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Sculpting in Marble and Fresco: Michelangelo's Julius II Tomb as Template for the Sistine Chapel Ceiling

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Sculpting in Marble and Fresco: Michelangelo's Julius II Tomb as Template for the Sistine Chapel Ceiling



A Senior Thesis Presented By
Jillian Gates

To the Art History Department

In Fulfillment of the Requirements for Honors in Art History

Advisor: Professor Kristin Triff

**Trinity College
Hartford, Connecticut
May 2019**

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Chapter I: Introduction

As a seminal artistic figure of the early Renaissance period, Michelangelo produced works of art that defined the canon of art. Through his early sculpted and painted works, the ambitions Michelangelo had for himself as an artist were evident. Not only were the works he created masterful for such a young age, but they also pushed the boundaries of existing artistic and stylistic techniques. Michelangelo used his sensibility towards the creation of sculpture, specifically the Julius II Tomb, to create figures and architectural elements in the Sistine Chapel Ceiling that reflected his vision of marble. He applied his approach in sculpture to figural and architectural painting and used it for many later projects in sculpture, painting, and drawing. This conceptual program shaped Michelangelo's career and resulted in many similarities between his projects, which often directly inspired one another.

Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni, was born on March 6, 1475 in Caprese, Italy. His father, Ludovico Buonarroti, served a short time position as mayor in Caprese and became unemployed after finishing his term.¹ A couple weeks after Michelangelo's birth, his family decided to move to a house near Santa Croce in Florence. He was given a wet nurse, a daughter of a stonemason, possibly because his mother, Francesca, was in poor health. According to Vasari, one of Michelangelo's biographers, he used to joke that he "had taken in

¹ Howard Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, (New York, Harper & Row, 1974), 15.

the hammer and chisel along with her milk” as he was a natural in sculpture and was the first in his family to exemplify skills in the arts.²

Michelangelo grew up in Florence surrounded by some of the most influential artists of the Quattrocento. From a young age he showed a yearning and ambition for art, but his father was reluctant to allow him to leave grammar school. Ludovico wanted his son to go through formal schooling and become a “man of letters”, but ended up unwillingly giving into Michelangelo’s interest in becoming an artist. At the age of only thirteen Michelangelo was apprenticed to Domenico Ghirlandaio, a successful local fresco painter, in April of 1488.³ Ghirlandaio was skilled in mural and panel painting and helped decorate the new chapel of Pope Sixtus IV in Rome.⁴ In Ghirlandaio’s workshop, he trained young craftsmen in traditional techniques of painting and sculpture and accustomed them to drawing from the pattern books of nature and ancient studies as well as from live models.⁵ Here, Michelangelo worked with other talented painters such as Perugino, Botticelli, and Cosimo Rosselli.⁶ This intense learning environment pushed Michelangelo to learn quickly. Michelangelo stayed in Ghirlandaio’s workshop for two years, in which he learned the technique of fresco painting. Ghirlandaio had just begun painting the series of the *Lives of the Virgin* and *St. John the Baptist* in Santa Maria Novella for the Tornabuoni family at the beginning of Michelangelo’s apprenticeship.⁷ Michelangelo absorbed all experiences he observed while helping Ghirlandaio with the first stages of the fresco paintings. He was given tasks to grind colors, plaster the walls, and prepare

² Ibid., 15.

³ Ibid., 16.

⁴ George Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography*, (New York, St. Martin’s Griffin, 1998), 12.

⁵ Ibid., 13.

⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁷ Linda Murray, *Michelangelo*, (New York and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1980), 13.

the drawings or cartoons to be placed onto the wet plaster.⁸ His association with Ghirlandaio helped him learn and gain experience of panel painting, a technique that would later help him on the Sistine Chapel ceiling project.⁹ Ghirlandaio was also a student of antiquity, influencing Michelangelo even more, turning his studies in the workshop into a passion for ancient sculpture.

The essence of Michelangelo's technique became evident when he began studying from not only Ghirlandaio, but also artists such as Giotto and Masaccio. He began drawing copies of the masterpieces from contemporaries. Drawing became the most essential part in the working process of Italian artists in the fifteenth century and was an important element in understanding the production of Renaissance art.¹⁰ For Michelangelo, drawing served as what Art Historian Carmen Bambach called "a uniquely personal language of communication" offering "great potential for thinking with the hand".¹¹ His drawings went further than just for the purpose of design or copying other artists, but served as almost "carved" forms on paper, pursuing his inner artistic ability of handling marble.

Michelangelo was "thoroughly grounded" by Ghirlandaio in his workshop and taught the technique of cross-hatching where he would use broadly spaced lines and thickened contours in his ink drawings.¹² Cross-hatching became an important skill in Michelangelo's design process as it not only indicated light and dark forms or "chiaroscuro", it also gave his drawings of figures the modelling and mass human bodies possess, which then translated into seeing them as sculptural pieces that were created through the use of subtractive cross-hatching with a chisel.

⁸ Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography*, 14.

⁹ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 17.

¹⁰ Carmen Bambach, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman & Designer*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018), 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹² Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography*, 14.

Several of Michelangelo's drawings still survive, in which demonstrate his mastery of an already difficult drawing technique. One of his earliest drawings is a copy of Giotto's fresco of the *Ascension of St. John the Evangelist* (fig. 1) in the Peruzzi Chapel in Santa Croce.¹³ This study was sketched in ink and copied from Giotto's two male figures in robes. In this sketch, Michelangelo used just a few lines that "deftly enhanced the sculptural qualities of Giotto's pensive onlooker".¹⁴

Similar to Giotto's figures, Michelangelo used his talent of drawing images seen on fresco panels by giving a statue-like presence to the figures as if they were sculpted from marble.¹⁵ Many art historians believe that this is just the beginning of Michelangelo's sculpting career as these robustly modelled figures show they are "sculptor's drawings".¹⁶ Other drawings that Michelangelo copied include his ink drawings of St. Peter from Masaccio's *Tribute Money* (fig. 2), painted in 1427 for the Brancacci Chapel.¹⁷ Studying Masaccio's monumental art played a determining role in Michelangelo's successful career. Comparing his drawing of St. Peter in *Tribute Money* to his drawing of one of Giotto's figures, he already uses more monumental proportions, expressive movement, and logical weight to the drapery than in his drawing of the *Ascension of St. John the Evangelist*. These drawings also demonstrate his technique and use of chiaroscuro, an important stylistic choice to produce contrast between light and dark through shading.

¹³ Johannes Wilde, *Michelangelo*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 22.

¹⁴ Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography*, 14.

¹⁵ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 23.

¹⁶ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 14.

¹⁷ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 19.

Art historians who study Michelangelo are aware of his design process not only through his drawings, but through his use of *disegno*. The term *disegno* can be translated into two different words, “drawing” or “design” in Italian.¹⁸ According to Vasari, *disegno* is the father of the three major arts-- architecture, sculpture, and painting.¹⁹ Michelangelo’s *disegno* informed his methods of drawing and design and incorporated them into the larger context of his sculpture, painting, and architectural projects. Art historians treasure all of Michelangelo’s surviving drawings because they offer what Bambach calls “the most direct glimpse over the shoulders of the genius, instantly melting away five hundred years to reveal a profoundly intimate creative process”.²⁰

In 1490, Michelangelo left Ghirlandaio’s workshop to join Lorenzo de’ Medici’s sculpture garden near Piazza San Marco, a collection and workshop of antiquities. Here, he was able to expand his knowledge of marble and the use of the chisel. He created his first couple of masterpieces in the sculpture garden, ones that would then begin his career as a sculptor and reveal his strength in this medium. This garden gave Michelangelo exclusive access to study, copy, and work in a sculpture garden with other rising artists such as Giovanfrancesco Rustici, Guiliano Bugiardini, and Pietro Torrigiano.²¹ He was also introduced to the admired sculptor, Bertoldo di Giovanni, a pupil of Donatello. Bertoldo’s technique is prominently derived from Donatello, working mostly in bronze and focused on the “antique, full of motion and drama”.²² He was in charge of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s garden and apartments and oversee the young aspiring

¹⁸ Bambach, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman & Designer*, 24.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

²¹ Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography*, 15.

²² *Ibid.*, 15.

artists. One example of Bertoldo's most notable works is a bronze relief of horsemen in battle, a scene that was based on a Roman sarcophagus.²³ A man of learning from copying, Michelangelo took this scene as inspiration for his first experimental sculpture.

One of his first works is known as the *Battle of Centaurs* (1491-2) (fig. 3). In this relief, Michelangelo depicts an antique subject matter, in the antique fashion. Modelled after the ancient Roman Ludovisi Battle sarcophagus (fig. 4), Michelangelo's crowded yet powerful scene depicts a mythical battle between centaurs and the Greeks.²⁴ The Ludovisi sarcophagus has a similar Hellenistic action-packed composition, exhibiting bodies intertwined in each other with a variety of poses.

Michelangelo clumped all the bodies together into one mass, practicing a variety of expressions and poses. The bodies of the centaurs and Greeks are intertwined and carefully modelled. The *Battle of Centaurs* shows that Michelangelo already possessed a complete mastery of what Art Historian Georg Brandes called "the representation of bodies in action, fully able... to interweave them at a moment of dramatic crisis, while still keeping the composition firmly in hand".²⁵ From here on throughout Michelangelo's lifetime this essential style is evident in all works. That is, the historically based style that focuses mainly on the means of expression through the male nude.²⁶ Art Historian, Michael Hirst, notes that this work "reveals great ambition and a familiarity with the antique".²⁷ In carving this relief, Michelangelo used a claw-chisel to remove the marble, which allowed him to carve out his figures from all different

²³ Ibid., 20.

²⁴ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 22.

²⁵ Georg Brandes, *Michelangelo. His Life, His Times, His Era*, (Copenhagen, Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1963), 128.

²⁶ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 25.

²⁷ Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011), 17.

angles. This technique allowed Michelangelo to produce a mesh of criss- cross lines, similar to the pen strokes he would use in his sketches to enhance shading.²⁸ His drawings of cross-hatched figures correlate to the method he used to physically carve and sculpt bodies to create a three dimensional appearance.

Another example of his most notable and early works of art is the *Madonna of the Steps*, completed in 1491 (fig. 5). In this low relief, Michelangelo shows off his skills in carving draped figures. This low relief carving is also called *rilievo schiacciato*, which means squeezed flat and appears to have a wax- like softness, giving the marble the appearance of alabaster”.²⁹ The virgin, the largest figure in the scene, fills up the entire height of the rectangle and is shown in profile and sitting on a cube. She is monumentalized and shown with many awkward features, especially the shape of her right foot. Some art historians have come to the conclusion that the right foot shows this was an experimental carving and that Michelangelo was still “inexperienced” at this time.³⁰ The *Madonna of the Steps* differs from *The Battle Relief* in terms of illusion of space and modelling of bodies. Michelangelo uses linear perspective by showing the steps receding sharply into the background of the relief. Michael Hirst contrasts both works of art by saying “the carving of the *Battle of Centaurs* “is of a very different character by an artist who has put behind him the tentativeness of the *Madonna of the Stairs*”.³¹ The Virgin’s body is clearly outlined through the weight and drapery of her clothing garments. This detailed modelling of every fold in the virgin’s clothes goes back to antiquity; most art historians say that the clothing almost looks “wet” as it clings to the body beneath it, such as is seen in works like

²⁸ Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography*, 21.

²⁹ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 17.

³⁰ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 19.

³¹ Hirst, *Michelangelo*, 16.

the Nike of Samothrace (fig. 6). In the Virgin's arms is baby Christ, carved with the musculature of a grown and robust man. In the background are what appears to be angels or putti, unfinished, but seem to have been on their way to look just like Christ.

The *Taddei Tondo* (fig. 7) dated around 1504, is an unfinished, circular relief that depicts the Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist. Rendered with an "unusual delicacy and tenderness" the *Taddei Tondo* is a work that shows Michelangelo's technicality in sculpture. Because it is unfinished, viewers are able to see his progress as a sculptor and see the different stages of chiseling he went through. The Virgin's head is turned and shown in profile while Christ is sprawled out on her lap, modelled realistically on a baby's body. Christ leans away from John the Baptist in attempt to be freed from the bird John is presenting him. Art Historian Linda Murray believes that Christ's pose here is reminiscent of Leonardo's *Madonna and Child with St. Anne* (fig. 8).³² The unfinished state of the *tondo* not only shows Michelangelo's technical chisel marks, but it also recalls his "drawing technique of firmly hatched pen-lines", seen as well in the *Battle of Centaurs*.³³

In June of 1496, Michelangelo left Florence at the age of twenty- one to go to the Eternal City, Rome. He worked under the patronage of Cardinal Riario and was said to have already received a commission after being in Rome for less than a week.³⁴ He was commissioned for the statue of *Bacchus* (fig. 9), completed in 1496-7, as a challenge by Cardinal Riario to see if he was capable of producing work as beautiful as the statues in his new palace.³⁵ It was then that Michelangelo carved a life- size figure from a single block of marble. Depicted as a youthful

³² Murray, *Michelangelo*, 47.

³³ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 73.

³⁴ Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography*, 33.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

male, the *Bacchus* stares uncertainly at an antique wine cup, drunk, with garland and vines allowing his leopard skin fall behind the left thigh where a small satyr nibbles at the grapes hanging from his hand.³⁶ Bacchus is a pagan god and in the form of a nude male, it is reasonable to compare to antique sculptures or copies of Greek statues of satyrs.³⁷ Michelangelo carved life into the *Bacchus*, making his marble skin look like supple flesh and pliable to the touch. Art Historian George Bull hypothesizes that the “Dionysiac spirit of the statue may have displeased the cardinal” from whom the statue was commissioned, but the statue ended up in the garden of Michelangelo’s banker, Jacopo Gallo, among antique sculptures.³⁸

Michelangelo’s entry into large scale sculpture was through his colossal sculpture, *David* (fig. 10) completed in 1501-4. Measuring over fourteen feet high, *David* was the most ambitious sculpture Michelangelo had accomplished up to this time.³⁹ Michelangelo carved the monumental body out of one block of marble. For the first time in his career, Michelangelo did not use preliminary studies of drawings for this colossal sculpture. Rather, he designed a model in wax.⁴⁰ His technique was to draw the principal view on the block, and then begin “to remove the marble from this side as if one were working a relief”.⁴¹

Antique in style, the *David* shows mastery of *contrapposto* and mannerism. The pose of *David* is “hallowed by Greco- Roman statuary- neither walking nor still” and is a “version of the *contrapposto* pose that had become the norm for standing male statues in the later fifth century B.C.”.⁴² The term *contrapposto* means that there is weight shifted from one foot to the other,

³⁶ Ibid., 36.

³⁷ Ibid., 36.

³⁸ Ibid., 37.

³⁹ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 51.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 53.

⁴¹ Ibid., 56.

⁴² Ibid., 56.

with a slight twist to the torso of the body. The main weight of *David* is on his right foot, with the left heel slightly raised. The *David* stares out far away with a sling and stone over his shoulder. The life and internal emotion of the sculpture is captured with a glance where Michelangelo “represented his hero at the height of inner and outer tension preceding combat rather than after the triumph”.⁴³ Impressing his fellow peers with his work on the *David*, Michelangelo went on to major commissions after completing this masterpiece.

In the year of 1503, Michelangelo created another masterpiece, but this time in a much different medium. According to Brandes, he “despised and almost loathed the oil technique” and “thought it was an art for women and children”.⁴⁴ The oil and tempera painting of the *Doni Tondo* (fig. 11) is set into a circular and heavily ornamented frame with the Strozzi family arms who commissioned the work.⁴⁵ Compositionally, the main figures, Mary, Joseph, and baby Christ, are all arranged in a pyramidal form and demonstrate Michelangelo’s early approach to figural painting. They are rendered in a clear and sculptural way, firmly modelled in light and dark. Mary animates the composition with her arms outstretched and cutting across her body to receive the Christ child.⁴⁶ She is seated on the ground with heroic proportions and muscled arms that seem to have been chiseled out of marble by Michelangelo’s hand. According to Art Historian Howard Hibbard, the figuration of the main bodies “have been inspired by Leonardo’s experiments” of *Madonna and Child with St. Anne* (fig. 8).⁴⁷ St. John is shown taking leave from the Holy Family and heading into the wilderness where the next set of figures are shown. The

⁴³ Brandes, *Michelangelo. His Life, His Times, His Era*, 154.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴⁵ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 67.

⁴⁶ Brandes, *Michelangelo. His Life, His Times, His Era*, 173.

⁴⁷ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 67.

background is composed of small groups of young, nude men among the landscape of trees and rocks. Brandes explains that the modelling and “freshness” of these bodies “foreshadow the hosts of *ignudi* that were to begin populating the Sistine ceiling some four years later”.⁴⁸ They also create as a clear distinct semi- circle from the Holy Family in the foreground. The composition is made up of well- thought out origins and placement of each figure and their poses. There is a fluidity of pose captured in paint and approaches the viewers’ eyes as if it were three dimensional.

Hibbard describes the *Doni Tondo* as if it were colored with “hard, emphatic shot- colors that we associate with later Quattrocento masters like Ghirlandaio and Signorelli”.⁴⁹ The main figures seem to have no substance or texture, where one does not notice any brush- strokes. This painting technique enhanced “the plastic effect” where the colors on the figures clothing shine and seem to reflect from polished marble.⁵⁰ Art historian Johannes Wilde comments that this also emphasizes the “hardness of their substance”.⁵¹ Michelangelo drew many red chalk studies for this commission, which showed “astounding maturity” for the artist.⁵² One in particular is a chalk study for the head of Mary. Her face is cross-hatched where the shade of the natural light source would fall on her head, and her features are prominent, especially her nose and the unusual angle the viewer receives. The *Doni Tondo* foreshadowed the figures painted on the Sistine ceiling and was a painted precursor of Michelangelo’s sensibility practices throughout his career.

⁴⁸ Brandes, *Michelangelo. His Life, His Times, His Era*, 174.

⁴⁹ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 67.

⁵⁰ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 46.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵² Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 67.

Valued for his skill in both sculpture and painting, two of his most famous commissions are the basis of his career as an artist and demonstrate how he created art in two different media and related them to one another. First was the commission of the Julius II Tomb (fig. 12), started in 1505 and finished in 1545, the earliest example we have of Michelangelo's architectural project. This was later to become known as Michelangelo's "commission of a lifetime" and what Condivi described as the "Tragedy of the Tomb".⁵³ Shortly into his work of the tomb, Michelangelo was forced to stop work on the monument and switch to a completely different medium and task, the Sistine Chapel Ceiling (fig. 13). Michelangelo was trained in fresco under Ghirlandaio, but this was neither his strong suit nor his interest. Commissioned in 1508 and finished in 1512, Michelangelo was able to use his time away from sculpture and apply it to painting. Art Historian Johannes Wilde states that Michelangelo exchanged "his dream of the tomb for the reality of a work in painting" and began work in the spring of 1508.⁵⁴ After the ceiling was complete he went back to the tomb, planning to finish it.

⁵³ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 97.

⁵⁴ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 49.

Chapter II: Julius II Tomb

Rome was undergoing major changes in the early sixteenth century. Giuliano della Rovere became cardinal in 1471 and was elected pope in 1503 for an almost ten year rule.⁵⁵ During his reign, he took the name Julius II, and vowed that he would re-establish the power and unity of the Papal States, making “Rome the center of humanistic learning”.⁵⁶ With this mindset he attracted the best Italian artists to renovate and redecorate the Vatican and churches, which then began the building of a new Christian Rome empire “on an antique scale” as described by Hibbard.⁵⁷ This conception of art on the grand scale of antiquity, drew the Pope’s attention to Michelangelo. According to Art Historian Christoph Frommel, Julius II picked Michelangelo to undertake his most important commission, his tomb, having witnessed his “multifaceted talent in his Roman works such as the *Bacchus* and the *Pieta*”.⁵⁸ Julius II was the first pope to commence design on his own tomb, an unlikely act for a living pontiff.⁵⁹

In March of 1505, Pope Julius II summoned Michelangelo to Rome from Florence to design and execute his tomb.⁶⁰ This commission is one of Michelangelo’s first and most

⁵⁵ Ibid., 85.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 85.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 85.

⁵⁸ Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Michelangelo’s Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2016), 19.

⁵⁹ Frommel, *Michelangelo’s Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, 19.

⁶⁰The Julius II Tomb in San Pietro in Vincoli is discussed in Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Maria Forcellino, *Michelangelo’s Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2016); Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo*. Vol. 1. The Achievement of Fame (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011) passim; see also Idem, "A Project of Michelangelo's for the Tomb of Julius II." *Master Drawings* 14, no. 4 (1976): 375-430. Claudia Echinger-Maurach, "Michelangelo's Monument for Julius II in 1534." *The Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1202 (2003): 336-44; George Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1998) passim; Linda Murray, *Michelangelo* (New York and

ambitious architectural undertakings. In total, there were six different plans for the tomb, which was eventually completed in a much-reduced form in 1545 and erected in San Pietro in Vincoli in 1547, after many long and taxing years for Michelangelo. Julius II envisioned his tomb to be imperial in scale and decoration, inspired by ancient Roman sarcophagi.

Art Historian Michael Hirst comments that during his 1505 stay in Rome, Michelangelo “had successfully negotiated the project to carry out Pope Julius’s tomb, one that would come to haunt his life”.⁶¹ This commission marked the beginning of Michelangelo’s enduring process of the tomb which explained by Art Historian Robert Liebert, consumed “the axis of his own concept of his creative mission for the next forty years” through multiple scaled-down revisions.⁶² Commonly referred to as the “Tragedy of the Tomb” by his authorized biographer Ascanio Condivi, Michelangelo encountered many interferences and repeated failures in the making of Pope Julius’ mausoleum.⁶³ Michelangelo produced numerous many sketches to comply with the revised contract. Outlining what he envisioned on the tomb, these sketches indicate that he related his sculpted figures to the figures he would later paint on the Sistine Chapel ceiling during breaks in this forty-year tomb project. Through surviving contracts, models, and drawings, art historians are able to piece together what the original plan for the tomb was to be.

Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1980) passim; Charles De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); Alfred Frazer "A Numismatic Source for Michelangelo's First Design for the Tomb of Julius II." *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 1 (1975): 53-57; Erwin Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II." *The Art Bulletin* 19, no. 4 (1937): 561-79.

⁶¹ Hirst, *Michelangelo*, 63.

⁶² Robert S. Liebert, *Michelangelo: A Psychoanalytic Study of His Life and Images*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983), 119.

⁶³ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 97.

Now standing in the basilica of San Pietro in Vincoli, Liebert calls the tomb of Pope Julius II an “unhappy remnant of the original monument concept”.⁶⁴

Before drawing the first sketch of the tomb, Michelangelo was told what characteristics and expectations should be carried out in the making of the tomb through a contract, which has since been lost. The contract is said to have stated, from the accounts of Condivi and Vasari, that it be a free- standing monument in which Erwin Panofsky said to acquire “beauty and pride, richness of ornamentation, and abundance of statuary surpassed every ancient imperial tomb”.⁶⁵ If Julius wanted his tomb to be imperial, then what was he looking at? What gave him the inspiration to build an imperial tomb? Alfred Frazer suggests that both Michelangelo and Julius II were provided with many ancient Roman examples of powerful imagery that were abundant in Rome at the time of the tomb’s commission such as triumphal arches, niches, inscriptions, altar pieces, and most importantly mausolea. Precedents to the Julius tomb were most likely in poor condition, but both men could use their imaginations to see how imperial tombs were designed. Frazer comments that “only the tower tomb, among many categories of Roman mausolea, could have offered a prototype for Michelangelo’s complete composition”.⁶⁶ More importantly, inscriptions on the back of Roman coins (fig. 14) were the main prototype Michelangelo and Julius were acquaintanced with. The initial design of the tomb in 1505 was influenced by the funeral pyres on these coins “of imperial consecration that Michelangelo and Pope Julius, like some of their contemporaries, mistakenly interpreted as those of imperial mausolea”.⁶⁷ Other

⁶⁴ Liebert, *Michelangelo: A Psychoanalytic Study of His Life and Images*, 119.

⁶⁵ Erwin Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II." *The Art Bulletin* 19, no. 4 (1937): 1.

⁶⁶ Alfred Frazer, Frazer, "A Numismatic Source for Michelangelo's First Design for the Tomb of Julius II." *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 1 (1975): 53.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

tomb- inspired designs included Michelangelo's Florentine contemporary and the sketch of Giuliano da Sangallo for the Piccolomini Altar in Siena in 1504 (fig. 15).⁶⁸ The 1505 design of the Julius tomb is drawn in an orthogonal elevation. Sangallo worked on numerous high- profile projects for Julius II and was an older contemporary of Michelangelo, suggesting that Michelangelo looked to him for inspiration in designing the Julius tomb. The sketch of the Piccolomini Altar is similar to the first design of the tomb in terms of tectonic design. The center of both the tomb and the altar have large niches, decorated with molding and pilasters, emphasizing the monumental and architectural importance of each project. On either side of the center niches are smaller niches very similar to one another. When comparing both the tomb and altar designs they are similarly decorated with architectural elements such as pilasters, columns, and cornices. Michael Hirst comments that the molding found on the bases of both designs are "of the simplest" and that "they are very close in form to some of those employed in the painted architecture of the Sistine ceiling".⁶⁹ In both sketches, the monuments gradually become lighter and simpler forming a more graceful presence at the top.

Another possible example of influence for Michelangelo's design of the 1505 plan also closely resembles Antonio Rossellino's tomb of a cardinal in Portugal in San Miniato al Monte (fig. 16), whom, according to Vasari, Michelangelo admired greatly.⁷⁰ Similar to the Julius tomb's design of the Victory figures, two angels carry the Roman sarcophagi of the dead toward heaven. Above them are two more angels holding a roundel containing reliefs of the Madonna and Child. Frommel describes Michelangelo's 1505 plan as going "well beyond" the cardinal's

⁶⁸ Michael Hirst, "A Project of Michelangelo's for the Tomb of Julius II." *Master Drawings* 14, no. 4 (1976): 377.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 377.

⁷⁰ Frommel, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, 20.

tomb, “creating a stage for a scared drama in the depth of the central niche”.⁷¹ Michelangelo designs much larger figures and different levels of architecture within the monument, compared to Rossellino’s final execution.

Michelangelo began creating designs for Julius in spring 1505. Made of marble, the Julius tomb would have over forty marble statues and several bronze reliefs. The size of this tomb’s design measured about thirty- five feet by twenty- three feet wide, just for the base of the structure and the height measured to be the same as the width of the base.⁷² This was to all be completed in a period of five years, in a payment of 10,000 ducats.⁷³ The earliest surviving drawing of the 1505 design as well as his first autograph for the plan is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 17).⁷⁴ The seven liberal arts were to be portrayed as being “imprisoned by death along with Julius” and “represented as projecting statues between niches”.⁷⁵ From this primary source, art historians are able to break down Michelangelo’s thought from its inception.

As proposed in the first plan, Pope Julius II envisioned himself on his tomb to be portrayed as a patron of learning and the seven liberal arts.⁷⁶ The tomb’s structure was more important in conveying an imperial presence than the representation of Julius himself.

The drawing of the first version of the tomb shows many decorative elements that play a major role in the process of Michelangelo’s creative mind. Although the original contract for the tomb in 1505 is lost, art historians rely directly on Condivi’s and Vasari’s descriptions of the tomb, “apparently written, or dictated, by Michelangelo himself”.⁷⁷ According to Vasari’s

⁷¹ Ibid., 20.

⁷² Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography*, 65.

⁷³ Ibid., 65

⁷⁴ Frommel, *Michelangelo’s Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, 19.

⁷⁵ Bull, *Michelangelo: A Biography*, 65.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 65

⁷⁷ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 92.

account of this first project, it “surpassed in beauty and opulence, richness of ornamentation, and abundance of statues, all the ancient tombs of imperial Rome”. Originally, the tomb plan of 1505 was a single- storeyed, free-standing monument, with two shorter facades, two lateral facades half as long, and the central bay extended.⁷⁸ This design was something new in the history of papal tombs as it was “a free- standing monument, accessible from all sides, with monumental sculpted figures determining the structure”.⁷⁹ Four sides of the lower story have a regular pattern of niches alternating with pilasters crowned with herms. Female figures are found in the niches with men at their feet and between these niches are nude male figures on pedestals bound to the pilasters.⁸⁰ The alcove in the back served as an entrance to the interior, where Pope Julius II’s sarcophagus was to be placed.⁸¹ The three other recesses were to be covered in bronze reliefs portraying events in the pope’s life.⁸²

Michelangelo created a stage for the center niche to portray “a sacred drama”.⁸³ Two angels are shown carrying the dead body, presumably Julius’, up toward heaven where Mary and Christ are shown in the main roundel. They are both depicted as though they are descending from heaven in a mandorla, while Mary is pointing to the place of the future wound on Christ’s hand and Christ blesses the sleeping pope. Frommel describes the candelabras with “flames of eternal life decorate the Corinthian pilasters supporting the two kneeling angels” in which frame the sarcophagus.⁸⁴ Julius’ body is shown in full- length, wearing his Papal crown, resting peacefully among the angels. Flanking either side of the sarcophagus, thrones of seated figures

⁷⁸ Ibid., 94.

⁷⁹ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 43.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 40.

⁸¹ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 94.

⁸² Ibid., 94.

⁸³ Frommel, *Michelangelo’s Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, 21.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 20.

are depicted in the middle level of the monument. They are supported by large lion feet and adorned with “acorns, heraldic symbols of both Sixtus IV and Julius II” according to Frommel.⁸⁵ The right seated figure is of *Moses*, with a short beard, holding the Stone Tablets and looking toward the center of the tomb. The left seated figure is thought to be a woman, a sibyl more accurately. She creates a counterpoint to Moses, as she is represented in a gesture of desperation with her face down in her hands. Frommel describes the pose and gesture of the sibyl as she foresees the “terrifying vision of the end of the world” and not in response to the devastation of Julius’ death.⁸⁶ Beneath the statue of the seated female is the figure of *Charity*, “the most important of the three theological Virtues” which stands in a shell- shaped niche.⁸⁷ The statue beneath *Moses* is the personification of *Faith* in an identical niche to the one containing *Charity*. These two figures of *Faith* and *Charity* represent the Active and Contemplative Lives, a representation seen in Michelangelo’s later works of the Medici Tombs, and is a Neoplatonic idea that represents the two paths toward human salvation.⁸⁸ Between the figures of *Faith* and *Charity* is a relief of the “miraculous feeding of the Israelites”.⁸⁹ These figures all foreshadow the Prophets and Sibyls on the Sistine Chapel Ceiling.

The main idea demonstrated in the 1505 plan of the tomb was the path of the soul of Julius II through the three levels of the monument-- from the earth of the faithful and Virtues to the divine wisdom of Moses and the Sibyls and the last level to “liberation from the worldly prison” as described by Frommel.⁹⁰ Other statues that rose from the ground and projected

⁸⁵ Ibid., 21.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 22.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 22.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 22.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 22.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 22.

outward were the *Captives*.⁹¹ They represent the Liberal Arts and by including these they would “indicate that all the Virtues were prisoners of death together with Pope Julius, because they would never find a man to favor and nourish them as he had done”.⁹²

In April of 1506, Michelangelo and Pope Julius II had a falling out and execution on the tomb came to a halt.⁹³ During the first year of Julius’ commission, he did not see any finished statues when he visited Michelangelo’s workshop. Michelangelo went to see the pope in hopes for payment of his work thus far on the tomb, but overheard Julius telling a jeweler that he “did not wish to spend any more money on stones” for the tomb.⁹⁴ The pope then told Michelangelo to come back, but when he did Julius refused to see the artist and had him removed from his palace. This prompted the first of many frustrations and setbacks to the history of the tomb. As a result, Michelangelo fled back to his family in Florence. After a reconciliation with the pope, Michelangelo returned to Rome two years later in February of 1508.⁹⁵ In the meantime, Pope Julius had suggested another commission for Michelangelo, the undertaking of painting the Sistine Chapel ceiling. Michelangelo agreed to this when the pope also reassured him that he could continue working on the tomb project.⁹⁶

In late February of 1513, Julius II passed away. He named Lorenzo Pucci and Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della Rovere as the executors for his estate and to oversee the tomb project to its completion.⁹⁷ With this new role, Cardinal Grosso della Rovere increased the sum of the tomb project from 10,500 ducats to 16,500 ducats in order for the tomb to be finished within seven

⁹¹ Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II." 561.

⁹² Ibid., 561-562

⁹³ Ibid., 561.

⁹⁴ Frommel, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, 30.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 31.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 31.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 36.

years and required Michelangelo “to refuse other work during this time”.⁹⁸ The new contract had been set and it was said that Michelangelo was to design a new and simpler project for the tomb. The pope’s executors thought the first design in 1505 was “too great an undertaking” and needed to be changed.⁹⁹ This project is said to be the second part of the “tragedy” as this plan was never executed as well as the first design of 1505.¹⁰⁰

Michelangelo had completed the painting of the Sistine Chapel ceiling a year before the second, or 1513 plan of the tomb. He wrote to his father in 1512 saying that the “Pope is very satisfied” with his work on the ceiling, but “his other affairs are not going as well as [he] thought”.¹⁰¹ The “other affairs” mentioned in his letter to his father are presumably about the Julius tomb, which was supposed to be finished in five years, a commitment for which he was already long behind schedule. We have much more information regarding the plan of 1513 than we do of the plan of 1505. Because of this, art historians have been able to use the extant models and contracts to piece together Michelangelo’s creative process more completely. Erwin Panofsky writes that “we have the contract between Michelangelo and the heirs of Julius II, concluded on May 6, 1513, on the basis of a wooden model”.¹⁰² Based on the drawing by Giacomo Rocca of the copy of the design of 1513 (fig. 18) and on this wooden model, the tomb’s measurements were decreased and it was no longer to be a free-standing mausoleum with a burial chamber inside, but a wall tomb.¹⁰³ Although the 1513 plan reduced the monument’s overall dimensions, the contract still stated there should be “forty larger- than- life- size statues”.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 36.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 36.

¹⁰⁰ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 75.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 75.

¹⁰² Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II." 565.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 566.

¹⁰⁴ Work on the new plan started in the summer of 1513 and the lower story of the monument was executed first.

The decoration of the lower story was much the same as in the first project except for small changes in measurements and eliminating the entrance door.¹⁰⁵ The three walls that would now be visible were adorned with two niches of the statues of *Victories* (fig. 19). Flanking each side of these niches were herms, with the statues of the *Slaves* (fig. 20) tied to them.¹⁰⁶

Michelangelo not only began working on the figures of the *Slaves* but also the major figure seen on the monument today, *Moses* (fig. 21).¹⁰⁷ The *Slaves* and the figure of *Moses* were all meant to be on the bottom tier of the monument. The figures of the lower story recall those of imperial sarcophagi found in Rome. One in particular, now in the Vatican Museum, Roman Sarcophagus (fig. 22) shows an uncanny resemblance to the set up of the lower story of the 1513 design for the Julius tomb. Standing figures are set into niches that flank an entrance, making a tripartite sequence to the facade. On either side of the niches are expressive statues of naked figures similar to the *Slaves*. Their poses and gestures are almost identical, leaving me to believe more evidence regarding this as inspiration for Michelangelo.

The upper zone of the 1513 plan was completely different than that of the 1505 design. One of the major changes compared to the design of 1505 was the addition of the *cappelletta*, measuring about twenty- five feet high, with five figures.¹⁰⁸ They are hovering over the papal tomb, a motif that was said to be taken from the tomb of Sixtus IV.¹⁰⁹ There was a platform

¹⁰⁴ Frommel, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, 36.

¹⁰⁵ Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II." 566.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 566.

¹⁰⁷ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 96.

¹⁰⁸ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 78.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 79.

where “six seated statues instead of four” one above each niche, which then meant that the “two figures at either front corner had to be placed at right angles”.¹¹⁰ The placement of these figures left a space large enough for a catafalque that holds the statue of the pope supported by four angels; two whom lifted his head and two whom were placed at his feet. The actual sarcophagus would no longer be part of the design, but instead there would be a coffin mounted on four feet resting on a platform.¹¹¹ The group of figures surrounding the pope’s coffin was to be encased by an apse, sheltering five large figures of the Madonna and four saints.¹¹² All the statues on the upper story, were “above life- size-- indeed, almost double- life- size”.¹¹³

Panofsky notices an “irreconcilable incongruity between the lower and upper structure in the drawing itself” and that the upper story is still in the experimental phase, while the lower story is “delicate and almost overly articulated”.¹¹⁴ He also comments that the upper story seems as if it is so powerful “as to crush everything beneath it”.¹¹⁵ The design of the new project of 1513 consisted of basic compositional changes only affected the upper story. As a result, the structure looks to be top- heavy and too chaotic compared to the simple and fluid decoration of the bottom half.

Comparing the 1505 design of a free- standing tomb to the 1513 design of a wall- tomb shows drastic reduction to the dimensions and overall complexity of the first design. It should still not be considered a small- scale work as Michelangelo did increase the number of statues in the upper story from four to six figures and added the *cappelletta* with its five new figures. In the

¹¹⁰ Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II." 566.

¹¹¹ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 77.

¹¹² Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II." 566.

¹¹³ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 77.

¹¹⁴ Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II." 567.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 567.

lower story, only slight modifications took place in the 1516 design (fig. 23).¹¹⁶ Art Historian Herbert von Einem comments on the sculptures and says that they “show the development represented by the Sistine ceiling”.¹¹⁷ Between May of 1513 and July of 1516, Michelangelo carved two *Slaves* and the *Moses*.¹¹⁸ Importantly, All three of these figures stem from the ideas that were developed in the Sistine Chapel ceiling. The *Slaves* paralleled the *Ignudi* (fig. 24) and *Moses* can be compared to the *Prophets* (fig. 25).¹¹⁹

Three years later, in 1516, yet another revision from the heirs of the pope was issued. The completion date was extended to nine years and Michelangelo was allowed to work on it wherever he wished.¹²⁰ Overall the whole structure was to be reduced, starting with the side elevations in the width of the bays, and the herm pilasters would be continued upwards.¹²¹ In simpler terms the project of 1516 “meant a reduction by about two- fifths both in the body of the architecture and in the number of figures”.¹²² This would allow the complex figures and architecture in front to be more visible to the spectator, resulting in more appreciation of the overall facade of the tomb.

In this single facade design, one that most resembles the tomb today, the lower story is almost identical to the plans of 1513. The main difference is the suppressed architrave above the herm pilasters.¹²³ The top section of the tomb now extended over the width of the lower story, creating a complete floor where the Pope’s figure would be displayed. In the upper story there

¹¹⁶ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 79.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 79.

¹¹⁸ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 99.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 99.

¹²⁰ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 88.

¹²¹ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 98.

¹²² Ibid., 101.

¹²³ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 86.

are four niches, two in which frame the *tribunetta*, a small platform, holding the statue of the Pope, and above is the figure of the Virgin. The Pope's statue's positioning in the 1513 and 1516 plan transitioned into the version that was finally executed, as seen today on the tomb (fig. 26). He is shown "sinking in a semi- upright position and supported under the armpits by two angels" with his legs "extended towards the spectator".¹²⁴

There was also a reduction in the number of statues from the 1513 design to the 1516. Four figures, instead of six, were in the upper story flanking the Pope, one of which is the statue of *Moses*. All of the architectural transformations Michelangelo incorporated in the 1516 plan of the two- storied facade of the tomb can be explained by the influence of his other work at the time, the facade of San Lorenzo (fig. 27).¹²⁵ In the 1516 plan, Michelangelo not only decreased the monument in overall size, but also increased the "wealth of tectonic detail" and solved problems that were found in the 1505 plan.¹²⁶ The number of statues described in the 1516 contract amount to nineteen, less than half of the original number of statues used on the original plan. The two *Slaves*, now in the Louvre, were no longer used in the new design and were given to Ruberto Strozzi from Michelangelo.¹²⁷ The tectonic quality of the San Lorenzo facade is directly related to the similar qualities in the tomb project as they echo each other's structural characteristics. Both projects are structurally formed in a rational way and result from Michelangelo working out these ordeals while painting the ceiling.

Interruptions in the execution of the tomb were not new to Michelangelo, since he started working on it in 1505. From his flight to Florence as a result of not being paid, to the

¹²⁴ Ibid., 87.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 87.

¹²⁶ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 90.

¹²⁷ Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 141.

commission of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, Michelangelo had more on his mind than just the tomb project. The conflict of the design of the facade of San Lorenzo soon arose after the revisions of the 1513 plan of the tomb in July, resulting in a new and modified contract for the tomb.

According to Johannes Wilde, this conflict is the result of friction “between the cause of the dead pope and the interests of the living one”.¹²⁸ Leo X, the Medici Pope, offered the commission of designing and executing the facade of San Lorenzo in Florence to Michelangelo. Michelangelo, an admirer of Brunelleschi, who built San Lorenzo, accepted this architectural undertaking. Two studies for the San Lorenzo facade in 1517 show Michelangelo’s early ideas for the church. Also, according to Wilde, this new task “provoked a radical change in his inner relation to the tomb... Michelangelo’s final design... was a revised and improved version, a version on a gigantic scale, of his project of the previous year for the tomb”.¹²⁹ Other tasks were to follow this grand commission, such as the New Sacristy Medici tombs and the Biblioteca Laurenziana and as a result the Julius II tomb “lost its importance for the artist” until the year of 1532.¹³⁰

The “second tragedy” of the tomb continued for another sixteen years, during which Julius’ executors passed away and were replaced by Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere.¹³¹ While Michelangelo worked on the Medici tombs and other tasks for San Lorenzo, the work on Pope Julius II’s tomb had almost completely stopped. The Duke complained that Michelangelo had “neglected the tomb” although it was not entirely Michelangelo’s fault, but that of the Pope’s executors.¹³²

¹²⁸ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 102.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 105.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 106.

¹³¹ Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 141.

¹³² Ibid., 141.

A new contract was signed by the Duke of Urbino on April 19, 1532, in which annulled the 1516 design.¹³³ The contract stated that Michelangelo was to furnish and execute six statues he had already started, with his own hands.¹³⁴ The statues were *Moses*, *Leah*, *Rachel*, *Madonna*, and two other seated statues. The contract also stipulated that Michelangelo finish all the architectural elements present on the tomb. The final resting place for Julius' tomb in St. Peter's choir was no longer available and Michelangelo had to decide on a church to install his final execution of Julius' monument. Both the choir and lighting in Santa Maria del Popolo, the preferred church of Della Rovere, "seemed unsuitable to Michelangelo".¹³⁵ He settled on the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, the titular church of Julius II and Sixtus IV.¹³⁶ He intended to place the tomb against the rear wall at the left of the transept, a space wide and strong enough to bear the lower facade. On May 23, 1533, Michelangelo was said to have wanted to move the tomb to the right side of the transept instead.¹³⁷ He wanted a "closer connection between the tomb and the monks' choir, and the prayers said there".¹³⁸

In the final design and execution, the statue of *Moses* is shown in the center of the monument. This statue is one of the few statues on the tomb that Michelangelo carved all by himself.¹³⁹ *Moses* is posed with one leg slightly in front of the other, seated, with a turned head and flowing beard.¹⁴⁰ The statue of *Moses* has been studied and critiqued by art historians around the world because of its artistic advances in the matter of the depiction. *Moses* is shown in a

¹³³ Frommel, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, 50.

¹³⁴ Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 142.

¹³⁵ Frommel, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, 51.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹³⁹ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 99.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 99.

dynamic movement and recalls the medal of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius from the fifteenth century (fig. 28).¹⁴¹ In the plan of 1505, *Moses* was originally meant to represent the Active Life, but in the final execution he stands for the two paths to eternal life, adding the flanking statues of the *Active* and *Contemplative Life*.¹⁴² In the Old Testament, Moses was able to see God, but God is manifest and only seen through humankind. Michelangelo uses the statue of *Moses* to represent God in a way that his duty is to fulfill God's wishes. He can be described as a figure reflecting the will and might of God as Michelangelo did not represent God again in his works after finishing the Sistine ceiling. Two figural compositions recall the work of Michelangelo's *Moses*. From his first colossal statue, the *David*, to God painted in the narrative scenes on the Sistine vault, Michelangelo continues to create heroic and powerful figures. *Moses* may have been inspired by the *David* and even God on the ceiling. Michelangelo uses different elements from both of these precedents to create an equally empowering character.

Sigmund Freud, a psychoanalyst, admired Michelangelo's *Moses* and published an interpretation of the statue in 1914.¹⁴³ In his essay, Freud described *Moses* depicted in the moment when his calm was troubled by the disturbance of the Israelites.¹⁴⁴ He continued to describe the statue in a state of betrayal by his own followers, disagreeing with critics who interpreted the position of *Moses* as "tranquil and relatively stable".¹⁴⁵ Freud's interpretation of the statue's gesture of turning the head, irregular or unusual positioning of the tablets appearing to be falling underneath his right arm that is softly stroking his long and flowing beard, to be a

¹⁴¹ Frommel, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, 57.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

“dramatic take on the prophet’s life”.¹⁴⁶ With the *David* and God as prototypes for *Moses*, Michelangelo was able to depict another colossal figure that encaptures the essence of the entire unit of the art work.

The statues in the final execution of the tomb are different than those in the 1532 design. A new contract in 1542 was drawn up and stated that Michelangelo was to “supply three statues from his own hand for the Tomb”.¹⁴⁷ The two *Slaves* that were completed in 1516 were too big for the dimensions of the final design. As a result, Michelangelo began to make *Rachel* and *Leah*, the last sculptures to be completed. They are full of expression and represent the Active and Contemplative Life, placed in niches that flanked either side of *Moses*. The *Rachel* and *Leah* sculptures have little quality of form found in Michelangelo’s earlier work, meaning they are softly modelled compared to his other sculptures such as the *David*. A radical change found within them is that they are clothed females and not nude males. The closest representation we have to these statues is the *Madonna of the Stairs*. Nowhere near the same dimensions as the *Moses*, Michelangelo’s women are depicted clothed and gazing off into the distance. The *Slaves* were replaced by large volutes surmounted by herms.¹⁴⁸ The pope’s recumbent pose, resting on one arm, recalls the figure of *Dusk* in one of the Medici Tombs. The sarcophagus in which the pope lies on was projected forward in order to make the figure visible due to the lack of natural light. There is an unusual backlighting to the tomb, casting shadows on the statues when visited today in Rome. This is due to the light entering through the lunette above the incorporated wall tomb. Framed by the lunettes’ piers, which were there before the tomb was erected in San Pietro

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 59.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 164.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 164.

in Vincoli, the tomb is incorporated within the natural architecture of the church, as seen in the Medici Chapel as well.¹⁴⁹

The “Tragedy of the Tomb” as described by Condivi, justifies the outcome of the Julius commission for not only Michelangelo, but also the commissioners and executors involved. “No one was happy with the outcome” and della Rovere felt as if they had all been cheated.¹⁵⁰ Not only were the patrons upset but Michelangelo as well; he was in a constant struggle with revisions of each plan, repeatedly reducing the dimensions. The Julius II Tomb was revealed forty- two years after the first design was executed in 1547.

¹⁴⁹ Echinger-Maurach, Claudia. "Michelangelo's Monument for Julius II in 1534." *The Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1202 (2003): 340.

¹⁵⁰ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 164.

Chapter III: Sistine Chapel Ceiling

Michelangelo was commissioned to paint the Sistine Chapel ceiling on May 10th in 1508.

¹⁵¹ He had started the Julius tomb three years before and was currently settled in Florence, after he left Rome as a result of not being paid for his work. An unexpected summons from the pope raised his hopes, asking him to come back to resume work on the tomb. Instead, the pope had a much different project in mind. This would come to be the first ceiling painting that evolved from “conventional quattrocentesque compartmentalized ceiling design to a uniquely inventive, coherent, architectonic illusion which involves the entire vaulting system of the chapel”.¹⁵² In order to understand the way in which the fresco program is integrated into the architecture of the chapel, some history of the chapel is needed.

In 1471, the uncle of Julius II, Sixtus IV, was elected pope and began building the Sistine Chapel soon after 1473 next to the Vatican, the permanent papal residence.¹⁵³ According to Wilde, the original decoration of the chapel “conformed to a venerable iconographical tradition”

¹⁵¹ The Sistine Chapel Ceiling in the Vatican is discussed in Carmen Bambach, Claire M. Barry, Francesco Caglioti, Caroline Elam, Marcella Marongiu, and Mauro Mussolin, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman & Designer* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018); Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo*. Vol. 1. The Achievement of Fame (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011); Marcia Hall, *Michelangelo: The Frescoes of the Sistine Chapel* (New York, Harry N. Abrams, 2002); John Addington Symonds. *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*. Vol. 1. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Pierluigi De Vecchi and Carlo Pietrangeli, *The Sistine Chapel: A Glorious Restoration*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999); see also Idem, *Michelangelo: The Vatican Frescoes* (New York, Abbeville Press Pub., 1996); Simona Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." *Artibus Et Historiae* 19, no. 37 (1998): 43-63; Kathleen Weil and Garris Brandt, "Michelangelo's Early Projects for the Sistine Ceiling: Their Practical and Artistic Consequences." *Studies in the History of Art* 33 (1992): 56-87; Charles Robertson, "Bramante, Michelangelo and the Sistine Ceiling." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986): 91-105.

¹⁵² Weil, Kathleen, and Garris Brandt. "Michelangelo's Early Projects for the Sistine Ceiling: Their Practical and Artistic Consequences." *Studies in the History of Art* 33 (1992): 57.

¹⁵³ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 100.

which left the vault decorated with a blue sky and scattered golden stars, by Piermatteo d'Amelia (fig. 29).¹⁵⁴ This design was a common Early Christian form of decoration for vaulting.¹⁵⁵ The ceiling is a shallow barrel vault that reaches down into pendentives between spandrels over the six windows on both sides of the longer part of the chapel. Above these windows are the lunettes. The construction of the chapel, especially the curvature of the ceiling, challenged Michelangelo, who had more expertise in sculpture at the time, to paint foreshortened figures. When Julius II was elected pope he had his uncle's building repaired and demanded to improve the decoration by replacing the vault painting with a fresco of the twelve Apostles enthroned on the pendentives and ornamental panels on the vault.¹⁵⁶

Only three of Michelangelo's drawings outlining the initial ideas and designs for the ceiling survive today. Drawings or documentations during the formative stages of the ceiling frescoes are nonexistent as they were destroyed in the sack of Rome in 1527.¹⁵⁷ As a result, Art Historian Simona Cohen has tentatively focused on Michelangelo's creative process based on the three preparatory drawings for his final execution.¹⁵⁸ The first drawing for the ceiling (fig. 30) is in the British Museum today and sketched from pen and black chalk.¹⁵⁹ In this sketch Michelangelo concentrated on the spandrels and their relationship to the decorative geometric patterns on the vault.¹⁶⁰ Cohen presumes this is the first sketch in the process as it is closely "allied to conventional *quattrocento* solutions for ceiling decorations and because it is farthest

¹⁵⁴ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 50.

¹⁵⁵ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 64.

¹⁵⁶ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 50.

¹⁵⁷ Hirst, *Michelangelo*, 144.

¹⁵⁸ Simona Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." *Artibus Et Historiae* 19, no. 37 (1998): 45.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

from the final conception”.¹⁶¹ The vault posed to be the most problematic area of this commission because of its structural properties, being curved and transitioning into the wall. This transition area was neither perpendicular nor horizontal and Michelangelo began to formulate a new strategy.¹⁶² He looked at Pinturicchio’s vault fresco over the high altar of Santa Maria del Popolo (fig. 31), which is comprised of compartments and figures framed within them.¹⁶³ The twelve Apostles that were planned to be in the spandrels, in Julius’ initial program, brought another challenge for Michelangelo’s. He would have to paint them illusionistically instead of foreshortened. He also developed a decorative system that aimed to depict painted figures “in terms of sculptural mass and volume” within the architecture.¹⁶⁴ He used the decoration of the pendentives “as an upward continuation of the side- walls” without using the effect of illusion.¹⁶⁵

Michelangelo’s second drawing in pen and black chalk (fig. 32) now located in the Detroit Institute of Arts, depicts a more “schematic layout” including rectangular picture fields and niches. The fictive architecture starts to become more decorative with winged figures holding oval frames.¹⁶⁶ He begins to experiment with *quadri riporti* and the relationship between painted architecture and the spandrels and vault. Michelangelo wrote in a letter that after he made two designs, it became clear to him that the pope’s idea for the ceiling would be a “poor solution and a... banal programme”.¹⁶⁷ The pope then allowed Michelangelo to “paint down the

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 45.

¹⁶² Ibid., 45.

¹⁶³ Marcia Hall, *Michelangelo: The Frescoes of the Sistine Chapel*, (New York, Harry N. Abrams, 2002), 22.

¹⁶⁴ Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." 45.

¹⁶⁵ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 54.

¹⁶⁶ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 103.

¹⁶⁷ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 65.

histories” meaning he would decorate not only the vault, but all the spaces “both vertical and curved above the highest cornice of the chapel” in whatever design he wanted.¹⁶⁸ Here he begins to conceptualize the vault to be gridded and divided into narrative scenes with the help of *quadri riportati*. Michelangelo’s third drawing (fig. 33) is in the British Museum today, and its main ideas promote the ceiling with the “fictive cornice as the overall structuring element”.¹⁶⁹ Measurements and proportions were not a concern of Michelangelo’s at this point in the design process. He focused mainly on the abstract patterns and overall composition that would all tie in harmoniously together. All drawings “foreshadow the actual arrangement since they show alternating large and small fields down the center” which was executed as the nine narrative scenes in the final product.¹⁷⁰

As seen in the final execution of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, Michelangelo used the central design of the ceiling to represent the world *ante legem*, before Law. Roughly fifty or sixty sketches of life drawings survive pertaining to the figures portrayed in the lunettes, spandrels, pendentives, and vault.¹⁷¹ The central part of the ceiling consists of nine rectangular narrative scenes from the Book of Genesis, starting with the Creation of man and ending with the degradation in sin “which made both the Law and Salvation necessary”.¹⁷² Art Historian Pierluigi de Vecchi describes these scenes are represented as if they are seen above the space of the chapel, “beyond and through the imposing structure of the painted architecture” and each act an

¹⁶⁸ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 50.

¹⁶⁹ Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." 47.

¹⁷⁰ Charles Robertson, "Bramante, Michelangelo and the Sistine Ceiling." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986): 103.

¹⁷¹ Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." 48.

¹⁷² Murray, *Michelangelo*, 66.

independent unit.¹⁷³ Around the perimeter of the ceiling are figures of seven Prophets alternating with five Sibyls.¹⁷⁴ Framing fictively painted bronze medallions are pairs of Ignudi, or athletic young nudes.¹⁷⁵ He used the curvature of the ceiling as it presented itself to him, meaning he created architectonic framework and a world of colossal figures which Art Historian Charles de Tolnay describes as “an incarnation of the vital energies latent in the vault”.¹⁷⁶

According to Condivi’s account of Michelangelo’s work for the Sistine Chapel, Pope Julius II had Michelangelo in mind to paint the ceiling while he was working on his papal tomb. Although Michelangelo was trained in fresco painting by Ghirlandaio and helped him with the panel fresco in Santa Maria Novella, he had little experience with a paintbrush and more with a chisel. Bramante discouraged the pope’s attempt to commission Michelangelo for such a large task, arguing that Michelangelo told him “many times that he did not wish to have anything to do with the Chapel”.¹⁷⁷ Bramante also claimed that “he thought Michelangelo a poor choice for so major an undertaking” because lacked experience in painting and “in particular requirements of ceiling painting with regard to foreshortening figures”.¹⁷⁸ The pope did not listen to Bramante and it was a letter from Piero Roselli to Michelangelo in 1506 that said the pope wanted Michelangelo back in Rome for the sole purpose of painting the ceiling.¹⁷⁹ When work began on the ceiling in 1508, Michelangelo had made the “vault of the Sistine Chapel his private life”.¹⁸⁰ Michelangelo’s attitude, according to the account of Carl Justi, was reluctant toward the

¹⁷³ Pierluigi De Vecchi, *Michelangelo: The Vatican Frescoes*, (New York, Abbeville Press Pub., 1996), 89.

¹⁷⁴ Bambach, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman & Designer*, 84.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

¹⁷⁶ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 26.

¹⁷⁷ Hirst, *Michelangelo*, 146.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 148.

commission of the ceiling and he repeatedly said, “if you want to force me to become a painter, I will paint you a chapel of marble figures... and taking the mass of statues of which they had deprived him, he transferred them to the ceiling”.¹⁸¹ Michelangelo did just as he said he would and transformed the surface of the plaster into the sculptural form that he wished he was working on, meaning the Julius II Tomb.

The architectural setting Michelangelo provides in the Sistine ceiling frescoes is the first time the three arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting are combined into a single organism.¹⁸² Michelangelo’s figures are created with weight and volume in between his “relief” of the painted architecture.¹⁸³ He invented “an alternation of architectonic thrones and sculpturesque figures that translates the forms of the Julius tomb into paint”.¹⁸⁴ Many art historians refer to Michelangelo’s painted figures on the tomb as “sculpturesque”, or having plasticity, volume, and mass to them. He transformed the plaster of the ceiling into a world of three dimensionality with of a paint brush. Art Historian John Symonds describes the chapel as being “natural” and “without confusion, a pedestal for the human form”.¹⁸⁵ The term pedestal applies, quite literally as the figures appear to be sculpted from marble.

To discuss Michelangelo’s commissioned part of the chapel, I will refer to the walls and vault in specific terms and zones. The lowest zone in which Michelangelo was commissioned is formed by the lunettes (fig. 34), which are situated above the upper cornice of the wall. They form a semi- circular crown to the top of the window arches, interrupting at their center bottom.

¹⁸¹ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 50.

¹⁸² Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 241.

¹⁸³ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 26.

¹⁸⁴ Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 105.

¹⁸⁵ Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 241.

Six round arched windows are placed on each side of the long walls, resulting in twelve lunette cycles. Each cycle has two figures, one on each side of the arch, that represent the daily factors of humanity, more specifically Christ's Ancestors.¹⁸⁶ Above the lunettes are the spandrels (fig. 35). Four are present on each side, totaling in eight. Spandrels are the triangular space between the outer curve of the ceiling. In these spandrels are groups of figures, mostly families with young children that complete the Ancestors of Christ found below in the lunettes. In the four major corners of the ceiling are the pendentives (fig. 36). They are also triangular in shape, but curved and act as supportive arches between the vault of the ceiling and the walls. They serve as the junction points between the ceiling and walls. They can also be referred to as larger spandrels. In these large corner pendentives are four fresco scenes depicting miraculous salvation of the Israeli people.

Moving upward from the first zone, is the second zone made of the Prophets and Sibyls (fig. 37). The Prophets are of Israel and the Sibyls are of the pagan world, who foretold the coming of the Messiah. They are enthroned and have no architectural support, yet their piers rest on the triangular frames of the pendentives. The thrones are painted in perspective “as if they were painted on vertical walls on the spectators eye- level”.¹⁸⁷ Five Prophets and Sibyls are shown on each side of the walls for a totaling of ten. Over the altar wall is the figure of Jonah and over the main entrance wall is the figure of Zechariah. These are both the short sides of the Chapel. *Prophets* and *Sibyls* are identified by labels of text below them written on what appear to be stone tablets, a nostalgic nod to working with marble.

¹⁸⁶ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 28.

¹⁸⁷ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 55.

The third zone contains the long rectangular vault, in which the nine historical scenes are presented. Michelangelo arranges these zones in a “dual ascension” which symbolizes both “the three degrees of existence, and an ascension through the historical cycle which runs from the story of Noah to the scenes of Creation”.¹⁸⁸ Although the nine scenes are all related and in the book of Genesis, Michelangelo formed them into groups of three; arranging them in origin and meaning. The first three episodes is *Separation of Light from Darkness, Creation of the Sun, Moon, and Planets*, and then *Separation of Land from Sea* (figures 38- 40). All of these scenes have God as the central and main figure. Following into the next grouping is *Creation of Adam, Creation of Eve*, and the *Fall and Expulsion from the Garden of Eden* (figures 41- 43). The final three scenes show the fall of mankind with *Sacrifice of Noah, The Flood*, and the *Drunkenness of Noah* (figures 44- 46).

Charles de Tolnay makes a connection between the Sistine Chapel ceiling and the first project for the Julius II tomb, which is the thesis of this paper.¹⁸⁹ They both demonstrate a “symphony of human forms” meaning that they are all coordinated, superimposed, and rhythmic on different scales “dominated by the strict lines of the architectonic framework”.¹⁹⁰ De Tolnay also suggests how Michelangelo intended for the ceiling to be seen by spectators. Michelangelo presents his work to us “with an immense grille through the bars of which we can look into an ideal world”.¹⁹¹ His technique is neither *trompe-l’oeil* nor fiction. He looks back to ancient Roman architecture as inspiration for the ceiling, looking especially at triumphal arches and

¹⁸⁸ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 28.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

antique statuary such as the pairs of putti sit on the thrones, relating back to ancient times.¹⁹² The putti and caryatid figures that frame the thrones recall the idea of Hellenistic groups of Eros and Psyche as well as figures from the Laocoon.¹⁹³ He also uses the Roman triumphal arches to inspire his settings as seen in the *Expulsion from Paradise* where Victories are hovering on triumphal arches. The motifs of these bronze putti and Ancestors of Christ holding medallions relates back to certain scenes depicted on the Arch of Constantine (fig. 47). The roundels on the Arch of Constantine are circular and lie above the rounded arches, similar to the medallion roundels painted with the *Ignudi*. In the first three scenes of Genesis shown on the ceiling from the entrance, one can see the effect of antique reliefs by Michelangelo's strict style, designing these scenes on parallel lines, and the use of naked figures.¹⁹⁴ Not only does Michelangelo use his own work such as the Julius Tomb as inspiration for the Sistine frescoes, but also other architectural work prevalent in Rome.

In the first half of the ceiling, Michelangelo transferred the cartoons he drew onto the ceiling using the method of pouncing.¹⁹⁵ This technique involves “dusting pinholes that mark the outlines with charcoal”, leaving behind an impression and copy of the original drawing to guide Michelangelo through his brush-work.¹⁹⁶ He later changes his method in the second half of the ceiling, which will be discussed next. The historical scenes grouped into the first half of the ceiling are on the first four panels. They are multi-figured and set out in parallel lines, enclosed in a limited space.¹⁹⁷ In the second half of the ceiling he uses a much different method, one where

¹⁹² Ibid., 32.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 32.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 32.

¹⁹⁵ Hall, *Michelangelo: The Frescoes of the Sistine Chapel*, 19.

¹⁹⁶ Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 205.

¹⁹⁷ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 33.

he incises the outlines into the damp plaster. Here there are noticeably fewer figures, larger, composed in diagonals, “evoking and even creating infinite space around them”.¹⁹⁸ In the second half of the ceiling, Michelangelo produced larger and bolder figures, with more fluent application of the paint resulting in “a new movement and energy”.¹⁹⁹ He not only produced a more fluid technique in the second half, but he also worked faster. These figures took on a livelier appearance, almost that of living flesh, portrayed as softer and smoother.²⁰⁰

Michelangelo worked on the ceiling frescoes from 1508- 1512 and the sonnets he wrote record the strain this commission put on him mentally and physically. He wrote about the physical strain of standing on the scaffolding, constantly reaching over his head while paint dripped down onto him, all the way to describing how his body had been distorted.²⁰¹ Despite the difficulties of painting the ceiling, Michelangelo finished half by 1510, only two years after he had started.²⁰² According to the accounts of Condivi, the pope made regular visits to the painter to see the progress. When it was half completed, Julius ordered that the scaffolding should be removed so that he could see the work from floor level.²⁰³ This was advantageous to Michelangelo as he could see what his work looked like from the first half. He advanced to the second half after his own self- critique and approached his painting technique differently. In the first half the figures look “tentative” and almost as if he was holding back his skills.²⁰⁴ The figures looked as if they were of a marble gray substance and “hard as stone”.²⁰⁵ After the

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 33.

¹⁹⁹ Hall, *Michelangelo: The Frescoes of the Sistine Chapel*, 19.

²⁰⁰ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 33.

²⁰¹ Hall, *Michelangelo: The Frescoes of the Sistine Chapel*, 19.

²⁰² Ibid., 19.

²⁰³ Ibid., 19.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 19.

²⁰⁵ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 33.

uncovering of the first half of the ceiling took place, people flocked to the chapel to see what Michelangelo had been working on.²⁰⁶ Art Historian John Symonds comments that painters who observed the half completed project saw what a genius Michelangelo was.²⁰⁷ He had revolutionized sculpture and introduced this new style and spirit into the art of painting.

The coloring of the ceiling gradually changes over the three zones noted before; the lunettes, pendentives, and the vault. Michelangelo uses “a harmony of rare, pale tones, a sort of diffused light” in his commission of the ceiling.²⁰⁸ He especially uses this “primary tone... seen in its pure state in the painted architecture of the vault” also gleaming behind other forms that are colored.²⁰⁹ The first four historical scenes painted on the vault are pale, close to the grayish-white of the fresco plaster.²¹⁰ In the next five scenes to follow, God’s colored tunic radiates and contrasts from the rest of proceeding scenes. This effect is best described by De Tolnay as “ethereal purity and unity in the colors”.²¹¹

Michelangelo arrived to the site of the Sistine Chapel, ready to begin his commission, and saw various notable artists’ works of art completed on the lower registers of the walls. These Italian Renaissance artists were Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Rosselli, and Perugino, whom all decorated the side walls with frescoes in 1481. Their fresco paintings influenced Michelangelo in not only his use of fictive architecture, but illusionistic figures and elements. These walls are divided into three main sections. The central tier has two narrative cycles, one on each of the longitudinal sides; *The Life of Moses* (fig. 48) and *The Life of Christ* (fig. 49), commissioned in

²⁰⁶ Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 209.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 210.

²⁰⁸ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 34.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 35.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 35.

²¹¹ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 35.

1480 by Pope Sixtus IV.²¹² The painters from Tuscany and Umbria portrayed these cycles using life-like anatomy with scientific perspective and elements from classical antiquity typical of Italian Renaissance art.²¹³ Above these narrative cycles in between the windows, Botticelli painted a row of twenty- eight Popes. The area underneath the frescoed history scenes were left blank, for Raphael to paint fictive tapestries.²¹⁴ On the north wall were the fresco scenes from *The Life of Christ* by Perugino and Botticelli. Painted piers are used to separate each scene, just as seen in Michelangelo's Genesis cycle. One could say this is an example of fictive architecture, but the piers are not made to seem realistic as they are decorated with arabesques. Above both cycles are cornices, the chapel's real architecture interacting with the works of art. Before Michelangelo designed his commissioned part of the ceiling, he looked at his precedents and what worked and what did not in the artistic sense. As noted in chapter three, Michelangelo upgraded his precedents' stylistic techniques and painted fictive architecture which appears to be real and illusionistic.

Perugino's *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 50) is the first scene in the cycle and includes numerous figures, including the central and subject of the scene, Jesus getting baptized in the Jordan River. God is depicted in the center of a decorative frame, surrounded by flying angels and cherubs. The other figures, angels and "catechumens", are set throughout the fore and middle ground of the fresco, creating perspective.²¹⁵ The background shows an illusionistic

²¹² Carol Lewine, *The Sistine Chapel Walls and the Roman Liturgy*, (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), x.

²¹³ Ibid., x.

²¹⁴ Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 237.

²¹⁵ Lewine, *The Sistine Chapel Walls and the Roman Liturgy*, 23.

architectural setting, portraying the scene just outside of a town. The presence of landscape and architecture is common in paintings of antiquity and calls for the revival of this style.

Next to *The Baptism of Christ* is Botticelli's *Temptations of Christ* (fig. 51), a similar composition to that of Perugino. Set in an architectural and natural background, multiple figures inhabit the scene. Jesus and the Devil are shown in a continuous narrative in the background of the scene. The first temptation, shown in the upper left corner of the fresco, the second in the center, and the third in the right upper corner. Both of these figures act as the background and communicate with the landscape and architecture Botticelli incorporated. The middle and foreground angels and figures make the composition aesthetically more complicated and fuller. Comparing these scenes to Michelangelo's first scenes completed on the central panel of the vault, one can see the influences Perugino had on Michelangelo when he was commissioned to undertake the vault of the Sistine ceiling. As noted earlier, Michelangelo designed the narrative scenes in the first half of the ceiling containing more figures than the second half. After critiquing his own work from ground level, Michelangelo decided to paint the next five narrative scenes with fewer figures.

For example, in *The Drunkenness of Noah* (fig. 46) one of the first scenes to be completed, the subject matter is clearly more complicated than the rest of the scenes. This is a result of Michelangelo looking at Perugino and Botticelli's frescoes before he began his own work on the ceiling. He was reluctant to start the painting project because he thought of himself to only be a sculptor and looked to the painters who had worked before him for directional advice. It was not until he completed half of the ceiling that he arrived his own unique style, one that was less influenced by precedents when he began the second half of his commission. The

multiple figures in one scene which are not only relevant to the central panel in the Sistine ceiling, but also to the Julius II Tomb. As noted in the tomb chapter, Michelangelo's first design in 1505 of the tomb had over forty statues. As seen on the tomb today, there are not even half of what he thought was going to be on the tomb seeing as he had to size down the scale through his multiple revisions.

In architectural terms, Michelangelo incorporates Perugino's and Botticelli's illusionistic architecture into his work. Rather than depicting his scenes with architecture in the background, he uses it to frame the scenes and make it seem like the viewer is in the setting rather than looking at it. Although influenced by these precedents in the Sistine Chapel, John Symonds comments that he "reacted against the decorative methods of the fifteenth century" and avoided the usage of landscapes and arabesques.²¹⁶ Symonds also describes the Sistine ceiling evolving into "an architectural foundation for the plastic forms to rest on" and designed in "a mighty architectural framework in the form" of "bold cornices, projecting brackets, and ribbed arches flung across the void of heaven".²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 239.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 240.

Chapter IV: Conceptual Similarities

Having discussed the overall content of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, I will now go into a closer comparison of conceptual similarities between the ceiling and the tomb. Many compositional similarities are shown between the tomb of Julius II and the Sistine Chapel ceiling as a result of the two projects overlapping each other. This helped solidify Michelangelo's technique and approach to compositional design throughout his career. At the start of the ceiling commission, Michelangelo had only made one plan for the tomb, that of 1505. When the pope enlisted Michelangelo to the task of the ceiling, Michelangelo's first thoughts for Julius II's tomb were just starting to take shape.

Michelangelo demonstrated his belief that the two arts, sculpture and painting, differ from each other only in the means used to create them, rather than their purpose. Johannes Wilde makes the argument that both sculpture and painting have the same goal in mind; to convincingly render three-dimensional forms.²¹⁸ Michelangelo was committed to sculpture more so than he was to painting, but he did not shy away from this medium when commissions came his way, although was reluctant to paint the ceiling at first. In a famous letter from Michelangelo to Benedetto Varchi in 1547, Michelangelo explains that he believes "every sculptor should perform the same amount of work in painting as in sculpture, and vice versa".²¹⁹ Michelangelo also believed that "much is to be gained in the wider field of painting, both for solving problems of form and for presenting ideas".²²⁰ By immersing himself in a field of art with which he was

²¹⁸ Wilde, *Michelangelo*, 87.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

less comfortable in, Michelangelo learned many conceptual techniques through challenging himself with this large fresco undertaking. Not only did painting the Sistine Chapel ceiling help solve problems for the Julius tomb, it also helped him clearly present ideas for commissions in the future such as the San Lorenzo facade and the Medici Tombs. The identity of purpose between these two figurative arts became a signature aspect of Michelangelo's career and output.

Michelangelo approached the design of the ceiling through divisions of the vault through the use of painted architecture. De Vecchi describes the plan of the ceiling to produce “an effect of total structural unity in which, however, the parts are clearly divided” through the use of this fictive architecture.²²¹ Through these divisions of painted architecture, he creates the technique of “gridding”. We have seen this conceptual gridding in early works of Michelangelo such as the *Madonna of the Steps* and *Doni Tondo*. Both of these works exemplify Michelangelo's approach to his design and execution of art. The relief tablet of *Madonna of the Steps* includes clear perspectival lines showing the fore, middle, and background clearly, allowing the viewer to comprehend both the setting and dimensions of the portrayal. In the circular painting of the *Doni Tondo*, Michelangelo uses the same technique of gridding and linear perspective, dissecting each group of figures and separating them from each other, which makes the overall composition appear more three dimensional.

As explained previously, the Julius II tomb's design process was also characterized by gridding. Although his *Madonna of the Steps*, the *Doni Tondo*, the Sistine Chapel ceiling, and the Julius II tomb are all very different, they acquire the same tectonic and creative structuring. Michelangelo used this approach in all of his works, which then begin to creatively morph

²²¹ De Vecchi, *Michelangelo: The Vatican Frescoes*, 91.

together in the sense of his design process. This allowed him to work on projects that overlapped, therefore connecting them and solidifying his technique. In Michelangelo's earlier career he began his studies of an artist by drawing. These sketches also incorporated gridding in terms of his cross-hatching technique.

Backtracking to my chapter on the tomb, Michelangelo used gridding in terms of designing the Julius tomb. Through this method he was able to proportion architecture and figures thoroughly together, resulting in a harmonious execution. The monument was intended to be free-standing and seen from all sides. Many figures and other decorations were to adorn this monument. After Michelangelo's first design of the 1505 tomb, he soon began to design the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. The ceiling, at this time, "stood in marked contrast to the unrealistic and unrealizable plan for the tomb of Julius".²²² The ceiling project and its complex architecture and overall finite dimensions "defined the boundaries of the task" of the tomb at least conceptually.²²³ Both projects required extensive preparation and designing, as their overall compositions are convoluted and intertwined within each others elements. Instead of abandoning his original investment in Pope Julius II's tomb, Michelangelo translated and combined two different sets of ideas into one plan.²²⁴ David Freedberg argues that "the vocabulary forms that Michelangelo projected onto the ceiling represented the unfolding on a flat surface of what was designed for the three-dimensional tomb".²²⁵

²²² Liebert, *Michelangelo: A Psychoanalytic Study of His Life and Images*, 163.

²²³ Ibid., 150.

²²⁴ Ibid., 163.

²²⁵ Ibid., 163.

To explain in more detail, Carmen Bambach has referred to the Detroit drawing (fig. 32) of Michelangelo's composition sketches and studies for the ceiling and the tomb.²²⁶ These fragmentary sketches reveal the inner workings of Michelangelo's thought process between the two projects for Julius. Bambach comments that many scholars "have recognized that the early drawings for the tomb and those for the Sistine ceiling evolved along parallel lines and share considerable similarities of concept and style".²²⁷ Explaining in further detail, Bambach describes both projects as entailing a major architectural framework with monumental figures.²²⁸ Further, the Detroit drawing reveals figural motifs that are similar to the Metropolitan Museum's *modello* of the tomb in 1505-6. The many similarities found in the early sketches of both projects, show that these contemporaneous commissions were in fact Michelangelo's way of reinventing his art in different contexts.²²⁹ A similar set of figural types and poses frequently occur throughout his design process with a *concetto*, or overall artistic concept, emerging almost autonomously, which then was applied to a given project, whether in sculpture or painting.²³⁰

Cohen comments that in the Sistine ceiling drawings "the concept of fundamental geometric framework, derived from *quattrocento* precedents, was retained from beginning to end".²³¹ These precedents were evident in Rome at the time in work by the artist Pinturicchio. Michelangelo was inspired by Pinturicchio in the design and painting of the Sistine Chapel ceiling as he played an important role in the revival of illusionistic decoration through his ceiling

²²⁶ Bambach, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman & Designer*, 77.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 95.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

²³¹ Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." 61.

frescoes.²³² Pinturicchio's contributions to the revival of illusionistic painting was through fictive architecture. He was a decorator of vaults and used this technique of "revived antique compartment schemes and shapes".²³³ Art Historian J. Schulz argues that Pinturicchio's ceiling frescoes of the Quattrocento were "the determining influences in the formation of that taste for neo- antique ceiling and wall decorations... which produced works as diverse as Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling".²³⁴ An example of one of Pinturicchio's ceilings is found in the Vatican at Innocent VIII's Villa Belvedere (fig. 52). The ceiling is painted with foreshortened figures, just as seen in the Sistine ceiling, as well as the division of space through painted fictive architecture into a system of compartments.²³⁵ Dividing space through compartmentalizing fictive architecture is most prevalent in the central vault of the Sistine ceiling. The nine histories are all framed within the painted architecture, clearly representing scene by scene. Dating from the Middle Ages, framing of history scenes within painted architecture, either rendered illusionistically or ornamentally flat, has long been a tradition in Italian mural painting.²³⁶ Schulz describes that the ceiling Pinturicchio painted in Villa Belvedere "systematically transforms the loggia into the fiction of an airy hall, carried by delicacy, sculptured piers, roofed by a very rich stucco vault".²³⁷

Another ceiling fresco that may have inspired Michelangelo at the time of the Sistine ceiling commission is also by Pinturicchio. Commissioned by Julius II, Pinturicchio decorated the vault for Julius' sanctuary in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (fig. 31). It was completed in

²³² J. Schulz, "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25, no. 1/2 (1962): 36.

²³³ Schulz, "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity." 36.

²³⁴ Ibid., 36.

²³⁵ Ibid., 37.

²³⁶ Ibid., 38.

²³⁷ Ibid., 37.

spring of 1510, a project Michelangelo could see unfold while he was designing a similar scheme in the Sistine vault. The vault for Santa Maria del Popolo has fictive architecture that makes up geometric designs throughout the ceiling. Figures of “Fathers of the Church” are enthroned in the projecting tabernacle frames and represented *di sotto in su*.²³⁸ The thrones stand apart from the compartment system in the center, “forming a second and equally important order of forms much more emphatically illusionistic than the first”.²³⁹ Similarly, Michelangelo depicted enthroned figures in the Sistine Chapel, confirming many art historians beliefs that he was in fact influenced by Pinturicchio. In Michelangelo’s scheme, the enthroned figures are Apostles and are at the sides of the vault, not the cornice.

Michelangelo borrowed many elements from Pinturicchio’s vault in Santa Maria del Popolo, but transformed Pinturicchio’s ideas into ones of his own with the help of the tomb project. Schulz believes that Michelangelo’s Sistine ceiling is no imitation of Pinturicchio’s, but “rather a critique”, stating that the Sistine ceiling’s plan is “much indebted to the style of ceiling decoration launched by Pinturicchio”.²⁴⁰ Michelangelo follows Pinturicchio’s plan by borrowing concepts such as compartmented shapes and illusionistic, foreshortened elements. An example of Michelangelo’s critique of Pinturicchio’s work is seen through his central vault of the nine histories. Michelangelo’s fictive architecture is much more heavier and larger in scale in proportion to the vault.²⁴¹ Schulz comments that overall, Michelangelo’s decorative scheme “is more unified and more tectonic, but also more monumental and more richly plastic” meaning

²³⁸ Ibid., 51.

²³⁹ Ibid., 51.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 52.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 53.

more three dimensional.²⁴² This is a result from working on the Julius tomb at the same time as the ceiling commission.

²⁴² Ibid., 53.

Chapter V: A Shared Vision

As Michelangelo advanced in his compositions and designs of the ceiling Simona Cohen argues that “it became necessary to generate a separate organizing principle for each of the constituent systems, new and more sophisticated structures emerged, but the concept remained the same”.²⁴³ Why is it that Michelangelo added much architectural work to the ceiling instead of the conventional forms of decoration? Art Historian Herbert von Einem argues it is the influence of Julius II’s tomb that makes it so closely linked with the architectural values in the Sistine ceiling.²⁴⁴

Michelangelo’s interest in architecture began when he received the commission for the Julius II Tomb. The drawings of the ceiling, now in London and Detroit, similarly show a decorative architectural character with “shell niches and complicated framing elements” reflecting Michelangelo’s experience with the tomb.²⁴⁵ Both projects are interconnected, whether through the fact that Michelangelo was working on both simultaneously, or the creative process ingrained in his mind. Interestingly enough, not only is the decorative architecture reminiscent of that in the ceiling, but so are the figures and statues. As seen in his earlier work, the *Doni Tondo* is considered to have a sculptural sensibility and foreshadows his work on the ceiling, but it is not until the Sistine commission that Michelangelo indulged deeply into the means of what painted architecture meant to him. The importance of the ceiling project to Michelangelo’s design process is underlined by a comparison of the Julius tomb design with his major

²⁴³ Schulz, "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity." 61.

²⁴⁴ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 58.

²⁴⁵ Robertson, "Bramante, Michelangelo and the Sistine Ceiling." 103.

architectural projects after the ceiling, particularly the facade of San Lorenzo, which will be discussed at the end of this essay.²⁴⁶

In the making of the Julius tomb, Michelangelo's technique of gridding is the most prevalent compared to any of his other works. He began the design of the tomb by separating each level of the monument into registers. The lower story consisting of columns and pilasters leading up to more intense and ornately decorated stories as the architecture ascends. Gridded into two main bays, the facade becomes more visually appealing as it gets higher, adding more detail oriented niches, roundels, and pediments. This technique allows Michelangelo's architecture to work harmoniously together with other proportions in the monument. Many wonder how he was able to switch from sculpture to large architecture to painting a ceiling. The answer is simple, he uses the same technique and treats every medium the same.

His similar approaches to his work are clear when dissecting the Sistine ceiling. By proportioning the ceiling in terms of gridding out in fictive architecture, he was able to apply similar means to this project. The ceiling is often referred to as a painted "complex architectural system" because of the complicated program he executed had never been seen on a ceiling before.²⁴⁷ In this program of the vault, Michelangelo painted figures that are sculptural in form, creating the illusion of being fitted into niches or other structural bases.²⁴⁸ A prominent example of gridding in the ceiling is seen through the nine narrative scenes of Genesis. They are clearly divided from each other by means of their painted architecture, but also by their subjects. This is the equivalent to the registers and bays of Michelangelo's Julius II tomb. The tomb portrays what

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 105.

²⁴⁷ Liebert, *Michelangelo: A Psychoanalytic Study of His Life and Images*, 163.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 163.

belongs together and what is separated, but in the whole, the monument shows the working of each component as a unit. Another example of gridding seen in the ceiling is the *Prophets*, *Sibyls*, and *Ignudi*, all of them whom are all depicted within framed architecture as reliefs that appear on a surface of a monument.²⁴⁹ Liebert argues that throughout the ceiling, Michelangelo “retained the approach of a sculptor, not a painter, in his overriding emphasis on single- figure units”.²⁵⁰

Structure as a means of integration is the key component to Michelangelo’s consistency in his artwork. To break down Michelangelo’s design process and gridding technique in painting, Art Historian Simona Cohen offers a clear and concise explanation for how he accomplished this. In Cohen’s structural diagram (fig. 53), she examines the symmetrical and rhythmic divisions of the vault. Cohen describes Michelangelo’s first thought process as an “abstract underlying structure, in which geometric regularity and rhythm would impose some sense of unity”.²⁵¹ His approach was traditional and the structural elements were anticipated from the beginning. In his first sketch of the ceiling, the geometric design of Julius’ wishes were still imprinted in Michelangelo’s mind.²⁵² It is not until the second drawing of the ceiling where one sees Michelangelo tap into his idea of diagonal vectors, reasserting themselves as what Cohen describes “as a whole network of diagonals that extended from the arches of the severies into the vault”.²⁵³ These intersecting diagonals and geometric patterns that were formed as a result became “a determining factor in the composition”.²⁵⁴ Cohen concludes that with this “gridding”

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 163.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 163.

²⁵¹ Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." 49.

²⁵² Ibid., 49.

²⁵³ Ibid., 49.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 49.

aspect through diagonals, Michelangelo created repetitive elements that established a harmony across the vault. From “Zechariah to Jonah” it created a “contrapuntal relationship to the polymorphic sequence”.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 49.

Chapter VI: Figure Similarities

Having explained the structural similarities between the overall architectural compositions of the ceiling and tomb, I will discuss the figures executed in both projects and how they are related. I agree with Art Historian Herbert von Einem in his statement that the *Prophets*, *Sibyls*, and *Ignudi* all belong to the design vocabulary of Pope Julius II's Tomb.²⁵⁶ With both projects being created at the same time, Michelangelo was destined to reiterate figures and have them influence one another. More generally, the Sistine Chapel's lunettes recall the lower story of the tomb with niches and pilasters framing the rounded arched windows and the seated figures of the Sistine Chapel recall those figures of the upper story in the tomb design of 1505.²⁵⁷

Overall, Michelangelo used his ideas in the 1505 plan of the tomb to plan out and arrange the ceiling. In the 1505 plan, figures in movement were essential to bringing the monument to life. Starting with both the ceiling and 1505 plan of the tomb's lower stories, one can see many parallels or similarities. The lunette figures on the ceiling appear to be set into niche-like environment, all holding expressive poses. The windows of the chapel act as the niches in this case, but the movement of the figures around the rounded architecture recall those that are found in the tomb. They function as the bottom tier to the Sistine ceiling and begin to tell the unfolding story continued by the ceiling. The bottom tier of the free-standing tomb has ten main figures set into niches around the perimeter of the base, all in different poses. Flanking each side of them are caryatid pilasters, adding to the dramatic effect. Acting as worshippers to Julius II, all the

²⁵⁶ Einem, *Michelangelo*, 66.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.

figures seen on the bottom story heighten the experience with their bold poses as the spectator's eyes ascend to the main subject of the tomb, the Pope's enthroned figure shown at the top.

Similar to the tomb's "worshipping figures" the lunettes provide the same subject on the ceiling, human precursors to the coming of Jesus Christ. These figures are all full of movement and act as the bottom level to the ceiling's main subject, the nine narrative scenes of Genesis.

Similarly, many parallels exist between the *Slaves* and the *Ignudi*. The *Slaves*, that did not make it to the final execution of the tomb, and the *Ignudi* on the ceiling, refer to each other and their poses. In sculpting the *Prisoners*, Michelangelo captured the expressivity in the human form. In particular, Maria Forcellino notes that the two *Ignudi* painted in the last scene of the ceiling in 1512 "beautifully prefigure the so-called *Dying Prisoner*, on which Michelangelo was working about 1513 but had begun perhaps as early as 1506".²⁵⁸ The gesture of one of the *Ignudo* bringing its hand to its chest in a caressing way is replicated in the statue. The other Sistine *Ignudo* in this scene is posed with its head turned backward, bringing its left arm up to his neck, another repeated fashion seen in the *Dying Prisoner*. The *Slaves*, not fully carved, show many similarities to the *Ignudi* and give art historians an idea of how they were conceived as they were carved three years after the *Ignudi*. The *Rebellious Slave* is shown in profile, but twisting his torso and head toward the viewer. This pose allows the viewer to comprehend all the muscles that are working and being strained by this action. The same is seen in the Sistine ceiling in the *Ignudi* poses. Their legs are shown in profile, just as in the *Rebellious Slave*, but their torsos and

²⁵⁸ Maria Forcellino, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius*, (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2016), 289.

heads are shown in movement allowing musculature to be prominently featured. The *Dying Slave* can be closely tied to Michelangelo's red chalk drawings for the Sistine ceiling (fig. 54) with its right arm raised to the chest and the hand slightly curled, mimicking the pose of the slave.

Moving to the second tier of the 1505 tomb are four enthroned figures. They are placed at each corner of the monument and are replicated on the ceiling in versions of the enthroned apostles and sibyls. This prominent transition and influence of figures is seen through the seated figures of the prophets and sibyls on the ceiling. Comparing the frescoed enthroned figures to their sculpted versions, one will notice they are almost mimicking the enthroned statues meant for the 1505 plan. The putti act as caryatids, framing the posts of the thrones in both the tomb and ceiling. The three dimensional aspects of the fictive architecture of the spandrels and thrones of the Apostles also recreate the tomb's second tier of enthroned figures. Four enthroned figures were meant for the second tier on the tomb in 1505, suggesting that Michelangelo used these figures from the tomb to design the apostles and sibyls of the ceiling. Both sets are shown on sturdy thrones with muscular bodies draped in heavy garments, in different but similar poses.

Art Historian Robert Liebert also compares the tomb's second tier of enthroned figures to the ceiling's "second tier" of the enthroned apostles and sibyls. I also agree with Liebert's thesis that the *Ignudi* are related figurally to the *Slaves* that inhabit the first story of the tomb in niches. He describes the ceiling figures as "analogues" to the tomb figures as they were represented based on Michelangelo's 1505 plan for the tomb when they were being painted in 1508.²⁵⁹ Framing the scenes of the central panel, the expressive work of these figures enhances and

²⁵⁹ Liebert, *Michelangelo: A Psychoanalytic Study*, 163.

directs the spectator's eyes to see and interpret the story the ceiling is telling. The central vault acts as the highest point in the overall scheme, as it is architecturally, but is the main source the ceiling is representing.

More specifically, in terms of similarities between the enthroned figures of both projects, the fresco of *Prophet Zechariah* (fig. 25) is strikingly similar to the statue of *Moses* (fig. 21). Michelangelo had sculpted *Moses* from 1513 to 1515, starting a year after the completion of the ceiling. Reverting back to his preferred medium, sculpture, the *Moses* may be regarded as a realization in sculpture of the approach of the *Prophets* on the ceiling. The painted figure of *Zechariah* is found above the entrance door to the chapel and is foreshadows of what was to come in the sculpting of *Moses* seen in the center of the tomb today. *Zechariah* is portrayed as an aged man reading from a book. His left foot steps further into the viewers' space while the right is not shown, but covered in his garments. *Moses* is shown in the same seated position, but with his right foot forward. He is also portrayed as looking away, but similar to *Zechariah* he is holding a stone tablet. The same powerful stance of both bodies leads to an assumption that Michelangelo derived *Moses* from the *Prophet Zechariah*. As well as sharing the same posture, these figures are both shown enthroned in marble chairs. Seen above the entrance of the chapel, *Zechariah* acts as the center of the bottom tier on the ceiling, similar to *Moses* who is seated in the center bottom story of the tomb. Characteristically, both figures have the prominent beards that are full and long. The beard on *Moses* is the most powerful feature about him because it captures his movement in a frozen time. The fresco painting of *Prophet Zechariah* is more static, but his beard appears to be a precursor to that of *Moses*'s. This is just one of the many examples

found in Michelangelo's work where fluidity between projects is prevalent and used as inspiration.

An example relating the *Delphic Sibyl* (fig. 55) to an earlier work of art by Michelangelo is the Madonna in the *Doni Tondo*. Both are painted in emphatic shot colors, in sculptural forms, and almost identical poses. Linda Murray goes even further and relates the painting of the Delphic Sibyl to the sculpted relief Madonna in the *Pitti Tondo* (fig. 56).²⁶⁰ Both have related poses and rounded frontality of their forms.²⁶¹ The strongly modelled drapery and outward gazes of both of these figures show strong similarities and the imitative component of Michelangelo's design process. He borrowed elements of each of his earlier works and translated them into similar but more detailed and advanced versions.

The *Delphic Sibyl* was also a model for the figures on the Julius II Tomb. The *Sibyl* in the 1505 plan for the tomb recalls the same gesture and movement as the frescoed sibyl on the ceiling, completed in 1508. After finishing the ceiling, Michelangelo used figures such as the sibyls and prophets as prototypes for the statues that had yet to be designed and executed for the long lasting project of the tomb. The *Sibyl* is depicted with a raised right arm and left arm hanging by the figure's side, with the right foot slightly forward than the left. The *Delphic Sibyl* echoes these various features, shown bringing one arm up to her chest, with her legs visible underneath the drapery of the clothing. Both figures have a slight twist within their torsos and look off into the distance.

The *Libyan Sibyl* (fig. 57) is shown on the drawing in the Ashmolean Museum in Britain (fig. 54) cross-hatched and in full twisting movement. To the right of the drawn head is a sketch

²⁶⁰ Murray, *Michelangelo*, 81.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

of what seems to be a tomb, maybe the Julius II tomb, or something else brewing in Michelangelo's mind. Whether or not it is the Julius tomb, Michelangelo was clearly thinking about two different projects and how they can interconnect. Below the main figure of the sibyl are six small figure drawings for the *Slaves*, which were to be included on the tomb.²⁶² All figures drawn show similar poses and actions, relating the ceiling and tomb projects even further.

²⁶² British Museum, 28.

Chapter VII: Consequences of His Technique After the Ceiling

One year after the completion of the ceiling, Michelangelo had drawn up a revised version of the Julius tomb. This is the 1513 design (fig. 18) for a monument of three sides instead of four. We can see rapid changes in Michelangelo's style and how he solidifies his technique as compared to the design of 1505 (fig. 17). Reasons for this include his four years focused primarily on the Sistine ceiling, where he not only designed a fresco vault, but also continued to work out the creative process of the tomb in his mind. Michelangelo's main change from the 1505 design is the incorporation of figures interacting within the architecture. This is prevalent on the Sistine ceiling where all the figures are harmoniously linked, integrating them within the fictive architecture. Michelangelo's technique here is where he noticeably finds his strengths in both painting and sculpture and emphasizes on making all elements connect within each other to act as a complete unit. Although reluctant to paint the ceiling and stop work on the Julius tomb at first, Michelangelo was able to work out his problems or rather challenges in the tomb project while working on the ceiling.

The bottom tier of the 1505 plan has three main sections. For reference, this was still a free-standing tomb, with all four sides decorated. For now I will discuss just the frontal view of both of the tomb plans to analyze the influence of the ceiling's composition. The center of the bottom story depicts a relief scene with some trees and small figures presented around it. Flanking either side of this relief are two seated statues set into niches with classical Corinthian columns surrounding them. Comparing this plan to the 1513 plan of the tomb, one can see the changes Michelangelo incorporated through his workings of the ceiling into this new plan. As

noted before, the Sistine ceiling is overflowing with figures that engage with the painted architecture around them. This is exactly what Michelangelo did in the 1513 plan of the tomb. He removes the relief scene in the center of the bottom story. Instead, he widens the niches and adds standing and expressively posed figures. This addition of two new figures in place of the others adds more life to the tomb design. Michelangelo also takes the Corinthian capitals from the 1505 plan and evolves the columns into moving figures, all expressing various poses. The top of these columns are decorated with herm pilasters. The 1505 design appears static and non-harmonious, whereas in the 1513 design, the figures are all working together and majority act as the architecture.

The next tier of the 1505 design holds the sarcophagus of Pope Julius II in the center. Flanking each side of the sarcophagus are two more seated figures, this time not set into niches, but turned toward the pope. In my opinion, these seated statues foreshadow the seated prophets on the Sistine ceiling. They are fully clothed in heavy robes and hold similar and interactive positions to the Prophets. Looking back to the 1513 design of the tomb, the second tier adds two more figures next to the seated ones flanking the sarcophagus. Acting as pairs, these statues interact with one another, creating a more communicative appearance to the overall structure. Four small caryatid columns of cherubs break up the facade on this tier, making the tomb appear more imperial, like those seen in Ancient Roman mausolea such as the one noted earlier in the Vatican Museum. Pope Julius' sarcophagus is smaller and less "mythical" than the 1505 plan. In the 1505 design the sarcophagus includes lion feet as the supporters of the heavy-looking marble coffin.

Other examples of Michelangelo's technique solidifying his approach to future commissions after his work on the ceiling is shown in his model of the church of San Lorenzo facade.²⁶³ In 1515 Michelangelo was commissioned to design this monumental architectural project, his first "purely architectural undertaking".²⁶⁴ Although Michelangelo had been working on an architectural piece, the Julius tomb, before the San Lorenzo commission, this facade was the most grand scale Michelangelo worked on. Through the technique he developed from the ceiling and his designs for the Julius tomb, Michelangelo was able to follow a similar design process for the facade of San Lorenzo in Florence. De Tolnay explains that Michelangelo "treated the architecture as a framework for the composition of figures" in the Tomb of Julius II and the Sistine ceiling, which then helped him approach the design of the San Lorenzo facade.²⁶⁵ Michelangelo made a wooden model (fig. 58) of the final design of the facade in 1517 and in 1518 the contract was finalized.²⁶⁶ Just two years later in 1520, the contract was annulled by the pope and the facade was never executed. Through the wooden model designed by Michelangelo, we are able to see his technique and characteristics of his creative process in more depth. He treated this commission as he did for both the Sistine ceiling and the two designs at this time for the tomb. Set into two main horizontal bays, Michelangelo's design recalls those of both the

²⁶³ The San Lorenzo facade designs are discussed in Carmen Bambach, Claire M. Barry, Francesco Caglioti, Caroline Elam, Marcella Marongiu, and Mauro Mussolin, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman & Designer* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018); Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Maria Forcellino, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2016); Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo*. Vol. 1. The Achievement of Fame (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011); Linda Murray, *Michelangelo* (New York and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1980); Charles De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975); Herbert Von Einem, *Michelangelo*. Translated by Ronald Taylor (London, Methuen, 1973).

²⁶⁴ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 124.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 124.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 125.

ceiling and the tomb. The lower level is divided by eight double columns that result in three bays, and in the center of each bay is a door.²⁶⁷ The next level on the facade looks back to the ceiling in particular. Repeating the bottom level's double eight columns, roundels are put in between the outer sides of each bay. These roundels were also incorporated into the ceiling where Michelangelo depicted the *Ignudi* holding similar "medallions". As noted before, he also applied his characteristic "gridding" method to this facade.

Other documents that are thought to be connected to San Lorenzo's facade design have survived include a pen and ink drawing now at the Museo Buonarroti (fig. 59).²⁶⁸ Art Historian John Symonds believes this is one of the first sketches for the facade because it is not drawn to scale or "worked out in the manner of practical architects".²⁶⁹ This sketch exhibits a facade that would have characteristics including "masses of sculpture, with extensive bas-reliefs in bronze".

²⁷⁰ In comparing his sketches for the Julius tomb and the San Lorenzo facade one can see many similarities to Michelangelo's architectural designs. At this point in Michelangelo's life he had started the Julius tomb, was forced to stop it to paint the Sistine ceiling, had resumed the tomb, and was now back to stopping his work on the tomb for the San Lorenzo facade. With this back and forth aspect of working on the tomb Michelangelo was forced to interconnect the designs of these commissions with one another. It was a subconscious practice, but also an efficient one. John Symonds connects the facade of San Lorenzo and the 1513 design of the Julius tomb through this statement: "Nothing testifies more plainly to the ascendancy which this strange man acquired over the imagination of his contemporaries... than the fact that Michelangelo had to

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 126.

²⁶⁸ Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 317.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 317.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 317.

relinquish work for which he was pre- eminently fitted (the tomb of Julius) for work to which his previous studies and his special inclinations in nowise called him”.²⁷¹

Art Historian Erwin Panofsky actively describes the two projects as being inspired and interpreted the same way as they were created during the same years, the ceiling being much shorter than the tomb. Panofsky also comments on the tomb project of 1513 as being delicate, slender, and having multiplicity just as the ceiling has, meaning it is intricately designed and thought out to being interconnected within the scheme of both architecture and figures.²⁷² He also relates the architecture of the upper story of the 1513 tomb to the facade of San Lorenzo. His explanation for these interwoven ideas among different commissions and different mediums is that “the change of plans can be accounted for, not only by the impatience of the heirs of Julius II, by iconographical considerations... and by other historical circumstances, but also by the artistic development of a master who in the meantime had painted the Sistine Ceiling”.²⁷³

In 1520, the same year the design and idea of the facade of San Lorenzo was abandoned, Michelangelo was commissioned to execute yet another project; the New Sacristy and Medici Tombs in San Lorenzo.²⁷⁴ Pope Leo X and his cousin Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici decided they wanted to re-establish the unfinished chapel attached to San Lorenzo and create it as a mausoleum for their family.²⁷⁵ Michelangelo’s original idea was to have a free- standing

²⁷¹ Ibid., 318.

²⁷² Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II." 579.

²⁷³ Ibid., 579.

²⁷⁴ The Medici Tombs in the New Sacristy in Florence are discussed in Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Maria Forcellino, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2016); Claudia Echinger-Maurach, "Michelangelo's Monument for Julius II in 1534." *The Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1202 (2003): 336-44; Simona Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." *Artibus Et Historiae* 19, no. 37 (1998): 43-63.

²⁷⁵ De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Architect*, 37-38.

monument with four identical sides set in the middle of the chapel.²⁷⁶ Construction was delayed four years because of the slow process of extracting marble from Carrara which began in 1524. Through different designs and sketches for the Medici tombs, one in particular stands out as recalling his projects for Julius II and is commented on by Simona Cohen. His second version of the Medici tomb designs (fig. 60) now in Casa Buonarroti, relates particularly to the Sistine ceiling. This version is more vertical and the thrones of the Dukes overlap the grey stone of the *pietra serena* architrave. The same overlapping is seen in the Sistine ceiling with the *Ignudi* and the narrative scenes, which are surrounded by fictive architecture. This technique of overlapping was Michelangelo's method of interconnecting the two architectural systems.²⁷⁷ The juxtaposition of conflicting systems of figures within a single architectural work is the dominant feature on the ceiling, which then led to Michelangelo interconnecting the same design idea in other commissions.

The final execution of the Medici project resulted in two monumental tombs for Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino, and Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours (fig. 61 and 62).²⁷⁸ Both of their tombs are mounted to the wall and composed of seated figures of the Dukes in the central niche while below allegorical figures of Time recline on their sides flanking the sarcophagus. The seated statues of the Dukes are portrayed as personifications; Lorenzo depicts the Contemplative Life and Giuliano the Active Life. The allegorical figures reclining at the feet of

²⁷⁶ Johannes Wilde, "Michelangelo's Designs for the Medici Tombs." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 18, no. 1/2, 1955, pp. 54–66: 54.

²⁷⁷ Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." 56.

²⁷⁸ The Medici Tombs in the New Sacristy at San Lorenzo, Florence is discussed in Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Maria Forcellino, *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2016); Claudia Echinger-Maurach, "Michelangelo's Monument for Julius II in 1534." *The Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1202 (2003): 336-44; Simona Cohen, "Some Aspects of Michelangelo's Creative Process." *Artibus Et Historiae* 19, no. 37 (1998): 43-63.

Lorenzo are representations of “*Dusk and Dawn*”. On Giuliano’s tomb, the figures represented are “*Night*” and “*Day*”. *Dawn* and *Dusk* are reclining in a different poses from one another as one is asleep and the other wakes upon the sarcophagus. *Night* and *Day* appear more violent and expressive as they are depicted as muscular and uneasy, an accurate allegory for representing the Active Life below Giuliano.

Architecturally, both of the Medici tombs resemble the Julius II Tomb in many ways. The first similarity is that both the Medici tombs and the Julius tomb are large works of architecture with sculpted figures integrated into the composition. Second, there is a main and centralized seated figure in both, the Dukes in the Medici tombs and *Moses* in Julius’ tomb. Comparing the Dukes’ statues’ to that of the *Moses* statue is more of visually spotting the stylistic differences rather than the similarities. The Dukes are both dressed in armour, muscularized, and seated in a simply decorated niche, heads turned to one side. *Moses*, however, seated into a similar niche, is surrounded by ornamented herm pilasters and scroll- like volutes. He is dressed in Ancient Roman garbs and shows movement through the positioning of his hand through his long and flowing beard. Flanking each the Dukes and *Moses* are smaller niches, in the case of the Medici tombs they are empty and in the case of the Julius tomb they hold the figures *Rachel* and *Leah*.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

Michelangelo Buonarroti received many commissions for major works of art during his lifetime. Through each project that he designed and executed, came more success and knowledge of both marble and fresco. At a young age Michelangelo was noticeably a prodigy, as discussed in his early works such as *Madonna of the Steps* and the *Doni Tondo*. These two reliefs show his understanding of the forms of art, which is apparent at the beginning of his career. As his commissions became more prominent and frequent, Michelangelo was forced to stop in the middle of projects to work on others. This “interference” among projects led to a strong outcome, the result being that he undertook the process of refining multiple projects and simultaneously incorporated each of their features, characteristics, or elements to inspire other works of art. In other words, Michelangelo solidified his artistic and design process starting with the Sistine ceiling and then incorporated this process into the design of the Julius II Tomb, the San Lorenzo facade, the Medici Tombs, and later projects as well. More particularly, the Sistine Chapel Ceiling acted as a template for the Julius II Tomb and both projects incorporated similar designs, which led to the inclusion of similar figures and architecture. Throughout this paper I have discussed the many similarities among Michelangelo’s work which has characterized his overall artistic output. Through integrating figural and architectural compositions of the Sistine ceiling and Julius tomb, Michelangelo created two separate but related projects.

A key aspect of this shared process, as discussed earlier in this paper, is his method of gridding. Not only did this allow him to use perspective in his art, but it allowed the depictions to be presented in three dimensionality in any given medium. Through this technique,

Michelangelo's gridding allowed him to conceptualize each element in a work and integrate it within the whole structure. In the Julius tomb he does this by incorporating the three stories of the monument harmoniously through the integration of statues, columns, pilasters, and volutes. In the Sistine Chapel ceiling he grids the vault into nine main narrative scenes, framing each one with a fictive frame. He started this method from the beginning of his career, seen in his second sculptural relief, the *Madonna of the Steps*. Although not gridded in the terms of separating narrative scenes from one another, separate planes were incorporated in this work of art. The method of gridding worked in both dimensional and organizational form, allowing the art to be seen and interpreted more easily. As Michelangelo became more comfortable with this method of gridding he applied it to his major architectural commissions including the San Lorenzo facade and the Medici Tombs. Translating his designs for the Julius Tomb to the facade and Medici Tombs, he was able to grid these commissions in extremely similar ways. Dividing the facades of each project by the use of cornices and bays, they facilitate in reading the architecture and tectonic qualities implied. Through this technique of gridding also came Michelangelo's method of fictive architecture. While fictive architecture has been seen in Roman vault frescoes preceding Michelangelo's time, he took the idea of painted architecture and exceeded the expectations and skill to the next level. He not only used the fictive architecture to frame the history scenes, integrate within the chapel's real architecture, but also to incorporate the figural depictions into the overall composition.

Another technique seen through studying the works of Michelangelo are the similar figures represented in each project, which as discussed earlier tie his numerous commissions together. Whether it is the Madonna in the *Doni Tondo* relating to the *Delphic Sibyl* on the

Sistine ceiling, or the *Slaves* meant for the Julius tomb relating to the *Ignudi* on the ceiling, many comparisons are possible. The major similar figures were discussed earlier in this essay, but it is important to highlight and define the importance of Michelangelo's shared repertory of figures. Through many of Michelangelo's sketches, one can see the relation and similarities among all of his figures. Analyzing similar figures in the Sistine ceiling and Julius II Tomb could be an endless task, but it is one that begins by noting the similarities to figures in his earlier works such as those in the *Doni Tondo*.

Michelangelo's shared vision in various commissions and media allowed him to incorporate a broader understanding of style and design into his works, distinguishing him from his High Renaissance peers. Reluctant to stop work on the Julius tomb in 1508 to start the commission of the Sistine ceiling, Michelangelo treated this commission as if it were a sculptural commission. This then helped Michelangelo to work out his difficulties in the Julius tomb and later aided him design the San Lorenzo facade and Medici Tombs. Later, Michelangelo used the frescoed ceiling of the Sistine Chapel as a template for the Julius tomb. He worked out the ordeals he was facing with the over-complicated tomb for the pope on the ceiling, which ultimately resulted in a painted template for the final project of the tomb.

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Appendix



Fig. 1 *Ascension of St. John the Evangelist*, Giotto, Peruzzi Chapel, Santa Croce



Fig. 2 *Tribute Money*, Masaccio, 1425, Brancacci Chapel



Fig. 3 *Battle of the Centaurs*, Michelangelo, 1491-2



Fig. 4 Roman Ludovisi Battle sarcophagus, Palazzo Altemps, Rome, 250 AD



Fig. 5 *Madonna of the Steps*, Michelangelo, 1490-92, Casa Buonarroti



Fig. 6 Nike of Samothrace, Louvre Museum, 200- 190 BC



Fig. 7 *Taddei Tondo*, Michelangelo, 1504-06, Royal Academy of Arts



Fig. 8 *Madonna and Child with St. Anne*, Leonardo da Vinci, 1503, Louvre



Fig. 9 *Bacchus*, Michelangelo, 1496-97, Bargello National Museum



Fig. 10 *David*, Michelangelo, 1501-04, Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence



Fig. 11 *Doni Tondo*, Michelangelo, 1504-06, Uffizi Gallery



Fig. 12 Julius II Tomb, Michelangelo, 1505-45, San Pietro in Vincoli





Fig. 13 Sistine Chapel Ceiling, Michelangelo, 1508-1512, Vatican



5 Sestertius, consecration coin of Antoninus Pius (†A.D. 161).
Obverse, emperor facing left; legend, DIVVS ANTONINVS.
Reverse, pyre; legend, CONSECRATIO/S-C.

Fig. 14 Roman Coin, Consecration coin of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 161



Fig. 15 Sketch for Piccolomini Altar, Giuliano da Sangallo, 1481, Siena Cathedral



Fig. 16 Tomb for the Cardinal of Portugal, Antonio Rossellino, 1461-66, San Miniato al Monte



Fig. 17 1505 design of Julius II Tomb, Michelangelo, Metropolitan Museum of Art

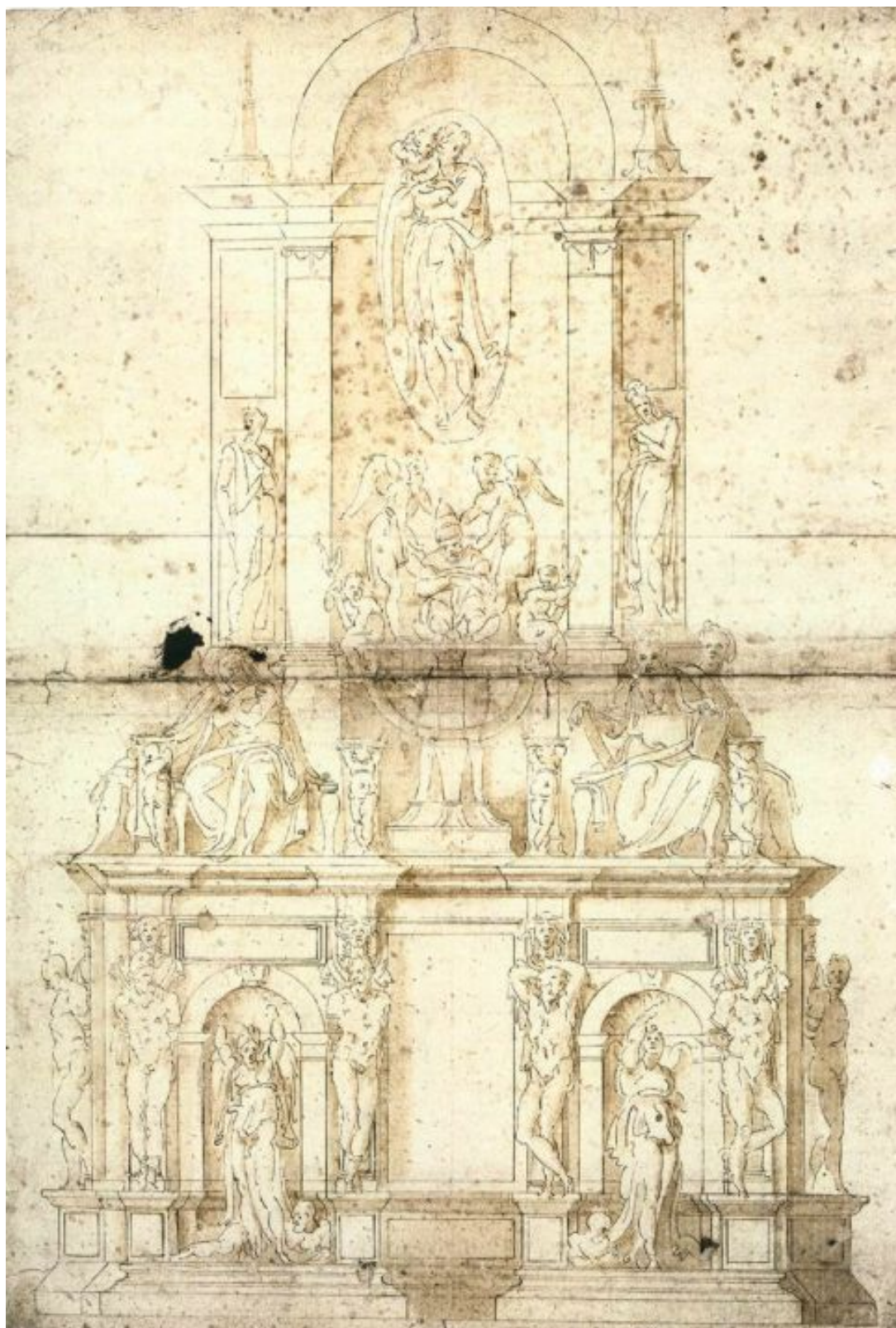


Fig. 18 1513 design for Julius II Tomb, Michelangelo, Berlin



Fig. 19 *Victory*, Michelangelo, 1532-34, Palazzo Vecchio



Fig. 20 *Slaves*, Michelangelo, 1513-16, Louvre Museum



Fig. 21 *Moses*, Michelangelo, Tomb of Julius II, San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome

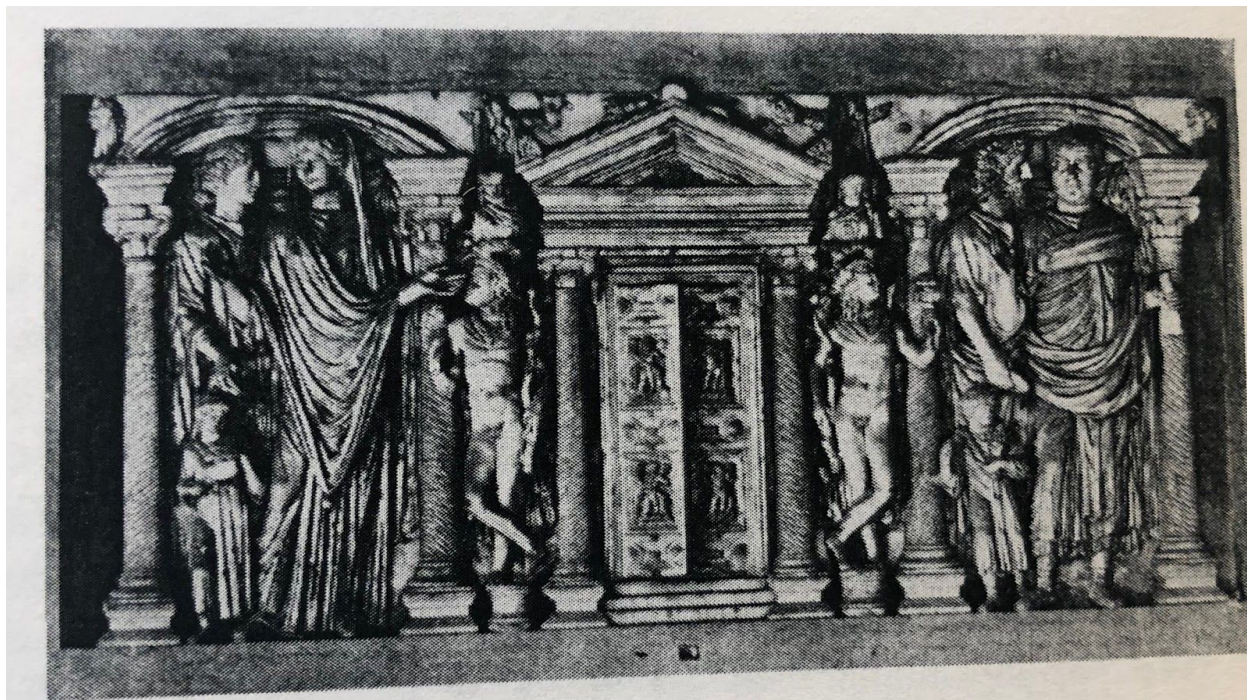


Fig. 22 Roman Sarcophagus, Vatican Museum

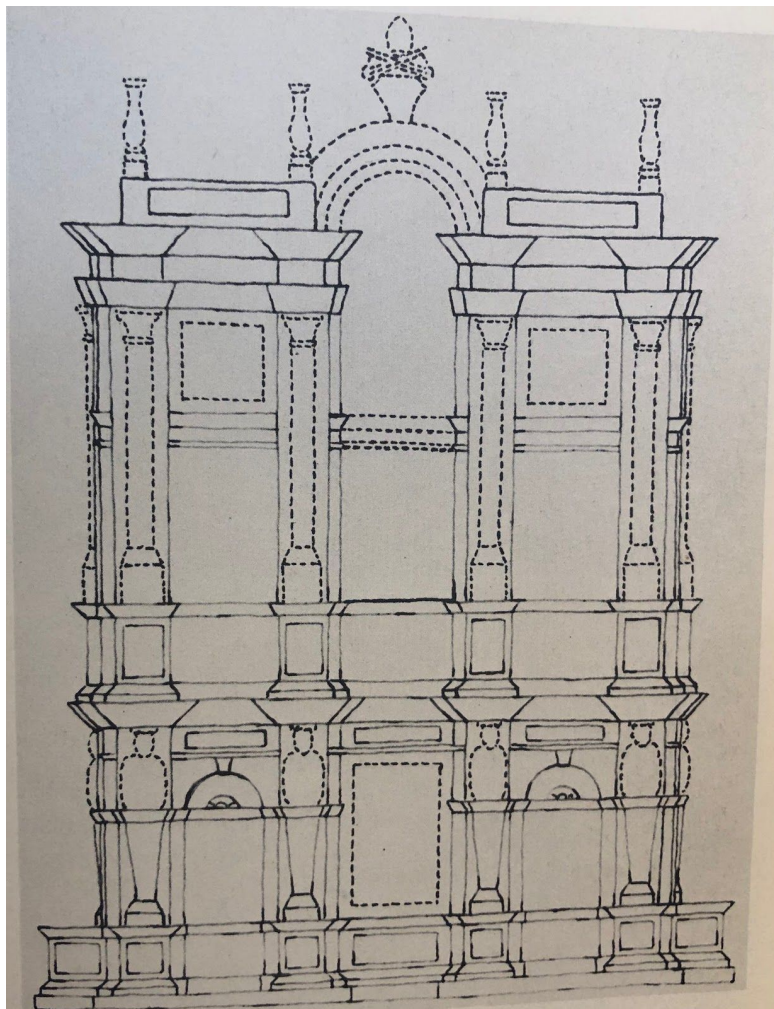


Fig. 23 1516 design, Michelangelo



Fig. 24 *Ignudi*, Michelangelo, 1508-12, Sistine Chapel

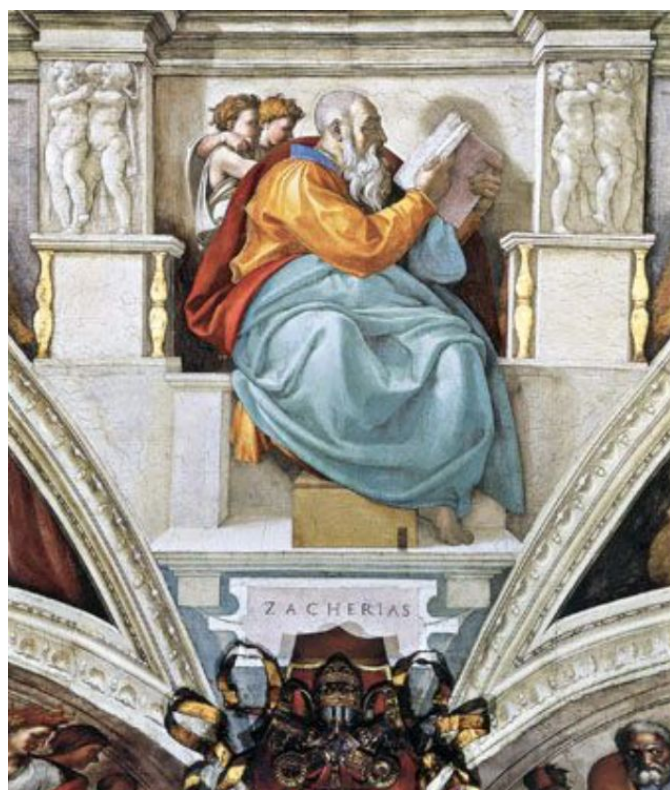


Fig. 25 *Prophet Zechariah*, Michelangelo, 1508-12, Sistine Chapel



Fig. 26 Detail of Pope Julius II reclining, Julius II Tomb, Michelangelo, San Pietro in Vincoli

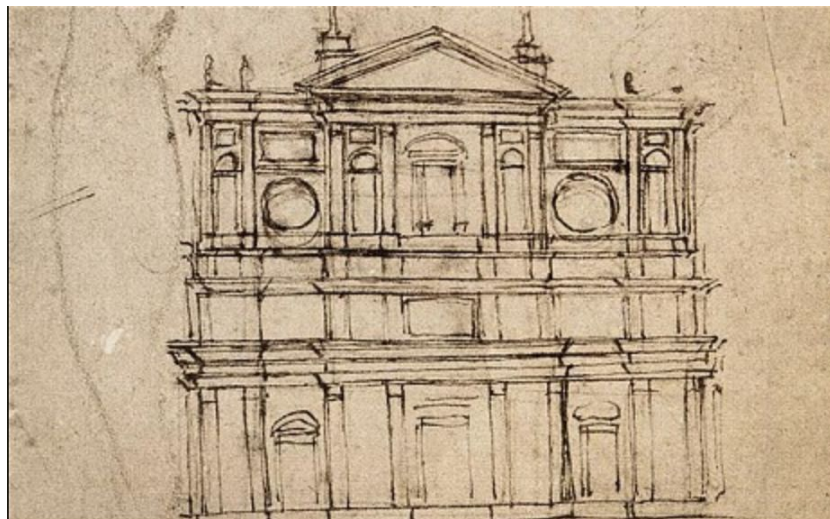


Fig. 27 San Lorenzo design, Michelangelo



Fig. 28 Medal of Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, 15th century

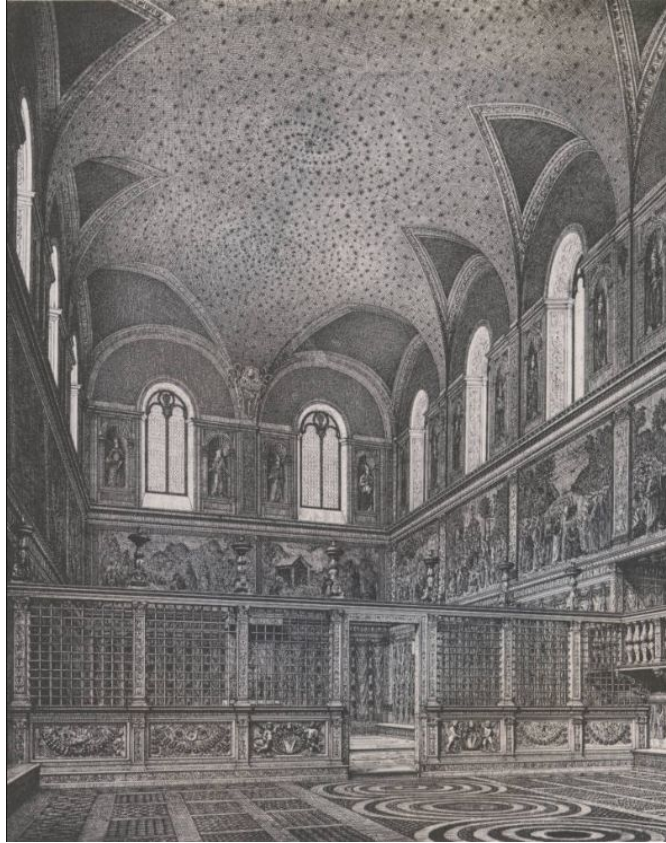


Fig. 29 Original Sistine Ceiling, Piermatteo d'Amelia,



Fig. 30 Study for the Sistine Ceiling (detail), Michelangelo, British Museum, London



Fig. 31 High altar vault, Pinturicchio, Santa Maria del Popolo

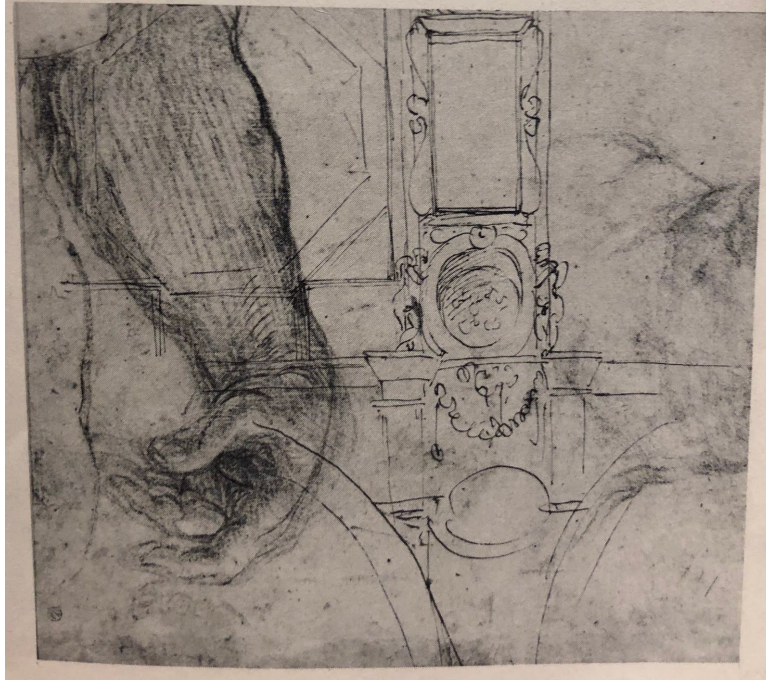


Fig. 32 Study for the Sistine ceiling (detail), Michelangelo, Detroit, Institute of Arts

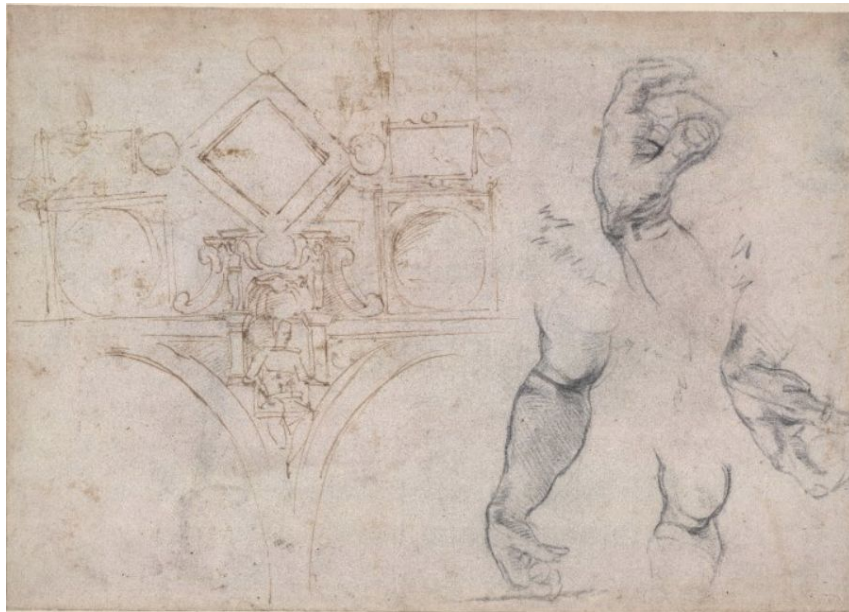


Fig. 33 Study for the Sistine ceiling, Michelangelo, British Museum



Fig. 34 Sistine Chapel lunettes, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 35 Sistine Chapel spandrels, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 36 Sistine Chapel pendentives, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 37 Sistine Chapel *Prophets/ Sibyls*, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 38 *Separation of Light From Darkness*, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 39 *Creation of the Sun, Moon, and Planets*, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 40 *Separation of Land from Sea*, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 41 *Creation of Adam*, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 42 *Creation of Eve*, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 43 *Fall and Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 44 *Sacrifice of Noah*, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 45 *The Flood*, Michelangelo, 1508-12

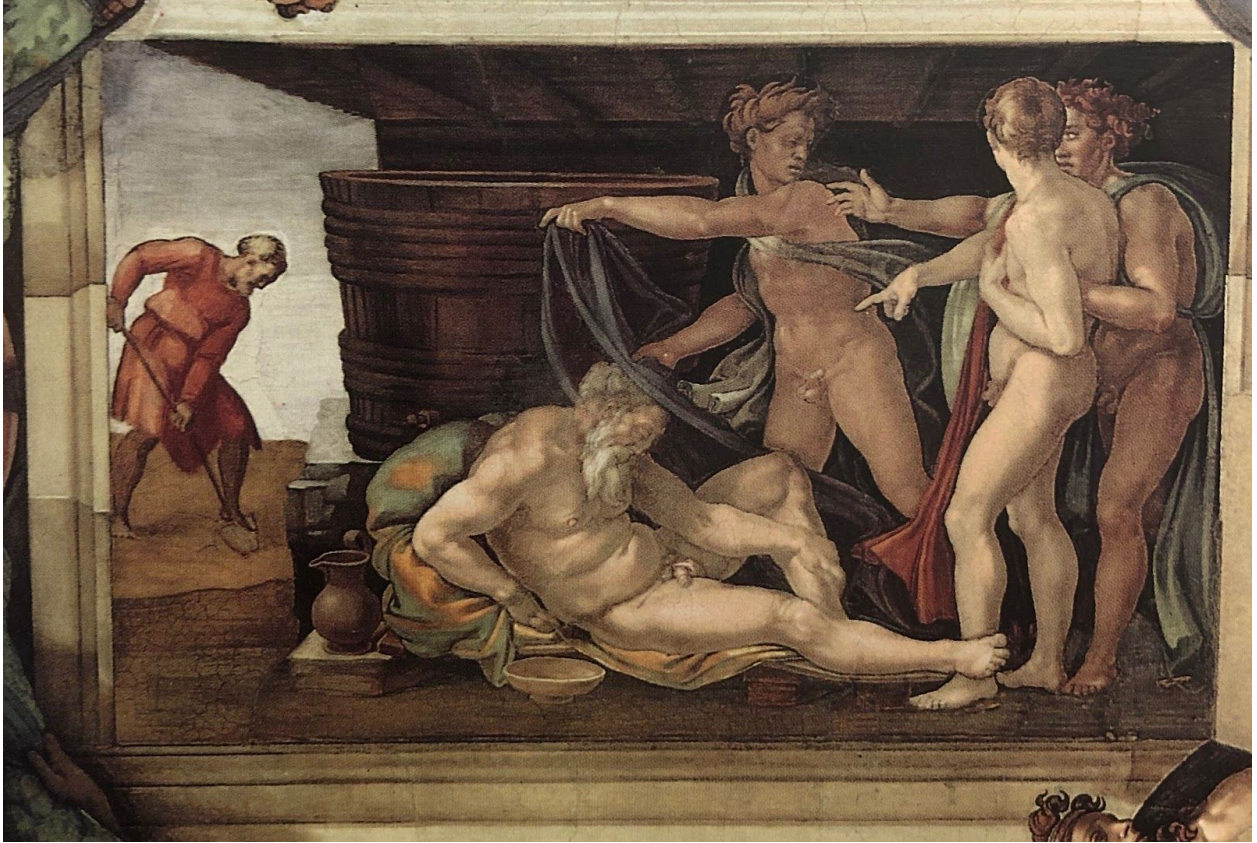


Fig. 46 *Drunkenness of Noah*, Michelangelo, 1508-12



Fig. 47 Arch of Constantine (detail), relief roundels, 315 AD



Fig. 48 *The Life of Moses*, Botticelli, Sistine Chapel, 1482



Fig. 49 *The Life of Christ*, Botticelli and Perugino, Sistine Chapel, 1482



Fig. 50 *Baptism of Christ*, Perugino, Sistine Chapel, 1482



Fig. 51 *Temptations of Christ*, Botticelli, Sistine Chapel, 1482



Fig. 52 Innocent VIII's Villa Belvedere, Pinturicchio, Vatican, 1484; now Galleria delle Statue

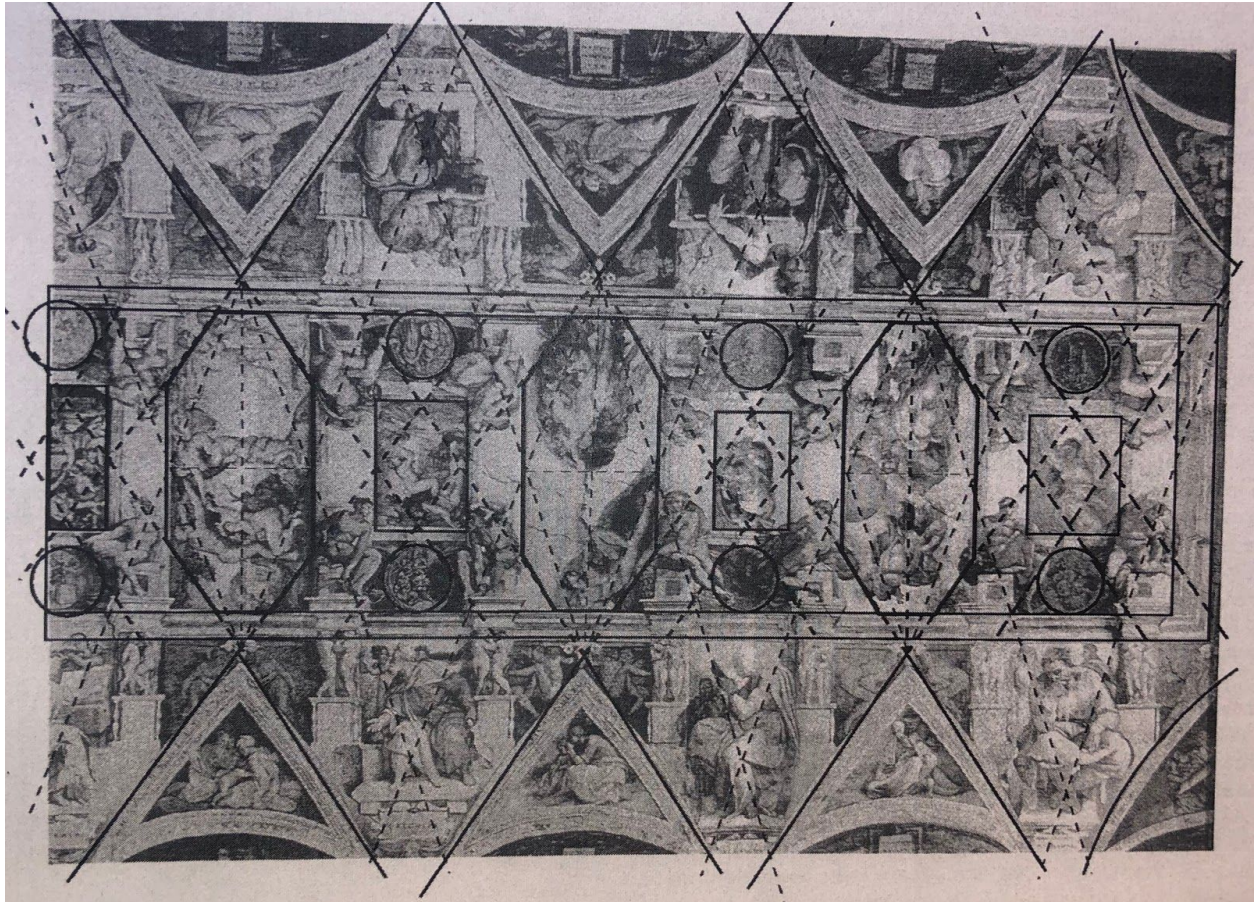


Fig. 53 Simona Cohen structural diagram of later section of the Sistine ceiling



Fig. 54 Studies of the *Libyan Sibyl and Slaves* in the Julius tomb, Michelangelo, Ashmolean Museum, Red Chalk



Fig. 55 *Delphic Sibyl*, Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, 1508-12



Fig. 56 *Pitti Tondo*, Michelangelo, Bargello National Museum, 1503-04



Fig. 57 *Libyan Sibyl*, Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, 1508-12



Fig. 58 Wooden model of facade of San Lorenzo, Michelangelo, 1517, Casa Buonarroti

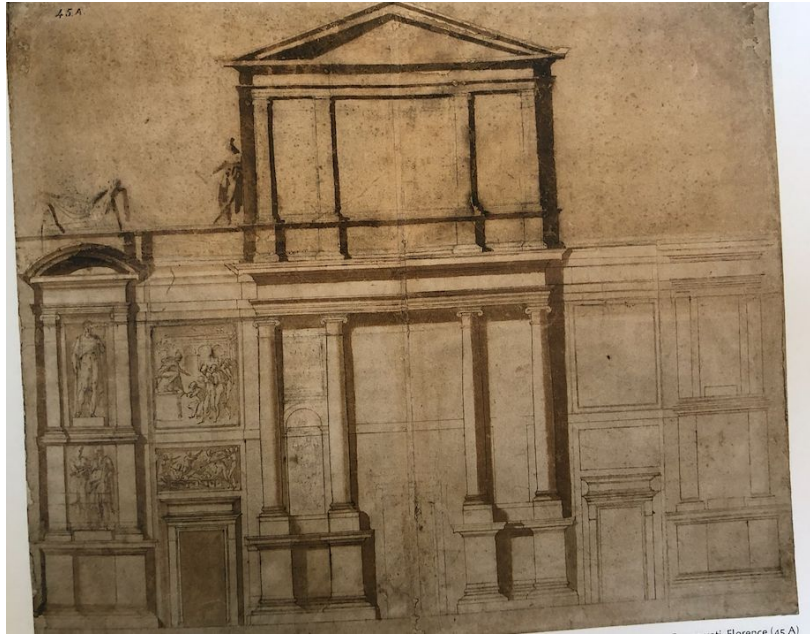


Fig. 59 Pen and ink drawing of San Lorenzo facade, Michelangelo, 1517, Casa Buonarroti

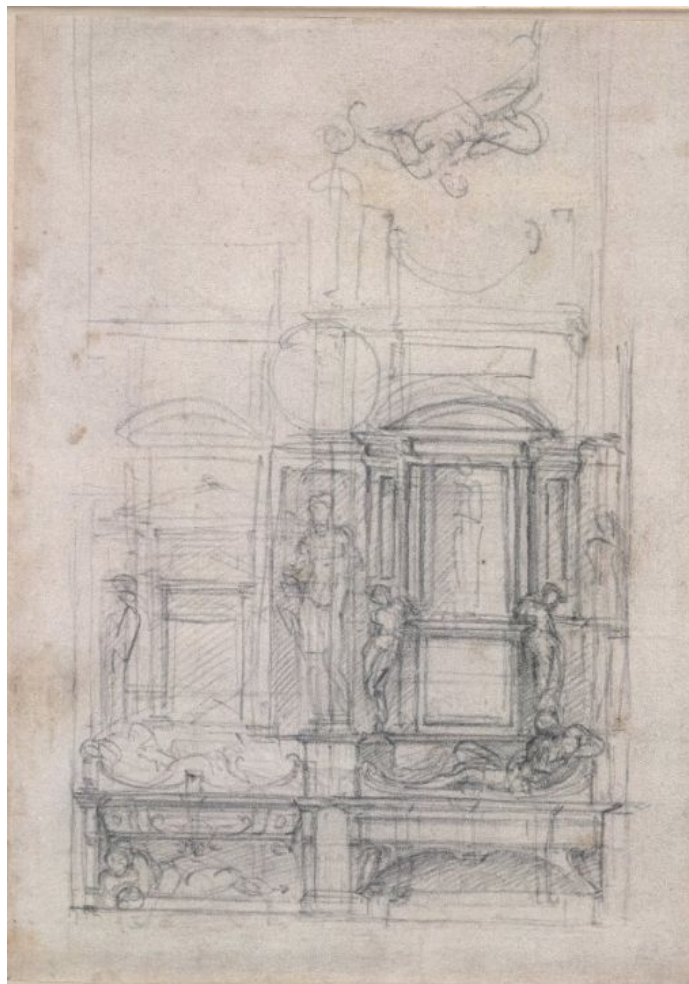


Fig. 60 Medici Tombs, second version, Michelangelo, Casa Buonarroti



Fig. 61 Lorenzo de' Medici tomb, Michelangelo, New Sacristy, 1531



Fig. 62 Giuliano de' Medici tomb, Michelangelo, New Sacristy, 1531

