Γύρω από κάποιες σπάνιες κοσμικές δημιουργίες της κρητικής ξυλογλυπτικής και τα τεχνοτροπικά φαινόμενα της λεγόμενης λαϊκής τέχνης

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I have always taken every available opportunity to reiterate in the strongest terms possible my firm belief that the mere anonymity of an artistic creation is not a valid reason for ascribing it to the nebulous world of so-called ‘folk art’. This I have done in full consciousness of the fact that the task of assembling a group of works stamped with the distinctive stylistic features which are unique to personal artistic statements can be hopelessly obstructed by an inadequate viewing of the material—as I know from my own experience on several occasions in the past.

This was also the case with my encounter with a carved wooden panel in a private collection. The hole in the upper part of the decorative surface and the iron locking mechanism on the back left no doubt that it was originally the front panel of a chest (fig. 1), and as with the majority of chests, at any rate those of Greek origin, the need for ornamentation is satisfied here, on its main rectangular surface. But in the present case the representation appears incomplete, as if it had been sawn off at both ends, and one cannot exclude the possibility that it originally continued on the two side panels to which the jagged ends were once attached, even though this is inconsistent with conventional typology. The same may be said about the unusual flat relief of the carving, unknown elsewhere in Greek wooden artefacts of the post-Byzantine era, and its expressive quality which far transcends the narrative content.

The reading and interpretation of the representation are hampered by difficulties in photographing the low-relief carving, in spite of repeated efforts to improve the result, if only in part. For this reason the drawing of the object made by Katerina Mavragani has proved invaluable—indeed indispensable—as it shows every detail of the dense execution (fig. 2). The composition is divided into two sections by a vertical axis of parallel lines which may be intended to depict a tree trunk in view of the branches and foliage growing out of the right side, and the exceptionally lush verdure which fills the spaces between the individual motifs, suggestive of an impenetrable forest. Continuity between the two sections is ensured in the lower part by the coils of a winged dragon and at the top by the front legs of a wild goat which gallops off to the right. The image is that of a fantastic hunt involving two horsemen, one in each section. The first, occupied with his fight with the monster, holds a spear in his raised right hand, poised to strike, while in his left is a small shield. The figure seated pillion and holding the horse’s reins is presumably the youth from Mytilene, St George’s regular companion, as we may infer from the clearly visible flask in his right hand. Despite the absence of any specific adversary, the second horseman should presumably be identified as another military saint, perhaps St Demetrios, or one of the St Theodores.

The composition starts on the left with an archer, behind whom can be seen the front part of a bird, a hare and the front of an unidentifiable animal, probably a dog. Below are a lion and a small quadruped with a long tail, while beneath St George’s horse a small dog is attacking the injured dragon, and a larger one a wild goat which has already been struck by two arrows. In the right section, behind the second horseman, the hunting atmosphere continues with a bird, another large lion, a...
Fig. 1. Front panel of carved wooden chest, l.: 1.37 m. Private collection (photo: K. Manolis).

Fig. 2. Drawing of the low-relief carving (drawing: K. Mavragani).

hare and a dog. The pictorial narrative ends with, beneath the front legs of the horse, a second dog chasing a hare, the rear of a goat, and above them a majestic bird, apparently the rider’s intended quarry, with outspread wings and a tufted crest.

If we take into account the clearly secular character of the hunting theme and its allusions to models from chivalry and myth, also widely celebrated in folk song, it is hard to know whether the presence of St George adds a cryptic religious dimension, and whether the fantastic substratum of the narrative content contains allusions to secular and sacred beliefs in the creation of a unified world.

The saint’s apotropaic, protective message and his recurrence on objects connected with marriage would on their own justify the dynamic of his role in a representation carved on an item of furniture which has a specifically nuptial context. But the interpretation of ‘folk art’ is a highly complex matter, and I would prefer to pass on to the somewhat more tangible area of stylistic evaluation.

As already mentioned, the panel displays a striking use of low-relief carving (fig. 1), which can be read only with the assistance of the drawing (fig. 2). Equally unusual is the presence of a continuous network of dots, which fills the spaces between the contours of the motifs and highlights the narrative elements of the work. Exactly the same technique is found in the much higher relief of the carved features—alternating cypresses, flower vases, birds, buildings and the occasional two-headed eagle—on a distinctive group of carved wooden chests found mainly in the Greek islands, whose place of manufacture has not yet been identified. Even more original in a Greek context is the composition’s structure, which displays a provocative disobedience to the traditional iconographic canons of symmetrical antithesis, and bears a narrative weight which is intensified by the overall flow of the figures towards the right, and barely counter-balanced by the re-
verse movement of the dragon. In this context I would also mention the irregular distribution of the thematic units, the remarkable density of the natural environment with its multiple variations on a single basic motif, and the dramatic power of the various components which articulate the continuity of the visual language. As the provenance of this spectacular work in Crete is beyond question, it is remarkable that no similar objects have been found there, as far as can be judged from the published corpus of Cretan woodcarving.

Yet the stylistic individuality and the idiom of the sculptural technique immediate call to mind another wooden carving from the treasure-stores of folk art, this time in the Benaki Museum. This is a representation of the Crucifixion, again in low relief, which some years ago I described in the following terms: “the simple, almost abstract representation of the subject, the austere symmetry of the composition, the dramatic tension in the movements of the soldiers armed with spears as they surround the helpless, motionless figure of the crucified Christ, the stylised trees filling in the spaces and providing the barest indication of a landscape, are all elements that invest this apparently simple work with a deeply poetic atmosphere” (fig. 3). I decided to include this fascinating, indeed enigmatic work in the Museum's newly arranged Greek galleries, and placed it among a small group of exhibits which aimed at illustrating the cultural landscape of post-Byzantine Crete. At the time there was no firm evidence to support such a provenance, but its attribution to the cultural output of the Great Island is now fully vindicated by the incontrovertibly Cretan origin of the panel which inspired this investigation (figs 1-2), and which can plausibly be accredited to the same anonymous craftsman.

In another somewhat unconsidered, indeed intuitive, note I once described the Benaki Crucifixion as "an extremely rare example of early 18th-century Cretan woodcarving, probably from the decoration of an iconostasis (sanctuary screen)". Even more unsubstantiated was my suggestion that the Roman soldiers were portrayed as Turkish warriors, an idea which gains no support from the repertoire of Ottoman dress found in the accounts of European travellers. Indeed it must be admitted that all the observations in that note, which betray my —perhaps excusable— lack of knowledge at the time, now need to be reconsidered.

The idea that the object came from a sanctuary screen was suggested by the combination of the religious content and the arched shape of the edge (fig. 3). A more dispassionate evaluation excludes such a possibility: it could not have originated in a Dodecanese tier and formed the upper frame of an icon of the Crucifixion, because wooden and marble frames of this type never reproduce the subject depicted below. It may rather have belonged to an icon-stand or to the upper frame of an icon niche, such as was to be found in every Greek home. On the other hand, the indisputably ‘Venetian’ treatment of the soldiers who flank the central subject in a naturalistic manner far from common in works of folk art, suggests a dating to the period of Venetian occupation, around the time of the fall of Candia in 1669. But a more direct link, supported by the typology of the figures who are rendered with the same striking clarity in the nearest example, the ‘hunting’ panel (figs 1-2), requires us to take a journey back in time, following the clues provided by the most securely dated examples.

Our efforts to establish the chronology of the two works cannot take us back as far as the 14th century, however, despite the attraction of linking the first object (figs 1-2) with a now lost wall-painting in the church of the Virgin at Monochoro Kainouriou in Messara, and the plausibility of ascribing the hunting theme to the atmosphere of this cultural tradition. The costume features are generally to be found between the mid-15th and the early 16th centuries: for example, in the portrait of Michalis Mochiotis in the wall-paintings of the church of Archangel Michael at Mesa Lakkonia, Mirabello (1432) and in the frescoes of St George’s church at Voila, Siteia (1518). Throughout this period clothes appear to have been influenced by...
Fig. 4. Icon of the Last Judgement. Chania.

Fig. 5. Icon of the Last Judgement, rear view. Chania
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Figs 6-7. Front chest panel used in the icon of the Last Judgement and drawing of the carving.

western fashions, particularly among the upper classes,\(^1\) as we may observe in several figures from the icons of Angelos Akotantos and of Michael Damaskinos.\(^2\) This seems to confirm my inner conviction that the two works could not have been executed after the mid-16th century — an intuition supported by further, albeit indirect, clues.

Much has been written about the vital role played by Crete in the development mainly of ecclesiastical woodcarving from the 15th century onwards,\(^3\) but we also have evidence of its workshops being involved in secular carving; we know, for example, that "cypress wood chests were exported from Crete to Italy from the 16th century".\(^4\) In the 17th century the main centre of woodcarving was Candia, but this does not exclude the possibility that similar workshops flourished in other cities — e.g. in Chania,\(^5\) where the unexpected publication by Michalis Andrianakis of two icons by the hieromonach Ambrosios Emporos has brought to light comparable examples of secular carving.\(^6\) Among the strips of wood which he used in his icons of the Dormition of the Virgin and of the Last Judgement (fig. 4) are two front chest panels, similar in technique and style to those under discussion here, as is apparent from the photographs and drawings which with his customary generosity the author has made available to me.

According to Andrianakis the reverse side of the wooden panel in the icon of the Dormition "has painted

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The panel in the Last Judgement icon is better preserved (fig. 5), though in spite of its having been isolated with the aid of electronic technology (fig. 6), a 'reading' of the decorative motifs is at present possible only with the aid of a drawing (fig. 7).²⁹ Andrianakis' dating of the two icons to around 1625 certainly defines the terminus ante quem of the carving, but it cannot provide any precise confirmation of their position in the chronology of post-Byzantine secular Cretan woodcarving; similarly there can be no guarantee of their origin in Chania, because the item of furniture from which they derive could equally well have been sent there from Candia. My own opinion is that it would have taken at least a generation before the object was put to second use, at a time when the original purpose had become outmoded and contemporary fashions had changed.

The theory that both the Benaki Museum Crucifixion (fig. 3) and the panel with the hunting scene (figs 1-2) should be dated around the mid-16th century receives further corroboration from other related data. I should like to draw attention first to the similar low-level relief on a cupboard from the Historical Archive of Crete in Chania (fig. 8), whose ornamentation was linked by Andrianakis with the carved panels of the two icons (figs 6-7).²⁷ The singularity of the execution and the narrative character of the hunting motifs — to the extent that they can be 'read', because this important work remains unpublished and unrestored — are closest to the 'hunting' panel (figs 1-2); it is accordingly quite conceivable that they are roughly contemporary with each other, and that the cupboard originally formed part of the furnishings in the mansion of some eminent Venetian, since the use of such an object is totally out of keeping with Greek household practices.²⁸ This adds further weight to the possibility of an Italian provenance, since there, as in the rest of Europe, such furniture was extremely common.³¹

I would myself venture to argue that the cupboard from Chania (fig. 8) must have been made in Crete, presumably by Cretan craftsmen following designs brought from Italy, though I am not aware that any comparable works have been found there. The same can be said about a distinctive group of chests executed in the same technique which, though attributed vaguely to an unidentified centre in Northern Italy, have been found in the Greek islands. The most impressive example, which is recorded as coming from Folegandros, is housed in the Benaki Museum (fig. 9).³² The interior of the lid contains a two-tiered representation of a naval battle, the lower part of which is executed in tempera, by contrast with the overpainted low relief of the upper section, where the gaps in the background are filled with 'dotted' latticework rather as in the two examples of Cretan woodcarving which launched this study (figs 1-3). The representation continues on the front on the main panel of the chest; this has three main sections depicting sailing ships in flat relief with traces of overpainting, alternating with smaller horizontal areas containing male figures in 16th-century western European aristocratic dress. The central motif seems to be inspired by the defeat of the Ottoman fleet.
at the celebrated naval battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571, a date which represents a terminus post quern; we may therefore assume that the work was executed at some point between the last quarter of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century, the period during which the battle might have been expected to maintain its dramatic impact on both western and eastern art. The same comment applies to the typology of the ships depicted therein; Chrysa Maltezou kindly arranged for these to be examined by Alvise Chiggiato, member of the Italian Institute of Archeology and Naval Ethnology in Venice, to whom I am most grateful. Though he interpreted the content differently, he came to a similar conclusion as to the dating of the work and its origin in the East.

In support of my present argument that the chest from Folegandros (fig. 9) represents a stylistic development of the tradition of woodcarving exemplified by the Benaki Crucifixion (fig. 3) and the 'hunting' panel (figs 1-2), I would again adduce the lack of comparable examples in Northern Italy. The only item I have been able to trace is a casket (cassetina) from Friuli which displays a similar technique and dates from the second half of the 16th century. The relevant publication erroneously interprets Christ's monogram IHS as an abbreviation of the Greek, though, as a celebrated icon by Andreas Ritzos indicates, the letters are actually an acronym of J(esus) H(ominum) S(alvator). This does not reduce the probability of the work's Greek origin, as a large number of Cretan artists are known to have been employed in satisfying the demands of the Italian market as well. It is my belief that the Benaki Museum chest must have reached Folegandros, where other similar examples are found, about the time of the fall of Candia, in the company of one of the many inhabitants of Crete who resettled in the Aegean islands. This would account for the striking resemblance of the design of the garlands to the vegetal motifs on the surrounding bands of the two chest panels found in the icons in Chania (figs 6-7) and on the representation of the naval battle on the Benaki chest (fig. 10). It reveals to us the seamless momentum of the evolutionary process, despite the problems caused by the poverty of the available material and by our own lamentable indifference to identifying, preserving and
exhibiting the relics of our most recent cultural history.

Further investigation may be able to provide firmer guidance to the researcher whose attentions are currently poised between Italy and Crete. I am myself not able to say if the presence of another object in Friuli—a small box with a cylindrical lid (fig. 13)—can be similarly explained as a product of the exporting activity of some Cretan workshop. Low-level relief is not the technique used here, but rather ‘pokerwork’ (decorazione pirogra-

As it is described in the relevant publication, though without seeing the object for myself I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the label. In any event, the execution undoubtedly resembles that of certain motifs on the Benaki chest—the arcades with angels playing musical instruments (fig. 11) and the latticework with floral motifs on the side panels (fig. 12)—though there, as the Museum’s Conservation Department confirms, brush and ink were used. The box’s apparent origin at the end of the 16th century corroborates the dating already proposed for the Benaki chest, but in considering its provenance we face the same issues as with the other items examined here.

The coherent and consistent logic of these fragmentary arguments is confirmed by the object which provides the final link in the chain and removes the disparate clues from the world of vague hypothetical association to plant them firmly in Greek soil. This is another, unquestionably later carved chest in the Benaki Museum which, again instinctively, I had included in the Cretan section without knowing that it represented a development of the same technique of flat relief, though it is patently inferior in both design and in elegance of carving (figs 14-15). The exterior of the lid (fig. 14) contains a peripheral decorative band with four shells in the corner and trailing vegetal scrolls which reproduce the earlier versions in simplified form; in the centre is a representation of a disc with rays (doxa) enclosing a chalice and a cross, on the left a cock with its head turned backwards to face the chalice and on the right a church with a tall bell tower next to a stylised hill with houses. The more stri-

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ing front panel shows a hill with several ridges and with trees and a village at its summit, then two columns with an architrave and in the window-like space between them the head and shoulders of a woman with an impressive head-dress. The stylised hill continues with the village and another house, followed by a large flower vase, more village buildings and finally a monumental watermill.

Beyond the faintest shadow of a doubt we have here one of the most stunning creations of so-called 'folk art', and many pages could be devoted to breaking its narrative code. Suffice it here to say that the message concealed within the web of symbolic allusions, the unprecedented blend of natural and architectural features, the complexity of the sacred and secular references, the revival of the antique motif of 'the woman in the window', the near three-quarter pose of the figure and the unexpected naturalism of the execution in my view vindicates the dating of the work to the late 17th or 18th century — the dating I had once proposed on more intuitive grounds, in blissful ignorance of the paths which can lead us to the missing chapters in the barely-known history of neo-Hellenic cultural artefacts.

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NOTES

* My work on this subject has benefited from the contributions of many colleagues and friends, but I should especially like to thank Stella Ghika who assisted me throughout the preparation of the article and the footnotes.


2. Dimensions: 0.412 (left), 0.432 (right) x 1.37 x 0.02 m. It consists of two pieces of wood of differing height, fastened together with five iron nails which have been driven into the wood from five evenly spaced vertical incisions (0.07 x 0.01 x 0.005 m.) in the upper section. The decorative motifs display a few faint traces of red and green pigment. I am most grateful to Anthi and Alekos Eustathiades for giving their permission to publish this item, and to Kostas Manolis for undertaking the far from simple task of photographing it.


4. As has already been noted: Hatzimichali 1937 (op. cit.) 51; Makris (op. cit.) 63; Kefalas (op. cit.) 329; Neroladakis, Pervolarakis (op. cit.) 108. Among the few exceptions is an example from Epirus: A. Delivorrias, Guide to the Benaki Museum (Athens 1980) 178 fig. 151, and another, possibly intended for ecclesiastical use, A. Delivorrias, A Guide to the Benaki Museum (Athens 2000) 108 fig. The side panels are more often decorated on painted chests, though these objects have received sadly little scholarly interest.


9. For similar material on carved wooden chests from Mari,
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see Delivorrias (n. 3) 116, 119 figs 5, 7-8, 11-12.


11. The date of their manufacture is also unknown: cf. Delivorrias (n. 5) 58 n. 34 fig. 59, with references to other examples. I hope that at some point a monograph will be devoted to the corpus of collected material. A 'dotted' background is also found on chests from Mani: D. Fotopoulos, A. Delivorrias, Greece at the Benaki Museum (Athens 1997) 418 fig. 716; Delivorrias (n. 3) figs 5, 9, 13.

12. On this fascinating topic: Delivorrias (n. 3) 115 nos. 18, 116, 119; Delivorrias (n. 1) 155 n. 49.

13. This can be seen, for example, by leafing through the material which is collected in Vallianos, Pervolarakis, Nerodakis (n. 3).

14. Inv. no. 8798 (dimensions 0.265 x 0.62 x 0.025 m): Delivorrias, Guide (n. 4) 180 fig. 152. The new photograph was taken by Kostas Manolis.

15. Delivorrias, A Guide (n. 4). 88; Delivorrias (n. 5) 52 n. 32.


18. E.g. an example from Skiros in the Benaki Museum, inv. no. 8730; A. Hatzimichali, Ελληνική λαϊκή τέχνη. Σκύρος μαρμαρογλυπτική στις Κυκλάδες από τον 16ο ως τον 20ο αιώνα (Athens 1987) 66-72 pls 11-12.

19. E.g. a photograph of the chest by Thanasis Roumelis of the 13th cent. by Dora Pikioni. For my 'initiation' into the mysteries of costume evaluation I must express my gratitude to Yanna Bitha.

20. Gerola (op. cit.) 338 no. 48 pl. 16,2; Frangaki (n. 8) 75 fig. 50.

21. Gerola (op. cit.) 339 no. 54 pl. 17,2 Frangaki (n. 8) 71 n. 3.

22. See E. Viollet-le-Duc, Encyclopédie médieval: Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français de l'époque Carolingienne à la Renaissance (1858-1875, 1970) on boots 492 fig. 16; 554-55 fig. 4; on costume 492 fig. 17; on headgear 481 fig. 14.

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419-28 s.v. Germany VI,1. Furniture (H. Zinnkann).

32. Inv. no. 8720 (dimensions 0.67 m. [with open lid: 1.24] x 1.62 x 0.61 m): A. Delivorrias (ed.), *Greece and the Sea* (exhibition catalogue, Amsterdam, De Nieuwe Kerk, Athens 1987) 302-03 no. 202 (M. Kazanaki-Lappas); Ch. A. Maltezos, E. Andreadi (eds), *Η Βενετία των Ελλήνων. Η Ελλάδα των Βενετών. Δραματικά στο Χώρο και στο Χρόνο* (exhibition catalogue, Megaron Moussikis, Athens 1999) 139-40 no. 30 (K. Synodinou); Delivorrias (n. 5) 52 n. 30 fig. 56.


34. M. Vassilakes, Eλικόνι του Γεωργίου Κλόντζα στο Εθνικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο της Αθήνας: Η Ναυμαχία της Ναυπάκτου, *Αρχαιολογία* 15 (1985) 100 with earlier bibliography; Delivorrias (n. 32) 294-95 no. 194 (M. Vassilakes-Mavrakakis).

35. In a written communication dated 19 February 2003, which is published as an appendix to this article.

36. As I established from contacts with officials of various museums. Clàysa Maltezou confirmed the same after doing the personal favour of examining all the chests in the Ca’d’Oro. The wood conservators in the Venetian Archaeological Service, on whose experience she also drew, told her that the work probably had a provenance in the East. Kostas Staikos informed me of an example from Friuli with inferior pokerwork ornamentation in the house of Demetrios Lydes. Stergios Stasinopoulos has informed me of a comparable front panel, now in the Folklore Museum in Rhodes; sections of at least two others, apparently acquired in Athens, were incorporated in modern items of furniture belonging to Irene Kaliga.


38. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Δύο εικόνες του Αγγέλου και του Ανδρέα Ρίτζου στο Βυζαντινό Μουσείο, *DChAE* 15 (1989-1990) 110-17. I would like to thank Dimitris Arvanitakis for bringing this to my attention.

39. On the export of chests, see Kazanaki (n. 24) n. 25.

40. I owe to Markus Venios the photograph of a poorly-preserved chest which is not illustrated or even mentioned in A. Vavilopoulos-Charitonidou, *The Pholegandros Folklore Museum* (Athens 1989). He also drew my attention to a similar chest in the house of Stelis Danasis and another with pokerwork ornamentation in the house of Demetrios Lydes. Stergios Stasinopoulos has informed me of a comparable front panel, now in the Folklore Museum in Rhodes; sections of at least two others, apparently acquired in Athens, were incorporated in modern items of furniture belonging to Irene Kaliga.
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΔΕΛΗΒΟΡΡΙΑΣ

Γύρω από κάποιες σπάνιες κοσμικές δημιουργίες της κρητικής ξυλογλυπτικής και τα τεχνοτροπικά φαινόμενα της λεγόμενης λαϊκής τέχνης

Με αφετηρία τον επιπεδόγλυφο διάκοσμο μιας ξύλινης κασέλας από την Κρήτη σε ιδιωτική συλλογή (εικ. 1-2), στην παρούσα μελέτη επανεξετάζεται η επίσης επιπεδόγλυφη παράσταση της Σταύρωσης του Μουσείου Μπενάκη (εικ. 3), η οποία και αποδίδεται με σιγουριά τέλος στο ίδιο κρητικό εργαστήριο, αν όχι στον ίδιο καλλιτέχνη του 16ου αι. Τα δύο αυτά τεχνικά και τεχνοτροπικά συγγενή έργα κατευθύνουν την ανέλιξη της ερευνητικής διαδικασίας προς μια άλλη ομάδα από ξυλόγλυπτα βορειοτούρκικης υποτίθεται καταγωγής, μεταξύ των οποίων ξεχωρίζει η μνημειακή κασέλα της Φολέγανδρου και πάλι στο Μουσείο Μπενάκη (εικ. 9-12). Από την προσπάθεια να γραφείται μια ενότητα ξυλογλυπτικών με αντίστοιχα χαρακτηριστικά και να εξακριβωθεί η μεταξύ τους χρονολογική σχέση εντοπίστηκαν και άλλες ομάλογοι ύψιστοι δημιουργείς τόσο στην Κρήτη (εικ. 5-8) όσο και στην Ιταλία (εικ. 13). Εκτός από τον προσδιόρισμό και ορισμένες επιπλέον ενδείξεις για την πιθανή επίδραση της ίδιας καλλιτεχνικής παράδοσης κατά τον δεύτερο μισό του 17ου και τον 18ο αιώνα (εικ. 14-15).

APPENDIX: 

ALVISE CHIGGIATO

Insieme della cassa

Sembra opera di due mani: a) quella della fascia/tavola centrale coperchio a fondo blu e b) quella della fascia alta del coperchio e del fronte della cassa, entrambe scolpite a bassorilievo, contornando il disegno, con fondo pointillée.

Ovvero è forse un rimaneggiamento/modifica di una versione iniziale (a fondo blu) che si è tentato di cambiare, con effetto di orizzontale nel Mediterraneo orientale fra il 1580 e il 1620, più verso il 1620 (il tipo di nave è diffuso fra Spagna atlantica e Inghilterra, successivamente in Mediterraneo, in quell'epoca). Il castello di poppa alto e stretto della nave di sinistra (vista da dietro) è esatta in tutti i particolari, inclusi i due portelloni per i due cannoni di fuga. Le decorazioni scolpite e dorate di poppa sono quelle di quell'epoca.

Il fumo delle cannonate è rappresentazione di maniera: nelle battaglie vere, i colpi di incrocio (una nave navigante in un verso e l'altra nella direzione opposta) erano piuttosto rari: di solito si cercava di procedere per rotte parallele e i tiri duravano a lungo, terminando con l'abbordaggio finale. La ricarica dei cannoni richiedeva infatti qualche minuto e, incrociandosi, le navi potevano contare solo su una salva di cannonate. Qui sembra piuttosto l'occasione di rappresentare la nave da prospettive diverse.

La bandiera a 5 fasce orizzontali (tre rosse, fra cui le esterne, e le due interne gialle), —che io sappia— assomiglia a una delle bandiere della Hansa del Baltico (che però è a fasce rosse e bianche), molto improbabile in ambiente mediterraneo. La bandiera che più ci assomiglia in Medi-
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terranee è quella di Tunisi, che però ha una fascia (bianca) in più, in alto. Non so quindi cosa dirne. Le bandiere rosse in testa d'albero delle galere sono quelle di tutti gli Stati ottomani.

Poiché i colori rosso-ocra e giallo della fiamma del galloone di destra (con 'fiamma' chiamo la bandiera a due code triangolari molto lunghe) è uguale a quelle delle galere di destra, si può pensare che si tratti di una colorazione di massa, tendente a rappresentare un gruppo di navi appartenenti tutte –galere e navi– ad una stessa flotta ottomana. Ovvero che tutte le bandiere rappresentate siano state ridipinte in un secondo momento a colori uniformi. La scena non rappresenta quindi uno scontro reale, ma piuttosto una parata di navi con tiri a salve.

Le quattro galere della fascia a fondo blu

Il modello di scafo è però di parecchi decenni anteriore a quello dei galeoni. Infatti la poppa e il timone curvi (relitto tradizionale del tempo in cui si usavano i due timoni laterali di tipo romano) è stato abbandonato quasi del tutto dopo Leppanto. In quella battaglia, in cui si sono riunite –e reciprocamente osservate– tutte le flotte a remi del Mediterraneo, sono apparso evidenti i vantaggi del timone ad asta rettilinea, inizialmente introdotti dalle galere pontentine. Esse sono quindi di un modello antiquato e quasi del tutto abbandonato all'epoca dei galeoni disegnati al centro.

La loro rappresentazione è sommaria e più scadente di quella dei galeoni. La colorazione è più povera: non è usato il marrone scuro ma quasi solamente l'oca rossa e il giallo limone; i remi hanno una rappresentazione aneddotta. Nell'insieme la loro rappresentazione -senza prospettiva se non una parziale sovrapposizione delle due galere di destra –è decisamente più di maniera, con riferimento deciso agli standards dell'ambiente greco-ottomano, quasi costanti, ai confini della libertà artistica. La stessa cosa si può dire per le galere della fascia superiore pointillée.

All'estrema destra del coperchio, in alto, e sopra le due galere di sinistra della fascia a fondo blu, sono rappresentati de 'galeoncini' (non confonda il nome simile: erano completamente diversi dai galeoni), con vele quadre al l'albero maestro e vele latine al trinchetto e alla mezzana. Il loro disegno è tecnicamente corretto, ma si tratta di barche che ebbero il massimo impiego intorno agli inizi del 1500, cioè anch'esse vari decenni precedenti ai due galeoni centrali.

Il Fronte della cassa
Mostra quel che sembrano delle residue tracce di colorazione, che forse erano inizialmente simili a quella della parte alta dell'interno del coperchio. La presenza silhouette di angioletti accanto al foro della chiave, denuncia una committenza cristiana. I costumi dei quattro personaggi maggiori sembrano della stessa epoca dei galeoni, piuttosto che di quella delle galere (in particolare i fochi ai nastri che sostengono le calze del primo a sinistra). Le silhouette dei tre riquadri di soggetto navale, per quel che si vede, sembrano riprodurre scene con elementi di disegno che forse sono gli stessi della fascia a fondo blu.

Conclusioni possibili
La cassa è databile nel quarantennio che va dal 1580 al 1620 ed è di committenza cristiana in ambiente greco-ottomano. La rappresentazione del galeone centrale, visto nelle due posizioni di poppa e di prua, è realistica, mentre tutte le altre sono di maniera e riferite a barche di epoca precedente. Non posso definire l'appartenenza delle bandiere se non per somiglianza. Quasi di sicuro è stata ritoccatà con i colori ocra e giallo limone la colorazione, alterando qua e là (galeone di destra) anche particolari del disegno.

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