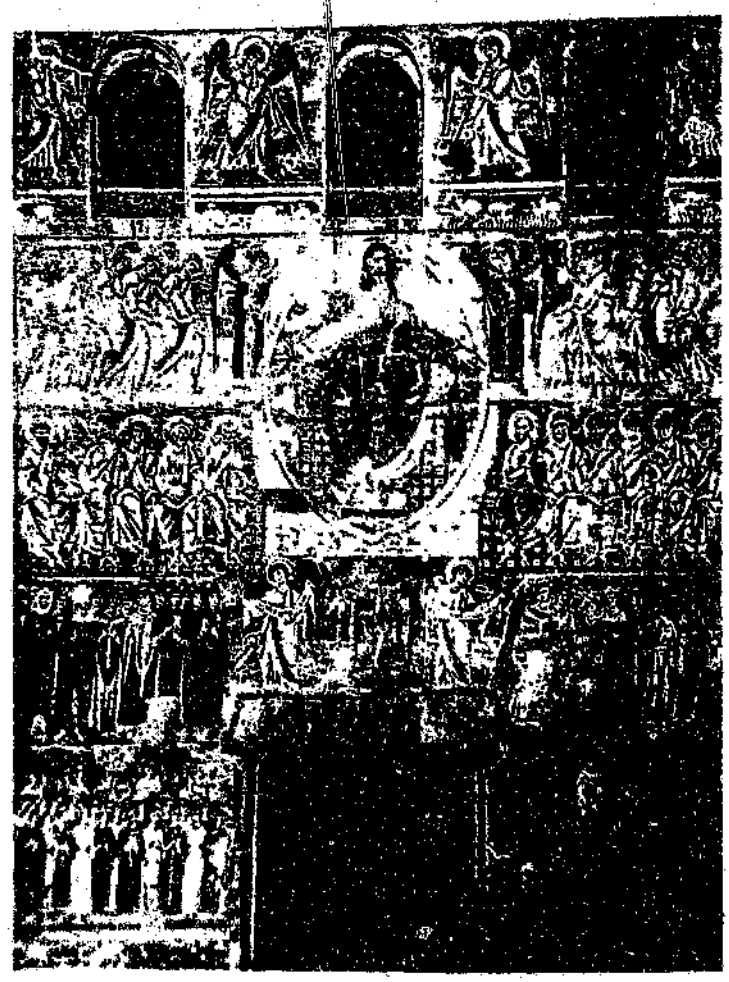
16 *Sacra Parallela*, (fol. 67v, Ms. gr. 923) ninth century. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



17 *Last Judgment*, Wolfenbutteler Evangeliar, 1194.



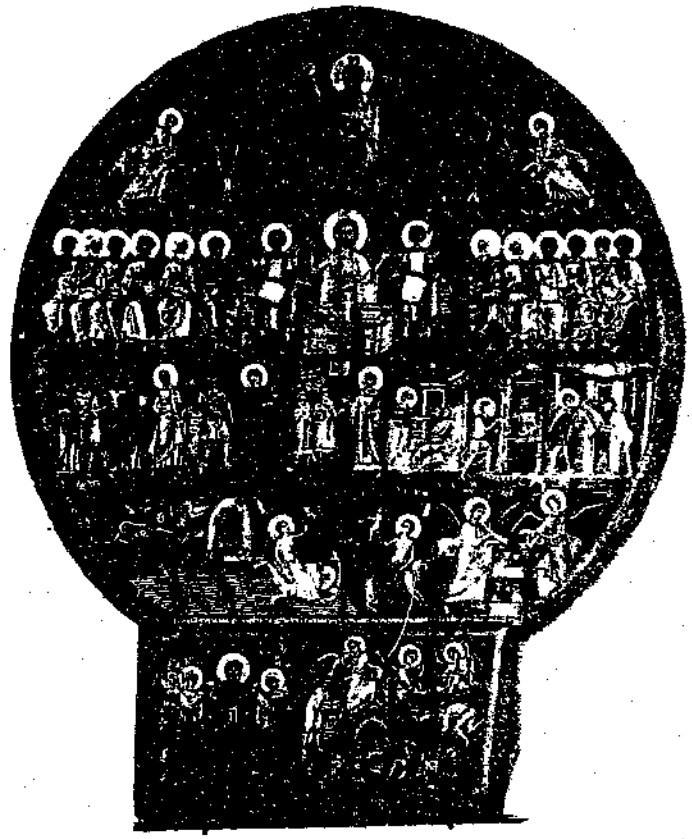
18 *Last Judgment*, 1100. Fresco, St George, Oberzell (monastery of Reichenau).



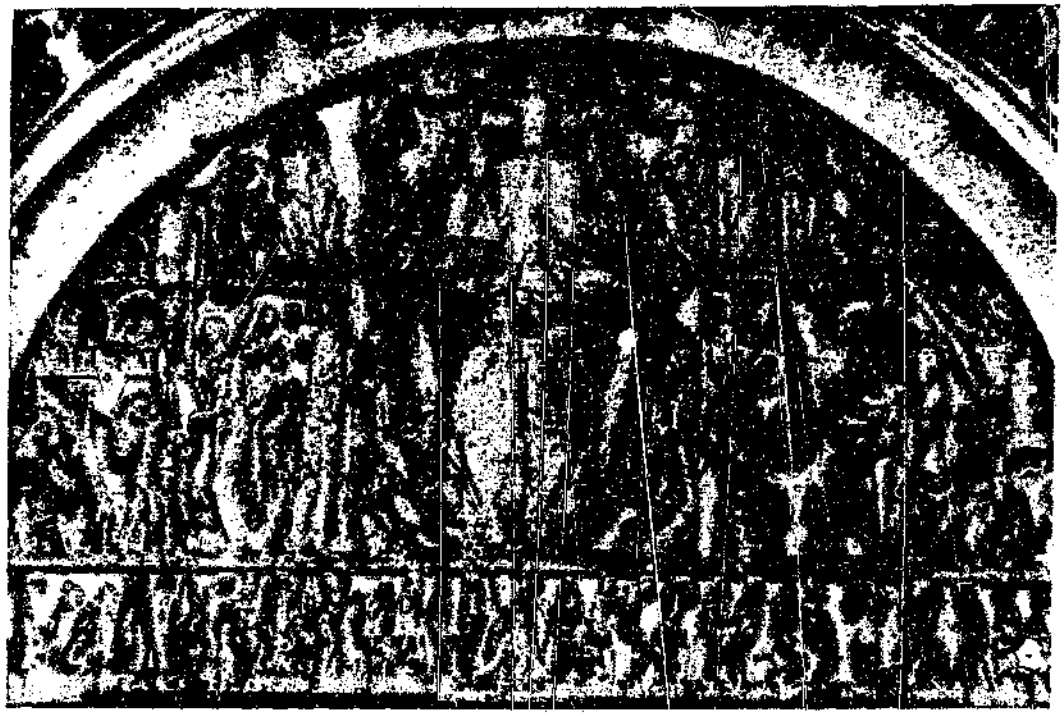
19 *Last Judgment*, 1072–87. Fresco, Sant' Angelo in Formis.



20 *Last Judgment*, twelfth century. Mosaic, Sta Maria Assunta, Torcello.



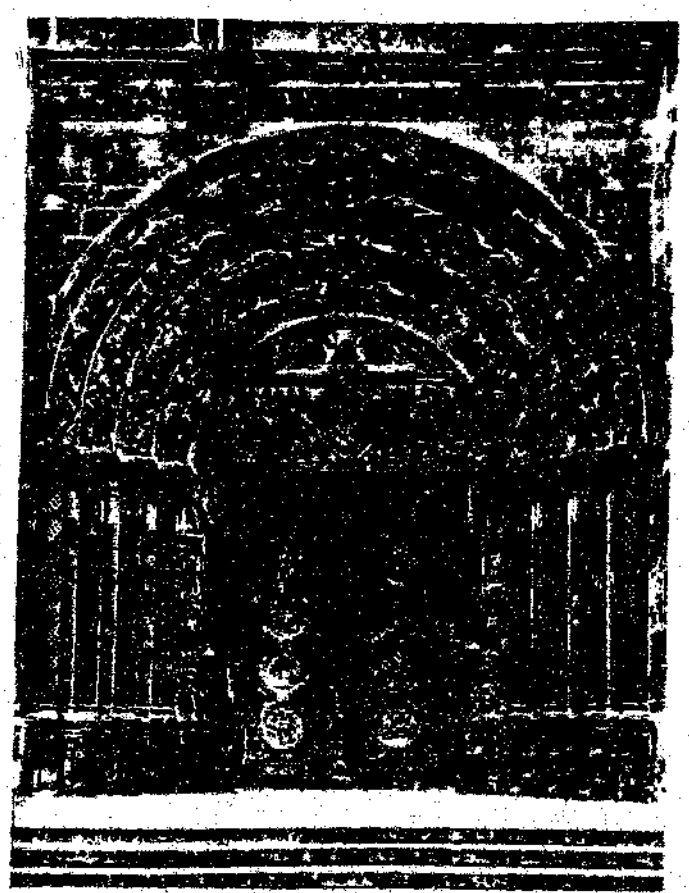
21 *Last Judgment*, twelfth century. Altarpiece, Vatican Gallery, Rome.



22 *Last Judgment*, 1130–1140. Tympanum, West Portal, Autun Cathedral.



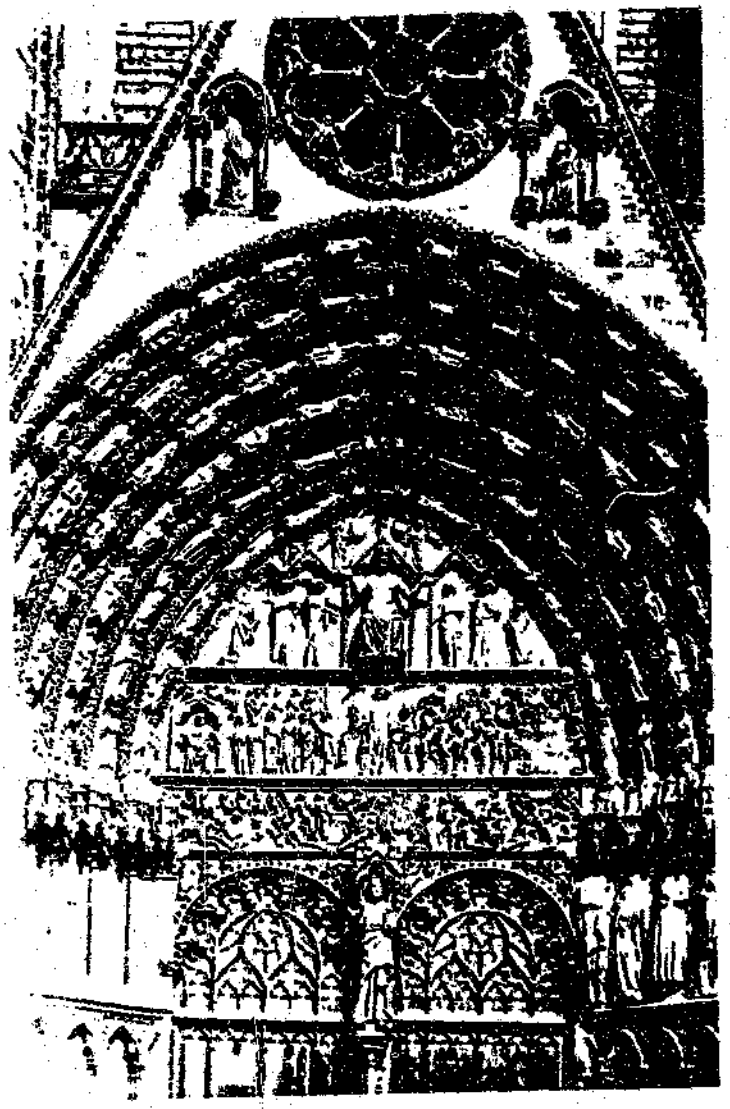
23 *Last Judgment*, c. 1140. Tympanum, West Portal, Sainte Foy, Conques.



24 *Last Judgment*, 1135–1140. Tympanum, West Portal, St Denis, Paris.



25 *Last Judgment*, 1163–1250. Tympanum, West Portal, Paris, Notre Dame.



26 *Last Judgment*, 123o–1265. Tympanum, West Portal, Bourges Cathedral.



27 Jan Van Eyck, *Last Judgment*, c. 1424. Panel of Altarpiece, 56.5 x 19.5cm., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



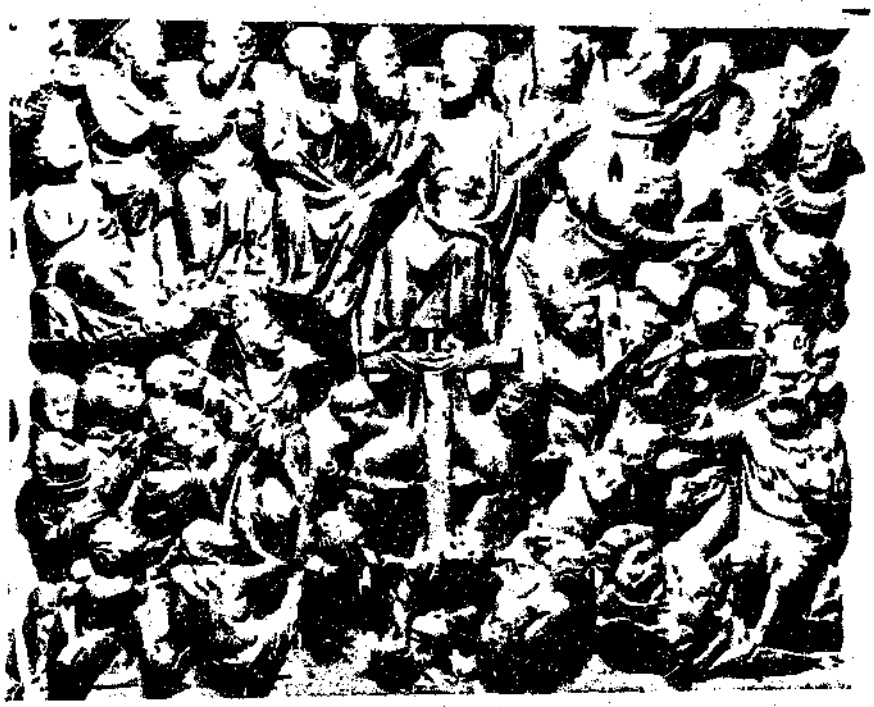
28 Rogier van der Weyden, *Last Judgment*, after 1450. Central section of altarpiece, Hospice de Beaune.



27 Jan Van Eyck, *Last Judgment*, c. 1424. Panel of Altarpiece, 56.5 x 19.5cm., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



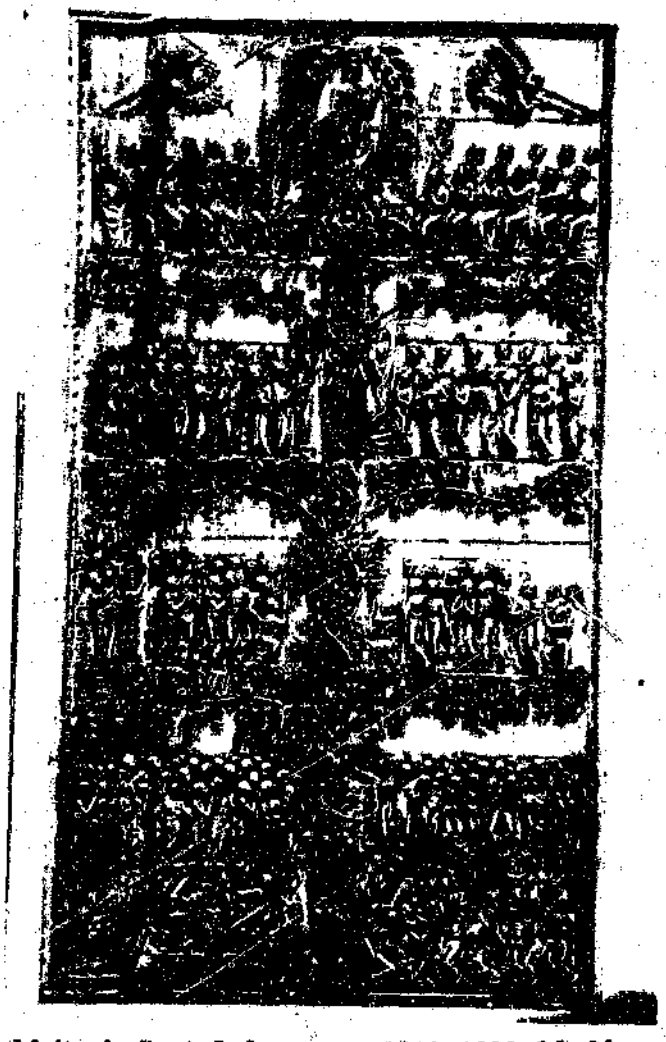
28 Rogier van der Weyden, *Last Judgment*, after 1450. Central section of altarpiece, Hospice de Beaune.



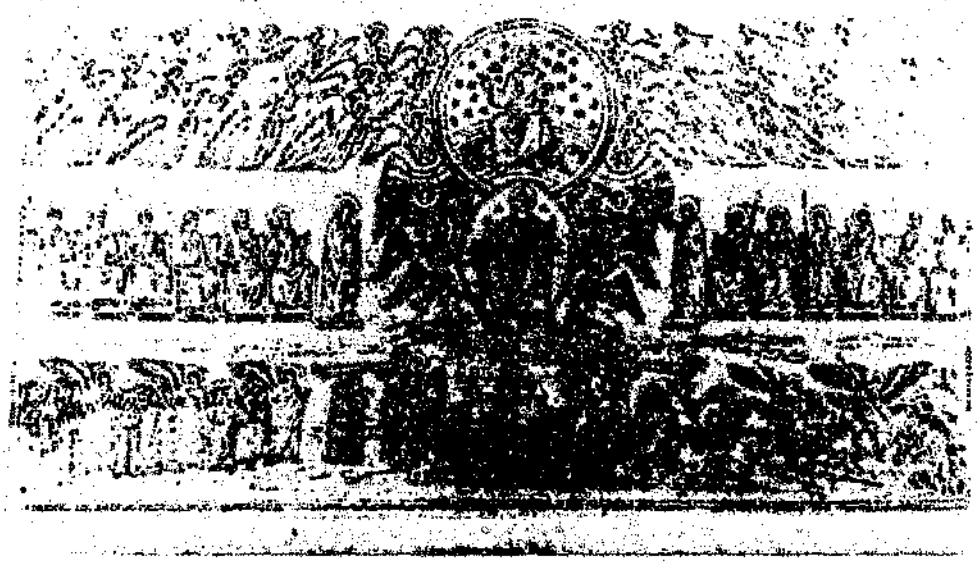
29 Giovanni Pisano, *Last Judgment*, 1297. Marble pulpit, panel 85 x 105cm. Sant' Andrea, Pistoia.



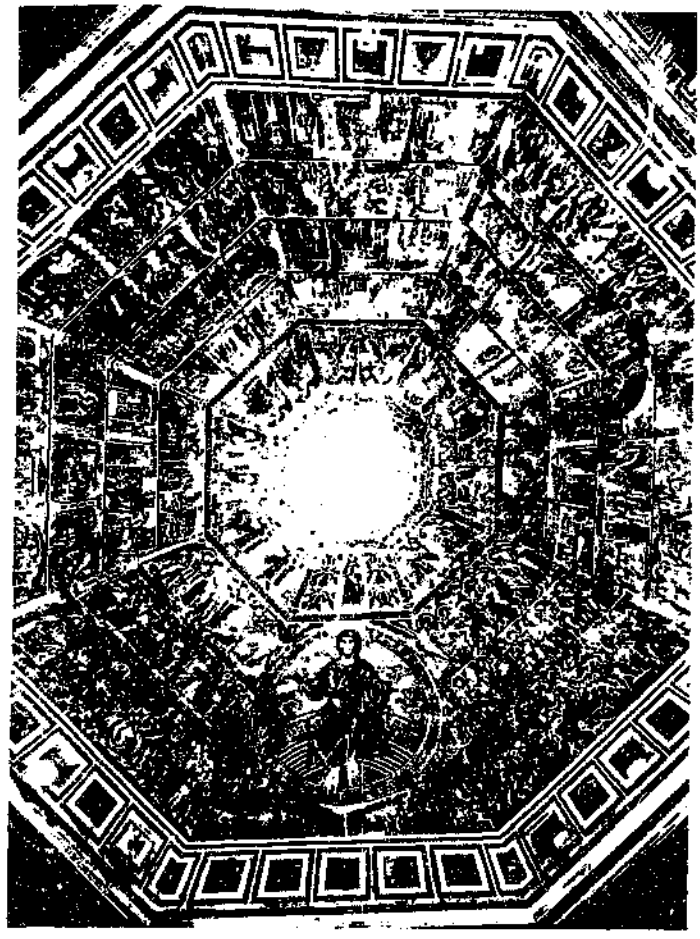
30 *Last Judgment*, before 1246. Fresco, Chapel of St Sylvestro, SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome.



31 Lorenzo Maitani, *Last Judgment*, c. 1310–1330. Marble panel from the façade, Orvieto Cathedral.



32 Pietro Cavallini, *Last Judgment*, c. 1293. Fresco, (reconstruction after Wilpert), Sta Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome.



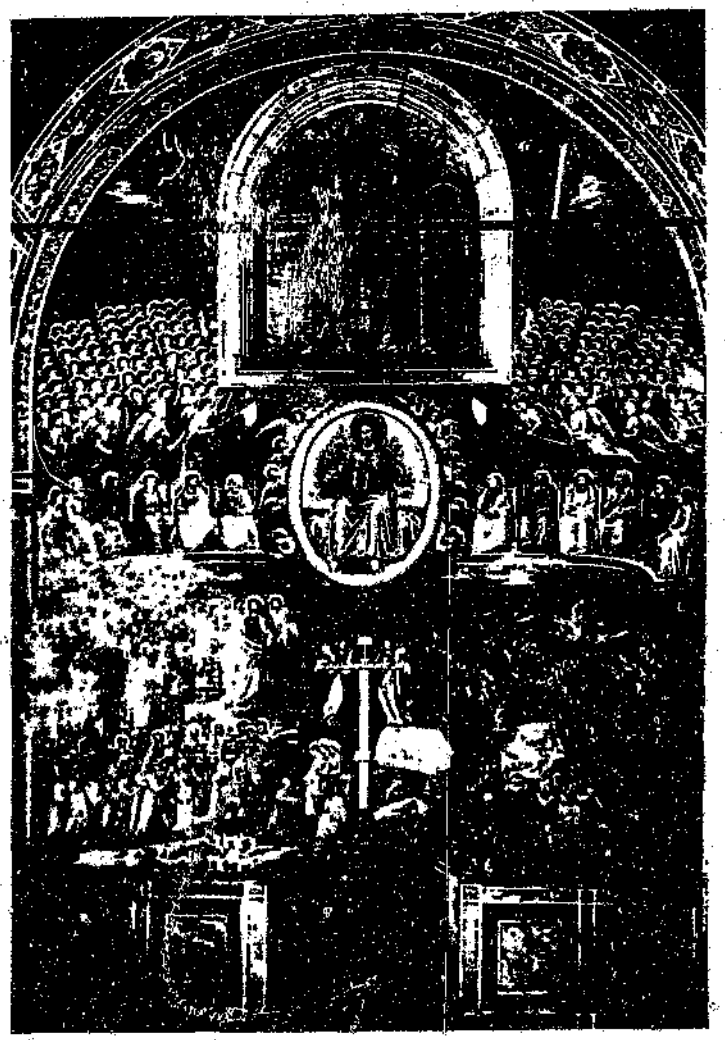
33 Coppo di Marcovaldo (attributed), *Last Judgment*, late thirteenth century. Mosaic of the vault, Baptistery, Florence.



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



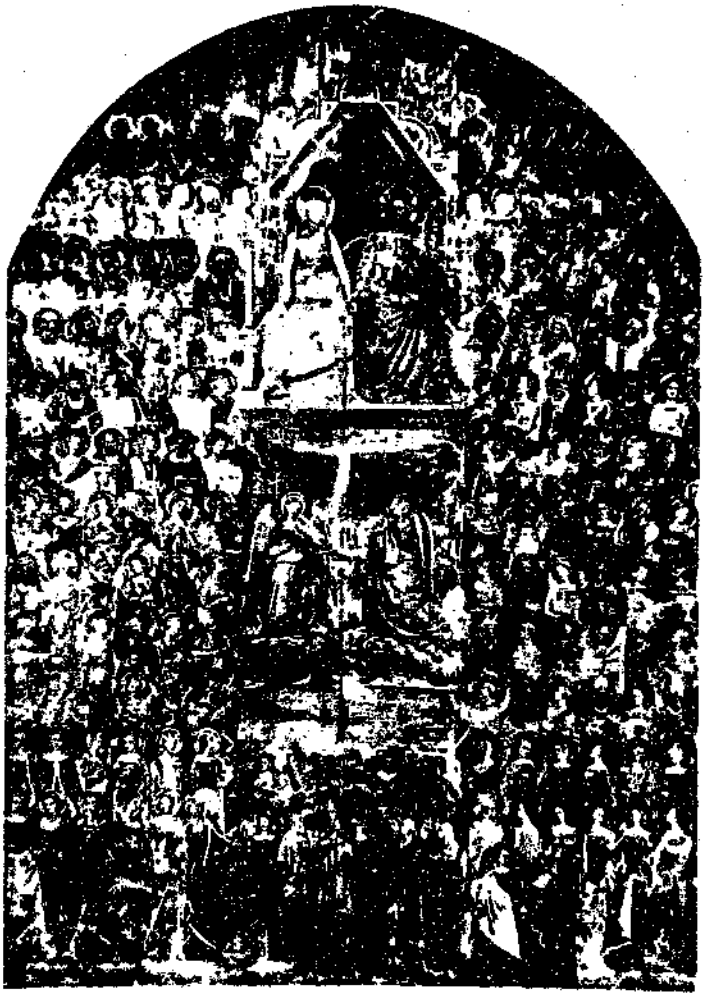
35 Cimabue, *Last Judgment*, c. 1290. Fresco, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi.



36 Giotto, *Last Judgment*, c. 1305. Fresco, Arena Chapel, Padua.



36 Giotto, *Last Judgment*, c. 1305. Fresco, Arena Chapel, Padua.



37 Nardo di Cione, *Paradise*, 1345–57. Fresco, Strozzi chapel, Sta Maria Novella, Florence.





39 Andrea Orcagna, *Last Judgment*, fragment, c. 1350. Fresco, Museo dell'Opera di Santa Croce, Florence.



40 Francesco Traini, *Last Judgment*, c. 1360. Fresco, Campo Santo, Pisa.



41 Unknown Bolognese artist, *Last Judgment*, fourteenth century. Altarpiece, Pinacoteca, Bologna.



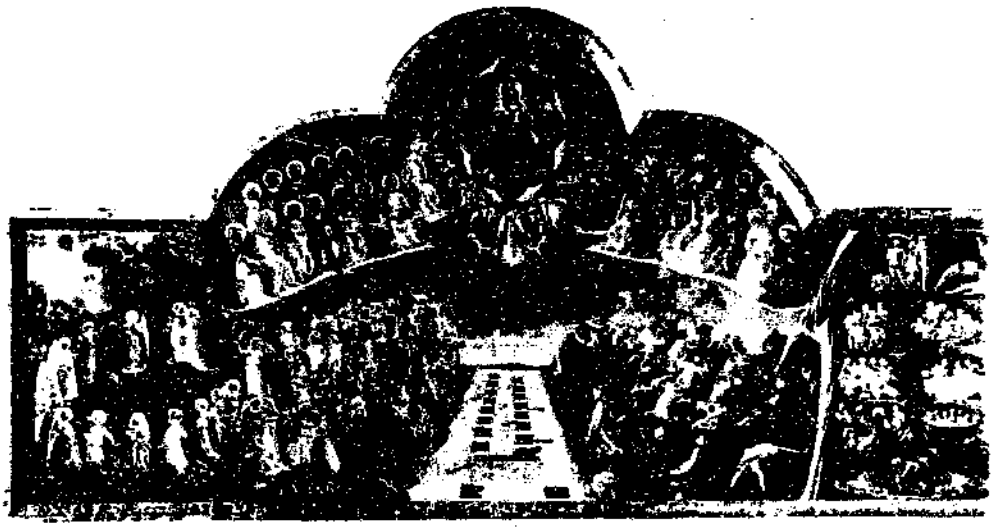
42 Master of the Bambino Vispo, *Last Judgment*, late fourteenth century. Altarpiece, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



43 Follower of Giotto, *Last Judgment*, fourteenth century. Fresco, the Magdalene Chapel, Bargello, Florence.



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



45 Fra Angelico (otherwise attributed to Zanobi Strozzi), *Last Judgment*, c. 1440. Altarpiece, 105 x 310cm., Museo di San Marco, Florence.



46 Fra Bartolommeo, *Last Judgment*, 1499–1500. Fresco, 340 x 360cm, Museum of San Marco, Florence.



47 Illustration to Savonarola, *Predica dell'arte del ben morire*, 1496, Florence. Woodcut, Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.



48 Luca Signorelli, *Resurrection of the Dead*, 1500–1504. Fresco, San Brizio Chapel, Orvieto Cathedral.



49 Luca Signorelli, *The Damned*, 1500–1504. Fresco, San Brizio Chapel, Orvieto Cathedral.



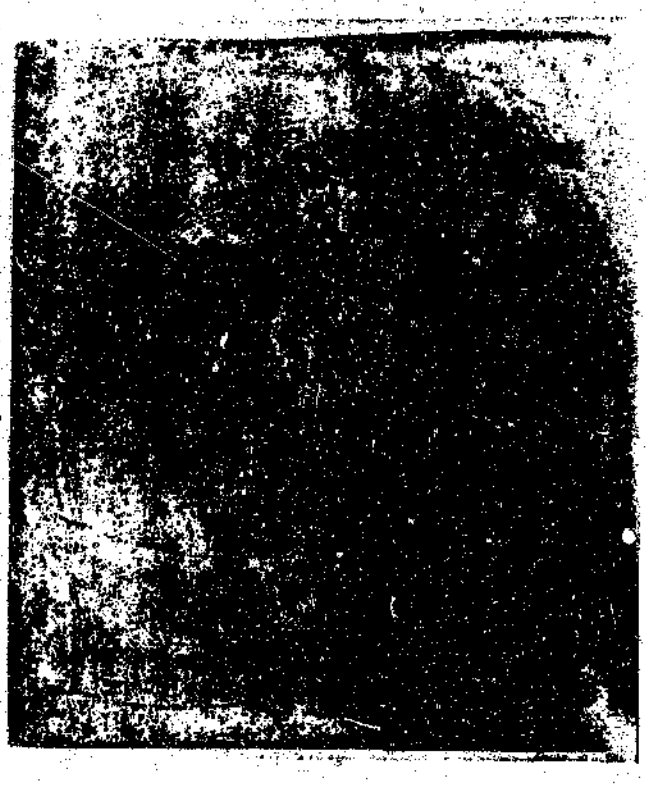
48 Luca Signorelli, *Resurrection of the Dead*, 1500–1504. Fresco, San Brizio Chapel, Orvieto Cathedral.



49 Luca Signorelli, *The Damned*, 1500–1504. Fresco, San Brizio Chapel, Orvieto Cathedral.



50 Michelangelo, *Sketch for the composition of the Last Judgment*, c. 1534. Black chalk, 418 x 297mm., (Corpus 347 recto) Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



51 Michelangelo, *Study for the Last Judgment*, c. 1533. Black chalk, 345 x 290mm., (Corpus 346 recto) Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.



52 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, schematic diagram (with circles).



53 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, schematic diagram (with diagonal 'rays').



54 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.



55 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, Christ.



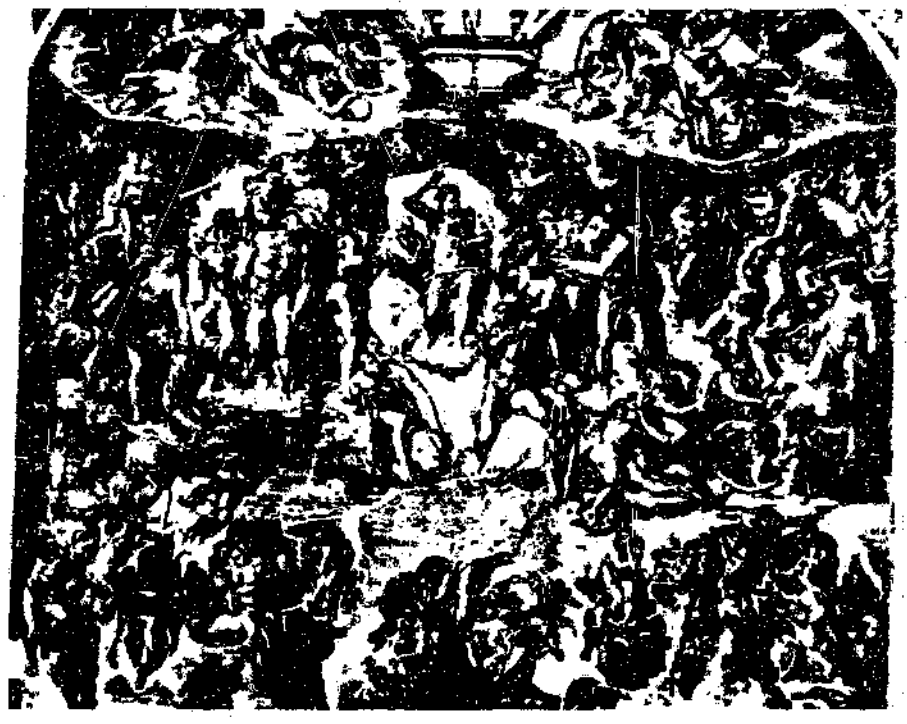
56 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, St John the Baptist.



57 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, St Peter.



58 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, SS Lawrence and Bartholomew.



59 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, outer circle of figures.



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



61 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, the right lunette.



62 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, group of trumpeting Angels.



63 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, group of rising figures, lower left.



64 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, group of falling figures, lower right.



64 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, group of falling figures, lower right.



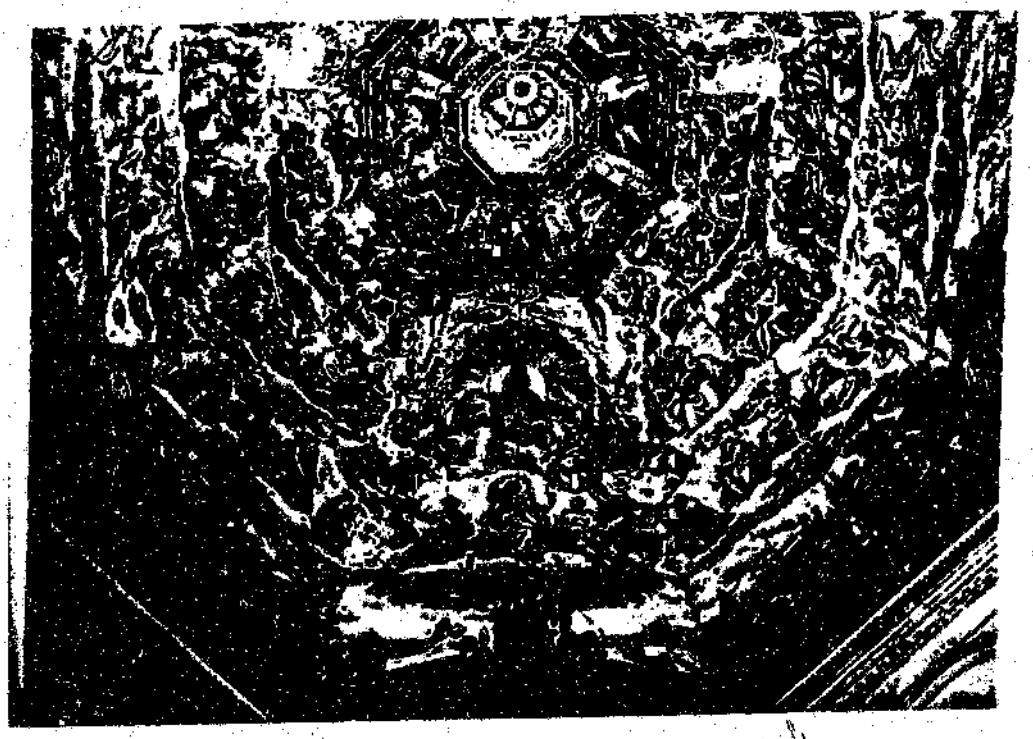
65 Marcello Venusti, copy of the *Last Judgment* of Michelangelo, 1549. Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.



66 Martinus Rota, copy of the *Last Judgment* of Michelangelo, 1569. Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



67 Jacopo Pontormo, study for *Christ in Glory*, Florence, San Lorenzo, 1546. Drawing, Uffizi, Florence.



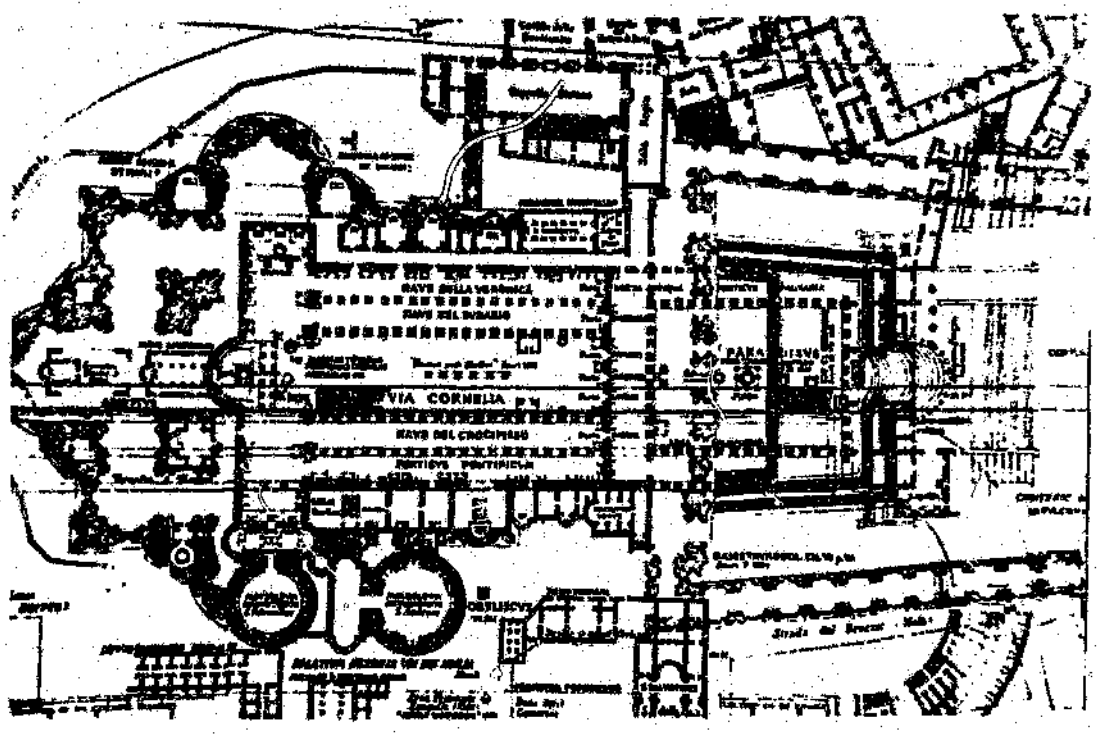
68 Giorgio Vasari, *Last Judgment*, 1560. Fresco, Sta Maria del Fiore, Florence.



69 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Paradiso*, 1589. Oil sketch for *Paradiso*, Doge's Palace, Venice; now in the Louvre, Paris.



70 Peter Paul Rubens, *Last Judgment*, 1615. Oil on canvas, 605 x 474cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



71 Detail from a plan of the Vatican area, showing orientation of St Peter's and the Sistine Chapel.



72 *The Good Shepherd*, early third century. Wall painting, diameter 710mm, Catacomb of St Callixtus, Crypt of Lucina, Rome.



73 *The Good Shepherd*, detail, c. 440. Mosaic, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna.



74 *Christ in Majesty*, c. 500. Apse mosaic, chapel of Sant'Aquilino, San Lorenzo, Milan.



75 *The Raising of Lazarus*, c. 520. Mosaic, S Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.



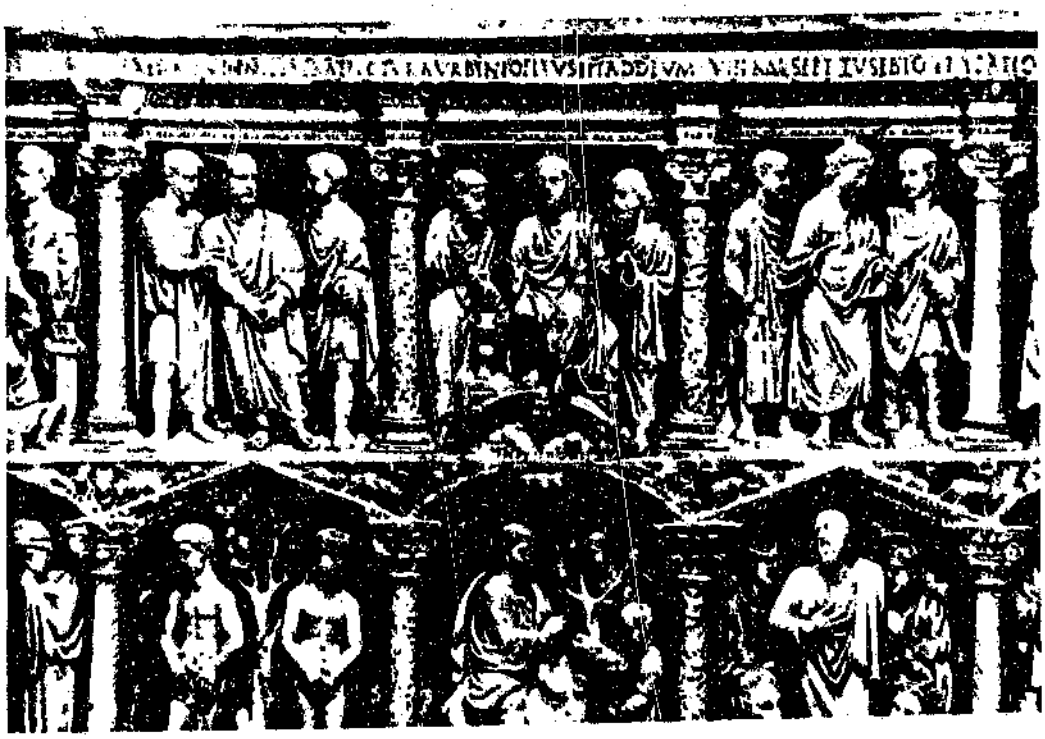
76 *Christ as the Sun–God*, third century. Mosaic, Cemetery under St Peter's, Tomb of the Julii, Rome.



77 *Abraham and Three Celestial Visitors*, c. 400–440. Mosaic, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.



78 Unknown Syrian artist, *Crucifixion*, mid–fifth century. Ivory, British Museum, London.



79 *Christ enthroned as Master of the Universe*, detail from the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, fourth century. Crypt of St Peter's, Rome.



80 *Christ in Majesty*, c. 870. Manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



81 *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.



82 *Christ the Saviour*, thirteenth century. Mosaic, north wall of nave, St Mark's, Venice.



83 Albrecht Dürer, *Sol Iustitiae* or *The Judge*, 1499. Engraving, 108 x 77mm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



84 Albrecht Dürer, *St John devouring the Book*, 1498. Woodcut from the *Apocalypse* series, 391 x 284mm. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.



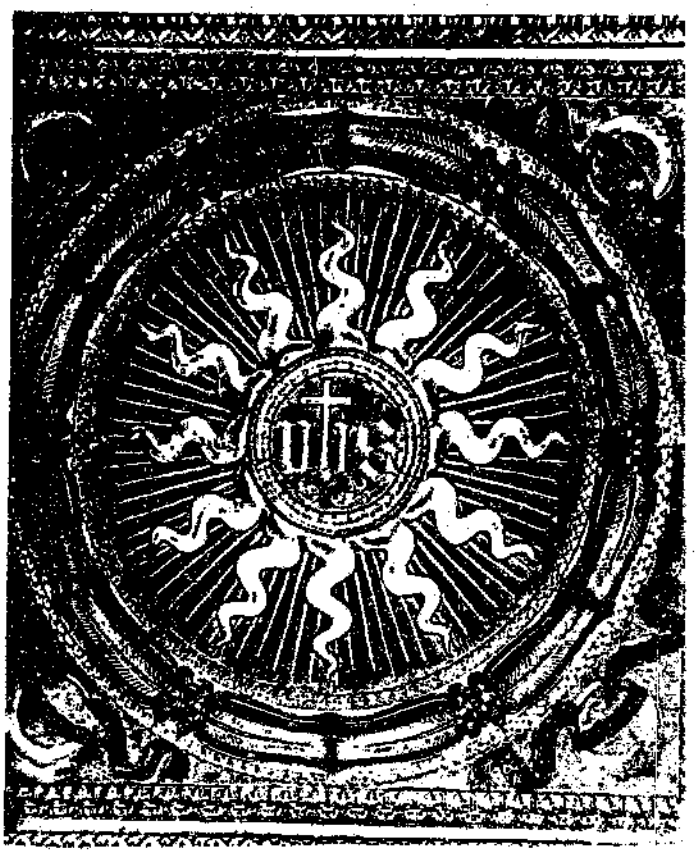
85 Andrea del Castagno, *Resurrection*, 1447–1449. Fresco, Refectory of Sant' Apollonia, Florence.



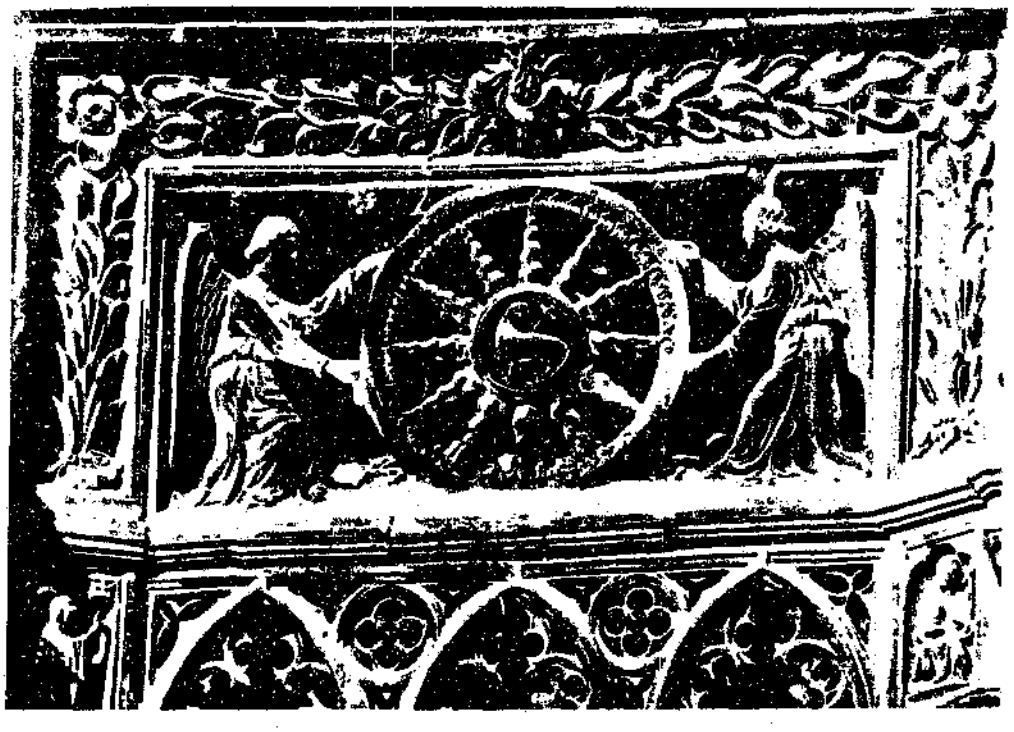
86 Sandro Botticelli, *Lamentation*, early 1490s. Panel, 207 x 140cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



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



88 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Trigram and Solar Symbol*, 1484–85. Fresco, detail, Medici chapel, Palazzo Medici, Florence.



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



90 Michelangelo, *Resurrection of Christ*, c. 1533. Black chalk, 326 x 286mm., British Museum, London.



91 Michelangelo, *Resurrection of Christ*, late 1532. Black chalk, 190 x



90 Michelangelo, *Resurrection of Christ*, c. 1533. Black chalk, 326 x 286mm., British Museum, London.



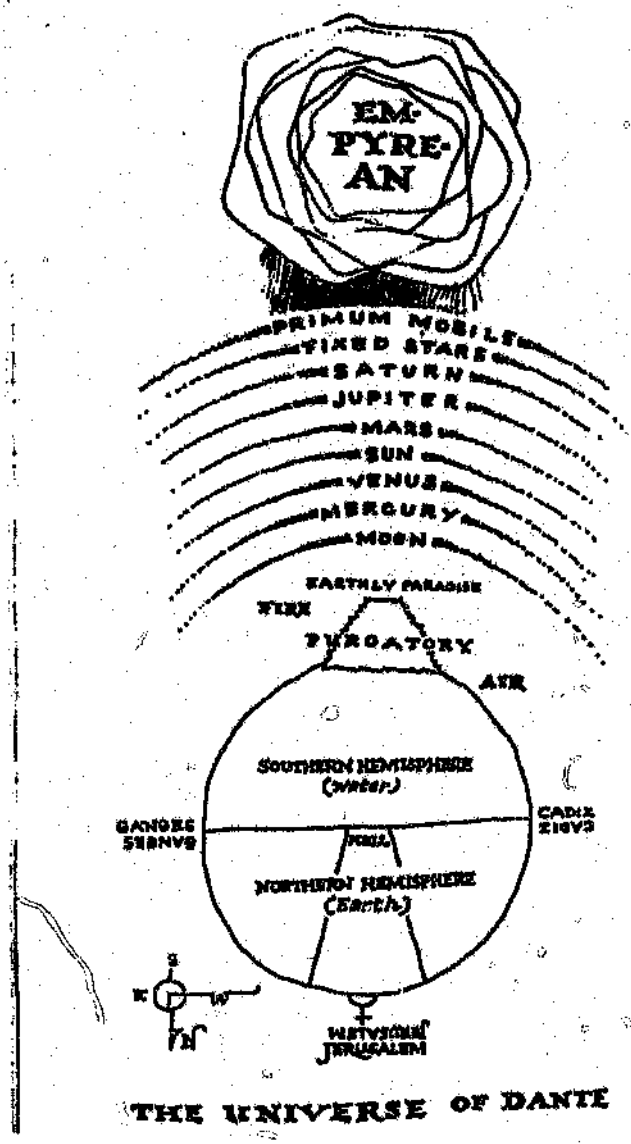
91 Michelangelo, *Resurrection of Christ*, late 1532. Black chalk, 190 x



92 Michelangelo, *Crucifixion* (for Vittoria Colonna), c. 1540–41. Black chalk, 370 x 270mm. London, British Museum.

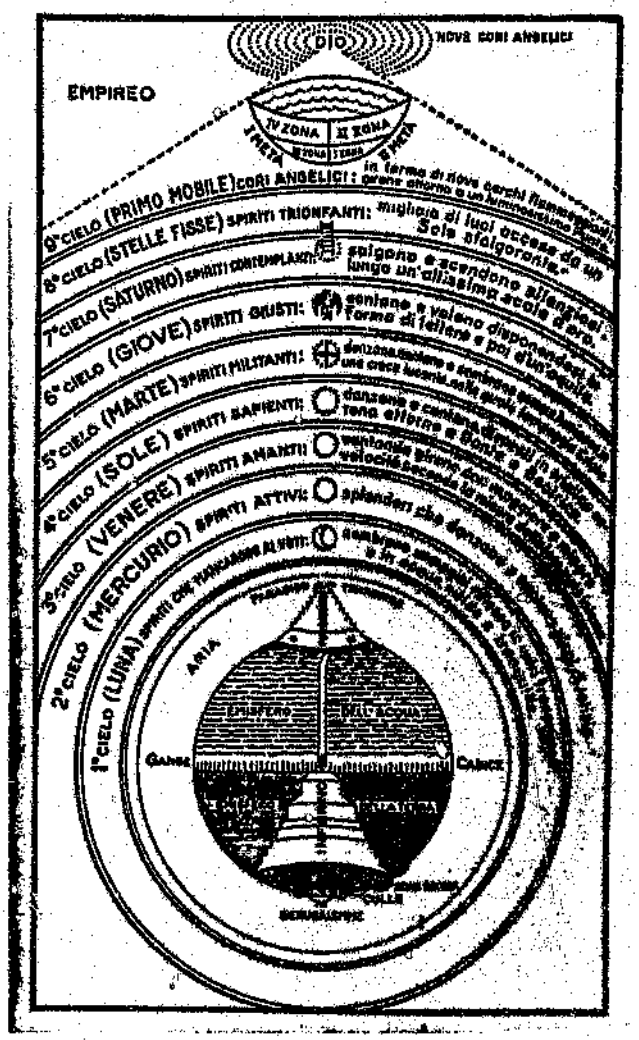


93 Domenico di Francesco (called Michelino), *Dante and his Poem*, 1465. Fresco, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence.



THE UNIVERSE OF DANTE

94 Modern Diagram of Dante's system of the Universe, drawn by B. Moser.



95 Modern Diagram of Dante's system of the Universe.



96 Diagram of Cosmos, Florentine, second half of fifteenth century. Tinted schematic drawing, 295 x 220mm., Biblioteca Riccardiana (1038, 240v), Florence.



97 *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.



98 Bartolommeo di Fruosino, *Topography of Hell*, c. 1420. Miniature, 265 x 365mm. (sheet), Bibliothèque Nationale (it. 74, 1v), Paris.



99 *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.



100 *Minos*, illustration to *Inferno* V, Florentine, 1405. Miniature, 400 x 293mm. (sheet), Biblioteca Trivulziana (2263, 16r), Milan.



101 Sandro Botticelli, *Lucifer*, illustration to *Inferno* XXXIV, 1480s–1497. Silverpoint/pen and ink on parchment, double sheet, 640 x 470mm., Staatliche Museen, East Berlin.



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.



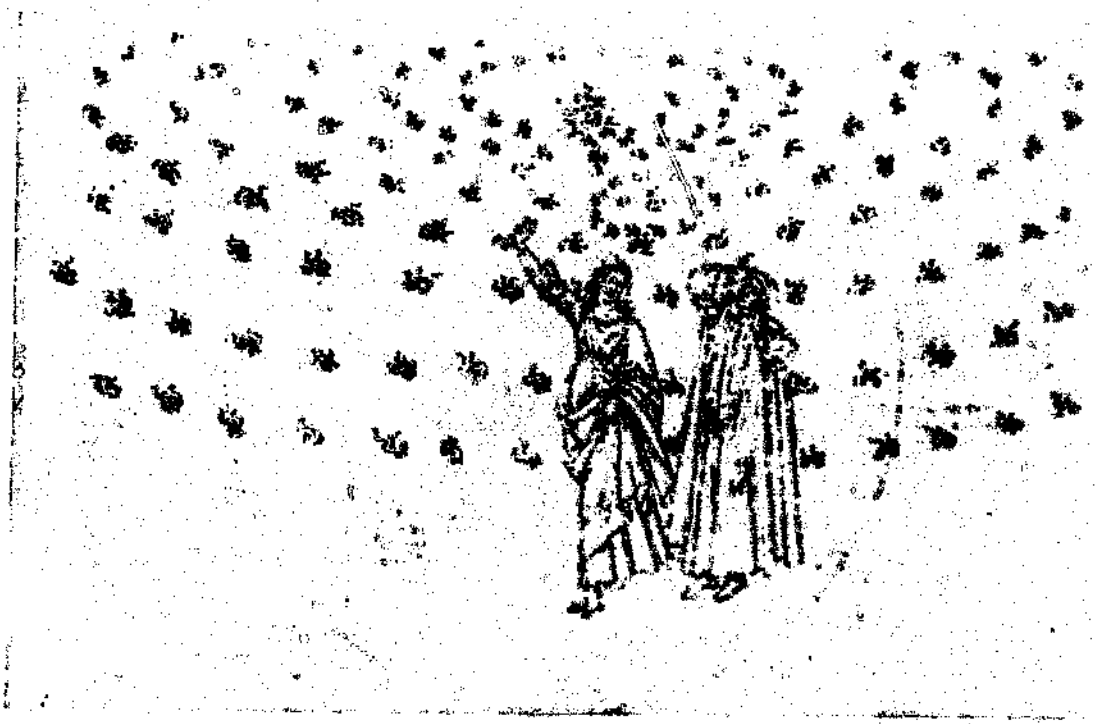
103 *Dante before Beatrice, who points to the Stars and the Sun*, illustration to *Purgatorio* XXXIII, North Italian, 1456.Tinted drawing, 255 x 350mm. (sheet), Biblioteca Laurenziana (Plut. 40.1, 206r), Florence.



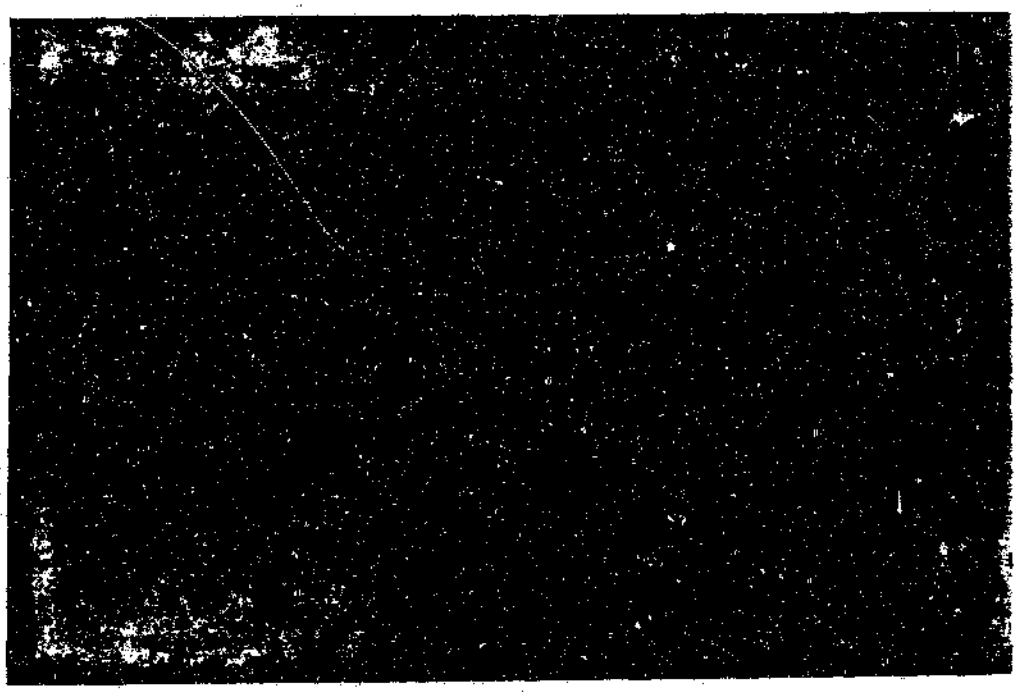
104 Giovanni di Paolo, *Beatrice and Dante hover beside the Heaven of the Sun*, illustration to *Paradiso* X, mid–fifteenth century. Miniature, 320 x 221mm. (sheet), British Museum (Yates Thompson 36, 146r), London.



105 Giovanni di Paolo, *Beatrice and Dante hover beside a circle of stars surrounding Christ*, illustration to *Paradiso* X, mid–fifteenth century. Miniature, 320 x 221mm. (sheet), British Museum (Yates Thompson 36, 170r), London.



106 Sandro Botticelli, illustration to *Paradiso* XXIII, 1480s–1497. Silverpoint/pen and ink on parchment, 320 x 470mm., Staatliche Museen, East Berlin.



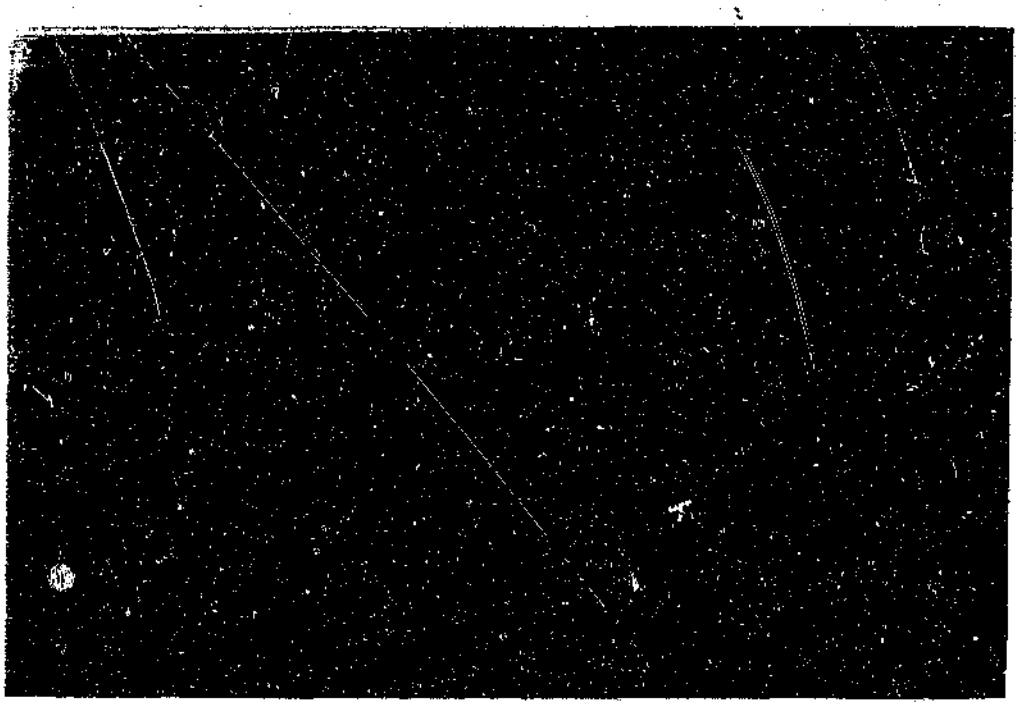
107 Sandro Botticelli, illustration to *Paradiso* XXIV, detail, 1480s–1497. Silverpoint/pen and ink on parchment, 320 x 470mm. (sheet), Staatliche Museen, East Berlin.



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



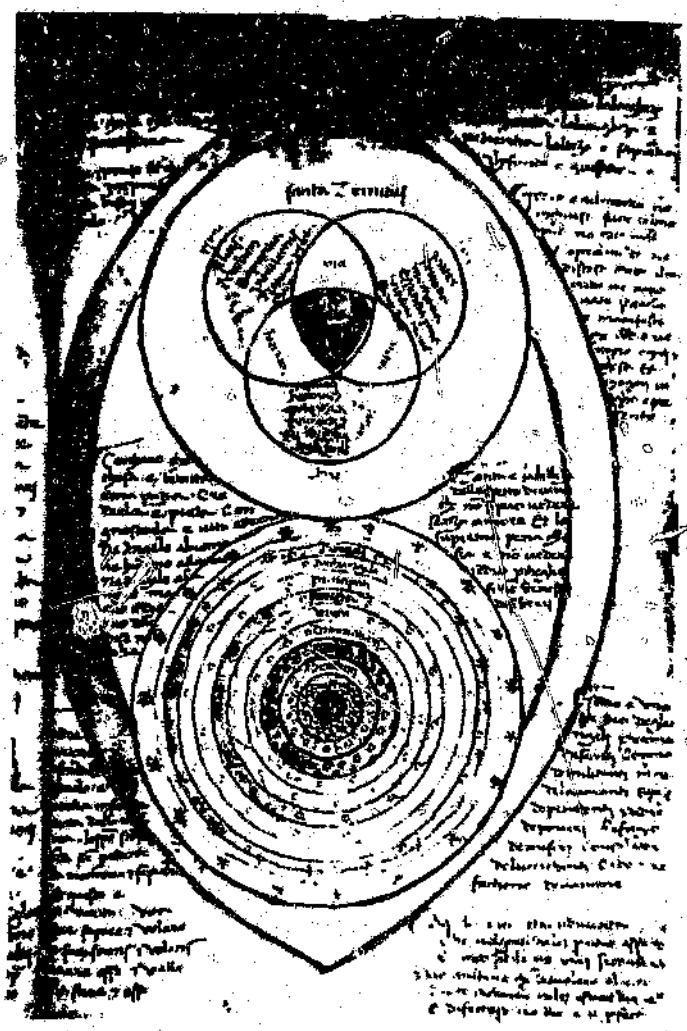
109 Giovanni di Paolo, *Beatrice and Dante hover before Christ within the Heaven of the Primum Mobile*, illustration to *Paradiso* XXVII, mid–fifteenth century. Miniature, 320 x 221mm. (sheet), British Museum (Yates Thompson 36, 178r), London.



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



111 Giovanni di Paolo, *Heaven of The Primum Mobile, with God in the Centre*, illustration to *Paradiso* XXXVIII, mid-fifteenth century. Miniature, 320 x 221mm. (sheet), British Museum (Yates Thompson 36, 170r), London.



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, *Ficino, Landino and Poliziano*, (identified by Vasari), c. 1486. Fresco, detail from *Scenes in the Life of John the Baptist*, Sta Maria Novella, Florence.



114 Raphael, *School of Athens*, detail of Plato, 1510–11. Fresco, base 770cm. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, Rome.



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



116 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, rear of nude figure in the Cave.



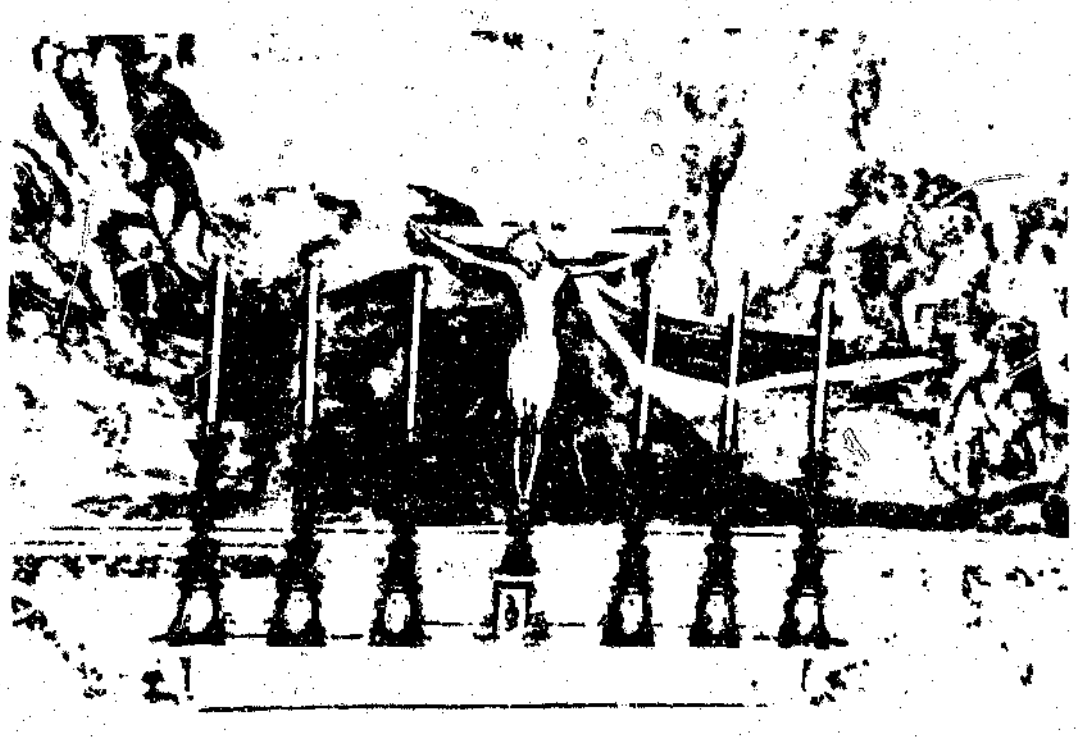
115 Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, detail, lower zone, showing area of Hell.



116 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, rear of nude figure in the Cave.



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



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



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



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



119 Unknown Sienese Master, *Hermes Trismegistus*, c. 1480. Mosaic pavement, Siena Cathedral.



120 Anonymous, *Portrait of Nicholas Copernicus*, sixteenth century. Panel, Private collection.



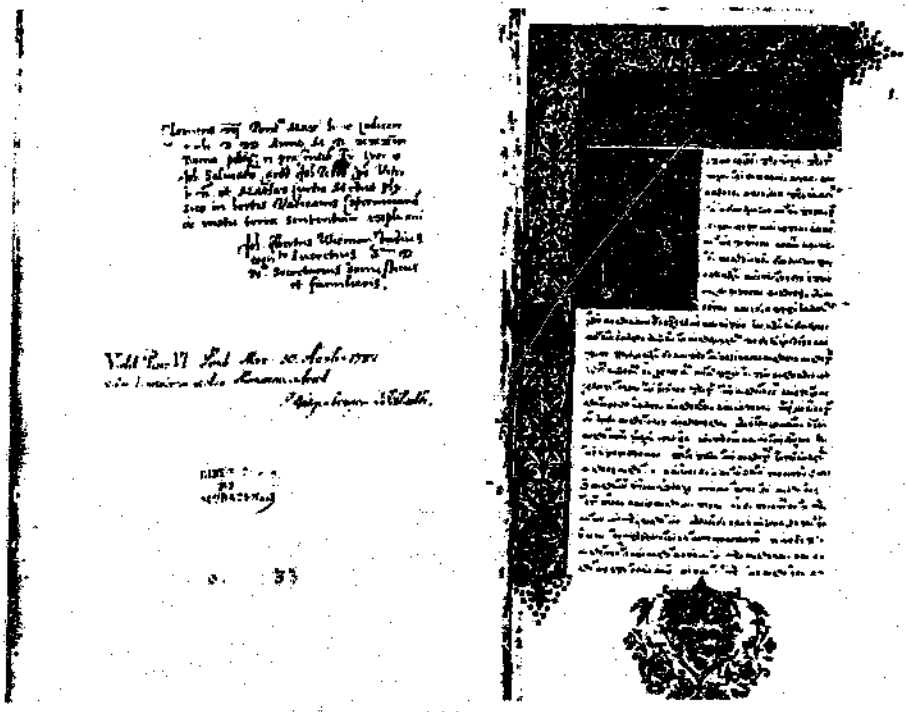
121 Giorgione, *Three Philosophers*, c. 1509–10. Canvas, 123.5 x 144.5cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



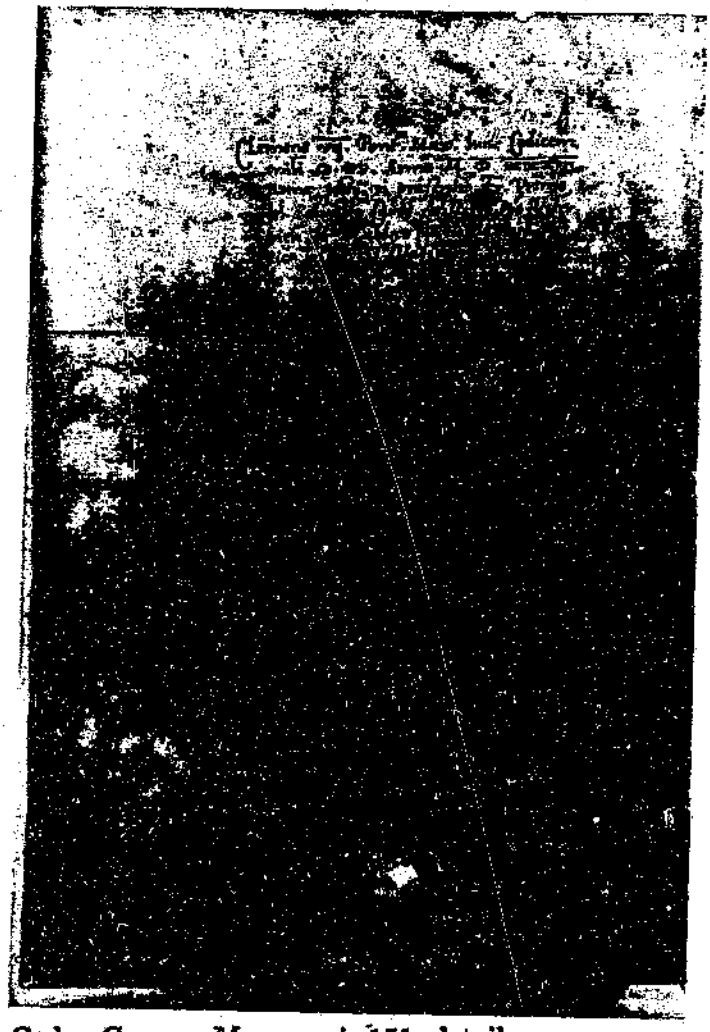
122 Albrecht Altdorfer, *The Battle of Alexander*, detail, 1529. Wood panel, 1 58 x 1 20cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



122 Albrecht Altdorfer, *The Battle of Alexander*, detail, 1529. Wood panel, 1 58 x 1 20cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



123 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.



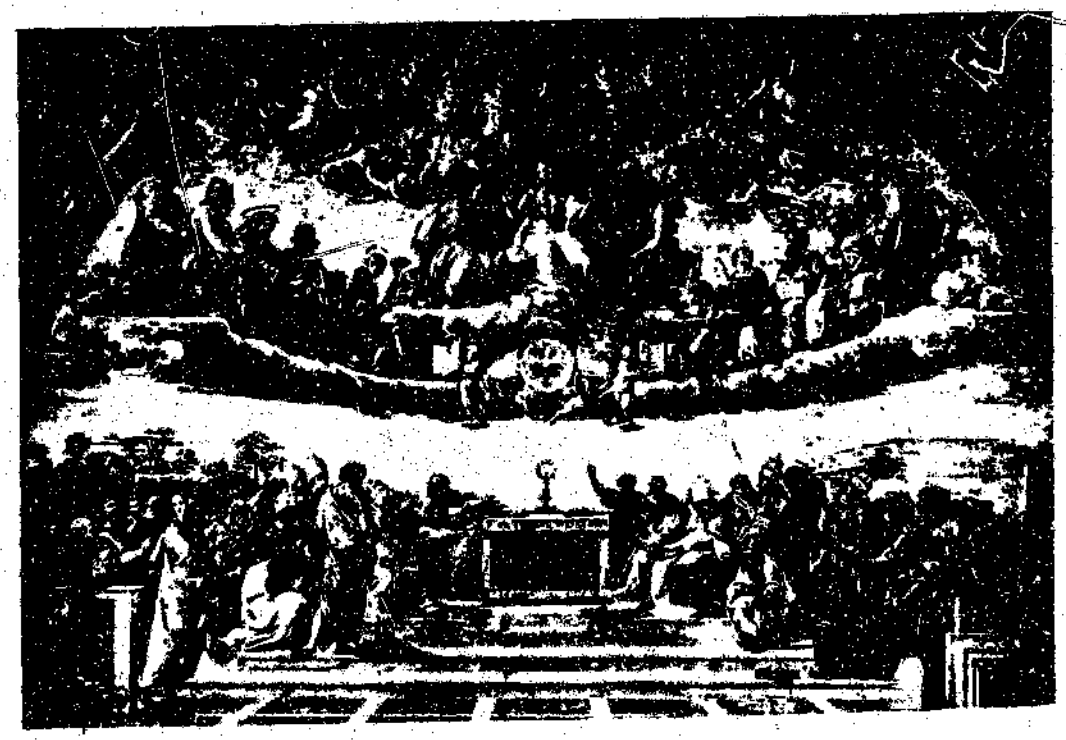
124 Codex Graecus Monacensis 151, detail.



125 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *The Confirmation of the Rule of St Francis*, detail showing nail holes, 1484–85, Fresco, Sassetti chapel, Sta Trinita, Florence.



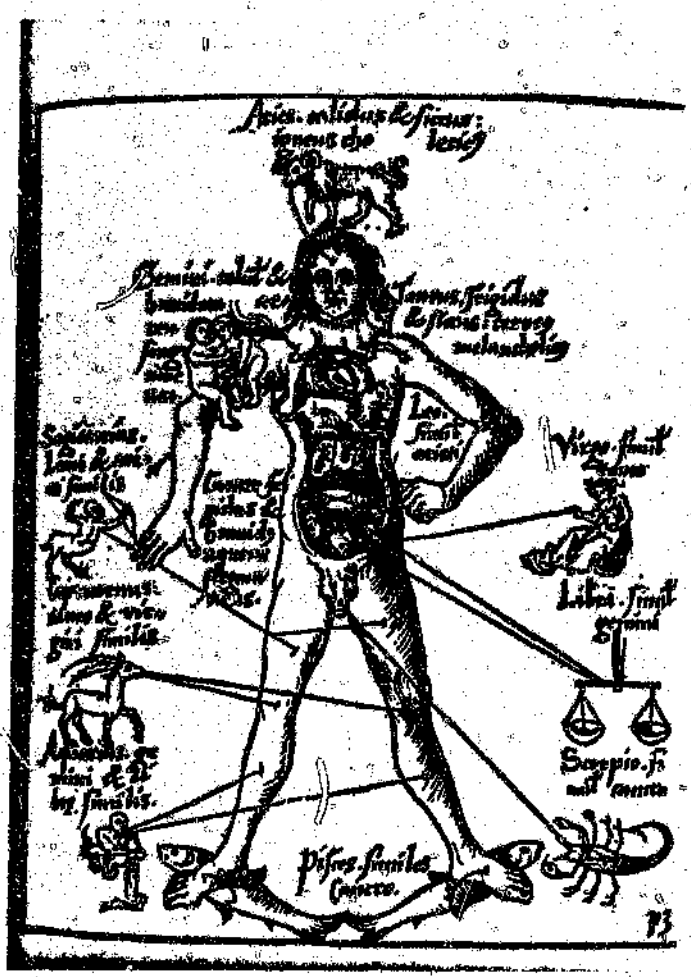
126 Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, detail, c. 1495–98. Wall-painting in oil tempera, 460 x 880cm., Refectory, Convent of Sta Maria delle Grazie, Milan.



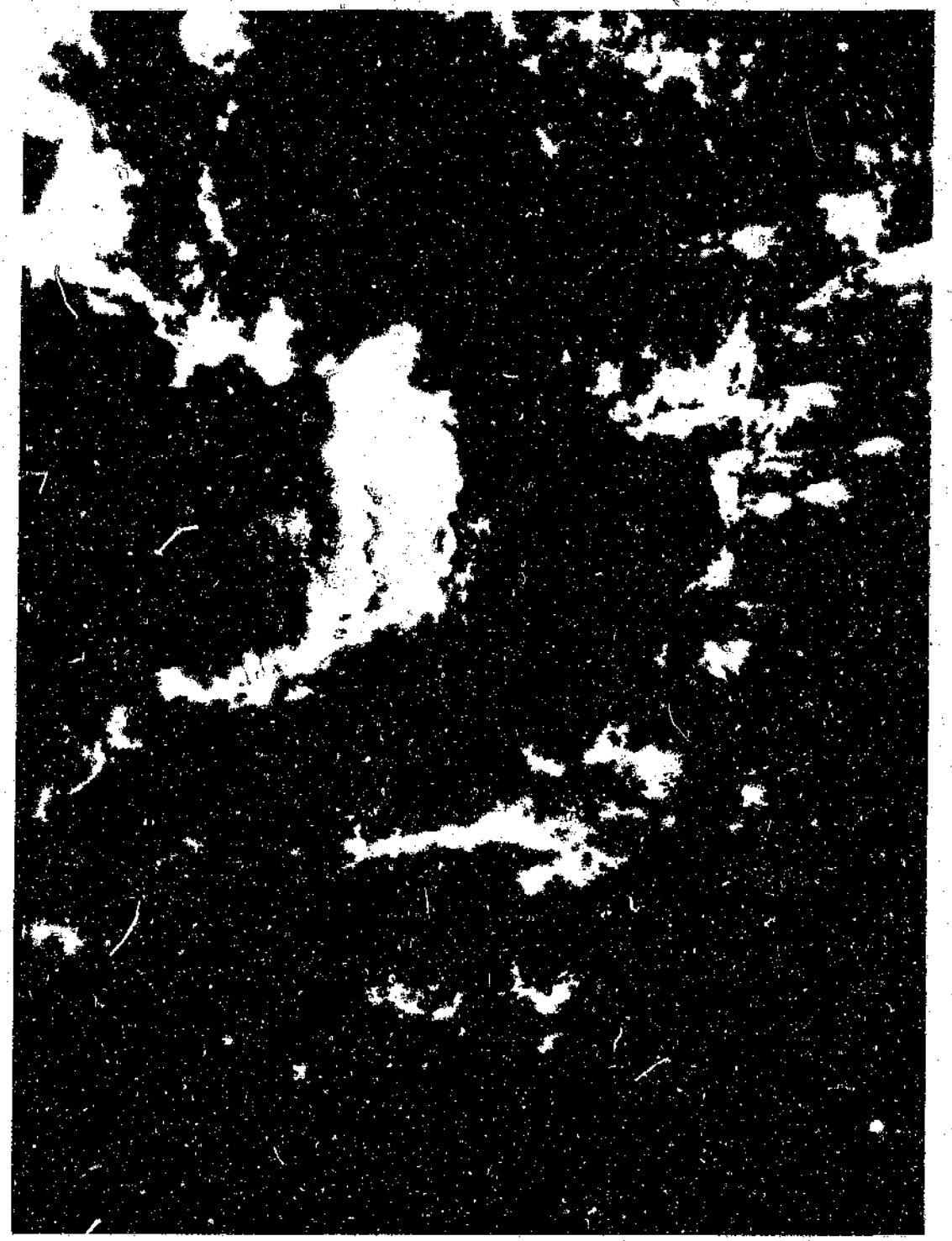
127 Raphael, *Disputa* (*Disputation over the Sacrament*), 1510–11. Fresco, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, Rome.



128 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail of Christ's thigh.



129 Gregor Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica*, detail, *The Human Body and the Signs of the Zodiac*, Freiburg, 1503. Engraving (p. 3), Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



130 Photographic study of Sun and Cloud effects.

Author: Evangelidis V.S
Name of thesis: Sun-symbolism and cosmology in michelangelos last judgement

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