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A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece



The debate over Cretan icons in twentieth-century Greek historiography and their incorporation into the national narrative

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The debate over Cretan icons in twentieth-century Greek historiography and their incorporation into the national narrative

THE TERM 'CRETAN ICONS' is generally considered to refer to the production of icons in Crete under Venetian domination, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.¹ Anyone who attempts to explore the historiography of Cretan icons soon realizes that it is connected to the historiography of Byzantium and the issue of national continuity from antiquity to the present day.

Ever since Greece won its independence the issue of national continuity has been dealt with one way or another. Paparrigopoulos expressed the ideas of the young state, by introducing his threefold scheme for national history.² The incorporation of the history of the Byzantine Empire in the 'national' narrative was deemed necessary as early as the nineteenth century³ and the study of Byzantine art and its incorporation in what was perceived as the national past was an essential step in this direction.⁴

In the question of the 'continuity' of the nation, the so called 'post-Byzantine'⁵ art became important. The book by N. Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, published in Bucharest in 1935, defined the subject of post-Byzantine studies as the continuation of byzantine forms.⁶ Accordingly, post-Byzantine art is considered the conservative continuation of Byzantine art during the 'period of foreign occupation'.⁷ Therefore 'Cretan' icons – produced in Venetian Crete – may be considered in the overall context of paintings produced in Greek regions at the time. Post-Byzantine art serves as a concept, in which the different states and influences do not play an important role, since national continuity is cast as the protagonist.⁸ The ideas prevailing in the Greek State in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries led, after some debate,⁹ to the incorpora-

tion of Byzantium¹⁰ according to Paparrigopoulos' threefold scheme¹¹ and consequently the incorporation of the post-Byzantine period into the national history, in order to demonstrate continuity.

Cretan icons become therefore entangled in this wider political issue, examined – through the 'Byzantine' and 'post-Byzantine' art historical narratives – as an agent of Greek national history rather than the product of the Ottoman or the Venetian period. 'Post-Byzantine' thus becomes, through art, the missing link that connects the modern Greek state with the 'glory of Byzantium', a palpable proof of the nation's continuity. With this in mind Greek intellectuals worked towards incorporating this kind of Greek cultural heritage into the national historical narrative.

This paper is then faced by a number of questions: is the study of Cretan icons merely an extension of the problem of incorporating the Byzantine past in the national history? How may we deal with the periods of Venetian and Turkish domination¹² within this framework of 'national history'? Are we to examine the art that developed in the Ottoman or Venetian territories as a whole or to confine ourselves to those territories that now fall within the borders of the modern Greek state?

When the Greek state was founded in the nineteenth century the spirit of Romanticism¹³ was over-burdening Classical Studies. Byzantium, however, was not acceptable as part of the newborn nation-state's past.¹⁴ During the whole nineteenth century the preservation of Byzantine monuments was not among the priorities of the Archaeological Service, founded in 1834. A great number of

Byzantine, Frankish, Venetian and Ottoman monuments were destroyed in order to bring to light the glories of the classical past, and 'purify' many archaeological sites.¹⁵

The changes, however, that took place in the late nineteenth century and the increasing interest in Byzantine studies in other European countries¹⁶ also affected the status of Byzantine monuments in Greece. Characteristic of this shift are the discussions about establishing a Christian and Byzantine Museum thanks to the efforts of Georgios Lambakis, founder of the Christian Archaeological Society.¹⁷ Furthermore, the irredentist 'Great Idea' prevailed among Greek intellectuals. Though ideas about a Great Greece already existed,¹⁸ it was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that they started to spread more widely. This helped to increase interest in the Byzantine past¹⁹ and consequently in Byzantine art.²⁰

At this period the interest in Christian monuments was also flourishing, once again under the influence of a similar growing interest in Europe.²¹ A Chair in Byzantine Art and Culture was founded at the University of Athens in 1912 and the Paris-educated Adamantios Adamantiou was appointed.²² Adamantiou represents a different point of view on Byzantine art compared to Lambakis. He was a supporter of the 'Great Idea' and considered Byzantine monuments to be documents in national history.²³

Furthermore, there was a growing interest in society at large. Wealthy Greeks²⁴ started to collect Christian artefacts, especially icons.²⁵ Some of these collectors considered icons as art objects while others saw them as monuments of national identity.²⁶ This seems to be a crucial turning point in the perception of icons by Greek society in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. It seems that the perception of icons as purely religious items which had dominated the late nineteenth century²⁷ was starting to change. The icons became museum exhibits rather than religious items to be venerated. Their place was no longer in church but in a museum,²⁸ as museum pieces were becoming essential to the national historical narrative, under the influence of the 'Great Idea'.

Byzantine history seems to have gone on being subsumed into the national history during that time. After 1894, the historiography is dominated by the successors of Paparrigopoulos.²⁹ In the historical context of this period expectations of the 'recapture' of Constantinople, led to the nationalization of the Byzantine past.³⁰ The main argument was the continuity of Greek art and culture.³¹

After 1922 Byzantine studies remained a very popular and developing field of study³² in Greece and other European countries.³³ As part of the Orthodox tradition Christian art also became very important for the nationalization of the Balkan peoples.³⁴

The Asia Minor campaign and the 1922 *Catastrophe* also marked an important turning point for historiography without, however, influencing the conventional historiographical perception.³⁵ The development of a Marxist historiography in Greece from the twenties onwards would influence the development of the field.³⁶

In museums and collections in Greece policies begun before 1922 were continued. Georgios Sotiriou became the new director of the Byzantine Museum in 1923 and very quickly organized the first exhibition of the two collections, the Museum's own and the collection of the Christian Archaeological Society (which was subsequently incorporated into the collection of the Museum).³⁷ Sotiriou also represents a different point of view on Byzantine monuments. According to him art is an autonomous phenomenon with its own dynamic and shows the continuation of a 'cycle of ideas, ethics and customs with which we still live', presenting the evolution of art from the Early Christian period to the period of Greek independence. The underlying logic of this exhibition served the notion of continuity.³⁸

In the thirties the growing interest in Byzantine Studies retained its vitality. This was demonstrated in the opening of three museums that were strongly connected to the Byzantine and post-Byzantine past. In 1930 the Byzantine Museum was inaugurated,³⁹ as well as the Loverdos Museum (which was to last till 1934), whereas the Benaki Museum was founded in 1931.⁴⁰ In all three, the exhibits were mostly icons, and of the post-Byzantine period. The icons from Crete and the Ionian Islands remained popular, especially those showing strong Western influences.

Cretan icons became better known among scholars with the publication in 1933 of Sergio Bettini's *La pittura di icone cretese-veneziana e i madonneri*. It was the first attempt to put the paintings by Cretan painters into a comprehensive study. However, the author approached the issue from quite a different point of view from the Greek scholars. Perhaps under the influence of ideas of the inter-war period, he saw this group of icons as a symptom of Venetian cultural expansion. There was no immediate reaction from Greek intellectuals to his approach, as they were not yet aware of the international bibliography. Fur-

thermore, the historiography of Venetian colonies in the East, including Crete, was developed from the middle of the nineteenth century⁴¹ especially by non-Greek scholars and certainly helped to develop studies of the monuments in these territories.⁴²

Greek scholars started to study the period of Venetian rule, in connection with the issue of Greek national identity, from the early twentieth century.⁴³ However, Greek art historians did not have any connection with the development of studies on that period before World War II.

Another issue that affected the perception of that period and especially its art is the way the Cretan-born painter Domenikos Theotokopoulos, known as El Greco, was presented by the Greek intellectuals of the inter-war period. They did not include his work in the narrative for Greek art, but emphasized his Greek origins and more specifically his Cretan birthplace.⁴⁴ It was difficult, however, to dub his work 'Greek'.

At about the same time and more specifically in 1934 two icons signed in Greek 'by the hand of Domenikos' (following the Byzantine style in artists' signatures) were sold by the antiquarian Theodoros Zouboulakis. One, an icon of *St Luke*, went to the collector Dimitris Sisilianos and the other, an icon of the *Adoration of the Magi* was sold to Antonis Benakis. The attribution of both these icons to the Cretan painter was dubious.⁴⁵ It is characteristic that Dimitrios Sisilianos in his book *Greek Church Painters after the Fall*, published in 1935, talked about two different artists, the painters 'Domenikos' and 'Domenikos Theotokopoulos'.

No icons from Theotokopoulos' Cretan period had previously been identified and it was thought that he had learned his craft in Venice.⁴⁶ Even though Greek scholars in their publications on Byzantine and modern Greek painting always considered Theotokopoulos an important painter, they never thought of him as a model for Greek painters. Therefore the incorporation of Theotokopoulos into the national history of art was probably still problematic in the thirties.

In the same period, two young scholars, who were going to play a crucial role in the historiography of post-Byzantine art and more specifically of Cretan icons, emerged in the field of Byzantine art and archaeology, Manolis Chatzidakis and Dimitris Pallas. Both of them received their ideological formation during this period, and it seems that both were influenced by the progressive ideas

of their time; Pallas, in particular, was influenced by socialist ideas as early as the thirties.⁴⁷

It seems that the changes that would be noted after World War II were prepared during this decade. The approach of Soviet historians to Byzantium began to change from 1938 onwards.⁴⁸ Very characteristic of that change are the words of the Academician Evgenij Kosminsky, head of the Department of Byzantine History of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1945, who said that the Red Army unified the Slav nations after their separation and therefore Byzantine history was of great importance since it was their Byzantine past which connected the peoples of Eastern and Southeastern Europe with one another.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Greek Communist Party changed its position on the issue of historical continuity of the Greek nation. It finally subscribed to the notion of continuity for the Greek people and emphasized in its official texts the role played by the Greek people during all historical periods.⁵⁰ This change would influence the approaches of Greek intellectuals belonging to, or more or less following the ideas of, the Left.

After World War II, modern Greek historiography was created as a discipline, at a time when the period after 1453 was being incorporated into the national history.⁵¹ The need for a more European orientation of Greek thought was supported by Greek intellectuals.⁵² Moreover, since the war the European dimension has become an issue in the Greek historiography of art history, thus broadening the concept of national identity, and at the same time requiring a proper approach to the past.⁵³ Since the fifties the discipline of art history in Greece has been increasingly responsible for the ideological and cultural approach of Greek society to Western Europe, as a discipline more open to the study and teaching of modern Greek and European Art.⁵⁴

The exhibition on Greek Art held in London in 1946, supported the idea of continuity in art from the late medieval period till modern times, since icons by Cretan painters, paintings by El Greco and paintings by modern artists were exhibited side by side.⁵⁵ Art history also became an academic discipline in Greece after the War and art historians were more open to the ideas and opinions of their European colleagues.⁵⁶

In this political and ideological context Greek historical studies became a more comprehensive discipline in the early fifties. The case of historian Nikos Svoronos, who belonged ideologically to the Left and studied and lived

in Paris, is typical.⁵⁷ Svoronos did not completely reject the threefold scheme introduced by Paparrigopoulos. He adopted his formula for the birth of modern Hellenism in the late Byzantine era but he changed his focus of interest. He put the emphasis on society rather than the nation proper.⁵⁸ In Svoronos' thinking the main characteristic that connects ancient and modern Hellenism is culture.⁵⁹ His approach influenced all branches of history, including art history.

More specifically there was much greater interest in the study of Cretan icons in the post-war years. The most important scholar working on Cretan painting was Chatzidakis, who published a series of papers, designed to show the importance of Cretan icon painting. In 1947 he published a paper in the first issue of the periodical *Kretika Chronika*,⁶⁰ where he observed the appropriation of motifs from Western European art in Cretan painting, showing the influence in Crete of Italian painting in particular.

In another early paper of his, published in 1950,⁶¹ Chatzidakis attempts to emphasize the relationship of Domenikos Theotokopoulos to Cretan art. He notes: 'The discovery of the exact relationship of great painter Domenikos Theotokopoulos to Byzantine painting is [...] interesting for us. [...] It is connected to our nationalistic emotions [...] it moves us to search in his work for bonds to the art of our fathers',⁶² and: 'Our conclusion would be that he was a great Greek of the sixteenth century, of proud consciousness, carrier of an eternal heritage and able to adjust perfectly, owing to his island intelligence, to the spiritual culture of Western Europe so as to become the creator of that culture's fullest expressions'.⁶³

Chatzidakis' texts clearly attempt to show the relationship of a great European painter with his homeland and through this relationship to European culture; to show that this European painter was educated in post-Byzantine Crete, pointing up the similarities between the works of his Italian and Spanish periods and Byzantine painting. It is clear that he is attempting to incorporate Theotokopoulos into the national art historical narrative. It is also clear that he hopes through Theotokopoulos to forge a European identity for modern Greek (*Hellenic*) art. In 1953 he published a paper on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the Fall of Constantinople,⁶⁴ in which he discusses the artistic centres in the period after the dissolution of Byzantium, emphasizing the role of Crete during this period. He clearly attempts to show that Crete

became the main artistic centre in the Orthodox world after 1453.

Other scholars in this period did not react to the opinions of Chatzidakis. Andreas Xyngopoulos, professor of Christian Art at the University of Thessaloniki, in his book on religious painting after the Fall of Constantinople published in 1957, traced the evolution of painting after Byzantium.⁶⁵ Xyngopoulos' book is the first comprehensive study of all artistic production after 1453 and contributed to the progress made in this field.

The organization by Chatzidakis of the exhibition *Byzantine Art, An European Art* in 1964 under the auspices of the Council of Europe shows the world of Byzantine Studies and more specifically of Byzantine art and archaeology acknowledging the connection with Western Europe. In his foreword to the catalogue of the exhibition Chatzidakis notes: 'Considered from this point of view it can be clearly perceived that Byzantine art is European, and the only art between East and West which kept alive that spirit of Greek humanism now recognized as pre-eminently the basis of European values'.⁶⁶ The Western European orientation in the thought of Chatzidakis is clear.

The archival studies of this period reinforce Chatzidakis' view. The studies of P.M. Cattapan⁶⁷ and K. Mertzios⁶⁸ in the Venetian archives during the sixties and earlier, in 1959, the foundation of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice offered new perspectives in the field of Cretan icon painting. More to the point, these studies made it possible to examine the Cretan icons in relation to their social background. Other studies during the seventies and early eighties offered more in this direction.⁶⁹ Moreover, through archival research in Venice, the early period of Domenikos Theotokopoulos has been documented.⁷⁰ The connection of El Greco with Cretan icon painting has allowed some scholars to speak of a 'Cretan Renaissance' in painting.⁷¹

The study of the Venetian period was also developed during that time,⁷² mostly in terms of social history, following an international tendency from the sixties onwards.⁷³ Some of these papers in the early seventies allowed Chatzidakis to form a new synthesis, putting Cretan icons in the context of their social background.⁷⁴ Working as a social historian would, he was able to incorporate the methodology of that field with art history and more specifically Cretan icons.

While Cretan studies were starting to flourish, espe-

cially under the influence of social history, an intense academic dialogue developed between Chatzidakis⁷⁵ and Pallas⁷⁶ during the sixties and seventies through the pages of various periodicals about the existence and the role of the school of Constantinople in the period after 1453.

However, Pallas also questioned the role of the so-called Cretan school and the importance Chatzidakis was attributing to Crete as an artistic centre. In the papers by Chatzidakis it is obvious that he is on a quest to trace – or forge if he has to – Crete's relations with the West and European painting. For Chatzidakis the school of Constantinople is undocumented.⁷⁷ For him Crete is the most important artistic centre in the Orthodox world after 1453,⁷⁸ having derived its artistic models from Constantinople.

The publications by Pallas gave future research a different direction: exploring relations with the Balkans and Eastern Europe. He saw the art that developed in the Greek territories as part of a wider Orthodox world, with Constantinople remaining at the centre. Significantly, Dimitri Obolensky's monograph on *The Byzantine Commonwealth in Eastern Europe between 500-1453* was published in 1971. Obolensky identifies similarities between the peoples of Eastern Europe, especially as regards culture and art, and particularly painting. This may have influenced the views put forward by Pallas.

Pallas was opposed to the use of the term 'school' as used by Chatzidakis and he preferred to use the term 'artistic tradition', since, according to him, the term 'school' corresponds more to the modern Western perception of the artist.⁷⁹ For him Ottoman Constantinople was an important artistic centre, where more than one artistic tradition flourished, given that it was the capital of the Ottoman Empire where Christians from different regions were gathered.⁸⁰ Furthermore, it was the seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the centre of all the theological discussions among Orthodox Christians in the period.⁸¹ In addition, he considered that the Cretan icon painters' practice of signing their work was mostly explained by the industrial and commercial character of their art.⁸² (It is interesting to note that one of Chatzidakis' main arguments for the non-existence of artistic production in Constantinople was the absence of known signatures by Constantinopolitan painters).⁸³

For Pallas Byzantium continues to exist – as 'post-Byzantium' – under Ottoman domination.⁸⁴ He did not strive to look for continuity⁸⁵ and did not emphasize the importance of Cretan icon painting;⁸⁶ he does seem, how-

ever, to deny the European orientation of Greek art in this period.⁸⁷ In his opinion we should mostly explore the artistic and national identities in the Greek territories under Ottoman domination and within the Orthodox world.⁸⁸

It was more a conflict about the orientation of the research and perhaps of a different approach to the problem of continuities or discontinuities in art before and after 1453. While Pallas attempted to find continuity in the Orthodox world, Chatzidakis' research was focused on emphasizing the European dimension in Cretan painting,⁸⁹ which he promoted as a bona fide Greek art. Their different approaches certainly reflect the differences between intellectuals in this period as to the orientation that should be followed ideologically and politically.⁹⁰

Thanks to his international networking Chatzidakis presented his arguments at international conferences, as for example in the conference on the role of Venice in the late fifteenth century, where he argued for Cretan icon painting's artistic value and its national Greek identity.⁹¹ In the same conference he had to respond to Sergio Bettini, who defended his original approach, as set out in his earlier book,⁹² as to the importance of Venice in the formation of the Cretan, or *Veneto-Cretese* painting, as he describes it.⁹³ His opinions did not find any supporters and it was Chatzidakis' approach that prevailed in the field of research into post-Byzantine painting.

Greek historiography after 1974 is dominated by exponents of New History,⁹⁴ while discussions, especially within the Left, about issues of tradition, of Orthodoxy and of the contribution of modernity to the formation of the modern Greek nation and culture were intense⁹⁵ and influenced by swift political changes.⁹⁶

In this context the scheme that was proposed by Chatzidakis as early as the late forties and especially in the early fifties seems to have become universally accepted by the beginning of the eighties. Cretan icon painting provides the necessary link between the Byzantine period and the modern European world. In this strategically composed narrative Crete succeeds Constantinople – indeed Crete usurps Constantinople's earlier position⁹⁷ – as the artistic centre of the Orthodox world; more to the point, it is from the so-called 'Cretan school' that the father of modern art,⁹⁸ none other than El Greco himself, emerged as a fully accomplished artist (whatever his Cretan status as *maestro* may have meant when he arrived, as a young painter, in Venice or, later, Toledo): according to the new narrative,

young Domenikos, a master rather than a disciple – as the archival record and his extant work seem to verify –, travelled from Crete to Venice, Rome and Toledo in order to fertilize modern European culture with the Cretan artistic tradition. At the same time, his Cretan period became – and remains – the subject of further research, and scholarly speculation.⁹⁹ Thus, both the scheme of continuity is served and Greece's relationship to European identity is reconfirmed. In the last two decades of the twentieth

century a series of exhibitions¹⁰⁰ in Greece and abroad have presented this line of argument and disseminated it to a wider audience, with Cretan icons playing a crucial role, that of establishing the European perspective of the Greek people on the outset of modernity.

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NOTES

1. Chatzidakis 1974, 410-37, esp. 418-37.
2. Kitromilides 1998, 26-28; 30-31.
3. Liakos 1994, 174-95.
4. Gratziou 1987, 54-73; Gratziou 2006, 37-52; Halkia 2006, 53-63.
5. Gratziou 2005, 185.
6. Kitromilides 1996, 220.
7. As described by the massive publication of *The History of the Hellenic Nation* in the seventies, Hasiotis 1974, 10-21.
8. Gratziou 2005, 196.
9. Liakos 1994, 179-80.
10. See Kiousopoulou 2006, 25-36; Kiousopoulou 1993, 263-64; Kiousopoulou 2001, 92-94.
11. Veremis 1997a, 19-20. Paparrigopoulos responded to Fallmerayer's claim that there was no link between ancient and modern Greeks by incorporating Byzantine history into Greek national history. From this point of view the continuity is mostly cultural. See also Kitromilides 1998, 26; 28; 30-31.
12. Liakos 1994, 189-90; 194-95.
13. Chrysos 1996, 13-24.
14. Liakos 1994, 175-78.
15. Although the Law of 1834 does not except art of the Early Christian period and the Middle Ages from its provisions, it would appear that several churches from the Byzantine and Ottoman periods in Athens were destroyed. See Gratziou 2006, 37. It is characteristic that out of a total of 129 churches preserved in Athens till the War of Independence, only 24 were preserved in their original form. See Travlos 1960, 244.
16. See Karpozilos 1997, 138 for the role of Krumbacher in the foundation of the first university Chair for Byzantine Studies in Munich in 1892. On the history of Byzantine Studies in Europe, see also Kiousopoulou 2006, 31-32.
17. The foundation of the Christian Archaeological Society by Lambakis in 1884 is typical of this interest. For Lambakis the icons were ecclesiastical objects, documenting eternal life as the reality of the Church. To this end he started the collection of the Christian Archaeological Society that eventually led to the foundation of the Byzantine Museum. See Gratziou 1987, 54-73.
18. On the ideas of Rhigas Ferraios, see Fledelius 1996, 382.
19. Kiousopoulou 1993, 265-66; Kiousopoulou 2006, 30-36.
20. Gratziou 1987, 54-55.
21. Although the first Chair of Byzantine History was founded in Paris in 1899, and occupied by Charles Diehl, who had academic interests in art history, the development of the study of icons was slow. An observation made by O.M. Dalton in his book *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, published in 1911, that 'the study of the early periods of icon painting is difficult because of the rarity of the material' is very characteristic of the initial stage of the study of Byzantine icons. Furthermore in 1934 F.E. Hyslop describes a cross reliquary from the Sancta Sanctorum in the Vatican as 'one of a very few surviving Byzantine icons'. See Maguire 1992, 120. Certainly, this is the period before the discovery and publication of the icons from Sinai in 1956 and 1958 by G. & M. Sotiriou, which completely changed our perception of icon painting in the Byzantine period. On the foundation of the Chair in Byzantine History in Paris see Kiousopoulou 2006, 31.
22. Kiousopoulou 2006, 33.
23. Gratziou 1987, 64-69.
24. Such as Alexios Kollyvas, Dimitrios Sisilianos, Eleni Stathatou, Christianos Labikis, Antonis Benakis, Spyros Lovrerdos and Marinos Kalligas.
25. The preface to the catalogue of Kollyvas' collection (exhibited in 1912 at the Zappeion, during the 16th Conference of Anatolian Studies), probably written by A. Adamantiou, men-

tions that these icons are important because although they were painted after the 17th c., they were made in Greece and may be considered copies of older icons. See Halkia 2006, 55.

26. Chatzidakis 1997, 1-2. From this point of view it is interesting to note that this growing interest turned icons into art objects with autonomous artistic value and later into exhibits in state and private museums. The icons in these collections present a certain homogeneity, since they are mostly icons from Crete and the Ionian Islands, often showing Western influence, and dating from the 16th to the 19th c., as a result of the advice given to the collectors by art critics like Spyridon De Viazis, Dimitrios and Nikolaos Kalogeropoulos, Zaharias Papantoniou and Dimitrios Sisilianos. All of them tended to favour art with a Western orientation. They thought that painting displaying Italian influences could help Greek art reach the level of Western European painting.

27. See Gratziou 1987, 55-64; Gratziou 2006, 41-46.

28. On icons as museum exhibits, see Liakos 2004, 14; Liakos 2007, 220-21.

29. Karamanolakis & Stathis 2000, 251.

30. Karamanolakis & Stathis 2000, 256.

31. The first attempt to present the continuity of Greek art was at the International Exhibition in Rome in 1911, where there were exhibits from Antiquity, the Middle Ages and modern times. However, the centuries of Ottoman domination were not represented in this first attempt. See Matthiopoulos 2003, 446-47.

32. Kiousopoulou 2006, 34-36; Huxley 1998, 22-23.

33. With the exception of Soviet Russia, where Byzantine Studies declined after 1917 and the October Revolution. See Ivanov 2003, 55-56. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that Byzantine Studies were connected to the Tsarist ideology and the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome. See Maksimović 2003, 103-4.

34. Veremis 1997a, 23.

35. Veremis 1997b, 272-73.

36. Karamanolakis & Stathis 2000, 256-57.

37. Konstantios 2006, 71.

38. Konstantios 2006, 67.

39. Konstantios 2006, 71.

40. Chatzidakis 1997, 1.

41. Liakos 1994, 188-89; Papadia-Lala 2001, 64.

42. Like the books by G. Gerola on the Venetian monuments in Crete, published between 1905 and 1932 (see Gratziou, this volume) and the similar work on the Dodecanese. See Santoro 1996, 214-17; 242-50 on the prevailing ideology regarding the restoration of medieval monuments on Rhodes. According to this author, the Italian administration perceived those monuments as part of their own 'Latin' patrimony which they sought

to revive. It would seem that Bettini's views described above derived from a similar ideology.

43. Papadia-Lala 2001, 64-67.

44. Chatzidakis 1997, 4-5; Hadjinicolaou 1999, 77; Álvarez-Lopera 1999, 43-44; Mathiopoulos 2003, 456-57.

45. Both icons belong to the painter's early (i.e. Cretan) period. However, at that time it was not realized that Theotokopoulos left Crete as an accomplished master painter. See Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1999, 93-96.

46. Álvarez-Lopera 1999, 36.

47. Gratziou 1996, 12.

48. Ivanov 2003, 56-57; Obolensky 1966, 69-71.

49. Ivanov 2003, 57.

50. Noutsos 1994, 282-85; Apostolidou 2003, 319-20.

51. Liakos 2001, 74.

52. Apostolidou 2003, 127.

53. Mathiopoulos 2003, 429.

54. Mathiopoulos 2003, 466-67.

55. Mathiopoulos 2003, 461-62.

56. Hadjinicolaou 1999, 77-78; Matthiopoulos 2003, 461-64.

57. Chatzei Joseph 1989, 28.

58. Liakos 2001, 77.

59. Apostolidou 2003, 115.

60. Chatzidakis 1947, 27-46.

61. Chatzidakis 1950, 371-440.

62. Chatzidakis 1950, 371.

63. Chatzidakis 1950, 439.

64. Chatzidakis 1953.

65. Xyngopoulos 1957.

66. Matthiopoulos 2003, 468-69.

67. Cattapan 1968, 29-46.

68. Mertzios 1961-62, 256-308.

69. Cattapan 1972, 202-235; Cattapan 1973, 238-282; Cattapan 1977, 199-238; Constantoudaki 1975a, 35-136; Constantoudaki 1976, 284-96; Constantoudaki 1977, 158-98; Constantoudaki 1981, 123-45; Kazanaki 1981, 177-267; Paliouras 1973, 101-23.

70. Constantoudaki 1975b, 292-308. This find helped to connect artistic production in Crete with European art.

71. Cf. Hadjinicolaou 2000, 790-806, where such views are criticized.

72. Karapidakis 2001, 121-25.
73. Liakos 2001, 85. This historiographical direction was part of the Marxist historical approach, according to which changes in the economy and society could explain changes in culture and ideology.
74. Chatzidakis 1977, 674-75.
75. Chatzidakis 1966-69, 186; Chatzidakis 1972, 121-37.
76. Pallas 1966, 330-69; Pallas 1971a, 201-24; Pallas 1971b, 225-38; Pallas 1971c, 239-63; Pallas 1975-1976, 101-211.
77. Chatzidakis 1972, 121.
78. Chatzidakis 1972, 131.
79. Pallas 1975-1976, 109.
80. Pallas 1971c, 251.
81. Pallas 1975-1976, 147-56, esp. 156.
82. Pallas 1975-1976, 206-7.
83. Chatzidakis 1972, 133-34.
84. Pallas 2007, 296-99.
85. Pallas 2007, 296-99.
86. Pallas 1975-1976, 156.
87. Pallas 2007, 299.
88. Pallas 1975-1976, 208.
89. Chatzidakis 1974b, 169-211.
90. Apostolidou 2003, 254-55.
91. Chatzidakis 1977, 689.
92. Bettini 1933.
93. Bettini 1977, 689-703. In the discussion that followed these communications their opinions became clearer. See Beck 1977, 704-5.
94. Liakos 2001, 78-82.
95. Makrides 1998, 141-53.
96. Fledelius 1996, 388-89.
97. Continuity has become the focus of many researchers. According to this scheme, the Cretan school follows Paleologan models and adopts Western motifs, in order to achieve a new synthesis. The identification of the painter 'Angelos' with the painter Angelos Akotantos helped in this respect. It was already known that the Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos wrote his will in 1436 before a trip to Constantinople, while the painter 'Angelos', known from his signatures, had been dated to the early 17th c. The later painter's down-dating by almost two centuries, merely on stylistic grounds, was thought to offer a good example of the perceived relationship between early Cretan painting and Byzantine art, appropriately demonstrated by archival and pictorial documents. See Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, 290-98.
98. Álvarez-Lopera 1999, 35-37.
99. Chatzidakis 1997, 42-45; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1999, 93-96. See also Vassilaki & Cormack 2005.
100. *Domenikos Theotokopoulos. From his Early and Late Work* (Benaki Museum, 1979); *Splendeur de Byzance* (Brussels 1982, in the framework of 'Europalia 82'); *Icons from the Cretan School. 15th-16th century* (Benaki Museum, 1983); *Byzantine and post-Byzantine Art* (part of the celebrations for 'Athens, Cultural Capital of Europe 1985': among the 312 objects in the catalogue, there are about 60 Cretan icons); *Affreschi e icone dalla Grecia* (organized by the Greek Ministry of Culture in Florence in 1986, when the city celebrated its year as 'Cultural Capital of Europe': among the 102 objects in the catalogue over half were Cretan icons); *From Byzantium to El Greco* (organized by the Greek Ministry of Culture in London in 1987. The title of this exhibition reveals that the organizers intended to support the scheme of continuity. The Cretan school was represented by about 40 icons out of the 73 in this catalogue). Other exhibitions continued this theme or aspects of it such as the exhibitions that took place in the National Gallery of Athens: *From Theotokopoulos to Cezanne* (1992); *Icons of Cretan Art. From Candia to Moscow and Saint Petersburg* (1993); *Treasures of Orthodoxy from Holy Russia and Greece* (1994); *El Greco in Italy and Italian Art* (1995); *El Greco; Identity and Transformation* (1999). Also the exhibitions *Da Candia a Venezia* (Venice 1993) and *Domenikos Theotokopoulos the Cretan* (Herakleion 1990).

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