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Donne's Poems and the Five Styles of Renascence Art

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Ever since the range of the term "Mannerism" was extended to include literature as well as the visual arts, it has been applied to the work of John Donne, and this essay originally set out to survey what had been written on the topic, and perhaps to add one or two new points. As I considered important recent studies, however, I found myself drawn into something more comprehensive: a reconsideration, albeit sketchy, of the whole set of stylistic labels usually applied to sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century European art, and sometimes to literature as well. We are all familiar, and most of us are comfortable, with the venerable sequence of High Renaissance, Mannerism, and Baroque. I propose adding to this trio two other stylistic options available to the visual and verbal artists of the period: Realism and the Grotesque. I offer a new view of the feature known as the *linea serpentinata*—associating it not with Mannerism, as has been the custom, but with the Grotesque—and I also offer a new structural hallmark for the Mannerist style itself, in the process applying these paradigms as well as that of Realism to Donne's poetry.

Louis Martz and others have observed that Mannerism and similar stylistic labels are fictions invented to help us organize the overwhelming mass of data from cultural history.[1] The terms have a mainly heuristic or exploratory function. They cannot pretend to be definitive, because new aesthetic and scholarly experience provokes students to revise the fictions. I hope, then, to stimulate further consideration, not to end it.

I have the advantage of being able to take off from James V. Mirollo's admirable new survey of the controversy

over Mannerism.[2] He begins by observing that this dispute has been intense, but claims that the kind of consensus earlier reached in similar quarrels about the terms "Renaissance" and "Baroque" is now emerging around Mannerism. Mirollo goes back to the sources of the issue, to Giorgio Vasari's mid-sixteenth-century applications of the term *maniera* to such artists as Michelangelo and Pontormo, then follows the discussion of the term itself, and the wide swings in reputation of the works of visual art to which it was applied, from the mid-fifteenth to the twentieth century. At that point he shifts his particular attention to the way the concept of Mannerism was extended to include literature and music. His use of sources in ten or more languages, and his familiarity with the major European literatures of the renascence,[3] guarantee that no other study of the issue has had so broad a base.

Although both visual and literary Mannerism involve the imitation of nature, each for Mirollo is "art that comments upon art, that reveals rather than conceals art"—art, that is, based on close and studied imitation of previous work, on "the obligation . . . to contend with, to quote but not ape a predecessor whose achievement in a particular genre or form has been declared supreme or unsurpassable, or simply *the* norm."[4] Following S. J. Freedberg, and taking a middle ground between the "anguished" Mannerism defined by Walter Friedlaender and Arnold Hauser and the "stylish" Mannerism defined by John Shearman,[5] Mirollo goes on to observe that artistic imitation can take three forms. The first is *exploitation* of the model, often by exaggerated dependence on a few of its features, as in the hulking, crowded Michelangelesque figures of Vasari's own paintings or the simple inversion of Petrarchan conventions in Shakespeare's "My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun." Mirollo calls this mode "mannered." The second form of imitation is *refinement* of the model, maintaining its balance and seriousness but using it to aestheticize life, to insulate life against the thousand natural shocks, as in Bembist Petrarchism. Mirollo would like to call this art "stylish." Third is *refreshment* of the model, as gifted and thoughtful artists discover the inadequacy of *any* style to account for all that is in their experience, and in commenting through their own works on those of their predecessors in effect call on themselves and their readers or viewers to turn back from art to life. Mirollo would like to

reserve the term "mannerist" for this mode even though he knows that will be impossible.[6]

Mirollo's belief that a consensus on Mannerism is emerging—one parallel to those earlier reached on Renaissance and Baroque—moves him tacitly to reject the views of critics (such as Curtius and Hauser) who see Mannerism as a recurrent phenomenon, and to confine the term to renascence works, especially those of the earlier sixteenth through the mid-seventeenth centuries. The same allegiance to consensus means that the qualities frequently assigned to Mannerist works by other authorities, especially a predilection for skeptical self-dramatization, recur in Mirollo's analyses. At the same time he insists that, as a mode within the overarching range of renascence styles, Mannerism is only one of the stylistic *options* available to the writer, as to the artist, late in the period, and hence likely to characterize single works or even parts of works rather than whole *oeuvres*.

Mirollo proceeds to apply his ideas first to the works of Benvenuto Cellini (whom he discovers to be "stylish," sometimes even merely "mannered," as a visual artist, but truly "mannerist" as the author of his *Vita*), and then to a pair of Petrarchan *topoi*, the veil and the glove, as assorted writers in various languages put them on and off. For our purposes, however, attention must focus on his last chapter, "Three Versions of the Pastoral Invitation to Love," because it includes extended consideration of a poem by Donne. The works are Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love," beginning "Come live with me and be my love," and the palinodic response to it, probably by Ralegh, known as "The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd" and beginning "If all the world and love were young" (these two being treated as a single work because of their stanza-for-stanza, image-for-image correspondences), and two variants (both with the same first line as Marlowe's), Donne's piscatory "The Baite" and Charles Cotton's lesser-known "An Invitation to Phillis."[7]

These poems, Mirollo says, constitute a summary of the styles of the period. The Marlowe-Ralegh pair is Renaissance. The poems work within well-established traditions, which they accept without criticism; Ralegh's rejection of Marlowe's sensuous amorality belongs to an equally familiar mode of *contemptus mundi*. Both are highly artificial (sophisticated poets and ladies only pretending to be shepherds and nymphs), but because their artifice is taken

from the tradition without either exaggeration or comment it does not call attention to itself. Donne's version is Mannerist: he calls attention to his artifice, by shifting the convention from the familiar (pastoral) to the new (piscatory) and raising the status of the woman addressed from passive sex-object to energetic goddess. By introducing some realistic elements excluded from the earlier work, moreover, Donne asks us to consider whether the artifice adequately represents the reality it supposedly imitates, and he thus challenges the validity not only of the model, but of art itself, in what Mirollo defines as a distinctively Mannerist way. Cotton's piece is Baroque; it is much longer than the others, because it attempts to mediate among the materials of all three predecessors by integrating them into a fluid, dynamic vision of a "universe in orderly disorder," in which nature and art are allies, complements, each inexhaustibly extending the boundaries of the other.[8]

Both Donne and Cotton, Mirollo observes, invigorate the genre they are working in by turning from art back to nature. He distinguishes their procedures in essentially psychological ways: Donne ends by calling attention to himself, Cotton by calling attention to the realities of the world around him. The "realities" of the two poems themselves, however, seem to me to differ in important ways that Mirollo does not consider. Cotton's poem concedes that the pleasures of the two lovers may depend on the sacrifices of some lower creatures:

> From this thy Spheare, thou shalt behould
> Thy Snowy Ewes troope o'er the mold,
> Who yearely pay my Love a peece
> Of Tender Lamb, and Silver Fleece.
> And when Sols Rayes shall all combine
> Thyne to out burne, though not out shine,
> Then at the foote of som Greene Hill,
> Where Crystall Dove runns murmuring still,
> Weele Angle for the bright eyd Fish,
> To make my Love a dainty Dish. . . . (ll. 19-28)[9]

Cotton's language implies, however, that the sacrifices are only an expression of a natural cosmic order ("Spheare," "Sols Rayes," the spatial context suggested by the relationship of hill and river),

another version of which is the landlord-tenant system on which the poet-lover's prosperity and hence the whole operation must depend ("yearely pay"). Moreover, his language everywhere tends to screen off any hint of real suffering: "Snowy," "Tender," "Silver," "bright eyd," "dainty"; consider the effect of a change, in the fourth line of the passage above, to "Of Murder'd Lamb, and Ravish'd Fleece."

Donne, by contrast, appeals to the experience in itself:

> Let others freeze with angling reeds,
> And cut their legges, with shells and weeds,
> Or treacherously poore fish beset,
> With strangling snare, or windowie net:
>
> Let coarse bold hands, from slimy nest
> The bedded fish in banks out-wrest,
> Or curious traitors, sleavesilke flies
> Bewitch poore fishes wandring eyes. (ll. 17-24)[10]

Donne's cold, coarse, lacerated fishermen are not connected to anything beyond themselves, and while their activities are morally evaluated ("treacherously," "poore"), the perspective is that of the immediate emotional response of the victims, not the predators. And the conclusion of his poem—that since the beautiful lady is her own bait, the fish that could escape her "is wiser farre then I" —puts the poet-speaker himself into the same cold water. To state it in other terms, Cotton's Baroque reality is systematic, ideal, hierarchic, while Donne's (which I am not yet ready to call Mannerist) is correspondingly unsystematic, sensory, leveled. Nor is "The Baite" uncharacteristic, for other poems by Donne have similar features:

> Or like the skumme, which, by needs lawlesse law
> Enforc'd, Sanserra's starved men did draw
> From parboiled shooes, and bootes, and all the rest. . . .
> ("Elegie: The Comparison," ll. 9-11, p. 47)

> So, carelesse flowers strow'd on the waters face,
> The curled whirlepooles suck, smack, and embrace,
> Yet drowne them. . . .
> ("Oh, let mee not serve so," ll. 15-17, p. 53)

the short scorne of a Bridegroomes play. . . .
("Loves Alchymie," l. 17, p. 127)

From bribing thee with Almes. . . .
("A Litanie," l. 140, p. 362)

This contrast between something close to the raw data of human experience and a system—philosophical, political, theological—devised to account for that experience leads us to a second important study of Donne and Mannerism, Murray Roston's *The Soul of Wit*.[11] Roston begins with the agreeably acerb observation that critics who disparage the deformations and ambiguities of Mannerist art are apt to admire the same qualities in Picasso or Kandinsky.[12] And he sets out to rescue what he sees as Donne's Mannerist qualities from the strictures of inappropriate aesthetic assumptions.

Roston's biggest chore is to discriminate between the sage and serious Mannerism of El Greco and Donne, which he admires, and the products of less morally and spiritually strenuous artists (most of those called Mannerists by other authorities), which he does not. He seals off work that he feels is merely decorative or diverting by concentrating on what he calls "religious" Mannerism, typified by the work of Tintoretto and El Greco, in which the stylistic qualities of first-generation Mannerists like Pontormo are informed by the spirituality of Reformation and especially Counter-Reformation theology. He still must cope with the "voluptuous" and "popular" Mannerism of Crashaw and Murillo, which is just as overtly Christian as anything Donne or El Greco ever did. But in those artists, Roston says, we find "a surrender without a struggle," rather than that heroic effort to establish relations with God which energizes the true religious Mannerists, for whom "focus upon personal salvation becomes paramount."[13] The way these artists take, Roston proposes, is through the shifting and finally evanescent appearances of the phenomenal world toward a transcendent divinity. In his understanding of Mannerist art, "the material world disintegrates at a touch"; he speaks of "the concrete world shimmering into insubstantiality through the fervour of the visionary experience." Thus Donne uses "Shimmering Logic" to make his place in the "illusory insubstantiality of the mannerist world." In "The Funerall," the stanza on the wreath of hair about

the bone takes us "into a hauntingly unfamiliar world where the real has been transmuted by the touch of eternity."[14]

Roston's book transfers our attention from Jack Donne the Witty Lecher, who dominated critical attention during the 1950s and 60s, to Dr. Donne the Witty Preacher, and closes some kind of circle by reminding us of what Dr. Johnson really meant by "Metaphysical Poet." There is no doubt that Roston has brought to the front an aspect of Donne deeply and ubiquitously present in his work. Whether he succeeds in establishing a real connection with continental Mannerism—at least with the religious Mannerism of Tintoretto and El Greco—is another question.[15] The problem is twofold, and concerns both Donne's self-centeredness and his peculiar realism.

Preoccupation with self is a quality ascribed to the Mannerist artist by many authorities, and one that Roston himself sometimes recognizes in Donne.[16] But Donne's self seems as often an ending point as a starting point. Take, for instance, the sonnet sequence "La Corona" (p. 334). This begins with Donne in his "low devout melancholie," and proceeds through the events from Annunciation to Resurrection; when we meet Donne again, at the end of the sixth of the seven poems, he seems about to achieve the kind of liberation from this world that Roston describes as characteristic, in his hope "That wak't from [sin and death], I againe risen may / *Salute the last, and everlasting day*" (ll. 83-84). The same emphasis seems to continue through the beginning of the seventh poem, on the Ascension. Toward its end, however, the focus returns to Donne, still oppressed by awareness of his sinful state—"Oh, with thy owne blood quench thy owne just wrath"—and kneeling to offer what it suddenly strikes one is a *paper* crown *"of prayer and praise."* I find more ambiguity here than Roston—or Martin Elsky, who follows him in seeing in "La Corona" a particularly Mannerist movement toward a transcendent ideal, and has further identified the Donne of that sequence with the interlocutor or *sprecher* figures who call attention to the sacred drama in Mannerist paintings by Pontormo and Parmigianino.[17] Surely Donne is too centrally and actively involved to correspond with the subordinate, passive people who usually occupy the *sprecher* role—and a position at the periphery, not the center, of the painting.[18] Donne's return to self here in "La Corona" is duplicated in many other religious poems, including "As due by many titles," "If poysonous

mineralls," "Batter my heart," "Thou hast made me," "O Might those sighes," "If faithfull soules," "Oh, to vex me," "Goodfriday, 1613," "A Hymne to Christ," "Hymne to God my God," and "A Hymne to God the Father." Each of these poems expresses some kind of spiritual solution and resolution, some glimpse of freedom from the toils of the world. But the final frame always shows Donne entangled in the here and now.

Such self-preoccupation, moreover, exceeds even that of the religious Mannerist artist, as it is conveyed through style. Of course, it is easier to find the self in the 25 first-person pronouns of Donne's 30-line "Hymne to God my God, in my Sickness" than in the excited figures of Rosso Fiorentino's *Moses Defending the Daughters of Jethro* (Figure 1), the mismatched abstractions of Bronzino's *Allegory* (Figure 2), or the frantic crowd of El Greco's *The Purification of the Temple* (Figure 3).[19] But the "selves" of the artists in all these works are expressed through their highly personal styles—through a management of composition, color, and form instantly recognizable as Rosso's, Bronzino's, or the Greek's and no one else's.[20] Like the styles of other Mannerists, these have great suavity, and are "learned" in the sense that they consciously reflect the influence of their great Renaissance predecessors, especially Raphael and Michelangelo. The point is that these particular, individualist styles with their unusual colors and twisting, elongated forms serve to express something evanescent and unworldly. Although Donne for his part is capable of both refinement and unworldliness, so that there are a few whole poems (such as "I am a little world made cunningly," p. 347) that one might comfortably print across the page from a painting as obviously calculated and intellectualized as Tintoretto's *Last Supper* (San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice), nevertheless Donne's style at its most characteristic uses the diction and rhythms not of theological discourse or of intellectualized meditation but of ordinary speech. In his time, nowhere outside the drama is the flavor of street and house so strong as in Donne's work:

> Except thou rise and for thine owne worke fight,
> Oh I shall soone despaire, when I doe see
> That thou lov'st mankind well, yet wilt not chuse me.
> ("As due by many titles," p. 339)

Fig. 1. Rosso, *Moses Defending the Daughters of Jethro*

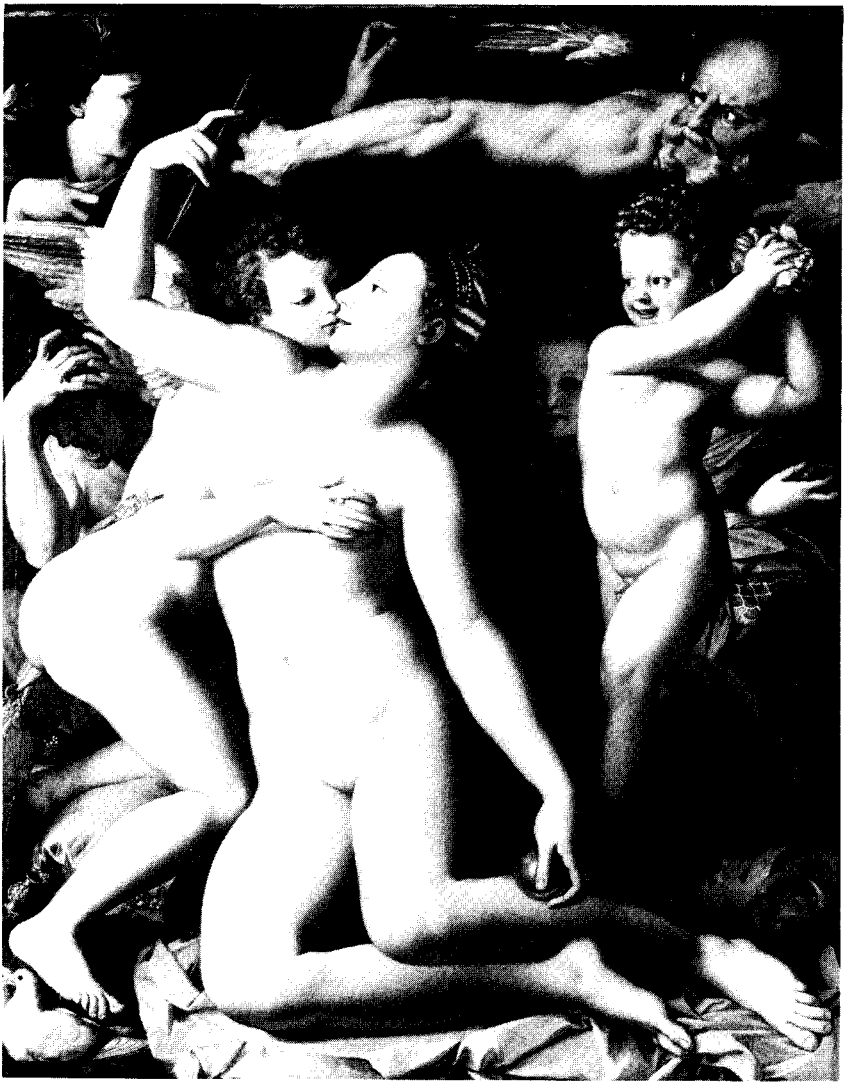


Fig. 2. Bronzino, *Allegory*

Fig. 3. El Greco, *Purification of the Temple*

Fig. 4. Caravaggio, *Inspiration of St. Matthew*

I durst not view heaven yesterday; and to day
In prayers, and flattering speaches I court God:
To morrow'I quake with true feare of his rod.
("Oh, to vex me," p. 350)

Could I behold . . . that blood which is
The seat of all our Soules, if not of his,
Make durt of dust, or that flesh which was worne
By God, for his apparrell, rag'd, and torne?
("Goodfriday, 1613," ll. 23-28, p. 367)

Like Donne's self-centeredness, then, the incessant *commonness* of his writing makes it hard to call him a Mannerist on Roston's grounds. Here recurs that same stubborn realism encountered in thinking about Mirollo. Roston himself is aware of this issue:

> Of all Donne's poetic innovations, the most distinctive is this duality of apprehension whereby the concrete and the conceptual, the spoken word and the unheard emotional response, manifest themselves in his verse with equal vividness, not as separate entities but as cognate, intimately related aspects of experience, merging into each other while yet retaining their individuality.[21]

But Roston's emphasis falls on the spiritual side of the equation. What is needed is the kind of corrective offered by John Carey, giving us a nominalist Donne baffled and enraged by the world but also helplessly fascinated by it.[22]

It may be useful at this point to recall a group of realistic artists, visual and verbal, whose work has always fitted awkwardly into the categories of Renaissance, Mannerist, Baroque. Among the painters there is a tradition that runs from van der Goes through Bruegel to the Northern Italian realists—the Bassani, Savoldo, the Campi, Veronese—and culminates in Caravaggio and then Velasquez. Among the writers, there is less obvious influence of one on another; but Skelton, Rabelais, Montaigne, Shakespeare—each in his own way—seem to defy the ordinary categories.

We may approach this question by contrasting Caravaggio's kind of realism, for example in the first version (1602) of his *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (Figure 4),[23] with the kind found in

his contemporaries the Carracci. Art historians never tire of telling us that all of these artists took their images from nature rather than from other artists or from memory. Caravaggio indeed seems to have worked directly from nature to the painting, for no sketches survive, while signs of corrections on the canvas or panel abound. The Carracci, however, made plans and sketches—as had Mantegna or Raphael before them—which they then adapted to fit into the finished work. Aside from a few oddities like Agostino Carracci's *The Butcher Shop*, their paintings (unlike their drawings and some of their prints, intended for a different, perhaps less sophisticated and less elevated clientele) have the idealized figures and the idealized composition of High Renaissance work. And it is another commonplace of contemporary art history that the Carracci, by returning to the High Renaissance link between art and nature, anticipate the Baroque. In other words, the Carracci still worked mainly within a predetermined system. Caravaggio obeyed no such system—more precisely, it would appear that once on his own, he devised a fresh system for each work, or when the terms of the commission imposed a system, gave it a radically personal twist, as in the celebrated case of St. Matthew's feet, so coarse and vivid that the patrons rejected the piece as first executed, and exacted a second, less assertively natural work.[24]

In the same way, Rabelais, Montaigne, Shakespeare—and sometimes Donne—insisted on devising their own systems for each individual situation or piece of work. A particularly revealing case in point is *Love's Labor's Lost*. For four acts, it might quite readily be called a Mannerist work. Its style is rich and ornate, it is intensely concerned with art and artifice, it is full of imitation (sometimes parodic, sometimes not) of preceding works. The young men at its center have set up a system to live by, of clean living and high thinking; that they cannot abide by that system even for a day and hence tacitly criticize it is in part what makes the play Mannerist rather than Renaissance. In Act Five, however, things change. During the pageant of the Nine Worthies, the system is thrown back into the teeth of the young aristocrats, not by the irreverent Berowne (he has mocked the system yet agreed to abide by it), but, first, by a commoner, Holofernes, who indeed reveals Berowne's waggish skepticism for the shallow affectation that it is: "This is not generous, not gentle, not humble"; then by the

decayed gentleman Armado, who demonstrates the difference between talking a code of life and actually living it: "The naked truth of it is, I have no shirt; I go woolward for penance"; and finally by that mocker of all systems, Death (5.2.629, 710, 720ff.).[25] We might note that throughout the play the only dependably realistic view of things has been that of the rustic, Costard.

The issue here is that between direct response to the imperatives of actual life and obedience (however critically qualified) to systems. Mannerist art, according to almost all authorities, challenges the assumptions of Renaissance art by exaggeration, distortion, selection. Yet it derives from the system of Renaissance art as the dog derives from the wolf. A. D. Cousins, in a third important recent treatment of Donne as Mannerist, begins by assigning the later works of Ralegh to that category. In them, Cousins writes, and especially in *The Ocean to Scinthia,* the hierarchical, essentially Ciceronian order of the Elizabethan World Picture has been shattered.[26] That order is still negatively present, however, just as orthodox Petrarchanism is the necessary ground for Shakespeare's sonnet 130. Cousins then moves on to Donne. Because Donne's satires rely on the unmasking of *poseurs* and hypocrites for much of their energy, even as they take as their own characteristic pose an affectation of blunt simplicity which only emphasizes their actual sophistication, we might suppose that they are Mannerist. However, Cousins chooses to invoke not a conceptual but a formal criterion. Donne's Mannerism, he says, has a method, one based on "rhetorical forms which are linked to, and which are in effect counterparts to, two related mannerist forms: the *contrapposto* and the *figura serpentinata.*"[27]

The history of the latter term is very curious. David Summers has traced the background of the *figura serpentinata* in G. P. Lomazzo (*Trattato dell'Arte della Pittura*, 1584), who claimed to be quoting Michaelangelo's assertion that the painter "ought always to make the figure pyramidal, serpentinate, and multiplied by one, two or three. And in this precept it seems to me consists the whole secret of painting."[28] As Summers has demonstrated, Lomazzo had in mind the two-dimensional representation of figures like Michelangelo's *Victory*, which twists flamelike around the axis, and which can be abstracted to the form of a cone. It remained for modern historians of Mannerism, including Erwin Panofsky and

John Shearman, to generalize the *figura serpentinata* into a ubiquitous element in Mannerist art—in architecture as well as sculpture and painting, and in composition as well as individual human figures.[29] Without explaining himself, Mario Praz restricted the term to two dimensions instead of three, and made the *linea* rather than the *figura serpentinata* the distinctive feature of Mannerist art.[30] It may be that these changes helped Praz extend the concept from visual to verbal (and even musical) works, as Panofsky's transition from *figura serpentinata* to "revolving view" had earlier helped Wylie Sypher make a similar extension.[31]

Cousins is thus following well-regarded leaders when he adopts Shearman's association between *serpentinata* and *contrapposto* and Praz's shift from visual to verbal. Yet I believe that to some extent they are all on the wrong track. The difficulties arise partly from method, partly from terminology. Like Praz, Sypher, Roston, and others, Cousins discerns the *figura serpentinata* not in an image of some sort, but in the *logic* of some of Donne's poems. The discovery is necessarily metaphorical, and most critics who make such identifications defend them by means of additional analogies and metaphors. Thus Cousins in discussing Donne's Satyre IV, ll. 5-8 (italics mine): "The poem's most important lines *trace, in a winding design*, a moment of introspection. . . . The *convoluted* syntax, quibbles, and contraries of the verse act out a mind's search for its own motives."[32]

René Wellek, James Merriman, and others have written strong correctives to this sort of analogizing.[33] Their warnings help us discern two major problems. The first is that in Mannerist paintings the visual figure in which the bending line determines the form is likely to be relatively simple and sharply delimited—single human bodies, for instance, or the famous staircase of Pontormo's *Joseph in Egypt*[34]—whereas in a poem the logical development may extend through many segments. The second problem is that in a strict sense, *all* logical procedures—whether classical, medieval, Renaissance, Mannerist, or modern—are rectilinear: one proposition, then another, then another, related in various ways but always succeeding one another in such a way that they can be written out along a single straight line of script or type. Where, then, are the twisting and turnings?

What does seem to distinguish the logic of someone like Donne from that of someone like Gascoigne or Hooker is elements of

surprise—unpredictable changes in context or lexical register, unusual syntax, abrupt literalization of metaphor, and so on. The key word here is *unpredictable*; shifts like these occur in classical and Renaissance art, but usually with mediating transitional elements. Surprise arises when the transitions are suppressed. A similar quality seems to govern the kind of radical controversion of one proposition by the next that Cousins, following some classical and renascence rhetoricians, calls *contrapposto* or *contrapositum*. Cousins illustrates this figure with a quotation from Manilius (via Dr. Johnson) describing the effect of *discordia concors*,[35] or what students of Petrarchan rhetoric have usually called *oxymoron*. In the figure of oxymoron, transition is suppressed; the movement from *cold* to *fire* without any intervening grammatical or lexical elements is shocking, surprising—mannered, even.

Cousins' particular instance of *contrapposto* in Donne is a passage in the elegy "Jealosie" where the poet's mistress' jealous husband is imagined on the verge of the death appropriate to his psychological state:

> If swolne with poyson, hee lay in'his last bed,
> His body with a sere-barke covered,
> Drawing his breath, as thick and short, as can
> The nimblest crocheting Musitian. . . . (ll. 3-6, p. 51)

(Significantly, Cousins comments on the husband's "grotesqueness";[36] the remark is amplified by the poem's debts to Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, 3.10, an Ovidian metamorphosis in which the cuckold Malbecco is transformed by his gnawing jealousy into a grotesque creature of that name.) The shocking contrast is that between the gasps of the dying husband and the controlled swift breaths of the musician. The real issue, however, is surely not the *contrapositum* itself—such figures are ubiquitous in literature—but the relationship between antithesis and context. Petrarch's oxymora give apt expression to love's many dualisms; they please but do not shock, because the antitheses are already anticipated in the value system environing the work. But Donne's contrast expresses antisocial attitudes hostile to moral orthodoxy. And whereas *contrapositum* is only a device in Petrarch's repertory, it is a main principle for Donne. Cousins rightly points to "the illusions and contradictions which embody both Donne's private method and his manner."[37]

One might also qualify the connection Cousins makes between verbal and visual arts when he calls the *contrapposto* of Michelangelo's figures "the exact visual equivalent to Donne's *contrapositum*."[38] Sculptural *contrapposto* occurs in compensation for a human figure's being thrown out of strict symmetry by the displacement of a member away from the center of gravity; if the hip is shifted to the left, the shoulders must move to the right to restore balance. *Contrapposto* like this, however, as David Summers has shown, is not peculiar to Mannerism; as a device of classical sculpture it was frequently imitated in High Renaissance work.[39] It becomes a Mannerist device, first, when it is used repeatedly and extravagantly (virtually all of Michelangelo's figures display it), and second, when it occurs in two or more directions at once, producing (or being produced by) the twisting as well as the bending of the figure—that is, when it generates the *figura serpentinata*. But how a three-dimensional sculptural device can be "the exact visual equivalent" to a verbal procedure involving sometimes logic, sometimes syntax, sometimes lexicon, sometimes all at once, is a nice question.

Cousins does not try to answer it directly, and even his proposed illustration does not really help. He offers as a special instance of the *figura serpentinata* the famous passage from Donne's Satyre III (on varieties of religious experience):

> on a huge hill,
> Cragged, and steep, Truth stands, and hee that will
> Reach her, about must, and about must goe.
> (ll. 79-81, p. 25)[40]

Such an application is too easy, for the relevance lies primarily in the image itself, not the logic or rhetoric. Also, the primary source of the image is not peculiarly Mannerist but more generally renascence—I refer to the *Tabula Cebetis*, a literary and Hellenic idea repeated in dozens of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century prints and paintings, showing how the spirit as it journeys through life is given at many points the choice between an agreeable resting place and continued effort on the winding, stony path that climbs the mountain toward the temple of Truth.[41] Cousins assures us, however, that a serpentine form is not only "the master image of that poem but also an emblem of the movement of [Donne's] mind

in the later *Satyres* and the love lyrics," and he goes on to find in the satires (he does not get to the lyrics) "a winding design," "convoluted syntax," "labyrinthine argument," and "the winding way of Donne's method."[42]

Yet Cousins never investigates the actual structure—if I may be permitted to use such a term in view of the methodological caveats so far expressed—of any single satire. Had he done so he would have observed that all of them consist of strings of images, some literal, some metaphoric, sometimes completed in a phrase or so, rarely developed through more than two or three lines, sometimes obedient to some strict logical procedure but more often arbitrary, accidental, even surprising, and each image of about the same apparent importance as another. The method occurs in all five satires, but it is clearest in the first, where it is sustained by the fiction of a walk through a busy London street, during which the speaker encounters, or mentions, a painted fool, apprentices, schoolboys, fiddlers, a grave man, a politic horse, an elephant, an ape, the King of Spain, leaping and dancing, Indians, tobacco, a many-colored peacock, and lost sheep (ll. 72-93, p. 17). What this method of stringing together disparate images distinctly does *not* achieve, in any of the satires, is the kind of *compositio* or hierarchic, periodic subordination that characterizes Renaissance and Mannerist art as usually understood.

I have elsewhere written about the uses of renascence grotesquerie in sixteenth-century European art and literature, especially in England.[43] The special characteristic of the *structure* of the Grotesque is free, incessant movement from one image to the next, the images themselves being disparate, strange, exotic, surprising, often disproportionate or mangled or monstrous. The images of Grotesque art always begin in close observation of nature, but because they are cycled through the memory and the imagination, and are unbridled by the reason or by order or system of any kind (although they often surround more fully noetic kernels), they are often subversive. And because of the mediating function of the imagination, the Grotesque is peculiarly an art that flourishes along the junctures between contrasting modes, whether visual or conceptual.

These are precisely the characteristics of Donne's satires and many of his elegies. They direct our attention toward the Grotesque, not only in the generalized tradition handed on from

the middle ages, but in its peculiarly renascence forms (stimulated by the late fifteenth-century excavation of Nero's Domus Aurea),[44] forms which I would like to identify as constituting an autonomous style. Here, not in Mannerism, is where the true *linea serpentinata* presides. By "true," I mean not the worm-shaped thing that would graph the axial structure of a Giovanni da Bologna statue, but the extended, fully serpentine lines of the illuminated borders in renascence manuscripts, the decor of the Vatican *loggie* designed by Raphael and his workshop,[45] the fanciful encadrements of Clément Perret's elegant new alphabets (Figure 5),[46] the linked arms and twisted bases of the herms on the late Tudor mantelpiece in the hall at Longleat House (Figure 6),[47] or the fanciful woodwork of the Cartoon Gallery at Knole, 1608 (Figure 7).[48] The phrase *linea serpentinata* has been generalized by Praz and others to refer to whole visual compositions as well as to the design of individual human figures, and further generalized to treat verbal and musical art. When we actually look at Mannerist works, however, we find that the phrase is not in fact appropriate to them. We need to shake off the blinders of this inaccurate phraseology and transfer the term *linea serpentinata* to another style, the Grotesque, to which it is more appropriate. In the process we need to raise the Grotesque from its status as a subordinate mode, a mere enhancement for Renaissance or Mannerist works, to an independent style.

Perhaps we can retain the related term *figura serpentinata*, as used by Lomazzo, Shearman, and Summers, for those figures that could be contained within a cone. Yet this idea too needs re-inspection. The *figura serpentinata* is to be sure a feature of much Mannerist sculpture and painting. Thus all the male figures—and even the animals—in Rosso's *Moses Defending the Daughters of Jethro* (Figure 1 above) have that form. But the dominant impression the picture gives is of angles, not curves; and the same is even true of some Giovanni da Bologna sculptures, such as *Samson and the Philistine*.[49] For Mannerist art as a whole, then, I want further to argue that the figure that is most widely characteristic, underlying typical Mannerist works (as the circle and the triangle underlie Renaissance ones) is a figure that may be called the *gnomon*, the indicator, whether in simple or complex arrays. My metaphor is literally a pointer, which indicates something beyond itself.[50] The ancient Greeks, including Plato, Xenophon and Plutarch, used the word to refer to the pointer on the sundial,

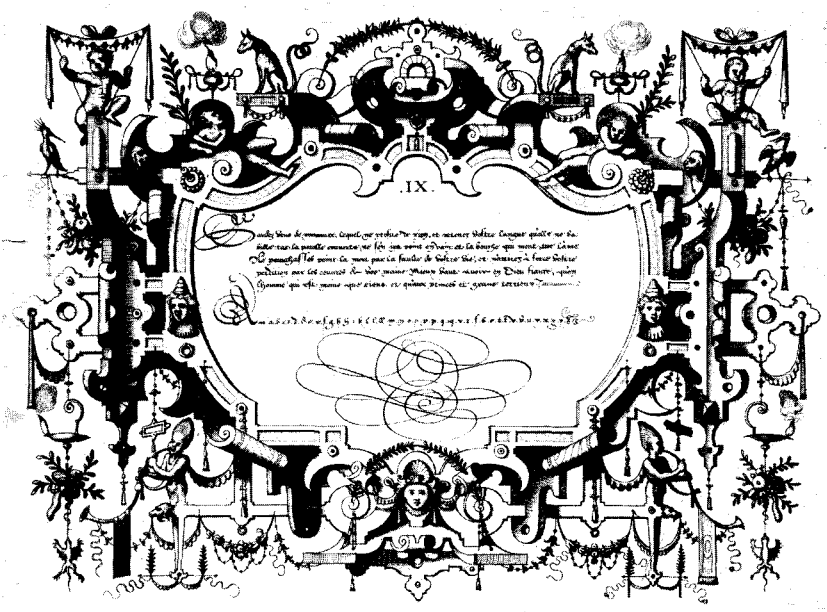


Fig. 5. From Clément Perret, *Exercitatio Alphabetica*, 1569

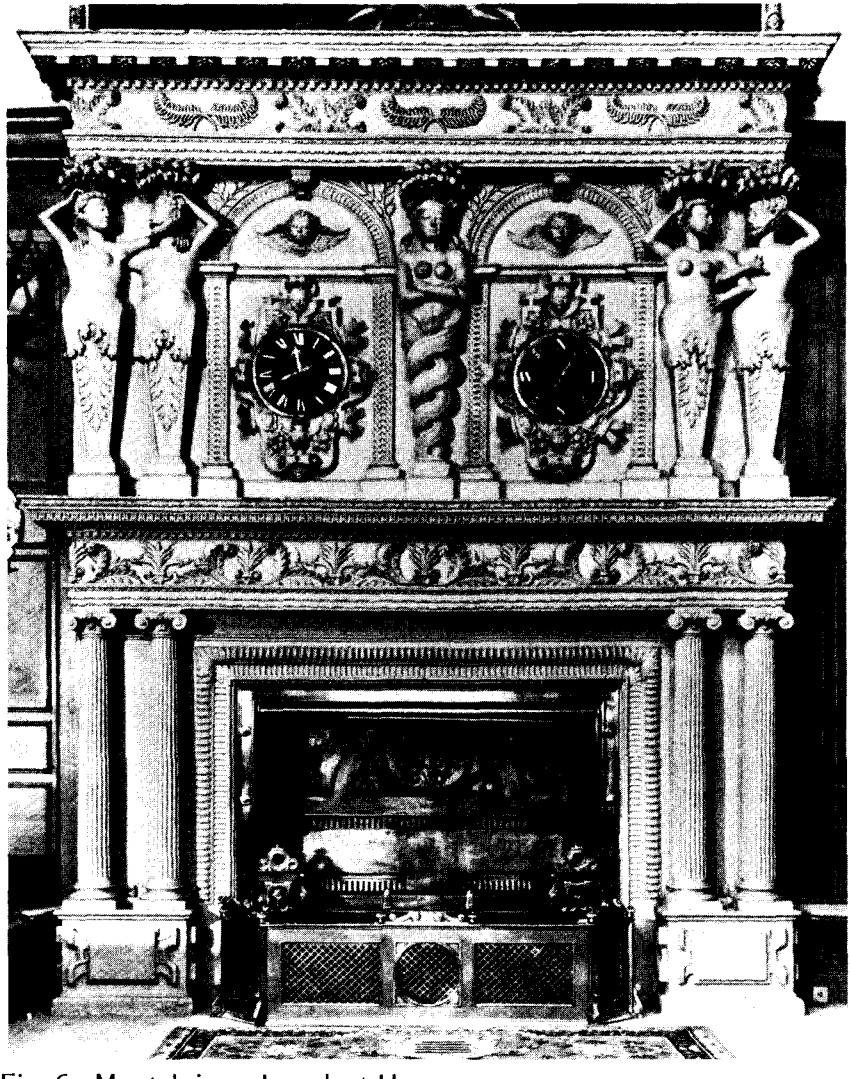
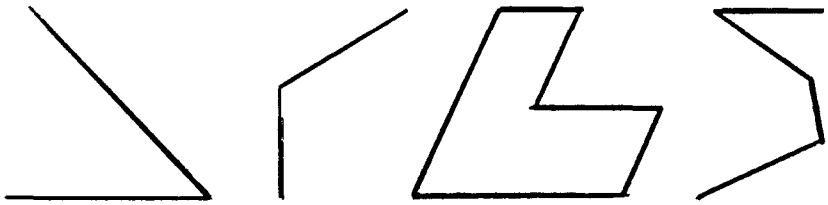


Fig. 6. Mantelpiece, Longleat House

Fig. 7. Detail of woodwork, Cartoon Gallery, Knole

to the carpenter's square, and (in Euclid) to the figure made by removing from one corner of a parallelogram a smaller parallelogram with the same proportions. I generalize from this range of meanings a modern sense of *gnomon* referring to any relatively simple form comprising one or more angles. Of the four examples drawn below, the first three are based on traditional uses—sundial, mason's rule, parallelogram; the fourth combines the first and second:



The term occurs in Pliny and Vitruvius, and there are sixteenth-century references in most of these senses in Italian (Boiardo and Varchi), French, and English (the OED cites Florio's gloss of it as "know-man," a pun apt to my use here). But it is not important that the term have renascence sources (any more than that Mannerism or Baroque or even Renaissance itself be renascence words). What counts is that *gnomon* works both visually and conceptually to label a ubiquitous feature of Mannerist works of art.

Visually, it directs attention to the form created by the intersection of two lines (my designs only suggest the range of possibilities). In the works by Rosso, Bronzino, and El Greco reproduced above, note the pointing hands, flexed arms, bent legs, crosses, table tops, platforms, and walls and floors which produce these angles. Note also how frequently a body is reduced to a set of such angles by the interposition of other forms. In Rosso's *Moses Defending* (Figure 1), the nakedness of the struggling men and the twisting or foreshortening of their torsoes effectively reduces them to gnomonic assemblages of bent arms and legs, especially because the darkness of their heads emphasizes the linear angularity of their bodies; the overlapping of one body by another adds to this disjointing effect.[5] [1] In Bronzino's *Allegory* (Figure 2) the figure of Venus, normally so curvaceous, is rendered curiously angular by the strenuously erect posture of the torso as well as the bent right arm and legs; Eros' bizarre stance forces his legs and even his back

into unnatural-looking angles, while the fact that his torso is concealed behind Venus' practically reduces him to arms and legs. In this picture, the gnomons appear in small as well as large versions; many of the hands have one or more bent fingers, and the faces, mostly in profile or three-quarter, almost all have noses as sharp as a pen. El Greco's *Purification* (Figure 3) adds architectural features (including several Euclidean gnomons at the right side of the painting) to the bent arms and legs and disembodied heads in the group at the left. And his *Resurrection*[52] is dominated by the large gnomon formed by the intersection of Christ's erect body (drawn visually to the left by his raised and pointing arm and by the gnomonic outline of his garment) with a large, oddly rectilinear banner angling up to the right.[53]

Space does not permit a full discussion of the formal issue here, but a couple of elements may be noted. Mannerist paintings generally tend to present themselves as decorated surfaces rather than as openings into another space, even when the devices of vanishing point perspective are being used. One effect of the resulting two-dimensionality is to emphasize the linear over the volumnar qualities of the figures and architectural components—the bones rather than the muscles, so to speak—and hence to call attention to such angles as are formed; the tendency is reinforced by the penchant of many Mannerist artists for chiaroscuro. Some students of Mannerism note a general angularity as one of its characteristics; but most speak rather of things like discontinuity, deformation, surprise—qualities that from a *gestalt* point of view might be generated by angular forms as well as by radical foreshortening, lack of clear central focus, strange colors, and the other features characteristically emphasized in discussions of the style. Walter Friedlaender, considering Rosso, says that "occasionally, volumes of bodies are constructed cubically out of surfaces which, lighted in various ways, meet each other with sharp angles."[54] I believe that the procedure is not "occasional" but ubiquitous in Mannerist art; angular forms dominate most works assigned to the style by most authorities and are much less frequent in High Renaissance or Baroque works. Even in curvilinear art, like that of Parmigianino at the beginning of the period and Spranger at the end, bent limbs and pointing fingers occur with remarkable frequency.

Finally, I would suggest that the term gnomon, with "to know" as its root, fits in conceptually with what has generally been received as a central feature of Mannerism: its critical or skeptical stance toward the systems of art and thought from which it derives. Whether in statue, painting, or poem, the Mannerist artist typically starts out within the confines of a pre-established system: a familiar iconography, a traditional pose, a set of conventions. As the work develops, however, the viewer's eye or thought is led along a line which points *outside* the system, sometimes to another system, but eventually to no system at all—that is, to viewers or readers (including the artists themselves) who are thereby required to do further thinking and feeling on their own.

Let me illustrate by returning to our earlier problem with the endings of Donne's poems: when, having reached Ascension, the vision of heaven, in "La Corona" or "Hymne to God my God," Donne insists on switching attention suddenly back to his own sick self—when the centrifugal line of the poem's argument reaches the frame, so to speak, so that the real world suddenly imposes itself—he is only making the characteristic Mannerist gesture to remind himself and us that within the confines of real life, what he has achieved is an idea, not a direct experience (compare the centripetal movement in the Baroque heaven of St. Teresa, as represented in either her own writings or Bernini's chapel), and that the idea is indeed inadequate to encompass the full reality of his life. In effect, we are driven to repeat the experience, either by rereading the poem, or by enacting it in terms of our own experience. In a similar way, the gnomon figures in a Mannerist painting lead the viewer's gaze from figure to figure. Again and again, the gnomons point—"Look there! Look there!"—often at some strikingly different, apparently incompatible item—the dark avenger in Rosso's *Moses Defending*, the old Man in Bronzino's *Allegory*. But the thing so singled out typically refuses to serve as a point of rest or summary. It may even lie outside the picture or poem altogether. The choice is either to return to look at the work again (perhaps to seek some resolution not found on the first attempt) or to transfer the inquiry to our own life.

Looking back like the truth-seeker in the *Tabula Cebetis* over the country traversed here, we find now posited a repertory of five major styles or modes available to the late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century European artist. Three of these are based on

intellectual, social, political, or aesthetic systems, which they variously express and enact; the systems are generally stable, hierarchic, authoritarian. Renaissance art has its visual base in the figures of the triangle and the circle, its verbal base in the Ciceronian period, and its conceptual base in ideal imitation (with classical forms and genres for models). Its works tend to be closed worlds in which the true source of power, whether God or Emperor or Pope, is outside and above the system, so that its energies are potential rather than kinetic; it affects us as being complete, stable, composed. Mannerist art, always relative to its Renaissance sources, is critical, exploratory; it begins within the system but points outside it, to other systems or to none. Its special form is the gnomon, and its energies, though sometimes actualized for a time within a work, are often attenuated, even exhausted, before the work is complete. Baroque art, Renaissance revived, has as its special forms complex curves like the spiral or the wave. But these tend to turn back within the work rather than to lead outside it, thereby signifying a fresh satisfaction with the existing systems. A new materiality, however, has brought the sources of power—God or King or Pope—within the works, so that their energies tend to be kinetic.

Two other styles, by contrast, are leveling, rather than hierarchic, experiential rather than ideal, accidental rather than systematic. (I would even argue that they are always present as outriders to whatever idealist styles are dominant in any period.) Realist art arises from imitation of nature governed largely by observation or memory rather than idea. Indeed, because each observed situation has its own imperatives, each tends to have its own structure, or at least its own relationships to pre-existing structures. Hence Realism has no characteristic forms. It challenges ideal systems as Mannerism does, but it does so implicitly (by presenting images largely divorced from ideas) rather than explicitly (by presenting the ideas, then modifying and finally rejecting them).[55] Grotesque art rather arises from observation mediated through imagination; its characteristic form is the *linea serpentinata* (often in relation to a straight edge), and it challenges existing ideas by mocking or otherwise subverting them.

Following James Mirollo's lead, I would like further to propose that an artist like Donne, rather than being confined within one or another of these styles, might draw on all of them, whether to

construct whole works of a primarily Renaissance or Grotesque character, or to color a work in one style with local admixture of another. Here we can only sample. A work like "Loves growth," with its neatly balanced form, its equally balanced themes (contemplation/action), its traditional imagery (sun, flowers, the seasons, the spheres), its syllogistic if/then argument, and its relatively elevated diction, might comfortably be termed "Renaissance." Yet it contains one striking Realist moment—"As princes doe in times of action get / New taxes, and remit them not in peace"—which occurs at a strong place, just before the end (ll. 26-27, p. 121). "A Valediction of my name, in the window" (p. 110) has the Grotesque's profusion of strange images ("ragged bony name," "rafters of my body," "melted maid," "[if] this name flow"), paratactic structure, local realism, and liminal situation, and furthermore calls on "charme," "magique," and the talk of dying men. "The Funerall," like its neighbors in the collection of *Songs and Sonets* ("The Blossome," "The Primrose," "The Relique") has the Baroque's closed structure, cosmic range of reference, interest in political and social power—except for the last line, which without warning shifts responsibility for the validity of the system to a new "you" (the lady, not those addressed since the start): "That since you would save none of mee, I bury some of you" (pp. 138-39). The gesture seems characteristically Mannerist, especially because whatever system Donne is adverting to, it is not orthodox. Realism seems most prevalent in the verse letters, perhaps a problem for earlier critics because they did not fit comfortably into any of the familiar analytical categories. The pattern also allows us to deal with "Metempsychosis," a fully articulated renascence Grotesquerie, complete with noetic-realist inserts like the twenty-ninth stanza on the hard lot of fish.

Of course, as Donne's own Realist, Grotesque, and Mannerist aspects show, this system, like any system, is inadequate to account for the whole complexity of an artistically rich period or a writer as complicated as Donne. I do believe, however, that it covers new ground.

Cleveland State University

Notes

1 "Marvell and Herrick: The Masks of Mannerism," in *Approaches to Marvell: The York Tercentenary Lectures*, ed. C. A. Patrides (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 194.

2 *Mannerism and Renaissance Poetry: Concept, Mode, Inner Design* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1984), pp. 1-71. Similar views appear in Livio Dobrez, "Mannerism and Baroque in English Literature," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 11 (1980), 84-96.

3 I distinguish between *renascence*, the whole historical period, and *Renaissance*, the artistic style dominant in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

4 Mirollo, *Mannerism*, p. 68.

5 For Freedberg's position, see especially *Painting in Italy 1500-1600* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971). Friedlaender's views are summarized in *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957). Hauser states his case in *Mannerism: The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origins of Modern Art*, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1965), and Shearman his in *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967).

6 Mirollo, *Mannerism*, pp. 69-71.

7 The first two were published in 1600, Donne's in 1633; but Marlowe died in 1593, and it is likely that Ralegh and Donne drafted their versions by the mid-1590s. Cotton (1630-87), a follower of Herrick and Carew, probably wrote the "Invitation" in the 1650s, though it was not published until 1689.

8 Mirollo, *Mannerism*, pp. 176-78.

9 Charles Cotton, *Poems*, ed. John Buxton (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 41.

10 *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, ed. John T. Shawcross (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1967), p. 83. All subsequent Donne citations are from this edition. In quotations, use of i, j, u, and v has been normalized, and line numbers have been supplied for longer poems.

11 *The Soul of Wit: A Study of John Donne* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974). Mirollo's treatment of Roston (*Mannerism*, p. 55) is curiously scanty.

12 *Soul of Wit*, p. 24.

13 *Soul of Wit*, pp. 58, 61.

14 *Soul of Wit*, pp. 40, 46, 71, 128.

15 In fairness, it should be noted that Roston assures us that his "reading of Donne rests exclusively upon the textual analyses of the poems examined, the art analogues serving only to broaden the cultural setting and to intimate that Donne was not alone in the method he chose for responding to the problems and challenges of his day" (*Soul of Wit*, p. 20).

16 *Soul of Wit*, pp. 59, 205, etc.

17 "*La Corona*: Spatiality and Mannerist Painting," *MLS* 13 (1983), 3-11; the paintings are Pontormo's *Madonna and Child* (1518, S. Michele Visdomini, Florence), and Parmigianino's *Vision of St. Jerome* (1526-27, National Gallery, London).

18 Such figures appear in early Renaissance and International Style as well as Mannerist art; even the spatial and temporal confusion of which Elsky makes so much is not specifically a Mannerist element, but rather one inherent in any typological writing or painting whatever the period.

19 Rosso, *Moses*, undated (Palazzo Vecchio, Florence); Bronzino, *Allegory* (variously titled), c. 1546? (National Gallery, London); El Greco, *Purification*, c. 1570-75 (Institute of Arts, Minneapolis). All three reproduced by permission (photo of the Rosso courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York).

20 In the El Greco, one of the four men's faces at lower right may be a self-portrait; if so, however, the fact would be apparent only to the painter's acquaintances. For a survey of the controversy over the identities of the four men, see Jonathan Brown and others, *El Greco of Toledo* (Boston: Little Brown, 1982). p. 227.

21 *Soul of Wit*, p. 126.

22 *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981). Carey at one point (p. 264) speaks casually of Donne's "imaginative mannerism," but does not elsewhere use the term or otherwise connect the poet with the visual arts.

23 Formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin; destroyed 1945.

24 For the Contarelli Chapel, S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (1602-03). On both works see Howard Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), pp. 138-48, figs. 87 and 93.

25 *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. B. Evans and others (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), pp. 209-10.

26 A. D. Cousins, "The Coming of Mannerism: The Later Ralegh and the Early Donne," *ELR* 9 (1979), 86-96.

27 Cousins, "Mannerism," pp. 96-97. He cites Roston (but no other modern authorities), Bronzino, Vasari, and Lomazzo.

28 David Summers, "*Maniera* and Movement: *The Figura Serpentinata*," *Art Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1972), 271.

29 Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 171-77; Shearman, *Mannerism*, pp. 81-91; Cousins, "Mannerism," p. 104.

30 Mario Praz, *Mnemosyne: The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970), ch. 4, "Harmony and the Serpentine Line."

31 Wylie Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style: Transformations in Art and Literature 1400-1700* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1955), pp. 156-57.

32 Cousins, "Mannerism," p. 105.

33 Wellek, "The Parallelism between Literature and the Arts," *English Institute Annual 1941*, pp. 29-63; Merriman, "The Parallel of the Arts: Some Misgivings and a Faint Affirmation," *JAAC* 31 (1972), 153-64, 309-21.

34 National Gallery, London (c. 1515-18); in Hauser, *Mannerism*, pl. 45.

35 Cousins, "Mannerism," pp. 98-99.

36 Cousins, "Mannerism," p. 101.

37 Cousins, "Mannerism," p. 98.

38 Cousins, "Mannerism," p. 101.

39 Summers, "*Maniera* and Movement," pp. 272-83.

40 Cousins, "Mannerism," pp. 104-05.

41 As in Holbein's popular title page design, used in Erasmus' Latin New Testament of 1522 and other works of the time (see A. B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger*, 2 vols. [London, 1913], I, 193-95, pl. 61). This *topos*, derived from a passage in Epictetus, appears in a great variety of forms and media; see Reinhart Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis* (Berlin: Mann, 1973), with more than 100 illustrations.

42 Cousins, "Mannerism," pp. 105-07.

43 "Mammon's Grotto: Sixteenth-Century Visual Grotesquerie and Some Features of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*," *ELR* 12 (1982), 180-209.

44 See Nicole Dacos, *La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, and Leiden: Brill, 1969), with many illustrations. The Domus Aurea, found below ground, was thought of as a set of artificial caves; hence the term *grottesca* or grotto-work ("Mammon's Grotto," p. 187).

45 "Mammon's Grotto," figs. 1-2 (and cf. fig. 4).

46 *Exercitatio alphabetica nova et utilissima* ([Antwerp,] 1569), pl. ix; reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library. The borders are probably the work of Jan Vredeman de Vries.

47 Reproduced by permission of the Marquess of Bath (photo: *Country Life*). This was probably carved by Alan Maynard (Marc Girouard, *Robert Smythson and The Elizabethan Country House* [New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1983], p. 62). Three herms with similarly twisted bases appear in a drawing at Longleat also attributed to Maynard (Girouard, pp. 62-63, pl. 25).

48 Photo by the author, reproduced by permission of The National Trust.

49 Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Hauser, *Mannerism*, pl. 279).

50 The definitions and citations of the term *gnomon* that follow are drawn from an assortment of modern dictionaries–OED, Oxford Latin, Liddell and Scott, Lewis and Short, Littré, and so on. This whole idea came to me in reading Mary Ann Caws, *The Eye in the Text: Essays on Perception, Mannerist to Modern* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981), p. 49, on the "double fascination for both Mannerists and Surrealists of designation or pointing and of the gesture observed. . . ." Caws's phenomenological approach to Mannerist pictures and texts is very stimulating.

51 Similar forms dominate the upper half of Rosso's *Descent from the Cross* (Pinacoteca, Volterra), while the figures of Christ so massively prominent in his *Pietà* (Louvre) and *Dead Christ* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) insure that a single gnomon–*Ecce Homo*–determines their composition (Hauser, *Mannerism*, pls. 61, 66, 67). The contrast with the well-known Renaissance counterpart by Mantegna (Brera, Milan) is instructive.

52 Santo Domingo el Antigno, Toledo (Hauser, *Mannerism*, pl. 285).

53 All four of the adult figures in the foreground of El Greco's *Martyrdom of St. Maurice* (Escorial, Madrid) are pointing, no two at the same thing; and *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (Santo Tomé, Toledo) piles a confusing array of arms and legs and draperies above a row of disembodied heads, all emphasized by strong chiaroscuro (Hauser, *Mannerism*, pls. 288, 289).

54 *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957), p. 31.

55 Françoise Bardon has some provocative pages on the way in which Caravaggio's dark brown, featureless backgrounds, in contrast with the highly specific architectural or landscape contexts of virtually all previous renascence work, isolate his closely observed personages and accessories from any social, intellectual or political context, at the same time insisting on the "matérialité" of the images; see her *Caravage, ou l'expérience de la matière* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978), pp. 69 ff.