

PAINTING IN THE POETRY OF LUIS DE GÓNGORA

by

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ABSTRACT

Góngora's major poems, the *Polifemo* and the *Soledades*, have long inspired comparisons to painting, as these works delight the mind's eye with visual and plastic qualities such as color, light and shadow, and the representation of space and depth. Much has been written on the relationship between the visual arts and Spanish Golden Age poetry and this thesis, in building upon a foundation already established,¹ seeks to expand the synthesis between art history and literary studies in order to promote a fuller understanding of the dynamic relationship between Góngora's poetry and painting. The main purpose of this project is to analyze the visual qualities of Góngora's poetry in light of the art-theoretical and art-critical discourses that accompanied developments in Renaissance art, which evolved out of writings by artists and art-theorists such as Vasari, Dolce, Lomazzo, Pacheco, El Greco and Van Mander.

¹ See Frederick de Armas (Ed.). *Writing for the Eyes in the Spanish Golden Age*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004 and *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005. Emilie L Bergmann, *Art Inscribed: Essays on Ekphrasis in Spanish Golden Age Poetry*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979; Emilio Orozco Díaz, *Temas de Barroco*, Granada, 1947; Aurora Egido. "La página y el lienzo." *Fronteras de la poesía en el Barroco*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1990, Lía Schwartz, Linguistic and Pictorial Conceits in the Baroque: Velázquez between Quevedo and Gracián. *Writing for the Eyes in the Spanish Golden Age*. Ed. & Introd. Frederick de Armas. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press. 2004, pp. 279-300. With more specific regard to the visual arts and Góngora's poetry, see Marsha Collins, *The Soledades, Góngora's Masque of the Imagination*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002, in particular pp. 86-99 for a discussion of the visual arts; Enrica Cancelliere "Dibujo y Color en la *Fabula de Polifemo y Galatea*," *Actas del Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, Barcelona: PPU, 1992, pp. 789-798; Eunice Joiner Gates, "Góngora's *Polifemo* and *Soledades* in relation to Baroque art," *The University of Texas Studies in Literature and Languages*, II, 1960, 61-77; Humberto Huergo Cardoso, "Las *Soledades* de Góngora: Lienzo de Flandes o pintura valiente?" *La Torre*, vol. 6, no. 20-21, 2001, pp. 193-232. Steven Wagschal, "El *Polifemo* y el arte europeo" in *Góngora Hoy: el 'Polifemo.'* Ed. Joaquín Roses. Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, 2005.

Chapter One deals with the Renaissance doctrine of kinship between painting and poetry, *ut pictura poesis* which, named for a quote from Horace's *Ars Poetica*, was forged in the Renaissance out of classical theories pertaining to dramatic poetry. After a review of the development of *ut pictura poesis*, this chapter addresses accompanying discourses such as the *paragone* between painting and poetry as well as the Neo-platonic *Idea*, and also discusses the unique role of Spain in facilitating the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* and one of its main contingencies, the liberalization of painting. In line with the purpose of viewing Góngora's poetry as a prism that reflects the evolution of aesthetics and artistic theory, emphasis is placed on the art-theoretical discourses that accompanied the influx of Renaissance art and artists into Spain around the turn of the seventeenth century and which guided perceptions of art among humanists such as Góngora and his readers.

The focus of Chapter Two is the *Polifemo* and its relationship principally to Venetian, but also Netherlandish, painting technique and artistic theory. As critics have pointed out, in the *Polifemo* Góngora uses color much in the same way as the Venetian master Titian. In creating poetry that imitates Venetian painting, Góngora participates in one of the most salient artistic polemics of his time, the *paragone tra colore e disegno*. As will be explained in Chapter Two, Venetian colorist technique of painting directly on canvas differed radically from the initial process of painting over chalk drawings developed in Florence, and the debate that ensues over technique spills over into notions of cultural achievement and artistic worth. The *querella* between color and design begins in Italy as a rivalry between Venice and Florence and the proponents of Titian and those of Michelangelo, respectively, and later culminates in the theoretical battles of the French academy in the seventeenth century between the Rubenists and the Poussinists. But a history of the *paragone tra colore e disegno* would not be complete

without a discussion of the controversy between *dibujo y color* in early seventeenth century Spain, where the polemic between Florence and Venice planted its discursive seeds by way of sixteenth century treatises, principally those of Vasari, who reveres Michelangelo and Florentine *disegno* as the pinnacle of artistic achievement, and Dolce, whose treatise vindicates Titian and the Venetian masters. In Spain, the polemic acquires a unique dynamic and is played out by artistic protagonists of Spain's Golden Age, such as El Greco and Pacheco, whose writings will be examined in relation to the *Polifemo*, which lends itself to a reading through the prism of the *parangón entre color y dibujo*.

Not only Venetian but Flemish masterpieces dominated Spanish collections, and the *Polifemo* demonstrates Góngora's inspiration in the techniques of the Northern masters. After a discussion of the relationship between the *Polifemo* and Venetian art theory, Chapter Two introduces the theories of Karel Van Mander, whose treatise *Schilderboeck*, first published in Amsterdam in 1604, was known in Spain and found amongst Pacheco's book collection, with significant parts of the treatise translated into Spanish and incorporated into Francisco Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura*. In posing as a painter, Góngora appears to follow some of the instructions given in Van Mander's treatise, specifically those pertaining to coloring or *wel werven*, using the pigments of flowers. Other aspects of Flemish technique found in the *Polifemo* include the behavior of light on surfaces and the relationship of figures to landscape. Van Mander puts forth a discourse of continuity between the Flemish and Venetian schools, and the notion of multiple centers of artistic accomplishment that includes Venice and Flanders in addition to Florence. These ideas play into the *paragone tra colore e disegno*, and provide a framework that embraces the collection of Spanish and Flemish masterworks in Spain.

Images reminiscent of Renaissance masterpieces abound in the *Soledades*, which are the focus of Chapter Three. Equestrian portraits, still-lives, landscapes, mythological paintings are carefully crafted, and the accumulation of painterly images renders the poem, in the words of Marsha Collins, “a veritable art gallery in verbal form.”² But the overarching aesthetic frame in the *Soledades* is the Flemish ‘World’ landscape, with expansive distances and the introverted compositional format that dwarfs the protagonist and the narrative action. Chapter Three explores Góngora’s aesthetic choices in the *Soledades* as they relate to Van Mander’s theories regarding landscape and history, and how these ideas contrast with the Albertian and Vasarian view regarding painted histories and the underlying principles of *ut pictura poesis*. Furthermore, Chapter Three explores the idea of the poem as art gallery. As is known, Góngora’s generation witnessed the culmination of *studiolo* culture and the creation of collections and art galleries, and Philip II’s *gran galleria* was one of the most celebrated in Europe. The gallery becomes a *topos* and itself a subject matter for painting. Chapter Three explores how the *Soledades* can be read as an imitation of yet one more type of painting, that is, the Flemish gallery picture or *les peintures des cabinets d’amateurs*. It is argued that Góngora transforms the traditional *locus amoenus* and as such the place of refuge created in the representative space of the *Soledades* is more akin to the *studiolo* rather than a bucolic or garden space.

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to emphasize the importance of not only actual paintings and movements in art but also art treatises that were published and known to Góngora and his readers, for these texts greatly contributed to forming perceptions and discourses related to the visual arts. Francisco Pacheco’s treatise is essentially a compendium of ‘500 art theory, and provides us with a guide as to the writings that circulated in Spain at the time of Góngora’s

² Marsha Collins, *Op. Cit.*, p. 173.

writing.³ The writings of Vasari, Leonardo, Dolce, Zuccaro, Van Mander and others were catalysts for the multi-faceted conversation that took place in Spain in the early seventeenth century among humanists like Góngora as well as painters and art-theorists such as Pacheco, Carducho and El Greco. In sum, the goal of this work is to examine the way in which Góngora's major poems, in expressing in verse the plastic qualities that are reflected in actual works of art, also engage the art-theoretical discourses that helped shape the history of European aesthetics.

³ See Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas "Introducción" in *Arte de la Pintura*, Francisco Pacheco, Madrid: Cátedra, 1990, pp. 11-50.

*IN MEMORY
OF MY PARENTS*

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INTRODUCTION

It is not surprising that Góngora, like other writers of his generation, expressed in his poetry a deep interest in the visual arts, given the unprecedented developments in the visual arts in the latter sixteenth century, along with Spain's enormous degree of artistic patronage, which attracted the finest artists and masterpieces from both Italy and the Netherlands, a phenomenon that soon gave way to Spain's own Golden Age in painting. Góngora's major poems, the *Polifemo* and the *Soledades*, have long inspired comparisons to painting, as these works present before the mind's eye a continuous display of painterly images endowed with plastic qualities such as color, light and shadow, and the representation of space and depth. Much has been written on the dynamic relationship between the visual arts and Spanish Golden Age poetry. The purpose of this thesis, in building upon a foundation already established,⁴ seeks to expand the

⁴ See Frederick de Armas (Ed.). *Writing for the Eyes in the Spanish Golden Age*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004 and *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005. Emilie L Bergmann, *Art Inscribed: Essays on Ekphrasis in Spanish Golden Age Poetry*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979; Emilio Orozco Díaz, *Temas de Barroco*, Granada, 1947; Aurora Egido. "La página y el lienzo." *Fronteras de la poesía en el Barroco*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1990, Lía Schwartz, Linguistic and Pictorial Conceits in the Baroque: Velázquez between Quevedo and Gracián. *Writing for the Eyes in the Spanish Golden Age*. Ed. & Introd. Frederick de Armas. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press. 2004, pp. 279-300. With more specific regard to the visual arts and Góngora's poetry, see Marsha Collins, *The Soledades, Góngora's Masque of the Imagination*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002, in

synthesis between art history and literary studies in order to promote a fuller understanding of the way in which Góngora's poetry relates to developments in painting in the late Renaissance. It must be kept in mind that artistic movements are not only made manifest in a visual and plastic sense, but are accompanied by a set of theoretical and critical discourses generated on the textual plane. One of the main purposes of this project is to analyze the relationship between the visual qualities of Góngora's poetry and art-theoretical and art-critical discourses that accompanied technical and thematic developments in Renaissance art. As such, Góngora's major poems will be discussed in light of writings by artists and art-theorists such as Vasari, Dolce, Lomazzo, Pacheco, El Greco and Van Mander.

As is known, one of the most important topics of the Renaissance was the doctrine of kinship between painting and poetry, *ut pictura poesis*. While the doctrine is named for a quote from Horace's *Ars Poetica*, it is known that no such humanistic theory of painting ever existed in antiquity but was forged in the Renaissance out of classical theories pertaining to dramatic poetry and rhetoric. After a review of the development of *ut pictura poesis*, based on the foundation already established by critics such as Rennsalaer Lee and Jean Hagstrum, this chapter contextualizes Góngora's poetry among accompanying discourses such as the *paragone* between painting and poetry, the development of art theory, and Spain's unique role in facilitating the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* and its main contingency, the liberalization of painting. In line with

particular pp. 86-99 for a discussion of the visual arts; Enrica Cancelliere "Dibujo y Color en la *Fabula de Polifemo y Galatea*," *Actas del Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, Barcelona: PPU, 1992, pp. 789-798; Eunice Joiner Gates, "Góngora's *Polifemo* and *Soledades* in relation to Baroque art," *The University of Texas Studies in Literature and Languages*, II, 1960, 61-77; Humberto Huergo Cardoso, "Las *Soledades* de Góngora: 'Lienço de Flandes' o 'pintura valiente'?" *La Torre*, vol. 6, no. 20-21, 2001, pp. 193-232. Steven Wagschal, "El *Polifemo* y el arte europeo" in *Góngora Hoy: el 'Polifemo.'* Ed. Joaquín Roses. Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, 2005.

the purpose of viewing Góngora's poetry as a prism that reflects the evolution of aesthetics and artistic theory, emphasis is placed on the art-theoretical discourses that accompanied the influx of Renaissance art and artists into Spain around the turn of the seventeenth century and guided perceptions of art among humanists such as Góngora and his readers.

As critics have noted, Góngora's *Polifemo* abounds in vivid and subtly varied color, and the poet seems to create in verse images inspired by the Venetian master Titian, the Spanish court's most esteemed painter under Carlos V and Philip II. In creating poetry that imitates Venetian painting, Góngora participates in one of the most salient artistic polemics of his time, the *paragone tra colore e disegno*. As will be explained, Venetian colorist technique of painting directly on canvas differed radically from the initial process of painting over chalk drawings developed in Florence, and the debate that ensues over technique spills over into notions of cultural achievement and artistic worth. The *querella* between color and design begins in Italy as a rivalry between Venice and Florence and the proponents of Titian and those of Michelangelo, respectively. The debate later culminates in the theoretical battles of the French academy in the seventeenth century between the Rubenists and the Poussinists. But a history of the *paragone tra colore e disegno* would not be complete without a discussion of the controversy between *dibujo y color* in early seventeenth century Spain, where the polemic between Florence and Venice planted its discursive seeds by way of sixteenth century treatises, principally those of Vasari, who reveres Michelangelo and Florentine *disegno* as the pinnacle of artistic achievement, and Dolce, whose treatise vindicates Titian and the Venetian masters. In Spain, the polemic acquires a unique dynamic and is played out by artistic protagonists of Spain's Golden Age, such as El Greco and Pacheco, whose writings will be examined, as well as literati such as Góngora, whose *Polifemo* lends itself to a reading through the prism of the *parangón entre color y dibujo*.

Not only Venetian but Flemish masterpieces dominated Spanish collections, and the *Polifemo* demonstrates Góngora's inspiration in the techniques of the Northern masters. After a discussion of the relationship between the *Polifemo* and Venetian art theory, Chapter Two introduces the theories of Karel Van Mander, whose treatise *Schilderboeck*, first published in Amsterdam in 1604, was known in Spain and found amongst Pacheco's book collection, with significant parts of the treatise translated into Spanish and incorporated into Francisco Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura*. In posing as a painter, Góngora appears to follow some of the instructions given in Van Mander's treatise, specifically those pertaining to coloring or *wel werven*, using the pigments of flowers. Other aspects of Flemish technique found in the *Polifemo* include the behavior of light on surfaces and the relationship of figures to landscape. Van Mander puts forth a discourse of continuity between the Flemish and Venetian schools, and the notion of multiple centers of artistic accomplishment that includes Venice and Flanders in addition to Florence. These ideas play into the *paragone tra colore e disegno*, and provide a framework that embraces the collection of Spanish and Flemish masterworks in Spain.

The *Soledades*, which are the focus of Chapter Three, also abound in images reminiscent of Renaissance masterpieces. Equestrian portraits, still-lives, landscapes, mythological paintings are carefully crafted, and the accumulation of painterly images renders the poem, in the words of Marsh Collins, "a veritable art gallery in verbal form."⁵ But in this writer's opinion, the overarching aesthetic frame in the *Soledades* is the Flemish 'World' landscape, with expansive distances and the introverted compositional format that dwarfs the protagonist and the narrative action. Chapter Three explores Góngora's aesthetic choices in the *Soledades* as they relate to Van Mander's theories regarding landscape and history, and how these ideas contrast with the Albertian and Vasarian view regarding painted histories. Furthermore, Chapter Three explores

⁵ Marsha Collins, *Op. Cit.*, p. 173.

the idea of the poem not only as painting but as a collection of paintings or art gallery. As is known, Góngora's generation witnessed the culmination of *studiolo* culture and the creation of collections and art galleries, and Philip II's *gran galleria* was one of the most celebrated in Europe. In the late Renaissance, the gallery becomes a *topos* and itself a subject matter for painting. The *Soledades* seems to imitate in the poetic space the encyclopedic accumulation of paintings, maps, globes, flora and fauna that characterized royal and aristocratic collections and galleries. Thus, Chapter Three explores the ways in which the *Soledades* can be read as an imitation of yet one more type of painting, that is, the Flemish gallery picture or *les peintures des cabinets d'amateurs*. It is further argued that by representing the poem as art gallery, Góngora transforms the traditional *locus amoenus*, and as such the place of refuge created in the representative space of the *Soledades* is more akin to the *studiolo* rather than a bucolic or garden space.

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to emphasize the importance of not only actual paintings and movements in art but also art treatises that were published and known to Góngora and his readers, for these texts greatly contributed to forming perceptions and discourses related to the visual arts. Francisco Pacheco's treatise is essentially a compendium of '500 art theory, and provides us with a guide as to the writings that circulated in Spain at the time of Góngora's writing.⁶ The writings of Vasari, Leonardo, Dolce and Zuccaro, as well as Van Mander, who provides a theoretical framework for understanding Flemish art, were catalysts for the dynamic and multi-faceted conversation that took place in Spain in the early seventeenth century among humanists like Góngora as well as painters and art-theorists such as Pacheco, Carducho and El Greco. The goal of this work is to call attention to and examine the way in which Góngora's

⁶ See Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas "Introducción" in *Arte de la Pintura*, Francisco Pacheco, Madrid: Cátedra, 1990, pp. 11-50.

major poems, by means of expressing in verse the plastic qualities that are reflected in actual works of art, engage the art-theoretical discourses that helped shape the history of European aesthetics. It can be argued that a shortcoming of this thesis is that it is heavily weighted in the discipline of art history. However, if it is true, as critics have pointed out, that poets of the Spanish Golden Age like Góngora, posed as painters, then perhaps useful for students of literature to pose as art historians in order to expand our understanding of poetry and painting.

Chapter I

UT PICTURA POESIS:

THE SPANISH GOLDEN AGE AND THE KINSHIP BETWEEN PAINTING AND POETRY

'Ut pictura poesis' as doctrine of the Renaissance

In Spain's first formal treatise on painting, *Diálogos de la pintura*, published in 1633, the painter and art-theorist Vicente Carducho praises Góngora as a poet who so effectively captures his subject matter, as if in paint, that his pen surpasses the painter's brush:

Don Luis de Góngora, en cuyas obras está admirada la mayor ciencia, porque en su *Polifemo* y *Soledades* parece que vence lo que pinta, y que no es posible que ejecute otro pincel lo que dibuja su pluma.⁷

For Carducho, the greatness of Góngora's poetry – its “mayor ciencia” – is the degree to which it approximates painting. Moreover, Carducho not only compares Góngora to a painter but makes the claim that he is the most excellent among painters – *no es posible que ejecute otro pincel lo que dibuja su pluma*. Carducho's praise of Góngora's ability to “paint” with words speaks to the

⁷Carducho, Vicente *Diálogos de la pintura*. Ed. & introd. Francisco Calvo Serraller. Madrid: Turner, 1979, p. 210. See also Calvo Serraller, Francisco. *Teoría de la Pintura del Siglo de Oro*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1991, pp. 261-268.

long tradition of pictorialism in Western literature,⁸ and is reminiscent of Lucian's homage to Homer as "best of painters, though Euphanor and Apelles be present."⁹ The reference to Homer as a consummate painter was repeated by Petrarch,¹⁰ and in the late sixteenth century this notion found continuity in the writings of art-theorist Ludovico Dolce, who further maintained that any sort of learned composition, *qualunque componimento dei dotti*, whether it be history or poetry, could be considered painting.¹¹ By extolling Góngora as a consummate painter, Carducho makes a commentary that parallels that of Lucian with respect to Homer. Within this context, it is perhaps not surprising that in 1627 Juan López de Vicuña entitled his compilation of the Cordoban's work *Obras en verso del Homero español*.¹²

⁸Jean Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: the Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Literature from Dryden to Gray*. Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1953.

⁹Lucian of Samosata. "A Portrait-Study" in *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*. Compiled and Translated by H.W. Fowler and F.G. Fowler. Vol. III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905, pp. 13-24.

¹⁰*Triumphus Fame* in Francesco Petrarca. *Rime, trionfi e poesie latine*. Ed. Ferdinando Neri. Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1951, p. 543, vv. 10-15:

Socrate e Senofonte, e quell' ardente
vecchio a cui fur le Muse tanto amiche
ch'Argo e Micena e Troia se ne sente;
questo cantò gli errori e le fatiche
del figliuol di Laerte e d'una diva,
primo pintor delle memorie antiche.

¹¹Ludovico Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura Intitolato L'Aretino*. Venice, 1548, in *Trattati dell' arte del cinquecento*. Ed. Paola Barocchi. Bari: G. Laterza & Figli, 1960, p. 155:

Costoro debbono esser di quelli che di pittore non tengono altro che il nome; perchioché, se avessero favilla di giudicio, saprebbero gli scrittori esser pittori: ché pittura è la poesia, pittura la istoria, e pittura qualunque componimento de' dotti. Di qui il nostro Petrarca chiamó Omero, 'primo pittor de le memorie antiche.'

¹²This view contrasts with that of Dámaso Alonso who, in this instance, did not see Gongora's

For Góngora's generation, the idea that painting and poetry were sister arts or, according to Giambattista Marino, "due care gemelle da un parto nate,"¹³ was well-established. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries celebrated the kinship between painting and poetry, and not only poets, but all writers, were praised as painters. That unity between the verbal and visual arts had become a common literary topic is evidenced in Don Quijote's explanation to Sancho that the historian who wrote their story "debe de ser el pintor o el escritor, que todo es uno."¹⁴ The idea that poetry could vividly recreate images and therefore function like a painting was complimented by the notion that certain types of painting depicting scenes from the literary tradition were considered poems. This is most clearly expressed in Titian's letters to his patron Philip II, written between 1552 and 1554, in which the Venetian master describes his famous cycle of six mythological pictures as *poesie*.¹⁵

pictorialism as sufficient reason to compare the Cordoban to Homer. See Dámaso Alonso. Prologo e Índices. *Obras en Verso del Homero Español: Edición 1627*. Juan López de Vicuña. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963, pp. xviii-xix: "Qué título más absurdo! Lo que menos cuadraba a Góngora era el llamarle 'Homero.' Llega uno a pensar si el colector quiso decir 'Horacio.' No es que así la comparación fuera tampoco exacta, pero ambos fueron líricos... y el horacianismo de Góngora es evidente en muchos lugares."

¹³ Giambattista Marino. *Dicerie sacre e Le strage degli innocenti*. Giovanni Pozzi (Ed.), Torino: Einaudi, 1960.

¹⁴ *Don Quijote*, part II, chapter 71.

¹⁵ Titian, in Celso Fabbro (Ed.), *Tiziano: Le Lettere*, Cadore, 1976, p. 212: "Ho finalmente... condotto a fine le due pitture che io cominciai per la Cattolica Maestà Vostra: l'una e' il Cristo nell' Orto, l'altra la poesia di Europa portata dal Toro..." See also note 241. There is much discussion surrounding the term *poesia* as it evolved to painting around 1550. Generally speaking, *poesie* referred to a Venetian invention of the early sixteenth century, that is, paintings created by Giorgione and his circle that evoked scenes from pastoral poetry. Titian later used the term in the above-mentioned letter of 1554 to his patron Philip II to refer to his mythological cycle, and distinguished the *poesie* from other painted

As is known, the phrase *ut pictura poesis* – “painting is like poetry” -- taken from Horace’s *Ars poetica*, came to signify the school of thought advocating the kinship of painting and poetry and the unity of the arts under a single critical framework. It is perhaps counterintuitive to consider that, while pictorialism was celebrated in classical literature, a fully developed humanistic theory of painting that equated the pictorial arts with poetry did not exist in antiquity, but was developed around the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁶ Horace’s treatise, like Aristotle’s *Poetics*, were the mainstays of classical antiquity’s theoretical corpus concerning poetry and drama, and not the pictorial arts, for which a formal aesthetic theory did not survive or perhaps did not even exist.¹⁷ It is the ancient theoretical corpus surrounding literature, namely the dramatic and rhetorical arts, that provided the intellectual foundation for the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*. As Lee reminds us, “[a]ntiquity furnished the Renaissance with a body of

works of *istoria* and *devozione*. See Thomas Puttfarcken, *Titian and Tragic Painting: Aristotle’s Poetics and the Rise of the Modern Artist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, pp. 8-10; also David Rosand. “*Ut Pictur Poeta: Meaning in Titian’s Poesie*” in *New Literary History*, Spring 1972, Vol. 3, pp. 527-546.

¹⁶ See Rennsalaer W. Lee’s indispensable study, *‘Ut Pictura Poesis’: A Humanistic Theory of Painting*. New York: Norton & Co., 1967. Throughout his monograph, Lee makes the argument that “the new *Ars pictoria*, for all its defects, was the child of the humanistic Renaissance” (7).

¹⁷ Lee, p. 6: “No theoretical treatise had survived that attempted, as the *Poetics* did for literature, to define the nature of the art of painting, and to discuss it in terms of formal aesthetic.” See also Paul Oskar Kristeller, “The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics, Part I.” *Journal of the History of Ideas*. Vol. 12, No. 4 (Oct. 1951), p. 506: “Thus classical antiquity left no systems or elaborate concepts of an aesthetic nature, but merely a number of scattered notions and suggestions that exercised a lasting influence down to modern times but had to be carefully selected, taken out of their context, rearranged, reemphasized and reinterpreted or misinterpreted before they could be utilized as building materials for aesthetic systems.”

doctrine intended in particular for dramatic and epic poetry, which the theorists of the 16th century cavalierly applied to painting.”¹⁸

The threads of ancient commentary that merely hinted at poetry’s alignment with painting were woven together in the Renaissance to form a cultural and intellectual paradigm that lent unprecedented priority to the visual arts. Though not the first in a chronological line of ancient authorities who made associations between painting and poetry, Horace was certainly the most frequently cited given that he authored the famous phrase *ut pictura poesis*, which came to signify one of the most fundamental topics of the Renaissance, which was to endure through the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁹ In Book II of the *Ars poetica*, Horace explains that some poems delight only once, while others invite repeated readings and close scrutiny, hence *ut pictura poesis*, “as it is with painting, so it is with a poem.”²⁰ When read in the context of the entire *Ars*, essentially a manual on poetry, it becomes clear that the reference to painting is used

¹⁸ Lee, p. 61.

¹⁹ The chronological coordinates for Rensselaer Lee’s indispensable study are the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century. The doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* begins to unravel with the publication of Lessing’s *Laocoon*, a treatise that defines the limits of the comparison between painting and poetry. See Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*. Introd. Edward Allen McCormick. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

²⁰ Horace. *Ars Poetica*. Ed. and trans. H. Rushton Fairclough. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1978, vv. 361-365, p. 480-481:

“Ut picture poesis: erit quae, si propius stes, te capiat magis, et quaedam, si longius abstes.
Haec amat obscurum, volet haec sub luce videri, iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen;
haec placuit semel, haec deciens repetita placebit. [A poem is like a picture; one strikes your fancy more, the nearer you stand; another the farther away. This courts the shade, that will wish to be seen in the light, and dreads not the critic insight of the judge. This pleased but once; that, though ten times called for, will always please.]

to illustrate concepts that have to do with poetry and rhetoric.²¹ As Hagstrum points out, “the phrase means less than what it says.”²² Horace makes another comparison between painters and poets, one that proves to be fundamental to Renaissance aesthetics. In the *Ars*, practitioners of both the verbal and visual arts are granted imaginative license – the power of *inventio* -- so long as it is restrained within the limits of *aptum* and *decorum*.²³

Repeated in Renaissance texts just as often as Horace’s *ut pictura poesis* was the phrase

²¹ Thomas Puttfarcken. *Op. Cit.*, p. 29: “The reference to painting [in Horace] is shorthand for a much more complex tradition of notions of rhetorical and poetical delivery.” See also Wesli Trimpi, “The Meaning of Horace’s *Ut picture poesis*.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxxvi, 1973, pp. 1 – 34.

²² Hagstrum, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9: “It really implies only this ‘as sometimes in painting, so occasionally in poetry.’ There is no warrant whatever in Horace’s text for the later interpretation: ‘Let a poem be like a painting.’” Complicating matters further is the fact that many of the printed versions of Horace’s treatise that were used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may have punctuated the phrase in a way that contributed to a more dogmatic interpretation. As Hagstrum explains, many early printed editions, such as Landino (Venice, 1483), Aldus (Venice, 1509), Grifolus (Florence, 1550), follow the punctuation of the earliest surviving comment that dates to the fifth century, presenting the phrase as “*ut pictura poesis erit*,” meaning “a painting will be like a poem.” Other editions, such as the one used in this study, use a colon which softens the phrase: *ut pictura poesis: erit quae...*” or “it will sometimes happen that a painting will be like a poem” See pp. 59-60.

²³Horace, *op. cit.*, vv. 1-10, p. 452-453:

“If a painter chose to join a human head to the neck of a horse, and to spread feathers of many a hue over limbs picked up now here now there, so that what at the top is a lovely woman ends below in a black and ugly fish, could you, my friends, ... refrain from laughing? Believe me dear Pisos quite like such pictures would be a book, whose idle fancies shall be shaped like a sick man’s dreams... painters and poets have always had equal right in hazarding anything... this licence we poets claim and in turn we grant the like; but not so far that savage should mate with tame, or serpents couple with birds, lambs with tigers.”

See also Hagstrum, p. 9, as well as Puttfarcken, pp. 30-31.

that Plutarch attributes to Simonides of Ceos, that “painting is mute poetry and poetry a speaking picture.”²⁴ While Plutarch maintains that poetry and painting are alike in the sense that they are both imitative arts – “the underlying aim of both is one and the same”²⁵ -- the reference to the visual arts is limited to the extent to which it lends clarity to notions regarding the verbal arts, in particular, historical narrative. Plutarch articulates the fundamental concept of *enargeia* or “pictorial vividness” which the orator and historian strove to produce, and in this way emulated the painter by creating vivid and lifelike scenes.²⁶ Visual *enargeia* characterizes the ancient tradition of iconic or ekphrastic poetry, the prototype of which is Homer’s description of the shield that Hephaestus makes for Achilles, found in Book XVIII of the *Iliad*.²⁷ Such vivid images of a work of art rendered in verse would no doubt strike the Renaissance reader as a literary manifestation of the notion *ut pictura poesis*, and serve to inspire poets such as Garcilaso and Marino to create their own examples of *ekphrasis*.

Alongside Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, Aristotle’s *Poetics* was equally responsible for forging Renaissance pictorial theory and its alignment with poetry. In Aristotle’s writings, it becomes clear that in classical antiquity imitation is the common link not only between painting and poetry but among all the arts, including music and dance.²⁸ For Aristotle, imitation is an

²⁴ Plutarch, *Moralia*. Tr. Frank Cole Babbitt. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927, vol. iv, p. 500: “Simonides... calls painting inarticulate poetry and poetry articulate painting.”

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ “The most effective historian is he who, by a vivid representation of emotions and characters, makes his narration like a painting.” *Ibid.*

²⁷ See also Hagstrum’s examination of iconic poetry and prose, pp. 17-36.

²⁸ Aristotle, *Poetics*. Trans. S.H. Butcher. Dover Publications, 1951, I, 1447a: “For as there are persons who, by conscious art or mere habit, imitate and represent various objects through the medium of colour and form, or again by the voice; so in the arts mentioned, taken as a whole, the imitation is produced by rhythm, language, or harmony, either singly or combined.” See also Kristeller, *Op. Cit.*, p.

essential vehicle for the acquisition of knowledge, as well as one of humankind's innate gifts and a natural source of delight.²⁹ Painting and poetry are alike in terms of their shared subject matter, as it is the purpose of art to imitate humankind in action.³⁰ The *Poetics* had far-reaching consequences for Renaissance aesthetics and the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*, as theories of imitation became based largely on Aristotelian principles and were articulated in terms of comparisons between painting and poetry. Aristotle recommends that in drama, as in painting, men should be represented idealistically, realistically or satirically; like a portrait painter, the dramatist can portray a character in a way that idealizes the natural model, while at the same time

504: "If we want to find in classical philosophy a link between poetry, music and the fine arts, it is provided primarily by the concept of imitation (*Greek not reproduced*). Passages have been collected from the writings of Plato and Aristotle from which it appears quite clearly that they considered poetry, music, the dance, painting and sculpture as different forms of imitation."

²⁹Aristotle, *Op. cit.*, IV, 1448b: "The instinct of imitation is implanted in man from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures and through imitation learns his earliest lessons; and no less universal is the pleasure felt in things imitated."

³⁰*Ibid*, II, 1448a: "... the objects of imitation are men in action..." It is worth noting that for Aristotle, the affinity between poetry and painting is limited to the subject matter. With respect to the means of imitation, the arts differ dramatically, and Aristotle might be said to have anticipated Lessing for the way in which he delineates the differences between the arts' respective media. Aristotle, I, 1447b: "Such then are the differences of the arts with respect to the medium of imitation." Ancient Greek culture valued poetry, music and rhythm over the visual arts, and poetry would be more akin to the temporal art of music rather than spatial art of painting. See Hagstrum, pp. 6-9: "[Painting and poetry] are not sisters but cousins; and the sisters of poetry, when one considers the means... of imitation employed are music and dancing."

capturing the likeness.³¹ Thus, the *Poetics* engendered the multiple and sometimes diverging threads that ran through Renaissance artistic theory: While on the one hand, art should seek to imitate from nature, at the same time the artist can surpass nature by selecting and combining the best attributes of several natural models, or by borrowing features from masterworks of art, in particular, classical Greco-Roman statuary.³²

³¹ *Ibid*, II, 1448a: "Since the objects of imitation are men in action, and these men must be either of a higher or a lower type... it follows that we must represent men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are. It is the same in painting."

³² Selecting the best features from several models to create an ideal figure is solidly rooted in antiquity, and is theoretically formalized and elaborated upon in the Renaissance. In Book xxxv of *Natural History*, the Elder Pliny tells the story of the ancient Greek painter Zeuxis, who created a composite figure consisting of the best features of five Crotonian maidens for his image of Hera at Agrigento. See *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, Tr. K. Jex-Blake, Introd. E. Sellers. Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1977, p. 108: "He inspected the maidens of the city naked, and chose out five, whose peculiar beauties he proposed to reproduce in his picture." This anecdote illustrating the topic of *electio* was often repeated in the Renaissance, even by Ariosto in *Orlando Furioso*: "...quelle cinque fanciulle da Crotone, le quali tra l'altre di quel populo elesse Zeusi pittore, per far di tutte cinque una sola figura eccellentissima di bellezza, furono celebrate da molti poeti, come quelle che per belle erano state approvate da colui, che perfettissimo giudizio di bellezza aver dovea." (reprinted in Barocchi, *Scritti d'arte del '500*, Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1971, v. 1-2, p. 1533). Lucian recommends a similar technique for his ideal portrait, except that the models he chooses are works of art; see Lucian, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 15-16:

Lycinus: I am now to cull from each of these [works of art] its own peculiar beauty, and combine all in a single portrait.... It is quite simple. All we have to do is hand over our several types to Reason, whose care it must be to unite them in the most harmonious fashion, with due regard to the consistency, as to the variety of the result.

Polystratus: To be sure; let Reason take her materials and begin... Lycinus: ... she is at work already... She begins with our Cnidian importation, from which she takes only the head... The hair, the forehead, the exquisite eyebrows, she will keep as Praxiteles has rendered them; the eyes too... But the cheeks and the ... face are taken from the Garden Goddess, and so are the lines of

Regardless of later interpretations, the original context of Aristotle's commentary on painting was a theoretical framework designed for dramatic poetry rather than the visual arts. And while classical antiquity provided much in the way of a foundation for Renaissance poetic theory, very little is found in classical texts to support a humanistic paradigm for painting. This is further evidenced by the dearth of classical commentary supporting the status of painting as a liberal art, a fundamental touchstone of the Renaissance doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*.³³ In fact, in light of the authority of classical sources in the Renaissance, one might wonder how painting ever achieved liberal status at all, given that some ancient authors outright reject the notion painting as a liberal art. For example, Seneca denounces painting and excludes it along with sculpture and all other manual arts from his list of recommended liberal studies, maintaining that the liberal arts were not to be pursued for pleasure, but for the purpose of promoting moral philosophy and wisdom; toward that end painting was considered not only useless, but also morally corrupting.³⁴ Moreover, in classical antiquity the category of an activity was based not

the hands... the same artist may shape her neck and closed lips to resemble those of the Amazon... What think you Polystratus, is it a lovely portrait?

For a more complete understanding of Renaissance theories of imitation, see Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962; Rennsalaer Lee, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 9-16; Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art History*, Tr. Joseph J.S. Peake, NY: Harper & Row, 1968, pp. 47-49.

³³As Puttfarcken reminds us, "a strict and correct reading of classical sources would have been of no use for an attempt to elevate the status of the painter in the Renaissance." *Op. Cit.* p. 23.

³⁴Seneca, *Letters*, 88, 18 (trans. Robin Campbell), *Letters from a Stoic: Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 156: "Nothing will induce me to accept painters into the list of liberal arts, any more than sculptors, marble-masons and all the other attendants on extravagance. I must equally reject those oil and dust practitioners, the wrestlers, or else I shall have to include in the list the perfumers and cooks and all the others who place their talents at the service of our pleasures." Seneca, *Letters*, 88, 18 (trans. Robin Campbell), *Letters from a Stoic: Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 156.

just on the worthiness of the activity itself but also on the social status of the practitioner and the context of its practice.³⁵ In the *Politics*, Aristotle draws a clear distinction between “occupations... which are fit for freemen and those which are unfit for them,” and defines the mechanical arts as any activity “pursued for the sake of gain.”³⁶ Drawing is included in his catalog of activities deemed worthy of a life of leisure, and recommends that a gentleman learn drawing in order to become able to “judge more correctly the works of different artists” and to develop “an observant eye for beauty of form and figure.”³⁷ Yet drawing would be considered a liberal art only when practiced by a free-born and liberally-educated person. Likewise, music is an art of leisure only when practiced by a gentleman for his own amusement and edification, but the same does not hold true for professional performers, who belong to the menial classes.³⁸

While a work of art may be greatly appreciated by a free-born gentleman, esteem is not necessarily accorded to its creator, as Plutarch’s statement from the *Life of Pericles* makes clear:

No gifted man, upon seeing the Zeus of Pheidias at Olympia, ever wanted to be Pheidias nor, upon seeing the Hera at Argos, ever wanted to be Polykleitos... For it

³⁵ See Puttfarken, p. 22: “whether an art is liberal or not depends not only on its own definition but also, or even more so, on the nature and standing of the person practicing it...”

³⁶ Aristotle. *Politics*. Tr. Ernest Barker. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948. Book viii, chapter 2, p 334.

Throughout this chapter, Aristotle emphasizes “the cultivation of the mind in leisure” as the pursuit that is most “proper to freemen.”

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³⁸ Aristotle treats musical education in depth in Book viii, in particular, the question of whether or not young people should learn not only music appreciation but how to actually play and perform. The aim of music is “to promote our felicity and to give us a liberal cultivation (341)” and Aristotle emphasizes its “value for the cultivation of the mind in leisure... it ranks as a part of the cultivation which men think proper to freemen” (336-37). However, with respect to training a young gentleman in music, Aristotle states: “we may accordingly reject any professional system of instruction.... We regard... performance as something improper in a freeman, and more befitting a hireling” (348). See also Puttfarken, pp. 22-23.

does not necessarily follow that, if a work is delightful because of its gracefulness, the man who made it is worthy of our serious regard.³⁹

Lucian expresses a similar concept in the *Somnium*, where he recounts how the personification of Education appeared to him in a dream telling him he would always remain a humble artisan if he chose to become a sculptor, no matter much his works were admired.

You will be nothing more than a workman, doing hard physical labor... an obscure person, earning a small ignoble wage, a man of low esteem... Even if you should become a Pheidias or Polykleitos and produce many marvelous works, all will praise your art, but not one of those who see your art... would pray to be like you.... You will be a common workman, a craftsman, one who makes his living with his hands.⁴⁰

That free-born status was a prerequisite to the consideration of painting as a liberal art was also suggested by Pliny, whose well-known comment on painting from *Natural History* was appropriated in the Renaissance by proponents of the liberalization of painting who forgot or ignored the Roman historian's original context.

[T]hroughout Greece drawing, or rather painting, on tablets of boxwood, was the earliest subject taught to freeborn boys, and... this art was accepted as the preliminary step towards a liberal education.... The freeborn, and later on, persons of distinction practiced it....⁴¹

The Aristotelian paradigm was firmly in place in the early Renaissance and although works of art were considered highly-prized objects, the young apprentices toiling away in painters' workshops were far from being considered liberal artists, and classical texts were of no help to artists who were then considered manual laborers. The classical notion of separation of the liberal arts from the mechanical arts found continuity in the Middle Ages, and remained more

³⁹ J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents*, Cambridge and New York, 1990, p. 227.

⁴⁰ Lucian, *Somnium* in Pollitt 227-228

⁴¹ Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXV, 77 in K. Jex Blake Sellers, *Op. Cit.* p. 119.

or less intact through the seventeenth century. While manual labor was considered punishment for humankind's Original sin, the liberal arts, on the other hand, were viewed as God-given sources of redemption, like the virtues and sacraments. In the Italian republics, working citizens belonged to the guild system which required artists and artisans, including painters, to pay taxes on the living earned from their craft. By contrast, feudal aristocrats, whose estate incomes allowed them to lead a life of leisure or *otium*, and pursue the liberal arts for the purpose of pleasure and not for earning wages, were exempt from such fiscal obligations.⁴² Spain's feudal aristocratic social structure engendered a similar mechanism, and the taxes imposed upon artists for the sale of their products were called *alcabalas*.⁴³ It is in this context that we must consider the original intent of Leon Battista Alberti's *De Pictura*, written in 1436: the treatise, in which painting is deemed "worthy of free minds and noble intellects" was intended as a primer for a humanist school for young princes and noblemen, whose status at birth enabled them to pursue painting as a liberal art, thus the book was a far cry from a declaration of independence for workshop painters.⁴⁴

Yet, little more than a century later, Alberti's treatise, translated into Italian and published as *Della Pittura* in 1547, would be read as a text that emancipated professional painters by establishing painting as a learned discipline and liberal art. As is known, around the middle of the sixteenth century, painters began to enjoy unprecedented social and cultural prestige. And despite the substantial *lacunae* in classical literature with regard to a humanistic theory of the visual arts, a full-fledged doctrine of sisterhood between painting and poetry – *ut*

⁴² Puttfarken, pp. 24-27.

⁴³ Julian Gallego. *El pintor, de artesano a artista*, chapters 1-2.

⁴⁴ See Puttfarken's analysis of Alberti's treatise, pp. 33-35. "For Alberti, as for most other humanists, the dignity of an art depended in the first instance on the status of its practitioners (33)."

pictura poesis—emerged. Humanists mined classical literary theory and transferred to painting Aristotelian and Horacian precepts of imitation, invention, subject matter, decorum, and the like, in order to unite poetry and painting under a single critical framework.⁴⁵ As painting came to share in the traditional prestige accorded to literature, the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* permeated late Renaissance thought, culminating in the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ In line with this trend, the pictorially-oriented poetry and drama that engaged the visual arts and the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* found full expression in the Spanish Golden Age. When one considers the authority of classical texts in the Renaissance, these developments appear rather extraordinary. Given that a doctrine of kinship between the verbal and visual arts was never expressly articulated in classical texts, questions remain as to the factors that prompted the establishment of *ut pictura poesis* among sixteenth century humanists. While scholars of Spanish Golden Age literature have

⁴⁵ Lee, p. 44: “the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* was, alike in its origins and in its sixteenth century development, a purely literary theory that a writer of humanistic temper could genially transfer to the sister art.” The extent to which sixteenth century critics “cavalierly applied” classical literary theory to painting can be seen by comparing Dolce’s *Dialogo della Pittura, intitolato L’Aretino* to Daniello’s *Poetica*, published some twenty years earlier. Lee, p. 43:

“The reader with the leisure to compare the treatises of Daniello and Dolce will encounter a striking similarity between them not merely in their insistence on the erudition of poet and painter, but in the order which they observe in developing their theories, and in their specific comments on invention, decorum, the purpose of art, and the like. Daniello’s book, published in Venice in 1536, was of course readily accessible to Dolce, and it is not improbable that the later modeled the general form of his theoretical exposition on that of the *Poetica*. In any event, it is scarcely hyperbole to say that in extended passages in both books a substitution of the word painter for poet, or vice versa... would make no important difference in the sense.”

⁴⁶ Hagstrum, p. 59: [W]e find parallels between the sister arts everywhere enforced and recommended by the Italian critics: by Castelvetro, Daniello, Capriano, Fracastoro, J.C. Scaliger, Possevino, Pontano, Minturno, Benedetto Varchi, Robortello, Gelli, and doubtless others besides.” See also Lee, *Op. Cit.*; Kristeller, *Op. Cit.*

examined and emphasized the way in which reflections of the visual arts manifest in literature, the confluence of socio-historical, philosophical and aesthetic discourses that fostered the link between painting and poetry has been discussed in greater measure within the discipline of art history. The rest of this chapter attempts to expand the synthesis between literary criticism and art history in order to promote fuller understanding of the relationship between painting and poetry in the Spanish Golden age. In particular, the Spanish court, by way of its unique geopolitical position and extensive enterprise in artistic patronage, played an important and unique role in facilitating the commingling of painters and poets and forging the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*. Furthermore, given that trends in art manifest on both a plastic and a discursive plane, this chapter reviews the web of competing art-theoretical and aesthetic discourses which circulated in Spain around the turn of the seventeenth century, that are fundamental to understanding the relationship between Góngora's poetry and the visual arts.

Artistic Patronage and the Convergence of Painter and Poet in the late '500

Constituting one of the most important factors in the consolidation of *ut pictura poesis* were practices of artistic patronage that came to the fore around the middle of the sixteenth century. The courts of Mantua, Ferrara, Rimini, Milan and, to an even greater extent, the Spanish courts under Carlos V and Philip II of Spain, contributed to an explosion in artistic patronage that created conditions favorable to artistic freedom, and helped provide the building blocks for a discourse that embraced painting as a liberal art akin to poetry.⁴⁷ Thus Spain played

⁴⁷See Martin Warnke. *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*. Cambridge, 1993. This argument runs counter to the prevalent view that artistic freedom developed in the Italian city states. Rather, it can be argued that the city states civic administration enforced the guild system and therefore

a unique and important role in the development of early modern European visual culture, in particular, the establishment of a doctrine of kinship between painting and poetry toward the latter sixteenth century. As painting rose in prestige among princes and rulers, painters were increasingly invited for extended stays at court in order to execute commissions. Artists often remained in the service of the court for long periods and received tax-exempt annual pensions and in this way were freed from the demands of the marketplace as well as the tax obligations of the guild system.

This change in fiscal status is not merely a practical and socio-economic matter, but a key element pertaining to philosophical discourses surrounding the liberal and mechanical arts. The latter were seen as the punishable, i.e. taxable, results of man's original sin while the liberal arts were considered as emanating from man's God-given intellect, a distinction that more or less survived into the seventeenth century.⁴⁸ Thus, an appointment at court freed the painter not only from tax obligations but also, and more importantly, from notions that categorized the artist as a manual laborer. In the space of courtly environs painter and humanist poet converged, as they took on similar roles: both occupied the position of *familiaris*⁴⁹ and were able to work relatively independently and leisurely in order to contribute to the cultural life of their royal patrons. In this setting, the work of the artist could be more easily conceived of as the fruit of intellectual

suppressed artists' aspirations, while the courts allowed greater artistic freedom in the form of long-term commissions, as will be discussed. See Puttfarken, *Op. Cit.*, p.25.

⁴⁸ See note 31. See also Puttfarken, 27

⁴⁹Puttfarken, p. 25: At the courts, humanist and painter could be seen to converge in the position of courtly *familiaris*, a member of a princely household... See also Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain 1500 – 1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, p. 3: "the one who was first among equals, the *pintor de cámara* (painter of the privy chamber...)..."

capabilities like *ingenio*, *fantasía*, and imitation, as are the creations of the poet.⁵⁰ With respect to humanists' support of paintings liberal status, it is worthwhile to consider certain motivating factors that may have arisen out of the propinquity of poets and painters at court. Given painting's prestige among courtly patrons and its dazzling display in palatial environs, it is logical that poets and other court intellectuals would be inspired to appropriate elements of the visual arts into their own endeavors, quite possibly out of sheer inspiration but also in order to make their compositions more attractive to court patrons who were obviously interested in the visual arts.⁵¹ But it must be remembered that given the rigid class system of the early modern period and the strict notions surrounding the separation of the mechanical and liberal arts, humanists would be hard-pressed to incorporate painting into their own writings, much less advocate the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*, with painters on par with poets, if painting were considered a manual rather than a liberal art.⁵² Thus, it could be argued that a symbiotic relationship arose between painters and poets: humanists possibly supported painting to enhance

⁵⁰ For more on artists at court, see Puttfarcken, pp. 25-27. As he mentions on p. 25: "At the courts, humanist and painter could be seen to converge in the position of courtly *familiaris*... and here are found social structures and practices of patronage that in the mind of an employment-seeking humanist could easily, without too much sophistry, be made to look like the ideal conditions for the pursuit of the liberal arts." Furthermore, p. 26: "backed up by an annual pension, there is the chance of freedom to work, in true liberal fashion... Hence there is freedom to invent: the artist is expected to be inventive rather than merely responsive to a commission (in theory)."

⁵¹ Puttfarcken, p. 32: "What [humanists] clearly were interested in was to widen the range of their own activities by appropriating suitable parts of other arts, which they could subject to critical or epideictic rhetoric or for which they could formulate liberal theories. This was one way of making themselves more interesting and attractive to potential employers."

⁵² *Ibid*: "Comparing painting with the liberal arts and poetry allowed humanist critics and writers to write about painting, since they could only do so without loss of dignity and standing amongst their class if painting could be shown to be a subject worthy of their (and their readers') attention."

their own endeavors, while the comparison of painting to poetry allowed the artist to realize his aspirations. It is partially out of this dynamic that there arose the humanist notion of the learned painter, a figure that was not yet to materialize in reality until about the seventeenth century, but as a discourse would greatly facilitate the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*.⁵³

It is clear that courtly patronage was fundamental to creating conditions favorable to strengthening the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* and the notion of painting as a liberal art. Within the realm of courtly society, the individual and personal relationship between patron and artist that developed in the sixteenth century was fundamental to the cultural processes that gave rise to *ut pictura poesis*. And in this respect, the Spanish court played a central role in establishing the cultural and social backdrop against which poets would laud painters and incorporate painterly aspects into their work, and this is perhaps best illustrated by the life of Titian, who was often referred to as the New Apelles. We know that between the Spanish monarchs Carlos V and Phillip II and the painter Titian there existed a liberal and respectful relationship, along with a general agreement by which the painter would provide, at his own discretion and leisure, numerous works over the next decade, for a generous pension.⁵⁴ The Venetian master belonged to a humble artists' guild, yet as court painter of Charles V since 1553, he enjoyed the life of a wealthy gentleman and was not only treated with great respect by Emperor Charles V, Queen Maria of Hungary and King Phillip II, and also knighted with the title of the Golden Spur. Titian's social status and freedom of artistic creation were unparalleled, even among his allegedly liberal counterparts of Florence, and he undoubtedly embodied the quintessential image

⁵³ Lee, p. 41: "[A]s fashioned by the Italian critics of the Cinquecento, the learned painter is a highly theoretical personage who, if he cannot be called an actual figment of the imagination, has never had more than a partial basis in reality; and much of the time he has had no basis there at all."

⁵⁴ C. Hope, "Titian and his Patrons" in *Titian: Prince of Painters*. Ed. S. Biadene, Munich, 1990, pp. 77-84.

of the gentleman painter.⁵⁵

We know that in Italy, painting achieved liberal status around 1550 and in Spain this took place in official terms around 1677. Yet, while it is true that in Spain *de jure* liberalization of painting occurred quite late in the seventeenth century, and renowned Spanish painters like El Greco and Carducho endured legal battles with the tax-collecting *alcabaleros* in order to set fiscal precedents in favor of painters,⁵⁶ the intellectual and cultural foundations for painting as a liberal art akin to poetry had been in essence established around the mid-sixteenth century. Painting enjoyed great prestige at the Spanish court and the Spanish monarchs Charles and Philip II, to whom Brown refers as a “megacollector,”⁵⁷ played significant roles in creating the conditions of patronage that gave rise to the elevation of painting’s status and its convergence with poetry. Titian was Spain’s most prestigious painter, but not the only one to enjoy liberal status within the realm of the Spanish palatial complex and the Escorial project: Zuccaro, Tibaldi, Bassano as well as Spanish painters such as Navarrete el Mudo and Gaspar Becerra, all enjoyed *de facto* liberal status, free of the fiscal pressures imposed by the guild system, under the auspices of the Spanish Court. In this cultural climate, painters and poets converged as *familiari* in the service of the court.⁵⁸ Later in the seventeenth century, the painter Velazquez

⁵⁵ For more on Titian’s social status and relationship with his patrons, see Puttfarken pp. 39-40: “The old Titian enjoyed the greatest independence, as far as his work was concerned, and the most remarkable social advancement.” See also C. Hope, *Op. Cit.*

⁵⁶ Gallego. Chapters 8 and 9.

⁵⁷ Jonathan Brown. *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.

⁵⁸ Checa: “El caso de una relación comitente-artista individualizada no se reduce a los ejemplos de Tiziano y Pompeo Leoni, y podría extenderse a otros como el de Antonio Moro, Gaspar Becerra, Navarrete el Mudo o Sánchez Coello o los pintores italianos Tibaldi, Zuccaro o Cambiaso. En realidad, todos ellos, y sobre todo los que residieron permanentemente o por largas temporadas en la corte,

was to enjoy the even more specialized and prestigious post of *pintor de camara*.⁵⁹ Alberti's directive to the painter to become "learned in all the liberal arts" – "in artibus liberalibus" -- and "take pleasure in poets and orators" thus became a realistic objective for professional painters who were until this point confined to workshops and guilds.⁶⁰ Given the new conditions surrounding artistic patronage, the cultural climate of the sixteenth century was conducive to reading Alberti's treatise, translated as *Della Pittura* in 1547, as universally promoting painting as a liberal art on par with poetry.

The 'Paragone': Painting and Poetry as Rival Sisters

Well-established in Góngora's generation was the tradition inherited from medieval learning institutions of debating the relative merits or superiority of the various arts and sciences. These polemics – the *paragoni* -- involved not only the fine arts but extended to other disciplines, such as medicine and jurisprudence, arms and letters.⁶¹ The *paragone* tradition culminates in the

alcanzaron en una o otra medida ese estatus liberador de la profesión.... No es de extrañar por ello que abunden con relativa frecuencia las alegorías a una consideración intelectual de las artes...." (308).

⁵⁹ Jonathan Brown. *Painting in Spain 1500-1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, p. 3: "the one who was first among equals, the *pintor de camara* (painter of the privy chamber...)... See also Jonathan Brown, *Velazquez: Painter and Courtier*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

⁶⁰ L.B. Alberti, *De Pictura*, book III, paras 53 and 54 in *On Painting and Sculpture: The Latin Texts of De Pictura and De Statua*. Ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson, London, 1972: "take pleasure in poets and orators, for these have many ornaments in common with the painter. Literary men, who are full of information about many subjects, will be of great assistance in preparing the composition of a *istoria*, and the great virtue of this consists primarily in its invention. I therefore advise the painter to make himself familiar with poets and orators and other men of letters, for he will not only obtain excellent ornaments from such learned minds, but he will also be assisted in those very inventions which in painting may gain him the greatest praise."

⁶¹ Kristeller, *Op. cit.*, p. 516. See also Hagstrum, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 66-70; Lee, *Op. Cit.*

writings of Leonardo Da Vinci, whose compilation entitled *Paragone* argues for the overarching superiority of painting over all three arts of poetry, music and sculpture.⁶² Leonardo privileges vision over all the other senses and exalts the *virtù visiva* of painting.⁶³ Pretending to hold a debate with a poet over which medium is best suited to depict a battle scene, he claims:

[I]l pittore ti supera, perché la tua penna fia consumata inanzi che tu descriva a pieno quell che immediate il pittore ti rappresenta con la sua scienza. E la tua lingua sarà impedita dalla sete, et il corpo dal sonno e fame, prima che tu con parole dimostri quello che in un istante il pittore ti dimostra.⁶⁴

Leonardo's writings were instrumental in the establishment of painting as a liberal art and consequently the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*. Not only did painting acquire greater prestige

⁶² We know that the *Paragone* is in essence a compilation of Leonardo's scattered notes that was first assembled by one of his pupils and later by modern editors. See Irma A. Richter. *Paragone: A Comparison of the Arts by Leonardo da Vinci*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949. See also Calvo Serraller, Introduction to Carducho's *Dialogos*, 1979, p. 29n: Some of Leonardos' manuscripts that would later be known as *Trattato della Pittura*, remained in Spain for decades, and the Escorial sculptor Pompeo Leoni possessed about 10 of them. Carducho and Pacheco most likely cite the same manuscript, to which the latter referred as *documentos*.

⁶³ In Leonardo DaVinci, *Trattato*, in Paola Barocchi, *Scritti dell' arte del cinquecento*. Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1971, p. 235: "la poesía pon le sue cose nella immaginazione de lettere, e la pittura le dà realmente fori de l'occhio, dal qual occhio riceve le similitudine, non altrimenti che s'elle fussino naturali, e la poesía le dà senza essa similitudine, e non passano alla impressiva per via della virtù visiva come la pittura." With respect to vision as the most noble of all the senses, see 238: L'occhio, che si dice finestra dell' anima, è la principale via donde il comune senso può più copiosa e magnificamente considerare le infinite opera di natura; e l'orecchio è il secondo, il quale si fa nobile per le cose racconta, le quali ha veduto l'occhio... il poeta serve al senso per via de l'orecchio, il pittore per l'occhio, più degno senso... Richter, 1953, p. 24: "Leonardo followed the theory originally propounded in Aristotle's *De Anima*... that the five senses transmitted their impressions to the "sensus comunis" as to a centre where they were judged."

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236

among its elite patrons, but a discourse evolved that privileged painting over the other arts, in particular, poetry. Thus it is not surprising that poets would then borrow from the art of painting in order to imbue their work with greater *virtú visiva*. As Hagstrum reminds us, “the paragone forced [humanists and poets] to consider the claims of painting, an art that during the Renaissance had learned the full scope of its own peculiar genius.”⁶⁵ The *paragoni* debates served to express differences between one medium and another and thus, in anticipation of the ideas of Lessing, to define their relative merits and respective boundaries.⁶⁶ Yet at the same, as poetry begins to borrow visual elements and techniques from painting, a unifying effect ensued to reinforce notions of affinity and the idea of painting and poetry as “sister arts” rather than rivals.

Just as important as Leonardo’s *Paragone*, though more subtle in its message, was Benedetto Varchi’s *Due Lezioni* published in Florence around 1550. A compilation of his own *disputa* along with eight letters from contemporary artists, including Michelangelo, Varchi’s text comprises essentially an epistolary debate on the nobility of the arts and the relative merits of painting, poetry and sculpture. Some critics see Varchi’s text as a “corrective” that not only drew boundaries between painting and poetry but also tempered Leonardesque enthusiasm surrounding the new liberal art of painting by drawing upon Aristotelian concepts to relate the visual arts to the lowest parts of the rational soul.⁶⁷ Though maintaining that painting and poetry are linked by way of imitation, Varchi makes rather clear distinctions between the two, aligning

⁶⁵ Hagstrum, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70.

⁶⁶ Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. *Laöcoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*. Introd. Edward Allen McCormick. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

⁶⁷ See François Quiviger, “Benedetto Varchi and the Visual Arts.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. Vol. 50 (1987), p. 219-224.

painting with the representation of outward appearances and poetry with the inner workings of the soul while also noting differences in their respective media:

...[L]a poesia si chiama arte, ed ... è simile a la pittura, perché amendue imitano la natura; ma è da notare che il poeta l'imita colle parole et i pittori co' colori, e quello che è più, i poeti imitano il di dentro principalmente, cioè i concetti e le passion dell' animo, se bene molte volte descrivono ancora e quasi dipingono cole parole i corpi e tutte le fattezze di tutte le cose, così animate come inanimate; et i pittori imitano principalmente il di fuori, cioè i corpi e le fattezze di tutte le cose.⁶⁸

The Venetian art critic and theorist Ludovico Dolce, in his *Dialogo della pittura intitolato l'Aretino* (1557) echoes Varchi and, surprisingly, further suggests the primacy of poetry over painting for its capacity to represent both interior and exterior realms:

[I]l pittore e' intento a imitar per via di linee e di colori, o sia in un piano di tavola di muro o di tela, tutto quello che si dimostra all' occhio; et il poeta col mezzo delle parole va imitando non solo ciò che si dimostra all' occhio, ma che ancora si rappresenta all' intelletto.⁶⁹

As critics have noted, Góngora's poetry is filled with painterly images, many of them reminiscent of well-known Renaissance masterpieces. In writing poetry that imitates painting, Góngora engages not only the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* but also the corresponding and competing discourses that spring from the *paragone* tradition. The painterly images that populate Góngora's major poems seem to respond directly to Leonardo's call for *virtú visiva* and at the same time make manifest Dolce's declaration that poetry is better able to represent external forms along with inward conditions. Let us look at stanza xxviii of the *Polifemo*:

*La ninfa, pues, la sonora plata
Bullir sintió del arroyuelo apenas,
Quando, a los verdes márgenes ingrata,
Segur se hizo de sus azucenas.*

⁶⁸ Benedetto Varchi, *Due Lezioni*, in Barocchi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 264.

⁶⁹ Ludovico Dolce, *Op. Cit.*, p. 152.

*Huyera; mas tan frío se desata
Un temor perezoso por sus venas,
Que a la precisa fuga, al presto vuelo,
Grillos de nieve fue, plumas de hielo.*⁷⁰

The stanza begins with a painterly and vivid image of the outward appearance or *fattezze* of the pearl-skinned nymph rising from the green, grassy edge of the stream, with color defining and contouring forms and surfaces. Then the chimerical image that follows – *grillos de nieve...*, *plumas de hielo* -- presents in the mind's eye a form composed of natural elements that renders clear the nymph's inner, psychological state or *passione dell' animo*, that is, the fear that immobilizes her and keeps her from fleeing. The juxtaposition of natural elements – feathers and ice, crickets and snow -- forms an image in the reader's mind that conveys multiple meanings at once. By transcending the burden of poetic time, the poet seems to directly address Leonardo's critique of poetry's temporal aspect and claims that the painter can better present a narrative *in un solo istante*.

Painting as a Liberal Art and the Platonic Idea

We know that starting with the original Latin version of *De Pictura* in 1436, Alberti's treatise was responsible for codifying technical knowledge associated with painting and laying the groundwork for the establishment of painting as a learned discipline grounded in mathematics and geometry. Helping to lead the way for painting into the pantheon of the liberal arts were transformations in ideas regarding the educational system in the Renaissance. Around the first half of the fifteenth century the medieval *trivium* evolves into the *studia humanitatis*, a system consisting of branches of scholarly disciplines including grammar, rhetoric, history,

⁷⁰ Luis de Góngora. *El Polifemo*. Ed. and Introd. Damaso Alonso. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1967, vv. 217-224

poetry and moral philosophy.⁷¹ As was already mentioned the classical learning system dominated by Seneca's *studia liberalia* and the medieval system of the seven liberal arts consisting of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* did not allow for an approximation between a mechanical and liberal art. Painting's liberal status was made possible by the more general and flexible learning schemata offered by the *studia humanitatis* which allowed for the pursuit of an activity as long as it was considered intellectually, morally and philosophically worthy. This more fluid paradigm afforded the practitioners of painting, now rising in prestige in courtly society among humanists, an intellectual space in which to make the claim for painting as a learned discipline grounded in branches of the *studia humanitatis*.⁷² The founding of academies dedicated to the study of the visual arts, most notably the Accademia del Disegno, established by Giorgio Vasari in 1563, concretized the notion of painters as *dotti* steeped in a formal system of learning.

The development of a theoretical corpus was fundamental to the process of securing painting a place in the system of the liberal arts and for establishing its kinship to poetry. And the second half of the sixteenth century could well be considered the "golden age," so to speak, of art theory, as a plethora of extensive art treatises came to the fore. As we know, Alberti's treatise, first published in Latin in 1436, was translated into Italian and published as *Della Pittura* in 1547. Yet the wave of theoretical writings that followed amounted to something quite

⁷¹ Paul Oskar Kristeller. *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*. Ed. Michael Mooney. New York, 1979, pp. 22-23.

⁷²Puttfarken, p. 23: "the liberal arts had now been embraced, at least in part, by the *studia humanitatis*, and had lost, in the process, the precise definitions of both Seneca and the Christian tradition. From now on the liberal arts no longer constituted a clearly defined system of knowledge, but an ideology, a myth even, according to which certain human activities were intellectually, morally and socially superior to others."

different: while for the most part Alberti dealt with the technical concerns associated with painting, the new theory enters into metaphysical territory, constituting the “turn toward speculative thought in art theory.”⁷³ Starting in the sixteenth century, art theory evolved out of the realm of mere technical matters and began to mirror poetics in its exploration of moral and philosophical content, endowing painting with metaphysical underpinnings that rendered it common ground with humanists and poets.⁷⁴ Among the important theoretical works of this period are Ludovico Dolce’s *Dialogo della pittura intitolato L’Aretino* of 1557, Paolo Pino’s *Dialogo della Pittura* (1548), Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo’s *Trattato della pittura, scoltura ed architettura* (1584) and *Idea del tempio della pittura* (1590), Giovanni Battista Armenini’s *De veri precetti della pittura* (1587), and Frederico Zuccaro’s *Idea dei pittori, scultori ed architetti* (1607), all of which engage complex philosophical discourses having to do with artistic representation.

Perhaps no treatise of the sixteenth century was more influential or widely received than the *Vite dei più illustri pittori, scultori ed architetti*, first published in Florence 1550 and

⁷³ Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art History*. Tr. Joseph J.S. Peake. New York: Harper & Row, 1968, pp. 83-84

⁷⁴ Panofsky explains: “Earlier art theory had tried to lay the practical foundations for artistic production; now it had to face the task of proving its theoretical legitimacy. Thought now took refuge... in a metaphysics meant to justify the artist in claiming for his inner notions a suprasubjective validity as to both correctness and beauty.... It would be wrong to reproach the art theorists for this ever-increasing tendency toward the speculative. They saw themselves... faced with problems that could not be solved by any other means, and the recognition of these problems necessarily led the theorists of pictorial art along the same paths which the founders of modern poetics, such as Scaliger and Castelvetro, were traveling at about the same time.” Ultimately, “writing about art passed from the hands of artists to those of antiquarians, literati and philosophers.” See Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art History*. Tr. Joseph J.S. Peake. New York: Harper & Row, 1968, pp. 83-84

followed by a second edition in 1568, by the Florentine humanist and painter Giorgio Vasari. Considered the father of art history, Vasari continues to affect our understanding of Renaissance art even today.⁷⁵ The *Vite* had wide literary appeal, and enthralled readers with dazzling descriptions of Florence's artistic treasures and intriguing Boccaccian-style tales of the artists' *vite*.⁷⁶ But most importantly, with the *Vite*, Vasari established a critical framework for understanding painting and developed the lexicon essential to art theory and criticism.⁷⁷ Moreover, Vasari elevated the figure of the painter, and dispersed the Platonic notion of the painter as a divine figure analogous to the divine poet.⁷⁸

But the idea of the divine artist is not the only Platonic concept that was reconstructed in the Renaissance to promote the visual arts. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, a

⁷⁵The Vasarian paradigm, which will be treated in greater detail in relation to Góngora's poetry in a subsequent chapter, is summed up by E.H. Gombrich in his seminal work *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*. Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1966, p. 1:

The Renaissance conception of artistic progress is familiar to all of us from Vasari's *Lives*. There we read of the rise of the arts from rude beginnings to their perfection, first in classical antiquity and then once more, after the Gothic disaster, through the three states of 'good, 'better' and 'best' to the pinnacle of Michelangelo's art (1).

⁷⁶See Boase, T.S.R. *Giorgio Vasari: the Man and the Book*. Wash., DC: National Gallery of Art, 1979.

⁷⁷See Montijano García, Juan María. *Giorgio Vasari y la formulación de un vocabulario artístico*. Málaga: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Telmo, 2002.

⁷⁸Kristeller, op. cit., p. 511: "The revival of Platonism helped spread the notion of the divine madness of the poet, a notion that by the second half of the sixteenth century began to be extended to the visual arts and became one of the ingredients of the modern concept of genius." See also Emison, Patricia A. *Creating the "Divine" Artist: from Dante to Michelangelo*. Boston: Brill, 2004, p. 4: "Michelangelo or his works were dubbed 'divine' more than twenty times in the *Life* of 1550, nearly 40 times in the *Life* of 1568, as were Dante, Vittoria Colonna... The states of minds of the Sistine Prophets and Sibyls were called divine and the hands of the artist..."

reconfiguration of Plato's ideas played a role of paramount importance in the development of artistic theory and the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*. As is known, Plato's commentary on both painting and poetry was for the most part negative. Plato unequivocally condemns the imitative arts, and equates poetry with painting only to relegate both to a lowly category of corrupt activity that strays from the pursuit of wisdom and truth.⁷⁹ In fact, it is possible that the harsh condemnation of the imitative arts found in the *Republic* may have been responsible for a certain lack of enthusiasm among humanists with respect to endorsing painting as liberal art, and perhaps even contributed to suppressing art theoretical writings in the one-hundred or so years prior to 1550.⁸⁰ Yet despite Plato's harsh condemnation of the visual arts, in the Renaissance, Platonic concepts were reconfigured in a way that accommodated pictorial theory and elevated the work of the painter. Plato compares the philosopher/lawgiver who outlines the constitutional

⁷⁹ Plato. *Republic*. Trans. and Introd. Francis MacDonald Cornford, Oxford: Clarendon, 1941, Book X, p. 329: "We have... a fair case against the poet and we may set him down as the counterpart of the painter... his creations are poor things by the standard of truth and reality, and his appeal is not to the highest part of the soul, but to one which is equally inferior. So we shall be justified in not admitting him into a well-ordered commonwealth because he stimulates and strengthens an element which threatens to undermine reason...he is an image-maker whose images are phantoms far removed from reality." Poetry is to some extent redeemed, since Plato invites Poetry to "show good reason why it should exist in well-governed society" (p. 332).

⁸⁰ We know that after the first edition of Alberti's *De Pictura* in 1436, no treatise on painting is published until Domenichi's translation of Alberti's work in 1547. The dominant explanation has been put forth by Anthony Blunt, who maintains that painting's scientific and technical aspects had been established and codified in the previous century. But Puttfarken's claim that Plato's attack on the imitative arts is responsible for the silencing of art theory for the first half of the sixteenth century makes a good deal of sense: "[Plato's] unqualified condemnation of painting would have made it extremely difficult for any sympathetic humanist to come to the support of the visual arts" (42). It is interesting that after 1550 there is a resurgence in theoretical writings on art and that these works focus on the metaphysical aspects of painting and incorporate Platonic concepts. See Puttfarken, pp. 42-46.

framework of the ideal state to a painter who outlines a beautiful image based on an ideal form that does not exist in nature.⁸¹ This notion gave rise to the discourse that regarded painters as the elite possessors of the divine *Idea*, that is, images in the mind that were related to ideal Platonic forms. Ironically, for practitioners of the imitative arts, the most effective defense against criticism stemming from Plato's writings proved to be a discourse that was itself a Platonic construct.⁸² Around the middle of the sixteenth century, the claim that painters as well as poets do not simply imitate the external world but an ideal form in their mind that corresponded to a Platonic ideal form was pressed into service, thereby lending unprecedented metaphysical prestige to the visual arts. The *Idea* doctrine holds that artists are guided by an ideal form generated by the intellect, and imitation from nature is selectively wrought in order to make this form manifest in a work of art. In his famous letter to Castiglione of 1515, Raphael expresses

⁸¹*Ibid.*, Book V, p. 173: "When we set out to discover the essential nature of justice... our purpose was to use them as ideal patterns... We did not set out to show that these ideals could exist in fact... Then suppose a painter had drawn an ideally beautiful figure... would you think any the worse of him, if he could not show that a person as beautiful as that could exist? ...We have been constructing in discourse the pattern of an ideal state. Is our theory any the worse, if we cannot prove... that a state so organized should be actually founded? The Platonic Idea is the topic of Erwin Panofsky's seminal work, *Idea... Concept in Art History*. Tr. Joseph J.S. Peake. New York: Harper and Row, 1968. See also Puttfarken, p. 46. There is debate as to whether or not Plato distinguishes between those painters who reproduce mere illusions and those who copy the essence of ideal forms. Panofsky claims that he did indeed make this distinction, and therefore certain types of painters are redeemed; the art historian cites vi, 500 of the Republic, the passage in which Plato compares the painter to philosopher. But Puttfarken claims that Plato makes no such distinction and uses this comparison only metaphorically to shed light on the verbal art of the philosopher (See Puttfarken 46).

⁸² As mentioned above, Erwin Panofsky's study, *Idea: A Concept in Art History*, traces the development of this construct from antiquity through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to the late seventeenth century.

this notion in connection with his depiction of Galatea in the fresco *Triumph of Galatea* in the Farnese Palace in Rome: “[L]e dico che per dipingere una bella mi bisognerebbe veder più belle... Ma, essendo carestia de di buoni giudici e di belle donne, io mi servo di certa idea che mi viene nella mente.”⁸³

Thus, a rereading of Plato and a reconfiguration of Platonic notions establishes the *Idea* concept, whereby the visual artist that Plato so vehemently criticized comes to embody the Platonic thinker who is privy to the world of ideal forms. In his famous *Proemio* to the *Vite*, Vasari establishes the notion of the *concetto* as the fundamental basis of the arts, made externally manifest through the art of *disegno*.⁸⁴ The discursive trend around the Platonic *Idea* culminates in Federico Zuccaro’s *Idea de’ pittori, scultori ed architetti* (1607), a treatise that outlines the notion of the God-given *disegno interno*, which is essentially an idea or concept that forms in the human mind; this image is at the same time a *forma spirituale* and *scintilla della divinità*. The *disegno interno* allows humankind to apprehend all natural things and its manifestation precedes

⁸³ In Paola Barocchi, *Scritti d’arte del cinquecento*. Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1971, v. 2, p. 1530.

Raphael’s famous letter to Castiglione, often quoted by art theorists including Francisco Pacheco, was first published among other letters in a volume compiled by Ludovico Dolce in 1559, *Lettere di diversi eccellentissimi uomini*, Venice, 1559.

⁸⁴ Vasari connects the *Idea* to the essence of drawing, father of the arts, and in the *Vite*, claims: “Perché il disegno, padre delle tre arti nostre architettura, scultura e pittura, procedendo dall’ intelletto cava di molte cose un giudizio universal simile a una forma overo idea di tutte le cose della natura... da questa cognizione nasce un certo concetto... che si forma nella mente ... che poi espresso con le mani si chiama disegno...”, in Barocchi, *Op. Cit.*, 1971, p. 1912. And in *De Pictura*, Alberti refers to the *idea delle bellezze* as a prelude to the oft-repeated story of Zeuxis and the Crotonian maidens in which the painter selects the best features from several models to create the ideal image of Helen. See Panofsky, pp. 57-59.

the execution of a work of art.⁸⁵ The capacity for man to formulate ideas is evidence of his God-like nature, hence the word *disegno* is an etymological symbol for *segno di Dio in noi*.⁸⁶ At the heart of the *Polifemo*, Góngora beautifully poetizes the *Idea* concept as it is linked to the visual arts in the well-known passage:

*Llamáralo, aunque muda, mas no sabe
el nombre articular que más querría
ni lo ha visto, si bien pincel suave
lo ha bosquejado ya en su fantasía.*⁸⁷

Like other poets of his generation, Góngora demonstrates knowledge of the visual arts by employing the lexicon of painting, such as *pincel* and *bosquejo*.⁸⁸ In this conceit, he hinges the

⁸⁵ Federico Zuccaro, *Idea de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, in Barocchi, *Scritti...* 1971, pp. 2064-2066: “[D]iró che per disegno interno intendo il concetto formato nella mente nostra per potere conoscer qual si voglia cosa et operare di fuori conforme alla cosa intesa, in quella maniera che noi altri pittori, volendo disegnare o dipingere qualche degna istoria, ... formiamo prima nella mente nostra un concetto di quanto allora potiamo pensare ch’ occorresse cosí in cielo come in terra.... E principalmente dico che disegno non é material, non é corpo, non é accidente di sostanza alcuna, ma é forma, idea, ordine, regola, termine et oggetto dell’ intelletto, in cui sono espresso le cose intese.”

⁸⁶ Zuccaro links his definition of *idea* with a well-known passage from St. Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologiae*, I.1.15. Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo explores similar concepts in his *Idea del tempio della pittura* (1590). For a more detailed analysis of Zuccaro’s and Lomazzo’s treatises, see Panofsky, pp. 85-96.

⁸⁷ Luis de Góngora. *El Polifemo*. Ed. and Introd. Damaso Alonso. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1967, vv. 249-251.

⁸⁸ See Lía Schwartz, “Linguistic and Pictorial Conceits in the Baroque.” *Writing for the Eyes in the Spanish Golden Age*. Ed. & Introd. Frederick de Armas. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004. On p. 286, we are reminded that “in texts by both Quevedo and Gracian we find a consistent use of linguistic conceits that encompass technical terms borrowed from the lexicon of painting.” Quevedo uses terms like *borrón* and *pincel*, for example in *romance 429*, vv. 21-24: *mal imitados borrones/de su perfección divina/muestran floridos los prados*. The use of these terms reflects “the cross-fertilization of literary and plastic codes at work during the Baroque” (p. 283).

material and plastic elements of painting to intellectual and metaphysical notions surrounding the visual arts, through use of the term *fantasía*.⁸⁹ Furthermore, in these lines Góngora shows himself to be at the vanguard of aesthetic theory, as some years later, the painter and art-theorist Francisco Pacheco would incorporate notions about the *Idea* from the treatises of Lomazzo and Zuccaro, as well as Raphael,⁹⁰ into his art-theoretical masterpiece *Arte de la Pintura* (1649),⁹¹ maintaining that “la perfección consiste en pasar de las ideas o a lo natural, y de lo natural a las ideas; buscando siempre lo mayor y más seguro y perfecto.”⁹²

Art, Art-theorists and Poets in Seventeenth-century Spain: A Plethora of Discourses

Starting in the sixteenth century, Spanish literati wove painting as a theme into works of poetry and drama, and were steeped in discourses about art, including formal theories of painting.

⁸⁹ In the Renaissance *fantasia* constitutes the faculty to invent that is shared by both painters and poets. The concept of *fantasia* has its roots in Horace, and refers to the license to create chimerical figures, although Horace warns against violating decorum and nature. In the sixteenth century, *fantasia* acquires paramount importance in the link between painting and poetry. See Puttfarken, pp. 30-31.

⁹⁰ Pacheco, in *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. Bassegoda i Hugas, p. 275-276. Pacheco quotes Rafael's letter and tells the story of the Crotonian maidens: “para la bellísima Elena... eligió cinco hermosas doncellas, y de cada una de ellas fue escogiendo lo más perfecto para hacer una figura igualmente acabadísima, aventajando el arte a la misma naturaleza.” Raphael's letter is contained in Dolce's compilation of *Lettere*, which Pacheco possessed in his library (see Bassegoda i Hugas, Intro, pp. 32-36). Panofsky further examines Pacheco's writings in light of the *Idea* concept as it is expressed by Zuccaro and Lomazzo; see pp. 217n, 225-229nn.

⁹¹ Pacheco's *Arte* was published posthumously in 1649, but parts of it were most likely finished and copied around 1619 and 1620. His pamphlet *A los profesores del Arte de la Pintura* of 1622 appears to have been based on chapters 3 to 5 of Book I of the *Arte*, that were already completed by that time. The treatise was likely written and compiled in its final form between 1634-1638. See Bassegoda i Hugas, Introduction, p. 43.

⁹² Pacheco, *Op. Cit.*, p. 275.

As is known, the mainstays of '500 Italian art theory – Vasari's *Vite*, Alberti's *De Pictura*, Dolce's *Dialoghi*, parts of Leonardo's *Trattato* and others – all made their way into Spanish libraries. These texts contributed to the development of multiple art-theoretical discourses in the Golden Age and a dynamic conversation about art in which Góngora's poetry participates.⁹³ Not surprisingly, the privileging of aesthetic discourse in Spain emerges in the midst of the historically unprecedented enterprise in artistic patronage undertaken by Phillip II,⁹⁴ who drew upon the most important artists of the Renaissance, mainly from Venice and the Netherlands,⁹⁵ to form his immense collection, which provided great impetus not only for the painters' rise in

⁹³ Pacheco mines '500 Italian art theory as the basis for his treatise, and his library is demonstrative of the extent to which Spanish art theory was connected to trends that first occurred in Italy. See Bassegoda i Hugas, Introduction, pp. 32-36. About Leonardos' manuscripts that would later be known as *Trattato della Pittura*, some remained in Spain for decades, and the Escorial sculptor Pompeo Leoni possessed about 10 of them. Carducho and Pacheco most likely cite the same manuscript, to which the latter referred as *documentos*. See Calvo Serraller, Introduction to Carducho's *Dialogos*, 1979, p. 29n. See also Jonathan Brown. *Painting in Spain 1500 – 1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, p. 1: "the Spanish experience was typical, since the evolution of painting in many parts of Europe depended on the transmission and absorption of ideas and fashions from Italy." Velazquez's library is also relevant in this respect; see Francisco Jávier Sánchez Cantón, "La librería de Velazquez," in *Homenaje a Menendez Pidal*, III, Madrid, 1925, pp. 379-406.

⁹⁴Brown 1998, p. 61: "The importance of the royal collection derives in equal measures from its size and quality... [I]t is known that, at Philip's death, there were about 1,500 paintings at the Escorial, about 300 at the Alcázar of Madrid, and perhaps 100 at the Pardo, totaling roughly 1,500 in all.... This scale of acquisition is unprecedented in the history of collecting and represents the start of a new era – the one of the megacollector, which was established in the seventeenth century."

⁹⁵ Checa, p. 410: "Son dos las escuelas que predominaban en los encargos reales: la italiana, fundamentalmente la veneciana, y la flamenca, ya fuera con pintores del mismo siglo XVI, ya con autores de la anterior centuria."

social status but also for Spain's artistic flowering of the proceeding century.⁹⁶ The plastic presence of such a dazzling array of Renaissance art would no doubt be of inspiration to poets and humanists. As already discussed, the conditions of Spanish courtly patronage facilitated the merging of painter and poet as court *familiaris*, which in turn fostered the liberalization of painting and strengthened the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*. One of Góngora's early visits to Madrid in 1589, the year in which he most likely composed the well-known sonnet dedicated to the Escorial,⁹⁷ coincides with the period marked by the "ultimas entregas," that is, the latest additions to Philip II's already enormous collection of the finest paintings of the later Renaissance.⁹⁸ From 1584 to 1598, shortly before the monarch's death, the palatial complex accommodated several additional works by Titian, as well as others belonging to the Venetian school such as Tintoretto, Correggio, Bassano, Veronese, and the Zuccaro brothers. In addition,

⁹⁶ Brown 1998, p. 2: "Over the long years of his reign (1556-98), [Phillip] imported distinguished painters from Italy and Flanders, who introduced current styles into Castile and trained a new generation of artists... The impetus provided by Philip II opened the way for the golden age of seventeenth century Spanish painting, which began to take shape during the reign of his son, Philip III (1598-1621)."

⁹⁷ Sonnet entitled *Al Escorial*, in Emilio Orozco Díaz, Ed. *Los sonetos de Góngora, antología comentada*. Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, 2002, p. 143:

*Sacros, altos, dorados chapiteles,
que a las nubes borraís los arreboles,
Febo os teme por más lucientes soles,
y el cielo por gigantes más crüeles.
Depón tus rayos, Júpiter; no celes
los tuyos, Sol; de un templo son faroles,
que al mayor mártir de los españoles
erigió al mayor rey de los fieles.
Religiosa grandeza del Monarca
cuya diestra real al Nueva Mundo
abrevia, y el Oriente se le humilla.
Perdone el tiempo, lisonjee la Parca
la beldad desta Octava Maravilla,
los años deste Salomón Segundo.*

⁹⁸See Checa, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 408-412.

a significant number of Flemish masterpieces – landscapes, genre and devotional scenes -- were added to the already substantial collection of Northern Renaissance art, including the “Gardens of Delight” by Hieronymosch Bosch.⁹⁹ This immense undertaking in artistic patronage brought the glories of Renaissance painting before the public eye in Spain, and the collections’ prestige itself evolved into a discourse. In the treatise *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* (1590), Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo makes note of the importance of Philip’s collection: “Ha dunque questo gran re, oltre il suo museo celebratissimo per l’opere di pittura e scultura, gioie, libri et arme in tanta copia, che solamente a mirarli la mente nostra si confonde.”¹⁰⁰ Federico Zuccaro, upon his visit to Spain as a court painter in the latter sixteenth century, also heaps praise upon the monarch’s collection:

sua gran Galeria, la quale sarà un compendio di tutte le cose del Mondo, ed un ampio specchio, nel quale si vederanno l’attioni piú illustri de gli Heroi della sua gran Regia Casa, e l’effigie naturali di ciascuno di loro e nella quale passeggiando si potrà aver notitia di tutte le scienze principali, nella volta si vederanno le 48 immagini Celesti, il moto de’ Cieli de’ Pianeti, e delle stelle piú basso le figure Mathetmaqliche, e la Cosmografia di tutta la terra, e de i mari, e le figure di tutti gli animali terrestri acquatici, e aerie, cosa che sara stimata tanto piú grande quanto saranno di grande intelligenza quelli, che la contemplananno.¹⁰¹

Shortly after the death of Felipe II, a vivid and detailed catalogue of the famed Escorial galleries

⁹⁹Checa, p. 408: “En estos últimos años entran en el Monasterio gran número de obras que acentúan el peso de la estética de los Países Bajos en los gustos regios.” Among the Flemish paintings acquired in this period, the inventory includes “ ‘una boda hecha en Flandes,’ junto a varios bodegones flamencos cuyo naturalismo y sentido inmediato de la realidad nos hablan de un nuevo gusto que ya se plantea en los últimos años del siglo XVI... habia que añadir... la aparición de escenas de género.”

¹⁰⁰ Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo. *L’Idea del Tempio della Pittura*. Ed. Robert Klein, Florence: Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1974, p. 373.

¹⁰¹ Federico Zuccaro. *Scritti d’arte di Federico Zuccaro*. Firenze: Fonti per lo studio della storia dell’ arte inedited o rare, 1961, p. 135.

was made accessible to Spain's readers by Padre Sigüenza who, in the tradition of Vasari, employs the technique of *ekphrasis* to describe the palace collection in *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, published in 1605 (Calvo Serraller 112).¹⁰² Thus by the early seventeenth century, the Madrid art collections began to occupy a prestigious place in cultural discourse, contiguous with that of the treasures of Rome and Florence celebrated by Vasari in the *Vite*.

One might argue that the seeds of *ut pictura poesis* in Spanish literature were planted by Garcilaso, who in his Third Eclogue constructs motifs related to theories of pictorial representation.

*Destas historias tales variadas
eran las telas de las cuatro hermanas,
las cuales, con colores matizadas,
claras las luces de las sombras vanas,
mostraban a los ojos relevadas
las cosas y figuras que eran llanas;
tanto que, al parecer, el cuerpo vano
pudiera ser tomado con la mano.*¹⁰³

Herrera, in his *Anotaciones a las obras de Garcilaso* (1580), expands upon Garcilaso's famous phrase *colores matizados*, and infuses his *excursus* on these lines with notions of color and perspective taken from Alberti and Pliny.¹⁰⁴ So insightful were Herrera's observations on

¹⁰² Introduced and partially reprinted in Calvo Serraller, pp. xxx.

¹⁰³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Égloga III*, in *Garcilaso de la Vega y sus comentaristas*. Ed. Antonio Gallego Morell, Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1972. See also Leo Spitzer, "Garcilaso Third Eclogue, Lines 265-271" in *Hispanic Review*, vol. xx, 1952.

¹⁰⁴ Antonio Gallego Morell. *Garcilaso de la Vega y sus comentaristas*. Madrid: Sanchez Pacheco, 1972, p. 582: "Mostró por este término que estaban bien coloridas las historias con toda variedad. Porque es una de las partes principales de la pintura el tratado de los colores y esto dijo a diferencia de la pintura que hay de claro y oscuro, que es como el diseño hecho en papel... Dice León Batista Alberti en el *lib. 1 de la*

painting that Pacheco quotes the poet four times in his treatise.¹⁰⁵ As is known, Pacheco converted the literary academy first founded by Juan Mal de Lara in the 1560s, and later passed onto Herrera and Medina, into a vibrant center of artistic production.¹⁰⁶ Along with Carducho's *Dialogos de la Pintura* (1633),¹⁰⁷ Pacheco's voluminous treatise, comprising an essential compendium of '500 and early '600 art-theory, represents a culmination in the development of Spanish art theory that accompanied Spain's Golden Age in painting. Formal development of Spanish art theory begins several decades earlier, with Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos *Noticia general para la estimación de las artes* of 1600, a treatise that follows in the tradition of Romano Alberti and explores analogies between painting and the other liberal arts such as poetry, history and philosophy.¹⁰⁸ Góngora's fellow-Cordoban, the poet, painter and humanist Pablo de Cespedes, makes his contribution to artistic theory with the *Discurso de la comparación de la antigua y moderna pintura* of 1604 which is complimented by his *Poema de la pintura* of

pintura que el pintor sólo imita las cosas que se pueden ver mediante la luz... Son la lumbre y la sombra vocablos de la pintura..."

¹⁰⁵ Pacheco quotes Herrera four times in his *Arte de la pintura*, thus proving the astuteness in painting. Pacheco even attributes one of his theories -- that painting is divided into four parts, "buena invención, buen disegno, buen colorido y buena manera" -- to "incierto autor que hallé entre los papeles que quedaron de Fernando de Herrera" (281).

¹⁰⁶See Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, Princeton University Press, 1978, pp. 21-43.

¹⁰⁷Carducho, Vicente *Dialogos de la pintura*. Ed. & introd. Francisco Calvo Serraller. Madrid: Turner, 1979. Carducho's treatise was the earliest complete treatise on art published in Spain. See Calvo Serraller 1991, pp. 261-68.

¹⁰⁸Romano Alberti's *Trattato della nobiltá della pittura* deals mainly with the social position of the artist. See also Francisco Calvo Serraller...

1608.¹⁰⁹ Decades later, Lope de Vega adds to Spain's body of art-theoretical discourses in the 1629 *memorial juridico*: with the purpose of officially liberating painters from the fiscal burdens imposed on them by the Spanish authorities, this text inserts a theological argument into efforts to promote the intellectual virtues of painting by making the case of *Deus pictor*, that is, that God himself was a painter,¹¹⁰ a notion that also found expression in Pacheco's voluminous treatise, *Arte de la Pintura* (1649).

As the venerable critic Orozco Díaz reminds us, Lope and Quevedo were among approximately forty *poeta-pintores*, that is, poets who practiced the art of painting, in the Spanish Golden age.¹¹¹ In Spain, as in Italy, the royal palace was not the only space in which poet and painter coincided, as the boundaries blurred between literary academies and their visual arts counterparts. For example, Pacheco's arts academy in Seville, where the painter Velazquez received his early training, was originally founded as a literary academy in the 1560s, and at the turn of the century counted among its members Spain's most prominent painters alongside humanists and literati such as Francisco de Rioja, Lope de Vega, Cervantes, Juan de Jáuregui, Juan de Arguijo, and Pablo de Cespedes.¹¹² Luis de Góngora was likely a frequent participant in

¹⁰⁹All of the above-mentioned treatises are examined and partially reprinted in Francisco Calvo Serraller's extensive study and compilation, *Teoría de la Pintura del Siglo de Oro*. Madrid: Catedra, 1991.

¹¹⁰"Que fue el Pintor primero de su fábrica, y de la formación, y simetría del hombre a su imagen y semejanza..." *Dicho y deposición de Fray Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, 1629, partially reprinted in Calvo Serraller, *Teoria...* pp. 341-368. See Panofsky, *Idea*, p. 86: This idea was first expressed by Saint Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theologiae* I.1.15.

¹¹¹Emilio Orozco-Díaz. *Temas del barroco*. Granada, 1947. pp. 55-67

¹¹² See Jonathon Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978, pp. 21-43.

Seville's renowned *tertulias*.¹¹³ The Cordoban poet was also a welcome guest at yet another important pole of artistic and cultural influence, the workshop and academy of El Greco at Toledo, a city with several literary academies modeled after Madrid counterparts.¹¹⁴ A learned painter who journeyed to Spain in 1577 from his native Crete by way of Venice and Rome, El Greco cultivated a polyglot circle of intellectuals that included, apart from Góngora, writers such as Cervantes and Lope, José de Valdivielso, the gongorine orator and poet Hortensio Félix de Paravicino, as well as the great humanist Antonio Covarrubias, the Escorial sculptor Pompeo Leoni and the painter and art-theorist Federico Zuccaro.¹¹⁵

Góngora and other writers of his generation witnessed not only the privileging of the visual arts but also the emergence of a rich and heterogeneous mix of art-theoretical and aesthetic discourses that are important to fully understanding the relationship between poetry and the visual arts. As painting developed, competing theoretical and critical perspectives evolved, and within the discipline of painting itself competing discourses formed new branches of *paragone* literature. One of the most prominent polemics of the day involved the rivalry between Florence and Venice, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters. As is known, Vasari's *Vite* canonized the notion that artistic progress took place over the course of three

¹¹³See Miguel Artigas y Ferranda, *Don Luis de Góngora y Argote. Biografía y estudio crítico*. Madrid, 1925, p. 69: "muchas veces hubo de hacer Góngora el viaje de Córdoba a Sevilla, y hay que suponer que no dejaría de acudir a alguna de sus florecientes tertulias o academias literarias."

¹¹⁴ See José Sanchez. *Academias literarias del siglo de oro español*. Madrid: Gredos, 1961

¹¹⁵ See Jonathon Brown. "El Greco and Toledo." In *El Greco of Toledo*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1982, pp. 75-148; Richard Kagan. "The Toledo of El Greco." In *El Greco of Toledo*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1982, pp. 35-74; Gregorio Marañón, *El Greco y Toledo*. Madrid: Espasa, 1968. The latter speculates that Góngora's sonnet to El Greco was in gratitude for a portrait that was then lost; p. 107: "quién sabe si el soneto no fué, como los de Paravicino, trueque agradecido de algún retrato que se ha perdido."

phases and culminated in Vasari's own time in Florence and Rome, with Michelangelo representing the pinnacle of artistic achievement. Inherent in this mode of discourse is the view that artistic development outside the Florence-Rome axis and beyond Michelangelo's generation suffers from decadence and decline.¹¹⁶ For the most part Spanish art theory of the early seventeenth century was dominated by ideas put forth by Vasari,¹¹⁷ mainly due to the fact that the Florentine style became the blueprint for official Counter-Reformatory painting under the Duke of Lerma during the reign of Philip IV.¹¹⁸ The treatises by Pacheco and Carducho, as well as the writings of Cespedes and Padre Sigüenza, all demonstrate the overarching influence of Vasari's hierarchy of artistic value, according to which, generally speaking, Michelangelo and the Florentine-Roman school are considered superior to all others, and surpasses even the Venetian and Flemish masters that dominated the Spanish royal collection. Yet while Vasarian model permeated Spain's major art-theoretical treatises as an official doctrine, the Florentine-Roman school was thinly represented in Spanish collections, especially those formed by Phillip II's enormous enterprise in artistic patronage of the sixteenth century as well in private collections. Instead, overwhelming emphasis was placed on Titian and the Venetian school,

¹¹⁶Calvo Serraller 1979, p. LXX : "Esta concepción vasariana de Miguel Angel como cumbre del arte implica un desarrollo histórico cíclico en el que, según el Viejo modelo biológico, el crecimiento alcanza un privilegiado y efímero momento de plena madurez y esplendor (la antigüedad, Miguel Angel, etc.), a partir del cual la decadencia parece irremediable."

¹¹⁷Calvo Serraller 1991, p. 113: "esquema de valoración dogmático de la todavía omnipotente tradición vasariana."

¹¹⁸ Brown, *Op. Cit.*, p. 80.

along with the Netherlandish masters.¹¹⁹

Not only were Venetian and Flemish masterpieces overwhelmingly present in Spanish collections, but their accompanying art-theoretical discourses were known and circulated among Spain's artistic and intellectual circles of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Ludovico Dolce, considered the father of Venetian art history, overturns the Vasarian paradigm and places Titian at the summit of artistic achievement.¹²⁰ Dolce legitimizes the new Venetian technique of *colore*, that is, applying colors directly to canvas *alla prima* in bold strokes without first completing preliminary drawings or *disegno*, thereby skipping the step considered by the Florentines as the immutable foundation of painting as well as sculpture and architecture.¹²¹ Dolce's ideas were highly influential in the Spanish art world of the early seventeenth century, as Francisco Pacheco appropriated many of the Venetian's theoretical premises and counted his treatise among his library.¹²² But while Pacheco consistently defers to Vasari's aesthetic position in his *Arte*, Dolce's pro-Venetian views find continuity in Toledo, where El Greco passionately espoused, in theory and in practice, an anti-Vasarian paradigm that lauded the Venetian colorist

¹¹⁹ Checa, p. 410: "Son dos las escuelas que predominaban en los encargos reales: la italiana, fundamentalmente la veneciana, y la flamenca, ya fuera con pintores del mismo siglo XVI, ya con autores de la anterior centuria." See also Brown, *Op. Cit.*, 1998.

¹²⁰ Dolce, Ludovico. *Dialogo della pittura intitolato L'Areino*. In *Trattati dell' arte del cinquecento*. Ed. Paola Barocchi. Bari: G. Laterza & Figli, 1960, pp. 141-206.

¹²¹ See Barocchi, *Op. Cit.*, 1971, p. 1912: In the *Vite*, Vasari claims that draftsmanship is "padre delle tre arti nostre architettura, scultura e pittura." The *paragone tra colore e disegno* will be discussed in relation to the *Polifemo* in Chapter Two. For a more on Venetian Renaissance painting, see David Alan Brown *et al*, *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006; also Peter Humfrey, *Painting in Renaissance Venice*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

¹²² Pacheco's "eclectic" position with respect to Italian aesthetic theory, in particular Dolce and Vasari, is discussed by Bassegoda i Hugas, Introduction, p. 40.

school and celebrated the revolutionary brushwork technique of *borrones* practiced by Titian and his followers.¹²³

Spanish writers of the Golden Age were in the unique position of receiving firsthand competing theoretical discourses on art not only from Italy but also the Netherlands. While Vasari's *Vite* and its antidotes such as Dolce's *Dialogo* were among the most important treatises of Italian art theory to be received in Spain, from the Northern tradition sprung Karel Van Mander's *Schilderboek*, first published in Amsterdam in 1604. We know that a copy of Van Mander's treatise was found amongst Pacheco's library, and significant parts were translated into Spanish and incorporated into Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura*.¹²⁴ As important to Netherlandish art as Vasari was to Italian, Van Mander provides a theoretic and critical framework for understanding the Flemish art that was so highly prized in Spanish collections. Like Vasari, Van Mander structures his ideas around the *Lives* of the artists, but expands his set of lives to give equal weight to Florentine, Venetian, and Netherlandish artistic development, diluting the authority of Vasari's treatise by relegating Florentine criteria on art as regional preferences. Van

¹²³ Francisco Pacheco, p. 416: "Se tiene por adagio cuando la pintura no es acabada, llamarla borrones de Ticiano." For El Greco's aesthetic views, see De Salas, Xavier and Fernando Marías. *El Greco y el arte de su tiempo: las notas de El Greco a Vasari*. Madrid: Real Fundación de Toledo, 1992. The implications of El Greco's critique of Vasari will be discussed in relation to the *Polifemo* in Chapter Two.

¹²⁴ Bassegoda i Hugas, Introduction, p. 33: "[Pacheco] tuvo acceso a la primera edición del *Het Schilder Boeck* del flamenco Karel van Mander, publicado en Haarlem en 1604, que se hizo traducir en parte." Also, p. 343, n7: "Pacheco pudo conocer dos ediciones del libro de Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, y con el mismo título pero añadida la biografía del autor, Amsterdam, 1618." Pacheco, p. 408: "Y pues no es ajeno del intento, y nos acercamos al fin deste libro segundo, lograré algunos preceptos generals de los que escribió en lengua flamenco Carlo van Mander, natural del la ciudad de Harlem, en Holanda, en su *Libro de Pintura* impreso año de 1604, de quien hemos hecho ya mención, y la haremos adelante." For a discussion of the parts of Van Mander's treatise appropriated by Pacheco, see Simon A. Vosters, "Lamponio, Vasari, Van Mander y Pacheco." *Goya* 189, 1985, pp. 130-39.

Mander provides a comprehensive and contiguous history of Italian and Northern European Renaissance art, and by linking the Netherlandish and Venetian schools, provides a theoretical and historical framework that reflects the reality of Spanish aesthetic taste.¹²⁵

Unlike Quevedo and Lope, Góngora never learned to paint on canvas, nor did he put his pen to the task of composing a treatise on art. Like Homer, Góngora painted with words: the verses of the *Polifemo* and the *Soledades* dazzle the mind's eye the reader with vivid, painterly images, many of which are reminiscent of actual works of art that the poet may have seen firsthand. Góngora seems to answer Leonardo's call for *virtú visiva* by demonstrating the poet's ability to paint with words, even borrowing painting techniques such as the layering and contrasting of colors and signaling the painter's craft with vocabulary from the technical lexicon of painting such as *bosquejo* and *pincel*. The *Soledades* and the *Polifemo* present to the reader image after image reminiscent of painted works that were known to the poet and his readers. But Góngora's references to painting and the use of visual, "plastic" qualities extend beyond mere imitation of painting to engage important theoretical, philosophical and critical discourses related to the visual arts. As critics have noted, the Cordoban poet found inspiration in Venetian and Flemish painting,¹²⁶ and aligned his poetry with the aesthetic program that dominated Spanish

¹²⁵See Walter S. Melion. *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel Van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991, p. xvii: "It would be difficult to overstate the importance of Karel van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* to northern European theory and practice of art. Published in 1604... the *Book on Picturing* offered the first fully argued theory of Netherlandish painting, drawing and printmaking. It included, too, the first history of Dutch and Flemish painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." Van Mander's theories will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

¹²⁶ Cancelliere, *Op. Cit.*; Collins, *Op. Cit.*, Wagshall, *Op. Cit.* Also Jammes, Robert. *La obra poética de don Luis de Góngora y Argote*. Madrid: Castalia, 1980 (translation from the original French: *Études sur l'oeuvre poétique de don Luis de Góngora y Argote*. Bordeaux, 1967).

collections, in particular those created by Philip II. More importantly, in engaging *ut pictura poesis*, Góngora references an important set of art-theoretical discourses that circulated in Spain at the turn of the century, namely the art-theoretical and critical frameworks that buttressed the Venetian and Netherlandish schools and subverted the Florentine-centric Vasarian paradigm. Thus, Góngora expands the parameters of *ut pictura poesis* by creating poetry that inserts itself into the space between word and image to not only imitate painting but to mediate discourses of art history and criticism.

CHAPTER II

THE *POLIFEMO* AND THE PRIMACY OF COLOR

Góngora, “*Best of Painters*”

With an incendiary hue that today would be termed “firehouse red,” the chromatic brilliance that permeates the *Polifemo* is presaged in the first stanza of the *Dedicatoria* to the Count of Niebla:

*Estas que me dictó rimas sonoras,
Culta sí, aunque bucólica, Talía
-- Oh excelso conde! --, en las purpúreas horas
que es rosas la alba y rosicler el día
ahora que de tu luz Niebla doras,
escucha, al son de la zampoña mía,
si ya los muros no te ven, de Huelva,
peinar el viento, fatigar la selva.¹²⁷*

Here the poet paints an image of the dawn, that is, the moment in which Talía, muse of pastoral poetry, inspired him to write these verses.¹²⁸ Varying shades of red culminate in a bold, brilliant hue: the color *rosicler* is far from subtle, for as the Gongorine commentator Pedro Díaz de Rivas

¹²⁷ Luis de Góngora. *Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea*. Annotated and introduced by Dámaso Alonso. Madrid: Gredos, 1974, p. 13, vv. 1-5.

¹²⁸ Alonso, vol. 3, p. 40: “Talía, que luego se convierte en la musa de la comedia, fue primeramente la de la poesía pastoril (así en Virgilio y Horacio).”

observed, “fuera de ser colorado, es encendidísimo.”¹²⁹ This primary red is flanked by two related, secondary colors: deep, ruby red or *purpúrea*, and a much lighter pink or *rosas*. Thus, starting with the *Dedicatoria*, Góngora sets the stage for posing as a painter. As if using a palette, the poet adds lights and darks to a primary color, here darkening the color red to form *purpúrea* and lightening it to produce *rosas*. As Orozco Díaz rightly observed, the poet “se apoya en el conocimiento vivo y directo de la técnica pictórica,”¹³⁰ and in particular, with respect to the use of color:

no es solo la intensificación de las sensaciones de color, sino el empleo de este de acuerdo con un sentido pictórico. Junto a los contrastes de oro y plata, destacan los de blanco con rojos, verdes y oros; pero sin que falten las armonías de complementarios, las reiteraciones de un color, e, incluso, el mas pictórico empleo del toque brillante resaltado sobre la masa o plano de complementaria coloración...¹³¹

Like today’s critics, contemporaries of Góngora did not fail to notice the poet’s painterly skills. As mentioned in the first chapter, the painter and art-theorist Vicente Carducho praises Góngora’s ability to “paint” with words, saying that his pen surpassed the brush of even the most skilled painter, a comment that recalls Lucian’s reference to Homer as “best of painters,” a topic that was oft-repeated among late sixteenth century theorists. Lucian’s praise of Homer is directly connected to the ancient Greek poet’s “skill in mixing and layering colors.”¹³² Given

¹²⁹Pedro Díaz de Rivas, in Damaso Alonso, *Op. Cit.*, p. 563. As Alonso reminds us, “para Góngora, *rosicler* era... ‘rojo claro y vivo’ (*Ibid.*).

¹³⁰ Orozco Díaz, Emilio. *Introducción a Góngora*. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1984, p. 163.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹³² Lucian’s mention of Homer as a painter is in the context of the importance of color. See Lucian, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 16-17:

Góngora's coloristic tendencies, this is perhaps more reason to suggest continuity between Carducho's and Lucian's respective comments, as well as justification for Góngora's contemporaries to refer to him as *El Homero Español*, as already mentioned.¹³³

The fable of the *Polifemo* itself is a journey through the color spectrum – ruby red, carnation pink, and emerald green, to name just a handful of hues, contrast with wheat yellow, deepest black and ash grey, and are highlighted with shimmering gold and silver. The narrative opens with a foamy seascape bathed in shimmering white in the fourth stanza, verses 25 - 32:

*Donde espumoso el mar siciliano
el pie argenta de plata al Lilibeo
(bóveda o de las fraguas de Vulcano,
o tumba de los huesos de Tifeo),
pálidas señas cenizoso un llano
--cuando no del sacrílego deseo—
del duro oficio da. Allí una alta roca
mordaza es a una gruta, de su boca.*

Perhaps no other critic explains the poetization of color in the *Polifemo* better than Dámaso Alonso, who notes the overall visual effect of these initial verses: “una sensación de blanca espuma o de plata, completada por la palabra ‘Lilibeo’ (con su reiteración silábica como si

Poly: ...You will agree with me that colour and tone have a good deal to do with beauty?... It looks to me as if the most important thing of all were still lacking.

Ly: Well, how shall we manage? Call in the painters perhaps, selecting those who were noted for their skill in mixing and laying on their colours. Be it so: we will have Polygnotus, Euphranor, of course, Apelles and Aetion... Nay, we can do better: Have we not Homer, best of painters, though Euphranor and Apelles be present? Let him colour all like the limbs of Menelaus, which he says were ‘ivory tinged with red.’ He too shall paint her calm ‘ox-eyes,’ and the Theban poet shall help him to give them their ‘violet’ hue. Homer shall add her smile, her white arms, her rosy fingertips, and so complete the resemblance to golden Aphrodite...

¹³³ See p. 3, note 6.

sugiriera ‘lilio’).” The suggestion of color is built into the linguistic fabric of the poem: the colorist suggestion contained in the term *Lilibeo* works in tandem with the verb *argentar*, from the latin *argentum* meaning to render a metallic shine, to produce the overall impression of shimmering, silvery, white.¹³⁴ The palette then slides along the color spectrum to a mid-tone space, with bright white turning to ash grey in the lines *pálidas señas cenizoso un llano*, that prepares the transition to the deepest black of the monster’s cave treated in the next stanza. Here, the idea of darkness is intensified by sound, in the lines *caliginoso lecho, el seno obscura ser de la negra noche nos lo enseña/ infame turba de nocturnas aves* (v. 36 – 40). As in the case of the term *Lilibeo*, a coloristic impression is embedded in linguistic sound. The emphasis on the syllable *-tur*, as Alonso reminds us, “intensifica las sensaciones coloristas de las palabras” (583), reiterating and magnifying the notion of darkness. Góngora chooses signifiers endowed with certain linguistic and sonic qualities that suggest color. Hence the poet paints not merely by means of vivid description but by endowing images of color with voice, thereby rendering practically literal Simonides’ dictum that “poetry is painting that speaks.”

The description of Galatea is the most light-filled moment of the poem, generated around shades of pink and white in stanza 14, verses 105-110:

*Purpúreas rosas sobre Galatea
la Alba entre lilios cándidos deshoja:
duda el Amor cuál más su color sea,
o púrpura nevada, o nieve roja.
de su frente la perla es, eritrea,
émula vana. El ciego dios se enoja,
y, condenado su splendor, la déjà
pender en oro al nácar de su oreja.*

¹³⁴ Alonso, *Op. Cit.*, p. 577.

In these verses, shades of red and white signified by natural elements such as roses, lilies, and snow, are joined to produce a play of subtly gradated hues of pink. Here Góngora signals one of the most important developments of High Renaissance painting first anticipated by Cennino Cennini and later developed by Leonardo. The technique of *sfumato* – that is, the blending of flesh tones so that differences between one shade and another are barely perceptible, gives rise to ambiguity or *duda* as to the precise hue. As Dámaso Alonso explains, “no se determina a decir cuál sea el color de la ninfa: si púrpura Nevada o si roja nieve; tan ligados y matizados están en ella ambos colores.”¹³⁵ The technique of *sfumato*, particularly useful for the natural representation of skin tone, emerged in conjunction with tonal painting, whereby color, not line, defined the boundaries between one object and another.¹³⁶ The delicate shade of pink that characterizes the nymph’s flesh contrasts with the pearly white of her forehead, a splendid sheen with which even the finest Eritrean pearl cannot compete.

Throughout the *Polifemo*, Góngora employs color not only to idealize nature but also to articulate outer and inner realms, as previously discussed, as well as to define and distinguish objects and surfaces. In the following verses, the poet creates a chromatically constructed image of the carnation-skinned nymph rising and separating from the green, grassy backdrop at the edge of a silvery, babbling stream, in stanza 28, verses 217-224:

*La ninfa, pues, la sonora plata
 Bullir sintió del arroyuelo apenas,
 Cuando, a los verdes márgenes ingrata,
 Segur se hizo de sus azucenas.
 Huyera; mas tan frío se desata*

¹³⁵ Alonso, *Op. Cit.*, vol. iii, p. 101.

¹³⁶ See Eleanor Webster Bulatkin. “The Italian Word *Sfumatura*.” *PMLA*. Modern Language Association. Vol. 72, No. 5 (December 1957), pp. 823-853. See also Marcia B. Hall, *Color and Meaning: Practice and Theory in Renaissance Painting*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, in particular, the chapter entitled “Modes of Coloring in the ‘500,” pp. 92-48.

*un temor perezoso por sus venas,
que a la precisa fuga, al presto vuelo,
grillos de nieve fue, plumas de hielo.*

Color that contrasts and separates is a major element in the conceit that renders clear the image of the nymph who suddenly rises to her feet upon hearing the disturbance in the water caused by Acis' movement. In rising and separating her carnation-hued limbs from the green backdrop, the nymph acts like a *segur* which cuts and separates white flowers from their green and grassy bed. Here, as mentioned in the previous chapter, metaphors for the color white – *nieve* and *hielo* -- define not only outer surfaces but also the nymph's interior, that is, psychological state.

Góngora uses the same technique of using contrasting shades of color to model surfaces and textures in the sumptuous description of the Cyclops' *cornucopia* of fruit, in the tenth stanza, verses 73-80.

*Cercado es (cuanto más capaz, más lleno)
De la fruta, el zurrón, casi abortada,
Que el tardo otoño déjà al blando seno
De la piadosa hierba, encomendada:
La serba, a quien le da rugas el heno;
La pera, de quien fue cuna dorada
la rubia paja, y – pálida tutora –
la niega avara, y pródiga la dora.*

The ripening and blushing fruit against a golden bed of straw emerges from and contrasts with the dark background of the monster's realm, as in a 17th century still-life, a genre that will be discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter. Varying shades of gold in this stanza contrast with primary colors of the next, in which red apples are juxtaposed with green figs, in verses 81 – 88:

*Erizo es el zurrón, de la castaña,
y (entre el membrillo o verde o datilado)*

*de la manzana hipócrita, que engaña,
a lo pálido no, a lo arrebolado,
y, de la encina (honor de la montaña,
que el pabellón al siglo fue dorado)
el tributo, alimento, aunque grosero,
del mejor mundo, del candor primero.*

The apple is *hipócrita* for the way in which it conceals its pale interior beneath its blushing red skin, and thus, as Alonso points out “engañan al contrario que los hipócritas usuales, pues éstos fingen palidez y recogimiento por fuera, y por dentro tienen sus coloreadas pasiones y vicios.”¹³⁷

Thus Góngora “paints” a conceit that renders both the red exterior of the apple as well as an image of its inner whiteness.

The ‘Polifemo’ and Venetian ‘Colorito’

In employing color as a dominant mode of expression and articulation, Góngora plays with the notion of the poet as painter, engaging not only the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* but also its related discourse, the *paragone* or competition between poetry and painting, and possibly framing himself as his own epoch’s Homer. Moreover, as critic Enrica Cancelliere has pointed out, by employing chromatic techniques, the poet signals specific developments in painting, in particular, the unprecedentedly rich chromatism and colorist technique that characterized the Venetian Renaissance.¹³⁸ Venetian painters developed techniques that exploited the potential of the oil paint medium developed in Flanders which intensified the wide variety of pigments made

¹³⁷ Alonso, *Op. Cit.*, p. 90.

¹³⁸ Enrica Cancelliere. *Góngora: percorsi della visione*. Palermo: Flaccovio, 1990, pp. 95-104. Cancelliere, Enrica. “Dibujo y Color en la ‘Fabula de Polifemo y Galatea’”. *Actas del X Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*. Barcelona: PPU, 1992. pp. 789-798.

available by way of Venetian trade routes.¹³⁹ Moreover, the Venetian masters of *colorito* such as Titian, Giorgione and Tintoretto revolutionized painting technique by applying paint directly to canvas, immediately working out forms in color, rather than relying on preliminary chalk drawings. This technique, along with broad, seemingly careless brushstrokes laden with paint, referred to as *borrones* in Spanish and *macchie* in Italian, became the mark of the Venetian colorist school.¹⁴⁰

The Venetian colorist technique differed markedly from the painting tradition that had been established in Florence. The founding of the *Accademia del Disegno* in Florence in 1563 by Giorgio Vasari institutionalized the technique of *disegno*, that is, painting over carefully wrought drawings that were first executed in black or red chalk before being filled in with

¹³⁹ See Lorenzo Lazzarini, "The Use of Color by Venetian Painters, 1480-1580: Materials and Techniques." In Marcia B. Hall, Ed. *Color and Technique in Renaissance Painting: Italy and the North*. New York: Augustin, 1987, pp. 115-136: "Venice, that most important crossroads of traffic and commerce between East and West, has always been a privileged place of supply for those semiprecious minerals arriving from the Near and Far East which were worked and refined and then exported to be used as pigments in all the West. Not only colored stones arrived from distant countries, but also various dyes that for centuries fed the craft of cloth dyeing and that of furniture painting. By-products of these crafts were those red and pink lake glazes that have contributed in a fundamental way to the chromatic success of the paintings of the Venetian school – always so rich in glazes..."

¹⁴⁰ In the *Vite*, specifically the Life of Titian, Vasari describes the technique that was initiated by Giorgione then adopted by Titian; see Vasari, vol. 7, p. 308-309: "Giorgione da Castel Franco... cominció a dare alle sue opera piú morbidezza e maggiore rilievo con bella maniera, usando nondimeno di cacciar sí avanti le cose vive e naturali e di contrafarle quanto sapeva il meglio con i colori, e macchiarle con le tinte crude e docci, secondo il vivo mostrava, senza far disegno... See also David Alan Brown et al, *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006; also Peter Humfrey, *Painting in Renaissance Venice*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

pigment.¹⁴¹ In the *Vite*, Vasari canonized the notion of drawing as the foundation of good painting, and the common father of all three visual arts -- painting, sculpture and architecture. Drawing was considered the vehicle through which the artist could best imitate nature, and also the means by which the artist could externalize his *idea* or *concetto* of the work to be executed.¹⁴² The artists most revered by Vasari in the *Vite*, such as Michelangelo and Raphael, were those who adhered to the principle of *disegno*, creating a style in which painting resembled sculpture, a characteristic that was to dominate Florentine-Roman school.¹⁴³ While this assessment is rendered in broad brushstrokes, as it is not the purpose here to delve into the many complexities of Venetian and Florentine painting, one can agree with the art historian Alistair Smart, who sums up the differences between Florentine and Venetian technique as such:

Whereas a picture by Michelangelo is still, in essence, a coloured drawing, in the hands of Giorgione and Titian the art of painting assumes a new independence: the artist no longer applies his colours to an outline, but brings drawing into the act of painting. The consequence is that drawing, as such, no longer plays the dominant role, and an equal emphasis is placed upon tonal and

¹⁴¹ See Barocchi, p. 1913: In the *Proemio* to the *Vite*, in the section entitled *Della Pittura*, Vasari recommends that drawing be completed on paper “con stile o carbone, penna, matita o altro.”

¹⁴² In the *Vite*, Vasari claims: “Perché il disegno, padre delle tre arti nostre architettura, scultura e pittura, procedendo dall’ intelletto cava di molte cose un giudizio universal simile a una forma ovvero idea di tutte le cose della natura... da questa cognizione nasce un certo concetto... che si forma nella mente ... che poi espresso con le mani si chiama disegno...”, reprinted in Barocchi, *Op. Cit.*, 1971, p. 1912. For more on Vasari and the Platonic *Idea* see Panofsky, *Idea*.

¹⁴³ The idea that painting is at its best when it resembles sculpture is canonized by Michelangelo himself in the concluding letter to Benedetto Varchi’s *Due Lezioni* (1549), one of the founding texts of the *paragone tra le arti*. In P. Barocchi, *Trattati d’arte del cinquecento*, 1960, I, p. 82: “Io dico che la pittura mi par più tenuta buona quanto più va verso il rilievo, et il rilievo più tenuto cattivo quanto più va verso la pittura; e però a me soleva parere che la scultura fussi la lanterna della pittura, e che la l’una a l’altra fussi quella differenza che è dal sole alla luna.”

colouristic values.¹⁴⁴

Merely a year before Vasari founded the *Accademia del disegno* in 1563, Titian delivered the last of four of his famous mythological paintings known as *poesie* to Philip II. An extended commission in progress from around 1554 to 1562, the mythological cycle that includes *Danae*, *Venus and Adonis*, *Diana surprised by Actaeon*, *Diana condemning Callisto*, *Perseus and Andromeda*, and *Rape of Europa*, all painted in oil on canvas, demonstrate luminous atmospheric effects and polychromatic modulation unprecedented in Western art, along with the bold brushwork that characterized Titian's later style.¹⁴⁵ As already noted, Titian was the Spanish court's most esteemed painter, and attained the mythic status of a cultural icon in Spain. As the favorite painter of both Charles V and Philip II, he was often compared to the ancient Greek painter Apelles, and even appeared as a character in Lope de Vega's play, *La Santa Liga*, described as "pintor famoso gran Ticiano ilustre/ honor del siglo antiguo y moderno."¹⁴⁶ That Góngora was inspired to incorporate Venetian *colorito*¹⁴⁷ into his poetry while engaging *ut pictura poesis* is not surprising, for the Spanish royal collections were heavily endowed with Titian's masterpieces, as well as works by other acclaimed painters of the Venetian school, such as Tintoretto, Correggio, Bassano and Genovese.

¹⁴⁴ Smart, Alistair. *The Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971, pp. 196-197.

¹⁴⁵ For more on Titian's *poesie*, see Harald Keller, *Tizians Poesie für Philipp II von Spanien*. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1969; Jane C. Nash. *Veiled Images: Titian's Mythological Paintings for Philip II*. Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1985; Thomas Puttfarcken. *Titian and Tragic Painting: Aristotle's 'Poetics' and the Rise of the Modern Artist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

¹⁴⁶ Lope de Vega. *La Santa Liga*. Edición Miguel Renuncio Roba. San Antonio: Hispanic Classical Theater, 2005, lines 795-796, p. 20.

¹⁴⁷ See also Enrica Cancelliere, *Op. Cit.*

Following in the footsteps of Giorgione, the Venetian masters foreclosed on the Tuscan technique of *disegno*, and instead worked out preliminary forms directly on the canvas in oil paint, rendering in color the Italian *bozza* or the Spanish *bosquejo*. Francisco Pacheco, who firmly adhered to the Florentine techniques canonized by Vasari, maintained that “[e]s el debuxo la forma sustancial de la pintura,”¹⁴⁸ and defines the *bosquejo* as the second stage of a painting, after the preliminary drawing is complete:

Hagamos cuenta que tenemos ya debuxado y puesto en razón, con perfiles ciertos, todo lo que pretendemos pintar y queremos dar principio al bosquejo; esto se hace de varias maneras: ... unos con poco blanco y negro, o con blanco y carmín revuelto..., yo tengo por más acertado... bosquejar con todos los colores....; las carnes hermosas, con blanco y bermellón y poco ocre claro...¹⁴⁹

And in Covarrubias’ *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* of 1611 the verb *bosquejar* is defined as *pintar con las primeras colores, que por estar entre sí confusas, sin líneas de perfiles, sombras y claros, no se distingüe bien la pintura.*¹⁵⁰ Thus, at the heart of the *Polifemo*, Góngora provides a discursive link to Titian and the Venetian school in the form of a technical term that hails directly from the lexicon of painting, in verses 249-256:

*Llamáralo, aunque muda, mas no sabe
el nombre articular que más querría
ni lo ha visto, si bien pincel suave
lo ha bosquejado ya en su fantasía
Al pie – no tanto ya, del temor, grave –
Fía su intento; y, tímida, en la umbría
Cama de campo y campo de batalla,
Fingiendo sueño al cauto garzón halla.*

¹⁴⁸ Pacheco, *Op. Cit.*, p. 344.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 481-482.

¹⁵⁰ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Ed. Felipe C.R. Maldonado. Madrid: Castalia, 1994.

As previously discussed, in these verses Góngora constructs a complex metaphor with philosophical underpinnings that speaks to late mannerist aesthetic theory, in particular, the context of the *Idea* concept and Federico Zuccaro's notion of *disegno interno*, that is, the divinely inspired sketch or idea that an artist holds in his mind's eye before executing a work of art. Also referred to as the artist's *concetto*, this notion was articulated in Thomistic and Neo-Scholastic terms in Zuccaro's *L'Idea de' pittori, scultori ed architetti* of 1607.¹⁵¹ In poetizing this notion and borrowing from the technical lexicon of painting, Góngora makes a direct reference to contemporary artistic theory while making present the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*. But more specifically, the poet refers to the first stage of a Venetian, rather than a Florentine, painting. The *idea* or *concetto* of Acis in Galatea's mind is not a black and white *disegno* but a *bosquejo*, that is, a painted form worked out in colors directly on the canvas in the manner of Giorgione and Titian.

In signaling Venetian painting, Góngora not only references prevalent artistic tastes but inserts the *Polifemo* into one of the most salient aesthetic discourses of his day, that is, the *paragone tra colore e disegno*. Paolo Pino first planted the seed of dichotomy between Florentine and Venetian painting in his *Dialogo della pittura* of 1548 by identifying Michelangelo as the protagonist of *disegno* and Titian that of *colore*, and proposing that the "god of painting" would result if the two were combined.¹⁵² The split begins to evolve into a polemic with the publication of Vasari's *Vite* in 1550, in which the Florentine humanist and painter establishes the importance and primacy of drawing as the father of all three visual arts. Inherently controversial in Vasari's art-critical paradigm is the supremacy of Michelangelo,

¹⁵¹ See Panofsky, *Op. Cit.*

¹⁵² "[S]e Tiziano e Michel Angelo fussero un corpo solo, over al disegno di Michel Angelo aggiuntovi il colore di Tiziano, se gli potrebbe dir lo dio della pittura," reprinted in Barocchi, *Trattati...* 1960, p. 127.

based on his unparalleled *disegno*, along with the idea of artistic evolution. Vasari articulated a theory that determined the value of art based on a progressive concept of history and artistic development: after the first flowering of classical antiquity and the decline of the Middle Ages, art reaches its greatest heights in the Renaissance of his own times with the *bella maniera*.¹⁵³

The pinnacle of artistic achievement is seen in the work of the *divino* Michelangelo, who champions all others both ancient and modern, with Raphael and Titian in second and third place, respectively.¹⁵⁴ This inherently polemical notion of artistic evolution, which suggests that decadence and decline taints artistic development outside Florence and Rome and after Michelangelo, won for Vasari the reputation as the “father of art history,” whose echo is heard even today in contemporary art criticism. As Gombrich summarizes:

The Renaissance conception of artistic progress is familiar to all of us from Vasari’s *Lives*. There we read of the rise of the arts from rude beginnings to their perfection, first in classical antiquity and then once more, after the Gothic disaster, through the three states of ‘good, ‘better’ and ‘best’ to the pinnacle of Michelangelo’s art.¹⁵⁵

The *disegno versus colore* polemic reaches fever pitch with the second edition of the *Vite* published in 1568, in which Vasari explicitly disparages the Venetian school, particularly in the *Life of Titian*. Vasari attacks the Venetian school from several angles, beginning with the early

¹⁵³ *Proemio* to the Third Part of the *Vite*, p. 377: “la maniera venne poi la piú bella, dall’ avere messo in us oil frequente ritrarre le cose piú belle; e da insieme a fare una figura di tutte quelle bellezze che piú si poteva; e metterla in uso in ogni opera per tutte le figure, che per questo si dice esser la bella maniera.”

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 381: “Ma quello che fra l morti e vivi porta la palma e trascende e ricuopre tutti é il divino Michelagnolo Buonarroti.... Costui supera e vince non solamente tutti costor, ch’ hanno quasi che vinto già la natura, ma quelli stessi famosissimi antichi, che sí lodatamente fuor d’ogni dubbio la superano.”

¹⁵⁵ E.H. Gombrich. *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1966, p. 1.

Venetian master Giovanni Bellini and the blanket statement that by imitating life rather than antique models the Venetian painters, including the young Titian, learned to paint “con maniera secca, cruda e stentata.”¹⁵⁶ He then goes on to critique the technique of *colorito*¹⁵⁷ and claimed that if Titian had studied *disegno* along with the work of Michelangelo and Raphael, only then would he have created great works of art.¹⁵⁸ Vasari’s more acerbic and condescending tone was perhaps motivated by Ludovico Dolce’s *Dialogo della pittura intitolato l’Aretino* of 1557, in which the Venetian humanist disputes Vasari’s hierarchy of artistic value, accusing the Florentines of being blinded by patriotism,¹⁵⁹ and vindicates Titian as the supreme glory of painting, “senza pari.”¹⁶⁰

A reconfiguration of Vasari’s critical paradigm to accommodate and celebrate the accomplishments of the Venetian school became the focus of the main body of Venetian art criticism initiated by Dolce, whose views found continuity among other late mannerist artists and

¹⁵⁶ Vasari, vol. 7, p. 308: “Gianbellino e gli altri pittori di quell paese (Venice), per non avere studio di cose antiche, usavano molto... che il ritrarre qualunque cosa facevano dal vivo, ma con maniera secca, cruda e stentata, imparó anco Tiziano per allora quel modo.”

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 309: “E cosi facendo pratica nell’ arte, si fa la maniera et il giudizio perfetto... che disegnando in carta si viene a empire la mente di bei concetti e s’impara a fare a mente tutte le cose della natura, senza avere a tenerle sempre innanzi, o ad avere a nascere sotto la vaghezza de’ colori lo stento del non sapere disegnare...”

¹⁵⁸ p. 312: “[M]i ricordo, che fra Bastiano del Piombo, ragionando di ciò, mi disse che se Tiziano in quel tempo fusse stato a Roma et avesse veduto le cose di Michelangelo, quelle di Raffaello e le statue antiche, et avesse studiato il disegno, arebbe fatto cose stupendissime...”

¹⁵⁹ In Barocchi, *Trattati*, 1960, p. 147: “Ma non è maraviglia che, essendo voi fiorentino, l’amor che portate a’ vostri vi faccia talmente cieco che riputate oro solamente le cose di Michelagnolo e le alter vi paiano piombo vile.”

¹⁶⁰ In Barocchi, *Trattati*, 1960, p. 206: “É adunque il nostro Tiziano nella pittura divino é senza pari; né si dovrebbe sdegnare l’istesso Apelle, quando è vivesse, di onorarlo.”

theorists, including Annibale Carracci and Federico Zuccaro.¹⁶¹ Given the new developments in painting, the latter artist-theorist denotes drawing as an academic exercise, “piú tosto per insegnare di dipingere che dichiarare che sia pittura.”¹⁶² One might speculate that for Zuccaro, given that a preliminary sketch was already drawn in the artist’s mind in the form of the *disegno interno*, the painter could then proceed with the painting itself on canvas. In the poem, Góngora transforms Zuccaro’s *disegno interno* into a *bosquejo*, that is, a painted form rendered in color directly on canvas. In this way, Góngora confronts one of Vasari’s most fundamental arguments, that is, the idea that *disegno* proceeds from the intellect, while *colorito* was merely pleasing to the senses.¹⁶³ The poet elevates the Venetian *bozza* to the realm of the Platonic *idea*, that is, an

¹⁶¹ See Michel Hochmann, “Les annotations marginales de Federico Zuccaro à un exemplaire des Vies de Vasari. La réaction anti-vasarienne á la fin du xvie siècle.” In *Revue de l’art* 1988, no. 79, pp. 64-71. Also Charles Dempsey. “The Carracci *Postille* to Vasari’s *Lives*.” *The Art Bulletin*, No. 1, March 1986, pp. 72-86. The Venetian attempt to “correct” Vasari is expressed in the poem *La pittura triomfante* published in Venice in 1615 in which Gigli states that his purpose is to sing the praises of those painters undervalued or omitted by Vasari who had in fact attained excellence despite their not having been born on the shores of the Arno. The Venetians lead a triumphal carriage and in last place is “un certo Tosco Vasaro.” The most well-know critic of Vasari was Marco Boschini, considered the “avvocato” of the Venetian colorists; his poem in Venetian dialect, *Carta del navegar pitoresco*, Venice 1660, criticizes Vasari’s evaluations of Titian and Tintoretto. See also Edward Grasman. *All’ ombra del Vasari*. Florence: Dutch Institute for the History of Art, 2000.

¹⁶² In Romano Alberti, *Origine e progresso dell’ Accademia del Disegno de’ pttori, scultori et architetti di Roma*. Pavia, 1604. In *Scritti d’arte del cinquecento*. Ed. Paola Barocchi, Milano-Napoli, 1971, I, p. 1011.

¹⁶³ Vasari expresses this idea through the voice of Michelangelo, who views and critiques Titian’s *Danae*, Vasari, vol. 7, p. 327: “Andando un giorno Michelangelo et il Vasari a vedere Tiziano in Belvedere, videro in un quadro... un femina ignuda figurata per una Danae.... Dopo partiti che furono da lui, ragionandosi del fare di Tiziano, il Buonaruoto lo comendó assai, dicendo che molto gli piaceva il colorito suo e la maniera ma che era un peccato che a Vinezia non s’imparasse da principio a disegnare bene e che non avessero que’ pittori miglio modo nello studio.”

original form conceived in mind.

'Dibujo y color': the Debate in Seventeenth Century Spain

The *querella* between color and design begins in Italy as a rivalry between Venice and Florence and the proponents of Titian and those of Michelangelo, respectively. The debate later culminates in the theoretical battles of the French academy in the seventeenth century between the Rubenists and the Poussinists.¹⁶⁴ The Academy denounced Rubens' *couleur* for its association with the lower, emotional side of human nature, while celebrating the reason and rationality of Poussin's *dessin*, the proponents of which could turn to Aristotle for a convenient analogy between painting and drama that placed color on a lower rung of importance.¹⁶⁵ But a history of the *paragone tra colore e disegno* would not be complete without a discussion of the controversy between *dibujo y color* in early seventeenth century Spain, where the polemic between Florence and Venice planted its discursive seeds by way of sixteenth century treatises, principally those of Vasari and Dolce. Though Titian and the Venetian school were the most predominant in Spanish collections, followers of Michelangelo such as Gaspar Becerra and Peligrino Tibaldi were also represented. As a theoretical discourse, the polemic acquires a unique dynamic and is played out by artistic protagonists of Spain's Golden Age, such as El Greco and Pacheco, as well as literati such as Góngora, whose *Polifemo* lends itself to a reading through the prism of the *parangón entre color y dibujo*.

Góngora references Venetian colorist technique through a deliberate, painterly use of color that creates chromatic effects reminiscent of Venetian paintings; the poet plays with the

¹⁶⁴ See Bernard Teyssède. *Roger de Piles et les débats sur le coloris au siècle de Louis xiv*. Paris: 1957.

¹⁶⁵ Aristotle, *Op. Cit.*, p. 346: "The most beautiful colors laid on confusedly will not give as much pleasure as the chalk outline of a portrait."

notion of the poet as painter who, like his contemporary Rubens, follows in the footsteps of Titian and Tintoretto, and specializes in the technique of *colorito*. Góngora's "painting technique" surely would not have been approved by Spain's leading art-theorist, Francisco Pacheco. While Pacheco throughout his treatise appropriates much of Dolce's theoretical corpus on painting, and acknowledges that Titian merits "la Gloria del perfecto colorir," the Sevillian painter and theorist firmly adheres to the Vasarian critical paradigm, with "[e]l divino Micael Angel el primero, sigale Rafael de Urbino...."¹⁶⁶ With many of his arguments centering on the issue of "acabado," Pacheco repeatedly emphasizes the importance of "dibujo" throughout the *Arte*¹⁶⁷ and never deviates from the notion that with respect to the divine Michaelangelo "no pudo artifice alguno llegar al grado de honor y estima a que llegó."¹⁶⁸ Carducho in his treatise presents similar notions, expressly aligning himself with the historiographic view of art put forth by his fellow Florentine, Vasari,¹⁶⁹ and making clear reference to the idea that Michelangelo is forever unsurpassable.¹⁷⁰ Like Pacheco, Carducho critiques the Venetian school and emphasizes "el dibujo, como basis y fundamento desta ciencia."¹⁷¹ In line with Vasari, the Spanish theorists

¹⁶⁶ Francisco Pacheco, *Op. Cit.*, p. 414.

¹⁶⁷ As Bassegoda i Hugas maintains, "Como buen romanista [Pacheco] cree en la superioridad del dibujo sobre el colorido, aunque sabe reconocer la importancia y mérito del virtuosismo en esa última." See *Ibid*, p. 414n.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹⁶⁹ Carducho, *Op. Cit.*, p. 117: "He considerado con el Vasari, en el progreso deste Arte, três terminos o tres edades..."

¹⁷⁰ See Carducho, p. 47: On Michelangelo's Last Judgement, he states, "que parezca quiso en solo aquella obra dexar disueltas y vencidas cuantas dificultades tenía el mas diestro y doctor pincel y no dejar en que aventajarle a los venideros, aunque mas se desvele el Arte, ni mas alcance las especulaciones."

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

maintained that drawing comprised the scientific and mathematical foundation of painting, hence the basis upon which painting could be considered a liberal art.¹⁷² Given Spain's official reticence regarding the granting of liberal status to painting, it is logical that the Spanish theorists would adhere to the principles that won liberal status for painters in Italy. Moreover, the first decades of the seventeenth century, precisely around the time of Góngora's writing under Philip III, a Counter-Reformatory aesthetic movement was formed under the auspices of the Duke of Lerma. Known as the Florentine reformers, these artists, led by Vicente Carducho, advocated the academic, central Italian technique based on *disegno* canonized by Vasari decades earlier as the best means by which to execute images that reflected the values of Counter-Reformatory catholicism.¹⁷³

But outside this small, conservative circle, developments in painting were taking on an entirely new direction, and by around 1600 the Vasarian principle of drawing was considered by many important theorists and artists as an academic exercise, as Zuccaro put it, "piuttosto per insegnare a dipingere che dichiarare che sia pittura."¹⁷⁴ Pacheco himself indicates the schism between his theoretical principles and current practices of painting when he laments "la mayor parte de los pintores siguen lo contrario de lo que yo apruebo."¹⁷⁵ It is noteworthy that among those painters who studied and practiced what Carducho termed "este modo bizarro y osado"¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Pacheco, p. 346: "Es el debuxo, como probamos... el proceder con reglas y preceitos infalibles, razón y cuenta por las matemáticas, perspectiva, simetría y proporción, a él pertenece, y por él se llama la pintura, y es, arte liberal."

¹⁷³ Brown 1998, pp. 80-81.

¹⁷⁴ See note 27.

¹⁷⁵ Pacheco, p. 416.

¹⁷⁶ Despite his overarching critique of the Venetian school, Carducho does not necessarily diminish the status of Titian, p. 261:

of the Venetian school was none other than Pacheco's son-in-law and protégé, Diego Velázquez, whose bold "borrones" and broken brushwork technique resembled that of Titian and Tintoretto.¹⁷⁷ Yet Pacheco scathingly critiques the Venetian school, in particular Titian's later style, which includes the period in which he created the famed *poesie* for Philip II:

Ticiano es verdad que aún siendo mozo no acabó las pinturas tanto como otros... que la pintura tiene particular studio para de lexos... este modo ha procedido, a mi juicio, de querer facilitar y ahorrar de tiempo y de fatiga en la pintura..., o por defecto de la edad que, cansada la vista, no puede durar mucho tiempo en la dulzura de los colores, y esto ha sucedido a algunos grandes maestros, que como supieron executar la arte labrando dulcemento en la juventud, Lo executan en los borrones... siendo viejos; y esto no procede de nueva maestría."¹⁷⁸

While ostensibly directed at Titian, Pacheco's attack also had much to do with one of the Venetian's master's most ardent followers, that is, the painter who was to become Spain's most vehement proponent of *colorito*, Domenico El Greco. The following anecdote sheds light on the

Los doctos, que pintan acabadisimo, y perfilado, obran con cuidado y razon todas las cosas, y Ticiano fue uno dellos en su principio, siguiendo a Iuan Belino su primero Maestro, y despues con borrones hizo cosas admirables, y por este modo de bizarre y osado pinto despues toda la escuela Veneciana con tanta licencia, que algunas pinturas de cerca apenas se dan a conocer, si bien apartandonose a distancia conveniente, se descubre con agradable vista el arte del que la hizo: y si este disfraz se haze con prudencia, y con la perspectiva cantitativa, luminosa y colorida... no es de menor estimacion, sino de mucho mas que lo lamido y acabado.

See also the note by Calvo Serraller, p. 125, n350: "[E]s conocida la hostilidad de Vasari frente a los pintores 'coloristas' venecianos; esta acritud crítica se ejerce también frente a Tiziano... Aunque básicamente las opiniones de Carducho siguen las de Vasari, y en los *Diálogos* existen numerosos ataques a los pintores coloristas, que éstas opiniones no se traduzcan en una crítica a Tiziano. Quizá se deba al enorme prestigio del pintor veneciano en la Corte española y especialmente en las colecciones reales."

¹⁷⁷ See McKim-Smith, Gridley, et al. *Examining Velázquez*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

¹⁷⁸ Pacheco, p. 417.

dibujo y color debate that emerged between El Greco and Pacheco:

“Por donde me maravillo mucho ... que preguntando yo a Dominico Greco el año de 1611, cuál era más difícil el debuxo o el colorido? Me respondiese el colorido. Y no es esto tanto de maravillar como oírle hablar con tan poco aprecio de Micael Angel (siendo el padre de la pintura) diciendo que era un buen hombre y que no supo pintar. ...[N]o le parecerá nuevo el apartarse del sentimiento común de los mas demás artifices, por ser en todo singular, como lo fue en la pintura.”¹⁷⁹

Domenico Theotocopolous, originally from Venetian-ruled Crete, spent several years in Venice and Rome before making his way to Spain in 1577 in an attempt to pursue a career as a court painter in Madrid. After a brief commission but a largely unsuccessful foray at court, he established himself in the culturally vibrant city of Toledo, where he cultivated a polyglot circle of intellectuals that included, apart from Góngora, writers such as Cervantes and Lope, José de Valdivielso, the gongorine orator and poet Hortensio Félix de Paravicino, as well as the great humanist Antonio Covarrubias, the Escorial sculptor Pompeo Leoni and the painter and art-theorist Federico Zuccaro.¹⁸⁰ A product of the Venetian school, El Greco apprenticed under Titian and arduously studied and admired his work, as well as that of his brilliant successor, Tintoretto. As the rich chromatism of his work attests, El Greco fully exploited the oil-paint medium and the previously unimagined representational possibilities offered by Venetian

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

¹⁸⁰ See Jonathan Brown. “El Greco and Toledo.” In *El Greco of Toledo*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1982, pp. 75-148; Richard Kagan. “The Toledo of El Greco.” In *El Greco of Toledo*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1982, pp. 35-74; Gregorio Marañón, *El Greco y Toledo*. Madrid: Espasa, 1968, who speculates that Góngora’s sonnet to El Greco was in gratitude for a portrait that was then lost; p. 107: “quién sabe si el soneto no fué, como los de Paravicino, trueque agradecido de algún retrato que se ha perdido.” See also Harold Wethey, *El Greco and his School*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

colorist technique.¹⁸¹ As a proponent of Venetian *colorito* and ardent critic of Vasari and Michelangelo, El Greco held a somewhat contentious relationship with his Sevillian counterpart, Francisco Pacheco.¹⁸² While El Greco's treatise on painting, sculpture and architecture referred to by Pacheco has not survived,¹⁸³ a nearly miraculous archival find sheds light on the Cretan's aesthetic views. In the margins of his edition of Vasari's *Lives*, which first belonged to Federico Zuccaro and was later passed on to Luis Tristán, El Greco wrote extensive notes¹⁸⁴ that directly confronted Vasari's aesthetic views, particularly with respect to Titian and Venetian *colorito*, thus shedding light on the *colore versus disegno* polemic as it took root on Spanish soil in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and developed into a salient discourse surrounding the artistic flowering of Spain's Golden Age.

Vasari's *Life of Titian* is at the center of the color versus drawing debate, and in his marginal notes El Greco offers a sharp critique of Vasari's assessment of Titian and the Venetian school. In response to Vasari's controversial claim that the Venetians painted "con maniera cruda e stentata"¹⁸⁵ as a result of a lack of attention to preliminary drawing, and in particular his

¹⁸¹ Brown 1998, p. 74: "In El Greco's conception of painting as the imitation and improvement of nature, color and light became the preeminent elements of the art. Thus he prized Titian above all painters ... The effective imitation of color and light posed the greatest challenge to the painter,... and only thus could the entire range of natural phenomena be depicted..."

¹⁸² For more on the complex theoretical relationship between Pacheco and El Greco, see Bassegoda i Hugas, *Introducción*, in Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, pp.

¹⁸³ Pacheco, p. 537: "Dominico El Greco, que fue gran filósofo de agudos dichos y escribió de la pintura, escultura y arquitectura..."

¹⁸⁴ The discovery was made in 1967 by art historian and late former director of the Prado, Xavier de Salas. See Salas, Xavier de and Fernando Marias. *El Greco y el arte de su tiempo: las notas de El Greco a Vasari*. Toledo: Real Fundación de Toledo, 1992.

¹⁸⁵ See note 26.

account of the way in which Titian allegedly followed in Giorgione's footsteps and began to paint directly on canvas,¹⁸⁶ El Greco maintains:

No es este intent bueno sino camino abierto y no andar a ciegas como es toto impertinencias y sofismas por no decir necedades, pues cualquier fin a la postrera por estos... caminos que nos hareis venir pues a conceder que vino a ser el mayor conoedor y imitador de la naturaleza.¹⁸⁷

And in response to Vasari's condescending notion that Titian's art improved as a result of his learning from Michelangelo and Raphael during a trip to Rome, El Greco sharply reveals the biased nature of Vasari's criteria based on *dibujo*:

Y una por una le concede ser el mayor imitador de la naturaleza con la bella manera de su colorido si le hubiera aprovechado lo de Roma también se podría haber dañado, lo cierto es que teniendo lo que ha tenido, más les habría sido de provecho a todos ellos (Michel Angel y Rafael) haberle imitado a él que por ventura él haberlos imitado a ellos, no obstante que cualquiera de ellos valió más que el otro en la parte en que más se empleó, pero al anteponerlos entramos en el dibujo y de esta manera no deja de ser una desvergüenza.¹⁸⁸

It is unfortunate that El Greco's formal theoretical writings, mentioned by Pacheco, did not survive. But his marginal notes provide clear insight into the aesthetic paradigm that the Cretan would have presented in his treatise. In alignment with the Venetian art theorist Lodovico Dolce, El Greco celebrates the revolutionary style of Titian and the Venetian school, promoting the supremacy of color over design, and subverts the Vasarian paradigm perpetuated in Spain by

¹⁸⁶ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 309: "Tiziano dunque, veduto il fare e la maniera di Giorgione, lasciò la maniera di Gianbellino..." Vasari's criticism is subtly constructed: first he claims that Titian learned to paint from Bellini, "in maniera cruda e stentata," and then he follows Giorgione, who refused to draw, thus undermining Titian's foundation in painting.

¹⁸⁷ Marías, p. 112.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Francisco Pacheco and Vicente Carducho. While the latter defended *disegno*, El Greco becomes Spain's advocate of *colore*, and promoted the technique that rendered painting independent of drawing and consequently the other visual arts. In line with Zuccaro, El Greco denotes Vasari's technique of preliminary drawing in chalk and ink as an academic exercise, dismissing it as "cosa sabida de todos."¹⁸⁹ Of course, the polemic surrounding *dibujo y color* reaches far beyond technical concerns, and much of El Greco's acerbic commentary is directed at Vasari's closed, historiographic notion of artistic progress, a view that provides little recognition of artistic development occurring in cultural spheres outside Florence and Rome beyond the mid-sixteenth century.

El Greco addresses yet another aspect of the Venice versus Florence debate: In response to Vasari's claim that Michelangelo did not deign to engage in the depiction of objects other than the human form, such as houses, trees, textiles, flora and fauna, El Greco writes "O desvergüenza tan grande!"¹⁹⁰ While the Cretan painter does not offer further comment, his sharp exclamation speaks to a branch of the *paragone* that embraces important art-theoretical and philosophical discourses, which Góngora also signals in the *Polifemo*. The medium of oil paint and the technique of *colorito* facilitated the representation of nature in all its richness and variety, and emphasis on the manifold or *varietas rerum*, that is, landscapes, trees, water, fruit, draperies, gold, precious stones, architectural settings, animals, fog, light, etc. became a mark of the Venetian school. The Venetian painters' efforts at representing nature's multifarious gifts were yet another target of Florentine criticism, and the notion of *varietá* evolved into a category of *paragone* discourse. In the Life of Michelangelo, in a section dedicated to *Capella Paulina* completed in Rome around 1541, Vasari claims that Michelangelo dedicated himself to

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 108

achieving only perfection in art, thus in this masterpiece, as elsewhere, there are no landscapes, trees, nor houses or other charms or varieties of art because Michelangelo did not want to “lower his great mind to these things.”¹⁹¹ Consistent with the hierarchy of aesthetic value that places Michelangelo at the summit of artistic achievement, Vasari disparages Venetian endeavors to represent the manifold and instead promotes Michelangelo’s streamlined attention to the ideal human body.¹⁹² The Venetian theorists, led by Ludovico Dolce and Paolo Pino, responded to Vasari by placing value on the artist’s ability to imitate the richness of the world, and praising Titian’s consummate talent to use color to represent an entire gamut of appearances and textures such as flesh, drapery, silk, gold, stone, day, night, flora, fauna, as well diversity and naturalism in human figures. Dolce catalogues the myriad objects, textures and atmospheric effects that the skilled painter must learn to represent, claiming that nature’s manifold richness is never tiring to the eyes of the viewer.¹⁹³ Furthermore, Dolce makes the claim that, in comparison to other

¹⁹¹ Vasari, *Op. Cit.*, vol. 7, p. 178: “Ha Michelagnolo atteso solo, come s’è detto altrove, alla perfezione dell’ arte, per che né paesi vi sono, né alberi, né casamenti, né anche certe varietà e vaghezze dell’ arte vi si veggono perché non vi attese mai, come quegli che forse non voleva abassare quell suo grande ingeno in simil cose.”

¹⁹² Even while Vasari praises Raphael’s ability to represent the manifold, it is implied that this talent compensates for a second-tier ability to represent the human form.

¹⁹³ Dolce, *Op. Cit.* in Barocchi 1960, p. 184: “Bisogna dipoi sapere imitare il color de’ panni, la seta, l’oro et ogni qualità, così bene che paia di veder la durezza o la tenerezza più e meno, second che alla condizion del panno si conviene; saper fingere il lustro delle armi, il fosco della note, la chiarezza del giorno, lampi fuochi, edifice, casamenti, animali, e sì fatte cose, tanto a pieno che elle abbiano tutte del vivo e non sazano mai gli occhi di chi le mira.”

painters, Michelangelo is in fact lacking in his ability to represent anything other than the ideal nude.¹⁹⁴

The topic of *varietas* is in large measure associated with landscape painting, and Venetian landscapes were the target of Vasari's criticism for their lack of attention to drawing and the human form at the expense of what Vasari disparagingly terms *vaghezze dell' arte*. The medium of oil paint on canvas *alla prima* was particularly conducive to the depiction of landscape and the diverse textures of flora and fauna, as well as the evocative mood of pastoral images. Using the new technique, Giorgione and his circle, including the young Titian, excelled at rendering pictorial counterparts to the pastoral poetry of Virgil, Theocritus and Sannazaro. Along with works inspired by Ovidian material, these evocative paintings became known as *poesie*, a category of pictures that became distinguished from the heroic *istoria* or religious *devozione*.¹⁹⁵

Like a Venetian painter, Góngora sets the fable of the *Polifemo* in a vast landscape, beginning with a costal scene rendered in coloristic and painterly terms, *donde espumoso el mar siciliano/ el pie argenta de plata al Lilibeo*, and then moving inland to describe the dark setting that is home to the Cyclops. Further along, the image of the nymph Galatea, *deidad, aunque sin*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 193: "Michelangelo e' stupendo e veramente miracoloso e sopra umano... ma in una maniera sola, ch' è in fare un corpo nudo muscoloso e ricercato.... Ma nelle altre maniere è non solo minore di sè stesso, ma di altri ancora."

¹⁹⁵ There is much discussion surrounding the term *poesia* as it evolved to refer to a category of painting around 1550. We know that Titian used the term in a much-quoted letter of 1554 to his patron Philip II to refer to his mythological cycle, and distinguished the *poesie* from other painted works of *istoria* and *devozione*. See Puttfarken, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 8-10. See also See also Robert C. Cafritz, et. al., *Places of Delight: the Pastoral Landscape*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1988, in particular the essay by David Rosand, "Giorgione, Venice and the Pastoral Vision," pp. 20-81. See also Richard A. Turner. *The Vision of Landscape in Renaissance Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

templo, is set among the bounty of Sicily, which is rendered in broad strokes of white and gold, in verses 145 - 152:

*A Pales su viciosa cumbre debe
lo que a Ceres, y aún mas, su vega llana;
Pues si en la una ramos de oro llueve,
Cupos nieva en la otra mil de lana.
De cuantos siegan oro, esquilan nieve,
O en pipas guardan la exprimida grana,
Bien sea religion, bien amor sea,
Deidad, aunque sin templo, es Galatea.*

Góngora spares none of his painterly skill in the depiction of the human form, but as in a Venetian *poesia* or pastoral painting, frames the human body with carefully crafted depictions of flora and fauna, recalling images such as Giorgione's *Fête Champêtre*. The pearl-white skin of Galatea contrasts against a grassy bed, and with painterly touches, Góngora highlights the figure of Acis as he refreshes himself at the stream amongst green myrtle spattered with white foam, in verses 209-216:

*Caluroso, al arroyo da las manos,
y con ellas las ondas a su frente,
entre dos mirtos que de espuma canos,
dos verdes garzas son de la corriente.*

Like Titian's mythological paintings for Philip II, the *Polifemo* is born of Ovidian material and deals particularly with tragic passion, a theme that dominates the entire cycle of six paintings commissioned for Philip.¹⁹⁶ In signaling Venetian painting technique as well as a theme that is shared with Titian's *poesie*, Góngora seems to play with the idea of his poem as a painting that partakes in continuity with Titian's famed mythological cycle.

¹⁹⁶ For more on the thematic content of the *poesie*, see Puttfarken, *Op. Cit.*

To balance the panoramic Sicilian landscape, the poet's gaze zooms in to focus on details such as the *cornucopia* of fruit in the monster's realm. In stanzas 10 and 11, discussed earlier in this chapter, the poet detains the reader-viewer's gaze on a detailed and painterly image of ripening fruit -- pears, apples, figs -- whose primary colors contrast with a golden bed of straw. Here, Góngora proves to be *au courant* with respect to the most avant-garde painting trends of the day, and nods yet again to the vibrant artistic community of Toledo, one of the many European centers, along with Flanders, in which still-life began to emerge as an independent artistic category around 1600.¹⁹⁷ Given the placement of the overflowing *zurrón* in the section of the narration dedicated to the monster, in the dark spaces of the poem, visually speaking, the blushing fruit upon the golden bed of straw is set against a dark backdrop, creating an image reminiscent of still-life paintings or *bodegones* that Góngora might have actually seen, such as those by Juan Sánchez Cotán and Francisco de Zurbarán. The warm tones of the still-life provide relief from the intense blackness of the cave presented in the preceding stanzas, and transitions the reader to the more brilliantly colored, light-filled images of Galatea in the following section. This use of stark contrasts of dark and light, and the illusion of objects emerging from shadow, is characteristic of the revolutionary new technique of *chiaroscuro* developed by Caravaggio around the turn of the century. As in a painting by Caravaggio and his followers, the poem presents dark spaces that contain areas of relative light, and objects that emerge from the shadow. Along with still-life painting, *caravaggism* was one of the newest trends in art received in Toledo by a highly cultivated minority.¹⁹⁸ Building upon the

¹⁹⁷ See Brown 1998, pp. 86-88. See also William B. Jordan. *Spanish Still Life in the Golden Age*. Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1985.

¹⁹⁸ See Brown 1998, pp. 86-92. Cardinal Bernardo Sandoval y Rojas, who was Archbishop from 1599 to 1618, was one of the main supporters of the new tendencies in art. He commissioned one of

advancements in oil painting made by the Venetians and working directly on canvas *alla prima*,¹⁹⁹ Caravaggio revolutionized techniques dealing with light and shadow, explored the manifold through the incorporation of still-life into his figural paintings, and roiled his critiques by presenting subjects in a highly naturalistic way.²⁰⁰ In the *Polifemo*, Góngora joins word and image and weaves together visual and discursive references to Venetian painting and the avant-garde movements that Venetian technique helped facilitate, thereby creating a word-painting informed by the set of discourses that subverts the Florentine-centric Vasarian paradigm concerning aesthetic value and the progress of art, and embraces instead the influences that became the foundation of Spain's Golden Age in painting.

The 'Polifemo' and the Flemish Mode

With great literary flair, Vasari recounts the anecdote of how the alchemist-painter Van Eyck discovers oil paint, and closely guards the “nuovo segreto” before the Sicilian painter Antonella da Messina, upon travelling north to Flanders, succeeds in acquiring it and returning to Florence. Woven into the Life of Antonello da Messina, the story reads like a Boccaccian *novella*, taking the reader among Flanders, Naples and Florence, and involving even the murder

Caravaggio's closest followers, Carlo Saraceni, as well as Juan Bautista Maino, who became the most important *caravaggista* in Spain. See also Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez. *Caravaggio y el naturalism español*. Madrid: Dirección General de Bellas Artes, 1973.

¹⁹⁹ See Howard Hibbard. *Caravaggio*. New York: Harper and Row, 1983, p. 28: Caravaggio apparently did not plan his pictures in drawings. By 1600, he had begun to work up his compositions directly in the canvas in oil, *alla prima*... Such a technique is typical of Venice, particularly Titian.

²⁰⁰ See Hibbard, *Op. Cit.* See also Catherine R. Puglisi. *Caravaggio*. London: Phaidon Press, 1998.

of Domenico Veneziano, whose attempt to protect the famed secret spelled his fate.²⁰¹ While it is now known that oil-paint was developed much earlier, the notion of this great Flemish discovery, so vital to European painting, and in particular, the technique of *colore*, persisted in the imagination of art *cognoscenti* starting in the late sixteenth century.²⁰²

As is known, Spain had long been in the unique geo-political position to receive artistic impulses from Flanders.²⁰³ Starting in the latter sixteenth century, Góngora and his generation had the privilege of being exposed to the great influx of Flemish masterpieces brought to Spain by way of the Philip II's artistic patronage, as well as through the important collections of Northern European masterpieces of María de Hungría, Charles V's sister and one of the most important patrons of northern artists.²⁰⁴ Spanish humanists like Góngora were able to experience the magnificent effects of oil paint and Flemish painting technique firsthand, in the vast landscapes, assiduously rendered still lifes, and the practically photo-realist portraits. Just as importantly, the theoretical and historical framework surrounding Flemish visual culture was received in Spain not only through the filter of the Italian *trattadisti* like Vasari, but directly from

²⁰¹ See Vasari, *Op. Cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 438-9: “[Q]uello che si dilettaua dell’ archimia a far di molti olii per far vernici et altre cose... non volle insegnare nessuno il segreto.”

²⁰² See Borchert, Till (Ed.). *The Age of Van Eyck: The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting, 1430-1530*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002, in particular, the essay “Van Eyck and the Invention of Oil Painting: Artistic Merits in the Their Literary Mirror,” pp. 220-225.

²⁰³ “In the north, during the sixteenth century, Spanish governors ruled over all of the Netherlands while maintaining the loyalty of the duke of Savoy. Even after the revolt of the northern Netherlands and the formation of the Dutch Republic in the later sixteenth century, Spain played a major role in the affairs of northern Europe.” (Brown 1998: 1)

²⁰⁴ See Fernando Checa. *Felipe II: Mecenas de las artes*. Prologue: Jonathan Brown. Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 1997. See also M.J. Redondo Cantera, et. Al. *Carlos V y las artes : promoción artística y familia imperial*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 2000.

the Netherlands' foremost art theorist, Karel Van Mander.²⁰⁵ As already mentioned, Van Mander's *Schilderboeck*, first published in Amsterdam in 1604, was known in Spain and found amongst Pacheco's book collection, with significant parts of the treatise translated into Spanish and incorporated into Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura*.²⁰⁶

In the *Polifemo*, Góngora appears to follow Van Mander's instructions on *wel werven*, the Flemish term for *colorito* or rather, "coloring well."²⁰⁷ In the Life of De Gheyn, who makes a color chart based on flowers and references these pigments for other objects in nature, Van Mander enjoins the aspiring painter to learn the art of coloring by observing nature's floral displays, in which saturated colors are distributed and remain distinct, even when massed together: "In fragrant springtime... nature paints flowers in all their variety, poured forth as if on a green tapestry; though there be thousands in bloom, hardly any appear green, due to distribution which differentiates color." Purporting to elucidate complimentary hues, he states "that nature shows us how to distribute while sowing is to be detected in her works... nature, the

²⁰⁵ An English translation of Van Mander's treatise in its entirety is not yet available. For the remaining part of this section, I rely on Walter S. Melion's thorough reading and sampling of Van Mander, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel Van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991.

²⁰⁶ Pacheco was likely familiar with both editions of the *Schilderboeck*, 1604 and 1618. In his edition and introduction of *Arte de la pintura*, Bassegoda i Hugas notes Pacheco's quotations and appropriations of Van Mander's theories. For example, Pacheco quotes Mander's prefatory poem, *Del grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, or *Groundwork*, on pages 408-410 of the *Arte*. Says Pacheco, p. 408: "Y pues no es ajeno del intento, y nos acercamos al fin deste libro segundo, lograré algunos precetos generals de los que escribió en lengua flamenco Carlo van Mander, natural del la ciudad de Harlem, en Holanda, en su *Libro de Pintura* impreso año de 1604, de quien hemos hecho ya mención, y la haremos adelante." Other areas in which Pacheco quotes and/or appropriates Van Mander extensively include drawing, color, the invention of oil painting, landscape, and the lives of the Flemish artists.

²⁰⁷ Melion, pp. 101, 104-112.

mother and nurse of painting, instructs us how colors secure each other.”²⁰⁸ As if following the instructions set forth in Van Mander’s treatise on how to color well, Góngora utilizes flowers as signifiers of color -- *purpúreas rosas sobre Galatea/la alba entre liliis cándidos deshoja* -- combining saturated and distinct floral pigments to create hues that depict other objects. A similar floral display characterized by red and purple combined with white, in which flowers act as flowers as well as metaphors on the plane of representation, is used in the conceit depicting the climax of the narrative, that is, the union of Galatea and Acis in stanza 42, verses 329 - 336:

*No a las palomas concedió Cupido
Juntar de sus dos picos los rubies,
cuando al clavel el joven atrevido
las dos hojas le chupa carmesíes.
Cuantas produce Pafo, engendra Gnido,
Negras víolas, blancos alhelíes,
Llueven sobre el que Amor quiere que sea
Tálamo de Acis ya y de Galatea.*

Based on Ovidian and Virgilian material, Góngora paints a complex conceit to render the passionate union of Galatea and Acis. The lovers’ *tálamo* or marriage bed is created under the auspices of Cupid, amidst a shower of violets and lilies that hail from Pafos and Gnido, the two cities consecrated to the Venus.²⁰⁹

The technique of *wel werven* or coloring was pressed into service of one of the most fundamental concerns of the Flemish school, *verschedydenheden*, which means “varieties.” Van Mander declares that “nature is beautiful through diversity” and, like Dolce, enjoins the painter to differentiate figures, their attitudes and physiognomies, as well as depict all sorts of buildings,

²⁰⁸ In Melion, *Op. Cit.*, p. 90-91.

²⁰⁹ See Alonso, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 211-214.

flora, fauna, ornaments and utensils.²¹⁰ While the representation of the manifold is a point of contact between the Venetian and Flemish school, it finds its maximum expression in the latter. Van Mander further contends that the concern for depicting variety in nature was a value held by the ancients, thus it is the Netherlanders rather than the Italians that revive Greco-Roman artistic pursuits.²¹¹ More importantly, Van Mander maintains that the depiction of the manifold, and in particular landscape, is considered fundamental to the representation of history, rather than a separate category.²¹² Providing a theoretical buttress to the vast Flemish landscapes that frame devotional or historical subject, Van Mander articulates the importance of landscape in guiding the viewer to perceiving the painted history.²¹³ As in a Flemish devotional painting, the visual space of the *Polifemo* is dominated by landscape, with a panoramic vista that opens and closes the poem, framing the action or *istoria* within.

The attention to color in Flemish painting is accompanied by the study of light, not only in terms of its relationship to shadow, or *chiaroscuro*, but also with respect to reflections on surfaces. Intense luster is one of the principal qualities of Flemish art, as the sheen of oil-based pigments facilitates luminosity. This was heightened by Flemish painters' particular attention to

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25

²¹² This is meant in the Albertian sense, as the action taking place in the painting, whether it is of historical, mythological, or religious nature. See Lee, *Op. Cit.* See also Melion, p. 5: "Painted history has a... more encompassing aspect...: in this expanded register it is the subject category that comprehends all others, requiring universal descriptive skill and mastery of all the *verscheydenhen*."

²¹³ Melion, p. 7: "To ensure that the eyes will linger attentively, [Van Mander] advises the painter to devise a deep landscape setting into which the eyes may roam, and he adds that this panoramic vista, rather than figures proper, that centers the image."

reflective light, thereby rendering paintings that exhibited a gem-like shimmer.²¹⁴ Walter S. Melion's description of Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding* gives us an idea of how this dazzling effect was achieved through the handling of oil paint and glazes:

“In the *Arnolfini Wedding*, ... the pigments are translucent, allowing light to penetrate to the white ground, where it is refracted back through the intervening layers of color. The panel's overall sheen, like the sheen of the various surfaces described in the image, results from the action of colored light entering and exiting the layers of semitransparent glaze.”²¹⁵

Van Mander expresses the Netherlandish concern for handling light on surfaces in his theory of *reflex-const*, that is, the “art of depicting reflections,” the subcategories of which are *refletie* (reflection), *glans* (polish or luster), *spiegeling* (mirroring), and *reverberatie* (reverberation).²¹⁶ Emphasizing this concern for depicting light and reflection on surfaces, the Flemish school created paintings that gleamed like precious objects, an effect that was enhanced by the use of ornate frames.²¹⁷ In the *Polifemo*, a metallic gleam and shimmering effect compliments color and *chiaroscuro* in a manner that is reminiscent of the Flemish painting technique used by painters like Van Eyck and codified in Van Mander's treatise. Silver and crystal are repeatedly used as metaphors for the water that surrounds and runs through the landscape. Luminosity is produced in the first verses: *Donde espumoso el mar siciliano/ el pie argenta de plata al*

²¹⁴ Melion, p. 79: “[T]he sheen of oil-colors facilitates the description of kinds and degrees of reflection, reconciling the luminosity of Jan's pigments with the luster of the surfaces they represent... [Oil-based paints] allow the portrayal of precious objects – transparent crystal..., jewels..., and other golden ornaments – which thematize the qualities of oil colors, their lucidity, refulgence and gem-like hue.”

²¹⁵ Melion, p. 83.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 72-25.

²¹⁷ Panofsky 1971, pp. 6-7.

Lilibeo;²¹⁸ the sea god Glauco rides his crystal chariot over the waves or *campos de plata*²¹⁹ and the inland river is painted as *sonoro cristal*²²⁰ and *sonorosa plata*.²²¹ Sparkling silver and crystal are complimented with swathes of gold, as the fecund wheat fields are strewn with *granos de oro*²²² and the ripening fruit ensconced in a *cuna dorada*²²³ of hay.

In the last stanza of poem, the gleaming white of the first verses is mirrored and reinforced, as the blood and bones of Acis are converted into a shimmering river, like *aljófar* or mother of pearl,²²⁴ that glazes the sands with silver on its way to the sea, thus the narrative action of the poem is framed within a landscape that is lustrous and gleaming:

*Sus miembros lastimosamente opresos
del escollo fatal fueron apenas,
que los pies de los árboles más gruesos
calzó el líquido aljófar de sus venas.
Corriente plata al fin sus blancos huesos,
lamiendo flores y argentando arenas,
a Doris llega, que, con llanto pío,
yerno lo saludó, lo aclamó río.*²²⁵

In engaging the Flemish and Venetian painting traditions, Góngora creates in the poetic space a visual experience that reflects the most prevalent aesthetic tastes among his readers, in particular the penchant among Spanish art patrons for Venetian and Flemish painting. And apart

²¹⁸ vv. 25-26

²¹⁹ v. 120

²²⁰ v. 191

²²¹ v. 217

²²² v. 147

²²³ v. 78

²²⁴ Covarrubias, *Op. Cit.*: “es la perla menudica que se halla dentro de las conchas que las crían, y se llaman madre de perlas.”

²²⁵ vv. 501-504.

from reflecting the visual or plastic aspects of Venetian and Flemish painting, the poem engages important art theoretical and art critical discourses that molded the history of seventeenth century aesthetics. The convergence of the Venetian and Flemish schools in Spanish collections had much to do with Spain's geo-political position, as well as the personal taste of individuals who would prove to be among the early modern period's most important art patrons, Philip II, and to a lesser extent Carlos V and María de Hungría. A vivid and detailed catalogue of the famed Escorial galleries was made accessible to Spain's elite readers by Padre Sigüenza in *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, published in 1605.²²⁶ But the idea of continuity between Venice and Flanders as artistic centers of production involves more than the geopolitical circumstances of patronage. In the *Schilderboeck*, Van Mander constructs a discourse that suggests continuity between the Venetian and Netherlandish schools based on the sharing of aesthetic developments and concerns.²²⁷ For Van Mander, the Netherlandish discovery of oil paint engendered a new and important trajectory in the history of art. Vying with the Italian peninsula for art's rightful place in history is the Netherlands, as the history of northern art begins with Van Eyck's discovery of oil paint,²²⁸ a development that heightens the descriptive powers of the northern

²²⁶ Jose de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*. Introd. Francisco J. Campos y Fernandez de Sevilla, Valladolid, 2000. See also commentary in Calvo Serraller, *Op. Cit.* pp. 112-116.

²²⁷ For more on the relationship between artistic developments in the Netherlands and the Venetian Renaissance, see Giovanna Nepi Sciré, "Northern Painting and Venetian Humanism" in *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer and Titian*. New York: Rizzoli, 2000, pp. 57-59; see also Bernard Aikema "The Lure of the North: Netherlandish Art in Venetian Collections" in *Ibid.*, pp. 83-92.

²²⁸ Melion, p. 80: "The history of Northern art commences when Jan, dissatisfied with foreign media, searches for alternative materials, finally discerning means that 'need not be applied as if drawn.' He liberates brushwork.... Jan's discovery is an act of cultural self-determination, which requires that northern art, coterminous with the trajectory of Italian art until this time, engender its own history."

masters to an unparalleled degree. This prompts a new trajectory of the history of art that coincides with the rise of the Netherlands as a center for humanist learning:

Out of our fragrant garden, that phoenix of learning Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam has risen on high with shining wings... So too has generous heaven... bestowed upon us through nature the highest honor in painting... the admired Netherlander from Kempenland, Jan van Eyck, born... on the illustrious river Maas, which can now compete for honor against the Arno, the Po, and the brave Tiber: since on her banks such a light has arisen, shining so clearly that Italy, lover of art, has had to turn her astonished gaze toward us, and has sent Pictura northward, so that she might suck at new breasts.²²⁹

Artistic progress then gravitated toward Venice, as Van Mander claims that at the time of his writing “*schilderconst* (the art of picturing) had finally chosen Venice for her congenial home because of the city’s ability to color well.”²³⁰

With respect to the Florence versus Venice rivalry and the *paragone tra colore e disegno*, Van Mander provides an alternative discourse to the polarized debate. The *Schilderboeck* intervenes in the polemic between Michelangelo versus Titian perpetrated by Vasari and Dolce and played out in Spain among figures such as Pacheco and El Greco, and played an important role in forming perceptions of art among seventeenth century Spanish literati. The *Schilderboeck* is comprised of three sets of *Lives* – Ancient, Italian and Northern – prefaced by a long poem, *Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, or “Groundwork of the Noble and Free Art of Painting,”²³¹

²²⁹ Reprinted in Melion, p. 80-81.

²³⁰ Van Mander inserts this claim in the Life of Bassano, in Melion, p. 114: “Just as *Schilderconst* had finally chosen Venice for her congenial home because of the city’s ability to color well, and had there many followers and practitioners contemporary with Titian, so too was there worthy of note, one Iacob van Bassano...”

²³¹ An English translation of the text is published as a privately printed edition as *Foundation of the Noble Free Art of Painting*, tr. J. Bloom, Ed. Elizabeth Honig. New Haven, 1985.

which defines critical art categories and terms. One of the unique aspects of Van Mander's treatise is that it is informed by a notion of cultural relativity; as Melion explains, "[t]he conviction that cultural norms are relative, bound by regional modalities, informs the 'Groundwork.'" Thus, different regions have different, but equally admirable, aesthetic strengths and concerns. In making ethnographic comparisons, Van Mander suggests that no one aesthetic paradigm, not even his own, has universal purchase. Landscape is defined as a preoccupation that is specific to the Netherlands, while the Central Italians such as Michelangelo and Raphael specialized in *teyckenconst* (drawing) and the depicting the human figure and attitudes.²³² The Venetians, as previously stated, some Netherlandish concerns, such as *wel verven* or color, as well as landscape and *verscheydenheyt*, that is, variety, and Van Mander canonizes Titian along with Brueghel as one of the most accomplished landscape painters.

The notion of cultural relativity is an important thread that conditions the body of the treatise consisting of the ancient, Italian and Northern *Lives*. Van Mander provides an expanded and comprehensive history of art, presented without progressive or competitive contingencies.²³³ While Van Mander based much of his Italian *Lives* on Vasari's *Vite*,²³⁴ the history of European art is not centered on the Florentine *Vite*, as the Italian *Lives* are flanked by the Ancients and the

²³² While landscape is presented as a Netherlandish concern, Van Mander makes a claim for more universal value, encouraging painters of all subjects to learn how to paint landscape and stating that even painters figures must imitate the variety of color characteristic of landscape painting. See Melion, p. 97.

²³³ *Ibid*, p. 22: "By yoking three sets of 'Lives', Van Mander devised a powerful intertextual sequence, which differentiates ancient, Italian, and Northern instances of pictorial prowess, inviting the reader to distinguish three regional histories of art."

²³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 95: "In effect, Book 3 of the *Schilder-Boeck*, the Italian *Lives*, is a Vasari edition; it translates from the 1568 redaction of the *Vite*, giving the reader access to Florentine critical categories."

Northern Lives, which constitute two equally important art-historical moments. Within the Italian *Lives*, Van Mander presents an expanded Italian canon that consists of a plurality of masters, some of whom excel at *teyckenconst* (drawing) while others focus on *wel verwen* or coloring, with the Tuscan art of *disegno* constructed as an accomplishment within a regional, not universal, set of criteria.²³⁵ For instance, Van Mander demonstrates how local conditions dictate preferences for specific media, thus revealing Michelangelo's deprecatingly gendered critique of oil-painting as "women's work"²³⁶ as ignorance of the fact that Lowlands' climate and geography prohibited Tuscan style fresco and instead called for the development of oil-based pigment.²³⁷ Furthermore, while incorporating most of Vasari's *Vite*, Van Mander strips his Italian *Lives* of Vasari's prefaces containing the historiographic paradigm of artistic progress, and in this way "loosened the Tuscan grip on history."²³⁸ And by excluding the lives of the sculptors and architects, the treatise focuses exclusively on painting, thereby shifting overarching importance away from the practice of *disegno*.²³⁹ Van Mander further develops a corrective of Vasari by unmasking the Florentine humanist as a spokesman for cultural superiority who was motivated by his patron, Duke Cosimo de' Medici.²⁴⁰ And after enhancing the prestige of Venetian *wel verwen* (color) in the "Groundwork," Van Mander expands the Venetian *Lives*,

²³⁵ Melion, pp. 114-115.

²³⁶ In the *Vita di Sebastiano del Piombo*, Vasari attributes Michelangelo as saying: "il colorire a olio era arte da donna e da persone agiate ed infingarde, come Fra Bastiano." See also Philip Sohm. "Gendered Style in Italian Art Criticism from Michelangelo to Malvasia." *Renaissance Quarterly*. Vol. 48, No. 4 (Winter 1995), pp. 759-808.

²³⁷ Melion, pp. 96-97.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 97

creating independent biographies out of those relegated to digressions in Vasari's *Vite*, such as the Life of Tintoretto, whose bio is prefaced as such:

The painters of Tuscany and Rome – I know not whether motivated by envy or justice – berate the Venetian painters, complaining that they have little besides bold and pleasing coloring and that they lack study and *teyckenconst* (drawing); but perhaps these fault-finders have attended too little to their own coloring.²⁴¹

The expanded Venetian biographies are linked together toward the close of the book of Italian *Lives*. While Vasari's historiographic prefaces were eliminated, this format, with the Venetian "Lives" clustered together at the end, suggests a climax that fulfills a progressive scheme²⁴² that is reinforced by the notion found in the Life of Bassano that

Art had found her "congenial home" in Venice among artists that promote color or *wel verven*.²⁴³

And while the Northern theorist coincides with Vasari in the idea that the art of picturing was born in classical antiquity and then revived among humanist learning in the modern era,²⁴⁴ in the *Schilderboeck* it becomes clear that the seeds of art planted in antiquity sprung up and flourished in multiple and equally important cultural spheres, among which Florence was but one, along with Venice and Flanders. Implicit in the text is the idea that, while art found her "congenial home" in Venice in the late sixteenth century, there is not one singular, universal center of art that exists in perpetuity, but multiple centers that can develop and exist simultaneously.

To summarize, in the early seventeenth century, Spanish literati such as Góngora witnessed the privileging of visual culture and were privy to one of the most expansive collections of Renaissance art in all of Europe. Accompanying this vast array of images was a

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁴³ See note 84.

²⁴⁴ See Melion, pp. 25-37.

plethora of art-theoretical discourses from the various centers of humanist learning, including Florence, Venice, Flanders, Seville and Toledo, which conditioned perceptions of art that were woven into works of literature and drama. The *Polifemo* delights the mind's eye with vibrant, painterly images which, executed in bold strokes of color and sheen, reflect trends in Renaissance painting, primarily those originating in Venice and Flanders. The poem thereby reflects a set aesthetic of values that for the most part guided Spanish taste and patronage, especially in the vast collections of Philip II and provided the foundation for Spain's subsequent artistic flowering, as painters like Velazquez later looked to Venice and the Low Countries for inspiration. Moreover, the poem inserts itself into the array of art-theoretical and art-historical discourses that circulated in Spain in the early seventeenth century, in particular, the anti-Vasarian discourse that overturns the notion of Florence as the hegemonic center of the Renaissance.

Góngora engendered a bold, new literary style: while he reached into Spain's latinized past, at the same time he invented new and hybrid literary forms, blending genres, styles and linguistic registers to create complex, innovative linguistic conceits. Góngora's *poesia nueva* was denounced by many of his contemporaries as violating the classical principles of poetics based on Horatian and Aristotelian precepts. In a similar vein, the innovative styles of Titian, El Greco and Caravaggio were also seen by many conservative critics as violating the canonical Tuscan foundations of Renaissance painting. In addition, at the time of Góngora's writing, Tuscan technique based on *disegno* became associated with an official, Counter-Reformatory aesthetic. It is not surprising that in engaging *ut pictura poesis*, Góngora aligns his *poesia nueva*, that was *para pocos*, that is, destined to be read by a cultivated few, with painting trends that were innovative, avant-garde and even esoteric, as in the case of still-life, rather than a retroactive,

academic movement that produced didactic works easily understood by the masses.

Góngora writes his major poems at a crucial juncture in the history of Spanish art and visual culture. Philip the II led the unprecedented enterprise in artistic patronage that reflected a wide-reaching aesthetic program embracing both the Northern Renaissance of the Netherlands and the innovative High Renaissance trends of Venice. In contrast, the reign of Philip III ushered in a conservative, official style of Counter-Reformatory art that adhered to Vasari's principle of *disegno*, by this time widely considered an academic exercise in artistic circles. In engaging *ut pictura poesis*, Góngora links his poetry to a progressive aesthetic that reflects the expansive artistic program of the prior monarch, and anticipates the Golden Age of painting among the reenergized artistic patronage of the subsequent reign of Philip IV. In a sense, Góngora inserts his major poems between two Golden Ages of painting. Perhaps also implicit in the poem is the notion of Spain as a center into which the main arteries of High Renaissance trends -- Venetian *colorito*, Caravaggism, and Still-life – flowed and were further developed, giving rise to the notion, akin to Van Mander's vision of Venice, of Spain as "Art's congenial home."

CHAPTER III

THE SOLEDADES: *UT PICTURA POESIS* IN THE FLEMISH MODE AND THE POEM AS ART GALLERY

Part I: 'Un Lienzo de Flandes': the 'Soledades' and Flemish Painting

Like the *Polifemo*, the *Soledades* abound with *virtú visiva* and delight the mind's eye with a continuous display of vivid, painterly images reminiscent of actual works of art. At the outset of the poem, in verses 1-6, Góngora signals his role as poet-painter in with an *ekphrasis* of a famous painting with which his readers were likely familiar, Titian's *Rape of Europa*, which was commissioned for Philip II in the early 1550s:

*Era del año la estación florida
en que el mentido robador de Europa
(media luna las armas de su frente
y el sol todos los rayos de su pelo),
luciente honor del cielo,
en campos de zafiro pace estrellas*

As previously mentioned, Titian describes this work as “la poesia di Europa portata dal Toro” in a letter to his patron in 1554.²⁴⁵ The painting pertained to a set of six mythological works based on Ovidian material, together known as the *poesie*, including the famous *Danäe* along with *Diana and Acteon*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Diana and Callisto*. As discussed, the practice of using the term *poesia* to refer to painting came into vogue around 1500, specifically in

²⁴⁵ Titian in *Tiziano: le lettere*. Ed. Celso Fabbro. Cadore: Magnifica Comunità di Cadore, 1976, p. 212: “Ho finalmente con l'aiuto della divina bontá condotto a fine le due pitture che io cominciai per la Cattolica Maestá Vostra: l'una e' il Cristo che ora nell' orto, l'altra la poesia di Europa portata dal Toro.”

connection with Venetian landscapes created among the circle of Giorgione that depicted Arcadian scenes evoked in pastoral poetry. Toward the middle of the century, the notion of a painting as a poem took on greater significance given the development of a humanistic theory of painting and the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*, in particular, the idea of the painter as a liberal artist with the same powers of invention as the poet. In calling his paintings *poesie* in a letter to his patron, apart from distinguishing the mythological works from historical and religious scenes – *istoria* and *devozione* -- the well-respected and knighted Venetian master reinforces the notion of correspondence between painter and poet.²⁴⁶ Likewise, by choosing to create in the opening lines of the *Soledades* an *ekphrasis*, in essence a painting in verse, of an image known specifically among his readers as a poem in paint, Góngora not only solidifies the poem's connectedness to the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*, declaring himself a poet whose descriptive powers are on par with those of the painter, signals once again Titian and the Venetian school.

That Góngora succeeded at manifesting the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* in the minds of his readers is evidenced in the well-known commentary by the Abad de Rute, one of the earliest supporters of the *Soledades*, who maintains: “La poesía en general es pintura que habla, y si alguna lo es, lo es ésta.”²⁴⁷ The Abad recalls the oft-repeated phrase attributed to Simonides of Ceos – *pictura loquens*...-- which, as discussed in chapter one, was pressed into service to lend

²⁴⁶ As mentioned, there is much discussion surrounding the term *poesia* as it referred to painting around 1550, particularly with respect to *ut pictura poesis* and the status of the painter as liberal artist. Titian used the term in his letter of 1554 to his patron Philip II to refer to his mythological cycle, and distinguished the *poesie* from other painted works of *istoria* and *devozione*. See Thomas Puttfarcken, *Titian and Tragic Painting: Aristotle's Poetics and the Rise of the Modern Artist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, pp. 8-10, 170-174; also David Rosand. “*Ut Pictur Poeta: Meaning in Titian's Poesie*” in *New Literary History*, Spring 1972, Vol. 3, pp. 527-546.

²⁴⁷ In Robert Jammes, “Introducción.” *Las Soledades*. Luis de Góngora. Madrid: Castalia, 1994, p. 127.

ancient authority to the Renaissance doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*, and points to Góngora's poem as an exemplary embodiment of a "speaking picture." The *Soledades* are indeed a visual odyssey and as one critic notes, the reader is dazzled with "an impressive gallery of artwork" reflecting the prevailing artistic taste of Góngora's cultivated readers who were privy to prestigious art collections such as the royal galleries.²⁴⁸ The *ekphrasis* of Titian's mythological *poesia* in the opening verses of the first *Soledad* contrasts with a reference to a very different category of painting toward the close of the second *Soledad* in verses 809-823.

*En sangre claro y en persona augusto,
 si en miembros no robusto,
 príncipe les sucede, abreviada
 en modestia civil real grandeza.
 La espumosa del Betis ligereza
 bebió no solo, mas la desatada
 majestad en sus ondas el luciente
 caballo, que colérico mordía
 el oro que suave lo enfrenaba,
 arrogante, y no ya por las que daba
 estrellas su cerulea piel al día,
 sino por lo que siente
 de esclarecido, y aun de soberano
 en la rienda que besa la alta mano
 de sceptro digna.*

In this equestrian portrait in verse, Góngora references yet another masterpiece by the mighty Titian, namely *Charles V on Horseback*, also known as *Charles V of Mühlberg*, a very important image in the iconography of the Hapsburgs.²⁴⁹ Executed in 1548, during which time Titian joined his patron in Augsburg for an eight-month long commission, this painting, like the

²⁴⁸ Marsha Collins, *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.

²⁴⁹ See Fernando Checa Cremades. *Carlos V a caballo en Mühlberg de Tiziano*. Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2001. See also Brown *Op. Cit.*, p. 47.

poesie, speaks to the new relationship between patron and painter, and the evolution of the painter from artisan to court *familiaris*, which the knighted and gentlemanly Titian exemplified. In opening and closing the *Soledades* with references to Titian, Góngora continues the discourse embedded in the *Polifemo* dealing with the *paragone tra colore e disegno*. As in the *Polifemo*, Góngora aligns the *Soledades* with discourses put forth by partisans of Venetian *colorito*, such as Dolce and El Greco, and links the poem to the innovative trends of the High Renaissance. As already discussed, under Philip III, the Tuscan technique of *disegno* canonized by Vasari was appropriated for the official Counter-Reformatory aesthetic program. While on the one hand, the equestrian portrait is associated with official court iconography, on the other as a reference to the Venetian master Titian, the image contains an aesthetic discourse that subverts the Vasarian art-theoretical paradigm that buttressed the official, Counter-Reformatory painting style promoted under Philip III among artists such as Carducho and his followers.

Another equestrian portrait executed more recently in the Venetian style is *The Duke of Lerma* by Peter Paul Rubens, executed during the artist's diplomatic visit in 1603.²⁵⁰ The Flemish master exemplified the true humanist painter, having received a classical education before dedicating his life to painting. Once again, while the image reflects imperial iconography in terms of its genre, the equestrian portrait, at the same time, by embedding a link to Venetian *colore*, represents a discourse that subverts the Florentine paradigm based on the supremacy of *disegno* which underlie Spain's official Counter-Reformatory aesthetic. After embracing Venetian technique and following in the footsteps of Titian and Tintoretto, later on in the seventeenth century, Rubens came to embody the maximum expression of *couleur* among the theoreticians of the French academy, whose official stance sanctioned the *dessin* that

²⁵⁰ Belkin, Kristin Lohse. *Rubens*. London: Phaidon, 1998. See also Vergara, Alexander. *Rubens and his Spanish Patrons*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

characterized the work of Poussin. Thus, Góngora's equestrian portrait in verse, by encapsulating paintings by both Titian and Rubens, links Spain's polemic of *dibujo y color* to this debate's wider trajectory in the history of European aesthetics, that is from its origins in Italy, through Spain and onto France. Like his predecessor Titian, Rubens greatly influenced the work of Velázquez, and the Flemish and Sevillian masters eventually coincided in the court of Philip IV,²⁵¹ whose great interest in the arts continued the aesthetic interests of his grandfather, Philip II, and ushered in Spain's second Golden Age in painting.²⁵² In referencing first Titian and then one of his most consummate followers, Góngora appears to express nostalgia for the expansive aesthetic taste of the former monarch, Philip II, who embraced the most innovative trends of the High Renaissance linked to the revolution in oil paint on canvas ushered in by the Venetian and Flemish schools. At the same time, these images anticipate the resurgence in the interest in the arts under Philip IV and the further expanded program in patronage that accompanied Spain's new Golden Age of painting, in particular the trajectory in art that gave rise to achievements of Velázquez and other artists of his generation, who followed in the footsteps of the Venetian and Northern masters.

These high-profile images – the *Rape of Europa* and the equestrian portrait representing two very important court paintings, *Charles V* and the *Duke of Lerma* – serve as coordinates for a compendium of images reflecting trends in Renaissance and High Renaissance art, as Collins notes, “a veritable art gallery in verbal form.”²⁵³ For example, the Venetian *poesia* of Europa is complimented by the image of a landscape dotted with ruins in verses 218-220:

Yacen ahora, y sus desnudas piedras visten piadosas yedras

²⁵¹ Brown, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 116-17.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

²⁵³ Collins, *Op. Cit.*, p. 173.

*que a ruinas y a estragos
sabe el tiempo hacer verdes halagos.*

Ruins amongst an evocative landscape were a common motif among the Northern Italian and Flemish schools.²⁵⁴ In particular, continuity with the Venetian schools is reinforced, as Giorgione's *Tempesta*, one of the earliest paintings to be referred to as a *poesia* for its association with pastoral poetry, in particular that of Jacopo Sannazzaro, conspicuously features ruins toward the left side of the panel.²⁵⁵ A completely different genre, but one that was equally popular around the turn of the century, is represented in verses 237-42:

*rémora de sus pasos fue su oído
dulcemente impedido
de canoro instrumento, que pulsado
era de una serrana junto a un tronco,
sobre un arroyo de quejarse ronco.*

The Serrana playing the lute reflects a motif that came toward the latter sixteenth century, that is, the image of monody, which was explored by painters such as Caravaggio and Gentileschi.²⁵⁶

But overwhelmingly, the aesthetic frame that dominates the *Soledades* is a vast landscape, and within it, genre scenes and still-lives, for which the Flemish were so widely noted. The

²⁵⁴ Susan Donahue Kuretsky. *Time and Transformation in 17th Century Dutch Art*. Poughkeepsie: Loeb Art Center, 2005. Turner, Richard. *The Vision of Landscape in Renaissance Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

²⁵⁵ Lettieri, Dan. "Landscape and Lyricism in Giorgione's *Tempesta*." *Artibus et Historiae*. Vol. 15, no. 30, 1994, pp. 55-70.

²⁵⁶ See Russano Hanning, Barbara. "Images of Monody in the Age of Marino." *The Sense of Marino: Literature, Fine Arts and Music of the Italian Baroque*. Ed. Francesco Guardiani. New York: Legas, 1994, pp. 465-86.

overarching presence of the Netherlandish aesthetic in the *Soledades*²⁵⁷ did not escape the Abad de Rute, who suggests that the basis for considering the poem as a “speaking picture” is the degree to which it imitates a series of Flemish paintings:

“La poesía en general es pintura que habla, y si alguna lo es, lo es ésta; pues en ella, como en un lienzo de Flandes, se ven industriosa y hermosísimamente pintados mil generos de ejercicios rústicos, caserías, chozas, montes, valles, prados, bisques, mares, esteros, ríos, arroyos, animals terrestres, acuáticos y aéreos. Dije en un lienzo, digo en algunos, porque estas *Soledades* constan de más de una parte, pues se dividen en cuatro.”²⁵⁸

As already discussed, appreciation of Flemish art in Spain, facilitated by a unique geopolitical position in Europe,²⁵⁹ has a long history that dates back to the fifteenth century.²⁶⁰ Significant for Góngora’s generation was grand-scale enterprise in artistic patronage engendered by Philip II,²⁶¹ whose artistic taste focused mainly on the Flemish and Venetian schools. An extraordinary range of Flemish masterpieces from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from early devotional

²⁵⁷ My conclusions differ drastically from those expressed by Huerco Cardoso, Humberto in “Las *Soledades* de Góngora: lienço de Flandes o pintura valiente?” *La Torre*, vol. 6, no. 20-21, 2001, pp. 193-232

²⁵⁸ In Jammes 127, from *Examen del Antídoto*, p. 406.

²⁵⁹ Brown, 1991, p. 1: “In the north, during the sixteenth century, Spanish governors ruled over all of the Netherlands while maintaining the loyalty of the duke of Savoy. Even after the revolt of the northern Netherlands and the formation of the Dutch Republic in the later sixteenth century, Spain played a major role in the affairs of northern Europe.”

²⁶⁰ See Brown 1998, *Op. Cit.*, Chapter 1: Hispano-Flemish Painting and the Intrusion of the Italian Renaissance 1470-1550, pp. 7-28.

²⁶¹ Brown, *Op. Cit.*: p. 61: “The importance of the royal collection derives in equal measures from its size and quality... [I]t is known that, at Philip’s death, there were about 1,500 paintings at the Escorial, about 300 at the Alcázar of Madrid, and perhaps 100 at the Pardo, totaling roughly 1,500 in all... This scale of acquisition is unprecedented in the history of collecting and represents the start of a new era – the one of the megacollector, which was established in the seventeenth century.”

works to landscapes to genre paintings and still-lives, made their way into the royal collections under Philip II's auspices, especially during the latter years of his reign.²⁶² In particular, the monarch favored the works of Bosch and Patinir, along with contemporary painters such as Coxcie and Brueghel, among others.²⁶³

In the *Soledades*, Góngora turns his gaze toward the Flemish masterworks that were housed in Spanish collections around the turn of the seventeenth century. As Robert Jammes points out in relation to way in which the *Soledades* call to mind Flemish painting: “Para tener una idea de lo que el Abad de Rute entendía al referirse a los ‘lienzos de Flandes,’ bastará echar un vistazo a un cuadro como *La caída de Ícaro* de Pedro Brueghel (1558)... o *La mies* (1565) del mismo pintor...”²⁶⁴ Not only these masterpieces -- the *Fall of Icarus* and *The Harvesters* -- but also devotional scenes such as *Flight into Egypt* represent vast, panoramic landscapes that dwarf the human action taking place within it and encompass a view that extends beyond the normative

²⁶² Regarding Philip II's acquisitions between 1584 and 1598: “En estos últimos años entran en el Monasterio gran número de obras que acentúan el peso de la estética de los Países Bajos en los gustos regios. The inventory includes “ ‘una boda hecha en Flandes’, junto a varios bodegones flamencos cuyo naturalismo y sentido inmediato de la realidad nos hablan de un nuevo gusto que ya se plantea en los últimos años del siglo XVI... había que añadir... la aparición de escenas de género.” (Checa 408).

²⁶³ “As for Netherlandish painters, Philip loved Bosch best of all, a taste he surely acquired from Spanish collectors at the Flemish court.... The king also tried to acquire pictures by famous Flemish painters of the fifteenth century [including] several by Patinir. In addition to the primitives, Philip bought pictures by the Flemish painters of his own century, such as Jan van Scorel,... Michel Coxcie, the latter being a particular favorite. He even tried to keep pace with the newer developments; five years before he died he sent to the Escorial several anonymous paintings that... were genre scenes in the manner of Pieter Brueghel the Elder and Pieter Aertsen: ‘a wedding scene done in Flanders, with diverse costumes,... a Flemish canvas with a man and woman eating in a tavern, and another woman cooking the meal, and many things and cooking utensils painted from life.’” (Brown 1998: 61)

²⁶⁴ Jammes, pp. 127-128.

range of vision. Presenting a swathe of the earth's surface in meticulous detail from multiple viewpoints and showing even the most remote regions with relative clarity, these paintings are examples of Flemish 'world' landscapes (*Weltlandschaften*).²⁶⁵ Joachim Patinir, one of Philip II's favorite painters, was the father of this tradition. Philip II possessed several of Patinir's monumental landscapes, such as *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, *Charon Crossing the River Styx* and *St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child*, which dazzle the viewer with all-encompassing, map-like panoramas shown from multiple viewpoints and an encyclopedic accumulation of detail.²⁶⁶ Góngora presences the Flemish world landscape in verses 190-211 of the first *Soledad*, in which the pilgrim climbs atop a cliff to admire the vast panorama before him. The figure of the pilgrim is diminished as a vast landscape, one that reaches beyond what a spectator could normally see if placed in the foreground, dominates almost the entire frame:

*Llegó y, a vista tanta
obedeciendo la dudosa planta,
inmóvil se quedó sobre un lentisco,
verde balcón del agradable risco.
Si mucho poco mapa les despliega,
mucho es más lo que (nieblas desatando)
confunde el Sol y la distancia niega.
Muda la admiración habla callando,
y ciega un río sigue, que, luciente
de aquellos montes hijo,
con torcido discurso, aunque prolijo,
tiraniza los campos útilmente:
orladas sus orillas de frutales,
quiere la Copia que su cuerno sea,
si al animal armaron de Amaltea
diáfonos cristales;
engazando edificios en su plata,*

²⁶⁵ See Walter S. Gibson. *'Mirror of the Earth': The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

*de muros se corona,
rocas abraza, islas aprisona,
de la alta gruta donde se desata
hasta los jaspes líquidos, adonde
su orgullo pierde y su memoria esconde.*

As in the landscape paintings by Patinir and Brueghel, Góngora contrasts steep cliffs with fields dotted with orchards and bodies of water winding around architectural settings and unfolding toward the horizon. The poet presences the experience of viewing in silent awe – *muda la admiración habla callando* – and reconfigures the phrase attributed to Simonides that *pintura es poesía muda, la poesía es pintura que habla*, thereby announcing the poem’s affinity with painting along with the sister arts’ shared criteria of *admiratio*.²⁶⁷

As in a Flemish world landscape, a tradition that was linked to the interest in cartography and navigation during the age of exploration,²⁶⁸ the poet depicts a view that stretches beyond what the eye can see, and hints at the great expanse that lies beyond the horizon: *Si mucho poco mapa les despliega, / mucho es más lo que (nieblas desatando) / confunde el sol y la distancia niega*. The *mappa mundi* that is alluded to here²⁶⁹ is later developed in the mountaineer’s monologue, in which Spain’s turbulent navigational exploits are painfully recounted. In lines 425-429 of the first *Soledad*, Góngora renders in verse a cartographic image of the remote South American continent, from its northern Panama isthmus to the Southern cone strewn with stars of Antarctica:

²⁶⁷ Lee, *Op. Cit.*

²⁶⁸ For more on the relationship between the Flemish world landscape and cosmographies and maps, see Gibson, *Op. Cit.*, chapter 4, “Mirror and Portrait of the Earth,” pp. 48-59.

²⁶⁹ For more on the *Soledades* as a reconfiguration of the medieval *topos* of the World Book, see Andrés Sanchez Robayna’s essay “Góngora y el texto del mundo” in *Tres estudios sobre Góngora*, Barcelona, 1983, pp. 37-57.

*el istmo que al Océano divide,
y, sierpe de cristal, juntar le impide
la cabeza, del Norte coronada,
con la que ilustra el Sur cola escamada
de antárticas estrellas.*

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, maps coincided with landscapes on the walls of galleries and private cabinets or *studioli* throughout Europe, and these were complimented by cosmographies such as Sebastian Franck's *World Book: the Mirror and Portrait of the Earth*, published in 1544 and translated into many languages, with subsequent editions steadily increasing in size.²⁷⁰ Of particular importance was Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, a world atlas published in 1570, which graced the walls of Philip II's *Galleria de Levante*, a private chamber that also housed several Flemish world landscapes and devotional landscapes.²⁷¹

The vast distances of the world landscape are coupled with the more intimate landscape settings depicted in the Venetian style, reminiscent of the *poesie* of Giorgione and Titian. With vistas that are more contained and a normative one-point perspective, the Venetian landscape, which puts the viewer in close contact with the lush, idyllic setting along with the scenes' protagonists, was a legacy of the Venetian High Renaissance that had widespread influence and appeal. Netherlandish painters of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, such as Peter Paul Rubens, reformulated their landscape vision to fuse the Northern tradition with the Venetian

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ Checa Cremades, *Felipe II*, p. 249.

pastoral format.²⁷² In verses 573-579 of the first *Soledad*, the reader experiences an intimate *locus amoenus* with perspective and scale reminiscent of Rubens' *Landscape with Rainbow*:

*Centro apacible un círculo espacioso
a más caminos que una estrella rayos
hacía, bien de pobos, bien de alisos,
donde la Primavera,
calzada abriles y vestida mayos,
centellas saca de cristal undoso
a un pedernal orlado de narcisos.
Este pues centro era
meta umbrosa al vaquero convecino,
y delicioso término al distante,
donde, aun cansado más que el caminante,
concurría el camino.*

The poet-painter lavishes attention upon minute details of flora and fauna, the bend of roads and rivers, the hues of flowers, not to mention the land's inhabitants and, as noted by the Abad de Rute, their "mil ejercicios rústicos", such as gaming, hunting, fishing and food serving. The vast distances and bird's-eye views contrast with minute, close-up perspectives. In his seminal work on Netherlandish painting, Panofsky states: "Van Eyck's eye operates as a microscope and a telescope at the same time...;"²⁷³ the same may be said for the poet-painter Góngora in the *Soledades*. In the tradition of the Netherlandish school, Góngora depicts an encyclopedic compendium of detail, rendering each subject matter with vibrancy and color, as in the myriad still-lives that abound throughout the poem. In verses 291-296 of the *Soledad primera*, for example, black-crested chickens contrast with a purple-crowned rooster:

Cuál dellos las pendientes sumas graves

²⁷² Robert C. Cafritz. "Netherlandish Reflections on the Venetian Landscape Tradition." *Places of Delight: the Pastoral Landscape*. New York: C.N. Potter, 1988, pp. 113-130.

²⁷³ Panofsky 1971, p. 182.

*de negras baja, de crestadas aves,
cuyo lascivo esposo vigilante
domestico es del Sol nuncio canoro,
y, de coral barbado, no de oro
ciñe, sino de púrpura, turbante.*

In contrast to the rich and detailed descriptions in the *Soledades*' landscapes, still-lives and genre scenes, the depiction of the protagonist -- the pilgrim -- and the narrative concerning him is minimal. In fact, some of Góngora's contemporaries criticized the *Soledades* on the basis that a narrative or *trama* pertaining to the pilgrim was ambiguous or barely discernible.²⁷⁴ What these critics failed to notice was that, in creating a poem that poses as a Flemish painting, Góngora employed a format common to Netherlandish painting, that is, the inverted composition in which the protagonists and their narrative are drastically reduced in scale as compared to their surroundings.²⁷⁵ In Brueghel's *Fall of Icarus*, the protagonist is barely visible, and even just partially – the viewer beholds only his feet and legs as he falls head first into the sea in a tiny

²⁷⁴ Juan de Jáuregui *Antidoto contra la pestilente poesía de las Soledades*. 1624. Ana Martínez Arancón. *La batalla en torno a Góngora*. Bosch: Barcelona 1978: "Vamos luego a la traza de este fábula o cuento, que no puede ser cosa más sin artificio y sin concierto, porque allí sale un mancebito, la principal figura que Vm. Introduce, y no le da nombre. Éste fue al mar y vino de el mar, sin que sepáis como ni para qué; él no sirve sino de mirón, y no dice cosa buena ni mala, ni despega su boca.... Tampoco dice Vm. jamás en qué país o provincia pasava el caso: todo lo cual es contra razón. Y así mismo contra la costumbre de todos los escritores." Debate about the existence of narrative content in the *Soledades* found continuity through the early twentieth century, until Damaso Alonso definitively established the *trama novelesca* of the *Soledades* in his 1927 edition; see Jammes, pp. 35-36.

²⁷⁵ Gibson, p. xx: "[T]he Flemish painters reduced the human figure in scale and significance. Madonna, saint, or whatever, they function often hardly more than *staffage*, ancestors of the anonymous peasants and travelers who were to inhabit the landscape paintings of later ages." Friedlander, p. 80: "Though reduced to mere accessories, the figures were responsible not only for the title but also supplied the theme and the starting-point for the composition."

part of the frame toward the lower right. In the immediate foreground close to the viewer is a cliff with a farmer, whose clothing is carefully crafted, holding a plow pulled by a horse, and slightly below a shepherd tends his flock; dominating the frame is a vast and detailed panorama of a coastline dotted with buildings and trees, ships at sea with hoisted sails, and the sun setting over the water. Similarly, in Pieter Aartsen's *Butcher's Stall with Flight into Egypt* and *Christ with Martha and Mary*, the devotional scene is observed through a tiny window behind the abundant still-life in the foreground, far from the viewer and minute in scale. Not only Góngora but also Velázquez adopted the Flemish compositional format; in *Jesus in the House of Martha and Mary*, a detailed kitchen scene with two women cooking dominates the foreground while the much smaller devotional is seen through a window.²⁷⁶

It is not my purpose here to review the debate that ensued after the publication of the *Soledades*, but suffice to mention that the criticism directed at Góngora's new style emanated from canonical poetic theory based on classical precepts, principally those formulated by Aristotle and Horace. Matters of *decorum* and proper subject matter, as well as issues dealing with genre – whether the poem could be considered an epic or instead belong to the lower bucolic form – were hotly debated among Góngora's commentators.²⁷⁷ If Góngora had actually been a painter rather than a poet, he likely would have been subject to similar criticism. For as Lee reminds us, canonical Renaissance art theory was based on the same principles that guided classical poetics, mainly ideas formulated in the writings of Horace and Aristotle, which were

²⁷⁶ For more on this painting by Velázquez, see Brown, *Op. Cit.*, p. 108-109.

²⁷⁷ For a summary of the gongorine debate, see Marsha Collins, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1-51. See also Antonio Cruz Casado. "Góngora a la luz de sus comentaristas (la estructura narrativa de las *Soledades*). *Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1986; Joaquín Roses Lozano. *Góngora: Soledades Habitadas*. Málaga: 2007, pp. 43-63.

then “cavalierly applied” to painting around the middle of the sixteenth century.²⁷⁸ Fundamental to the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* is Aristotle’s notion that the function of both painting and poetry is to imitate “men in action.” At the core of Italian Renaissance aesthetic theory is Alberti’s principle of the central *istoria*, which is the proper subject matter and focus of good painting and poetry. In *De Architectura*, Alberti elevates painting that focuses on history, including devotional material, while relegating the depiction of other subject matter such as landscape to a low form of ornamentation.

Both painting and poetry vary in kind. The type that portrays the great deeds of great men, worthy of memory, differs from that which describes the habits of private citizens, and again from that depicting the life of the peasants. The first, which is majestic in character, should be used for public buildings, while the last mentioned will be suitable for gardens, for it is the most pleasing of all...²⁷⁹

Vasari reinforced Alberti’s principles in the *Vite*, lauding Michelangelo’s streamlined attention to the ideal human form in action while deprecating the Venetian’s attention to landscape and other *vaghezze* – charms – of art.²⁸⁰ In sum, canonical Renaissance art theory dictates that while the representation of history is a dignified art that appeals to the intellect, landscape is a much lower ornamental form for the purpose of pleasing the senses.²⁸¹ Not surprisingly, there emerged a

²⁷⁸ Lee, p. 61.

²⁷⁹ Translated by Gombrich 1971 *Op. Cit.*, p. 111.

²⁸⁰ Vasari, *Op. Cit.*, vol. 7, p. 178: “Ha Michelagnolo atteso solo, come s’è detto altrove, alla perfezzione dell’ arte, per che né paesi vi sono, né alberi, né casamenti, né anche certe varietà e vaghezze dell’ arte vi si veggono perché non vi attese mai, come quegli che forse non voleva abassare quell suo grande ingeno in simil cose.”

²⁸¹ See the entire essay by E. Gombrich “Renaissance Theory and the Rise of Landscape” in Gombrich 1971, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 107-121. See also Robert C. Cafritz, “Classical Revision of the Pastoral Landscape,” in Cafritz, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 83-110.

polemic or *paragone* that positioned the Italian mode, in particular the Florentine-Roman school and Michelangelo, against the Northern masters.²⁸² Within this context, Francisco de Hollanda issues his well-known critique against the Flemish painters, in his *Dialogos em Roma*, a treatise that Panofsky deems “a document of Michelangioloismo:”²⁸³

“O seu pintar é trapos, maçonarias, verduras de campos, sombras de árvores, e rios e pontes, a que chamam paisagens, e muitas figuras para cá e muitas para acolá. E tudo isto, ainda que pareça bem a alguns olhos, na verdade é feito sem razão nem arte, sem simetria nem proporção, sem advertencia do escolher nem despejo, e finalmente, sem nenhuma substancia nem nevo.”²⁸⁴

By contrast, a completely different theoretical paradigm for landscape painting is provided by Karel Van Mander, whose treatise *Schilderboeck (The Art of Picturing)* first published in Amsterdam in 1604, provides a theoretical and critical framework that legitimizes the aesthetic vision of the Northern masters such as Patinir and Brueghel. As already discussed, Van Mander’s treatise was known in Spain and even partially translated into Spanish and quoted in

²⁸² See Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, pp. xvii-xxvii; Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa. “Si dipinge col cervello et non con le mani: Itaie et Flandres.” *Bolletino d’Arte*, supplement to no. 100, 1977, pp. 279-94. See also Panofsky, *Op. Cit.*, 1971, Introduction.

²⁸³ Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish...*, 1951, p. 361, n1.

²⁸⁴ Francisco de Hollanda. *Dialogos em Roma*. Ed. José da Felicidade Alves, s.l 1984, p. 29. Translation in Robert Klein and Henry Zerner. *Italian Art 1500-1600: Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs 1966, p. 34: “In Flanders, they paint with a view to external exactness or such things as may cheer you and of which you cannot speak ill, as for example saints and prophets. They paint the stuffs and masonry, the green grass of the fields, the shadow of trees, and rivers and bridges, which they call landscapes, with many figures on this side and many figures on that. And all this, though it pleases some persons, is done without reason or art, without symmetry or proportion, without skilful choice or boldness and, finally, without substance or vigor.”

Pacheco's voluminous *Arte de la pintura* (1649), and thus contributed to discourses that guided the appreciation and understanding of Spain's artistic patrimony in the seventeenth century.²⁸⁵

In creating "un lienzo de Flandes" in the *Soledades*, Góngora not only responds to an aesthetic vision that was plastically manifest in Spanish collections but also inserts his poetry into important theoretical and critical discourses pertaining to the visual arts. One of the most fundamental aspects of Van Mander's theory is the intrinsic connection, rather than separation, between landscape and history. For Van Mander, the painting of history is not merely a category that focuses on human action and the depiction of figures but a more expansive register that encompasses all other subject matter, including landscape, architecture, figures and still-life, an endeavor that requires the utmost descriptive skill.²⁸⁶ The vast distances of landscape are fundamental to the representation of history, as it is the panorama that draws the viewer into the scene. As Walter Melion informs us in his reading and translation of Van Mander:

the optical impressions generated by landscape are the essential component of the well-ordered history... To ensure that the eyes will linger attentively, he advises the painter to devise a deep landscape setting into which the eyes may roam, and he adds that it is this panoramic vista, rather than figures proper, that centers the image. Small *achter-beelden*, 'distant figures' may punctuate the landscape depth, but it is the magnetic pull exerted over the eyes by fully articulated *verschieten*, 'distances', that will engage viewers.... History painted in this way, Van Mander affirms, will please the eyes, inviting them to explore the *achter-uyten*, the zones 'behind and beyond' where the horizon recedes limitlessly.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ Francisco de Holanda, on the other hand, was not known by Góngora or his contemporaries, not even Pacheco, and is therefore not quoted in Pacheco's treatise. See Bassegoda i Hugas, *Op. Cit.*, p. 65n: "Ni Felipe de Guevara, ni Francisco de Holanda eran conocidos de Pacheco, ni de apenas nadie, dado su carácter manuscrito en ese momento." In fact, Holanda's treatise was not published until the 19th century. See also Calvo Serraller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 35, n3.

²⁸⁶ Melion, *Op. Cit.* p. 6.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Another fundamental component of history in the Flemish mode is diversity or *verscheydenheyt*. Van Mander instructs the painter to imitate nature, and thus depict the full range of the elements present in any historical scene, including diverse physiognomies, landscapes, buildings, flora, fauna, interiors, tools and utensils.²⁸⁸ Thus the representation of history is bound to the full scope of the painter's descriptive skill, and active figures are combined with vast panoramas that recede into depth along with an encyclopedic range of detail. Van Mander expresses a concern for the power of the expansive view *in 't verschieten* (into the distance) which compels the viewer to explore the image:

See the forms of the distant landscape flow into the sky and seem to melt into the air; standing mountains seem to be clouds in motion, while from either side of the panel, fields, ditches, and furrows, whatever we see, recedes and converges, narrowing like the tiles of a pavement. Take note of this and let it not oppress you, for it will extend your backgrounds into the distance.²⁸⁹

In the first verses of the second *Soledad*, Góngora seems to suggest this process of viewing history through landscape as advocated by Van Mander. The second *Soledad* begins with a 'pure' landscape, that is, one in which there are no figures. The landscape is treated as a main event, beginning with a play on words using the lexicon of the theater, *éntrase*, in verses 1-16:

*Éntrase el mar por un arroyo breve
que a recibillo con sediento paso
de su roca natal se precipita,
y mucha sal no solo en poco vaso,
mas su rüina bebe,
y su fin (cristalina mariposa,
no alada, sino undosa)
en el farol de Tetis solícita.*

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

*Muros desmantelando pues de arena,
Centauro ya espumoso el Océano,
medio mar, medio ría,
dos veces huella la campaña al día,
scalar pretendiendo el monte en vano,
de quien es dulce vena
el tarde ya torrente
arrepentido, y aun retrocedente...*

The poet-painter first engages the reader in a journey through the landscape, and afterwards directs the beholder's toward the pilgrim, who is found at dawn on a boat with the village wedding guests. Nearby the rocks are warmed by the sun and two fishermen plaintively sing while casting their nets, in verses 27-37:

*En la incierta ribera
(guarnición desigual a tanto espejo)
descubrió la Alba a nuestro peregrino
con todo el villanaje ultramarino,
que a la fiesta nupcial, de verde tejo
toldado, ya capaz tradujo pino.
Los escollos el Sol rayaba, cuando
con remos gemidores
dos pobres se aparecen pescadores,
nudos al mar de cáñamo fiando.*

The abundant attention lavished upon descriptions of the natural world rather than narrative action in the *Soledades* mirrors one of the principle aspects of Netherlandish art. As Svetlana Alpers reminds us in her study on seventeenth century Dutch painting, emphasis on the representation of nature in the Netherlands has its roots in pictorial craft traditions which were reinforced by developments in science and optics that confirmed

pictures as a means of obtaining knowledge about the world.²⁹⁰ While the central concern of Italian art was the representation of the human body and significant human action, northern painters focused instead on representing everything in nature exactly and unselectively. Thus, Alpers maintains: “[S]eventeenth century Dutch art – and... the northern tradition of which it is part – can best be understood as being an art of describing as distinguished from the narrative art of Italy.”²⁹¹ Within the history of European art, these two modes of representation -- one narrative and one descriptive -- sometimes overlap and engage in a dynamic which itself has a history.²⁹² The doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* is born of the narrative tradition, given the Aristotelian notion that the purpose of both painting and poetry was to imitate men in action. Not only was a humanistic theory of the visual arts based on theories of poetics, but paintings were considered akin to poetry in as much as they depicted scenes taken from the literary tradition, that is, from epic or dramatic poetry, sacred scripture or classical mythology. Within this tradition, poetry that incorporated painterly flourishes such as vibrant color and vivid description or *virtú visiva* was considered akin to painting. In the early seventeenth century the *Soledades* were unique in that, while the poems clearly manifested *ut pictura poesis* by imitating painting, they drew upon a representative world that, while influential in the visual arts, was not connected to the canonical literary tradition. By depicting in verse landscapes, still-lives and *mil ejercicios rústicos*, Góngora creates a narrative component to Netherlandish painting, which would seem logical given the prestige of this painting tradition among Spanish patrons. In the

²⁹⁰ Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, p. xxv.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xx

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. xx-xv

Soledades, therefore, the parameters of the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* are expanded, as the Netherlandish painting tradition, and hence an important element of Spain's artistic patrimony, is brought into the fold. Thus, not only could critics of Góngora like the Abad de Rute compare the *Soledades* to *un lienzo de Flandes* but likewise a Spanish still-life by Cotán, or Velázquez's kitchen scene, could be likened to verses in *las Soledades de Góngora*.

Part II: 'Un Compendio di Tutte le Cose del Mondo': the 'Soledades' as Art Gallery

As discussed, Góngora writes his major poems in light of the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*, with the notion of the poem as painting reinforced by lengthy and vivid descriptions that explore texture, color and spatial perspective, in addition to *ekphrases* of real paintings. In this way, the poet slows narrative time, and by means of *virtú visiva* detains the reader before each scene. The notion of the poem as a collection or gallery is made manifest as this process is repeated over and over again. The reader takes on the role of viewer who is being guided through an art gallery. Embedding a rich compendium of images reminiscent of well-known masterpieces of the High Renaissance – the Flemish world landscape, Venetian *poesie*, genre scenes and still-lives, not to mention regal equestrian portraits – the *Soledades* makes manifest an experience familiar to Góngora's cultivated readers, that is, the act of viewing paintings in an art gallery. In inviting readers to feast the eyes on an encyclopedic series of paintings, the poet poses not only as painter but also as collector. Thus the poem speaks not only to aesthetic movements and trends in the art of painting, but also to practices of art patronage and collecting. In this respect, the *ekphrasis* of Titian's *Rape of Europa* in the first verses of the *Soledades* is of particular importance. As the painter states in a letter to his patron Philip II in 1554, the series of six mythological *poesie* was

intended for a *camerino* or *studiolo*, that is, a small room or study where the patron could contemplate his visual treasures. That each masterpiece offered a different perspective to the viewer was key in rendering a desirable and pleasant environment:

E perché la *Danäe* che io mandai già a Vostra Maestá si vedeva tutta la parte dinanzi, ho volute in quest' altra poesia variare e farla mostrare la contraria parte, acciocché riesca il camerino, dove hanno da stare, piú grazioso a la vista. Tosto le manderó la poesia di *Perseo e Andromeda*, che sará un' altra vista diversa da queste.²⁹³

Earlier in the sixteenth century, Titian painted a different mythological cycle for Alfonso d'Este's famous *camerino d'alabastro* at Ferrara,²⁹⁴ which was celebrated throughout Europe, along with the famous *studiolo* of Isabella d'Este and the Gonzaga family at Mantua.²⁹⁵ The prototype of the modern art gallery, the Renaissance *studiolo* had intertwining functions. It was, on one hand, a private space dedicated to solace, reading and writing, as well as contemplation of a private art collection. On the other hand, the *studiolo* had a social function, as it was a space in which to conduct business and diplomacy, and served a representation of one's wealth, learning and taste.²⁹⁶

The development of the portable oil painting on canvas had wide-reaching implications for the formation of the modern art collection. Unlike *affreschi* that were executed directly on the wall, the portable easel picture was much more conducive to the acquisition and of painting

²⁹³ Titian, *Op. Cit.*, p. 171.

²⁹⁴ Charles Hope. "The *Camerino d'Alabastro* of Alfonso d'Este. *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV, 1971, pp. 641-50.

²⁹⁵ Sylvie Beguín. *Le Studiolo d'Isabelle d'Este*. Paris: Louvre, 1975.

²⁹⁶ Campbell, Stephen. *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the 'Studiolo' of Isabella d'Este*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, in particular "The Study, the Collection and the Renaissance Self," pp. 29-58. See also Wolfgang Lebenwein. *Studiolo: storia e tipologia di uno spazio culturale*. Modena: F.C. Panini, 2005.

and the formation of art galleries. Titian's *poesie* come at a critical juncture in the history of artistic patronage, facilitating the trend leading to the formation of the art collection as we now know it. As Thomas Puttfarcken points out:

Titian's pictures of mythological themes, from the series for Alfonso d' Este of 1518 to 1525 to the late works for Philip, contributed more than any other group of paintings to the adoption, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of the *tableau*... or gallery picture – in short, the collectible easel picture as the critical norm of European painting.²⁹⁷

Titian's above-cited letter regarding the *poesie* demonstrates not only a concern for subject matter but also the arrangement of the paintings in the viewing space. The painter informs the monarch of his intention to present the second *poesia*, *Venus and Adonis*, and advises the patron on the way in which these pictures should be viewed together in the same room, along with the third *poesia* of *Perseus and Andromeda*, in order that the subject matter may be viewed from different perspectives. In this way, as Puttfarcken remarks, "painting allows us – like sculpture – to be voyeurs in the round."²⁹⁸ In embedding an *ekphrasis* of one of Titian's *poesie* that were hung in the *studiolo* of Philip II, Góngora weaves his poetry into the practices pertaining to elite visual culture, in particular, the act and experience of viewing objects in an art collection or gallery.

In the poem, similar subject matter is explored from different perspectives, as if paintings had been arranged in a *studiolo* with this end in mind, in the same way as Titian's *poesie* for Philip II. At other moments, it is as if the reader were positioned at points alternately far from or up close to each scene. For example, in the first *Soledad*, there is a series of close-up portraits of

²⁹⁷ Puttfarcken, *Op. Cit.*, p. 129.

²⁹⁸ For more on the mythological series painted for Phillip II, see Puttfarcken, Chapter 7, "Titian's *Poesie* for Philip II as painted tragedies," pp. 155-181.

the *serranas*, each in a different position, with a focus on hands, gestures and minute ornaments such as flowers and a hand-held percussive instrument, with touches of color and *chiaroscuro*, in verses 243 – 253:

*Otra con ella montaraz zagala
juntaba el cristal liquido al humano
por el arcaduz bello de una mano
que al uno menosprecia, al otro iguala.
Del verde margen otra las mejores
rosas traslada y lilios al cabello,
o por lo matizado or por lo bello,
si Aurora no con rayos, Sol con flores.
Negras pizarras entre blancos dedos
ingeniosa hiere otra, que dudo
que aun los peñascos la escucharan quedos.*

A profusion of *serranas* is then presented from a wider viewpoint among the landscape, an image constructed upon conceits that render an Arcadian *locus amoenus* with a body of water and mythological figures, much like a Venetian *poesia*, in verses 271-280:

*El Sileno buscaba
de aquellas que la sierra dio Bacantes,
ya que Ninfas las niega ser errantes
el hombro sin aljaba,
o si, del Termodonte
émulo el arroyuelo desatado
de aquel fragoso monte,
escuadrón de Amazonas desarmado
tremolo en sus riberas
pacíficas banderas.*

The collections of Philip II were unprecedented in scale, and like their Italian counterparts, compiled not only works of art but also natural wonders and curiosities, coins,

armor, maps, navigational instruments, and scientifically-oriented representations of flora and fauna. As Ronald Lightbown points out:

The interests of the age were universal: they extended beyond pictures and antique statues and medals to nature and to man, embracing the wonders of creation and the novelties of the exotic, as well as the monuments of antiquity and the medieval and the ingenious inventions of perfect works of the arts. The distinguishing feature of the Baroque collection, then, whether housed in the stately galleries and chambers of a prince or nobleman or the cluttered study of a lawyer or physician, is its reflection of a universal curiosity.²⁹⁹

Federico Zuccaro's description of Philip II's galleries renders the idea of expansiveness and universality of the Baroque collection:

...Sua gran Galeria, la quale sarà un compendio di tutte le cose del Mondo, ed un ampio specchio, nel quale si vederanno l'attioni più illustri de gli Heroi della sua gran Regia Casa, e l'effigie naturali di ciascuno di loro e nella quale passeggiando si potrà aver notitia di tutte le scienze principali, nella volta si vederanno le 48 immagini Celesti, il moto de' Cieli de' Pianeti, e delle stele più basso le figure Mathetmaqliche, e la Cosmografia di tutta la terra, e dei mari, e le figure di tutti gli animali terrestri acquatici, e aerie, cosa che sarà stimata tanto più grande quanto saranno di grande intelligenza quelli, che la contempleranno.³⁰⁰

With an equally impressive accumulation of treasures ranging from fine works of art to scientific and natural objects, the *Soledades* mirror the great collections of early seventeenth century. Complimenting the poetic art gallery, with its compendium of various categories of painting such as landscape, still-life, equestrian portraits and mythological scenes, is a scientifically oriented exhibition, always an important component of late Renaissance

²⁹⁹ Ronald Lightbown "Some Notes on Spanish Baroque Collectors." In Impy and McGregor. *On the Origins of Museums*, pp. 189-200, p. 189. See also Joy Kenseth. *The Age of the Marvelous*. Hannover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, 1991.

³⁰⁰ Zuccaro, *Op. Cit*, p. 135.

collections.³⁰¹ In the *Soledades*, the reader is presented not only with a world map but also the maritime industry's invention, the compass, whose magnetic needle seeks the north star, in verses 379 – 392:

*Náutica industria investigó tal piedra,
que, cual abraza yedra
escollo, el metal fulminante
de que Marte se viste, y, lisonjera,
solicita el que más brilla diamante
en la nocturna capa de la esfera,
estrella a nuestro polo más vecina;
y, con virtud no poca,
distante le revoca,
elevada la inclina
ya de la Aurora bella
al rosado balcón, ya a la que sella,
cerulean tumba fría,
las cenizas del día.*

Also part of the *Soledades*' collection are detailed studies of flora and fauna, executed with a naturalist eye and reminiscent of botanical and zoological renderings found in galleries and *studioli*. As Federico Zuccaro informs us, the vast collection of Philip II contained “le figure di tutti gli animali terrestri acquatici, e aerie.” In verses 91-108 of the second *Soledad* is a detailed representation of various species of fish, and their different textures, that recalls the detailed naturalist studies of both artists and scientists alike.³⁰²

*Mallas visten de cáñamo al lenguado,
Mientras, en su piel lúbrica fíado,
el congrio, que viscosamente liso
las telas burlar quiso,*

³⁰¹ Giuseppe Olmi . “Science – Honor – Metaphor: Italian Cabinets of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in Impey and McGregor, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4-17.

³⁰² Katharina Kolb. *Graveurs, artistes et hommes de science: essai sur les traits de poissons de la Renaissance*. Paris: Institut d'étude du livre, 1996.

*tejido en ellas se quedó burlado.
 Las redes califica menos gruesas,
 sin romper hilo alguno,
 pompa el salmon de las reales mesas,
 cuando no de los campos de Neptuno,
 y el travieso robalo,
 guloso de los Cónsules regalo.
 Éstos y mucho más, unos desnudos,
 otros de escamas fáciles armadas,
 dio la ría pescados,
 que, nadando en un piélagos de nudos,
 no agravan poco el negligente robre,
 espaciosamente dirigido
 al bienaventurado albergue pobre,
 que de carrizos fragile tejido,
 si fabricado no de gruesas cañas,
 bóvedas lo coronan de espadañas.*

During the hunting scene toward the end of the second *Soledad*, the poet presents a compilation of myriad species of birds hailing from all four corners of the earth, *desde la Mauritania a la Noruega*.³⁰³ From verses 735 to 808, Góngora describes at least nine species of birds, ranging from the seafoam-spattered *garza* to the more exotic *gerifalte*, birds that were likely depicted among Philip II's collection of aviary prints and drawings, which included engravings by Albrecht Dürer.³⁰⁴

With its encyclopedic accumulation of artwork, maps, flora and fauna, the *Soledades* easily recalls Federico's Zuccaro's assessment of the Philip II's collection as "un compendio di tutte le cose del Mondo." Helping to reinforce the idea of the poem as art gallery are the sophisticated architectonic and urban elements dispersed throughout the landscape setting. As

³⁰³ Verse 738.

³⁰⁴ Checa Cremades, *Ibid.*, 248. See also Fritz Koreny. *Albrecht Dürer and the Animal and Print Studies of the Renaissance*. Tr. Pamela Marwood and Yehuda Shapiro. Boston: Little Brown, 1985.

John Beverly points out, “[Góngora] suele presentar la naturaleza como si estuviera imitando (‘fabricando’) la arquitectura de una ciudad.”³⁰⁵ References to architectural structures include *galería, teatro, centro, templo, edificio and balcón* as well as concepts related to the discipline such as *arquitectura, geometría, modelos, artificio* and *designios*. These elements serve as constant reminders of the urbane origins of the pilgrim, whom critics have identified as Góngora himself or an aristocratic or royal personage.³⁰⁶ Góngora constructs what Beverly calls a *ciudad-jardín*,³⁰⁷ one that perhaps recalls the palatial complex and the Escorial, a setting familiar to the poet and his readers. In verses 186-189, architectural elements recall a sophisticated urbane setting:

*Imperioso mira la campaña
un escollo, apacible galería,
que festivo teatro fue algún día
de cuantos pisan Faunos la montaña.*

Embedded in this stanza is yet another important element pertaining to the notion of the poem as gallery, that is, the act of viewing, which is reinforced by the terms *mira, teatro, and galería*. In the *Antidoto contra la pestilencia de las Soledades*, Juan de Jáuregui sharply criticizes what he perceives as a weak thread of narrative action in the poem, and with respect to the protagonist maintains “él no sirve sino de mirón.”³⁰⁸ It is true that more often than not the reader witnesses the pilgrim as he views a scene at hand. In fact, the act of viewing is the principle action on the

³⁰⁵ John Beverly. “Introducción.” *Soledades*. Luis de Góngora. Madrid: Cátedra, 1995, p. 37.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21: “¿Quién es el peregrino? Por una parte, desde luego, es Góngora; por otra, el lector a quien se dirige el poema.” The early gongorine commentator Pedro Díaz de Rivas identifies the *Soledades* as “el peregrinaje de un Príncipe.” Martínez Arancón, p. 141.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³⁰⁸ Gates. *Documentos*, pp. 87-88.

part of the protagonist, and visual contemplation along with the experience of *admiratio* is articulated several times throughout the poem. Verses 190-211 of the first *Soledad*, as discussed, present an *ekphrasis* of the Flemish world landscape such as the paintings by Patinir and Brueghel, in which the protagonist occupies a tiny fraction of the frame dominated by a vast landscape. On another level, these verses depict the pilgrim in the act of viewing and place the reader in the role of witness to the protagonist's experience of *admiratio*:

*Llegó y, a vista tanta
obedeciendo la dudosa planta,
inmóvil se quedó sobre un lentisco,
verde balcón del agradable risco.
Si mucho poco mapa les despliega,
mucho es más lo que (nieblas desatando)
confunde el Sol y la distancia niega.
Muda la admiración habla callando,
y ciega un río sigue, que, luciente
de aquellos montes hijo,
con torcido discurso, aunque prolijo,
tiraniza los campos útilmente:
orladas sus orillas de frutales,
quiere la Copia que su cuerno sea,
si al animal armaron de Amaltea
diáfonos cristales;
engazando edificios en su plata,
de muros se corona,
rocas abraza, islas aprisona,
de la alta gruta donde se desata
hasta los jaspes líquidos, adonde
su orgullo pierde y su memoria esconde.*

An even more explicit depiction of the pilgrim as viewer is rendered in verses 267-269, as Marsha Collins points out:³⁰⁹

*De una encina embebido
en lo cóncavo, el joven mantenía*

³⁰⁹ Collins, *Op. Cit.* p. 87.

la vista de hermosura.

And in verses 233-235, the pilgrim admires up close the goat herder transformed into the mythological figures Pan and Mars:

*Bajaba (entre sí) el joven admirando
armado a Pan, o semicapro a Marte
en el pastor mentidos...*

Thus Góngora not only creates a poem that imitates painting or a collection of paintings, but constructs the image of a gallery in which a viewer is present among the masterpieces and other collectibles such as maps, flora and fauna. In the *Soledades*, the reader witnesses the artist among his creations, the poet-painter who retires to his *studiolo* to contemplate, *en soledad confusa*, his artistic treasures, or the aristocratic visitor to a private gallery. All three of these images come to mind and reflect the cultural landscape of the poet and his readers. Once again the *Soledades* reflects an expansion of the canonical boundaries of the Renaissance doctrine *ut pictura poesis* to encompass not just painting but art patronage and collecting. By the early seventeenth century, the art collection and the act of viewing begin to evolve into a *topos*. While critics commonly compared poetry to painting, there also developed the notion that reading a visually-oriented poem simulated a visit to an art gallery filled with prestigious masterpieces, as evidenced in Galileo Galilei's commentary on Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*:

Quando mi addentro nella lettura della Gerusalemme parmi giusto penetrare in uno studietto di qualche ometto curioso che si sia dilettrato di adornarlo di cose che abbiano per antichità, o per altro, del Pellegrino, e così in materia di pittura qualche schizzinetto di Baccio Bandinelli, o del Parmigiano o simili alter cosette. Ma all' incontro, quando entro nel Furioso, veggio aprirsi un guardaroba, una Tribuna, una Galleria regia, ornate di cento statue antiche de' piú celebri Scultori

con infinite storie intiere, e le migliori di Pittori illustri.³¹⁰

For the Italian humanist and scientist, who was also an adept critic of the arts at the Medici court,³¹¹ Tasso's epic resembled an intimate *studietto* while Ariosto's *Furioso* called to mind a more open *galleria regia*. One might speculate that Galileo would have compared the *Soledades* to each of these viewing spaces at different moments, given the way in which Góngora varies recessional depth throughout the poem.

By alluding to the poetic space as a gallery, Góngora anticipates Giovanni Battista's poem entitled *Galleria* (1628), a compendium of *ekphrases* of Renaissance art.³¹² The art collection as subject matter reaches full expression in the seventeenth century. And even more importantly with respect to the relationship between poetry and the visual arts, by constructing the image of a viewer within an art gallery, Góngora signals yet another burgeoning category of painting, that is, Flemish gallery pictures or *peintres de cabinets d'amateurs*.³¹³ Invented by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Frans Francken II, this genre of painting that began to appear in Antwerp in the early seventeenth century celebrated patronage of the arts by picturing great collections and artists' studios. Generally speaking, the composition of a gallery picture consists of a large room with a dense collection of paintings, many of them identifiable, hanging on the walls. Within the space there is also a collection of other curiosities such as coins, arms, maps, globes

³¹⁰ In Giulio Carlo Argan. "Il Tasso e le Arti Figurativi." *Torquato Tasso*. Milano: Marzorati, 1957, p. 209, n.1.

³¹¹ Erwin Panofsky, *Galileo as Critic of the Arts*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1954.

³¹² Moses, Gavriel. "'Care Gemelle d'un Parto Nate': Marino's Picta Poesis". *MLN*, vol. 100, no.1, January 1985, pp. 82-110

³¹³ Zirka Zaremba Filipczak. *Picturing Art in Antwerp*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987. See also, S. Speth-Hoterhoff. *Les peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au xvii siècle*. Brussels: Elsevier, 1957

and atlases. Antique sculptures of mythological figures are dispersed throughout, as are plants and flower displays and a few animals. Visitors are depicted enjoying the collection; among them are current, identifiable figures or past, legendary rulers, presented not as portraits but as visitors to the gallery. Often a painter is presented either at work or showing works of art. The gallery picture is essentially a “collection in effigy.”³¹⁴

The Francken studio's *The Regents Albert and Isabella Visiting a Collector's Cabinet* (ca 1620) presents a large room with what appear to be Flemish landscape paintings on the walls. Albert and Isabella are placed in the center of the gallery, as if posing for a portrait, on the same plane as the other visitors, as if lifted from their well-known portrait by Rubens and placed into the Francken gallery. At the regents' feet are different species of hounds, two monkeys, plants and floral displays. Small clusters of visitors peruse various objects around the room. Toward the right there is a globe, and a visitor peruses an atlas. Above the doorway, there are sculptures of the Roman river god, Minerva and Mercury. The same topic is explored in Willem Van Haecht II's *Gallery of Cornelius van der Geest Visited by the Regents*, only gallery depicted here is more densely populated with paintings and objects, and the regents mix and mingle as if they were live visitors. In addition, prominently displayed among the paintings is Titian's *Danäe*, albeit with Van Haecht's signature. The *Soledades* operate in much the same way as a Flemish *peintre de cabinet*. Within the poetic space of the *Soledades* there are replicas of real, identifiable paintings in the form of *ekphrases*, such as Titian's *poesia* and the equestrian portraits, displayed among other works such as landscapes and still-lives, as well as an encyclopedic compendium of other collectibles such as flora and fauna. Imaginary figures occupy the representative plane as if lifted from works of art, and mix and mingle on the same

³¹⁴ Filipczak, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.

plane with the real figure of the pilgrim, or with other imaginary figures. In the second *Soledad*, for example, the figure of Cupid on a seashell, in a reconfiguration of Botticelli's *Venus*,³¹⁵ floats alongside the genre scene of the fishermen casting their nets, in verses 519-523:

*Dividiendo cristales,
en la mitad de un óvalo de plata,
venía a tiempo el nieto de la espuma
que los mancebos daban alternantes
al viento quejas.*

Most importantly for our discussion in this section, the reader of the *Soledades* is provided not only with detailed views of a vast collection of artwork, but like the viewer of a gallery picture, is privy to the act of viewing itself. If we agree with Beverley that the pilgrim represents the poet as well as reflects the reader, then multiple experiences having to do with the act of viewing are encapsulated in the *Soledades*. As a cultivated, aristocratic figure that can be identified with the poet and his readers, the pilgrim evokes the image of the poet-painter in his studio among his creations, the art patron among his treasures, and elite gallery visitor. Flemish gallery pictures had important consequences in the history of Spanish aesthetics, for as Madlyn Millner Kahr points out, Velázquez drew upon the concept of the gallery picture for his novel composition in *Las meninas*.³¹⁶ The painting depicts the artist at work in an enormous room that appears to function as both studio and gallery. Although not all the works displayed are discernible, the walls are lined with paintings, including what is thought to be Rubens'

³¹⁵ Collins notes the affinity between this image and Botticelli's masterpiece. *Op. Cit.*, p. 88.

³¹⁶ Madlyn Millner Kahr. "Velázquez and *Las Meninas*. *The Art Bulletin*, vol. LVII, n.2, June 1975, pp. 225-46.

mythological cycle and possibly an imaginary portrait of King Philip IV and Queen Mariana.³¹⁷

The six figures in the room are all members of the royal household, and it is clear from this painting that Velázquez pertained to this inner circle as court *familiaris*. As Palomino tells us, Philip IV honored Velázquez with the title of *ayuda de la guardarropa*, and even gave him the key to his private studio.³¹⁸

As is known, the *Soledades* were written in the wake of Góngora's disillusionment with his prospects for a career at court, and thus perhaps project the poet's desire to have "a room of his own" amid the royal household as an intimate court *familiaris* like Velázquez, a position which he eventually achieved. As critics have mentioned, the *Soledades* possibly projects the poet's desire for refuge from his failed urbane aspirations at court. However, Góngora transforms the traditional *locus amoenus* and, as Beverley maintains, the *Soledades* do not express a conventional escape from urbane life into a purely rustic setting, but instead reflect a hybrid *ciudad-jardín*. In this same vein, Marsha Collins compares the representative space of the *Soledades* to a Renaissance garden, such as Tivoli in Rome.³¹⁹ Here I propose a slightly different hypothesis: the poet-pilgrim's place of refuge is his private *studiolo* or gallery, where he simultaneously creates and contemplates his visual treasures, and invites the reader to join him in the delight of a rich *compendio di tutte le cose del mondo*.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.* See also George Kubler. "Three Remarks on *Las Meninas*." *The Art Bulletin*. Vol. XLVIII, 1966, pp. 212-14.

³¹⁸ Antonio Palomino, *Museo pictórico y escala óptica*. Introd. Juan A. Ceán y Bermúdez. Madrid: Aguilar, 1947.

³¹⁹ Collins, *Op. Cit.*, p. 173.

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

The relationship between the verbal and visual arts, between word and image, is incredibly complex and dynamic during the Spanish Golden Age. This thesis is a mere point of departure, far from any broad-based or definitive conclusions, on the path toward understanding the connection between painting and Góngora's major poems. Góngora was one of many poets who witnessed unprecedented developments in the visual arts and the privileging of painting in the cultural landscape. As we have seen, Góngora signals the most salient artistic movements known by his generation, ranging from *chiaroscuro* to Venetian colorist technique, Flemish landscape, still life and others, and aligns his poetry with a set of aesthetic values that guided artistic taste and patronage among his elite and cultivated readers, and in particular reflected the prestigious collections of Philip II. Embedded in the *Polifemo* and the *Soledades* are not only visual and plastic effects reflective of painting styles and techniques, but a diverse set of competing art-theoretical and art-critical discourse that bourgeoned in the latter sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Discourses pertaining to art theory and criticism of Góngora's day were informed not only by Italian theorists such as Dolce and Vasari but also Karel Van Mander, whose *Schilderboeck* or *Book on the Art of Picturing* provided a theoretical framework for understanding Netherlandish art. In signaling Venetian and Flemish painting, Góngora's poetry participates in an aesthetic discourse that turns away from the Florentine-centric Vasarian paradigm, which in seventeenth century Spain became linked to Counter-Reformation aesthetics, and instead aligns itself with the latest developments in painting together with their theoretical discourses, thereby anticipating new forms of representation within an expanded register of the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*.

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