

PERCEPTIONS
OF *El Greco*
IN 2014



BENAKI MUSEUM

SOCIETY OF CRETAN
HISTORICAL STUDIES

INSTITUTE FOR
MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

**PERCEPTIONS
OF EL GRECO
IN 2014**

PERCEPTIONS
OF *El Greco*
IN 2014

Edited by

NICOS HADJINICOLAOU

PANAYOTIS K. IOANNOU

BENAKI MUSEUM

SOCIETY OF CRETAN
HISTORICAL STUDIES

INSTITUTE FOR
MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

ATHENS 2019

SPONSOR



ANDREAS PITTAS
ART CHARACTERIZATION
LABORATORIES

The book contains the Proceedings of the International Conference *El Greco: The Cretan Years* (Heraklion) held in conjunction with the exhibition: *D. Theotokopoulos between Venice and Rome* [organized by the Historical Museum of Crete and the Benaki Museum and held at the Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion (21 June 2014 - 25 October 2014) and the Benaki Museum / Pireos 138, Athens (21 November 2014 - 1 March 2015)] and the International Conference *El Greco from Crete to Venice, to Rome, to Toledo* held in conjunction with the exhibition *Friends and Patrons of El Greco* [organized by the Benaki Museum of Greek Culture, Athens (13 November - 1 March 2015)].

Editing of English texts: *Anastasia Caramanis - Joshua Barley*

Editing of Spanish texts: *Pedro Olalla*

Book Design: *Dodocoms Ltd*

Printing: *Fotolio SA*

Binding: *Th. Iliopoulos - P. Rodopoulos*

© publication 2019

Benaki Museum / Society of Cretan Historical Studies (SCHS)/

Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS)

© texts 2019 the authors

Authors declare that they have secured permission to reproduce the images that appear in their texts.



BENAKI MUSEUM
1, Koumbari Street, 10674 Athens, Greece

ISBN: 978-960-476-246-0 T (+30) 2103671000 • www.benaki.gr



SOCIETY OF CRETAN HISTORICAL STUDIES (SCHS)
A. & M. Kalokerinos House
27, Sofokli Venizelou Ave. / 7, Lysimachou Kalokerinou St.
71202 Heraklion, Crete, Greece

ISBN: 978-960-9480-45-1 T (+30) 2810 283219, (+30) 2810 288708 • www.historical-museum.gr



INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES (IMS)
Foundation for Research and Technology - Hellas
Melissinou & Nikiforou Foka 130,
P.O. Box. 119, Rethymno 74100, Crete, Greece

ISBN: 978-618-81780-5-2 T (+30) 28310 25146, (+30) 28310 56627 • www.ims.forth.gr

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or republished, wholly or in part, or in summary, paraphrase or adaption, by mechanical or electronic means, by photocopying or recording, or by any other method, without the prior written permission of the publishers.

In accordance with Law 2121/1993 and the regulations of International Law applicable in Greece.

MNHMH AΓΓΕΛΟΥ ΔΕΛΗΒΟΡΡΙΑ

IN MEMORY OF ANGELOS DELIVORRIAS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- Nicos Hadjinicolaou - Panayotis K. Ioannou*
11 PREFACE
- THE CRETAN YEARS**
- Nicos Hadjinicolaou*
15 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
- Irene Leontakianakou*
29 WESTERN ELEMENTS IN ICON PAINTING IN REGIONS UNDER
VENETIAN RULE AND THE EARLY WORK OF THEOTOKOPOULOS
- Maria Kazanaki-Lappa*
49 GEORGIOS KLONTZAS AND DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS:
PARALLEL OR COUNTER ITINERARIES?
- Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides*
67 PASSION SCENES IN CRETAN PAINTING AND IN THEOTOKOPOULOS'
EARLY WORKS: TRADITION TRANSCENDED, NEW CHALLENGES
- Nicos Hadjinicolaou*
95 IS *THE PASSION OF CHRIST* IN THE VELIMEZIS
COLLECTION A WORK PAINTED BY GRECO?
- José Riello*
111 THE GREEK BOOKS OF EL GRECO
- Nikolas Bakirtzis / Ropertos Georgiou*
125 SHEDDING TECHNOLOGICAL LIGHT ON EARLY EL GRECO:
THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST AND *THE VIEW OF MOUNT SINAI*
AT THE HISTORICAL MUSEUM OF CRETE
- The Modena Triptych**
- Panayotis K. Ioannou*
143 THE *MODENA TRIPTYCH* AND THE QUESTION OF THE "MADONNERI"

- Carmen Garrido*
169 EL TRÍPTICO DE MODENA: TÉCNICA Y MODERNIDAD
- † *David McTavish*
197 THE MODENA TRIPTYCH AND THE IMPENDING CHALLENGE OF VENETIAN PAINTING “SECONDO CHE IL VIVO MOSTRAVA”
- Michiaki Koshikawa*
213 ANDREA SCHIAVONE, BATTISTA FRANCO AND THE GRIMANI FAMILY: ON THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF *THE MODENA TRIPTYCH* AND ITS VISUAL SOURCES
- Fernando Mariás*
231 *MILES CHRISTI*, ONCE AGAIN: EL GRECO AND HIS CLIENTS IN VENICE
- FROM CRETE TO VENICE, TO ROME, TO TOLEDO**
- Ana Carmen Lavín*
257 NEW INFORMATION CONCERNING EL GRECO’S SOJOURN IN ITALY
- Giles Knox*
273 EL GRECO AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE ALTARPIECE
- Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo*
287 UNA PROPOSTA PER GLI ESORDI DI DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS: UNA NUOVA *ADORAZIONE DEI MAGI* E UNA QUESTIONE SPINOSA
- Lubomír Konečný*
301 EL GRECO AND ANTIQUITY
- José Riello*
311 EL GRECO Y LOS EXTREMOS DE UN GÉNERO: RETRATOS “HECHOS DE VOZ”, RETRATOS DEL NATURAL, RETRATOS INFAMANTES
- Rudolf Preimesberger*
327 DETAILS IN EL GRECO – MOSTLY ICONOGRAPHIC
- Keiko Ozaki*
347 DOS FRACASOS DE EL GRECO EN ESPAÑA: LAS INTERPRETACIONES DE *EL EXPOLIO* Y *EL MARTIRIO DE SAN MAURICIO* DESDE EL PUNTO DE VISTA SOCIAL EN EL SIGLO XVI

- Carmen Garrido*
 363 *EL APÓSTOL SAN PABLO. VARIACIONES SOBRE UN MISMO TEMA*
- Richard L. Kagan*
 373 TOLEDO, EL GRECO AND THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS
- Yannis Hadjinicolaou*
 383 EL GRECO'S *BORRONES*. A EUROPEAN PRACTICE AND THEORY
- Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa*
 403 FRANCISCO DE HOLANDA ET LE GRECO.
 COÏNCIDENCES ET DIVERGENCES
- Benito Navarrete Prieto*
 423 EL GRECO Y TRISTÁN, RETRATISTAS
- Ekaterini Kepetzis*
 439 EL GRECO AS PROTOTYPE OF THE ANTI-ACADEMIC ARTIST
 IN FRENCH ART CRITICISM BEFORE 1900
- Λευτέρης Σπύρου*
 449 ΤΕΣΣΕΡΙΣ ΓΚΡΕΚΟ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΠΙΝΑΚΟΘΗΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ
 ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΣΟΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ
- Palma Martínez-Burgos García*
 461 EL GRECO AS A FILM HERO: MYTHS AND TOPICS
- Laocoön***
- Livia Stoenescu*
 477 EL GRECO'S *LAOCOÖN* AND THE DIALOGUE WITH CLASSICAL ART
 IN TOLEDO'S HISTORICAL CONTEXT
- Fernando Marías*
 489 LAS COMPLEJIDADES DEL *LAOCOONTE*:
 ¿MITOLOGÍA, HISTORÍA, POESÍA, POLÍTICA?
- Michail Chatzidakis / Stefan Trink*
 505 EL GRECO, MICHELANGELO AND THE *LAOCOÖN*

PREFACE

THE 400TH ANNIVERSARY OF DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS' DEATH has been commemorated all over Europe and the US. The country that has done the most on the occasion was undoubtedly Spain. Three major exhibitions, two in the city of Toledo and one at the Prado and two international conferences, one in Madrid and one in Toledo, together with dozens of small events and minor exhibitions all over the country paid tribute to the Greek who spent the second half of his life in Castile producing, together with a very personal religious imagery, some unconformable works that have become, with the passage of the centuries, emblematic images of European culture.

This Greek, proclaiming so loudly his identity, going so far as to create a sort of continuum between the ancient past and its 16th century forms of existence ("mis padres griegos"), has been honoured by official and unofficial Spain during 2014 to a degree unheard of even in the case of legitimate children Hispania's like Velázquez or Goya. More would have been impossible to accomplish when you consider that the nuns of Toledo created special mazapanes to commemorate his memory.

The decision by the Greek Minister of Culture, Mr. Pavlos Geroulanos, to proclaim 2014 as "Year dedicated to Domenikos Theotokopoulos" and the decision by the directors of five major Greek museums to coordinate their efforts and organize five simultaneous exhibitions and two international congresses had as a final result the exhibition *Domenikos Theotokopoulos between Venice and Rome* at the Historical Museum of Crete (21st of June – 25th of October 2014) which was transferred to the Benaki Museum / Pireos 138 in Athens (21st of November 2014 – 1st of March 2015) with some significant changes and the exhibition *Friends and Patrons of El Greco in Toledo* at the main building of the Benaki Museum of Greek Culture. The Byzantine Museum organized the exhibition *Domenikos Theotokopoulos Before El Greco* (3rd of December 2014 - 31st of March 2015). Finally, two international conferences were held: one by the Society of Cretan Historical Studies (SCHS) and the Municipality of Heraklion at the Historical Museum of Crete (21-23 of June 2014) entitled *El Greco: The Cretan Years* and one by the Benaki Museum in Athens entitled *Domenikos Theotokopoulos: From Crete, to Venice, to Rome, to Toledo* (21-23 of November 2014).

For the events at Heraklion our thanks go to Alexis Kalokairinos, President of the Society of Cretan Historical Studies, who took pains for the best possible organization of the Conference and his immediate collaborators Eva Grammatikaki, Director of the Historical Museum of Crete, Vangelio Violaki, Dimitris Mathioudakis and Denise Alevizou. Eleni Sapountzi was helpful in organizing the travel itineraries of the participants. Vassilis Lambrinos, Mayor of Heraklion and Nikos Matzapetakis, former member of the City Council, tried to find solutions to cover part of the expenses.

For the efforts undertaken in Athens our gratitude goes above all to Angelos Delivorrias, who supported all our initiatives and to his collaborators Polina Kosmadaki, Maria Throuvala and Antigone Pogiatzi. His sudden death in 2018 was a blow for everyone working in the cultural field in Greece. This is not the moment nor the place to evaluate his contribution. Some events dedicated to his memory have already been organized in Athens and others will follow.

The members of the Scientific Committee, Maria Constantoudaki, Panayotis Ioannou and Nicos Hadjinicolaou, shared the responsibility to choose fourteen amongst thirty-six proposals for the conference in Crete and twenty amongst fifty proposals for the conference in Athens.

We owe special thanks to Professor Dimitris Pandermalis and the Board of Directors of the Acropolis Museum who offered to the participants a guided tour and a lunch at the Museum at the end of the Conference.

George D. Matthiopoulos has designed the printed programmes of the two Conferences as well as the layout of the present volume. Nicos Lagos of Indigo was responsible for the quality of the colour separations of the images. Dimitris Kadianakis and Nikos Maravelias supervised the delicate work of printing.

A special word of gratitude is due to Queen Sophia of Spain who honoured with her presence the cultural events in Athens related to the Greek of Toledo by inaugurating the exhibition and the international Conference.

As to the papers given at the two Conferences, now united in the present volume, our gratitude goes to the late Angelos Delivorrias. Gelina Harlaftis, Director of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies and Alexis Kalokairinos, made the edition possible. Both of them decided to participate at this editorial enterprise as co-editors with the Benaki. Dr. Andreas Pittas, President of the Andreas Pittas Art Characterization Laboratories (APAC LABS) at Nicosia, Cyprus, appeared at the very last moment as sponsor ex machina and the proceedings after years of stagnation could finally go to the printer. Professor Nikolas Bakirtzis, who participated at the Iraklion Conference with Ropertos Georgiou, was the decisive factor in bringing the Cypriot sponsorship to fruition. Maria Throuvala, Head of European Projects and Sponsorships and Dimitris Arvanitakis, Head of the Publishing Department of the Benaki have been extremely active during these last months coordinating the collaboration between the three Institutions functioning as editors.

Our generous and enthusiastic colleague David McTavish lost the battle against illness. Our thoughts and thanks go to his daughter Sarah.

NICOS HADJINICOLAOU - PANAYOTIS K. IOANNOU



St. Marc's Basilica, Heraklion.



Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΕΜΠΤΟ που διοργανώνεται στην Κρήτη, σε συνδυασμό, όπως πάντα, με μίαν έκθεση αφιερωμένη στο έργο του Δομήνικου Θεοτοκόπουλου. Σας θυμίζω ότι το 1990, με αφορμή την έκθεση *El Greco of Crete*, διοργανώθηκε στο Ηράκλειο το ομώνυμο συνέδριο, τα πρακτικά του οποίου κυκλοφόρησαν το 1995. Το 1995, με αφορμή την έκθεση *Ο Γκρέκο στην Ιταλία και η ιταλική τέχνη* που διοργανώθηκε στην Εθνική Πινακοθήκη της Αθήνας, πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Ρέθυμνο το αντίστοιχο συνέδριο και τα πρακτικά κυκλοφόρησαν το 1999. Την ίδια χρονιά, με αφορμή την έκθεση *Ελ Γκρέκο. Ταυτότητα και Μεταμόρφωση. Κρήτη – Ιταλία – Ισπανία* που διοργανώθηκε στη Μαδρίτη, στη Ρώμη και στην Εθνική Πινακοθήκη της Αθήνας από τον αείμνηστο συνάδελφο και φίλο Χοσέ Άλβαρεθ Λοπέρα, έλαβε χώρα στο Ρέθυμνο το συνέδριο με θέμα *El Greco: the First Twenty Years in Spain*, τα πρακτικά του οποίου κυκλοφόρησαν το 2005. Τέλος, την ίδια χρονιά, το 2005 δηλαδή, διοργανώθηκε στο Ρέθυμνο, όπου λειτουργεί στο πλαίσιο του Ινστιτούτου Μεσογειακών Σπουδών και η ερευνητική μονάδα El Greco Centre, αφιερωμένη στην έρευνα του έργου του Δομήνικου Θεοτοκόπουλου, το συνέδριο με θέμα *El Greco's Studio*, τα πρακτικά του οποίου κυκλοφόρησαν το 2007.

Με το τωρινό Συνέδριο επιστρέφουμε, 24 χρόνια αργότερα, στο πρώτο μέρος του συνεδρίου του 1990: την Κρητική περίοδο του καλλιτέχνη.

Να θυμίσω ότι το 1990 δέκα ερευνητές ασχολήθηκαν με την κρητική περίοδο του Θεοτοκόπουλου (Νικόλαος Παναγιωτάκης, Μυρτάλη Αχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου, Κάντω Φατούρου-Ησυχάκη, Όλγα Γκράτζιου, Χρυσάνθη Μπαλτογιάννη, Μαρία Κωνσταντουδάκη-Κιτρομηλίδου, Μαρία Βασιλάκη, Αλέξανδρος Ξύδης καθώς και οι Christa Gardner von Teuffel και Ronald Cueto). Διαπιστώνω ότι η εικόνα της Σύρου τράβηξε τότε το ενδιαφέρον τριών ερευνητριών (Γκράτζιου, Φατούρου-Ησυχάκη και Αχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου), ότι με το *Τοπίο του Σινά* ασχολήθηκε η Gardner von Teuffel και ο Ronald Cueto, με τις εικονογραφικές πηγές του Γκρέκο τής κρητικής περιόδου η Μαρία Κωνσταντουδάκη-Κιτρομηλίδου και ο Αλέξανδρος Ξύδης, με το *Τρίπτυχο της Μόδενας* η Μαρία Βασιλάκη και η Κάντω Φατούρου-Ησυχάκη. Ο αείμνηστος

Νίκος Παναγιωτάκης όχι μόνο μάς έδωσε ένα πανόραμα της κατάστασης της παιδείας στην Κρήτη επί Βενετοκρατίας, αλλά παρουσίασε και ένα άγνωστο αρχαιακό τεκμήριο του Νοεμβρίου 1566 που αφορούσε την αντιδικία του Θεοτοκόπουλου με τον βενετό ευγενή Luca Miani. Τέλος, η Χρυσάνθη Μπαλτογιάννη πρότεινε να αναγνωρίσουμε σε μιαν εικόνα με το θέμα *Ίδε ο Άνθρωπος*, που βρίσκεται στο Μοναστήρι του Αγίου Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου της Πάτμου, το “quadro della Passione del nostro signor Giesu Christo, dorato”, που πουλήθηκε σε κλήρωση λαχμών στο Ηράκλειο τον Δεκέμβριο του 1566 ή τις πρώτες μέρες του Γενάρη του 1567.

Από το 1990 μέχρι σήμερα η κρητική περίοδος της ζωής του καλλιτέχνη δεν μελετήθηκε ιδιαίτερα, αν εξαιρέσουμε τα άρθρα της Μαρίας Κωνσταντουδάκη-Κιτρομηλίδου που δημοσιεύθηκαν στα πρακτικά των προαναφερθέντων συνεδρίων και στους καταλόγους των εκθέσεων. Η τέχνη στην Κρήτη στα χρόνια του Θεοτοκόπουλου άρχισε όμως να τραβάει την προσοχή. Στην έκθεση έργων του που οργάνωσε το 2001 το Kunsthistorisches Museum της Βιέννης προστέθηκε ένα Τρίπτυχο της κρητικής σχολής του 1600 περίπου, ενώ ο Άλβαρεθ Λοπέρα στην έκθεση που οργάνωσε το 1999 στη Μαδρίτη συμπεριέλαβε 9 εικόνες, ανάμεσά τους το Τρίπτυχο με τη *Δευτέρα Παρουσία* του Κλόντζα που βρίσκεται στο Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο της Βενετίας. Ενασχόληση ουσιαστική με το θέμα στο σύνολό του δεν υπήρξε πάντως.

Έτσι, συνεχίζουμε απ’ το σημείο που σταματήσαμε το 1990 και ξαναπιάνουμε το νήμα. Ένα τέταρτο του αιώνα έχει περάσει από τότε. Τι μπορεί να θεωρηθεί κεκτημένο στο μεταξύ διάστημα; Θα έλεγα ότι η *Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου της Σύρου* ανήκει πλέον στα ομόφωνα αποδεκτά έργα του ζωγράφου. Η ευρύτατη παιδεία του ήδη σε νεανική ηλικία, που μαρτυρείται και από την υπογραφή του έργου, παραμένει επίσης ένα νέο δεδομένο. Ανάλογο ρόλο παίζει το *Τοπίο του Σινά* που αγόρασε η οικογένεια Καλοκαιρινού. Πολλές από τις εικονογραφικές πηγές του Γκρέκο που η Μαρία Κωνσταντουδάκη-Κιτρομηλίδου εντόπισε σε ιταλικά χαρακτικά έχουν επίσης ενσωματωθεί στα κεκτημένα της έρευνας που αφορά τη δημιουργική ζωή του στο νησί. Το έγγραφο που ανακάλυψε ο Παναγιωτάκης δεν παύει να είναι ένα σημαντικό τεκμήριο. Αντίθετα, η απόδοση της εικόνας της Πάτμου στον Θεοτοκόπουλο δεν έγινε αποδεκτή. Απ’ όσο γνωρίζω κανένας ερευνητής μέχρι σήμερα δεν συμφώνησε με την πρόταση.

Ποια είναι τα πραγματολογικά δεδομένα της κρητικής περιόδου;

- Α’. Ο ζωγράφος ζει στην Κρήτη απ’ το 1541, οπότε γεννιέται, μέχρι το 1567. Το 1563, το αργότερο, γίνεται μαΐστρος. Την άνοιξη του 1567, το νωρίτερο, ή την άνοιξη του 1568 το αργότερο, πρέπει να έφυγε για τη Βενετία.
- Β’. Τα έργα που έχουν σωθεί και είναι αποδεκτά από την έρευνα ως ιδιόχειρα είναι όλα κι όλα τρία: Ο *Λουκάς ζωγραφίζει την Παναγία και η Προσκύνηση των Μάγων* του Μουσειού Μπενάκη καθώς και η *Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου της Σύρου*.
- Γ’. Τα αρχαιακά έγγραφα που τον αφορούν άμεσα είναι κι αυτά λιγοστά. Πρόκειται για 5 έγγραφα (28 Σεπτεμβρίου 1563, 6 Ιουνίου 1566, 5 Νοεμβρίου 1566, 26 Δεκεμβρίου 1566 και 27 Δεκεμβρίου 1566) που ανακαλύφθηκαν από ερευνητές στα βενετικά αρχεία.

Αυτά είναι τα δεδομένα. Η έρευνα, ξεκινώντας από αυτή την πραγματικότητα, οφείλει να προχωρήσει. Επιτρέψτε μου να προσπαθήσω να συνοψίσω τα προβλήματα που ήταν άλυτα ήδη το 1990 και έκτοτε δεν σημειώθηκε κάποια ουσιαστική πρόοδος ως προς την επίλυσή τους.



the last Cretan period (1566)”, I do not think that anyone else today would argue in favour of the idea that the Triptych was painted in Crete.

What is the theological or dogmatic framework to which the *Triptych* belongs? Can we go further down the track of the religious ideology inspiring the *Triptych*?**

Problem number three

Similar and dissimilar itineraries. To what extent did Greco’s initial itinerary (already *on the island*, copying Western prints, and then after his arrival in Venice) derived from his *condition as a Cretan painter*? In 1990 we did not go at all towards formulating this type of questions. Greco’s bilingualism (διδυλισμός) does not characterize him exclusively. Two papers at this Conference will try to confront the issue. The itineraries of both Klontzas and Damaskinos allow us to see Greco’s more clearly.

Problem number four

A study of the Western prints used in Crete by the artist is still missing. I do not mean a catalogue, because we have the contribution of Xydis, but a study. A few examples at random: a detail from Parmigianino’s *Resurrection* (fig. 8) (for the *Adoration of the Magi*, fig. 9), Giovanni Battista d’Angeli’s *Tucia* (fig. 10) (for *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, fig. 11) and Marcantonio’s *Incense-burner* (fig. 12) for the *Dormition of the Virgin* (fig. 13). What kind of a visual culture do the uses of such references, from Marcantonio to Parmese and Veronese artists imply? The use of Dürer is rather exceptional. Is this just a “koine” consisting of a “copy-paste” practice without any further aesthetic-ideological consequences? In a study published in 2000 in the volume dedicated to the memory of Nikos Panayotakis, I tried to question the concept of “Cretan Renaissance”, which I find problematic and misleading. One of my questions was “Does the use of Western prints in works of a ‘post-Byzantine’ character, as we awkwardly call this phenomenon, have no theological, ideological or aesthetic implications?”. I took as an example a fresco by Theophanis (fig. 14) of 1535 (Monastery of Lavra, Mount Athos), and the print by Marcantonio Raimondi ca. 1509-1510 (fig. 15) brought into relationship by Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides in a study published in the volume dedicated to the memory of Manolis Chatzidakis.

To speak of a “Renaissance spirit” in the work by Theophanis, when the construction of a unified space, of the proportions of the human body and the human nude as constitutive and positive values of the image are nonexistent, remains a mystery to me. What is exactly the sense of these “quotations”, inserted in totally different ensembles?

Problem number five

The fascinating artistic personality we know under so many names was *one* individual. Let us not forget this.

We are obliged to consider constantly his development as movements and changes inside a unified whole, inside an ensemble. “National specializations” do not really make much sense. It goes without saying that serious research concerning the Spanish, the Cretan or the Italian period presupposes a good knowledge of Spanish, Greek or Italian, but also of Spanish, Greek and Italian history, art history and intellectual history of the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century. Is this such an unattainable goal? What are the reasons that we do not cooperate? It is really sad to see how prevailing nationalism brings people to the point of ignoring some of the aspects of the artist which are not related to their own national history!

** See here the papers by Michiaki Koshikawa (pp. 213-229) and Fernando Marías (pp. 231-251).

WESTERN ELEMENTS IN ICON PAINTING IN REGIONS UNDER VENETIAN RULE AND THE EARLY WORK OF THEOTOKOPOULOS

THIS PAPER AIMS TO SHED SOME LIGHT ON CERTAIN ASPECTS of Domenikos Theotokopoulos' early work in Crete, according to what might be described as "artistic bilingualism".¹ The eclectic nature of Cretan icon painting, stemming from the artists' capacity to follow different means of expression, originating from both the Byzantine tradition and Western art, can be identified at the beginning of the 15th century.² This study attempts to trace the historical development of "artistic bilingualism" in order to highlight trends in religious art of the 16th century, in Crete, so as to understand the artistic environment which gave rise to Theotokopoulos, an environment that the artist abandoned at the age of just twenty-six.

1. In a series of seminal papers, Manolis Chatzidakis has set the foundations of scholarship on Cretan icons, by introducing the notion of the painters' "double capacity". This so-called "double capacity" would come to satisfy the requirements of a mixed Orthodox and Catholic clientele of various classes and occupations, established in particular in Cretan cities, but also in Italy, the Balkans, Flanders and the Dalmatian coast. See, M. Chatzidakis, "Essai sur l'école dite 'italo-grecque', précédé d'une note sur les rapports de l'art vénitien avec l'art crétois jusqu'à 1500", in A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, vol. II, Florence, 1974, pp. 69-124; idem, "Les débuts de l'école crétoise et la question de l'école dite 'italogrecque'", in *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Αντωνιάδη*, Venice, 1974, pp. 169-211; idem, "La peinture des 'Madonneri' ou 'vénéto-crétoise' et sa destination", in H. G. Beck, M. Manoussakas / A. Pertusi (eds.), *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra oriente et occidente. Secoli XV-XVI. Aspetti e problemi*, vol. II, Florence, 1977, pp. 673-690. See also n. 11. For new views on the topic, see O. Gratziou, "A la latina. Ζωγράφοι εικόνων προσανατολισμένοι δυτικά", *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, XXXIII, 2012, pp. 357-368. "Visual bilingualism" is the term used by John Lowden for an analogous phenomenon in manuscripts of the 14th century: J. Lowden, "Manuscript Illumination in Byzantium, 1261-1557", in H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, exhib. cat., New York, 2004, pp. 259-269.

2. Western elements were introduced in religious painting already in the Palaiologan period. For Cretan mural painting, see S. Papadaki-Oekland, "Δυτικότερες τοιχογραφίες του 14ου αιώνα στην Κρήτη. Η άλλη όψη μιας αμφίδρομης σχέσης;", in *Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, Athens, 1991, vol. II, pp. 491-514. M. Kazanaki-Lappa, "Η ζωγραφική στην Κρήτη (1350-1669). Η βυζαντινή παράδοση και η σχέση με τη δυτική τέχνη", *Cretan Studies*, 6, 1998, pp. 53-54.

It will be argued that despite the fame he has enjoyed since the 19th century,³ Domenikos Theotokopoulos was virtually indistinguishable from the Cretan artistic environment before his departure for Italy. Support for such an argument provides the juxtaposition of the works he painted on his native island (figs. 10, 11, 12) with those of other important Cretan artists of his generation, such as Michael Damaskinos⁴ and Georgios Klontzas.⁵

Cretan icons: *forma greca* and *forma latina*

The dualism in artistic expression, which appeared in Cretan icons in the 15th century and further expanded in the 16th and 17th centuries, was a multifaceted, dynamic phenomenon, that offered Greco the artistic means to abandon the Byzantine tradition and to adopt Western models. However, no Cretan artist underwent a radical ‘metamorphosis’ while being in Venetian-ruled Crete, as Theotokopoulos did after leaving it. Various historical and cultural developments would seem to enhance this unique form of “artistic bilingualism” in Crete for more than two hundred and fifty years.⁶

It is well known that the terms *forma greca* and *forma latina* are used in 15th century notarial documents in order to distinguish two different styles of icons, and in particular icons of the Virgin.⁷ With respect to *forma greca*, at this time, one can identify the Byzantine pictorial style of the Palaiologan era, widespread after the fall of Constantinople also in Crete.⁸ Apart from some obvious aesthetic qualities related to the specific genre of the icon (i.e. golden background, two-dimensional rendering, linear style, hieratic postures of the figures), the impact of the Byzantine pictorial tradition is also inferred by the methods that were used (i.e. faithful reproduction of iconographic types, widespread use of symbolic elements, iconographic patterns inspired by hymns of Orthodox liturgy). A large number of works produced by Cretan icon painters is informed by the essence of this tradition.

3. As it has been argued, the “rediscovery” of Greco in the 19th century reflects, in particular, modernist concerns – aesthetics and ideology – from the Romantic movement onwards. The Prado Museum’s exhibition in 2014 has dealt with various aspects of this issue – i.e. Greco’s impact on Picasso, Cubism, Expressionism, Surrealism, American Abstract Expressionism and European Neo Figurative Art; see *El Greco and Modern Painting*, Javier Barón (ed.), exhib. cat., Madrid, 2014. As his importance became evident, Greek, Italian and Spanish nationalism claimed him as part of their respective cultural heritage. For this discussion, see N. Hadjinicolaou, “El Greco Invested with Nationalist Ideologies”, in *El Greco: Identity and Transformation: Crete - Italy - Spain*, exhib. cat., José Álvarez Lopera (ed.), Milan 1999, pp. 55-82; J. Álvarez Lopera, “The Construction of a Painter. A Century of Searching for and Interpreting El Greco”, *ibid*, pp. 23-53.

4. Unlike Theotokopoulos, it is very probable that these painters have never left the Greek Orthodox environment. No documentation attests that Georgios Klontzas ever left his homeland. Regarding Michael Damaskinos, even while he was established in Venice, he had joined Saint George’s confraternity of the Greeks.

5. Therefore, we can understand why the icons of these two painters are constantly included in important exhibitions dedicated to Theotokopoulos’ early work. Only this material allows us to understand the artistic context of the origin, training and early work of Greco. See e.g. the exhibitions: *El Greco: Identity and Transformation*, *op. cit.* (see note 3) and *The Origins of El Greco. Icon Painting in Venetian Crete*, exhib. cat., Alexander Onassis Cultural Center, New York, 2009 and the exhibition held on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the artist’s death in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens *Theotokopoulos before El Greco*.

6. After the Ottoman conquest of Crete (1645-1669), completely different historical, political and social circumstances would put an end to this unique artistic tendency.

7. M. Cattapan, “Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta dal 1300 a 1500”, *Thesaurismata*, IX, 1972, pp. 211-213. See also M. Kazanaki-Lappa, “Η συμβολή των αρχαικών πηγών στην ιστορία της τέχνης”, in Chr. Maltezou (ed.), *Όψεις της ιστορίας του βενετοκρατούμενου ελληνισμού. Αρχαικά τεκμήρια*, Athens, 1993, pp. 435-454; Gratziou, “*A la latina*”, *op. cit.* (see note 1), p. 359.

8. Kazanaki-Lappa, “Η συμβολή των αρχαικών πηγών”, *op. cit.* (see note 7); Gratziou, “*A la latina*”, *op. cit.* (see note 1), p. 358.



1. *Virgin and Child with Saints Christopher, Augustine, Stephen, John the Baptist, Nicolas and Sebastian*, polyptych, early 15th c. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

With respect to *forma latina*, even if the term itself probably relates to the Latin dogma,⁹ the paintings also attest to the gradual adoption of a variety of pictorial characteristics coming from Western art. The general tendency towards a more naturalistic style, which is evident in a number of icons, is related to a gradual attempt for “painterly” depiction of the figures and three-dimensional rendering of space. In addition, Cretan icons adopt various elements from Western painting (e.g. the ornate frames in the polyptychs from the International Gothic Style (fig. 1), the geometric perspective from the Early Renaissance, *serpentinata* figures and *grotesche* motifs from Mannerism). As it has often been noted, the original works of Cretan artists sometimes echo contemporary Western trends and sometimes far more retrospective models.¹⁰

9. N. Hadjinicolaou, “Σκέψεις για την ‘Κρητική Αναγέννηση’”, in *Ενθύμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη*, S. Kaklamanis / A. Markopoulos / G. Mavromatis (eds.), Heraklion, 2000, pp. 791-792. Gratziou, “*A la latina*”, op. cit. (see note 1), p. 358.

10. Manolis Chatzidakis was the first to observe this phenomenon, now an accepted fact by scholarship; see Chatzidakis, “Essai sur l'école dite 'italo-grecque’”, op. cit. (see note 1), pp. 197-208. See e.g. Gratziou, “*A la latina*”, op. cit. (see note 1), pp. 359-368.

Panayotis K. Ioannou

THE MODENA TRIPTYCH AND THE QUESTION OF THE “MADONNERI”

ANY SCHOLAR ACQUAINTED WITH THEOTOKOPOULOS’ artistic production is aware of the 1937 publication with which the Triptych, signed “ΧΕΙΡ ΔΟΜΗΝΙΚΟΥ”, was made known to the public by Rodolfo Pallucchini (1908-1989) (fig. 1), who discovered the work himself in Modena’s Galleria Estense.¹ The expensive, large sized (50 × 35 cm), edition was excellently printed on fine paper, with high quality reproductions. This monograph, published in Rome by the State (Istituto Poligrafico), with the addition of a fascist dating (XV), was distributed by the Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte, which was a section of the Direzione di Belle Arti del Ministero dell’Istruzione Pubblica (fig. 2).

Apart from the above features of the edition, which was preceded by a brief article announcing the finding of the *Triptych*,² a series of concurrent events indicate how important its discovery was considered: first of all, the publication’s prompt realization (as we shall see, Pallucchini identified the *Triptych*’s author with Theotokopoulos probably towards the end of 1936); secondly, the monograph’s incorporation into the Institute’s series “Opere d’arte” – which began in 1929 and dealt exclusively with publications of archaeological interest; then, the almost immediate inclusion of the *Triptych* in the Greco exhibition, organized by the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in Paris in the summer of 1937;³ finally, the prominent placing of the work in Modena’s Galleria Estense: in the centre of a hall that since then has been named “Sala del Greco” – a hall that 3 years before had

1. R. Pallucchini, *Il polittico del Greco della R. Galleria Estense*, Rome, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1937 (= R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell’arte / “Opere d’arte”, 7).

2. R. Pallucchini, “Un polittico del Greco nella R. Galleria Estense di Modena”, *Bollettino d’arte*, XXX, 1937, pp. 389-392.

3. *Domenico Theotocopuli El Greco. Exposition organisée par la “Gazette des Beaux-arts”*, texts by A. Rubinstein / A. Busuioceanu / A. L. Mayer, Paris, “Gazette des Beaux-arts”, 1937, no. 13 (not ill.) – in the introduction we read about the efforts of the Italian authorities in order to include the work in the exhibition (G. Wildenstein, “Introduction”; see also G. Delogu, “Cronache delle esposizioni in Europa. Il Greco alla ‘Gazette des Beaux-arts’”, *La critica d’arte*, II, 11-12, 1937, pp. 255-256 and pl. 179 / 5a).



1. Rodolfo Pallucchini (left) with Giuseppe Fiocco, ca. 1930.



2. R. Pallucchini, *Il polittico del Greco della R. Galleria Estense*, Rome, 1937 (cover page).

been planned by Giulio Carlo Argan to house a permanent exhibition of the “primitives”.⁴ (fig. 3). All the above give the impression that the Italian state institutions aspired to the greatest possible publicity for Pallucchini’s discovery, inside and outside the Italian borders. This can be emphasized more against its background: the Italian studies dedicated to Theotokopoulos up to that time were few, compared to scholarly work published in French, Spanish, German and English;⁵ very few, indeed, if we consider the enthusiasm of many Italian artists (like Ardengo Soffici, Scipione, and even Giorgio Morandi)⁶ for Greco’s painting. The price of works by the Cretan had been rising since the first decade of the 20th century,⁷ while certain works attributed to the artist had already been presented in Rome in 1930, in the exhibition *Gli antichi pittori spagnoli della Col-*

4. R. Pallucchini, “La Sala del Greco ed altri ambienti sistemati nella R. Galleria Estense di Modena”, *Bollettino d’arte*, XXXI, 1937, pp. 510-514. See also D. Lacagnina, “Il Novecento del Greco. Ricezione critica, storiografia artistica, memoria visiva”, *Critica d’arte*, LXXIII, 47-48, 2011, pp. 77-78.

5. For certain aspects of the perception of Greco in Italy during the first three decades of the 20th century see Lacagnina, “Il Novecento del Greco”, op. cit. (see note 4), pp. 69-84.

6. For the fascination of Italian artists with Greco’s painting in the inter-war period: D. Morosini, *L’arte degli anni difficili (1928-1944)*, Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1985, pp. 71, 73, 85, 96, 168; B. Bandini, “El Greco e l’arte italiana contemporanea: 1930-1950”, in *El Greco in Italy and Italian Art. Proceedings of the International Symposium (Rethymno, Crete, 22-24 September 1995)*, N. Hadjinicolaou (ed.), Rethymno, University of Crete, 1999, pp. 499-505; Lacagnina, “Il Novecento del Greco”, op. cit. (see note 4).

7. In 1931, Corrado Ricci prefacing V. Magnoni’s book, referred to the question of the commercial value of Greco’s paintings, in connection with the limited number of Italian studies published (V. Magnoni, *Il Greco*, Florence, Nemi, 1931, p. 8).

lezione Contini-Bonacossi.⁸ After the publication of Pallucchini's monograph, as expected, Italian scholars showed a growing interest in Theotokopoulos' work.

The examination of the environment in which the *Triptych's* discovery took place, is our prime concern here, in order to understand the way that Pallucchini tried to comprehend and interpret his discovery.



At the time of Pallucchini's publication, the Institute of Archaeology and History of Art together with the Direction of Fine Arts, under whose auspices the monograph was distributed, were totally controlled by the fascist regime. Head of both institutions was the Professor of Archaeology Roberto Paribeni (1876-1956), who one year later, the year of issuing the racist laws in Italy, would deliver the official speech of the Accademia d'Italia with the title: “L'ebraismo in riferimento al suo ciclo storico e alla sua naturale condanna”.⁹

In this atmosphere it shouldn't be a surprise that Pallucchini – who was a 1931 graduate of Padua University and curator of Modena's Gallery since 1935 – dedicated his monograph to the Modenese linguist Giulio Bertoni, with whom he kept a correspondence at least between 1937 and 1940.¹⁰ Bertoni (1878-1942), President of the Accademia d'Italia during that period, took part in the organization of Mussolini's linguistic policy and played a major role in compiling the *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*.¹¹ Being involved with matters concerning the artistic institutions, he collaborated with art historians who were ardent supporters of the regime, mainly with Ugo Ogetti.¹²



3. Modena, Galleria Estense, Sala del Greco (from: R. Pallucchini, “La Sala del Greco ed altri ambienti sistemati nella R. Galleria Estense di Modena”, *Bollettino d'arte*, XXXI, 1937).

8. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna a Valle Giulia, exhib. cat., texts by R. Longhi / A. L. Mayer, Milan – Rome, Casa editrice d'arte Bestetti e Tumminelli, 1930, pp. 19-24. Amadore Porcella denounced in a fierce tone the “pseudo Grecos” that were exhibited (*Osservatore romano*, 11 May and 1 June 1930; idem, *Revisioni alla mostra di pittura spagnola*, [Rome], G. Barbavara, [1930], especially, pp. 5-17). The Istituto Italiano di Cultura Fascista took part in the organization of the exhibition, held under the auspices of Benito Mussolini (E. M. Dal Pozzolo, *La giovinezza perduta di El Greco. Breve storia di una ricerca labirintica*, Verona, QuiEdit, 2015, pp. 54-56).

9. M. Avagliano / M. Palmieri, *Di pura razza italiana. L'Italia “ariana” di fronte alle leggi razziali*, Milan, Baldini & Castoldi, 2013, p. 172. On Paribeni see the entry by Andrea Paribeni in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. LXXXI, 2014, pp. 357-359; for his commitment to fascism particularly concerning art historical issues, see: M. Bernabò, *Ossessioni bizantine e cultura artistica in Italia. Tra D'Annunzio, fascismo e dopoguerra*, Naples, Liguori, 2003, pp. 190, 202.

10. The correspondence is preserved in the Biblioteca Estense of Modena, see: http://manus.iccu.sbn.it//opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=168940.

11. See also G. Bertoni / F. A. Ugolini, *Prontuario di pronunzia e di ortografia*, Turin, Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche, 1939.

12. The correspondence can be found in Biblioteca Estense of Modena, see: http://manus.iccu.sbn.it//opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=168894.

Fernando Marías

MILES CHRISTI, ONCE AGAIN: EL GRECO AND HIS CLIENTS IN VENICE

THE SO-CALLED *Modena Triptych* (ca. 1567-1569, Modena, Galleria Estense),¹ is one of the works by Domenikos Theotokopoulos that still hovers somewhere between Candia and Venice, although there is now a growing consensus among scholars that it must be attributed to the artist's Venetian period. First published in 1937, the triptych currently appears to have been acquired by its first known owner, the last marquis of Cataio Tommaso Gravato degli Obizzi (1750-1803) of Battaglia Terme (Padua), late in life and in Florence, from whom it then passed to the Este collection in Modena.²

The meaning of the triptych, however, remains a question. As we still know nothing about El Greco's eventual clients during his time in Venice, the triptych has been interpreted as a work of sole authorship, i.e., as "by El Greco", and as a reflection of his religious and cultural position. It is conceivable, though, that precisely because of its substantial and novel cultural complexity, the triptych was not an autonomous work, not just "by El Greco", and could have involved "co-authors", rather than merely a new approach to the figure based on earlier paintings and prints. In other words, it is conceivable that the triptych was commissioned by one or more persons who had similar interests to those the triptych represents.

1. This research was accomplished thanks to the *proyecto de investigación* "El Greco y la pintura religiosa hispánica", HAR2012-34099/ARTE by the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (MICINN). My text has been translated into English by Dr. Andrea van Houtven and it has been updated by February 2017.

2. It passed to the Duke Ercole III d'Este (1727-1803), and to Vienna from 1805, belonging to his daughter Maria Beatrice Ricciarda d'Este (1750-1829), duchess of Massa and Princess of Carrara, and given back in 1822 thanks to her husband Duke Francesco IV d'Este [Francesco Giuseppe Carlo d'Asburgo-Este (1779-1846)], the same year the triptych entered the Galleria. See Marco Duconi, "I dipinti del lascito Obizzi nella Galleria Estense", in *Gli Estensi e il Cataio. Aspetti del collezionismo tra Sette e Ottocento*, Elena Corradini (ed.), Modena, 2007, p. 77 and Davide Gasparotto, "Dal collezionismo principesco al museo pubblico. La Galleria Estense dalla vendita di Dresda agli anni di Adolfo Venturi (1746-1894)", in *Splendori delle corti italiane: Gli Este. Rinascimento e barocco a Ferrara e Modena*, Stefano Casciu / Marcello Toffanello (eds.), Modena, Franco Cosimo Panini – La Venaria Reale, 2014, pp. 73-81.



1. Lambert Zutman 'Suavius,' *Baptism of Christ*, 1545. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie.

Within this perspective, let us look at the triptych in this paper as a transactional object, for which the artist was but one component at the origin of its ideological production.

There is no denying at all the singular nature of some of the compositions in the triptych, and three of them in particular: the *Admonition of Adam and Eve by God the Father* (*Adam and Eve with God the Father Showing them the Tree of Good and Evil*), the *View of Mount Sinai*, "Path of God" on the reverse, which is the only image from the triptych that El Greco will repeat a second time, and the *Last Judgment with the Coronation of the Christian Knight* in the central panel. The other scenes, the *Annunciation* or *Incarnation*, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Baptism of Christ*,³ were painted by El Greco throughout his career, from Candia to Toledo.

As is well known, the program running through the six panels of the small triptych is the affirmation of divine law as the means to eternal salvation. The story begins with *Admonition of Adam and Eve by God the Father* (fig. 2), which is based on two woodcuts from a series of six illustrating the story of Adam and Eve, from the Creation to the Expulsion, made ca. 1540 by the German printmaker Heinrich Aldegrever (1502-1561), an acknowledged Anabaptist sympathizer, active in the Protestant city of Soest (fig. 3). The tree, landscape and figure of God the Father in the panel are all taken from these woodcuts; and while his use of these print sources is indeed interesting, it is equally important to consider what elements from these woodcuts El Greco rejected, or did not

3. *The Baptism of Christ* depends upon a new source – maybe a lost print or its preparatory drawing – now identified in the drawing by the Flemish painter Lambert Zutman (Ledoux) 'Suavius' or 'Soete' (Liège, ca. 1510-Frankfurt, 1576). His *Baptism of Christ* (1545) (fig. 1) is at the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart. He travelled to Italy, working maybe even in Venice according to his portrait print of Titian (ca. 1550, although with the date of Titian's knighthood in 1539, and the portrait of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586), in 1554 and 1556, still as bishop of Arras and advisor to Charles V in Augsburg. See Michiaki Koshikawa, "The Current State of Research of El Greco's Early Works: *The Modena Triptych* and the newly-discovered *Baptism of Christ*", *Bulletin of Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum*, 4, 2011, pp. 31-42 and his essay in the present volume.



2. El Greco, *Adam and Eve with God the Father Showing them the Tree of Good and Evil*, ca. 1567-1569. Modena, Galleria Estense.



3. Heinrich Aldegrever, *Adam and Eve with God the Father*, 1540, woodcut.

rely on for his composition, and why. The image of God the Father at Eden during the Creation is also interesting; he has more the traditional physiognomy and clothing of Christ, and does not look like the white-haired Old Creator that Michelangelo had shown in the Cappella Sistina, for instance; now He looks more like a Christ that could give His image to the human being, while He proceeds to Adam's and Eve's Creation and their admonition.

So, for instance, El Greco did not model his figures of Adam and Eve on Aldegrever's prints, although presented as intimately putting their arms on their couples' shoulder, and instead turned to three engravings by Gian Jacopo Caraglio (1505-1565), from the series of twenty Caraglio made, based on drawings of the pagan gods by Rosso Fiorentino, originally issued in 1526 but republished in the 1540's by Antonio Salamanca (†1562) (figs. 4a, b, c).⁴ El Greco's intermingling of the figures of Ops and Ariadne for his Eve and the use of the figure of Mercury as the source for his Adam seem to indicate a clear desire by the artist to return to a less inhibited classical nudity, of pagan origin rather than Christian, for the figures of the first Man and Woman. The classically-inspired nude has been also present in another work, the *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin and Child* (41,5 × 33,2 cm), at the Benaki Museum in Athens, signed "ΧΕΙΡ ΔΟΜΗΝΙΚΟΥ",⁵ dated ca. 1563-1566; but, perhaps, this dating should be

4. See Louis Dunand / Philippe Lemarchand, *Les compositions de Titien intitulées 'Les amours des dieux', gravées par Gian-Jacopo Caraglio, selon les dessins préparatoires de Rosso Fiorentino et Perino del Vaga*, Lausanne-Geneva, Institut d'icongraphie Arietis-Michel Slatkine, 1989, pp. 487ff. and Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance. Prints and the 'Privilegio' in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, Leiden, Brill, 2004, pp. 63-67. It was firstly pointed out by Gianvittorio Dillon, "El Greco e l'incisione veneta. Precisazioni e novità", in *El Greco of Crete. Proceedings of the International Symposium. Heraklion, Crete, 1-5 September 1990*, Nicos Hadjinicolaou (ed.), Heraklion, Municipality of Heraklion, 1995, pp. 229-249.

5. Andrew R. Casper, *El Greco and Italy. Art, Theory and the Religious Image of the Late Cinquecento*, PhD diss., University

Η ΖΩΗ ΚΑΙ Η ΤΕΧΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΜΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ σημαδεύτηκαν από εντυπωσιακές όσο και ριζικές μεταστροφές. Οι τόποι στους οποίους έζησε και εργάστηκε ήταν τόσο διαφορετικοί μεταξύ τους που και μόνον αυτό αν λάβει κανείς υπόψη του θα διαπιστώσει, αν μη τι άλλο, την ικανότητα προσαρμογής του. «Ταυτότητα και Μεταμόρφωση» ήταν μέρος του τίτλου μιας μεγάλης έκθεσης που αφιερώθηκε σ' αυτόν πριν από μερικά χρόνια. Ίσως ο πληθυντικός, «Ταυτότητα και Μεταμορφώσεις», να ήταν ακόμη πιο εύστοχος. Στο τέλος της ζωής του, στα χρόνια 1608-1614, σε ηλικία 67-73 ετών, ζωγράφησε τα πιο τολμηρά έργα του: *Προσωπογραφία του Παραβιθίνο, Αποψη και χάρτης του Τολέδο και Λαοκών*.

Θεωρήσαμε χρήσιμο, προκειμένου να κλείσει κατά κάποιον τρόπο ο κύκλος που άνοιξε με το «αφιέρωμα» στο *Τρίπτυχο της Μόδνας*, ζωγραφισμένο σχεδόν μισόν αιώνα νωρίτερα, να ζητήσουμε για το συνέδριο της Αθήνας μελέτες με αντικείμενο τον *Λαοκόοντα*.

Στην πρώτη ερμηνεία ένα ήταν το επιχείρημα που υποστηρίχθηκε με έμφαση: ο *Λαοκών* της Εθνικής Πινακοθήκης της Ουάσινγκτον συνιστά ένα είδος αντι-προτύπου του γλυπτού που ανακαλύφθηκε στη Ρώμη το 1506, καθώς ο ζωγράφος απέφυγε κάθε αναφορά σ' αυτό όπως και στον κλασικό κόσμο γενικότερα. Η αντιπαράθεση του σύγχρονου σκηνηκού της πόλης του Τολέδο στο βάθος με τη δραματική σκηνή του θανάτου στο πρώτο επίπεδο συγκροτεί τη μοντέρνα εκδοχή της ιστορίας του *Λαοκόοντα*.

Στη δεύτερη προσέγγιση, στη θέση αναχρονιστικών και συχνά αυθαίρετων ερμηνειών του 20ού αιώνα – όπως η πρόταση για ταύτιση του *Λαοκόοντα* με τον αρχιεπίσκοπο Καράνθα, η ερμηνεία του πίνακα ως έμβλημα της αποτυχημένης εξέγερσης των Κομουνέρος στην Καστίλη (1520-1521) και ο παραλληλισμός του Τολέδο με την Τροία – οικοδομήθηκε μια ερμηνεία της θυσίας του *Λαοκόοντα* ως προασπιστή του δημόσιου συμφέροντος. Η πολιτική ερμηνεία του έργου δεν είναι ασυμβίβαστη με τη θέση του καλλιτέχνη πως η μοντέρνα τέχνη ξεπέρασε την αρχαία. Ο Θεοτοκόπουλος, απέφυγε, και εδώ, συνειδητά κάθε θρησκευτικό υπαινιγμό. Σημείο αναφοράς του στάθηκε η ανάγνωση της *Αινειάδας*, και πιο συγκεκριμένα του επεισοδίου του *Λαοκόοντα*, από τον Τολεδάνο Ιησούιτη Juan Luis de la Cerda (1612) και προγενέστερων σχολιαστών του Βιργίλιου, όπως ο Germain Vaillant de Guéllis, αντίτυπο των σχολίων του οποίου (1575) είχε στη βιβλιοθήκη του ο Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, φίλος και μαικήνας του ζωγράφου. Είναι πολύ πιθανό ο πίνακας της Ουάσινγκτον να ήταν παραγγελία του λόγιου ευγενή Πέδρο Λάσο ντε λα Βέγκα, κόμη ντε λος Άρκος, συλλέκτη έργων του ζωγράφου, στην ιδιοκτησία του οποίου βρισκόταν και το συγκεκριμένο έργο, σύμφωνα με την απογραφή της περιουσίας του το 1632.

Η τρίτη ερμηνεία συγκλίνει με τη δεύτερη, με τη διαφορά ότι η έμφαση δίνεται στην κυριαρχική αναμέτρηση του Γκρέκο με τον Μιχαήλ Άγγελο (παρεκκλήσιο των Μεδίκων στο San Lorenzo στη Φλωρεντία, Καπέλα Σιστίνα, η *Νίκη*, το μοντέλο από άργιλο μιας θαλάσσιας θεότητας στην Casa Buonarroti). Συνάμα, τονίζεται η σημασία της αναμέτρησης με την αρχαία τέχνη (ο *Λαοκών* και το *Torso Belvedere* στο Βατικανό, τα *Άλογα του Αγίου Μάρκου* στη Βενετία).

Ο *Λαοκών* του Γκρέκο αποτελεί τη μοντέρνα ζωγραφική απάντηση στο αρχαίο γλυπτό που εκτίθεται στο Βατικανό. Η επανειλημμένη φραστική υποστήριξη των Μοντέρνων απέναντι στους Αρχαίους και της Ζωγραφικής απέναντι στη Γλυπτική, που συναντάμε στις σημειώσεις του ζωγράφου στα περιθώρια των εκδόσεων του Βιτρούβιου και του Βαζάρι, βρίσκει εδώ το υλικό της αντίκρισμα. Ο πίνακας του Γκρέκο, όπως και ο *Λαοκών-πίθηκος* του Τισιανού, κρατάνε αποστάσεις από μια λατρεία της Αρχαιότητας η κίβδηλη εξιδανικευση της οποίας ήταν ήδη ορατή.

DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS' LIFE AND WORK are characterized by radical and impressive changes. The places he lived in and worked at were so different from each other that even if one took only this factor into consideration one would admire his capacity of adaptation but also the deep-seated features of his character and personality. "Identity and Transformation" was the explanatory subtitle of an exhibition dedicated to him. Perhaps the plural, "Identity and Transformations", would have been even more accurate. Towards the end of his life, in the years 1608-1614, when he was 67-73 years old, he painted some of his most audacious and outstanding works: the *Portrait of Paravicino*, the *View and Plan of Toledo* and *Laocoön*.

We thought it would be useful, in order to close the cycle opened by the studies dedicated to the *Modena Triptych*, painted almost half a century before, to ask participants at the Athens Conference for papers related to *Laocoön*.

In the following first interpretation, the prevailing argument is defended with vigour: the Washington *Laocoön* is a sort of counter-model of the sculpture unearthed in Rome in 1506, although the painter avoided any reference to it and to classical antiquity in general. The juxtaposition of a contemporary background with the city of Toledo to the dramatic scene of death in the foreground forms the modern variant of Laocoön's story.

In the second approach, abandoning the grounds of anachronistic and often unjustifiable interpretations of the 20th century, such as the identification of Laocoön with archbishop Carranza, the decipherment of the painting as an emblem of the unsuccessful revolt of the Comuneros in Castile (1520-1521) or the identification of Toledo with Troy, an interpretation has been constructed considering Laocoön's sacrifice as a consequence of his state as a defender of "res publica". This political explication of the painting's meaning is not irreconcilable with the artist's conviction that modern art had surpassed ancient art.

In the painting Theotokopoulos ostensibly avoided any religious reference. His interpretation follows the Toledan Jesuit Juan Luis de la Cerda (1612) but also former commentators of Virgil like Germain Vaillant de Guéris, whose commentaries (1575) were in the library of Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, friend and patron of the artist. It is plausible that the Washington canvas was a commission of the erudite nobleman Pedro Laso de la Vega, count of Los Arcos, collector of paintings by the artist, to whom the canvas belonged according to an inventory of 1632.

The third interpretation converges with the second but stresses Greco's rivalry with Michaelangelo (Medici chapel of San Lorenzo in Florence, Sistine chapel, *Genius of Victory*, *Clay-Model of a River God*) without underestimating the importance of ancient art in this context (*Laocoön* and the *Belvedere Torso* in the Vatican, the *Horses of San Marco* in Venice).

The *Laocoön* at the National Gallery of Art in Washington is a modern pictorial response to the sculpture kept at the Vatican. The reiterated defence of the Moderns against the Ancients and of Painting against Sculpture in the painter's marginal notes on the editions of Vitruvius and Vasari finds here its material realization. Greco's painting and Titian's *Monkey Laocoön* have in common a critical distance from a cult of Antiquity whose affected idealization was visible already then.