









JOHN POPE-HENNESSY

GIOVANNI DI PAOLO

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## Director's Note

In 1937 the London publishing firm of Chatto & Windus issued a 208-page volume devoted to Giovanni di Paolo. Written by a twenty-four-year-old scholar and art historian, it was hailed as one of the best books on an Italian artist to have appeared in years. This monograph combined connoisseurship with a meticulous command of documentary information and a sharp critical faculty, thereby ushering in the distinguished career of John Pope-Hennessy. Now, in this *Bulletin*, John Pope-Hennessy reexamines the painter about whom he first wrote. After more than fifty years, he has found Giovanni di Paolo to be a “richer and even more rewarding artist than I had originally supposed.”

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has twenty-one paintings by Giovanni di Paolo—the largest group of works by him outside his native Siena. Eleven of these are in the Robert Lehman Collection. They range from the magnificent *Coronation of the Virgin*, the center of a major altarpiece painted during the 1450s for an unidentified patron, to small narrative scenes from the predellas, or bases, of elaborate Gothic polyptychs. Few of these altarpieces have survived intact. In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were dismantled, their pilasters and predellas cut apart, and sold. One of the primary problems confronting anyone writing on these works is the identification of related panels and their reconstruction, a task to which Pope-Hennessy's book addressed itself with remarkable success and to which he here adds further refinement.

Giovanni di Paolo's reputation shifted widely over the centuries. He never lacked commissions during his life. Giovanni di Paolo painted large altarpieces for virtually all the important religious orders of his day and was given the task of creating the first comprehensive cycle on the life of Saint Catherine of Siena. However, his fame did not long outlast him: Renaissance taste made his Gothic works seem unappealing and old-fashioned. In his comprehensive *Lives*, of 1565, Vasari does not so much as mention Giovanni di Paolo, whose memory was kept alive only by local antiquarians. Although included by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in their monumental *History of Painting in Italy*, published in 1866, Giovanni di Paolo is relegated to the “mass of still less distinguished individuals,” and he is chastised for his “strange fancy in composition, and his epileptic vehemence and awkwardness in the delineation of action.” Inevitably, a reevaluation followed a revolution in taste and the advent of modern art, with its abandonment of academic principles of drawing and design. By 1931 his reputation had so changed that Bernard Berenson was able to write, “The Sieneſe Quattrocento has been as attractive as the Trecento to recent collectors, even more attractive. Any Sassetta . . . any Giovanni di Paolo, no matter how caricatured in type and expression . . . has found an eager buyer, and not in America only.” As this observation makes clear, American



collectors led the way in acquiring Giovanni di Paolo's paintings, and it is to them—to Michael Friedsam, George Blumenthal, and Philip and Robert Lehman—that the Metropolitan Museum owes its rich collection.

This *Bulletin* serves a dual purpose. In addition to celebrating the works of one of the most individual artists of the fifteenth century, it is also a prelude to an exceptional exhibition, *Painting in Renaissance Siena: 1420–1500*, which will be held at the Metropolitan Museum in honor of John Pope-Hennessy's seventy-fifth birthday. Composed of just under 140 paintings and illuminated manuscripts, this exhibition, which will run from December 20, 1988, to March 19, 1989, will be the largest devoted to Sienese painting in the last three-quarters of this century. More than thirty paintings by Giovanni di Paolo—spanning his entire career and including his miniatures—are to be shown. The exhibition will afford the unique opportunity to view some of Giovanni di Paolo's most important narrative cycles reunited for the first time since their disassembly. All ten scenes from the life of Saint Catherine, three of which are in the Metropolitan Museum, will be shown together, as will the Lehman *Coronation of the Virgin* and its predella. Perhaps never again will Museum visitors have the rare privilege of reacquainting themselves with the works of this exquisite and fascinating artist of the quattrocento.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO  
*Director*



# GIOVANNI DI PAOLO

RELATIONSHIPS WITH ARTISTS of the past are like relationships with living people. They start in a casual fashion, they deepen and mature, and if you are lucky you find in old age that you have had a friend for life. My own association with the Sienese artist Giovanni di Paolo is of this kind. I happened on his work as a boy at the Fogg Museum and at Fenway Court; I fell under his spell again at Oxford as an undergraduate; and it was Giovanni di Paolo who was the subject of my first book. The 1930s were not the days of dilatory dissertations. War was imminent, and whatever was accomplished had to be accomplished rapidly, so in 1937 the book saw the light of day. Forty years later, when I took charge of the Department of European Paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, I found myself in daily contact with the largest group of works by Giovanni di Paolo outside Siena; there are twenty-one in all, eleven of them in the Robert Lehman Collection.

Why half a century ago did I settle on Giovanni di Paolo? Because he appeared to me a substantial and highly personal artist. His paintings spoke, or seemed to speak, with a human voice, and their study, or so I believed, involved the responses of an individual, not of that abstract concept, an artistic personality. A good deal has been written on him since, and I suspect that we now know more about Giovanni di Paolo than we know about most other artists of the fifteenth century. If, that is, one believes, as I do, that "knowing about an artist" involves more than identification and dating of his paintings, that it connotes an understanding of his creative psychology.

Giovanni di Paolo was born in Siena a little before 1400, and his father was a painter. Trained as a painter and illuminator, he lived a reclusive life in the quarter of Siena known as the Poggio dei Malavolti, near Sant'Agostino, and it was there, in 1482, that he made his will and died. To judge from a tax return of 1453 and from repeated investments in real estate, he was reasonably prosperous. The staple products of his studio were altarpieces and illuminated books (only two of which, however, survive), but in addition, like all Sienese artists of the time, he undertook what we would now think of as odd jobs—decorating book covers and banners, designing embroideries for vestments, pigmenting wooden sculptures. As he developed, his style inevitably changed but his imagery remained constant, and



1. Giovanni di Paolo. Hippolytus being crushed by a cart, illustration for the *Legend of Hippolytus*. From Dante's *Paradiso*. Yates-Thompson Codex, folio 158r. The British Library, London



2. Giovanni di Paolo. Semele exploding into flame, illustration for *Dante and Beatrice Ascend to the Heaven of Saturn*. From Dante's *Paradiso*. Yates-Thompson Codex, folio 165r. The British Library, London

his works from first to last possess a highly individual imaginative quality. He relives the scenes he represents with such intensity that we see them through his mind and with his eyes. He was a literal painter, as emerges very clearly from his most important manuscript, a codex of Dante's *Paradiso* illuminated about 1445 for the Aragonese Library in Naples; probably it was made in connection with one of the many embassies dispatched there from Siena. Through all its scenes the commentary (generally the *Ottimo Commento*) is illustrated pari passu with the text. The scenes are translated into terms of contemporary life. Hippolytus,







exiled from Athens, is crushed beneath the weight not of a chariot but of a farm cart, and when Beatrice tells Dante that if she smiled he would be consumed like Semele, there in the illustration we see Semele exploding into flame (figs. 1, 2). In Giovanni di Paolo's predella panels the same sometimes elevated, sometimes earthy imagination is at work. A

panel in The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum shows the Adoration of the Magi, but an adoration of great simplicity, with one unprecedented feature. The timid Saint Joseph is reassured by the youngest king, who puts one arm around his shoulder and with the other holds his hand (fig. 3).



3. Giovanni di Paolo. Detail of *The Adoration of the Magi*, figure 38



4. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint Catherine* (?). The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, The Robert Lee Blaffer Memorial Collection, Gift of Sarah Campbell Blaffer (53.3)



5. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint John the Baptist*. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. The Robert Lee Blaffer Memorial Collection, Gift of Sarah Campbell Blaffer (53.2)



6. Giovanni di Paolo. *Virgin and Child*. Monte dei Paschi Collection, Siena

One point should be made at once. The reason why so many paintings by Giovanni di Paolo exist in the Metropolitan Museum and in other museums in the United States is that his works were broken up. Giovanni di Paolo, like other Sienese painters of his time, was primarily a maker of altarpieces, and in Siena through the middle of the fifteenth century the altarpiece was a polyptych, in which a central panel (usually though not invariably a Virgin and Child) was flanked by two or four panels of saints beneath Gothic arcading. Generally there was a superstructure with half-length figures of the Evangelists with in the center a Redeemer, attached by dowels to the main panels. Often there were small superimposed figures of saints in pilasters at the sides. The whole structure rested on a base or predella with narrative scenes relating either to the central figure, or to the saints flanking it, or to one of the saints to the exclusion of the rest. The predella was normally composed of a single horizontal plank on which the individual scenes were separated by pigmented interstices or by gesso decoration. When altarpieces were disassembled (as many were in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), the lateral panels

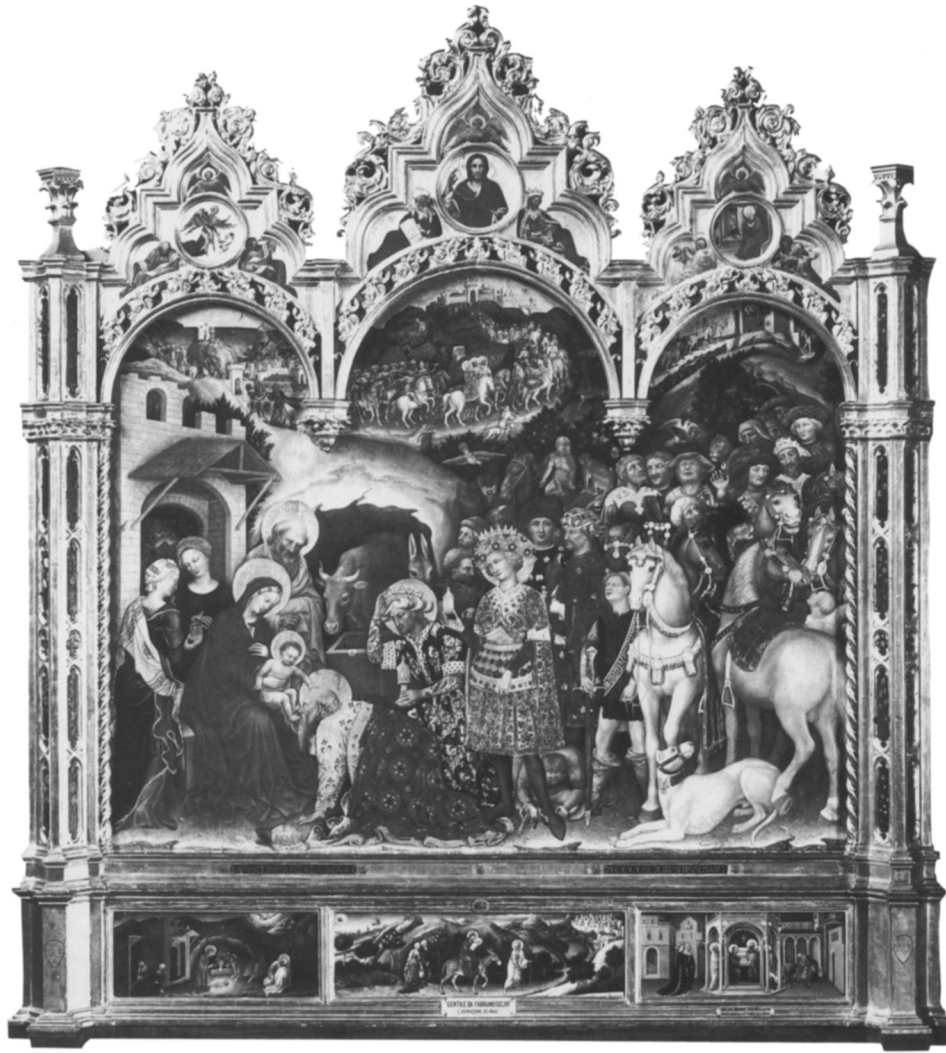
were frequently detached from the panel in the center, the pinnacles were removed, and the wood of the predella was sawn through so that the individual scenes on it could be disposed of as separate works. By the law of probability, when one panel from the predella of a quattrocento altarpiece has been preserved, other panels are likely to have been preserved as well. Applying this rule to Giovanni di Paolo fifty years ago, it proved possible to reunite a number of what till then were looked upon as discrete panels. The law of probability also suggests that where an altarpiece survives intact, its predella, or part of it, is likely to be preserved as well, and conversely that where a predella survives it is likely to belong to an existing altarpiece.

The first painting by Giovanni di Paolo to enter the Museum shows two full-length figures of Saints Matthew and Francis turned slightly to the left (fig. 7). The tops of the panels have been reduced, but the figures fill the whole height of the surface that remains, and their haloes abut on, and in places are cut by, the molded decoration above. In Siena in the 1930s there was a mysterious tabernacle in the Via delle Terme that was said to contain one of Giovanni di





7. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saints Matthew and Francis*. Gift of Coudert Brothers, 1888 (88.3.111)



8. Gentile da Fabriano (ca. 1370–1427). *The Adoration of the Magi*. Uffizi, Florence  
The right-hand predella panel is a copy of the panel in the Louvre (figure 15)

Paolo's paintings. With some trouble I procured the key, and when the door was opened it revealed a filthy panel of a Virgin and Child cut down at the base and covered with votive offerings in the form of silver hearts. Dirty it was, but of one thing there was no doubt, that it was the missing central panel to which the New York saints belonged. It has since been cleaned, and is now shown in the gallery of the Monte dei Paschi in Siena (fig. 6). It transpired that the panels from the left side of the altarpiece also existed (they are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston), but they too had been maltreated (figs. 4, 5). They had been separated from each other (a little piece of the cloak of the right-hand figure, a John the Baptist, appeared on the left-hand panel with Saint Catherine [?]), and they had been cut down at the bottom just below the knees and at the top in such a way that only the area of the haloes, not the gesso framing, was preserved.

Panels were usually cut down and placed in tabernacles for one reason only, that they had been burned or scorched,

and there is every reason to believe that this occurred both with the Madonna and Child and with the Houston saints. Even with the panels in the Metropolitan Museum there is slight evidence of damage at the base. Because Saint Francis is represented in the altarpiece, it is likely to have come from a Franciscan church, and the principal Sienese Franciscan church, San Francesco, was gutted by fire in 1655. We know from inventories that the altar of the Fondi family in San Francesco was decorated with an altarpiece painted by Giovanni di Paolo in 1436, and though the Fondi altar was dedicated to Saint James, it is very likely that the panels formed part of that altarpiece since they seem to have been painted at about that time. Taken together, all the panels, the fair-haired Virgin, the richly dressed Saint Catherine (?), the pink-clad Baptist, and above all the splendid figure of Saint Matthew, with its heavy pale green cloak, create an effect of subtlety and opulence that is unique even among the altarpieces of their time. Two years later, in 1438, Giovanni di Paolo was employed on work in the Cathedral



by the *operaio*, the sculptor Jacopo della Quercia, and della Quercia's ample style is reflected in the pose and volume of the Saint Matthew of this altarpiece.

In the fifteenth century Siena did not welcome foreign painters, but in 1425–26 a contract was, by exception, awarded to a painter from the Marches, Gentile da Fabriano. The greatest Gothic painter of the day, Gentile was an itinerant artist. He had worked, with conspicuous success, in Venice and in Brescia; he had moved to Florence, where he was responsible for the altarpiece of *The Adoration of the Magi* in Santa Trinita (now in the Uffizi, fig. 8) and for a polyptych in San Niccolò oltr'Arno; and when he visited Siena he was on his way to Rome, whither he had been invited by the pope.

The rich pigment of his paintings, their naturalism, and their opulence struck a new note both in Florence and Siena. To judge from the central panels of two altarpieces executed in 1426 and 1427 for the Sienese church of San Domenico, Giovanni di Paolo was deeply influenced both by their imagery and by their technique, and a decade later the cut-down Madonna from the altarpiece for San Francesco is still redolent of Gentile's style. In later works Giovanni di Paolo also reverts, and reverts frequently, to compositions by Gentile. A notable case is the predella of an unknown altarpiece, of which *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* in the Metropolitan Museum formed part (fig. 9). Four other panels from this predella survive, an *Annunciation* at Washington, D.C., a *Nativity* in the Vatican, an *Adoration of the*



9. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*. Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.4)



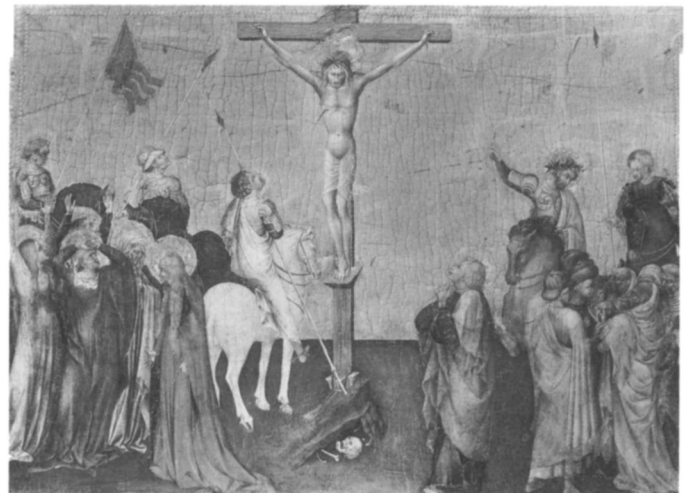
10. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Annunciation*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection



11. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Nativity*. Vatican Museums



12. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Adoration of the Magi*. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Delia E. Holden Fund and L. E. Holden Fund (42.536)



13. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Crucifixion*. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem



14. Gentile da Fabriano. *The Nativity*, left-hand predella panel of *The Adoration of the Magi*, figure 8. Uffizi, Florence





15. Gentile da Fabriano. *The Presentation in the Temple*, right-hand predella panel of *The Adoration of the Magi*, figure 8. Louvre, Paris

*Magi* at Cleveland, and a *Crucifixion* at Berlin (figs. 10–13). The *Nativity* is adapted from the left-hand predella panel of Gentile's *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 14); the *Adoration* is a condensed version of the main panel of Gentile's altarpiece; and *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* depends from the right-hand predella panel, which was separated from the altarpiece and is now in the Louvre (fig. 15).

The panel in the Metropolitan Museum tells us a good deal about Giovanni di Paolo's assimilative processes. Gentile's panel is horizontal; its length is two and a half times its height. Giovanni di Paolo's, on the other hand, is nearly square. The first necessity, therefore, was that Gentile's composition be compressed. The copy, moreover, is thirteen centimeters higher than the original, so the design had also to be revised with a new emphasis on verticality. A high viewing point was substituted for the low viewing point adopted by Gentile. We look down on the temple floor, and the upper part of the temple itself fills the whole height of the panel. At the sides the superfluous space is dispensed with, and the parts of the lateral buildings that were retained are raised once more to the full height of the scene. Two women spectators on the left are brought in so that they abut on the temple step, and the old woman and beggar on the right are moved inward in the same way. Two changes in the imagery are also made. A priest is inserted centrally behind the altar (the reason for this was that a priest appeared behind the altar in a famous Sienese trecento painting of the scene by Ambrogio Lorenzetti), and in the lower right corner, marked by displaced marble slabs, is a hole in the ground. Described in these terms, Giovanni di

Paolo's panel may sound derivative, but it reads as an original creation, and it does so because the idiom into which the composition was translated is highly personal. The use of Florentine sources in this whole predella is so consistent—the *Annunciation* depends from Fra Angelico—that it must be due not to a decision by the artist but to the terms of reference laid down by the body commissioning the altarpiece. This may have been the Spedale della Scala, whose relations with Florence were especially intimate. In 1440 Giovanni di Paolo received the commission for an altarpiece for the chapel of the infirmary of the hospital adjacent to one of the women's wards. Since *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* and its companion panels date from about 1440, they could well have formed the predella of this altarpiece.

Religious life in Tuscany in the second quarter of the fifteenth century was dominated by two reforming movements, the Franciscan Observance, which had as its protagonist San Bernardino and as its epicenter the Convent of the Osservanza outside Siena, and the Dominican Observance established first in Fiesole and then in Florence at San Marco. Giovanni di Paolo had a direct connection with the first and an oblique connection with the second of these movements. For the Osservanza he painted, in 1440, a panel of the *Crucifixion* that is now in the Pinacoteca at Siena. The tormented figure of Christ, the horror-struck Virgin, and the intensely emotional figures of the Magdalene and Saint John would have been highly appropriate in this setting. Some of the principal local events of these years were the great cycles of sermons that San Bernardino preached in the Piazza del Campo in Siena in 1427, in the





16. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Virgin Enthroned with Four Saints*. Uffizi, Florence

Piazza San Francesco in 1434, and to the Disciplinati della Scala in the Spedale della Scala. Their tenor was mystical, but it was a mysticism adapted to the needs of daily life, and it may well have stimulated the literal, sometimes mundane quality of Giovanni di Paolo's imagination. Certainly its character and influence were very different from those exercised by the Dominican Observance in Florence at San Marco.

Inevitably there was a close connection between the houses of individual religious orders, and one must suppose that in the late 1430s and 1440s when the Dominican convent of San Marco in Florence, under the inspiration of Fra Angelico, became a major center of religious painting, the work that it produced was thoroughly familiar to the Dominican community in Siena. There is visual proof that

this was so. A seventeenth-century source, Ugurgieri, describes an altarpiece by Giovanni di Paolo on the Guelfi altar in San Domenico that bore the date 1445 and had in its predella the scenes of the Creation of the World, the Last Judgment, and the Flood. The altarpiece is now in the Uffizi in Florence; it shows the Virgin Enthroned Between Saints Peter and Paul, with, in the outer panels, two Dominican saints, Dominic and Thomas Aquinas (fig. 16). Two pieces of the predella, the only pieces to survive, are in the Metropolitan Museum. One, in the Robert Lehman Collection, is the scene described by Ugurgieri as the Creation of the World, and the other is a Paradise that formed the left side of the Last Judgment (figs. 17, 18). That the two panels formed part of a single complex is not open to doubt; they are so similar in style and handling that no





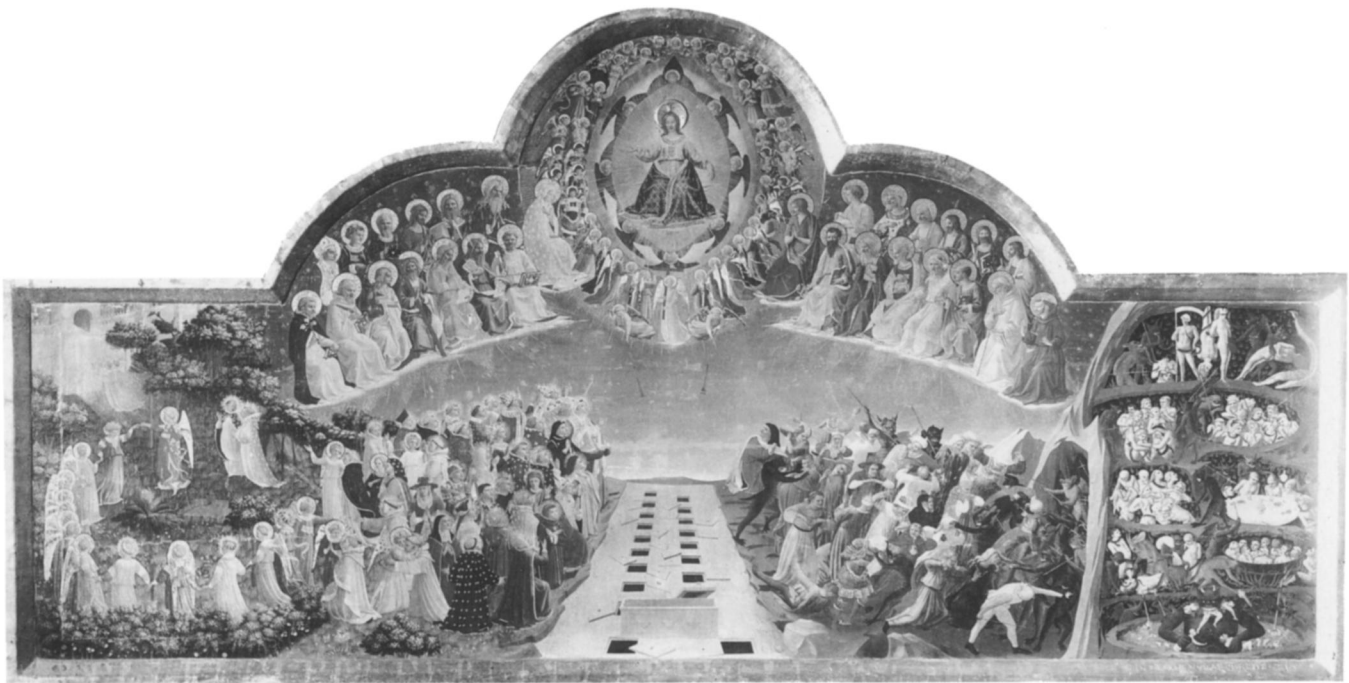
17. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Creation of the World and the Expulsion from Paradise*. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.31)





18. Giovanni di Paolo. *Paradise*. Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1046)





19. Fra Angelico (1387–1455). *The Last Judgment*. San Marco, Florence

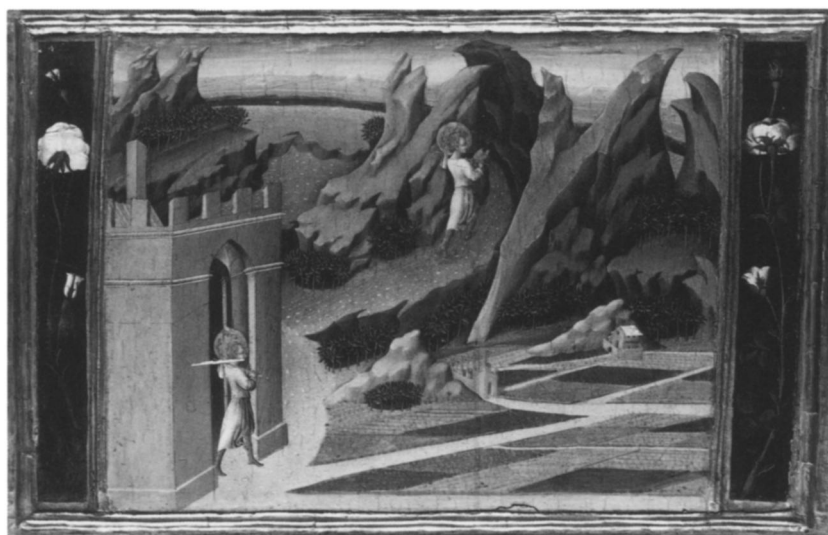
other conclusion is admissible. On the right side of the Paradise, moreover, are a number of gold rays that prove it to have been contiguous to the Last Judgment scene. Evidently the central panel, with Paradise on the left, the Last Judgment in the center, and Hell on the right, was a Sienese equivalent for the Last Judgment painted for Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence by Fra Angelico (fig. 19). But the spatial character of the scene of Paradise is once more changed. The angels are arranged in horizontal strips, not in the circle in which they are shown by Fra Angelico, and the figures are treated more intimately; they include Saint Augustine greeted by his mother, Saint Monica, and on the left an angel is shown welcoming a Sienese Dominican, Beato Ambrogio Sansedoni. The method of narration therefore is the same that is used throughout the London codex of Dante's *Paradiso*. Like the Dante illuminations, the first panel, the Creation, represents two separate scenes. On the left is God the Father with a symbolic depiction of the earth surrounded by eight spheres containing the planets, the sun, and the circle of the zodiac, while on the right, in a wooded landscape, the archangel expels Adam and Eve from Paradise. The two scenes are more dramatic than the Paradise, but they are treated with the same freshness and reveal the same sense of wonder at the riches of the natural world. When they stood beneath the altarpiece, it would have made a very different impression from any that it makes today in the Uffizi.

Another such case is a rather forbidding polyptych in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 20). Dated 1454, it shows in the center the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels (two angels peering over the back of the throne and two playing musical instruments in front). At the sides are four saints, to the left of the Virgin Saint Augustine and a female saint, probably Saint Monica, and to the right Saint John the Baptist and Saint Nicholas of Tolentino. The flat tops of the five panels were originally crowned by pinnacles of the Redeemer and the four Evangelists, which are now in a private collection at Palermo. Since the altarpiece contains two Augustinian saints, it must have been painted for an Augustinian church, and though it reached the Museum from a collection at Cortona, it may have been painted for Sant'Agostino in Siena. The altarpiece lacks its predella, which would have comprised either four scenes from the lives of the saints represented in the lateral panels with a central Crucifixion or a number of scenes from the life of the most prominent of the saints to the right of the Virgin, Saint John the Baptist. In at least one other case, that of a polyptych of about 1460 in the Siena Pinacoteca, the subject of the predella is the life of the Franciscan nun standing to the Virgin's right, Saint Clare, from which four panels have come down to us. Four pieces from a five-panel predella by Giovanni di Paolo with scenes from the life of the Baptist survive. Once owned by Pierpont Morgan, they are now in the National Gallery, London. They include *The Birth of the*

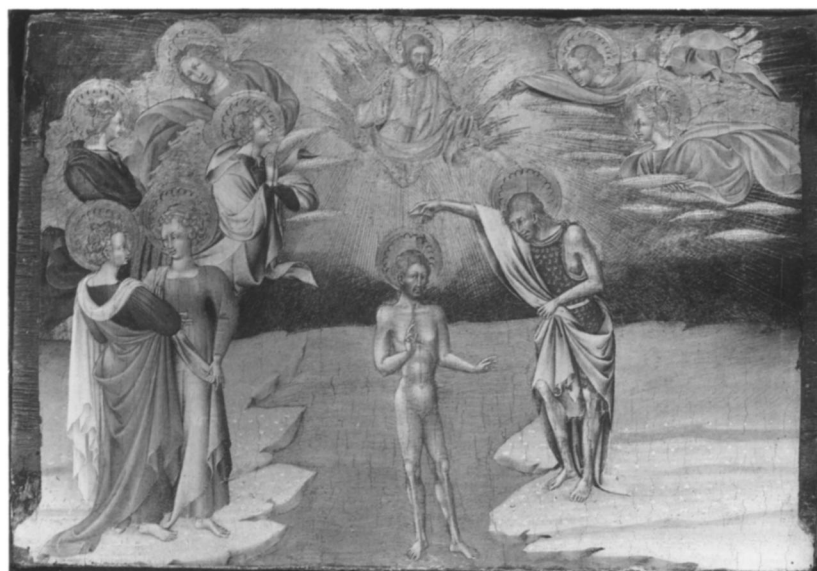


20. Giovanni di Paolo. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*. Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. The Friedsam Collection (32.100.76)





21. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Baptist Entering the Wilderness*. National Gallery, London



22. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Baptism of Christ*. National Gallery, London

*Baptist*, *The Baptist Entering the Wilderness*, *The Baptism of Christ*, and *The Head of the Baptist Brought to Herod* (see figs. 21, 22). *The Baptism of Christ* is wider than the other panels and would have stood in the center, so the missing scene came from the right-hand side and must have shown the Baptist Preaching Before Herod or the Execution of the Baptist. The widths of the panels do not correspond exactly with the widths of the panels in the Metropolitan polyptych (there is a discrepancy of about five centimeters in the width of the panels at the sides and of twenty centimeters in that of the central panel, which has been cut down), but in Siena mathematical computation in such cases was an exception rather than the rule, and very likely the London panels formed the predella of the New York altarpiece.

Fine as it is, this austere polyptych is not one of Giovanni di Paolo's most appealing works. Though boldly drawn, its figures are uncommunicative and impersonal. Combined with its predella, however, it would have made a very different effect, for the four panels in London are some of Giovanni di Paolo's most richly imaginative works. The compositions of two of them, the radiant *Baptism* and the dramatic *Head of the Baptist Brought to Herod*, derive from bronze reliefs made in the 1420s by Ghiberti and Donatello for the font in the Baptistry under Siena Cathedral, and both scenes are infused with peculiar intensity and vividness. Still more remarkable is *The Baptist Entering the Wilderness*. The foreground is filled with a panoramic landscape intersected by three roads running parallel to the base of



23. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Baptist Entering the Wilderness*. The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection (1933.1010)



24. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Head of Saint John the Baptist Brought to Herod*. The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection (1933.1015)

the panel and three more at an acute angle running across them. Between them are fields demarcated in the same way, with the horizontals and diagonals incised in the paint surface.

Geometrical patterning is used to still greater effect in a second series of panels with scenes from the life of the Baptist, of which six are in the Art Institute of Chicago and two in the Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, while single panels are in the Norton Simon Museum of Art, Pasadena, the Louvre, and the Robert Lehman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum. In every case save one, the Chicago *Baptist Entering the Wilderness* (fig. 23), the action is confined to the lower half of the vertical panels, and a vertical architectural structure is superimposed on the narrative scene, so that the horizontal panels in London must have been planned first and were later extended as vertical designs. If the horizontal panels date from 1454, the vertical panels can hardly have been produced before the late 1450s.

The vertical panel in the Lehman Collection represents *The Angel Gabriel Announcing to Zacharias the Birth of a Son* (fig. 25). Its two main figures once more depend from a bronze relief on the Siena baptismal font. But whereas in the bronze relief Jacopo della Quercia places the figures to the right of center under an arch that is generically Romanesque, Giovanni di Paolo moves them to the middle of his panel, and replaces della Quercia's spectators with two highly expressive groups of spectators of his own. As with the other vertical scenes, the action is confined to the bottom half of the panel, and the upper part is filled with a temple whose structure recalls the fragile buildings in Burgundian International Gothic illuminations. The twelve upright panels (one of them is still missing) were mounted in two groups of six paired panels. The two upper panels in each group were ogival, and the four lower panels rectangular. The Lehman *Zacharias*, the first panel in the series, occupied the top left-hand corner of the left wing. On its back is an Annunciatory Angel painted over a hinge covered with gesso, and the wings must therefore have been hinged. This is confirmed by the back of the Norton Simon Museum's *Baptism of Christ* (the only one of the rectangular panels that has not been thinned down), which is covered with a reddish preparation for gilding or porphyry paint. Reconstructed in this way, each wing measures 250 centimeters in height and 80 centimeters in width, and the total width when the wings were closed would have been 160 centimeters. The possibility that they enclosed a painting of the Baptist can be ruled out on the grounds of size, and the tabernacle or custodia must therefore have contained a sculpture. The combination of sculpture and painting in Siena was not uncommon. There are records, for example, of a number of wooden statues of Saint Anthony the Abbot with painted wings. Possibly the commission for the panels





25. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Angel Gabriel Announcing to Zacharias the Birth of a Son*. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.37)



26. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Deposition*. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore



28. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Madonna of Humility*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Marie Antoinette Evans Fund (30.772)



27. Donatello (ca. 1386–1466). *Saint John the Baptist*. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena

was connected with the arrival in Siena of the bronze *Baptist* of Donatello, which was dispatched in 1457 and which has the rather exceptional height of 185 centimeters (fig. 27). It was not put on exhibition for many years, and this may explain why there is no record of Giovanni di Paolo's panels in any inventory.

The scene of *The Baptist Entering the Wilderness* in London, a number of upright panels in Chicago, and the little *Adoration of the Magi* in the Linsky Collection (fig. 38) are filled with the patterned landscapes that are generally thought of as a hallmark of the artist. It has been suggested that their idiom depends from paintings by Paolo Uccello and the Florentine perspectivists. That is unlikely to be correct. From a very early time Giovanni di Paolo had an interest in geometry. The first signs of it appear in a predella panel of 1426 of the Deposition in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, where the shaft of the Cross is set in the center of the panel and its arms are contiguous with the upper edge (fig. 26). There are, rather exceptionally, two ladders, one in front and the other behind the Cross, and their edges meet in a sharp angle on the Cross shaft. Were the figure of Christ less powerful than it is, the scene would be dominated by the diagonals of the ladders and the transversals of their steps. So long as the spell of Gentile da Fabriano endured, there was no room for patternmaking of this kind,



but about 1440 it reappears in the background of a *Madonna of Humility* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which is covered with diagonal incisions broken up with horizontal lines, producing a number of rhomboid fields differentiated from each other by their crops (figs. 28, 30). There is no system of diminution, and it is distance, not degrees of distance, that is shown. Not till the 1450s was this technique developed to the point at which we see it in the scenes from the life of the Baptist. The decorative principle throughout these panels is uniform; it consists of consecutive horizontal lines parallel to the base of the panel cut sharply by diagonal lines at angles of between ten and forty-five degrees. The effect is a peculiar one; it carries the mind out beyond the confines of the picture space. It is anybody's guess whether it was intended to do that, or whether it was thought of as no more than a means of imposing visual coherence on the scene.

Simpler and less decorative than Giovanni di Paolo's scenes from the life of the Baptist are his ten scenes from the life of Saint Catherine of Siena, three of which are



29. Detail of the London *Baptist Entering the Wilderness*, figure 21

30. Detail of figure 28



owned by the Museum (figs. 32–34). Saint Catherine died in Siena in 1380, and in her lifetime and throughout the first half of the fifteenth century she was the subject of a powerful cult. Canonization in the fifteenth century was a capricious process, and at the Vatican Catherine's claims seem to have received less attention than they deserved; it was indeed only with the election of a Siennese pope, Pius II, in 1458 that her cause was actively promoted, and she was canonized in 1461. She was frequently represented in Siennese art, however, with the rays of a beata not the halo of a saint. In Giovanni di Paolo's ten panels she is depicted with a halo, not with rays, so it is reasonable to suppose that the paintings date from 1461 or from soon afterward. This inference is supported by the style of the ten panels, which have the pallid, gray tonality of Giovanni di Paolo's only dated work of the early 1460s, an altarpiece in the Cathedral at Pienza of 1463. The panels are first mentioned in the third quarter of the eighteenth century by a

Siennese antiquary who saw them in storage in the Spedale della Scala along with an altarpiece of the Presentation in the Temple, now in the Pinacoteca, that was commissioned in 1447 by a Siennese guild, the Arte dei Pizzicaiuoli, for its chapel in the church of Santa Maria della Scala (fig. 31). It has been suggested that the scenes from the life of Saint Catherine were integral with the altarpiece and were painted in the same year, but this is impossible on grounds both of style and iconography. They must therefore have been added to a preexisting altarpiece.

The interest of the panels is independent of the purpose for which they were made. Based on a life of the saint written by her confessor, Raymond of Capua, they tell the story of her inner life with undeviating concentration and incomparable sensibility. They have the character of illuminations rather than of paintings, and their idiom may have been adapted from that used in illuminated manuscripts showing the life of another Dominican mystic, Saint Bridget of Sweden.



31. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Presentation in the Temple*. Pinacoteca, Siena





32. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint Catherine of Siena Receiving the Stigmata*. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.34)





33. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Miraculous Communion of Saint Catherine of Siena*. Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. The Friedsam Collection (32.100.95)





34. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint Catherine of Siena Beseeches Christ to Resuscitate Her Mother*. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.33)





35. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint John the Evangelist Raising Drusiana*. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.36)

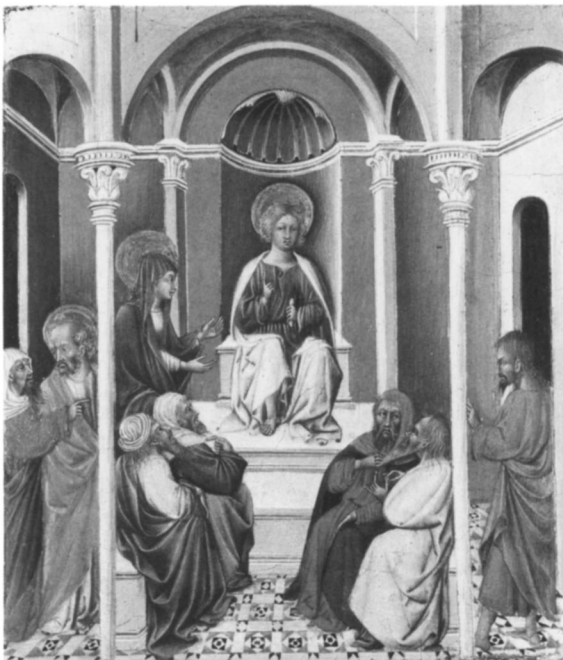


The first of the three panels in the Museum illustrates an event at Pisa, when Saint Catherine, after hearing a Mass said by her confessor, collapsed on the ground. "Suddenly the body that lay prostrate upon the ground was raised up, and she knelt upon her knees, stretching up her arms and hands and showing in her face a marvelous goodly and clear brightness." When she recovered, she explained that she had received a vision of the crucified Christ, and that from Christ's wounds there descended rays that "changed their color out of a sanguine red to a marvelous brightness, and so in the form of a pure light they lighted and rested upon the said parts of her body." The stigmata received by Saint Catherine, unlike the stigmata of Saint Francis, were invisible. The second scene illustrates an occasion when Saint Catherine, because of illness, forewent her customary daily Communion. Raymond of Capua therefore began Mass, but at the Communion found that part of the host was missing because it had been conferred by Christ on Saint Catherine, who was kneeling elsewhere in the church. The third and most elaborate of the scenes shows Saint Catherine beseeching Christ to resuscitate her mother in order that she might die penitent. Her mother, though her life through the saint's intercession had been prolonged, had died without contrition, whereupon the saint prayed that she be resuscitated. In the presence of neighbors who had come in to tend the corpse, she came back to life and then died contrite. On the left is the saint kneeling in prayer before a Crucifix, on the right is a bed in which her mother sits erect, and behind are two surprised spectators

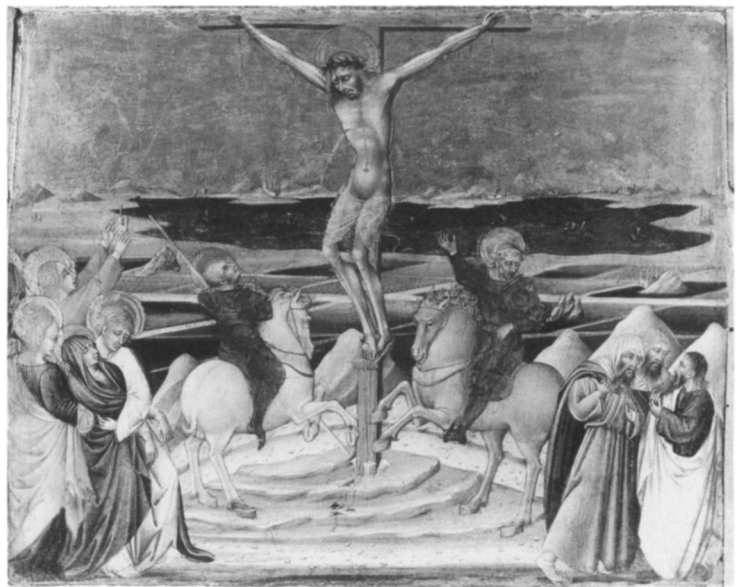
and the unknown woman who heard and reported the words of the saint's prayer. The three panels portray, with great fidelity, the domestic world that formed the setting for these occurrences.

In the same style and of approximately the same date is another small panel in the Lehman Collection (fig. 35). It shows a chamber with an arched doorway on the left and a second room behind. In the foreground is a bier or litter from which a female figure with hands raised turns toward a saint standing in benediction by the bier. To the left, behind the bier, is a bearded man expressing wonder at the miracle. Strangely there has been some doubt as to the miracle that is portrayed. The scene has been described as Saint Peter Raising Tabitha (despite the fact that the imagery and description of the scene in the Acts of the Apostles do not correspond) and as a miracle of Saint Paul. But the saint is Saint John the Evangelist, and the subject is the Raising of Drusiana. A panel of *The Attempted Martyrdom of Saint John the Evangelist Before the Porta Latina* in a private collection comes from the same predella.

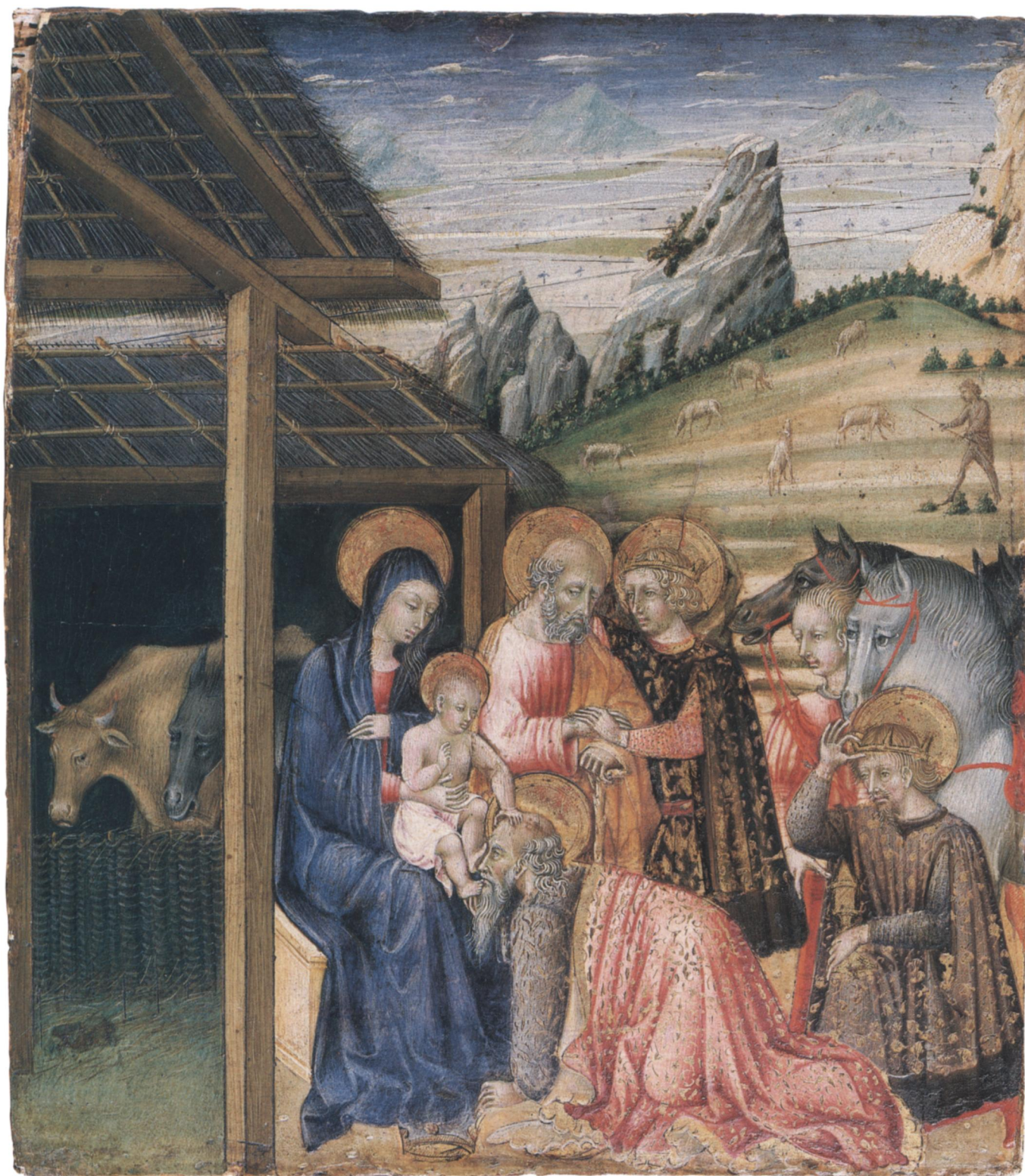
Memories of Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* haunted Giovanni di Paolo even in old age. But whereas Gentile practiced a courtly style addressed to the sophisticated patrons for whom he worked, Giovanni di Paolo's was a simpler audience. In the latest of his Adorations, the small panel in the Linsky Collection, Gentile's motifs are stripped of their courtly character and brought firmly down to earth (fig. 38). The narrative fills two-thirds of the foreground, and though the Child still places his left hand on the head



36. Giovanni di Paolo. *Christ Teaching in the Temple*. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston



37. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Crucifixion*. The Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford



38. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Adoration of the Magi*. The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.4)





39. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Nativity*. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest (1943.112)

of the kneeling king and the second magus is still shown taking off his crown, the action of the figures is inelegant. Structurally, however, the scene is anything but unsophisticated. It forms part of a predella of which three other panels survive, a Nativity in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., a panel of Christ Teaching in the Temple in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, and a visionary Crucifixion at Christ Church, Oxford (figs. 39, 36, 37). At first sight the settings of *The Nativity* and *The Adoration of the Magi* look very similar. In both the stable appears on the left, and in both the right side of the panel opens on a

patterned landscape peopled by shepherds with their flocks and a vast panorama behind. But when we look at them more closely, we find that they are different. In the Fogg panel we look into the stable, with its wattle roof and walls, while in the Linsky panel we stand outside it a little to the right. The change involves a change in the projection of the stable and its roof, and the means by which this was achieved is recorded in a complicated system of incised lines running on each side of the beams, evidently planned before work on the painting proper began.



40. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint Ambrose*. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.30)





41. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint Augustine*. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Gift of Arthur Sachs (1938.131)



42. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint Gregory*. Location unknown

Only one dated painting survives from the last two decades of Giovanni di Paolo's life. This is an altarpiece painted for San Silvestro at Staggia, which is said once to have borne the date 1475. It is a coarse, rather grotesque work showing the Assumption of the Virgin Between Four Saints, with an ill-fitting predella and four pilaster panels. A number of panels in the same debased style survive, but luckily none of them is in the Metropolitan Museum. Till about 1470 Giovanni di Paolo must still have been a capable executant, and the latest of the panels by him in the Museum's collection seem to have been painted about this time. The most impressive is a cut-down panel of Saint Ambrose in the Lehman Collection, which formed part of a polyptych with lateral figures of the Fathers of the Church (fig. 40). A companion panel of Saint Augustine is in the Fogg Art Museum, and a third panel of Saint Gregory is known from photographs (figs. 41, 42). The fourth panel must have represented Saint Jerome. All three panels are cut through the elbows. Some impression of their original appearance, however, can be gained from a magnificent isolated panel of Saint Jerome of the same date in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena (fig. 43). Probably the three central panels were burned and then cut down, and we would expect the

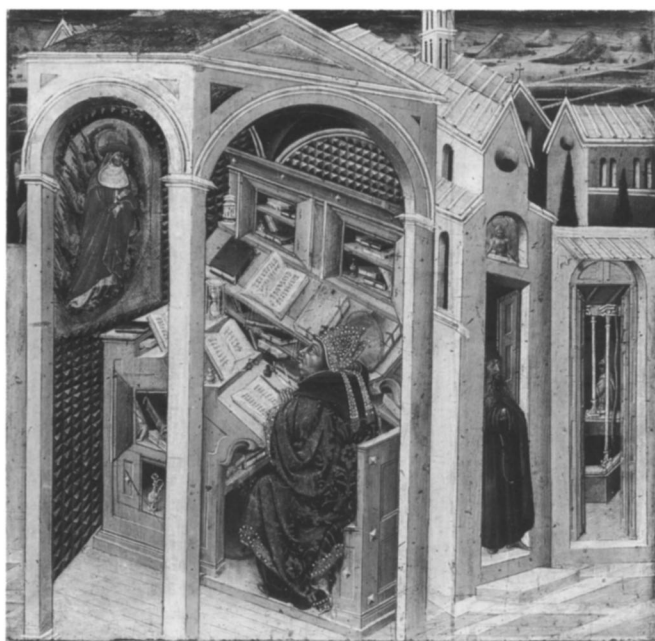


43. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint Jerome*. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena



44. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Virgin and Angel Holding a Crown*. Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, South Hadley, Mass., Bequest of Mrs. Caroline Hill, 1965 (46.1965)

central panel to be in the same mutilated state. This requirement is fulfilled by a panel in the Mount Holyoke College Art Museum showing an angel holding a crown over the head of what was evidently a Virgin and Child enthroned (fig. 44). Two impressive panels from the predella of this altarpiece survive, one of Saint Jerome Appearing to Saint Augustine in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, and the other of Saint Gregory the Great Staying the Plague at the Castel Sant'Angelo in the Louvre (figs. 45, 46). No complete altarpiece of the same high quality and the same late date as the three Fathers of the Church has been preserved. There is, however, in the Lehman Collection a small panel of the Madonna and Child with Saints Jerome and Agnes, which is painted with the same roughness and the same rich impasto as the Berlin predella panel (fig. 47). It has sometimes been dismissed as the work of an assistant, but there is no reason to suppose that it is anything but autograph. Designed for private devotion, it bears on its porphyry-colored back the arms of two Sienese families.



45. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint Jerome Appearing to Saint Augustine*. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem



46. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saint Gregory the Great Staying the Plague at the Castel Sant'Angelo*. Louvre, Paris





47. Giovanni di Paolo. *Madonna and Child with Saints Jerome and Agnes*. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.32)

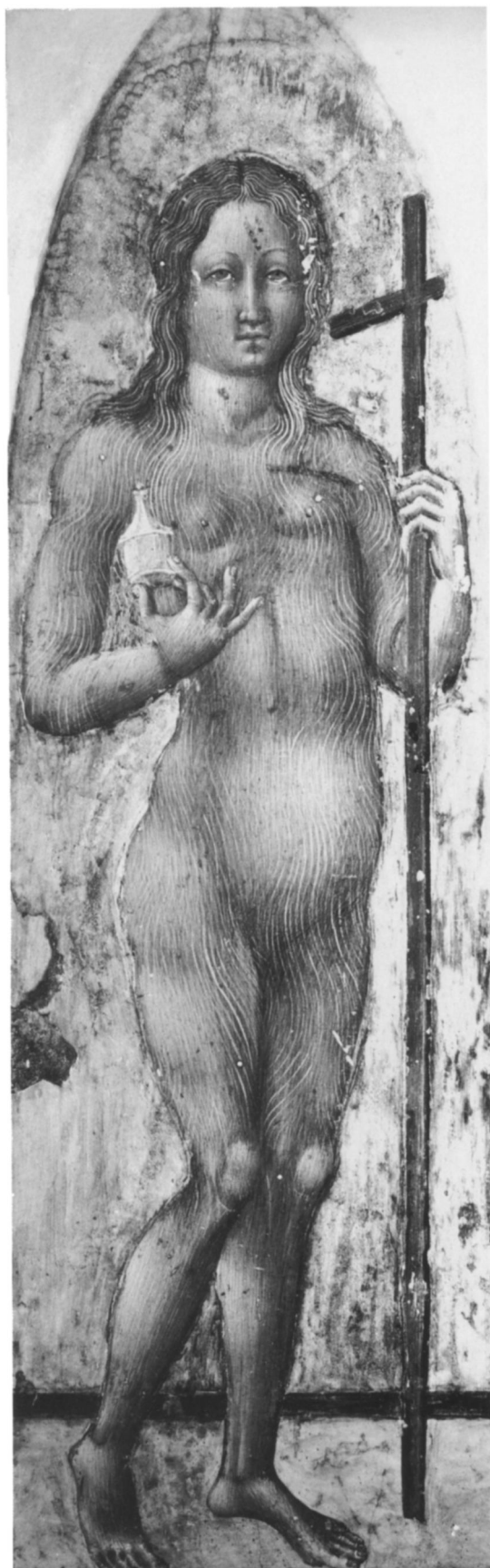




48–51. Giovanni di Paolo. *Four Saints: Catherine of Alexandria, Barbara, Agatha, and Margaret*. Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. The Friedsam Collection (32.100.83 a–d)







52, 53. Giovanni di Paolo. *Saints Mary Magdalene and Agnes*.  
Private collection

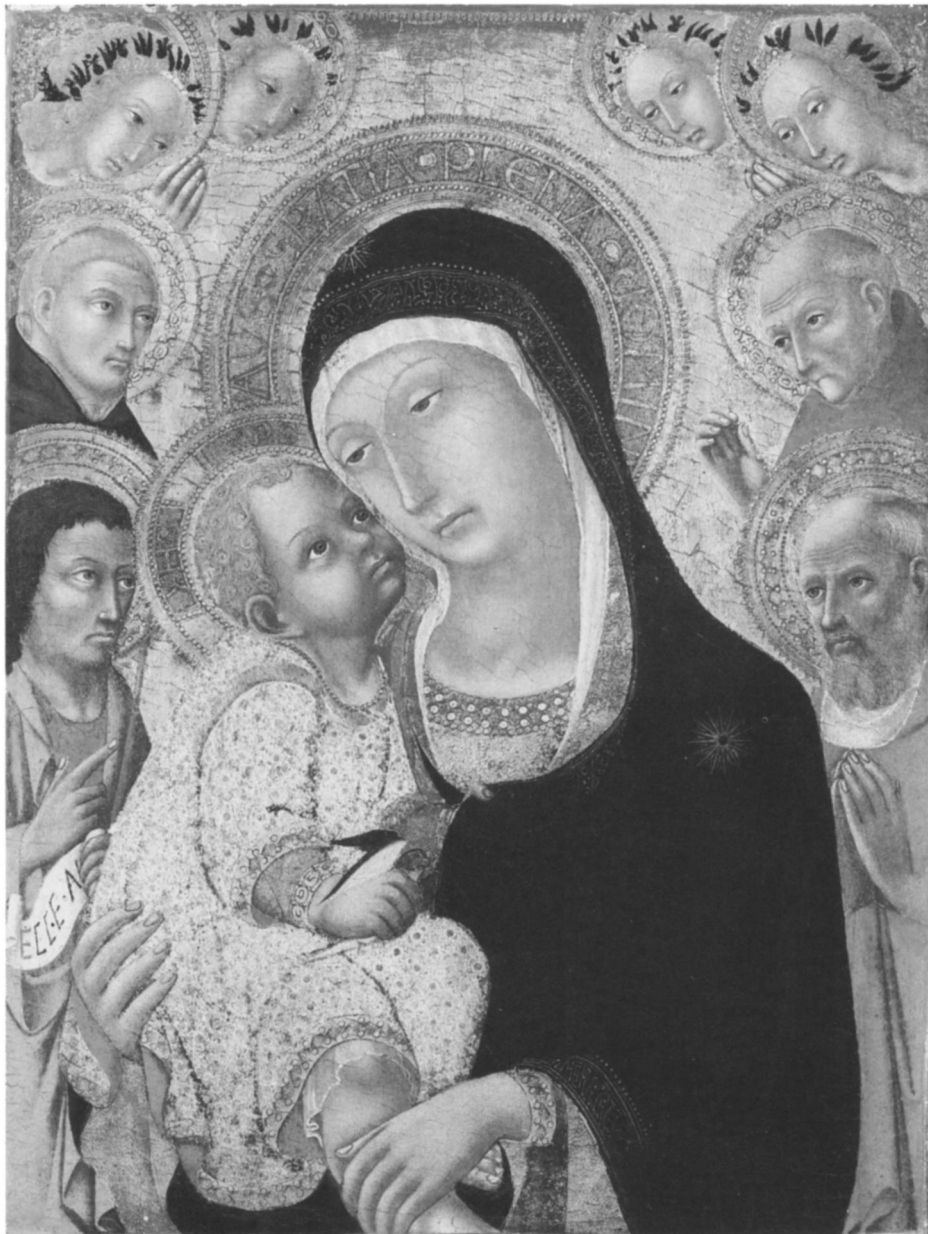


Four figures of female saints at the Metropolitan also date from this or from a rather later time. They represent Saints Catherine of Alexandria, Barbara, Agatha, and Margaret, and each is accompanied by her emblem (figs. 48–51). Saint Catherine holds a section of a wheel and the handle by which it was rotated, Saint Barbara a rectangular tower, Saint Agatha a dish containing her breasts and the instrument with which they were cut off, and Saint Margaret has a dragon at her feet. Two more panels from the series recently reappeared in a private collection; they show the Magdalene and Saint Agnes with her lamb (figs. 52, 53). Three of the saints face to the right and three to the left, so they must originally have formed the left and right pilasters of an altarpiece. The six saints are shown standing on a marbled floor, and from their positions on the pavement we can infer that Saints Barbara and Agatha were at the top, with Saints Catherine and Margaret under them and Saints Mary Magdalene and Agnes at the bottom of the two pilasters. A number of small altarpieces in the form of triptychs with pilasters at the sides were produced by Giovanni di Paolo in the last two decades of his life, and it is from one of these that the present panels must come. The haloes are shown in perspective, as they are in two much coarser pilasters in the Siena Pinacoteca. Perspective haloes tooled like the haloes of the six saints appear only in one large panel, a beautiful Nativity in the Keresztény Múzeum, Esztergom, Hungary, and it is very possible that this painting (fig. 54), two panels at Avignon that are associable with it, and the pilaster panels formed part of a single altarpiece.

Painting in Siena in the fifteenth century was subject to the simple law of supply and demand. The norm is supplied by that little-studied artist Sano di Pietro, whose work merits reconsideration not so much from an artistic as from a socio-historical point of view (fig. 55). His simple uninflected paintings must in the fifteenth century have been found in practically every house. We know almost nothing about his studio, but it was evidently very fully staffed and seems indeed to have been the place where most of the painters of the later fifteenth century, including Neroccio, Matteo di Giovanni, and Benvenuto di Giovanni, received their early training. It would be generally agreed that Sano's colossal productivity was made possible by the use of models or pattern books in which clients could select the type of composition they preferred—whether in a Madonna and Child the Child's head was to be partially concealed behind the Virgin's cheek or whether the Virgin's cheek was to be broken by the circle of the Child's head, whether the Child should look into or out of the picture space, and how many angels were to be included and which conventional saints. It was a placid art in which the dominant factor was the illustrative content of the painting and in which experiment was rigorously eschewed.



54. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Nativity*. Keresztény Múzeum, Esztergom, Hungary

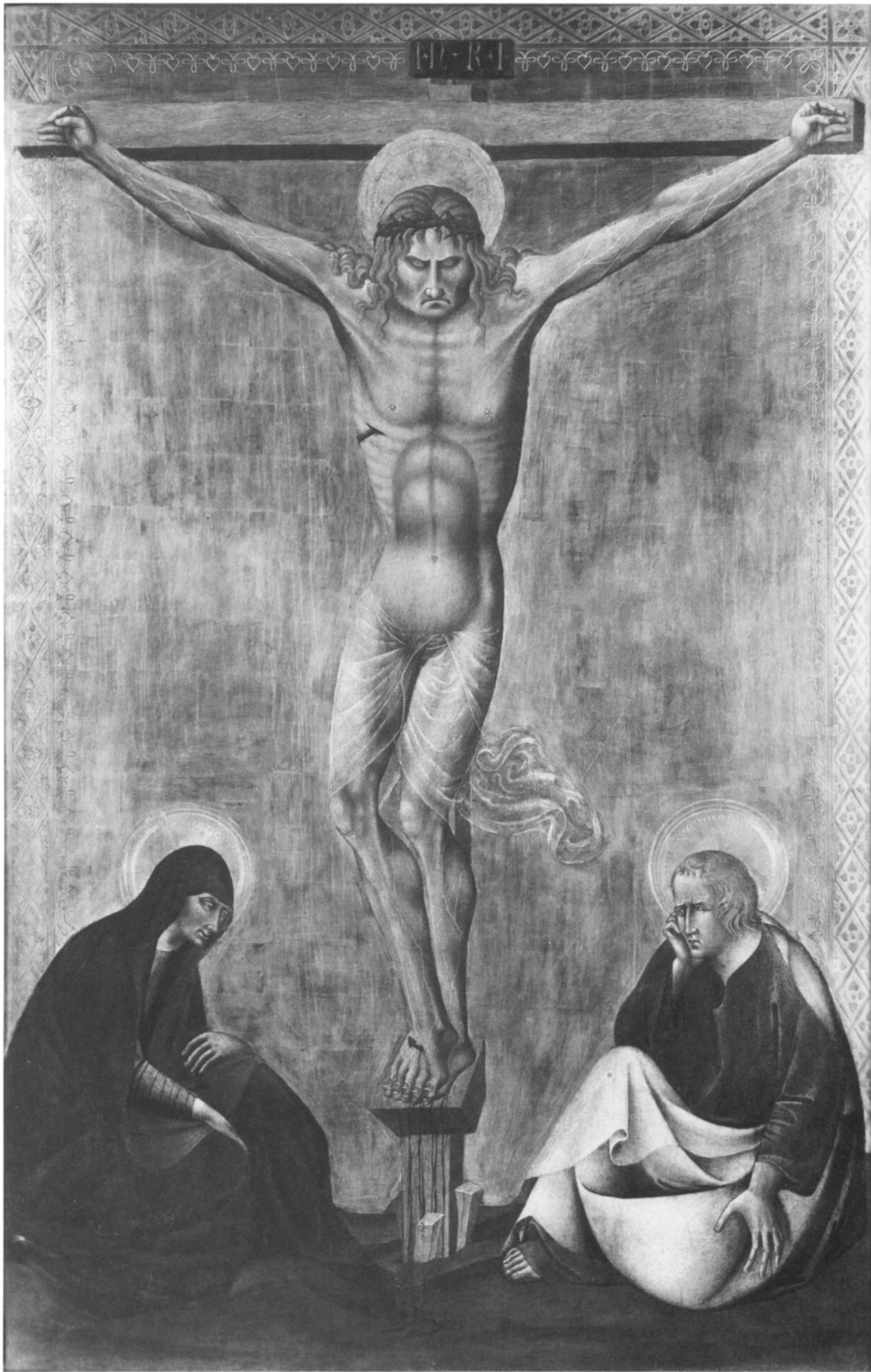


55. Sano di Pietro (1406–1481). *Madonna and Child with Saints John the Baptist, Jerome, Peter Martyr, Bernardino, and Four Angels*. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.43)

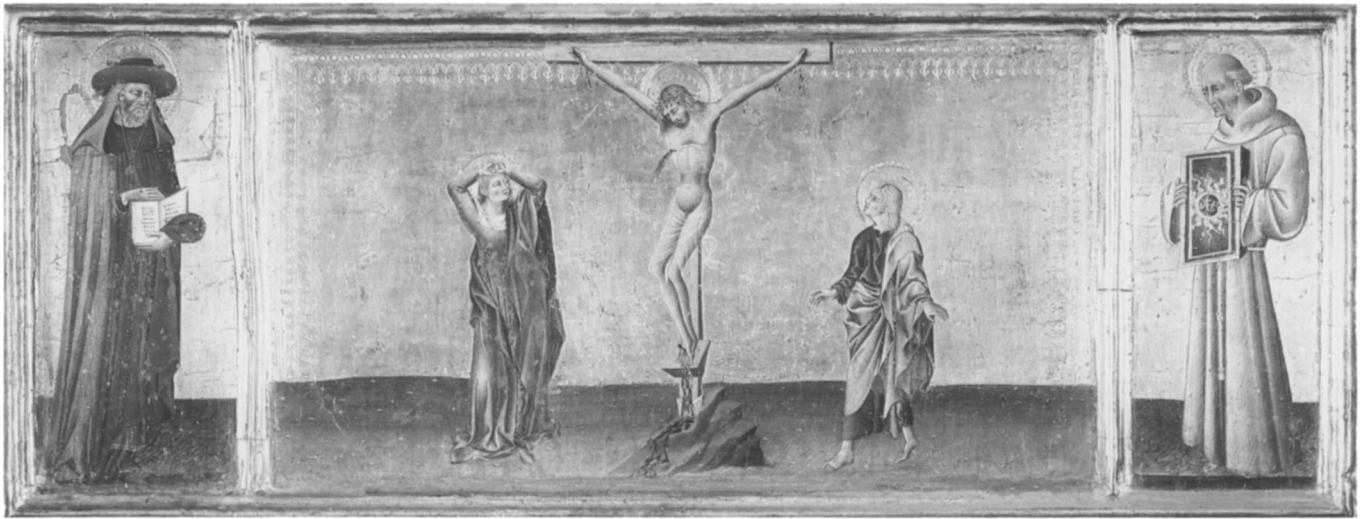
Giovanni di Paolo was also a prolific painter, but his case differs from Sano di Pietro's because, first, he had a smaller studio (looking at the paintings and documents, it would be hard to credit that he had at any time more than two assistants) and because, second, he had greater communicative range. The initial image seems to have been arrived at with less facility, and was frequently reused after a long lapse of time. This was the case with the components of his Crucifixions. One of the most impressive of his images of the Crucified Christ is a panel once in the Lanckoronski Collection, Vienna, in which the head is fully frontal and is turned slightly down (fig. 56). In this it recalls the central

pinnacle of Masaccio's Pisa altarpiece. About 1440 this image appears again, as the center of a narrative predella panel, and a year or two after 1460 it appears once more, again in a narrative context, in a panel that is now in Amsterdam. The change of scale, from the large compass of the Lanckoronski picture to the predella panels, suggests that the Christ was recorded in some model book. With the subsidiary figures the same process occurred. In the central panel of a predella painted for Santo Stefano alla Lizza we find a beautiful figure of the Mourning Virgin who looks up in anguish at the body of Christ with hands clasped above her head (fig. 57). This predella must date

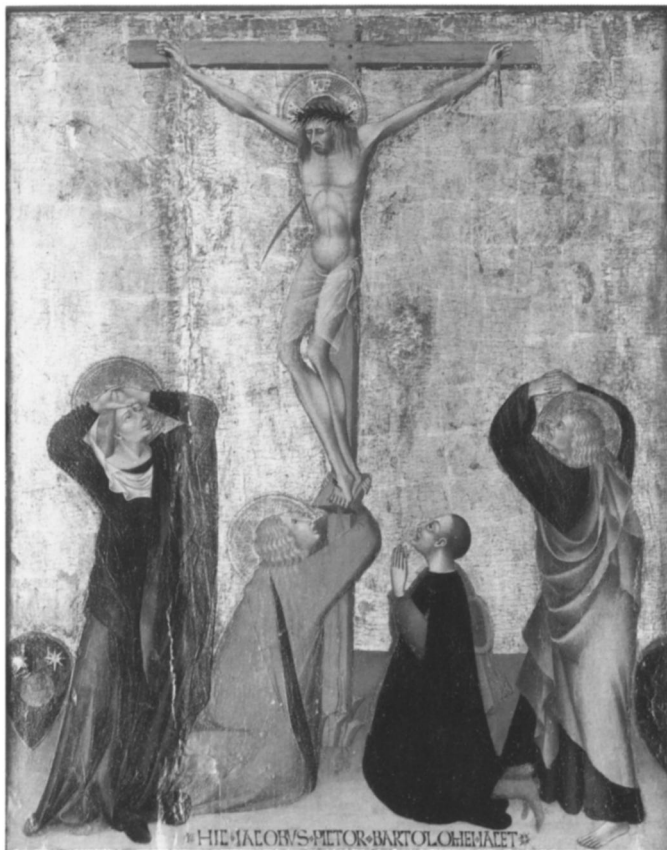




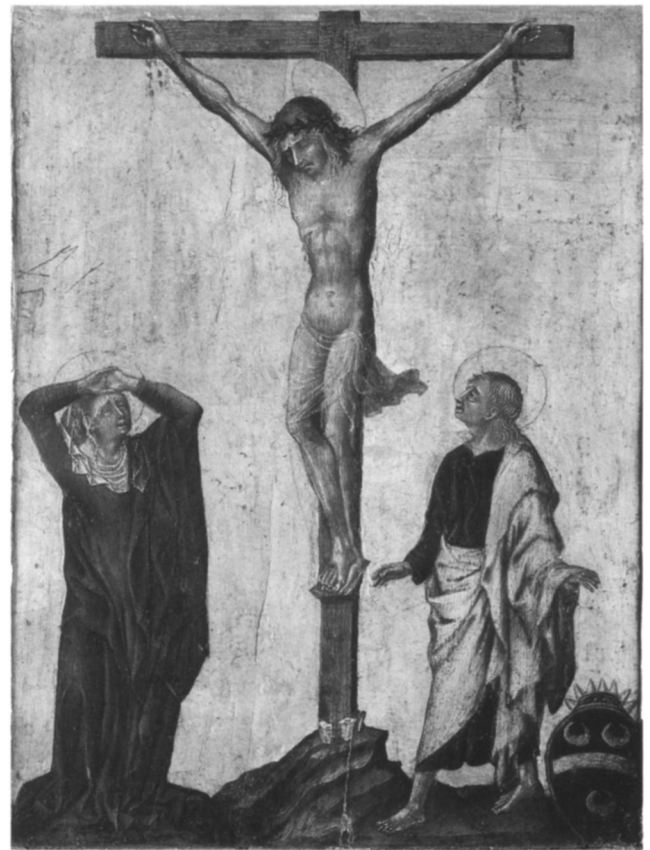
56. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Crucifixion*. Formerly in the Lanckoronski Collection, Vienna



57. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Crucifixion with Saints Jerome and Bernardino*. Church of Santo Stefano alla Lizza, Siena



58. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Crucifixion*. Australian National Gallery, Canberra



59. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Crucifixion*. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem





60–62. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Coronation of the Virgin with Saints Andrew and Peter and Angels*. Church of Sant'Andrea, Siena

from after 1450 since it includes a figure of San Bernardino. The same cartoon is employed once more, on a much larger scale, in a panel of the Crucifixion, seemingly painted about 1455, that is now in the Australian National Gallery at Canberra (fig. 58). And then just after 1460 it is repeated, with much greater intensity, in a little panel with the Piccolomini *stemma* in Berlin (fig. 59), where it is, rather surprisingly, combined with a mourning Saint John based on a cartoon originally used in the earliest of Giovanni di Paolo's predellas, that of 1426. The process was not mechanical, and the repeated image could acquire an intensity far greater than it had at the time it first appeared.

Whole compositions were sometimes reproduced. This is the case with two altarpieces of the Coronation of the Virgin, one painted in 1445 for the Church of Sant'Andrea in Siena, and the other in the Lehman Collection (figs. 61, 63). The Sant'Andrea altarpiece is a triptych; it was dismantled

before 1835 and has now been reconstituted with a largely modern frame. The wings are occupied by figures of Saints Andrew and Peter, with music-making angels in the front plane (figs. 60, 62). There are six angels behind the throne and six in the wings, twelve in all, and the floor of the central panel is marked out with inlaid orthogonals. Originally the triptych must have had a predella, but though it probably exists, there are no clues to the panels that formed part of it.

The painting in New York is by far the richer and more beautiful of the two; thirteen angels are introduced behind the throne, the foreground is marbled, and the forward step is covered with patterned red brocade. The dating of the painting is generally regarded as conjectural, and so is its form. But it can be demonstrated first that the painting dates from the very late 1450s, and second that it was never wider than it is today. The reason for this is that its predella



63. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Coronation of the Virgin*. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.38)



can be identified. It consisted of two published panels. The first is an Entombment of the Virgin in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which has Saint Bartholomew on the left and the Mourning Virgin turned to the right opposite (fig. 64). The second is an Assumption of the Virgin in the El Paso Museum of Art, which is again flanked by two saints, Saint Ansanus on the extreme right and Saint John the Evangelist turned to the left (fig. 65). It is a reasonable supposition that the central panel, set between the Virgin and Saint John, would have been a Pietà, and not long ago the missing Pietà appeared on the art market in New York (fig. 66). It was possible to juxtapose it with the Lehman *Coronation*, and when that was done the

marbling in the main panel and in the predella proved exactly to correspond. So there can be no doubt that this was the predella of this altarpiece. The aggregate width of the three panels, 134 centimeters, is so close to the width of the main altarpiece, that it can have had no wings. These three somber predella panels formed a foil to the splendid *Coronation* above. In the main panel the scene of the Coronation was thought afresh. The architecture of the throne is more elaborate, and the two main figures have acquired a new intensity. Since the head of the Virgin has been raised to the level of the head of Christ, the act of coronation takes on a rather different character, with the arms of Christ raised diagonally across the scene. The two



64. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Entombment of the Virgin*. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England



65. Giovanni di Paolo. *The Assumption of the Virgin*. El Paso Museum of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection



66. Giovanni di Paolo. *Pietà*. Private collection

heads, which were comparatively weakly treated in the earlier triptych, now protrude above the throne. It is clear that the second altarpiece was in fact worked out afresh, and it reflects the action of the same self-critical interpretative mind that directed the adaptation of the figure content of his smaller paintings.

So much for what we know. What of the unknown? It remains puzzling that in the middle of the fifteenth century a market, quite a large market, existed for what, by the standards of the time, must have seemed eccentric, heterodox paintings. Of the complacency and the sometimes exasperating tenderness of Sano di Pietro there is no trace, yet these works stood in the same churches as Sano di Pietro's, were addressed to the same public, and were made for the same use. Did they result from heightened personal conviction, or are they due to some current of doctrinal

thinking of which we know nothing at all? In Giovanni di Paolo's late works the imagery is the imagery of fear not consolation. When the New York *Paradise* was reproduced, about 1465, in a great oblong panel of *The Last Judgment* in Siena, even *Paradise* seems, as a prospect, not to be much fun (fig. 67). How did it happen that in the contented climate of Siena there was this thirst for moral chastisement? Or are the qualities that we interpret as despair due rather to failing eyesight or to some arthritic disability that caused the artist after 1453 to abandon the practice of illumination? There are, of course, no answers to questions of this kind. What is significant is that they are questions prompted by no other quattrocento painter, and my sense, in looking at Giovanni di Paolo and his work once more, is that he was humanly and historically a richer and even more rewarding artist than I had originally supposed.





67. Giovanni di Paolo. Detail of *The Last Judgment*. Pinacoteca, Siena



68. Detail of figure 18

## NOTES

Photography of Robert Lehman Collection paintings by Malcolm Varon.  
Photography of other Metropolitan Museum paintings by Walter J. F. Yee, Chief Photographer, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Photograph Studio

- 1, 2. Photographs: The British Library, London
3. See figure 38
4. Tempera on panel,  $41\frac{3}{16} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$  in. (104.6 x 43.8 cm). Photograph: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
5. Tempera on panel,  $41 \times 18\frac{7}{10}$  in. (104.3 x 46.8 cm). Photograph: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
6. Tempera on panel,  $33\frac{1}{2} \times 22$  in. (85 x 55.9 cm). Photograph: Grassi, Siena
7. Tempera on panel, gold ground. Overall, with added strips,  $54\frac{3}{8} \times 34\frac{3}{4}$  in. (138.7 x 88.3 cm); painted surface,  $52\frac{7}{8} \times 33\frac{1}{2}$  in. (134 x 85.1 cm). Inscribed (on haloes): SANCTVS. MACTEVS APOSTOLVS; SANCTVS. F[RANCISCV]S SERA[F]RIC[VS].
8. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
9. Tempera and gold on panel, embossed and gilded studs in spandrels of central building. Overall,  $15\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{1}{8}$  in. (39.4 x 46 cm); painted surface,  $15\frac{1}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$  in. (38.7 x 43.8 cm)
10. Tempera on panel,  $15\frac{3}{4} \times 18\frac{1}{4}$  in. (40 x 46.4 cm)
11. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
12. Tempera on poplar panel,  $15\frac{3}{8} \times 18\frac{3}{16}$  in. (39.7 x 46.2 cm). Photograph: The Cleveland Museum of Art
13. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin
14. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
15. Photograph: Service de documentation photographique de la Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris
16. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
17. Tempera on panel,  $18\frac{3}{16} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$  in. (46.5 x 52 cm)
18. Tempera and gold on canvas, transferred from wood. Overall,  $18\frac{1}{2} \times 16$  in. (47 x 40.6 cm); painted surface,  $17\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{8}$  in. (44.5 x 38.4 cm)
19. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
20. Tempera on panel, gold ground. Central panel,  $82\frac{3}{4} \times 25\frac{7}{8}$  in. (210.2 x 65.7 cm); left panels,  $70\frac{7}{8} \times 16\frac{7}{8}$  in. (180 x 42.9 cm),  $70\frac{7}{8} \times 16\frac{3}{4}$  in. (180 x 42.5 cm); right panels,  $70\frac{7}{8} \times 16\frac{7}{8}$  in. (180 x 42.9 cm),  $70\frac{7}{8} \times 16\frac{3}{4}$  in. (180 x 42.5 cm). Signed and dated (on base of central panel): OPVS IOHANNES MCCCCLIIII.
21. Photograph: National Gallery, London
22. Photograph: National Gallery, London
23. Tempera on panel,  $26\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$  in. (68 x 36.3 cm). © 1987 The Art Institute of Chicago. All rights reserved
24. Tempera on panel,  $26\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$  in. (68 x 40 cm) © 1987 The Art Institute of Chicago. All rights reserved
25. Tempera on panel,  $29\frac{7}{8} \times 17$  in. (75.8 x 43.2 cm), excluding added strips at the bottom and sides
26. Tempera on panel,  $15\frac{7}{8} \times 17\frac{1}{8}$  in. (40.3 x 43.5 cm). Photograph: Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
27. Bronze, height  $72\frac{7}{8}$  in. (185 cm). Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
28. Tempera on panel,  $24\frac{3}{8} \times 19\frac{1}{4}$  in. (61.9 x 48.9 cm). Photograph: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
29. See figure 21
30. See figure 28
31. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
32. Tempera on panel,  $10\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$  in. (27.8 x 20 cm). Panel cut on four sides; four nails visible on back
33. Tempera and gold on panel,  $11\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$  in. (28.9 x 22.2 cm)
34. Tempera on panel,  $11 \times 8\frac{5}{8}$  in. (28.3 x 22 cm). Strips of wood added at base, top, and left; nail heads appear in four places on back
35. Tempera on panel,  $9\frac{5}{16} \times 8\frac{3}{16}$  in. (23.7 x 22.3 cm), excluding added strips. Panel cut on four sides and strips of wood added at top and bottom
36. Tempera on panel,  $10\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{3}{8}$  in. (27.5 x 23.9 cm). Photograph: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston
37. Photograph: The Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford
38. Tempera and gold on panel,  $10\frac{3}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{8}$  in. (27 x 23.2 cm)
39. Tempera on panel,  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$  in. (26.7 x 23.5 cm). Photograph: Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.
40. Tempera on panel,  $23\frac{13}{16} \times 14\frac{7}{16}$  in. (60.4 x 36.8 cm), excluding added strips at top, bottom, and left. Panel cut on all sides and gold field reshaped by superimposed painted black spandrels
41. Tempera and gold on panel,  $23\frac{1}{2} \times 14$  in. (59.7 x 35.6 cm). Photograph: Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.
42. Photograph: From *Italian Paintings in the Robert Lehman Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987
43. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
44. Tempera on panel,  $22\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{7}{8}$  in. (58.1 x 35.3 cm). Photograph: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum
45. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin
46. Photograph: Service de documentation photographique de la Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris
47. Tempera on panel,  $12\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$  in. (32 x 24.7 cm), excluding added strips on four sides
- 48–51. Tempera on wood, gold ground. Left to right: overall,  $18\frac{3}{4} \times 6$  in. (47.6 x 15.3 cm), painted surface,  $18\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. (46.4 x 14 cm); overall,  $18\frac{3}{4} \times 6$  in. (47.6 x 15.3 cm), painted surface,  $18\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$  in. (46.6 x 14.2 cm); overall,  $18\frac{3}{4} \times 6$  in. (47.6 x 15.3 cm), painted surface,  $18\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$  in. (46.6 x 13.2 cm); overall,  $18\frac{3}{4} \times 6$  in. (47.6 x 15.3 cm), painted surface,  $18\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$  in. (46.4 x 14.2 cm)
- 52, 53. Tempera on panel, each  $18 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. (46 x 14 cm)
54. Photograph: Mudrak Attila, Esztergom
55. Tempera on panel, overall,  $28\frac{1}{8} \times 22\frac{1}{16}$  in. (71.5 x 56.1 cm); painted surface,  $24\frac{3}{4} \times 18\frac{3}{8}$  in. (63 x 47.3 cm)
56. Photograph: Courtesy of John Pope-Hennessy
57. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
58. Tempera and gold leaf on poplar panel,  $45 \times 34\frac{7}{8}$  in. (114.2 x 88.5 cm). Photograph: © Australian National Gallery
59. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin
- 60–62. Photographs: Stablimento Fotografico Lombardi, Siena
63. Tempera on panel,  $70\frac{5}{8} \times 51\frac{11}{16}$  in. (179.9 x 131.3 cm). Point of arch is completed by section of old wood covered with modern gilding
64. Tempera and gold on panel,  $7\frac{3}{8} \times 18\frac{3}{8}$  in. (18.9 x 46.8 cm). Photograph: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England
65. Tempera and gold on panel,  $7\frac{1}{16} \times 18\frac{7}{8}$  in. (18.8 x 48.3 cm). Photograph: Bullary-Lomeo Photographers, New York
66. Tempera and gold on panel,  $10 \times 15$  in. (25.5 x 38.5 cm), excluding added strips. Photograph: From *Italian Paintings in the Robert Lehman Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987
67. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York
68. See figure 18.

Inside back cover: The Expulsion from Paradise, detail of figure 17. Back cover: Zacharias and the Angel Gabriel, detail of figure 25







