









# EL GRECO

*by Katharine Baetjer*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

## DIRECTOR'S NOTE

In 1905, upon the recommendation of the critic Roger Fry, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired its first painting by El Greco, an *Adoration of the Shepherds*. At that time El Greco's work was almost unknown in the United States and was little understood by the American public. His reputation had grown slowly, though steadily, in the nineteenth century, mostly in France, culminating in an influential book by Maurice Barrès, *Greco: ou, Le secret de Tolède*, published in 1912. Critics unfamiliar with his work frequently attributed El Greco's early paintings to other artists, and his more eccentric later canvases sold for small sums, if at all. The quality and attribution of the Museum's *Adoration* were attacked in the press (and later defended, *in literis*, by Bernard Berenson), and El Greco's *Assumption*, already in Chicago, was called by one reader of *Art News* "a jumble of carelessly thrown together, badly drawn human figures not worth fifty dollars." Today, of course, it is not difficult to recognize in El Greco's dramatic use of flickering light, high-keyed color, and elongated, energetic figures a link to modern sensibilities, but in the early years of the century it required a particularly keen and discerning eye to appreciate his importance. That the Museum has such an outstanding holding of paintings by El Greco—indeed a group of pictures that is indispensable in order to understand the art-

ist's work fully—is largely due to a select group of benefactors who possessed such an awareness, and whose tastes and convictions have helped to enrich immeasurably many of the Museum's collections in other areas: Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, George Blumenthal, Stephen C. Clark, Robert Lehman, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman.

Louisine Havemeyer, whose 1929 bequest benefited almost every department, probably did more than any other individual to create an interest in El Greco in the United States. Mrs. Havemeyer and her husband Henry discovered his work about 1901, while on a trip to Spain, and were immediately attracted to "its intensity, its individuality, its freedom and its color." Aided by the American Impressionist Mary Cassatt, Mrs. Havemeyer set out in pursuit of El Greco's paintings, and her *Memoirs* provide a fascinating account of the successes and disappointments of the chase, as well as of the opportunities offered to collectors of her day. In Spain she obtained a small painting of Christ holding a cross, and she laid the groundwork for the eventual purchase of the intensely moving portrait of Cardinal Guevara—considered by many to be El Greco's greatest, even though Mr. Havemeyer was at first bothered by the prelate's eyeglasses—and of the artist's only true landscape, *View of Toledo*, both of which were bequeathed to the Museum. The Have-

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Cover and Frontispiece: Details from the Metropolitan Museum's *The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*.  
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1978, 1978.416



meysers turned down a set of paintings of the Virgin and apostles—fourteen pictures in all—hoping to find “more Cardinals and landscapes.” They later offered to assist in bringing a magnificent *Assumption* to the Metropolitan Museum, but the Museum rejected this El Greco as it “had a finer one,” the *Adoration*. A point well made in the *Memoirs* is that great collectors, whether individuals or institutions, occasionally suffer lapses of judgment, as did the Metropolitan Museum in this case.

Charles and Jayne Wrightsman, the donors of the remarkable painting that is the *raison d'être* of this publication, had a much more difficult task in assembling a distinguished collection because they did not begin until the early 1950s, when a limited market, export restrictions, and soaring prices deterred all but the most dedicated. In the past few years the Wrightsmans have given the Museum a number of extraordinary paintings, among them Gerard David's *Virgin and Child*, Georges de La Tour's *The Penitent Magdalen*, Johannes Vermeer's *Portrait of a Young Woman*, and El Greco's *The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*.

The Metropolitan's holdings of El Grecos were augmented in the 1970s by two paintings that entered the Museum via the Robert Lehman Collection: *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *Saint Jerome as a Cardinal*, both works of his late period.

Until the Wrightsmans' 1978 gift of *The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*, the Museum possessed no work from El Greco's early years. Probably painted in Italy shortly before his departure for Spain in the late 1570s, when he was nearly forty, this painting is essentially Venetian in feeling, showing the influences of both Titian and Tintoretto. At the same time it possesses elements of the artist's mature style—more brilliant coloration, taller and more slender figures—that he developed in Spain. This painting assumes particular importance, therefore, as a transitional step to El Greco's later work of exalted, visionary quality, such as *The Vision of Saint John*, and it provides an invaluable complement to the rest of the Museum's El Grecos, all of which belong to the last fourteen years of the painter's life (about 1600–1614).

The text of this issue of the *Bulletin*, written by Katharine Baetjer, Curator of European Paintings, presages others in the future devoted to a single artist whose works are especially well represented in the Museum's collections.

Philippe de Montebello  
*Director*









Cardinal Don Fernando Niño de Guevara probably sat for El Greco in 1600, the year after he had been appointed inquisitor general. In all religious matters and particularly in cases of suspected heresy the author-

ity of the Inquisition was absolute, and Guevara, as head of this body, was the most powerful ecclesiastic in Spain. This portrait, perhaps the most influential done by the artist, is reproduced in full on page 42.

A sonnet addressed to El Greco in old age described him as divine, comparing him to Prometheus, and at his death in 1614 he was eulogized by the poet Luis de Góngora. "Here lies the Greek," he wrote,

Leaving to nature all his art,  
To art his lore, to Iris hues,  
To Phoebus lights, to Morpheus shadows deep.

Diego Velázquez owned three of his paintings, and canvases by El Greco entered the Spanish royal collections before the end of the seventeenth century. Not all of his contemporaries admired his work, however, and one typically ambivalent account stated: "A certain Domenico Greco, who is now living and producing excellent work in Toledo, left here, in the Chapter Room of the Escorial, a picture of St. Maurice. . . . His Majesty did not like it . . . not many people like it, indeed, though it is said to be very artistic and we are told that the painter is very proficient, and that many excellent things by him are to be seen."

Francisco Pacheco, a Spanish authority on matters of art in El Greco's time and an advocate of the



orthodox position of the day, also expressed uncertainty about his work. The attacks on El Greco became more frequent as the seventeenth century progressed, and in 1724 his style was condemned as “contemptible and laughable” in the *Museo pictórico* of Antonio Palomino, who can be described as the Spanish Vasari. For the next one hundred and fifty years El Greco was neglected or, as in the age of neoclassicism, viewed with scorn. Then, in the late nineteenth century, this artist whose images and palette had been regarded as bizarre or inconsequential found new admirers. Manuel Cossío, a prominent Spanish critic, published his first book on the painter in 1885, and an exhibition in Madrid in 1902 brought El Greco’s work to the attention of a wider public. Cossío’s classic study and oeuvre catalogue appeared in 1908, and two years later Julius Meier-Graefe, a German critic who championed Impressionism, published *The Spanish Journey*, which introduced El Greco’s paintings to an international audience.

El Greco, who is often called a painter’s painter, had in a sense already been “rediscovered” by the artists of the nineteenth century. Delacroix, Millet, and Degas owned examples of his work, Cézanne and Sargent copied him, and Picasso admired him. These artists perhaps responded to him as an innovative colorist who presented, in Meier-Graefe’s words, “a Veronese blue, a strawberry pink, full of all the sweetness of Venice in all its tones down to the deepest claret, a yellow of golden orange down to the faintest colour of lemons.” The critic went on to remark that “what Rembrandt had sought after in the shadow, had succeeded here in light colour, in Renoir’s pink, in the lilac of Cézanne and the white of Manet. . . . All the inventions of the Moderns, coloured shadows, the dissolution of contours, the combination of cadences and contrasts is here presupposed.” To Meier-Graefe’s eye, El Greco’s palette was Venetian. His artistic inheritance, however, was more broadly Mediterranean, and he was influenced in his use of color by the art of Byzantium. His pigments—a tissue of delicate, feathery strokes forming abstract color patterns of great beauty—have an extraordinary life

This detail from *The Purification of the Temple*, in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, shows the rich coloration of El Greco’s palette during the years he worked in Italy—blues, pinks, claret, and a range of yellows. The entire painting is illustrated on pages 22–23.









and vibrancy. We respond, as have painters for generations, to a style that seems to us daring, unique, and incipiently modern.

El Greco was born Domenicos Theotocopoulos in 1541 in Crete, a Greek island that had passed from Byzantine to Venetian rule some three hundred years earlier, and he must have received his earliest training from icon painters on his native island or in Venice, where many Cretans had settled. The date of El Greco's arrival in Venice is not known, but it is likely that he lived there for a number of years. In the 1560s he may have joined Titian's workshop, then the foremost Venetian atelier, and after a stay in Rome he may have returned to Venice for a time in the early 1570s. The only document that provides certain evidence of his whereabouts during this period dates from 1570. In that year he was in Rome, for on November 19, Giulio Clovio, a miniaturist in the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, wrote to his patron asking if the young foreigner

Greek was El Greco's native language, and he signed his works in Greek characters. Although he was called Domenico Greco by his contemporaries, he always signed his proper name, Domenicos Theotocopoulos, often adding *krès* ("Cretan"). The name by which he is now known—in English "the Greek"—is a conflation of Spanish ("El") and Italian ("Greco"). This signature from the *View of Toledo* (see p. 45) translates "Domenicos Theotocopoulos/made it."

might have the use of a room in the Palazzo Farnese. “There has arrived in Rome . . . a pupil of Titian,” Clovio begins, “who seems to my judgment to have a rare gift for painting.” The date of El Greco’s arrival in Spain is not recorded, but it is clear that he was established in Toledo by July 2, 1577, the date on which he received the initial payment for *The Disrobing of Christ*, a canvas for that city’s cathedral. He spent the rest of his life in Toledo and died there on April 7, 1614.

Before 1577, when he received his first major commissions, El Greco’s exceptional talent had apparently not been recognized. Over the years the paintings he left in Italy changed hands and were lost from sight;

The Evangelist Luke writes that shortly after the Nativity, Mary and Joseph, in accordance with Mosaic law, “brought Jesus to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord.” In *The Presentation in the Temple*, a sixteenth-century icon in the Byzantine style, the infant Christ is held by Simeon, who acts as high priest. Also present is the prophetess Anna, who displays a scroll that reads in Greek, “This child created heaven and earth.”

Attributed to a Cretan artist, this icon is an example of the traditional paintings El Greco would have known. He was evidently impressed by the somber mood and the elongation of the slender bodies in works such as this, and the figure of Simeon, in particular, brings to mind his representations of saints. Tempera on wood, gold ground, 17½ x 16⅞ inches. Inscribed (in Greek). Bequest of Lizzie P. Bliss, 1931, 31.67.8







the artist's name was forgotten. More recently, his early work has claimed the interest of Greek, Italian, and Spanish critics, yet after more than half a century of scholarly investigation and debate there are only a few works datable in or before 1577 that may be attributed to him with any degree of certainty.

Two of these early paintings are firmly connected with the Roman sojourn and, more specifically, with the Farnese circle, because they are listed in a 1680 inventory of the contents of the Palazzo del Giardino, a Farnese residence in Parma. One of these paintings is a representation of Christ Healing the Blind, now in the

Accounts of Christ Healing the Blind are found in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John. Typically, El Greco did not follow the biblical text precisely, but it seems likely that the three pictures representing the Healing are based on the second of the two episodes in Mark (10:46–52): “And as he went out of Jericho with his disciples and a great number of people, blind Bartimaeus, the son of Timaeus, sat by the highway side begging. And when he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to cry out, and say, Jesus . . . have mercy on me. . . . And Jesus answered and said unto him, What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? The blind man said unto him, Lord, that I might receive my sight. And

Jesus said unto him, Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole. And immediately he received his sight, and followed Jesus in the way.”

*The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*, now in Dresden, is the earliest of the three extant paintings on this theme that date from El Greco’s years in Italy. Oil (?) on wood, 26 x 33 inches. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden. Photograph: Gerhard Reinhold

*Below*

*The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind* in Parma was painted in about 1570 in Rome. As in his other works on this theme, El Greco has incorporated a portrait head (here, at the

extreme left, that of a young man whose identity is unknown). The uneven texture of the surface in the center foreground suggests that something has been painted out. This area of the composition evidently gave El Greco continuing difficulty, and in each of the three versions he tried a different solution. The dog, the water bottle, and the pilgrim’s sack in the Dresden painting, which are here omitted, are replaced in the Metropolitan painting by two half-length figures whose significance is as yet unexplained (see pp. 14–15). Oil on canvas, 18 $\frac{2}{3}$  x 24 inches. Signed (in Greek, lower left). Galleria Nazionale, Parma. Photograph: Los Angeles County Museum of Art





Galleria Nazionale in Parma; the other is a portrait of Giulio Clovio, now in the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples. On the basis of style, other works have been attributed to El Greco and dated in the period before he left Italy.

The Metropolitan Museum has a number of notable paintings by El Greco, but it had no representative early work until, in 1978, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman presented what must surely be the finest canvas from El Greco's Italian period. This work—*The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*—is one of the three extant paintings on this theme that date from El Greco's years in Italy. (Artists often devoted two or more canvases to the same subject. Commissioned replicas fall into this category, as do the present paintings, a theme with variations.) The earliest of the three versions is a panel (now in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie in Dresden) that was purchased in Venice in 1741 for the Saxon royal collections as the work of another Venetian artist, Leandro Bassano. The slightly smaller canvas in Parma was described as the work of Paolo Veronese in the 1680 Farnese inventory. The Wrightsman painting can be traced back only to 1877, when it belonged to an English collector, William Rennie, who sold it at Christie's on April 23, 1888, as a Jacopo Tintoretto. It was again offered at auction in 1958, under an attribution to Veronese, but when it was exhibited for sale, it was recognized as an early work by El Greco.

These paintings, like most of El Greco's works, are imbued with the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. Early in the sixteenth century the Roman church had been torn by the Protestant Reformation, and through the enactments of the Council of Trent, it sought to purify religious practices and thus reassert its supremacy. In 1563, during its final session, the council decreed that religious images should instruct the faithful and should encourage them in the practice of their devotions. Standards of doctrinal purity were established; superstition was forbidden; modesty required. In this atmosphere of fanaticism and religious fervor, the Healing of the Blind Man, a rare subject, had heightened significance,

*Overleaf; details opposite and on pp. 16, 19*

*The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind* in the Metropolitan assumes particular importance because it affords an opportunity to study the artist's working methods. El Greco, like most of the Venetian artists he would have known, evidently did not rely upon preparatory drawings; the few that are associated with him are of uncertain attribution. In this work, as in many oil paintings, the pigments have become more transparent with age, and the viewer can see what lies below the surface. The shadowy outlines of alternate contours for the beggar's arms, Christ's feet, and the head of the bearded man in the foreground are evidence of changes that were made as the painting progressed.

The canvas is unfinished. Near the upper right corner El Greco tried his colors, leaving a pattern of vertical strokes. The men at the left, some of whom appear in this detail, are modeled decisively but with such brevity that they may be incomplete, and the columns and wall behind are marked only by transparent washes of gray and brown. Oil on canvas, 47 x 57½ inches. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1978, 1978.416









*The Miracle of Christ Healing  
the Blind.*

The Metropolitan Museum  
of Art, Gift of Mr. and  
Mrs. Charles Wrightsman,  
1978, 1978.416











This detail from *The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind* in the Metropolitan shows that El Greco painted the two figures directly over the marble pavement.

for blindness is an age-old symbol of disbelief, and the gift of sight is emblematic of the revelation of the true faith.

The three versions of *Christ Healing the Blind* offer insights into the sources of El Greco's developing style. His mode of painting is essentially Venetian, and the figure types and drapery, particularly in the earliest version in Dresden, are reminiscent of Titian (c. 1488–1576), whose pupil he is said to have been. Since Titian's sublime and deeply moving late style would not have lent itself to imitation by a painter not yet fully schooled, El Greco was apparently influenced by his earlier paintings. Tintoretto (1518–94), however, was at the height of his powers during the years El Greco is thought to have been in Venice. His paintings were on the grand scale, opulent and luminous; his compositions were innovative and his technique fluid and assured. Genre details such as the dog sniffing the sack and the pilgrim's water bottle in El Greco's painting in Dresden were probably inspired by Tintoretto. El Greco must have known Tintoretto's compositions on the theme of Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples, one of which was painted about 1547 for the presbytery of the Venetian church of San Marcuola. Following Tintoretto's example, he draws his setting for the paintings in Dresden and New York from a stage design by the Venetian architect Sebastiano Serlio, and the two painters endow their cityscapes with the same dreamlike quality.

El Greco was also influenced by the work that Raphael (1483–1520) and Michelangelo (1475–1564) had done in the Vatican. In the two later versions of the *Healing*, the figure directly behind the blind man is a modification of a motif from a fresco by Michelangelo in the Pauline Chapel. In like manner the seated men at the center in all three paintings were inspired by figures in the Vatican frescoes of Raphael. Under the spell of Rome, El Greco modeled the bearded nude in the painting in Parma on an antique Hercules that then stood in the gardens of the Palazzo Farnese; for the distant ruins in the same picture he was inspired by the Baths of Diocletian.

The composition is essentially the same in all three paintings. Christ, at the left, in a rose-colored tunic and blue cloak, advances toward the blind man who, having fallen to one knee, reaches out with his left arm. The men at the left, heedless of the miracle, converse while those at the right draw back amazed. Two figures in the middle distance, a young man and an older one, are seated on a step. Each of the three paintings includes portrait heads, and the setting for each is a broad piazza flanked by Renaissance palaces.

The third version, that now in the Metropolitan, has the most theatrical setting. The colors El Greco chooses are increasingly brilliant, and the palette for this painting is not unlike that he was to use in Spain: lavender and brown, green, white, rose, blue, and gold. The figures are taller and more slender than in the two earlier versions, and the language of gesture and expression has been sharpened and heightened. The head of Christ, slightly inclined, is intensely expressive and compassionate. In a fashion that is not Venetian, El Greco searches for a means to describe not physical presence, but the power of the spirit.

El Greco must have brought this painting with him from Rome, for two copies of it are in Spanish private collections. Although he never completed this work, it did not remain in his studio; it was not in his possession at the time of his death, for it is not recorded in the inventories of his property made in 1614 and 1621.

Another subject from the ministry of Christ that captured the painter's imagination during the 1570s was the Expulsion of the Moneychangers from the Temple in Jerusalem. This rather uncommon theme had been promoted by the Council of Trent because it is emblematic of the purification of the church. El Greco painted the Purification of the Temple at least five times, and two of these works—a small panel in the National Gallery in Washington and a larger canvas in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts—date from the Italian period and are roughly contemporaneous with the three versions of *Christ Healing the Blind*.

These two groups of paintings show important

Of the three versions of *The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*, that in the Metropolitan is the most dramatic. Here El Greco draws upon a stage design by the Venetian architect Sebastiano Serlio, thus following a frequent practice of Tintoretto whose works he must have seen in Venice.









similarities and may have been painted in a relatively short period in the 1570s. All are horizontals, a format El Greco rarely chose, and in all he shows an uncharacteristic interest in the architectural setting. The themes are complementary, and he may have conceived of the two subjects as related, though without associating them deliberately as pendants.

*The Purification of the Temple* in Washington displays a Venetian taste for colorful narrative detail—animals and birds abound—and draws, at the same time, on the Roman vocabulary of Michelangelo and Raphael. Michelangelo made a number of drawings of the Purification in the 1550s; his designs, which were adapted in a panel ascribed to Marcello Venusti, may be the ultimate source of El Greco's composition. In the foreground of the painting in Washington there is a man seated on a step, facing left. His left hand lies on the handle of a basket, and he leans in that direction, supporting his chin on his right hand. This figure is based on a motif by Raphael and appears not only in all of the later versions of the *Purification*, but also, in reverse, in all three versions of the *Healing*. In the canvas in Minneapolis El Greco makes explicit reference to the sources of his style by including at the lower right portraits of the artists whose

Tintoretto's *Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples* was almost certainly installed in the presbytery of the Venetian church of San Marcuola in 1547. (Later replaced by a copy, it passed into the collection of Charles I of England and was subsequently acquired for Philip IV of Spain.) During the years El Greco lived in Venice, this and other paintings by Tintoretto appear to have impressed him deeply. In the several versions of *Christ Healing the Blind* he emulated the older painter, both in dramatic perspective construction and in the use of Serlian architectural motifs and characteristically Venetian genre details. Oil on canvas, 72 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 204 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches. Museo del Prado, Madrid. Photograph copyright Museo del Prado



An account of Christ's Expulsion of the Moneychangers from the Temple is given in each of the Gospels, but that of John (2: 13–15) is the most detailed: "And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting: And when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drove them all out of the temple . . . and overthrew the tables."

In *The Purification of the Temple*, now in Washington, El Greco embellishes the text in a characteristically Venetian manner and includes chickens, birds, and rabbits. This is an early painting, done during his years in Italy, and the young artist's lack of assurance is evident in the rather awkward draftsmanship and handling of paint. Mixed technique on wood, 25¾ x 32¾ inches. Signed (in Greek, lower left). National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection





The Purification of the Temple was infrequently represented until, during the Counter-Reformation, it came to be interpreted as emblematic of the efforts of the Roman church to purge itself of heresy. The composition of this painting in Minneapolis is essentially the same as that of the earlier version in Washington. The figures, however, are taller, and the drapery is smoother and

less agitated, defining more clearly the limbs beneath. Some genre details have been eliminated, and four portrait heads have been added at the lower right; they are of Titian, Michelangelo, Giulio Clovio, and, perhaps, Raphael. Oil on canvas, 46 x 59 inches. Signed (in Greek, on the steps at left center). The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The William Hood Dunwoody Fund, 24.1





work he most admired: Titian, Michelangelo, Giulio Clovio, and, less certainly, Raphael.

The Washington panel must be the earlier of the two: the composition is by comparison awkward, and the pigment is thickly applied in a rather uncertain hand. The version in Minneapolis is less anecdotal and is more tightly composed around the figure of the avenging Christ. A third version of *The Purification of the Temple*, now in the Frick Collection in New York, was painted in Spain many years later and illustrates El Greco's fully developed style (see p. 24). Details of a descriptive nature are for the most part suppressed, and the background is flattened out. The colors, cold and acid, are applied in a screen of meshlike strokes, and the light is unnaturally bright. The figures, greatly enlarged but seemingly weightless, occupy three-quarters of the picture space and press forward, gesticulating violently. Here the events of the narrative serve as a vehicle for the true subject—the Church Militant, evoked by the image of the fierce, triumphant Christ.

El Greco's early paintings, relatively few in number and of modest size, were evidently done for private patrons. He had joined the painters' guild in



Rome in 1572, but receiving no public commissions during his stay in that city, he may have left for Spain with the hope of making his reputation abroad. While in Rome, El Greco may have met Luis de Castilla, the Spaniard who was eventually to act as his executor; in any event, Diego de Castilla, Luis's brother and dean of the chapter of the Toledo cathedral, was his first major patron in Spain. Funds for a new church in Toledo, Santo Domingo el Antiguo, had been bequeathed in 1575, the donatrix naming Diego de Castilla as her executor. In a letter dated August 8, 1577, the dean





reminded El Greco that he was to finish all the paintings for the church—altarpieces for the Capilla Mayor and the lateral chapels—within twenty months. The fee was fixed in advance at fifteen hundred ducats. El Greco, acknowledging the dean's role in awarding the commission, would accept only one thousand ducats, and this sum was paid to him on August 27, 1578, before the project was completed. In fact the painter, an untried foreigner whose work can have been but little known, owed him an enormous debt. Only the king could have offered him a more important commission.

It must be remembered that in Spain during this period major projects were sponsored either by the monarch or by the Roman Catholic church. As patrons, both exercised a limiting—if not harmful—authority over most artists, and the prevailing style now seems chill and bloodless. Landscape, still life, and genre were excluded; nudity was proscribed. Creativity was sacrificed to conformity, and Spanish painting was thereby impoverished. Outside Spain, few would now recognize the names of Juan Fernández de Navarrete, Miguel Barroso, Luis Tristán, and Luis de Carvajal; only Alonso Sánchez Coello's stiff, minutely detailed portraits of the royal family and members of the court are widely exhibited today.

El Greco did not find favor at court. By royal order in April 1580, he was supplied with colors, that he might complete as expeditiously as possible a canvas, *The Martyrdom of Saint Maurice*, for the monastery church of the Escorial. The painting, however, did not please Philip II; he commissioned a substitute for it from Romulo Cincinnato, a minor Italian artist working at the Escorial, and El Greco never heard from him again. (Cincinnato's large and uninteresting canvas still hangs in its original position. El Greco's *Saint Maurice* was sent to the chapter house, which is now a museum, and it remains there to this day.)

El Greco found his patrons in the Catholic hierarchy, and painting in the service of the church, he was touched by the fervor of Spanish piety and mysticism. (If he was not born a Roman Catholic, he must have

*The Purification of the Temple* in the Frick Collection is one of several paintings of this episode that El Greco did in Spain. The reliefs set into the back wall represent the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, which prefigures this scene, and the Sacrifice of Isaac, a prefiguration of Christ's sacrifice. While the figures are similar to those in the Washington and Minneapolis paintings, which were done while he was in Italy, here they fill the canvas, occupying a space nearer to the picture plane. The image of Christ has become proportionately larger, and each of the onlookers now participates in the drama, responding to his violent gesture. Agitated brushwork enlivens the surface. Oil on canvas, 16½ x 20⅝ inches. The Frick Collection, New York. Photograph copyright The Frick Collection, New York

been a convert; a career such as his in the atmosphere of the Counter-Reformation would otherwise have been unthinkable.) His work suggests that his commitment to the faith was both personal and deeply felt, yet in a period of extreme orthodoxy his treatment of religious themes was often unconventional. His technique, especially the use of pale colors and flickering highlights, differed profoundly from the Mannerist style practiced in Spain by his contemporaries, and this originality sometimes embroiled him in controversy.

From medieval times it had been Spanish practice to call for impartial appraisals of commissioned works of art upon their completion. When El Greco's paintings were involved, it was necessary to resort to the courts on more than one occasion. In fact, his first commission in Spain, *The Disrobing of Christ*, was the subject of litigation. The representatives of the clergy of Toledo cathedral held that El Greco had taken liberties with the interpretation of the theme. They pointed out that the three Marys should not have been present at the disrobing, as they did not appear in the biblical accounts; nor should the heads of the onlookers have been placed higher than that of Christ. El Greco declined to make any changes in the picture, disdainfully refused to answer any questions put to him, and only agreed to accept a lesser fee when threatened with imprisonment. Despite these occasional difficulties, he served the Spanish church for forty years, from his arrival in Spain until his death.

El Greco's *Assumption*, the principal canvas for the high altar of Santo Domingo and the first of a series of altarpieces for Toledan churches, is dated 1577 and was therefore painted shortly after his arrival in Spain. Now in the Art Institute of Chicago, it is his most important work in an American collection. The *Assumption* that Titian had installed sixty years before on the chancel altar of Santa Maria dei Frari in Venice was El Greco's ultimate source. Although he was influenced by Titian's explosive creative energy and by the force of

At his death in 1614 El Greco had not completed a series of paintings commissioned in 1608 for the Toledan hospital of Saint John the Baptist. One of these, *The Vision of Saint John*, was intended for a lateral altar. Evidence suggests that this work was once twice its present height, and it is thought that the canvas was cut down to eliminate an unfinished or damaged portion. Although the painting is not in good state, it is nevertheless one of the most original and evocative of El Greco's late works.

*The Vision of Saint John* appears to be based on the passage from the Book of Revelation that describes martyrs rising from the dead at the Last Judgment: "And when [the Lamb] had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. . . . And white robes were given unto every one of them" (6:9–11). In the middle distance the seven souls are represented as naked, unencumbered by the trappings of wealth and power. The large figure at the left, kneeling in an attitude of ecstasy, may be John the Evangelist, who was traditionally held to be the author of the Revelation. Oil on canvas, 88½ x 78½ inches. Rogers Fund, 1956, 56.48









*The Assumption of the Virgin* was the first of the altarpieces that El Greco painted for Toledan churches. Considered the finest of his works in America, it had once been offered to the Museum through Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer. Samuel Avery, acting for the trustees, declined it, stating that the Museum already had a finer El Greco (*The Adoration of the Shepherds*, purchased in 1905). Mrs. Havemeyer notes in her memoirs that "I was keenly disappointed and wrote at once to Miss [Mary] Cassatt. . . . She wrote to the directors of the Art Institute of Chicago and the picture went there."

Mrs. Havemeyer, who bequeathed the portrait of Cardinal Guevara and *View of Toledo* to the Museum, also had the opportunity to purchase El Greco's portrait of Paravicino, now in Boston. Mr. Havemeyer, however, turned it down, saying, "Why buy a monk when you have a cardinal [Guevara]? Better wait for a fine woman's portrait." But, as Mrs. Havemeyer remarks, "Alas, the Spaniards . . . painted cardinals, saints, monks, anything but women in [El Greco's] day." Oil on canvas, 158 x 90 inches. Signed (in Greek, lower right) and dated 1577. The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Nancy Atwood Sprague in memory of Albert Arnold Sprague, 06.99

The details at the right, from the *Assumption* and the *Healing*, show a man with his arm extended toward the center of the composition. This posture interested El Greco, and a similar figure is found in all three versions of the *Healing*.





the illusion that he evoked, El Greco's composition follows in its general outlines the traditional scheme for representation of the Assumption of the Virgin. It is rigidly centralized, focusing on the ascending Virgin, her arms outstretched, her head silhouetted against a blazing aureole, her feet resting on a crescent moon. She is accompanied by winged angels in brilliantly colored robes. A band of clouds divides the picture in half, and the worshiper is invited to join the witnesses below, the apostles grouped around the simple slate-brown sarcophagus. The violent foreshortening of the forms is handled with a considerable degree of virtuosity, and the colors are those of the Wrightsman picture: acid yellow paired with pink, orange with green or blue. The apostle whose right arm is extended toward the center of the composition engages the attention of the devout, inviting them to enter the picture space. El Greco had experimented with this pose, which was to remain a favorite, in all three versions of *Christ Healing the Blind*. In the *Assumption* he triumphantly expounds the language that he tested in *The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*. The smooth brushwork in the later painting creates an ambient suffused with light and color, and the viewer is transported into a higher reality, one of intense and dreamlike brilliance.



In the late 1570s, El Greco also painted an *Adoration of the Shepherds* for one of the lateral altars in Santo Domingo el Antiguo. The canvas, which is now in a private collection in Spain, is tall and rather narrow, with a rounded top. The infant Christ, from whom the light emanates, is surrounded by the Virgin, Saint Joseph, and the shepherds, while angels tumble about overhead in a burst of light. El Greco was certainly influenced by Titian's experiments with multiple sources of natural and artificial light, and he may have been familiar with the work of Correggio, who was the first to represent this scene illuminated by the unnatural radiance of the child.

Throughout his career El Greco was to rework the audacious composition of the Santo Domingo *Adoration of the Shepherds*. Between 1597 and 1600 he painted a

canvas devoted to this theme for the Colegio di Doña María de Aragón in Madrid. This canvas (now in the Romanian National Museum, Bucharest) is taller and narrower in proportion, the figures are more slender, and the lighting is more dramatic. Another *Adoration* is in the Colegio del Patriarca in Valencia. The first El Greco acquired for this Museum's collection is also an *Adoration of the Shepherds* (pp. 32–34), a later variant of the picture in Valencia. All of these images are related to a somewhat larger *Adoration* (now in the Prado), thought to have been painted shortly before his death. (The second *Adoration* in the Museum, shown on the opposite page, is a replica of this painting.)

While the Museum's two representations of the *Adoration* are similar in many respects, the first is especially characteristic of El Greco's late work. The pigment is applied in vivid strokes over a clay-colored ground. The figures, tall and slender, are modeled in light and shadow. There are two sources of illumination: the flood of heavenly light in the background, which accompanies the announcement of the birth of Christ to the shepherds, and the light that streams from the child. At the Virgin's side is Joseph. In a posture typical of El Greco, he draws back amazed, his robed form silhouetted against the yellow drapery of his cloak.

El Greco's paintings for Santo Domingo el Antiguo brought him other commissions, and by 1588 he had painted *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, the altarpiece regarded as the masterpiece of Spanish Counter-Reformation art. This painting was done for the church of Santo Tomé in Toledo, and most of El Greco's major works were painted for institutions in and around the city—the church of the Talavera la Vieja (1591–92), the chapel of San José (1597–99), the cathedral (after 1601), the Oballe Chapel in San Vicente (from 1607), and the Tavera Hospital (from 1608).

Some notion of El Greco's life in Spain may be gleaned from the records of the period. Within a few years of his arrival in Toledo his only son, Jorge Manuel, was born to Jerónima de las Cuevas. El Greco never married her, though he lived with her for many years,

In 1954 the nuns of the convent of Santo Domingo el Antiguo in Toledo sold a large *Adoration of the Shepherds* by El Greco to the Prado. The painter had secured the rights to a family chapel and funerary crypt in Santo Domingo in 1612, two years before his death, and it is thought that he intended this picture to hang there as a memorial. This *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Metropolitan is a replica of the Prado canvas, much reduced in scale, proportionately wider, and differing in a number of details. Although it bears El Greco's signature, it may in part be the work of studio assistants. Oil on canvas, 43½ x 25⅞ inches. Signed (in Greek, lower left). Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941, 41.190.17







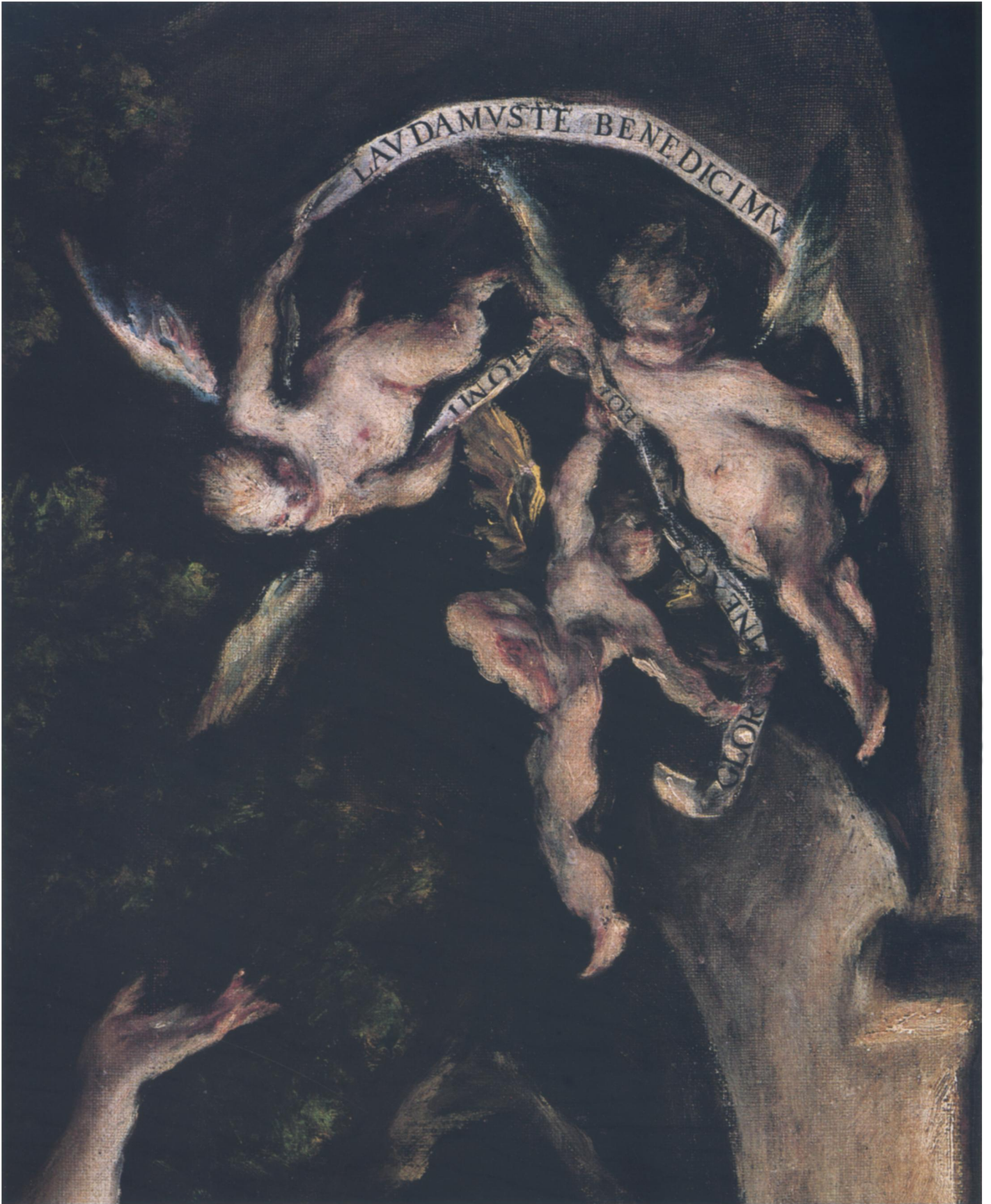
In *The Adoration of the Shepherds* the infant Christ lies at the center of the composition, while in the background the shepherds receive the news of his coming. The ox and the trussed lamb near the manger, which are symbols of strength and purity, would have reminded the worshiper of the Savior's ultimate sacrifice, but

the picture was also intended to be read as an anthem of praise, celebrating his birth. Overhead the angels flourish a ribbon that bears a Latin inscription from the Gloria—"Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will." Oil on canvas, 64½ x 42 inches. Rogers Fund, 1905, 05.42











Three angels from the Museum's *Adoration* are illuminated by a brilliant light streaming from the infant Christ.

and about this lady much has been speculated, but practically nothing is known. Jorge Manuel, whose talents as a painter were modest, worked with his father as a business partner and assistant from an early age. Although his financial circumstances were sometimes uncertain if not precarious, El Greco was never without important commissions, and his smaller canvases were much sought after by private clients. A single version of any given theme was the exception rather than the rule—there are more than twenty replicas of the painting depicting Saint Francis and Brother Leo. The canvases representing apostles and saints in half-length are the most numerous of all, and it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty how many should be attributed to him and how many are by his students.

The subjects of a number of these sacred portraits had special meaning for Catholics during the Counter-Reformation. Saint Jerome, for example, was revered for his immense intellectual and spiritual authority and was presented as an exemplar by the zealous reformers. The life and works of this fourth-century Latin Doctor of the Church must have been familiar to El Greco who was well educated and widely read (at his death his library contained over a hundred Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish books, including volumes on painting, architecture, history, and philosophy and works by Homer, Socrates, Aristotle, Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto, and Saint John of the Cross), and he painted Saint Jerome many times, both as a penitent and, according to convention, as a cardinal. The earliest version of the composition in which Jerome is shown as a cardinal, seated and in half-length, is in the Frick Collection in New York. Signed at the right center, it is slightly larger than a second autograph version, which dates from about 1600 and which was bequeathed to the Museum by Robert Lehman in 1975. Either of the two could be the larger of the paintings of Saint Jerome as a cardinal listed in the 1614 and 1621 inventories of El Greco's property and thus in his possession at the time of his death. In both works Saint Jerome is shown seated against a neutral background.





Born in Dalmatia toward the middle of the fourth century, Jerome studied in Rome and then traveled extensively, living for a time in the Syrian desert. After his return to Rome, he acted as secretary to Pope Damasus, and in recognition of this service he is traditionally shown as a cardinal, although that office did not then exist. In 386 he retired to a monastery in Bethlehem, devoting the years until his death in 420 to writing, study, and contemplation. An embodiment of the Counter-Reformation ideals of spiritual discipline and self-denial, Jerome is often depicted in art of that period.

In El Greco's *Saint Jerome as a Cardinal* the saint's ecclesiastical garb is not unlike that of Cardinal Guevara, and his cape, a broadly painted pyramid of color, gives the composition its underlying framework. No doubt El Greco's prototype was a Byzantine image of a hermit, and the extraordinary elongation of the forms in this painting also stems from Byzantine practice. Oil on canvas, 42½ x 34¼ inches. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, 1975.1.146

This *Saint Andrew* is a reduced replica of the figure of the apostle that appears in a larger devotional canvas in the Prado. (In the Prado painting, Andrew and the fifteenth-century friar Saint Francis of Assisi stand upon a hillock against a cloudy sky.)

Andrew and his brother, the apostle Peter, were fishermen on the Sea of Galilee. The first to follow Christ, Andrew is said to have preached in Scythia, Asia Minor, and Greece, where he reportedly suffered crucifixion at the hands of the Roman governor. His chief attribute is the cross, represented since the thirteenth century in the shape of an X (which is the Greek chi, the first letter of *Christos*, or "Messiah"). Oil on canvas, 43¼ x 25¼ inches. Bequest of Stephen C. Clark, 1960, 61.101.8

On a table covered by a green cloth a book lies open under the saint's hands. Though the text was not intended to be legible, the book must be his translation of the Bible, the Vulgate. Wearing ecclesiastical garb of the late sixteenth century, Jerome is represented as a man of great sanctity and powerful intellect.

This same intensity and insight is evident in El Greco's secular portraits. His images of Spanish grandees and ecclesiastics, whom he usually depicted in bust- or half-length, are remarkable for refined severity









*Christ Carrying the Cross*, one of a number of canvases El Greco devoted to this subject, was painted toward the end of the sixteenth century. This episode from the Passion of Christ, so central to the history of Christian art, is mentioned only in the Gospel of John ("And they took Jesus, and led him away. And he bearing his cross went forth into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha." 19:16–17). Images such as this one—in which the pathetic Christ patiently submits to suffering, his eyes raised to heaven in spiritual communion with his Father—found particular favor in Spain during the Counter-Reformation. Oil on canvas, 41 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 31 inches. Signed (in Greek, on the cross above the left hand). Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, 1975.1.145

of presentation and incisive characterization. As a portrait painter, he was influenced by the masterful example of Titian and emulated the dignity, sobriety, and psychological penetration of his style. El Greco's earliest surviving work in this genre is the *Portrait of Giulio Clovio*, painted in Rome about 1570. Following Titian, he presents Clovio in half-length, against a neutral background, with a view through a window at the upper right. The elderly miniaturist proudly displays his most important illuminated book, the Farnese Hours. The portraits of the gentlemen who sat for El Greco in Spain are more austere. The fall of light defines a completely neutral environment; the anecdotal element is excluded. Typically, Spanish men of the period dressed in somber black, relieved only by the stiff white collars that framed their bearded faces, and El Greco saw them as inward-looking and contemplative. A fine example of the type is the *Portrait of a Man* at the Metropolitan (p. 40).

Three portraits—*Vincenzo Anastagi* (Frick Collection, New York), *Cardinal Don Fernando Niño de Guevara*



(Metropolitan Museum), and *Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)—do not conform to the usual format. Anastagi was a military man, and El Greco describes in a straightforward fashion his rather truculent expression and his elaborate costume, half-armor and sword, visored helmet, and green britches trimmed with gold braid. This is one of only two full-



In the catalogue of the first major exhibition of El Greco's works this painting, *Portrait of a Man*, was identified as a self-portrait. There is, however, no firm evidence to support this supposition. There are no other self-portraits with which to compare it, nor are there any heads in the larger canvases that can be definitively shown to represent him. Jorge Manuel Greco listed a "portrait of my father" in the second posthumous inventory of El Greco's property, compiled in 1621, but it is unlikely that it is the present painting.

When the picture was thought to represent El Greco, it was dated about 1600, but it is now believed to have been painted some ten to fifteen years earlier. The canvas once had a fraudulent signature (removed during a cleaning in 1947) and had also been extended; in 1971 it was returned to its original size. Despite its damaged state, the attribution is beyond question. Oil on canvas, 20¾ x 18¾ inches. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1924, 24.197.1

This painting by Titian, now in Munich, is one of a number of state portraits of the emperor Charles V that he did at the imperial court in Augsburg in 1548. El Greco's portrait of Cardinal Guevara, which was painted some fifty years later, is curiously like it, and both depend ultimately from a Raphaelesque prototype. In both works the great power and the elevated rank of the sitter are suggested, but the likenesses are not flattering—evidence, it must be assumed, of truthfulness to life. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. Nr. 632. Photograph: Bayer

length portraits El Greco is known to have painted, and it probably dates from the early or mid-1570s.

The most powerful and perhaps the most influential of El Greco's portraits may be that of Cardinal Niño de Guevara. The same age as El Greco, Guevara was named cardinal of San Martino ai Monti in 1596 and thereafter traveled to Rome; he returned to Spain in 1599, the year he was appointed inquisitor general, and two years later he was named archbishop of Seville, a position he held until his death in 1609. He probably sat





El Greco's portrait of the inquisitor general, Cardinal Don Fernando Niño de Guevara, celebrates not only the officeholder but the office itself. Like the portrait of the emperor Charles V by Titian, it seeks to inspire awe and

obedience in the viewer. Oil on canvas, 67¼ x 42½ inches. Signed (in Greek, on paper at lower center). Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.5







for El Greco in 1600, before he left Toledo for Seville. This portrait traces its descent from a type established by Raphael for his depictions of the popes; the more immediate source, however, would probably have been a work of Titian. The portrait of Guevara is richly descriptive; no detail has escaped the painter's attention: the woodwork, the gold-stamped leather wall hangings, and the brown-and-white tiled floor of the room; the red upholstery, the glistening crimson silk and fine lace, the cardinal's red shoes; his rigid posture, set mouth, and penetrating, demanding eyes. His bejeweled hands—one elegant and passive, the other a clenched fist—are enormously expressive of the power he possessed. (When King Philip III visited Toledo on March 2, 1600, he attended an auto-da-fé at which the cardinal declared one penitent beyond redemption and ordered him taken away and burned.)

In Spain, as in Italy, El Greco numbered among his acquaintances leading thinkers of the time, as well as prominent members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. One of his friends was Hortensio Félix Paravicino, and his portrait of this young, scholarly friar, seated and in three-quarter length, may be dated 1609. Paravicino paid tribute to the painter in his poetry, while El Greco dedicated to him the most subtle and warmly sympathetic of all his portraits.

El Greco lived in Toledo for nearly forty years and incorporated views of the city in a number of his canvases, undeterred by the fact that the themes did not call for such a background. An altarpiece commissioned in 1597 for the chapel of San José shows Saint Joseph and the infant Christ as wayfarers in a landscape, with Toledo in the distance. Much later, toward the end of his career, El Greco included a panoramic view of the city in his mythological canvas *Laocoön*. In another late work the Virgin hovers in the sky above Toledo and displays the chasuble of Saint Ildefonso, cardinal archbishop of the city in the seventh century. Ildefonso had championed the Virgin against heretics, and on the feast

Toledo, a city of great antiquity, is the see of the primate archbishop of Spain and until 1561 was the capital of the Spanish empire. Surrounded on three sides by a deep gorge cut by the river Tagus, Toledo sits on a granite hill and is approached over the bridges of San Martín and Alcántara. To the east, above the Alcántara bridge, is the moorish castle of San Segundo. The Alcázar, an enormous palace remodeled under Charles V, dominates this approach, and the skyline is pierced by the massive spire of the great medieval cathedral. The rugged countryside is dotted with olive trees and cypresses. Those who have traveled in Spain will recognize the castle and the bridge, the spire and the Alcázar, for Toledo looks much as it did centuries ago, but El Greco's *View of Toledo* is more than a record of natural appearances. It is not a panorama, for the painter's approach is not comprehensive but selective. In this canvas the spire of the cathedral, which actually lies at the heart of the town, springs from the steep eastern slope—topographical accuracy has been sacrificed to dramatic effect. Oil on canvas, 47¾ x 42¾ inches. Signed (in Greek, lower right). Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.6











In the *View of Toledo* El Greco combined elements of the real and the fantastic to evoke not only the eerie beauty of the city but also the element of menace inherent in nature. This detail shows that the proportions of the buildings have been distorted to accent their vertical thrust. The city is unnaturally illumined by sharp white light, and the hillside is cloaked in bright acid green.

of the Assumption she appeared to him in the cathedral and presented a chasuble as a token of her favor. There is therefore some thematic justification for this more comprehensive topographical view, in which El Greco also incorporated a map and an explanatory inscription.

The *View of Toledo* in the Metropolitan differs from all of these in that the city is itself the only subject. A cityscape—as distinct from a map or bird’s-eye view—was practically unheard of in the sixteenth century, and it has been proposed that the canvas might have been cut from a larger painting. There is, however, no evidence to support such an assertion. The scene appears to be carefully composed and is perfectly balanced. An altarpiece incorporating this landscape would have been of enormous dimensions, and the signature, which is scaled to the size of the existing canvas, would have to have been much larger and farther from the right and bottom edges of the paint surface. Views of Toledo are listed in two inventories of El Greco’s estate, and clearly the painting in the Metropolitan is such a cityscape, the only one of its kind to have survived.

The *View of Toledo* and the portrait of Cardinal de Guevara came to the Museum in 1929 as part of the bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer. Like other adventurous collectors of the early twentieth century, she and her husband may have recognized El Greco’s sympathetic link with the early moderns. As Meier-Graefe astutely remarked, “In Toledo, in the Prado and in the Escorial it was Renoir and Cézanne who had made the comprehension of El Greco more easy. And now in turn it was El Greco who made the moderns more precious to us.”

## NOTES

The standard English-language source is the monograph by Harold E. Wethey, *El Greco and His School*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962). Among more recent books see José Gudiol, *Domenikos Theotokopoulos: El Greco, 1541–1614*, trans. Kenneth Lyons (New York: Viking Press, 1973), which is copiously illustrated in color, and a brief text by David Davies, *El Greco* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1976). The earliest monograph on El Greco, which was published in 1908, has been revised and updated by the author's daughter: Manuel B. Cossío, *El Greco*, ed. Natalia Cossío de Jiménez (Barcelona: Editorial R.M., 1972). Another useful source is Gianna Manzini and Tiziana Frati, *L'Opera completa del Greco*, *Classici dell'Arte*, no. 35 (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1969).

p. 5 “Here lies the Greek . . .” Quoted in Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, vol. 1 (London: John C. Nimmo, 1891), p. 344.

p. 5 “A certain Domenico Greco . . .” Father Sigüenza, *History of the Order of St. Jerome (Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo)*; Madrid, 1605), quoted in Gudiol, *Domenikos Theotokopoulos*, p. 97.

p. 6 Julius Meier-Graefe, *The Spanish Journey*, trans. J. Holroyd-Reece (London: Jonathan Cape, 1926), pp. 68, 105, 106. On Meier-Graefe and the rediscovery of El Greco see Kenworth Moffett, *Meier-Graefe as Art Critic* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1973), pp. 103–107.

p. 9 “There has arrived . . .” Quoted in Ellis K. Waterhouse, “El Greco's Italian Period,” in *Art Studies: Medieval, Renaissance and Modern*, vol. 8 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930), p. 63.

p. 12 Everett Fahy has fully catalogued the Wrightsman picture, discussing the other versions and copies, in *The Wrightsman Collection*, vol. 5, *Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973), pp. 93–104. Several items may now be added to the bibliography: Augusta Ghidiglia Quintavalle, *La Galleria Nazionale di Parma* (Milan: Amilcare Pizzi, 1965?), text opp. pl. XXV; Tiziana Frati, in *L'Opera completa del Greco*, p. 94, no. 21a, ill.; Natalia Cossío de Jiménez, ed., in Manuel B. Cossío, *El Greco*, p. 325, note 7; Gudiol, *Domenikos Theotokopoulos*, pp. 33–34, 340, no. 17, fig. 23; Terisio Pignatti and Kenneth Donahue, *The Golden Century of Venetian Painting*, exhibition catalogue, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1979), pp. 150–52, ill.

p. 12 On the Council of Trent and its effects on the arts see the standard work, Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trent* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1932). Davies, *El Greco* also comments on the church in Toledo in El Greco's time.

p. 28 Louisine W. Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector* (New York: Privately printed for the family of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1961), pp. 155, 156.

p. 47 Meier-Graefe, pp. 457–58.

All biblical quotations are taken from the Authorized King James Version.

I have profited as always from my consultations with John Pope-Hennessy, chairman of the European Paintings Department; Margaretta Salinger, curator emeritus; and Denys Sutton, who introduced me to *The Spanish Journey*.



