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## PROBLEMS OF THE BAROQUE IN 1975

The following article does not try to continue the "Critical survey of the Baroque theories" which I presented in this periodical IV (1948), 461-491, since this survey actually was continued in my book *Estudios sobre el Barroco* (Madrid, Gredos 1966, second edition 1973). Today I am rather interested in actual problems generally recognized as central, and in the attempt at their solutions. There is agreement now on the fact that the transition from Renaissance to Baroque is such a slow process that it fills a whole period (roughly 1520 to 1600) which art historians call Mannerism. One tried therefore first to find criteria for the distinction of these two historical phenomena, Mannerism and Baroque, and to explain their fundamental differences and their possible overlappings. The second problem was, how the thus chronologically newly fixed Baroque fades out into something new which some believe to be the Classicism (particularly in France), which others, like the art historians, believe to be the Rococo. The latter still very debated concept supposes in retrospect a kind of coincidence between Classicism and Baroque. Furthermore, envisioning all this from a European and comparative viewpoint supposes time lags between the domination of a style trend in different countries, supposes the concept of dying and

upcoming literatures, supposes the reckoning with the unsettled question of origins, and most of all, the importance of the psychological and sociological background which cannot be everywhere the same. This diversity of background finally demands a decision for monogenesis and radiation or of polygenesis and parallelism as to the evolution of the Baroque. We shall follow the discussions on a chronological basis and with selected material for the time from 1960-1975.

The critic who did most for a clear distinction between Mannerism and Baroque is Georg Weise. He combines in a competent way history of art and history of literature. He is a particular connoisseur of the Italian culture but has knowledgeably analyzed also art and literature of France and Spain. All his results are based on lengthy investigations and a wealth of concrete examples. Although Mannerism correctly mean to him the different subjective *maniere* which modify and break the unity of the Italian Renaissance, these individual modifications, under the influence of certain medieval revivals, converge to some common clearly analyzable trends. Weise calls these: abstract antitheses combined with conceptistic metaphors, a kind of developed Petrarchism. These antirealistic tendencies as stylistic dominants are to him just the opposite of the fundamental realism of the Baroque. In one of his outstanding studies of 1960 written in Italian, Weise opposes Mannerism to Baroque in the following way:

*Mannerism:*

arguzia concettistica  
 convenzionalismo stilistico  
 orientamento retrospettivo  
 cerebralità  
 raffinatezza  
 artificio  
 per la classe colta

*Baroque:*

ricchezza metaforica  
 libertà stilistica  
 ansia di novità  
 concretezza del peso delle cose  
 grandiosità  
 arte  
 per tutti<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GEORG WEISE, *Manierismo e Letteratura. Il gusto delle antitesi astratte e delle metafore concettose nella lirica italiana e francese del Rinascimento*, in *Rivista di letterature moderne e comparate* 13, 1960, 5-52.

One year later, 1961, Jean Rousset, the renowned writer of a book on *La littérature de l'âge baroque en France* (1953), publishes an anthology of French Baroque poetry, in which, without using as yet the term Mannerism, he seems to reconsider at least what he had called Baroque. He distinguishes now a playful earlier ostentation, illusion, inconstancy, flight, appearance from a later serious representation, disillusion, constancy, rest, essence through a prismatic view, a term he takes from the jansenist Nicole whilst this expression until now only was used by Cysarz for the German Baroque and by Fucilla and myself for Calderón. To keep things straight, I repeat that it is only by implication although crystalclear that also the "new" Rousset tries to distinguish between Mannerism and Baroque<sup>2</sup>. Rousset is less troubled by an earlier than by a later Baroque period which, willy nilly, will necessarily merge with the so called French Classicism. This problem comes to the fore in Roussets theoretical discussion of the lyricist Laurent Drélincourt (1626-1680) and the classical preacher Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704). Rousset says that these two examples purposely taken from the second half of the century, are usually considered classical, consequently "purged" from all kinds of baroque. But he concedes that "the systematic opposition between Baroque and Classicism is perhaps a dogma to be revised"<sup>3</sup>. By scholars outside France this revision has been made, anyway, since half a century.

It is understood that the culteranism of Góngora is a classical case of Mannerism, stylistically and chronologically, within the Spanish literary development. The position of Marino, within the Italian framework, is less clear but James V. Mirollo has convincingly proved that Marino is not a mannerist but a fullfledged baroque poet. In his booklength study on Marino<sup>4</sup> he stresses his entirely un-manneristic naturalism

<sup>2</sup> JEAN ROUSSET, *Anthologie de la poésie baroque française*, 2 vols., Paris, Colin, 1961.

<sup>3</sup> JEAN ROUSSET, *Peut-on définir le Baroque?*, in *Actes des Journées internationales d'étude du Baroque*, 1963, Toulouse 1965, 1-23.

<sup>4</sup> JAMES V. MIROLLO, *The poet of the Marvelous, Giambattista Marino*, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1963.

which in the much criticized *Adone* is even moderate (p. 148) by the reduction of extravagant similitudes and farfetched metaphors (p. 141). Beyond this, the metaphors are neither obscure nor complex as in Góngora, nor are they a display of virtuosity (204). On the contrary there is according to Getto whom Mirollo quotes, a real baroque sense of pain over the passing of things, the gloomy sense of time and death (206). Sypher's characterization of Marino's style as disproportion, disturbed balance, ambiguity, clashing impetus, to classify him as mannerist is rejected as suggesting non-existing features in Marino (271). Marino's art, on the contrary, remains useful as one of the few important touchstones of the Baroque (277).

If manneristic features show up still during the Baroque period, not as *cantus firmus* but as accompanying voices, they appear in an entirely new context. Thus Roy Daniells was able to do for Milton what Mirollo has done for Marino<sup>5</sup>. In Milton's *Paradise Lost* the conceits are displayed on a stage of grand proportions (p. 131) and, if else naturalism and grandiose dignity are found together as marks of the Italian Baroque, Milton's style exactly shows their transposed equivalents (166). Since Werner Weisbach (1921) the thesis has become more and more adopted, that from the viewpoint of cultural expression, the Baroque is the art of the Counterreformation; it is interesting to see how Daniells applies this problem to the puritan Milton in a protestant England. He says:

The resemblance of Milton's art to that of the Counterreformation lies in the fact that he, too, was concerned with unity, power, majesty, splendor, with the demonstration of divine invincibility and triumphant faith (146). — The world of Milton's poetry, therefore, is in the most unequivocal fashion Baroque (164).

Since 1965 and occasionally even earlier Marcel Raymond raised the question, if not any type of exported Italian Renaissance Literature turns into a kind of Mannerism, when

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<sup>5</sup> ROY DANIELLS, *Milton, Mannerism and Baroque*, Toronto Univ. Press, 1963.

it merges with the literary tradition of the importing country. Raymond thought first of all of the hyperbolic and antithetic misuse of classical literary means by the French Rhétoriciens Maurice Scève, Peletier DuMans, the whole Pléiade, Desportes, Du Perron, Bertaut, D'Aubigné and Sponde. Then he looked for parallels between the paintings of the manneristic school of Fontainebleau and the description of feminine beauty in Ronsard's poetry, for the poetic transformation of princesses into goddesses to produce "ce mélange de l'antique et d'un modernisme très aigu... pour jeter sur cette réalité une lumière inhabituelle qui la rend plus ou moins fabuleuse" (p. 411). Structurally he finds in some of Ronsard's poems certain serpentine forms "contr'imitant le cours du fleuve de Méandre" (419) or a "dessin extrêmement sinueux" (421)<sup>6</sup>.

The relationship Baroque: Mannerism was well presented in the exhaustive survey of the problem by Ezio Raimondi. According to him Mannerism *grosso modo* is the Italian epoch style of the second half of the cinquecento which then expands to whole Europe. He is however not sure about the most important stylistic situation of Torquato Tasso. On the other hand he takes from Hocke the concept that the Baroque of the Seventeenth Century in all the arts, uses only occasionally formal mannerisms within a new turn to order, achieved by the Counterreformation and by the conventions of a courtly culture in the age of absolutism. Both civilisatory trends bend manneristic elements into new classical structures<sup>7</sup>.

At the International Comparative Literature Congress in Belgrade (1967) some Slavic scholars opened vistas neglected in the West. Andreas Angyal, well known by his earlier studies, also on the Hungarian Baroque, reported on the findings of the Polish scholar M. Szyrocki, "Zur Differenzierung des Barockbegriffs" (*Kwartalnic Neofilologiczny* XIII, 1966). The

<sup>6</sup> MARCEL RAYMOND, *La Pléiade et le Maniérisme*, in *Lumières de la Pléiade. Tours 1965*, Paris, Vrin, 1966, 391-423.

<sup>7</sup> EZIO RAIMONDI, *Per la nozione di Manierismo letterario* in his *Rinascimento inquieto*, Palermo, Manfredi, 1965, 287-303.

problem at issue is the greater or lesser use of manneristic elements by the baroque poets<sup>8</sup>. The proposed solution is that the style level (low, middle or high) decides on the amount of admissible manneristic forms. This knowledge of the importance of the genre versus time would have calmed down the qualms of Manuel Durán as to the problem of antithetical styles in Lope (*Dorotea* versus *Soliloquios*) and those of Kurt Reichenberger as to the "styles" of Calderón (*La vida es sueño* versus *El Alcalde de Zalamea*). At the same congress Zdzistav Libera stressed the concept of a literary Rococo in Poland, a problem rather neglected in the West: "La notion du style Rococo aide à donner de la précision à la description littéraire et permet d'éclaircir le caractère multiple des phénomènes littéraires du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle"<sup>9</sup>.

Postponing the discussion of the Rococo to the end of this paper, we try first to terminate the problem of Mannerism. A psychology of Mannerism, embracing all the arts, painting, sculpture, architecture, literature, music and also the general culture of the society producing these arts was given by John Sherman<sup>10</sup>. According to him each manneristic phenomenon is characterized by a quasi pre-rococo *savoir faire*, sophistication, technical expertise, "stylish style" (p. 19), well-bred negligence and elegant artificiality. The oncoming Baroque used this virtuosity moderately only (p. 101). This moderate use *is* the survival of mannerist conventions throughout the baroque period" (p. 32).

The survival of mannerist forms during the Baroque is also the preoccupation of two Brazilian-Portuguese authors, Segismundo Spina and Maria Aparecida Santilli<sup>11</sup>. They write:

<sup>8</sup> ANDREAS ANGYAL, *Barock als internationale Literaturphänomen*, in *Actes du Ve Congrès de l'Association Internationale de Littérature Comparée*, Amsterdam, Swets and Zeitlinger, 1969, 88 ff.

<sup>9</sup> ZDZISTAV LIBERA, *La Notion de Rococo dans la Littérature Européenne*, *ibid*, 137-145.

<sup>10</sup> JOHN SHERMAN, *Mannerism*, Pinguin Books, 1967.

<sup>11</sup> SEGISMUNDO SPINA e MARIA APARECIDA, *Apresentação da Poesia Barroca Portuguesa*, Assis (Brazil), 1967, Introdução 5-65.

Não estamos autorizados dizer que a literatura seiscentista está em oposição formal ao espírito do movimento literario que antecedeu; a ruptura com o século XVI não impediu que um conjunto de valôres formais mantivesse viva a sua presença na poesia da época barrôca (p. 30).

If we think for a moment of the two extreme and most known style forms, *culteranismo* and *conceptismo*, we ought to remember that the first disappears with the historical Mannerism, the *conceptismo* however becomes even the hallmark of the Baroque. Ce degree of *conceptismo* is however from the outset quite different in Italy and Spain. To investigate this difference was the endeavor of Antonio García Berrío. He draws the following conclusion:

En Italia el *conceptismo* no llega jamás a suplantar a la antigua literatura tradicional; también los escritores los más barrocos, Segneri, Bartoli, Basile muestran reserva.

En España el *conceptismo* lleva a una literatura... de desconianza y de tragedia... de doloridos soñadores... empeñados en descubrir detrás del desastre... una vida ideal, más justa (p. 233)<sup>12</sup>.

Georg Weise, very knowledgeable in this matter, as we have seen, has some objections to this hypothesis. The *conceptismo* is "non identificabile senz' altro col Barocco spagnolo" (p. 109) not a "prodotto specifico del clima culturale del Barocco spagnolo" (p. 127)<sup>13</sup>.

Since *conceptismo* is certainly not the only criterium of the literary baroque style, the concept introduced years ago by Franco Croce "*Barocco moderato*" shows up again in Giovanni Getto's declaration that the drama *Aristodemo* of Carlo de' Dottori is the *capolavoro del Barocco*, the more so as it is an adequate expresion of Christian resignation and "dignità

<sup>12</sup> ANTONIO GARCÍA BERRÍO, *España e Italia ante el Conceptismo*, Madrid, Consejo Superior, 1968.

<sup>13</sup> GEORG WEISE, *Manierismo e Letteratura. La tradizione delle contrapposizione concettose nella poesia spagnola del tardo Medioevo al Seicento*, in *Rivista di Letterature Moderne*, 21, 1968, 85-127.

immolata”<sup>14</sup>. In the same year (1961) Gregor Sebba, stresses as a new insight the symbolization of the Baroque versus merely delightful and moody description. What is symbolized in the Baroque? Baroque symbolizes the triumph of power on high (p. 157). The additional clause “which in France is transposed to the mundane” (p. 158)<sup>15</sup> unfortunately takes the symbolic out of the first formulation and again waters down the pertinent symbol to the outworn “Counterreformation and Absolutism”.

Baroque however *is* symbolism in drama and poetry but always through realistic language. This resurgence of realism cannot be explained either by a smooth transition from Mannerism nor as a repristination of Renaissance forms which represented a typical, not an individual realism. I believe that Emilio Orozco Díaz is the first to explain it as a secular continuation of “la espiritualidad española condensada en la literatura ascético-mística, un influjo esencial en la formación del Barroco europeo” (p. 16)<sup>16</sup>. He suggests concretely that the Baroque profited of the “descripciones de Fray Luis de Granada y las comparaciones de Osuna” (p. 55), learned from the mystics “la visión de profundidad” (57), the sense of time and movement (58) and the preference of the devotional to the artistic aspect in their writings (68). Even the paintings with their “visión de lejanías” reveal the concept of “nuestra insignificancia en medio de la grandeza de un conjunto” (85) and “esa conciencia de la presencia de lo infinito” (100). About the usage of the Baroque of certain “recursos expresivos del manierismo” (73), Orozco Díaz remarks that the Baroque “los vitaliza, sustancializándolos de acuerdo con esos ímpetus de

<sup>14</sup> GIOVANNI GETTO, *Barocco in prosa e in poesia*, Milano, Rozzoli, 1969, 261-286.

<sup>15</sup> GREGOR SEBBA, *Baroque and Mannerism: A Retrospect in Filología y crítica hispánica*, homenaje a Federico Sánchez Escribano, Madrid, Ediciones Alcalá, 1969, 145-63.

<sup>16</sup> EMILIO OROZCO DÍAZ, *Manierismo y Barroco*, Salamanca, Anaya, 1970.

<sup>17</sup> ELIDA MARIA SZAROTA, *Gesellschaftssicht und Erkenntnishaltung in Barock und Manierismus in Dichtung - Sprache - Gesellschaft. Internationaler Germanistenkongress, Princeton 1970*, Frankfurt, Athenäum 1970, 147-159.



espíritu y vida" (73), so that whatever is here supervivencia is "un manierismo transformado con sentido integrador" (191).

A germanistic distinction between Mannerism and Baroque comes from Elida Maria Szarota<sup>17</sup>. With her heuristic principle of discernment of social situation and intellectual level she runs into considerable difficulties and stylistic overlappings. However what she says about the psychological aspect is to the point: The baroque poet is passionate, clear, takes sides, teaches, converts, addresses a large public, whilst the mannerist is cool, ambiguous, belongs to no party, is distanced, playful, and addresses an elite. Accordingly Mannerism does not produce true dramatic art, but the Baroque concerned with struggle, action and death produces essential discussion on the highest level (Gryphius, Corneille) and moves on fatal heights close to downfall and death (Balde, Calderón, *La hija del aire*). The Germanists who started around 1917 (Fritz Strich) the whole baroque problem, and treated it as an alleged genuine German phenomenon, admit today with Wilfried Barner<sup>18</sup> that the mannerist and baroque rhetorical styleforms came from the Romance countries (p. 452). Barner, however, like all the germanists cannot distinguish between Mannerism and Baroque as epochs and demands that each single text has to be analyzed according to its ingredients of humanistic elegance, medieval disputation style, courtly tendency of representation, learned ambition, bourgeois measure, jesuit mannerism (sic!), oral conversation style and technical chancery style (p. 455). It is difficult to see, how this "Spannungsfeld" destined to produce all combinations of individual styles should give an insight into a unified or manneristic baroque style.

Returning at this point to the particular French problem of the boundaries and interpenetration of Mannerism, Baroque and Classicism, Robert J. Nelson joins Marcel Raymond and Jean Rousset on their new viewpoint<sup>19</sup>. Stressing the mi-

<sup>18</sup> WILFRIED BARNER, *Barockrhetorik*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1970.

<sup>19</sup> ROBERT J. NELSON, *Classicism: The Crisis of the Baroque in French Literature*, in *Paths to Freedom. Studies in French Classicism in Honor of E. B. O. Borgerhoff*, *L'Esprit Créateur* XI, 1971, 169-186.

nimum concession of the French critics that there *is* a survival of the Baroque in French classicism (109) he teases them with the consequences of the reluctantly admitted shifts: "Now, Racine is Baroque and Corneille Mannerist" (181). Marcel Raymond himself goes a step further in 1971 than six years earlier and tells Rousset. Alan Boase and Odette de Mourgues that they, too, had for years confused a decided Mannerism with Baroque:

Jean Rousset ne parle plus d'un Sponde baroque. A Boase qui a découvert Sponde et l'a rapproché de Donne... est aujourd'hui circonspect; Odette de Mourgues qui l'a suivi, incline à la prudence. J'oserai donc "annexer" ces poètes, encouragé par le fait que les "métaphysiques" de Grande Bretagne ont passé, récemment, eux aussi, ... dans la zone d'influence du maniérisme (p. 45) <sup>20</sup>.

D'autre part, Raymond for the first time makes absolutely clear that there is not such a thing as a "protestant baroque" in France and that the mannerists D'Aubigné, Du Bartas etc. are not baroque simply because they are religious poets. On the contrary, also on the spiritual level, the rupture between Mannerism and Baroque is radical:

Le ton prophétique des réformés [mannerism], leur dialectique de la vie et de la mort ne sont plus de saison. C'est dans un nouveau climat religieux... qu'a lieu cette réhabilitation d'une nature où tout se correspond [baroque], et où l'homme a son lieu privilégié d'insertion (47).

Unfortunately the else meritorious book of Frank J. Warnke, *Versions of the Baroque* <sup>21</sup>, does not heed at all this sharp chronological distinction and considers Mannerism and Baroque as two synchronical "options" at the discretion of the poets. With this curious approach Warnke would say for instance that Donne with his spare, witty, conceptual, metaphysical style adopts the manneristic option, Crashaw with his ex-

<sup>20</sup> MARCEL RAYMOND, *La Poésie Française et le Maniérisme*. Genève, Droz, 1971.

<sup>21</sup> FRANK J. WARNKE, *Versions of the Baroque*, Yale, Univ. Press, 1972.

pansive, hyperbolic, sensuous style adopts the High Baroque (p. 32). In this very same year 1972 however appeared also the *Actes du XIe Stage International de Tours: Renaissance, Maniérisme, Baroque*<sup>22</sup>. In this volume two contributors verified and intensified the findings of Marcel Raymond. The one of them, Robert Erich Wolf, working on the role and theory of the liberal arts in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and keeping literature and art close together, gives as his conclusion a warning:

Lorsqu'on se trompe sur l'essentiel de l'art Baroque, c'est parce que l'on attribue au Baroque les caractéristiques du Maniérisme. C'est cette confusion entre deux époques foncièrement différentes qui explique la répugnance de certains à admettre ce que d'autres ont reconnu depuis longtemps déjà; que parmi les plus grands peintres Baroques se trouvent ces deux artistes: Nicolas Poussin et Claude Lorrain, que parmi les poètes essentiellement baroques Jean Racine occupe une place de choix... (281)<sup>23</sup>.

The other contributor whom I have in mind is Richard A. Sayce. Specialist in Montaigne he still believed in a baroque Montaigne in 1954 (*French Studies* VIII, 1954, 1-16). In 1972 he cannot help applying the mannerist criteria of Hauser, Recksiek, Hocke and Raymond to Montaigne: reaction against humanism, subdued passion, skepticism, narcissism, contradiction, labyrinthian forms (p. 148)<sup>24</sup>. In another article<sup>25</sup>, Sayce, not knowing the articles of George Weise, surprisingly remains luckwarm to a mannerist period.

S'il y a une période maniériste et une période baroque, comment peut-on les distinguer, sinon simplement par les dates? ... On pourrait proposer surtout un contraste entre la froideur et l'exubérance, entre le dépouillement et la richesse, entre l'esotérisme et la propagande (p. 54).

<sup>22</sup> *Renaissance, Maniérisme, Baroque*, Paris, Vrin, 1972.

<sup>23</sup> R. E. WOLF, *La Querelle des Art Libéraux dans La Renaissance, La Contre-Renaissance et Le Baroque*, *ibid.*, 259-285.

<sup>24</sup> RICHARD SAYCE, *Renaissance et Maniérisme dans l'oeuvre de Montaigne*, *ibid.*, 137-151.

<sup>25</sup> *Id. ibid.*, *Périodisation du maniérisme*, 43-55.

Thus Sayce is at least aware that, if one does not keep to his chosen examples Maurice Scève and Pierre Corneille, "il ne serait pas trop difficile de trouver des exemples qui sont dans un sens diamétralement opposés" (54) and he abstains from going beyond 1650, "où bien d'autres écueils nous attendent". He means, of course, the relationship of French Classicism and European Baroque.

Despite the restraint of Sayce one should admit that since the days of André Gide and Leo Spitzer the problem that French Classicism in nothing else but "a baroque dompté" due to an artificial *dirigisme* for which humanistic critics, academies, ministers and even kings are responsible. This "secreto a voces" still cannot be sold to the French. In 1973 a Freudian study of the matter by Claude-Gilbert Dubois<sup>26</sup>, ignoring the preparatory role of mannerism for the Baroque or Baroque Classicism, splits things up in the following way: "Le poète classique a repris un type créé par la mentalité baroque, mais en la replaçant dans un contexte, où le change permanent se mue en permanence immuable" (p. 193). What in such statements is fundamentally wrong, is their gratuity, their lack of any documentary proofs and of understanding of history. To the hypothesis that the use of mannerist forms during the baroque era is a problem of genre as discussed above in connection with Manuel Durán's interpretation of Lope's religious poetry, Horst Bader actually made a documentary contribution<sup>27</sup>. He showed that Lope and Jáuregui in their baroque *engagé* were opposed to any nihilistic culteranismo as well as conceptismo but they accepted conceptism in the spiritual epigrams of Ledsema and in the sermons (conceptos predicables) of Paravicino (p. 59). Another attempt to find proofs in history for mannerist or baroque aspects is the hunt for unknown third class authors, an exercise which generally deceives the expected results.

<sup>26</sup> CLAUDE-GILBERT DUBOIS, *La Baroque, profondeur de l'apparence*, Paris, Larousse, 1973.

<sup>27</sup> HORST BADER, *Zum Problem des Manierismus*, in *Studia Iberica. Festschrift Hans Flasche*, Bern, Francke, 1973, 47-62.

The aim at finding new formulas for characterizing the whole baroque period seems a particular concern of the German Baroque scholars. Harold Jantz varying the famous slogan of Winckelmann for Classical art: "Edle Einfalt und stille Grösse" thinks Baroque to be: "Edle Vielfalt und eindrucksvolle Grösse"<sup>28</sup>. Conrad Wiedemann, antibaroque like the Frenchman Dubois, calls the era "Klerikalfaschismus" (p. 39) and coins the doubtful slogan: "Kritische Moral und utopische Ordnung"<sup>29</sup>.

Ignoring alas most of the critical works discussed hitherto, a slavist, Harold B. Segel, published in 1974 a very rich anthology of mannerist and baroque poems with a critical selective introduction which deserves some words here<sup>30</sup>. Segel's use of terms is certainly not up to date. Mannerism is for him, like for Warnke, B. L. Spahr and all the germanists not an epoch but a trend: gongorism, marinism, and Donne-tradition including Herbert, Marvell, De Sponde, Quevedo, Huygens, Fleming. Baroque is for him: Crashaw, Gryphius, D'Aubigné, Vondel because they are ornate, emotional, extravagant (21). This view takes us far back behind the results of George Weise. Segel however has a point in stressing that the theory of mannerism as representing not one but different individual maniere can be found not only in Vasari but also, for literature, in Girolamo Vida's *De Arte Poetica* (1527). Segel also speaks intelligently, although not chronologically, about the absorption of Mannerism by the Baroque (22) which restores the renaissance unity, using ornament only as support of this unity. He however, like the French, sees Baroque replaced

<sup>28</sup> HAROLD JANTZ, *Die Erforschung des Barock. Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen*, in *Internationaler Arbeitskreis für deutsche Barockliteratur. Erstes Jahrestreffen 1973*, Wolfenbüttel, 1973, 3-20.

<sup>29</sup> CONRAD WIEDEMANN, *Barocksprache, Systemdenken, Staatsmentalität*, *ibid.*, 21-51.

<sup>30</sup> HAROLD B. SEGEL, *The Baroque Poem*, A Comparative Survey together with 150 illustrative texts from English, American, Dutch, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Mexican, Portuguese, Polish, Modern Latin, Czech, Croatian and Russian Poetry, in the original languages and accompanying English Translations, New York, Dutton, 1974.

(sic!) by Classicism (32) and calls the well established equation of Baroque and Counterreformation simplistic (36). Since Baroque for Segel still means extravagant, he includes as baroque two interesting women, the tenth muse of Mexico, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, and the tenth muse of North America, Anne Dudley Bradstreet (1612-1672). He still tries to characterize the Baroque metaphor by definition as concrete, specific, preferably military (?), often ambiguous (?) and mythological in non-classical contexts (115). Despite his attempt to include the Slavic literatures his result is: "Among Slavic literatures in the baroque age the Polish is the only one with anything resembling a legitimate claim to an internal character of sorts" (138).

I personally have participated in the debate on mannerism by the proposal to try to solve the question chronologically with my article "Mannerism is not Baroque" in *L'Esprit Créateur* 6 (1966), 225-233. This article was based on different analyses made earlier of some individual authors whom I considered mannerists like Góngora, Malón de Chaide, Montaigne and Desportes. These monographic studies are all included in my book *Estudios sobre el Barroco* (pp. 284-374). In the sixties I also tried to clarify by contrast the manneristic way of Camões and the baroque way of Tasso in presenting the same motif (*Portugiesische Forschungen* 3 (1962-1963), pp. 91-109. I furthermore wanted to grasp the *national differences* of mannerism as well as of baroque in my article "Literary Mannerism and Baroque in Spain and France" in *Comparative Literature Studies* 7 (1970), 419-436. In the seventies finally I started to assess this problem first in a general way, exploring the Spanish Comedia: "Moderate and exaggerated Baroque Style in the Golden Age" in *Festschrift Hans Flasche* (1972). Then I applied the method to Cervantes and Calderón, the two classical examples of moderation and exaggeration respectively: "Why is Don Quijote Baroque?" in *Philological Quarterly* 51 (1972) 158-176 and "Lo que es barroco en Calderón" in *Hacia Calderón, Segundo Coloquio Anglogermánico*, Hamburgo 1970, ed. Hans Flasche. Berlin, De Gruyter (1973), 35-49. In the present state of the

baroque studies the more important Seventeenth Century authors of all literatures ought to be analyzed from the same viewpoint.

Since in 1975 appeared a rather complete survey of the studies on the Rococo by Patrick Brady<sup>31</sup>, I tried to use the substance of this survey to single out the serious contributions as I have done for mannerism. I mentioned hitherto only the marginal study of Zdzisław Libera on the Polish Rococo. The use and discussion of a literary epoch style covering the eighteenth century and to be called Rococo did not begin however with the presentation of the problem by Walter Binni in 1960<sup>32</sup> but with tentative studies by Klemperer, Neubert, Schürr and myself<sup>33</sup>, in the twenties and thirties. All these authors had restricted their observations to France while Walter Binni gives a comparative European but very cautious definition which is rightly and approvingly quoted by Brady:

Si potrebbe parlare... di una componente rococò nella poetica classicistica-razionalistica del Pope, ... di una forte coloratura rococò in varie manifestazioni ... fra *poésies fugitives*, Marivaux e prosa di romanzo galante, ... negli anacreontici tedeschi, in aspetti molto notevoli dell' opera di Wieland ... e, in Italia in zone e scrittori fra Arcadia e classicismo edonistico di metà secolo (231-32).

Binni however invalidates his well informed essay by reducing Rococo as a component and not as the dominant element of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, Alfred Anger, dealing with German literature between 1740 and 1780 and stating that its rococo style of gracefulness, frivolity, teasing, playfulness, intimacy, scepticism and irony, if not in every work, occurs however in many poets and in many genres and

<sup>31</sup> PATRICK BRADY, *The Present State of Studies on the Rococo*, in *Comparative Literature*, 27, 1975, 21-33.

<sup>32</sup> WALTER BINNI, *Il Rococò letterario*, in *Manierismo, Barocco, Rococò*, Roma, Accademia de' Lincei, 1962.

<sup>33</sup> HELMUT HATZFELD, *Rokoko als literarischer Epochenstil in Frankreich*, in *Studies in Philology*, 35, 1938, 532-565.

<sup>34</sup> ALFRED ANGER, *Literarisches Rokoko*, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1962.

therefore has the quality of an epoch-style (pág. 9)<sup>34</sup>. Whilst Anger's position may be accepted, Roger Laufer, having in mind the French Rococo, goes a step further. If one may stress in Anger's description of the rococo style the ironic scepticism, then one may speak with Laufer of "un style de la mise en question" (pág. 48). If this is true why not ascribe to all the philosophes and sceptic authors this style with the logical equation *Style rococo, style des lumières*<sup>35</sup>. Laufer is anyway right against Patrick Brady who with his slogan "monolithic" tries to undercut any attempt to find a dominant style. And yet the larger the field to survey the more general must become the characterization of the Rococo. Therefore, in 1972, going even beyond Binni and including France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal in a comparative literature study, I defined the Rococo style as Wit, Elegance and Eroticism<sup>36</sup>, and meant here with Style, of course, the cultural and not the rhetorical style, thus joining the approach of Anger and doing away with the misunderstanding of Laufer. But as it was the case with Baroque first and Mannerism then, Rococo will also be established as a formal style of literature when enough works of the eighteenth century will have been analyzed, the conclusions compared and the common features taken out. Until now there has been done so little that truly new insights are lacking.

HELMUT HATZFELD.

Washington, D. C.

Catholic University.

<sup>35</sup> ROGER LAUFER, *Style rococo, style des lumières*, Paris, Corti, 1963.

<sup>36</sup> HELMUT HATZFELD, *The Rococo: Eroticism, Wit and Elegance in European Literature*, New York, Pegasus, 1972.