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A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE RECENT
BAROQUE THEORIES

The excellent criticism on articles concerning the Baroque problem in literature by René Wellek, in art by Wolfgang Stechow and in music by William Fleming, published together in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, V (Dec. 1946), pp. 77-121, has found an unusual repercussion in the *Revista de Ideas Estéticas* (Madrid), V (1947), pp. 453-465. The American reviews and their Spanish echo, however, rather offer a picture of the apparent maze of contradictory opinions than a critical separation of the wheat from the chaff. Such a separation seems necessary to make free the path to truly constructive scholarship along the Baroque line.

If we do not scrutinize as to their validity the views of the historians of literature, art, music and general culture with the aim of finding the convincing point of their agreement, if we do not refuse to put the *literati* who strife for original views on the same level with the scholars who responsibly try to find the truth, we certainly will never reach a picture of the Baroque as a sharply circumscribed working basis for further research. Therefore, on the following pages there will be aimed, by way of critical elimination of the extravagant, at the presentation of the organic growth of our present picture of the Baroque. In other words there will be traced the

converging lines of criticism in the whole domain of Baroque scholarship. Thus our essay involves a serious attempt at finding origin and meaning of the Baroque with the aim of coming to a closer solution of the problem than do the articles we have mentioned above. An attempt similar to mine was made by Heinrich Lützeler¹, a survey, however, which only reaches up to the year 1933 and is practically restricted to German Baroque.

If the importance of the concept of the Baroque for literary history were better known S. Griswold Morley could not have written recently: "It is a pity that *baroque* has escaped from the terminology of sculpture and architecture, where it originated and had a definite meaning"². The concept of Baroque on the contrary has not escaped from one domain to another but has, by dint of a normal evolution, become a very meaningful aid for characterizing literature as well as art, music and general culture in Europe between 1580 and 1680. The art historians as pioneers in this field never meant the word for art exclusively but for all the arts and the epochal psychology behind them.

As early as 1887 the historian of architecture Cornelius Gurlitt made the statement that Baroque is a style based by principle on classical Renaissance forms, but leading to a raised, exaggerated form of expression, which has its origin in Italy, particularly Rome, and for which the Company of Jesus (diverting Renaissance paganism) was responsible, a style, finally, which makes life pompous and reveals in all branches of culture an impetuous energy full of selfconsciousness³. One

¹ HEINRICH LÜTZELER, "Der Wandel der Barockauffassung", *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XL (1933), 618-635.

² *Hispanic Review* XV (1947), p. 395.

³ CORNELIUS GURLITT, *Geschichte des Barockstils in Italien*, Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert, 1887, pp. 7-19: Architektur:

Der Begriff Barock steht leidlich fest. Mit ihm benennen wir den Stil, der von antikisierender Basis ausgehend... zu einer gesteigerten, ... übertriebenen Ausdrucksform führte...

Diesen Wandel im Charakter Roms und Italiens zu schaffen, war neben der Inquisition der Jesuitenorden berufen...

Das Leben gestaltete sich prunkender... In allen Gebieten der Kunst wirkte eine oft stürmische, stets selbstbewusste Tatkraft.

year later (1888) Heinrich Wölfflin was able to define these exaggerated expression of energy in a much precise fashion as the transition from severe linear forms to free and picturesque, though heavy, forms revealing a new sentiment of life, visible since Michelangelo and coming to maturity around 1580, e. g. in the poetry of Torquato Tasso. Baroque as a movement of heavy masses appears mostly as a surge upwards which is contrasted by a feeling of being dragged down. Its nerve center is a yearning for the infinite, the sentiment of something awful, powerful and inconceivable, a renunciation of the graspable, a kind of intoxication and desire to get lost in the abysses of the Eternal. This analysis of the psychological background of the visible Baroque forms is Wölfflin's cautious answer to the question, which could possibly be the bridge between Jesuitism and Baroque style: A religious attitude of a terrible seriousness awakening human responsibility, and at ease only with half closed eyes (like the mystics), dreaming of overwhelming grandeur and boundless spaces⁴.

Although the genius Heinrich Wölfflin thus has recognized the essential elements of the Baroque formally and psy-

⁴ HEINRICH WÖLFFLIN, *Renaissance und Barock. Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien*. Bearbeitung und Kommentar von Hans Rose, München: Bruckmann, 1925, pp. 59, 81-85:

Der Übergang vom Strengen zum "Freien und Malerischen"... Nach dem Jahre 1520... stellen sich die Verbote des neuen Stiles ein... Will man für den fertigen Stil ungefähr das Jahr 1580 annehmen, so ist dagegen nichts einzuwenden.

Massigkeit und Bewegung sind die Prinzipien des Barockstils.

Welche Brücke leitet vom Jesuitismus zum Barockstil hinüber?... Gegensatz aufgeregter Bewegung und dumpfen Niederziehens... Michelangelo, Vater des Barock... wegen des fürchterlichen Ernstes, der nur im Formlosen seinen Ausdruck finden konnte. Die Zeitgenossen nannten dies das "terribile"...

Religiöse Selbstbesinnung... Tasso wählt... einen Helden, der der Welt müde ist (Ger. I, 9).

Nerv des Barock... Aufgehen im Unendlichen, Sichauflösen im Gefühl eines Übergewaltigen und Unbegreiflichen... Verzicht auf das Fassbare. Man verlangt nach dem Überwältigenden.

Eine Art von Berauschung... mit Begier stürzt man sich in die Abgründe der Unendlichkeit...

Das halbgeschlossene Auge ist nicht mehr empfänglich für den Reiz der schönen Linie... Man verlangt nach dumpferen Wirkungen: die überwältigende Größe, die unbegrenzte Weite des Raumes.

chologically, there was one element which seemed negligible to Wölfflin, but fundamental to an approach for Alois Riegl in his first lectures on the Baroque in 1892, namely the reaction of the modern public to this kind of art and Riegl said that by the extraordinary elements in this art one feels like in the grasp of something disagreeably unclear, because one sees effects without a sufficiently understood cause. Furthermore he replaced jesuitism as the inspiring element of the Baroque art by the factor of a new world domination by the papacy based on the counterreformation⁵. This latter point, however, brought a certain confusion into the problem of Baroque as creation and Baroque as evolution. Therefore it was quite opportune that in 1897 August Schmarsow overstressed the creative origins of the Baroque long before the official counterreformation as lying in Michelangelo, certainly a religiously interested artist and responsible for this movement in all fields of art, sculpture, painting, architecture and poetry. Schmarsow stated as the quintessence of the mature Baroque style as visible everywhere in Europe the contrast between endeavor and fulfillment, between below and above, outside and inside with all possible modifications in space and time⁶. Schmarsow's formula which so evidently tries to apply the same categories to the artistic expression and to its psychological background appears like summarized in Wilhelm Pinders analysis of 1914 which declares Baroque to be

⁵ ALOIS RIEGL, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*, ed. von Burda und Max Dvořac, Wien, 1908, pp. 3-8.

Was heisst Barockkunst?... Das Ausserordentliche packt uns... wie eine lästige Unklarheit, z. B. eine Figur, die betet und sich dabei in konvulsivischen Bewegungen krümmt... Wir sehen nur eine Wirkung und keine zureichende Ursache...

In der Barockzeit geht die Führung von Florenz auf Rom über... entsprechend der überragenden Bedeutung des Papsttums; die auf der Gegenreformation beruhende Weltherrschaft des Papsttums ist das Leitende.

⁶ AUGUST SCHMARSOW, *Barock und Rokoko*, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1897, pp. 52, 123:

Wer... zu der Einsicht... gekommen ist, die Anfänge des Barockstils lägen bei keinem anderen als Michelangelo..., der darf seinen Ausgangspunkt... nur nehmen beim Bildhauer...

Kontrast zwischen Streben und Erfüllung, zwischen Unten und Oben, Aussen und Innen, und allen ihren Modifikationen in Raum und Zeit...

“an up to then unknown spiritualization with the aim at overcoming matter... and to make appear the finite as the infinite”⁷.

In 1915 Heinrich Wölfflin refined his Baroque theory of 1888 by his famous five principles of arts, reducing, however, for the time being his structural analysis to the distinguishing capacities of the eye and its ways of seeing and reproducing the objects, and here again he opposed the Baroque to its immediately preceding style in Italy, the Renaissance, and contrasted the Baroque painterly view with the linear or plastic view of the Renaissance, depth with plane surface, unity with multiplicity, openness with closeness, unclearness with clearness. Baroque as the style of a painterly view, of perspective and depth, of a unity subduing all multiple elements to one central idea, of an openness which knows no boundaries and of a relative unclearness which avoids details and sharp contours is at the same time a style which does not reveal but conceals its art⁸.

With Wölfflin's *Principles of Art* the Baroque as a stylistic phenomenon has been established definitely and with a wealth of inattackable examples for all the arts of design in all the European countries during the seventeenth century, although the Italian examples remained outstanding. What Wölfflin thus has done for the “form” of the Baroque was done for content, iconography and meaning in Werner Weisbach's book of 1921 on the Baroque as the art of the counter-reformation. Also Weisbach extends his interpretation to all countries, but is compelled to many differentiations which oblige him to make a difference between Italy, Spain, France and Germany. As became evident only later, he did not distinguish sufficiently, however, between the decaying elements in the Italian, the flourishing elements in the Spanish, and the blossoming elements in the French and German Baroque

⁷ H. LÜTZELER, *op cit.*, p. 630: W. PINDER, *Deutscher Barock*, Düsseldorf, 1912, Einleitung.

⁸ HEINRICH WÖLFFLIN, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, München: Bruckmann, 1921, and ERNEST C. HASSOLD, “The Baroque as a basic concept of Art”, *College Art Journal*, VI (1946), 3-28.

at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Leaving the concept of counterreformation in a rather vague definition, he was not so clear as to where the directive forces, the spontaneous reactions and the counteracting resistance elements, if there were such, were at work in developing the style. The Baroque art studied as the expression of the counterreformation is furthermore iconographically limited to religious subject matter and contains as important elements a mysticism which leads to confusion with eroticism, an asceticism which has elements of cruelty and a heroism steeped in naturalistic representation. Weisbach's Baroque theory stresses additionally that the artistic forms themselves followed an immanent law of development and became only furnaces which received cultural ideologies like glowing streams of brass. Baroque thus is an illusionism whose naturalistic features are due to an immanent evolution from the Renaissance and coincide only later with tendencies of Ignatian piety⁹.

It was the tragedy of literary historians, that, at their first participation in discussing the Baroque problem, they started with mixing up those formal, sociological, psychological and metaphysical principles which Wölfflin as well as Weisbach had kept so sharply severed. It was indeed in 1922 that A. Hübscher believed one could transfer all kind of principles on the literary seventeenth century and to oppose it to the sixteenth as the literature of community versus a literature of the individual, of musicality versus plasticity, of boundlessness versus measure, empathy versus evaluation, and mythology versus myth. Hübscher represented "Baroque as the shaping

⁹ WERNER WEISBACH, *Der Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation*, Berlin: Cassirer, 1921, pp. 5,210:

Nun ist Kunst auch eine autonome Potenz, die innerhalb ihrer Kategorie ihren selbständigen, ästhetischen Aufgabekreis hat und einer eigenen immanenten Entwicklung folgt... Die Kunst ist gleichsam ein Gussofen, in dem Kulturelemente und Ideen wie glühende Erzbäche zusammenfliessen...

Der im Barok gipfelnde Illusionismus war das Ergebniss der immanenten naturalistischen Entwicklung in der Kunst... Er traf zusammen mit der naturalistischen und materialistischen Tendenz in der gegenreformatorischen Kirchlichkeit...

of an antithetic sentiment of Life"¹⁰. It must be said at once that all those who used, as Hübscher did, Germanic literatures, particularly German literature, were bound to blunder, because they did not consider the four conditions which the historians of art had considered essential for their theories and which existed only in the south as prerequisites for the Baroque: First a fullfledged Renaissance, as starting point, second *no* reformation, third an all dominating counterreformation, fourth art and literature on an equally high level of perfection. Therefore also Oskar Walzel's attempt¹¹, not to speak of Strich who considers Baroque as a German phenomenon¹², to use Wölfflin's principles for explaining German literature and particularly the structure of Shakespeare's drama without any consideration of cultural preconditions proved a complete failure. It would seem, however, a thing entirely possible to apply Wölfflin's principles, as this master had suggested himself, for instance, to Torquato Tasso. This task was solved by making only very slight modifications of the "principles" by Theophil Spoerri¹³ in the year 1922. One year later, the present writer linked the same Tasso in the details of his expressions to the counterreformatory catholicism¹⁴.

But then came a complication of the whole Baroque problem, again from the history of art. After Italy had been accepted as the country of the origin of the Baroque, now Spain as the country "baroque by predestination" was thrown into the Baroque discussion. This challenge came from S. Sitwell¹⁵

10 A. HÜBSCHER, "Barock als Gestaltung antithetischen Lebensgefühls", *Euphorion*, XXIV (1922), 5-7-562, and 759-803.

11 OSKAR WALZEL, *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. Gehalt und Gestalt im dichterischen Kunstwerk*. Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1923, particularly pp. 312-320, also 325-330.

12 FRITZ STRICH, "Der lyrische Stil des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Abhandlungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte. Festschrift für Franz Munkler* (München, 1916), pp. 21-53.

13 THEOPHIL SPOERRI, *Renaissance und Barock bei Ariost und Tasso. Versuch einer Anwendung Wölfflinscher Kunstbetrachtung*. (Bern: Haupt, 1922).

14 HELMUT HATZFELD, "Dante und Tasso als religiöse Epiker", *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft u. Geistesgeschichte*, I (1923), pp. 230-242.

15 SACHEVERELL SITWELL, *Southern Baroque Art*, London, 1924.

in 1924. There seemed to arise an unsolvable contradiction: If Spain is the predestined Baroque country, how could Baroque, according to Wölfflin, Riegl and Schmarsow, originate in Rome? Did it not rather originate in Spain and when? Was not the *plateresco* covering any artificially introduced Renaissance façade with the Spanish way of ornamentation and arabesques the real baroque, and was not this the very seed for any other so called Baroque, for instance the one which the Spaniards brought in endless variations to the new world, where innumerable Spanish churches in their Baroque style certainly witness an enthusiastically embraced national style and not an Italian adaptation?¹⁶ Sitwell tries also to explain why the Spanish Hapsburg could win Germany for this bastard classicism... by which the later Holy Roman Empire emphasized a dying cause in disproportionate monuments"¹⁷.

In a certain sense José Ortega y Gasset stepped in to support Sitwell's thesis. According to him the Baroque is not only preformed but reaches also its culmination in Spain when this country has got rid of the Italian late Renaissance-Chiaroscuro. The Spanish Baroque contribution is that distance painting where the proud contempt inborn to the Spanish character deigns only to see the essentials on which it puts its eyepupil, whereas the unessential is caught negligently without contour in the "rabillo del ojo". This revolutionary creation of the Baroque, forerunner of impressionism, independent of the subject matter, which may be secular as well as religious, is not due to Michelangelo, not even to El Greco, but to Velázquez. Baroque is the Spanish way of looking at things, "la visión lejana"¹⁸. In the same year 1924, the Munich specialist in Spanish art, Hugo Kehrer, argues that indeed, if the metaphysical is the core of the Baroque, all the more Spain must be its homeland, because the transcendental

¹⁶ SACHEVERELL SITWELL, *Spanish Baroque Art with Buildings in Portugal, Mexico and other Colonies*, London: Duckworth, 1931.

¹⁷ SACHEVERELL SITWELL, *German Baroque Art*, London: Duckworth, 1927, p. 17.

¹⁸ JOSÉ ORTEGA Y GASSET, "El punto de vista en las artes", *Revista de Occi-*

nowhere had ever had such a central position as in Spain¹⁹. Thus for formal and psychological reasons the Baroque interest seems suddenly centered on Spain. But did the Baroque originate there and has the Plateresque anything to do with it? If the Baroque, according to Wilhelm Hausenstein's idea of the same year, only is identical with a paradoxical, appalling and Catholic realism it must not be necessarily Spanish, it may be simply a particularly spiritual art using concrete means²⁰, being possible everywhere. This seems not convincing however. Anyway, Baroque as a Spanish as well as a counter-reformatory phenomenon at this stage, fascinated the literary scholars. It comes to the fore in 1927, first through the Góngora-Renaissance, initiated by Dámaso Alonso, second through the present writer's analysis of the style of the *Don-Quixote* as jesuitic in its ideological and musical-Baroque in

dente, (Febrero 1924), reprinted in *Goethe desde dentro. El punto de vista en las artes*, Madrid: *Revista de Occidente*, 1933, 95-125, particularly 113-114:

Merced al claroscuro... la pintura de bulto persiste tras el velo refulgente de la iluminación...

Para triunfar de este dualismo era menester que sobreviniese algún genial desdeñoso, resuelto a desinteresarse por completo de los cuerpos, a negar sus pretensiones de solidez, a aplastar sus bultos petulantes. Este genial desdeñoso fué Velázquez... Velázquez, con una audacia formidable, ejecuta el gran acto de desdén llamado a suscitar toda una nueva pintura: detiene su pupila. Nada más. En esto consiste la gigantesca revolución...

Todo el cuadro nacerá de un solo acto de visión y las cosas habrán de esforzarse por llegar como puedan hasta el rayo visual. Se trata pues, de una revolución copernicana, pareja a la que promovió en filosofía Descartes... La pupila del artista se erige en centro del Cosmos plástico y en torno a ella vagan las formas de los objetos. Rígido el aparato ocular lanza su rayo visor, recto, sin desviación a uno u otro lado, sin preferencia por cosa alguna. Cuando tropieza con algo, no se fija en ello...

El punto de vista se ha retraído, se ha alejado del objeto, y de la visión próxima hemos pasado a la visión lejana.

¹⁹ H. KEHRER, "Spanischer Barock", *Festschrift H. Wölfflin*, München: H. Schmidt, 124, 233-243: (p. 236).

Ist die Hinneigung zum Metaphysischen überall der Kern des Barock, so hat der Hang zum Übersinnlichen doch nirgends eine so zentrale Stellung eingenommen wie im Spanischen.

²⁰ W. HAUSENSTEIN, *Vom Geist des Barock*, München, 1924, quoted in Lützel, *op. cit.*, p. 629:

Barock bedeutet das Udenkbare: den Fluss mit zwei Mündungen. Das erschreckend Wirkliche, ... Stil und die krasseste Unmittelbarkeit des Gegenständlichen... Der Barock ist ein höchst katholisches Phänomenon.

its symphonic motives²¹, third through Leo Spitzer's definition of Quevedo's style as an inseparable unit of "Asceticism and Worldliness", a very fitting Baroque formula as it would seem at first sight²².

The most curious fact, however, is that in 1927 also the philosopher Carl Gebhart discovered in the protestant Netherlands which were under a long Spanish domination and among the Jewish refugees from Spain the spirit of the Baroque. Therefore the painter Rembrandt and the philosopher Spinoza respectively reveal to Gebhart the spirit of the Baroque. Baroque with them means, to this very serious philosophical scholar, freedom from limited forms, true, substantiality and a boundless potentiality; these values, says Gebhart, certainly had only grown in Spain due to the mystics and were systematized as "the religion of the baroque" by the Jesuits²³. After Gebhart's argumentation there can be left no doubt that the spirit of the Baroque has been shifted back definitely from Italy to Spain as responsible for its origin. This becomes evident also from the History of Italian Baroque painting by Nicolaus Pevsner, which appeared one year later (1928) and where he makes the statement that Baroque is the abandonment of the Italian harmony of life, organic beauty, and this-worldliness to the advantage of a desire for the other world and an ideal of a beauty not bound to the human body, an ideal pursued with a fanatical energy, not "commanded", but expressing the true feeling of the people, a feeling, however,

21 HELMUT HATZFELD, *Don Quijote als Wortkunstwerk*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1927.

22 LEO SPITZER, "Die Kunst Quevedos in seinem Buscón", *Archivum Romanicum*, XI (1927), 511-580.

23 CARL GEBHARDT, "Rembrandt und Spinoza. Stilgeschichtliche Betrachtungen zum Barockproblem", *Kant Studien*, XXXII (1927), 11-181, particularly 120-179: Die Unendlichkeit des Barock erscheint in den drei Kategorien der Entformtheit, der Substantialität und der Potentialität...

In Wahrheit... bedeutet Gegenreformation... eine ganz ursprüngliche Bewegung, ein letztes Neuerleben des Christentums... Mit der Unendlichkeit sich zu vereinen wird die religiöse Sehnsucht des Barock..., Versuch der Lösung..., so wie ihn die spanische Mystik vorgezeichnet, der Jesuitismus systematisiert hat... Des Hl. Ignatius *exercitia spiritualia* haben solchergestalt den Weg der religiösen Erfüllung gewiesen... Die Unendlichkeitssehnsucht der Gegenreformation als der Religion des Barock überwindet... in Ekstase den Abgrund der Transzendenz.

not compatible with the national genius of Italy, one of the reasons why Italy does not produce any more great painters during the seventeenth, the Baroque century. Pevsner even adds that Baroque in Italy shows itself fertile only there, where Spanish influence is traceable²⁴. Otto Grautoff who treats the *Spanish* Baroque explains it as the expression of restlessness towards God, protest against paganism, pleasure in distorted appearances, a Quijotesque *vizlumbrar* and transformation of the real into the irrational, eternal traits of Spain, for which we need not even a counterreformation as explanation²⁵.

This problem of the Baroque as an eternal Spanish phenomenon, without therewith explaining as yet the origin of

²⁴ NICOLAUS PEVSNER, *Barockmalerei in den Romanischen Ländern*, Wildpark-Potsdam: A. V. Athenaeon, 1928; I: *Die Italienische Malerei vom Ende der Renaissance bis zum ausgehenden Rokoko*, pp. 3, 5, 107:

Die Aufgabe eines auf das Diesseits, auf die Harmonie des Lebens und die organische Schönheit der Form gerichteten Ideals zugunsten der Sehnsucht nach dem Jenseits und eines Ideals entkörperlichter Schönheit...

Mit der italienischen Nationalveranlagung liess er (der Barock) sich keinesfalls in seiner ganzen umfassenden Grösse vereinen. Sie war stets auf das... Greifbare, Endliche, auf plastische, nicht auf malerische Ideale gerichtet gewesen. So hat Italien im reifen 17. Jahrhundert... keinen Maler (von Rang) geboren...

Die fruchtbarsten Schulen werden... das mit Spanien verbundene Neapel und das der nordischen Kunst verwandtere Genua, das später von Venedig abgelöst wird. Und selbst hier ist die Entwicklung ohne die Einflüsse des Spaniers Ribera und der Flamen Rubens und van Dyck nicht vorstellbar.

²⁵ OTTO GRAUTOFF, "Die Malerei im Barockzeitalter in Frankreich und Spanien", in Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 1928, pp. 219-222:

Nach spanischer Auffassung soll und muss in jedem Kunstwerk die Unruhe zu Gott sichtbar werden; sonst ist es im erhabensten Sinne würdelos...

Protest gegen den alles glättenden und verklärenden Geist der heidnischen Renaissance Italiens, durch den der *estilo ornamentado* und das expressive Verlangen der Spanier unterbunden werden sollte.

Die spanische Ironie ist von schwer vorstellbarer Wildheit und Tiefe. Mit welcher Freude geniesst sie es, wenn ihr mitten durch die perspektivischen Entstellungen und Fernbilder, in denen sie ihr Spiel treibt, die Welt entwischt.

Plastiken aus den verschiedenen Perioden wirken wie ältere oder jüngere Geschwister aus gleichem Seelenklima.

Der Spanier, dessen Augen geschärfter und sinnlich reizbarer sind als die des Nordländers, braucht als Ausgangspunkt übersinnlicher Erhebung die unmittelbare Erscheinung der Dinglichkeit. So liegen einerseits in der alles abtastenden Augensinnlichkeit der Spanier, anderseits in der tiefen religiösen Intensität die aus der Betrachtung der Realität eine Irrationalität ableitet, in der sich alles Menschl-

the historical Baroque, which still could be the creation of Michelangelo, has also been seen in 1928 by a literary historian, Elisha K. Kane. But he decidedly identifies Baroque simply with conceptism as a tendency in art "which sacrifices fidelity in objective form in order to secure novelty and surprise in expression. . . , which signifies a surcharging of emotion". This Baroque, he says, has its ancestors in Lucan's hyperbole, in the whole silver latinity and can be followed through Alfonso X, Juan de Mena, J. Ruiz, the *Celestina*, Juan de Padilla up to the twin art of Góngora and El Greco "pruned and clipped"²⁶. Kane can not incorporate the great representatives of Spanish Baroque, Cervantes and Velázquez into his system, can not, by dropping the implications of the counterreformation, time back the Baroque to one genuine Spanish source and does not further the question by separating the Spanish aspect entirely from the European one. He rather joins Benedetto Croce, who starting from the Italian decadents like Marini and his own anticlericalism can only see Baroque as bad taste and lack of ideas²⁷.

Around 1928 the Baroque interest was shifted to France. It was something new, indeed, that Eugenio d'Ors, due to certain conversations he had with Frenchmen and Germans during the discussions on European civilization in Pontigny, tried to include France into the Baroque and saw it as the art expressive of absolutism and triumphant monarchy. He coined for this problem the excellent symbol "Cúpula y Monarquía"²⁸. The same year 1928 brought two contributions of Romance scholars aiming at discovering also a literary Bar-

che vergöttlicht, die seelischen Grundlagen des spanischen Barock... Er (der Spanier) sieht die Erscheinungsformen wie Don Quijote die Windmühlen, steigert sie, wie jener die Windmühlen zu Gespenstergiganten, kraft seiner metaphysischen Wesenszüge ins Grosse, Überirdische, Allgemeingöttliche.

²⁶ ELISHA K. KANE, *Gongorism and the Golden Age*, Chapel Hill: NCUP, 1928, pp. 84-97, 213-214, 252.

²⁷ BENEDETTO CROCE, *Storia della età barocca in Italia*, Bari: Laterza, 1929. earlier in *Der Begriff des Barock. Die Gegenreformation. Zwei Essays*, Zürich, 1925.

²⁸ EUGENIO D'ORS, *Las ideas y las formas*, Madrid: Páez, 1928, chapter II: *Cúpula y Monarquía*, pp. 41-94, and chapter IV: *Estructuras Barrocas*, pp. 145-177.

oque in France. The one attempt by Friedrich Schürr was a failure because he confused the exuberant flamboyant forms of Rabelais with Baroque. He neglected the cultural background and the problem of the ambivalence of all forms of expression²⁹, to which Karl Viëtor just had drawn the attention of scholars³⁰. The other investigator, avoiding still for the French the expression Baroque, Leo Spitzer came nevertheless close to the discovery that French Classicism actually is nothing else, but a mitigated Baroque³¹. He called it erroneously with André Gide "Romantisme dompté". But this French classic mitigation certainly was a formal tuning down of the European Baroque, although in essence and spirit of the same substance as the more vigorous expression of religious and metaphysical ideas in Italy and Spain. This point was practically proved by the present author in 1929³². Later in 1931, Spitzer revealed that also Erich Auerbach in a lecture given in 1929 had called Racine baroque. From then on it was at least possible to link France together with the other Romance countries in a common European Catholic epoch style, in which, no doubt, also Austria and Bavaria as southern Germanic countries took part. Therefore Martin Winkler could list in 1929 as the most important feature of the Baroque the reaction of the south closely bound to Rome against the reformatory and revolutionary tendencies of the North³³. And still in the same year Dagobert Frey had an insight

²⁹ FRIEDRICH SCHÜRR, *Barock, Klassizismus und Rokoko in der französischen Literatur. Eine prinzipielle Stilbetrachtung*, Leipzig, 1928.

³⁰ KARL VIËTOR, *Probleme der deutschen Barockliteratur*, Leipzig, 1928.

³¹ LEO SPITZER, "Die klassische Dämpfung in Racines Stil", *Archivum Romanicum*, XII (1928), pp. 361-472, also in *Romanische Stil- u. Literaturstudien*, Marburg, 1931, vol. I, 135-268.

³² HELMUT HATZFELD, "Der Barockstil der religiösen klassischen Lyrik in Frankreich", *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, IV (1929), 1-29.

³³ MARTIN WINKLER, "Der Mensch des Barock", *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 216 (Jan.-Juni, 1929), pp. 297-312, p. 299:

Reaktion des stärker an Rom gebundenen Südens gegen die Befreiungsbewegungen des Nordens ist der Grundzug des Barock.

Kräftiger denn je erwacht noch einmal die alte Kraft in den von römischer Kultur und römischem Glauben durchdrungenen Teilen Europas.

which really links Tintoretto and El Greco, with Pascal and Racine. He declared Baroque to be a mode of perception and conception which penetrates the simultaneous with the successive, present no less in the unfinished plots of French tragedy than, for example, on Tintoretto's "Presentation of the Virgin". In both cases "we sense an infinite distance beyond, a mysterious invisible world"³⁴.

Despite all these new "rapprochements", however, the hispanic scholars did not give up their impression, that Baroque must be something genuinely Spanish. Ludwig Pfandl believed the Baroque could not be anything else but the expression of *desengaño* after an epoch of cultural and political greatness, a style by which the soul of Spain exaggerates its inborn contrasts of naturalism and illusionism³⁵. Ferruccio Blasi found that Baroque, particularly in Spain is simply the undigested and popularized Italian Renaissance³⁶. These theories became pale in front of Emile Mâle's discovery of the subjective-visionary character of the religious Baroque painting, where the sacred object is inseparable from and even negligible in front of the emotion of the Saint, who practically creates it. Therefore in a radical change of sacred concepts the visionary saint is rather the subject matter, than the vision³⁷. Nothing seems more Spanish, indeed, than this painted mysticism of which Zurbarán is capable to express every phase from recollection to "dark night" and ecstasy. But the same method, though mitigated again, appears also in the French Jansenistic painter Philippe de Champaigne. With

³⁴ DAGOBERT FREY, *Gotik und Renaissance*, Augsburg: Filser, 1929, p. 634, 117: Nicht Analogien zwischen einzelnen Kulturerscheinungen, sondern die geistige Entwicklungsursache ermitteln.

Durchdringung des Simultanen mit dem Sukzessiven... Quoted in Ernest C. Hassold, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³⁵ LUDWIG PFANDL, *Geschichte der spanischen Nationalliteratur in ihrer Blütezeit*, Freiburg i. Breisgau: Herder, 1929, pp. 215.

Der spanische Barock ist die Zeit, in der die spanische Psyche in eine gewisse Übersteigerung der ihr eigenen Gegensätze gerät, weil ihre Lebensbedingungen sich radikal geändert haben, weil ihr Nährboden... aus den Fugen zu gehen drohte.

³⁶ FERRUCCIO BLASI, *Dal Classicismo al Secentismo in Ispagna*, Roma, 1929.

³⁷ E. MÂLE, *L'art religieux après le concile de Trente*, Paris: Colin, 1932, p. 186.

Mâle's key one can even split the Baroque into a more visionary naturalistic and a properly mystic part, as was explained by P. Stubbe³⁸. Both ways can unmistakably be followed back to their common source, ecstatic Spain. Also Paul Hankamer's formula of 1935 chosen for the German Baroque: "A tension between life and spirit with two ways of escape: Ascetical denial of life or irony"³⁹, makes everybody think at once of Santa Teresa and Cervantes respectively.

Unfortunately the Hispanic literary scholars complicated the problem considerably, because they had embarked meanwhile on a distinction between Renaissance and Baroque in Spain herself, stressing a genuine hispanic Renaissance quite different from the Italian, as assuming pre-reform features in the first half of the sixteenth century. This Erasmian Renaissance was considered as a movement superior to the Baroque of the second half, and continued into the seventeenth century. As stems from the history of present Spanish Renaissance scholarship in the last thirty years, traced masterly by Otis H. Green⁴⁰, this distinction between the Erasmian humanism and the Ignatian Counterreformation in Spain does not admit so easily a parallel conclusion of a Renaissance and a Baroque covering exactly these distinctions. Hispanists speaking of Renaissance and Baroque in this sense are all the more biased by the implications of gongorism, culteranism and conceptism, which seem to reflect beautifully the lack of ideas during the counterreformation. In truth, these extreme "baroquisms" simply hinder to focuss the attention on authors free from this slant during the same period. But working according to the line just sketched and criticized, Luis Rosales in 1936 tried to identify Baroque as "substantivación de las formas" versus Renaissance as "substantivación de la realidad"⁴¹. It is furthermore on the basis of an exaggerated idea

³⁸ P. STUBBE, *Naturalistiek of Mystiek*, Diss. Louvain, 1933.

³⁹ PAUL HANKAMER, *Deutsche Gegenreformation und deutscher Barock in der Dichtung*, Stuttgart, 1935.

⁴⁰ OTIS H. GREEN, "A Critical Survey of Scholarship in the Field of Spanish Renaissance Literature 1914-44", *Studies in Philology*, XLIV (1947), pp. 288-264.

⁴¹ LUIS ROSALES, "La figuración y la voluntad de morir en la poesía española", *Cruz y Raya*, 38 (1936), 67-98.

of the importance of the Italian elements in the so called Spanish Renaissance that in the same year Joaquín de Entrambasaguas defined the Baroque as "la plena transformación de toda la estética del Renacimiento, importada a España"⁴². Exactly the same, on a comparative basis, is meant when Américo Castro in 1935 thinks of the Baroque as of an immature period between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, a period which by reactionary dreams hinders the quicker evolution from the former to the latter, and finds a much more fertile soil in Spain than in France: "Lo barroco sería pues, junto al Renacimiento logrado... el inmaturo o malogrado, y que pugna, gesticulante, con nerviosismo irrefrenable por aproximarse a un paraíso que le anunciaron y juzga perdido"⁴³.

After such attempts at defining the Baroque in general Herbert Cysarz found in 1936 a formula which would cover nothing better than the Spanish Baroque from Cervantes to Calderón, namely the vision of a world broken through a prisma of exchangeable, metaphorical aspects which guarantee its unity in God, and another one which reminds one of the very beginnings of the Baroque: The fusion of the preoccupation of the faith with the ephemeral happiness of shepherd fiction⁴⁴. It is worth while mentioning that a Frenchman called Cysarz' essay a stepping stone to a solution of the Baroque problem⁴⁵. But a real Baroque theory worthy of this name is furnished only in 1937 by Marcel Bataillon⁴⁶. His central formula is: The painful childbirth of an orthodoxy be-

⁴² JOAQUÍN DE ENTRAMBASAGUAS, *Lope de Vega símbolo del temperamento estético español*, Murcia, 1936, p. 20.

⁴³ AMÉRICO CASTRO, "Las complicaciones del arte barroco", *Tierra Firme*, I (1935), pp. 161-168.

⁴⁴ HERBERT CYSARZ, *Deutsches Barock in der Lyrik*, Leipzig, 1936.

⁴⁵ A. MORET, "Vers une solution du problème du baroque", *Revue Germanique*, 28 (1937), pp. 373-377.

⁴⁶ MARCEL BATAILLON, *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, Paris: Droz, 1937, pp. 83, 539, 543, 740, 743-759, 795, 814-817:

L'Espagne était... un de ces pays étranges où la chrétienté entre en contact avec les sémites.

...l'Espagne se fera le champion de l'orthodoxie tridentine définitivement formulée. Elle se glorifiera de plus en plus de la part prise par elle à son élaboration.

tween 1556 and 1563. In this European theory, Spain is subject and object. It is subject in so far as this country where christianity was in contact with the semites for centuries does not absorb the Italian Renaissance paganism, but rather a northern kind of pietism. This "Erasmism" tries to hold an instable equilibrium between northern Protestantism and a paganized Renaissance. But the Roman inquisition since 1550 has spread from Italy to the Spanish territories of Naples and then, encouraged the Spanish national inquisition. The Spanish religious élan tries to outdo Rome to the same degree under

tion. Le rôle d'un Laínez dans le débat sur la justification sera complaisamment mis en lumière.

Parmi les livres qui ont préparé la restauration dogmatique de Trente, il n'en est peut-être pas de plus répandu que le traité du franciscain Fr. Alonso de Castro *Adversus omnes haereses*... ouvrage classique...

"Hubo en España desde... todos los tiempos acaso, un español ampuloso, hablistán y parabolano (Valdés) y otro conocido por lo sobrio, lo claro y lo veraz que se manifiesta". (J. Moreno Villa, introducción de J. de Valdés, *Diálogo de lengua*. Biblioteca Calleja, Madrid, 1919, p. 13).

Entre 1556... et 1563... l'Espagne change très vite, et très profondément de climat spirituel. Ce serait une grave erreur d'expliquer cette métamorphose par l'avènement de Philippe II, champion de la Contre-réforme...

Mais... l'Europe entière est arrivée à un de ces moments critiques où un équilibre instable se rompt...

Le rêve irénique d'une conciliation... perd brusquement le support temporel.

L'inquisition romaine, dès le temps de Jules III, avait entrepris la répression de l'hérésie en terre Italienne: elle avait même pris pied dans le royaume espagnol de Naples, où le valdésianisme était persécuté. Avec Paul IV, le plus inflexible des inquisiteurs monte sur le trône pontifical.

Dans le zèle nouveau avec lequel l'Inquisition espagnole va traquer l'hérésie, l'exemple romain a sa part... Dououreux enfantement d'une orthodoxie plutôt que bataille d'une orthodoxie tout armée contre le luthéranisme.

(Les) Exercices... étaient... complétés par ces *Quelques règles* où Ignace de Loyola dès 1548 avait fait tenir par avance le memento de l'orthodoxie tridentine.

L'humanisme chrétien des érasmistes... avait volontiers incliné à la critique des textes, à l'examen des traditions de l'Eglise et avait fait de la philosophie païenne une sorte d'introduction au plus profond christianisme... Cet humanisme de plus en plus suspect... était de plus en plus supplanté par un autre humanisme dont les Jésuites étaient les grands maîtres: un humanisme de tout repos, fondé sur l'étude des poètes et des orateurs latins. Leur enseignement visait surtout à orner l'esprit, à l'initier au bien-dire, ... à un moralisme tempéré qui ne prenait plus ombrage des fables païennes...

Quevedo... a associé à l'humanisme dévot de Saint François de Sales, le stoïcisme chrétien de Juste Lipse, et en même temps, il a incarné l'esprit satirique le plus virulent.

Philip II as it tried to teach the popes Catholicism under Charles V. Saint Ignatius, once suspected himself as an illuminist creating "Inñiginismo" had not failed to furnish finally an instrument of devotedness and radical obedience to the Pope which anticipated everything for which the Council of Trent, prepared and worked out preponderantly by Spanish theologians, will stand. And after Trent the pre-tridentine Erasmian Renaissance position and the post-tridentine Ignatian Baroque position or the cultural styles Charles V and Philip II become pretty clear: Philological vital humanism versus an oratorical varnish humanism, an attitude taking classical paganism seriously as a providential introduction to Christianity versus an attitude of considering the classics as a pleasant school of inoffensive fables to teach a natural moderate moral for people in the world, and consequently "lo sobrio, lo claro y lo veraz" versus "lo ampuloso, hablistán y parabolano". The Baroque devout humanism combined with a stoic attitude often seems to show none the less a moderate criticism compatible with irony and even satire. Bataillon's approach to the Baroque is practically as negative as that of all the Frenchmen like Baldensperger, Peyre and others. Also Américo Castro has to be mentioned in this connexion for snatching Cervantes from the Baroque as not fitting into his Baroque formula: "la disminución de aquella *dignitas hominis* del Renacimiento"⁴⁷. Bataillon and Castro as rationalists cannot conceive of values of a culture, which does not admit that human reason alone can solve all the problems of life and that a collective metaphysical turn of the spirit of a nation is rather a spontaneous than a dictated phenomenon. Furthermore they neglect the style problems and the link to the arts entirely.

The negative attitude towards the Spanish Baroque created by Pfandl, Castro and Bataillon was reechoed, exaggerated and distorted to pamphletary proportions by Guillermo

⁴⁷ AMÉRICO CASTRO, "El Don Juan de Tirso y el de Molière como personajes barrocos", *Hommage à Ernest Martinenche*, Paris, 1937, pp. 93-111, quote from p. 99.

Díaz-Plaja in 1940. According to this writer who seems to take for granted that there is no Baroque outside Spain and therefore considers Spain only in his theory, Baroque is “la nostalgia de una edad heroica” and — in opposition to Castro and Bataillon — exactly “el triunfo del intelectual”, an intellectuality, of course, which is concerned with witty analysis, by which not only Quevedo but also Cervantes “ve ya las armas ‘desde las letras’”. Baroque in opposition to what all the other critics have said, is for Díaz-Plaja individualistic, because there exists “no donación absoluta de lo individual a lo colectivo”. The possible reason? The same Jewish blood of the *marranos* which Castro and Bataillon had made responsible for the Renaissance is now responsible for the Baroque, because only “el pueblo de teólogos y de usureros” can produce a civilization of the “exaltación de lo infinito y sabotaje de lo real”. Now “sensualidad” replaces “el idealismo neoplatónico” and an allegedly new principle is reigning: “la hermosura en lo horrible”⁴⁸.

Here Díaz-Plaja touched on something which was actually discussed in Menéndez y Pelayo’s *Historia de las ideas estéticas*, namely the fundamental difference between the occidental and the oriental concept of beauty. This consideration and the overemphasis of all the just reviewed authors on the importance of Spain for the Baroque justified the present writer in a lecture delivered at the University of Brussels in March 1940 to the following theory: Not the counterreformation, but Spain as such is in the first line responsible for the historical Baroque in Europe as it is responsible for the counterreformation itself, Jesuitism as well as Trent. There was an eternal Baroque taste in Spain preferring the odd and the complicated and the divine to the smooth and the beautiful and the worldly. This taste resisted the Greco-Roman classical tendencies of the Italian Renaissance and modifying them *a la española*, the Spaniards propagated this modified Renaissance taste in Italy. Thus the historical Baroque was created.

⁴⁸ GUILLERMO DÍAZ-PLAJA, *El espíritu del Barroco. Tres interpretaciones*. Barcelona: Apolo, 1940, pp. 17, 27, 32, 37, 60, 68, 69, 93, 103, 110.

This historical Baroque now spread to France, Germany and England, and finally returned to Spain herself where its tendencies were overdone in such phenomena of exuberance as are known by the names of *conceptismo* and *churriguerismo*. Spain knew also to mitigate this style in artists like Cervantes and Velázquez. This mitigation was worked out by principle in France. If Spain failed to do the same along the whole line it seems that its traditional oriental and Arabic taste is responsible for it. In other words, the origin and the exaggeration of the Baroque in Spain must have a connection with a Mozarabic psyche which at an earlier stage created the *mu-déjar* art and the *aljamiado* literature⁴⁹.

To my agreeable surprise this theory of the "eternal" Spanish Baroque explained as an Arabic heritage, victorious at a moment of history over the pure occidental Italian Renaissance and producing the historical Baroque, which I tried to make plausible for literature; became independently also the new view point of Werner Weisbach for art and induced him in 1941 to modify his earlier counterreformation-theory in his London lectures on the Spanish Baroque art⁵⁰.

If the eternal contrast between occidental reason and oriental wisdom never therefore is solved in Spain by a bare rationalism nor by a soulless fideism, the formula with which Castro tries to label Cervantes as an unsincere rather than as a typically Spanish author turns out as one of the most to the

⁴⁹ HELMUT HATZFELD, "El predominio del espíritu español en la literatura europea del siglo XVII", *Revista de Filología Hispánica*. III (1941). 9-23.

⁵⁰ WERNER WEISBACH, *Spanish Baroque Art. Three lectures delivered at the University of London*, Cambridge U. Press, 1941, pp. 4-7:

Long association and intercourse with the Moors left deep traces in Spanish culture, and there is striking evidence of this association in Spanish art. Right into the sixteenth century we find echoes of Islamic decorative motives...

Just at the time when the Renaissance movement was beginning, after the conquest of Granada, ... attention was again strongly directed towards Islamic forms, and a desire for Oriental forms became extensive.

(Therefore) Baroque art has for Spain an especial importance in so far as there is reflected in it something intrinsically national and Spanish..., borrowed material was creatively adapted to the new conditions, and so translated into the idiom of the country.

Counter-Reformation and Absolutism found their expressive symbols in the creations of this Baroque style.

point Baroque formulas: "Contraste entre la audacia irónica y la untuosidad piadosa"⁵¹. And it is indeed significant that the Jesuits P. H. Villoslada and P. Rafael María Hornedo accept the Baroque analysis made by Bataillon and Castro, only giving it a positive value. Thus to P. G. Villoslada *barroco* is the Spanish way of getting rid of the "Humanismo erasmiano"⁵² and P. R. M. Hornedo says indeed that the vital element of the Baroque are the spiritual exercises, whereas "para los jesuitas el humanismo es puro valor formal y literario" and the process which leads from the Renaissance to the Baroque is the necessary Spanish way of giving again a symbolic and transcendental meaning to the world to which the Renaissance had only left the meaningless appearance. In this sense the Baroque could be defined as "una desvirtualización de lo simbolizado" and he adds polemizing against Díaz-Plaja — that in this process there is not implied either *letras* versus *armas*, or *nostalgia de una edad heroica*⁵³. Also Joaquín de Entrambasaguas, not at ease with Erasmus, opposes the Baroque *humanismo cerebral* to the resurgent *humanismo afectivo* or *epicureísmo espiritual*, aspects representing both⁵⁴ *rasgos inquietadoramente . . . seguros para el mundo católico*.

If one tunes down the Baroque problem to the problem of the end of the true humanism, in the sense just sketched, things shape up differently. For Giuseppe Toffanin those who break up the Greco-Roman-Catholic unity of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are less the Jesuits than scholars like Bacon and Giordano Bruno, Vesal and Galileo who are opposed to everything which is not experimental and those constructors of the fundamental incompatibility between the classical tradition and Christianity like Savonarola and Pascal.

⁵¹ AMÉRICO CASTRO, "Los Prólogos al Quijote", *Revista de Filología Hispánica*, III (1941), p. 337.

⁵² P. G. VILLOSLADA, "Humanismo y Contrarreforma", *Razón y Fé*, 121 (1940), p. 23.

⁵³ P. RAFAEL MARÍA DE HORNEDO, "¿Hacia una desvaloración del barroco?", *Razón y Fé*, 125 (1942), 47-60, 361-374, 545-558, and 126 (1942), 37-52, 54, 58, 59, 373.

⁵⁴ JOAQUÍN DE ENTRAMBASAGUAS, *El paisaje inexistente*, Castellón de la Plana, 1933.

But even with this shifting of the responsibilities Toffanin's Baroque formula would not be different from the Hispanic one. "L'esultante spiritualismo umanistico muore: la fede s'accorge che non ha bisogno di esso"⁵⁵. Toffanin therefore has another purely literary distinction between Renaissance and Baroque: *classico* for the Renaissance and *classicistico* for the Baroque. With this Italian scheme he would see everything between Tasso and Racine which seem to him spoiled by the interpretation and adjustment of the Aristotelian Poetics and the spirit of the counterreformation. In the explanation how this came to pass Toffanin's theory is in the sharpest parallel to Weisbach's: The Renaissance achievements of the Humanism were worn out and a formalistic interpretation of Aristotle's poetics gave it new life. Aristotle's catharsis explained as a means to fight the passions was an opportune interpretation to challenge the counterreformation to use poetry and poetic theory as a means of moral propaganda⁵⁶.

At last a Spanish historian of art, Enrique Lafuente Ferrari⁵⁷ interfered in the talk of the historians of ideas; he really makes as the French would say a *mise au point* of the Spanish Baroque and of the Baroque in general. First, he regrets that with the classical Greco-Roman norms in mind neither the art historians Ponz, Llaguno and Ceán nor the great Menéndez y Pelayo were capable to understand the meaning of the Baroque. Second, he stresses the methodological point, that it is inadmissible in defining the style of an epoch to do so on a selective basis, and by separating the arts: "la inconsecuencia en admirar a Gracián y a Calderón, tolerar la pintura 'imitativa'... y condenar la arquitectura de Cano o de Churriguera". Third, and that is a new viewpoint, Lafuente Ferrari does not believe at all that the Italian Renaissance is

⁵⁵ GIUSEPPE TOFFANIN, *Storia dell'Umanesimo*, Bologna: Zanichelli, 1943, p. 248.

⁵⁶ GIUSEPPE TOFFANIN, *Il Tasso e l'Età che fu sua*, Napoli: Libreria scientifica, s. d. (1945?), p. 63:

Il formalismo era venuto su... dalla stanchezza dell'Umanesimo in tutta spontaneità, come una forma di degenerazione, e il moralismo cattolico vi s'era abbarbicato...

⁵⁷ E. LAFUENTE FERRARI, "La interpretación del barroco y sus valores espa-

the normal expression of the occidental art. It rather interrupted the Gothic art which was this expression, in an artificial way, and the Baroque tries to take up those ties again which the Renaissance had cut, without therefore renouncing the acquisitions of the Renaissance:

El barroco... no fué un echarse a perder del arte clásico, sino la espontánea reacción del espíritu occidental que trata de reanudar la continuidad de su propio devenir.

Fourth, he accounts for the successive coming to importance of the different countries:

Este gran arte barroco y su iconografía emanan de Roma... España es la primera en la lucha... aliada a Austria y a los católicos alemanes... La participación artística de Francia en el barroco es muy importante a partir de Luis XIV.

Fifth, he puts aright the slogan of Baroque as art of the counterreformation with the formula of Baroque as "la evidencia de lo sobrenatural". Sixth, he expands on this formula in a sharp ideological parallelism between the "occidental-Christian" versus the "classical-pagan" art forms and their psychology, a parallelism which could not be formulated in a more convincing way:

Esta nueva sensibilidad deja de lado el artificial mundo platónico de los humanistas para plantearse de nuevo los eternos y angustiosos problemas del hombre y, en primer lugar, los de su salvación, su responsabilidad y su miseria... por su dramática intuición de lo concreto humano.

Seventh, he modifies the spirit of the Baroque as "emociones y vivencias religiosas" which, nevertheless, must not necessarily materialize in religious Catholic topics, but may do so in any problem vibrating of the Eternal in man. This

ñoles", *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, VII (1942), pp. 13-66, reprinted as ENRIQUE LAFUENTE FERRARI, *Ensayo preliminar de Werner Weisbach, El Barroco, arte de la contrarreforma*, Madrid: Calpe, 1942, pp. 16-31, 33-36, 46.

is the dignity which Lafuente has to oppose to Castro's "dignity" of the Renaissance man:

Con temas devotos y laicos... el cristianismo... en el ardiente catolicismo de la contrareforma ha servido... para expresar... esa ansia de eternidad y de salvación, esa idea de la dignidad del hombre... ante lo absoluto... el ansia de inmortalidad.

Eighth, Lafuente Ferrari stresses the point that in the great masters this highest tension of the soul against all the expectations of those who are fishing from the outset for gongorismos and churriguerismos, is always expressed (siempre en los grandes maestros) "con una emoción contenida y una sobriedad concentrada". His ninth and last point is that *the* inspirator of the whole contrareformatory Baroque is San Ignacio de Loyola:

El arte y la devoción de la Contrareforma reciben del fundador de la Compañía un impulso perfectamente claro, seguido por su época... con fidelidad y consecuencia admirables.

With Lafuente Ferrari's well balanced statements the French practically were invited again to reconsider their classical literature of the Louis XIV epoch as their Baroque moment, an enterprise prepared by Spitzer, Auerbach and the present writer, also by the Dane Valdemar Vedel and Gerhard Rohlf's⁵⁸. French writers continue to think that *baroque* must consist in "l'excès dans la décoration verbale", "le surnaturel païen", "le chrétien magique", "les passions violentes", "les caractères extravagants". Raymond Lebègue however has made some concessions which seem the turning point in France in 1942.

"Il faut réagir", says Lebègue, "contre l'incuriosité des français à l'égard de l'esprit baroque. Elle est regrettable; car ils ignorent les travaux qui ont été faits à l'étranger sur la littérature baroque... Est baroque ce qui est irrationnel..., le goût... du mystère et du surnaturel, et enfin l'élan émotif

⁵⁸ GERHARD ROHLFS, "Racines Mithridate als Beispiel höfischer Barockdichtung", *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 166 (1936), pp. 200-212.

et passionnel... Ce que Boileau dira de la *comedia* espagnole... se vérifie aussi chez nous... Il y a du mystère dans l'âme de l'homme. Ces moralistes du XVII^e siècle, qui analysent minutieusement le cœur humain, s'arrêtent devant l'inexplicable *je ne sais quoi*... En France, l'art baroque a été moins luxuriant que dans les autres pays catholiques... Mais l'esprit baroque a mis sa marque sur une quantité de drames français; des poètes de talent et même de génie... ont composé des pièces qui appartiennent indéniablement au théâtre baroque. C'est là une vérité qu'il faut rappeler aux historiens français de notre littérature... Il n'y a pas eu de fossé entre le Baroque et le Classicisme... Sous le règne... du classicisme, le goût pour certains caractères du Baroque persista"⁵⁹.

Lebègue making not the slightest objections to a Corneille baroque, still, however, would be inclined to be opposed to a Racine baroque. But his view point would suppose a Classicism as a new style between Baroque and Rococo, which is unthinkable. Lebègue can not see as yet that "Classicisms" are of all centuries and are artificial regulations of the drift of styles, therefore we have a renascent, a baroque, an enlightened and a romantic Classicism, the first being of Italian, the second of French, the third of English, the fourth of German coinage. Marcel Raymond, on the other hand, unfortunately still in 1944 tries to get from the flamboyant Renaissance of Ronsard, entrapped in the same error as Schürr, his Baroque formula: "A conscience nourished by the Latins and the Greeks grafted upon an unconscious Medievalism"⁶⁰, whilst

⁵⁹ RAYMOND LEBÈGUE, "Le théâtre baroque en France", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, II (1942), pp. 161-184, 162-163, 183, note 1 p. 163; and note 1 p. 169.

En ce qui concerne nos écrivains, voir dans le livre de Valdemar Vedel sur Corneille et Molière (traduction française, 1935) le chapitre intitulé *le baroque et le classique*, et surtout le travail d'ensemble de H. Hatzfeld, "Die französische Klassik in neuer Sicht (Klassik als Barock)", publié en 1935 dans la revue hollandaise *Tijdschrift voor Taal en Letteren*, pp. 213-282.

Sur le *je ne sais quoi* H. Jacobet renvoie à Gombauld, à Pascal, à Gracian et au P. Bouhours (*Revue d'Histoire Littéraire*, 1928).

⁶⁰ MARCEL RAYMOND, "Classique et baroque dans la poésie de Ronsard", *Con-*

in opposition to this truly flamboyant formula it would be much more correct to say, if at all, that a new Medievalism is grafted upon certain forms imitative of Antiquity. But this formula never would cover Ronsárd.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that in the long run also French scholars will agree that their high Classicism is a typical aspect of the Baroque. After the most timid suggestions of this kind by Pierre Kohler⁶¹ and Gonzague de Reynold⁶², both of them teaching in Switzerland, Thierry Maulnier⁶³, and Mme. Dominique Aury in her anthology *Les poètes précieux et baroques du XVIIe siècle*⁶⁴, (Thierry Maulnier, prefacing this anthology), come very close to abandoning the borderline between *préclassicisme précieux ou baroque* and *classicisme pur*, so much so that Maurice Blanchot in his review of those attempts was able to draw the following conclusion: French *classicisme* is Baroque by the perfection of expressing the most complicated mysteries of life in the simplest way, a result, however, of a long struggle against difficulties. And he comments:

Thierry Maulnier remarque que si l'on veut donner au mot préciosité un sens précis, en dressant le catalogue des thèmes, des images, des recettes d'école, on est amené à classer parmi les précieux tous les poètes du XVIIe siècle...

D'une manière générale, on peut dire que les Précieux... voient dans la poésie un moyen de maîtriser les mystères de l'homme et du monde, une aventure spirituelle [qui] conduit l'âme vers les régions

cinnitas. Festschrift für H. Wölfflin, Basel, 1944, pp. 137-173:

Une conscience nourrie des Latins et des Grecs se superpose à un inconscient... médiéval...

⁶¹ PIERRE KOHLER, "Le classicisme français et le problème du baroque", *Lettres de France* (Lausanne, 1943), pp. 49-138.

⁶² GONZAGUE DE REYNOLD, *Le XVIIe siècle: Le Classique et le Baroque*, Montreal, 1944.

⁶³ THIERRY MAULNIER, Introduction de Mme. D. Aury, *Poètes précieux et baroques du 17e siècle*, Angers: Petit, 1941; and *Poésie du XVIIe siècle*, Paris: La Table Ronde, 1945.

⁶⁴ DOMINIQUE AURY, *Les poètes précieux et baroques du XVIIe siècle*, Angers, 1941.

extrêmes que sans art elle ne saurait atteindre... L'art n'est plus seulement un art..., il est un pouvoir conquis sur les forces obscures des choses... Ils sont précieux et ils sont classiques.

And then Thierry Maulnier gives an excellent new Baroque formula: "L'art baroque s'exprime comme l'équilibre dans l'excès et la mesure dans l'étrange"⁶⁵.

Even the French historians Edmond Préclin and Victor L. Tapié, who would understand by Baroque "Les monarchies centralisées" consider the period up to 1660 as "baroque italianisante et hispanisante" and characterize the period after 1690 very correctly as an epoch "où les influences chrétienne et baroque s'effacent", but they construct similar to Lebègue in order to satisfy the old fashioned concept of French classicism a small generation between the two, or rather they interrupt arbitrarily the baroque period lasting according to their own words until 1690, et the moment when those Italian and Spanish elements have faded in a pure French Baroque, by an epoch 1660-1690 as "une brève époque d'équilibre"⁶⁶, not seeing as Maurice Blanchot saw that this equilibrium is an equilibrium of extreme and strange forces, i. e. truly Baroque.

Thanks to a new analysis (with the help of Wölfflin) of typically Italian Renaissance works of literature such as *Il Cortegiano* for theory and *L'Orlando furioso* for practice Arminio Janner tried to establish principles of literary art, which embrace form and psychology at once, and which, found in Castiglione for the Renaissance, could suggest what Baroque as their opposite would be: Not sweetness (*dolcezza*) but austerity, not gentleness (*soavità*) but responsibility, not simplicity (*semplicità*) but complexity, formal and psychological; not mediocrity (*onesta mediocrità*), but radical decision (sanctity or sin), not embracing of the material world (*universalità*), but embracing of the spiritual world (catholicity)⁶⁷.

⁶⁵ MAURICE BLANCHOT, *Faux Pas*, Paris: Gallimard, 1943, ch. 5: *Les poètes baroques du XVIIe siècle*, pp. 151-156.

⁶⁶ EDMOND PRÉCLIN et VICTOR L. TAPIÉ, *Le XVIIe siècle. Monarchies centralisées*, Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1943 pp. 500-501.

⁶⁷ ARMINIO JANNER, "Il Castiglione e l'Ariosto a sostegno di Enrico Wölfflin", *Concinnitas*, pp. 117-136.

In 1944, it had already become difficult, even to a Spitzer, to add to the general statements concerning the Baroque anything new. None the less one of his formulas appears noteworthy: "El hecho espiritual se aparece siempre encarnado y la carne llama siempre a lo espiritual". More important still is his compromise as to the paradoxical origin of the Baroque which historically comes from Italy, but is "preconceived" in Spain, a thorny problem which can not so easily be solved. Spitzer explains: "El catolicismo mediterráneo (español o italiano) ha encontrado en la misma sensualidad la expresión de lo trascendente"⁶⁸.

But tendencies which Spitzer ascribes to the mediterranean Catholicism, did they not appear independent of it? The Baroque principle of mixing up represented ideas with the concrete, rough everyday reality appears as well in the North, in the Silesian Schools of poetry and in the "pools populated with porcelain dolphins and water sprites, where stony nymphs fled from marble satyrs through the realistically splashing water"⁶⁹. Spitzer could answer that the secular Baroque is a descendant of the religious and ecclesiastical one. Baroque certainly has a remote and a proximate origin. As Mario Praz has told us, the cult of the baroque metaphor was prepared by the humanists, the illusory perspective in architecture which he considers a parallel to the metaphor, is due to the rediscovery of Vitruvius, the epigrammatic tendency to the rediscovery of the Greek anthology; Gracián considers Martial as the "primogénito de la agudeza", Tesauro considers madness as a kind of metaphor because the fool, too, takes one thing for another⁷⁰. In short, one could enumerate infinite and decisive

⁶⁸ LEO SPITZER, "El barroco español", *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, XXVIII (1944), pp. 17-30.

⁶⁹ WILLIAM FLEMING, "The Element of Motion in Baroque Art and Music", *The Journal of Aesthetics*, V (1946), 121-128.

⁷⁰ MARIO PRAZ, *La poesia metafisica inglese dei Seicento. John Donne*, Roma: Edizioni Italiane, 1945, pp. 6-11:

Uno sviluppo del culto della metafora già professato dagli umanisti...

La metafora è in letteratura quello che, in architettura, è una prospettiva illusoria...

L'affollamento di ornati corrisponde alla moda letteraria di stipar di concetti

Baroque elements coming from Antiquity and humanism which, producing a certain complicated form of spirit have nothing to do with Catholicism or counterreformation or even religion, but certainly are mediterranean.

And none the less, in front of the Baroque problem, the literary history of form alone has become meaningless separated from the history of ideas. It is now this latter which in 1946 finds new formulas to account for the proximate reason of the Baroque: "El papa" versus "el César", "Dios" versus "el hombre", "realismo teológico" versus "utopismo renacentista", "la verdad divina" versus "los fueros de la razón"⁷¹, formulas new in words, not new any more in substance. What we really want to know is how the European Renaissance came to turn Baroque in the sense so often defined.

This proximate process of the sixteenth century which actually took place in order to reach in a historical moment a particular "combination of rigidly and frenzy", according to Stephen Gilman (1947), "was neither automatic nor inevitable . . . , it came from the minds and determination of men . . . ; an introduction of the eternal into the minds of men was necessary for the change". Gilman makes responsible for the change the Spanish visualizing ascetics, Fray Hernando de Zárate, and Malón de Chaide⁷². Unfortunately they are much too late to explain Baroque as creation and not as evolution. The imaginary ascetics are themselves already in the flux. The creation is San Ignacio's for the reasons hinted at by Lafuente

il discorso . . .

(Alla) tendenza epigrammatica . . . molto contribuì la divulgazione dell'Antologia greca . . .

Non aveva torto il Gracián di chiamare Marziale *primogénito de la Agudeza* e di veder nella Spagna, sua patria, il clima naturale dell'arguzia . . .

Pel Tesoro (*Cannochiale Aristotelico o sia Idea delle Argutezze Eroiche*) i matti "meglio che i sani sono condizionati a fabbricar nella lor fantasia metafore facete, e simboli arguti: anzi la pazzia altro non è che metafora la quale prende una cosa per altra".

⁷¹ JOSÉ M. GALLEGOS ROCAFULL, *El hombre y el mundo de los teólogos españoles de los siglos de oro*, México: Stylo, 1946.

⁷² STEPHEN GILMAN, "An Introduction to the Ideology of the Baroque in Spain", *Symposium*, I (1946), 82-107, particularly 99-101.

Ferrari and implicitly also by Joaquín Casaldüero⁷³, the more so as the earlier years 1520-1536 are the decisive ones for what Gabriel Aubarède has called: *La révolution des Saints*⁷⁴. It seems, indeed, that, if Michelangelo, the Italian, is the father of the formal Baroque, as Wölfflin had it at the outset of our survey, San Ignacio, the Spaniard, is the father of the spirit of the Baroque, of the "Counter Renaissance", as Werner P. Friedrich recently has called the Baroque⁷⁵.

At this stage of the Baroque speculations it would be worth while therefore to look a little into the problem whether Pope Paul III, who ratified Saint Ignatius' Company and was fascinated by the *Ejercicios espirituales*, was not full of Ignatian visualizations and suggestions, when he gave in 1535 the aging Michelangelo the order to paint the Last Judgment of the Sixtine Chapel which was terminated only in 1541, i. e. four years after St. Ignatius' personal arrival for good in Rome⁷⁶. Even if the competent scholars were to reject such a suggestion a limine, it remains a fact that the origin of the Baroque in which the history of ideas is interested certainly will center on the problem of Spanish Influence in Rome between 1530 and 1540. The second task will be to elaborate what the European works of literature and art of the ensuing epoch have fundamentally in common after having undergone the Spanish-Italian, Ignatian-Michelangelesque influence. The third will be to establish the exact system of the expansion of those forms and ideas in Europe. Everything will depend on recognizing the tempo and the ways by which they reach again Spain from Italy and spread to France from Italy and Spain

⁷³ JOAQUÍN CASALDUERO, *Sentido y forma de las Novelas Ejemplares*, Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología, 1943, p. 207.

⁷⁴ GABRIEL AUBARÈDE, *La révolution des Saints 1520-1536*, Paris: Gallimard, 1947.

⁷⁵ W. P. FRIEDRICH, "Late Renaissance, Baroque or Counter-Reformation", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XLVI (1947), 132-143.

⁷⁶ H. PINARD DE LA BOULLAYE, *Saint Ignace de Loyola, Directeur d'âmes*, Paris: Aubier, 1946, p. XXXII:

Accueilli, recommandé, loué par Paul III, après un examen attentif et répété, regardé... comme un chef-d'oeuvre psychologique de premier ordre, ce petit livre a été... l'un des écrits les plus importants des temps modernes.

together. Thus it will be finally understood that Baroque reaches its artistic perfections at quite different historical moments in these countries. It has to be worked out that the true expression of the Baroque is not the form of decadent exaggeration but of classical perfection, extending from Tintoretto to Velázquez and Poussin as well as from Torcuato Tasso to Cervantes and Racine.

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