

## GODDESS ON THE EDGE: THE GALATEA AGENDA IN RAPHAEL, GARCILASO AND CERVANTES

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Edward Dudley  
State University of New York, Buffalo

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In attempting to identify a Galatea agenda for Garcilaso and Cervantes, the task is complicated by the intricate fabric of impulses, political, artistic and erotic, that animate their work and the work of their contemporaries at two crucial periods in the development of sixteenth-century Spanish power and poetics. In the case of Garcilaso, his use of the name Galatea marks the specific triumphs of his developing pastoral scenario in the *Primera égloga* (ca. 1531), while for Cervantes the lifelong preoccupation with his interminable *Galatea* project spans almost the entire range of his writing career, from before his Italian residence in 1569 to his death in 1616. In both cases, however, the Galatea engagement coincided with a youthful poet's efforts to find a new poetic voice, a new manner of expression in order to confront a changing political and aesthetic environment. This challenge constituted for Garcilaso the pristine moments of his personal *translatio poetii* of Italian metrics to the more sober resonances of Castilian, and for Cervantes a tentative step toward a more novellesque "poiesis" needed to sustain a prolonged narrative fiction carried forward in both prose and verse.

For Cervantes the underlying factors of a new "poiesis" were of course altered by the radically changed cultural and political situation of Spain and Italy by the 1570s. The Holy Alliance against the Turk was to be in many ways the last papal crusade, carried out in spite of uncomfortable underlying tensions between Phillip II and Pius V, between the old Rome and the new Rome. This discomfort may have intensified the need for a double agenda of a *translatio poetii* and a *translatio imperii* for the young Cervantes. It must be kept in mind also that the view that Garcilaso was the pioneer, the innovative poet of a brave new discourse, while Cervantes was the late-comer in the tradition of Italian verse and novellesque formulas, is contradicted by what can be identified as another

*translatio poetii* that marked the arrival of El Greco's Mannerist agenda in Spain in the 1570s. This revolution in aesthetic strategies was in fact to reach its climax in the Toledo of Phillip II rather than in the Rome of Pius V. Thomas Hoving's comment that El Greco's "View of Toledo" is "one of Mannerism's finest moments" indicates the powerful presence of a Mannerist aesthetic in Spain, perhaps more powerful than in Italy.<sup>1</sup> But another reversal was also to occur with Cervantes' abrupt personal translation to Italy in the winter of 1569-70 and his extended stay in Rome. This development placed the young Cervantes in the spectacular environment of the Eternal City, where Mannerism had already enjoyed a prolonged and healthy period of development. It was a very different Italy from the one Garcilaso had enjoyed in the 1520s and 1530s, an Italy much more firmly under Spanish control and an Italy struggling to maintain its artistic hegemony against the aggressive political, economic and cultural energy of the increasingly unpopular Spanish denizens of Rome and Naples. It was a common Roman belief that Spaniards were mostly Jewish or Moorish, and the insistence that Cervantes provide documentation of his Old Christian blood was a standard procedure for service in noble Italian households (Astrana Marín II, 227).

Cervantes's personal and social insecurities would have made him more sensitive to this negative attitude than had been the case with the aristocratic and powerful Garcilaso, striding across Italy in the entourage of the newly crowned Holy Roman Emperor. But whatever the reason, it is apparent, particularly in the "Canto de Calíope" episode of the *Galatea*, that Cervantes was mounting an organized assault on Italian chauvinistic sensitivities concerning the worth of contemporary Spanish poets. The awareness of the Spanish themselves of their weaknesses in this area has recently been carefully studied in Ignacio Navarrete's new book *Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance*. As Navarrete shows, the problem of both the *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii* are fully articulated as early as Nebrija's prologue to his *Gramática* in 1492 (15-31). In addressing the topic of the various *translatii*—*poetii*, *imperii*, *manieri*, *amorosi*, etc.—I would like to include a *translatio Galateae*. In this bit of cultural plundering we can identify two distinct articulations of a Galatea agenda in the Spanish texts already

announced: the *Primera égloga* of Garcilaso and the *Galatea* of Cervantes.

The basic question involved is simply: Why Galatea? What hidden texts underlie this evocative name and what roles did the name play for Garcilaso and Cervantes? To excavate the emotive history of this name, which plays such a curious and disruptive factor in both the Italy and Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, can be the first step in our own agenda.

The Galatea *figura* appears rather suddenly, only shortly before Raphael's numinous and puzzling painting of her in the Palazzo Farnesina in Rome (1511-12). Ovid's Galatea and Polifemo story had been well known throughout the Middle Ages without attracting any attempt to refurbish her image until the late fifteenth century when her *figura* unexpectedly emerges in Poliziano's poetry and then by ekphrastic energy is reincarnated for the first time in modern painting in the decorations of Isabella D'Este's study in the Gonzaga Palace at Mantua. Only shortly later she is also invoked by none other than Baldassare Castiglione in a series of poems celebrating the chaste beauty of Elisabetta Gonzaga, poems which link her specifically with the Galatea *figura*. Since Elisabetta is also one of the interlocutors of *Il libro del Cortigiano*, it takes no great imaginative leap to suspect that Boscán's translation of the work played a part, perhaps the decisive part, in Garcilaso's choice of her name for his "ninfa esquiva" in the first *Égloga*.

The full story of all these translations also contains numerous cross references between Spanish and Italian systems of power in Italy, particularly in reference to the lives and marriages of the Aragonese nobility in Naples, a picture of which is presented by Cervantes in *La Galatea*, and in particular the intermarriages of the Gonzaga, Sforza and Este families with both the House of Aragón and the Borgias. The aforementioned Isabella D'Este was the sister-in-law of Lucrezia Borgia, a factor which may have excluded the use of Lucrezia as the ideal image of a chaste beauty for the decor of Isabella's study. Both Isabella, daughter of Leonor of Aragón, and Lucrezia, daughter of Rodrigo Borja were half Spanish. The other reason for the exclusion of Lucrezia would have been political, since she acquired heroic status, like the Biblical Judith, as an instrument of resistance to the politics of tyranny in Botticelli's painting "The Tragedy of Lucretia."<sup>2</sup> In contrast to Lucretia's tragic

story, Galatea's triumph over Polifemo provided a more porous narreme adaptable to the shifting erotic needs of the emergent Neoplatonic concept of love. In fact the lack of specificity as to Galatea's innermost motives, since the Acis involvement was not always present, allowed for new readings of an old story. This imprecision at least contributed to the paradigmatic representation of her by Raphael in one of the open Loggias of the Palazzo Farnesina in Rome. However three dynastic doyennes in the generation before Garcilaso had been in one way or another aligned with the *figura* of Galatea's Neoplatonic beauty and chastity: 1) Isabella D'Este through the paintings in her study, 2) Elisabetta Gonzaga who was the Galatea of Castiglione's love poetry, and 3) Margarita Gonzaga, whose betrothal to Agostino Chigi, was the immediate impetus for the Galatea panel in the Farnesina. In total, the Galatea agenda had already taken on all the necessary resonances of beauty, chastity, art and dynastic power needed to create a new cultural epiphany.

What is important for both Garcilaso and Cervantes is the association of the Galatea figura with two aesthetic revolutions: 1) the cool classicism of the marble portraits of the Aragonese nobility, such as Francesco Laurana's bust of Beatrice de Aragafbón, a first cousin of Fernando el Católico, or similar busts of her kinswomen Ippolita Sforza and Isabella D'Aragón. Since these portraits linked the two power bases of the Emperor in Italy, Naples and Milan, their dynastic portraits would have set the aesthetic tone of the two courts, and would thereby have been likely images available to Garcilaso. The long necks, high cheekbones and foreheads and the closed eyes provided the essential features of their goddess-like portraits, cooling off any unnecessary male ardor. The Beatrice bust is inscribed *DIVA BEATRIX ARAGONIA* to further enhance her remote and ethereal beauty.<sup>3</sup> 2) In contrast the Raphael Galatea is the product of the next generation of artists and provides the sexually exciting but still chaste image of a Mannerist goddess. In this painting she comes to represent the initial icon of an aesthetic movement which celebrated the power of art and artifice. It is the contrived disarray of Raphael's diva which Cervantes adapts for his own aesthetic agenda.

An important article by Christof Thoenes, Director of the Biblioteca Herztiana in Rome, demonstrates that the issue of Galatea's chastity seems crucial in the sudden rise to cultural prominence of



**Raphael's *La Galatea***  
(Courtesy Christof Thoenes, *Raffaello a Roma*)

this *figura*, a hitherto unpromising subject for poet and painter (60). "La bella ritrosa" [esquiva], as she is sometimes designated by the Italians, came into her own precisely linked with the new vogue of Platonic love, launched by such writers as Ficino, Poliziano and León Hebreo. She became in fact the heroine of the new Humanism which celebrated both a chaste love and the idea of an aesthetically inspiring and redemptive concept of beauty.

It was these specific qualities which invalidated the image of Venus, who had enjoyed her own vogue during the reign of courtly love, as an image of sensuality unsuitable for the new aesthetic ideals of the early sixteenth century. This sensuality made her even more inappropriate for Castiglione's view of Elisabetta Gonzaga and her marriage to the impotent Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino. Her roles, both in his poetry and as the inspiring doyenne of the dialogues in *Il libro del Cortigiano*, fit perfectly into the new Galatea agenda then developing. In fact it was also the influence of Elisabetta that introduced the figure of Galatea into the new Farnesina Palace then being built and decorated by Agostino Chigi as a "palazzo nuzziale" to celebrate his forthcoming marriage to the even more beautiful and more witty Margherita Gonzaga, niece of the unfortunate Elisabetta.

But Raphael's Galatea panel, popularly entitled *Il trionfo di Galatea* is also a triumph of Rafael's art, and canonizes the *figura* of Galatea within the new Mannerist aesthetic then taking form. The key ingredient that Raphael introduced was the view that Art in itself, that is the creation of artifice, was the most highly valued human capacity. It is in this sense that the triumph of Galatea became in his hands the triumph of art. This topic is the essential focus of Thoenes' article. From this I would argue that much of this agenda is also relevant to the "poiesis" being developed by Cervantes for his own *Galatea*.

The question of a shared aesthetic menu in Raphael and Cervantes does not mean, nor does it need to mean, that Cervantes saw the famous panel. It is the agenda not the panel itself that counts, but nevertheless it is still worth the effort to tentatively situate the young Spaniard standing in the famed Galatea Loggia admiring the undraped, yet chaste goddess disporting herself amid the naked nymphs, water satyrs, centaurs, dolphins, cherubini and other classical flotsam and jetsam. The dramatic power of the painting is fur-

ther enhanced by Sebastiano del Piombo's fresco of Polifemo in the adjoining panel in which the Cyclops seems to peer through the dividing pilaster and panel frames at the excited and exciting form of Galatea. Whether Polifemo is meant to portray Agostino Chigi himself is uncertain, but the frustrations of the Cyclops were subsequently experienced by Chigi himself when the arranged Gonzaga marriage got deconstructed by the differing dynastic and erotic needs of the principals. Fortunately for everyone the referential ambiguity of the Galatea painting itself left it comfortably open to the new hermeneutic requirements brought about by the shifting marital arrangements of Agostino. Nevertheless the cross-panel gaze of Polifemo provided just the right kind of disturbance for the self-conscious artistic project of Mannerism itself.<sup>4</sup>

The possibility of Cervantes's having experienced all this is increased since both the Galatea and Psyche Loggias of the Farnesina were created as a political gesture, a deliberate and public display of Agostino Chigi's social and humanistic pretensions. In fact until the twentieth century the two famous loggias were open to public perusal, just as the Loggia della Signoria in Florence still is. In this sense the Farnesina loggias served as a type of proto-museum for ambitious artists to display their wares and for the socially ambitious magnates to exhibit their politically sensitive wealth and culture. It is difficult to imagine that Cervantes, whose access to the Vatican art treasures was doubtful, would not have availed himself during the long winter months of the chance to see the already famous painting displayed in an open loggia.

In any case, whatever Cervantes saw or didn't see, Rome was flaunting its own particular brand of highly eroticized paganism, a factor that got the papacy into trouble with both the scandalized young man Luther [Roman visit 1510] and later with the Spanish apologists for Carlos V's 1527 Sack of Rome. The latter attacks on Vatican indiscretions, as can be seen in Delgado's *La lozana andaluza* and Alfonso de Valdés' *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma*, are as bitter as those conjured up by the Protestants.<sup>5</sup> In fact for over a century Spaniards and Romans took turns being scandalized by the other's behavior. Romans remembered the Borgias and the Spanish denounced Clement VII, a Medici who may have engineered the death of Carlos' Pope, Adrian of Utrecht. In some ways the Sack of Rome was the Emperor's payback for the murder of Adrian.

Likewise, the uncomfortable association of sacred Rome with its pagan sensuality remained fresh in Cervantes' imagination as can be seen in his description of the City in the final book of the *Perisiles*, written just before his death 45 years later. There he describes how the scandalous beauty of the witch Hipólita made "movements in the soul" of Periandro when he first saw her in the streets of Rome and how he nearly succumbs to her brazen eroticism during their first meeting in her apartment. In many ways this sequence constitutes the most erotically charged male/female confrontation in the entire Cervantine canon.

In Thoenes' study we can identify a number of specific items in the Raphael panel that coincide with Cervantes' portrayal of Galatea, and in one particular aspect of Galatea's appearance we see Cervantes' adaptation of a highly innovative device introduced by Raphael. Since this detail is missing in Garcilaso's presentation, it further indicates that Cervantes was working from his unfading impressions of Rome and not solely from the Garcilaso *égloga*. The importance of these traits and devices, however, is not meant to be merely anecdotal. Rather they can be assembled or re-assembled to create a new hermeneutic for a Mannerist reading of this youthful novel.

At the same time, of course, the Cervantine Galatea *figura* retains its enigmatic appeal, allowing for a broader re-reading and re-orienting of her image toward the hermeneutics of postmodernism, with its emphasis on discontinuities and aporias in the self-conscious text. This in turn awakens the question of a similar hermeneutic for the *Quijote* itself. But whatever the case may be for that approach, both Cervantes' and Raphael's Galateas are supremely aesthetic constructs that celebrate the fact that they are a manner of art focused on its own ontology. They exist as celebrations of the problematics of meaning, and this concern then becomes the subject of the work itself.

In the case of Raphael, given the site and occasion of the painting, the work stands as an unparalleled *coup de maitre*. Its theoretical self-consciousness seeks to transcend the limits of the art at hand in its search for the outer possibilities of art in general. This latter point would help explain Cervantes' obsessive preoccupation with finishing his own incomplete aesthetic agenda which the Galatea *figura* both represents and re-presents.



The Italian commentators, both then and now, have consistently spoken about the Raphael/Piombo configuration of panels as an aesthetic debate between the "robusta maniera" of Piombo opposed to the "gentile" or "bella maniera" of Raphael. On this point Thoenes comments that this competition becomes a "polémica teórico-artística" whose reverberations extend far beyond the Loggia itself (65-66). Modern scholars have also observed that the years of 1511 to 1513 formed a crucial turning point from a static to a more dynamic style for Raphael, just as the construction of the Farnesina marked a sensitive period in the political aspirations of Chigi. In this and other ways the Galatea debate circling around the figure of the goddess seems re-presented within the painting by the swirling nymphs, dolphins and sea-satyrs that form an erotic *thiasus* from which the goddess seeks to escape. Her triumph is precisely her oblique movement as she guides her dolphins through the sexual temptations of the scene. In this way the goddess appears, both visually and thematically, on the edge between the various conflicting forces operative in the lives of the artist and the patron as well as in the political and aesthetic issues animating the world of contemporary art in early sixteenth-century Rome.

The elements that constitute this erotic-thematic panorama are carefully detailed in Thoenes' article. I will select those points relevant to Cervantes' prose re-presentation of the arrival of Galatea in the first book of his pastoral Romance (1:54). It is true that any attempt to create an ideal and inspiring image of feminine beauty is often associated with an expression of the artistic difficulties this goal presents to the painter or writer. While in one sense it is a stylistic commonplace to include such commentary, it is also significant that the feature not be omitted. This kind of self-conscious rhetorical gesture was a paradigmatic feature of the repertoire of literary Mannerism, and Cervantes has the Galatea narrator duly include a formulaic observation. In describing her elaborately choreographed arrival, he comments: "Galatea, cuya hermosura era tanta que sería mejor dejarla en su punto, pues faltan palabras para encarecerla" (54). It is not surprising, therefore, that we find a very similar comment, made in a letter, usually attributed to Raphael, which describes Raphael's own problems in depicting his ideal Galatea (*The Complete* 529).

The *thiasus* or festival of the gods scene in which Raphael places her is a recognizable trope of classical art which celebrates a panoply of erotic impulses. Thoenes' study illustrates other such scenes which Raphael might have studied (68-69). The *thiasus* constitutes another commonplace associated with the contradictory concerns of sixteenth-century art, a feature fitting comfortably within the aesthetic horizon of expectations of the era. In contrast, however, to the antique antecedents of such a scene, which were entirely celebratory of erotic moments, Galatea's presence in the painting does not mark her as part of the eroticism surrounding her. Rather she cuts diagonally through the scenario, avoiding all attempts to involve her in the goings on. She is herself sexually exciting but not, as Thoenes observes, sexually excited. Rather her movements, the speed of her sea chariot, the wind displaying her gold tresses floating against her equally agitated scarlet robes, the torsion of her semi-naked body, the suggestive turn of her head and the lifting of her eyes, reveal a woman capable of sexual excitement but not actively participating in the sensual agitation she arouses. It is a masterpiece of presenting a "commuovatrice non commossa" figure.

The Renaissance cool so often affected in earlier paintings, even by Raphael, is here transformed into something quite different by contrasting Galatea from the surrounding spectacle of heterogenic sensuality. This transformation of the goddess from cool to hot within the development of Raphael's own style is found also in the Vatican paintings he was then working on. The classic restraint of his "School of Athens" for instance is left behind as he paints the "Fire in the Borgo" and "Flight of Heliodorus," scenes in which escape and movement form the focus of the paintings. One feels that his work on the Galatea was a personal release from the prolonged tasks then being executed in the "Stanza di Segnatura." Certainly the Farnesina as a "palazzo nuzziale" offered him the ideal opportunity to indulge his own streak of pagan eroticism that is markedly different from what he did in the Vatican paintings. This aesthetic escape indicates the importance of the "Galatea" in the development of a youthful artist seeking his mature style. He invokes the antecedents of the traditional *thiasus* but at the same time reinterprets and rejects the earlier articulations both thematically and visu-

ally. In this way the "Galatea" marks a liberation in his own style. The Sistine Madonna she is not.

We can find many of the same thematic and stylistic concerns in Cervantes's handling of the theatric entrance of Galatea into his novel. Leonardo da Vinci had observed that painting is the most erotic art since it presents all its features simultaneously while literature must depict them moment by moment (Thoenes 66). This latter characteristic seems to be deliberately challenged by Cervantes' meticulous orchestration of her first appearance, a scene in which each detail is presented as slowly as possible in order to achieve his own dilated version of eroticism. In the context of *amplificatio* a point must also be made about his use of entrelacement: Galatea's entrance into the action is delayed until after the relation of the first, intensely violent story of Carino, Crisalvo and Lisandro's conflict over Leonida and Silvia. Thus, the story of the murder of the nymph provides a frightening image of male rapacity as the emotive environment into which Galatea arrives. In fact Lisandro even accompanies Elicio and Erastro as they observe the slow approach of Galatea. The effect replicates the threatening male presence of Piombo's "Polifemo" peering into the Galatea panel in the Farnesina loggia.

The undulating rhythm of the hills in which Galatea is first observed replaces the similar effect of the ocean waves in Raphael's painting. This reverses the substitution of meadows for ocean and sheep for dolphins found in the "Piscatory Eclogues" of Sannazaro,<sup>6</sup> and the exchange is a very ancient one in the European narrative tradition:

...así viniendo los tres pastores con el manso rebaño de sus ovejas por una cañada abajo, al subir de una ladera oyeron el sonido de una suave zampoña, que luego por Elicio y Erastro fue conocido que era Galatea quien la sonaba. Y no tardó mucho que por la cumbre de la cuesta se comenzaron a descubrir algunas ovejas, y luego tras ellas Galatea, cuya hermosura era tanta que sería mejor dejarla en su punto, pues faltan palabras para encarecerla. Venía vestida a la serrana, con los luengos cabellos sueltos al viento, de quien el mismo sol parecía tener envidia, porque hiriéndoles con sus rayos, procuraba quitarles la luz si pudiera, mas la que la salía de la vislumbre dellos, otro nuevo sol semejaba. Estaba Erastro fuera de sí mirándola, y Elicio no podía partir los ojos de

verla. Cuando Galatea vio que el rebaño de Elicio y Erastro con el suyo se juntaba, mostrando no gustar de tenerles aquel día compañía, llamó a la borrega mansa de su manada, a la cual siguieron las demás, y encaminóla a otra parte diferente de la que los pastores llevaban. Viendo Elicio lo que Galatea hacía, sin poder sufrir tan notorio desdén, llegándose a do la pastora estaba, le dijo... (55)

A number of stylistic features are shared by the scenes of Raphael and Cervantes, features that form part of a larger agenda of visual devices prevalent in Mannerism and which repeatedly draw our attention to the medium in which the events are portrayed. Perhaps the most dramatic device of both the painting and Cervantes' account is the evasive diagonal movement of Galatea across the scene from upper left to lower right, and this effect is enhanced by her careful guidance of the sheep or dolphins to avoid unwanted contact with other creatures peopling the scene. The emphasis on the impact that her beauty makes on the male viewers, here the shepherds, Polifemo in the Farnesina loggia, creating a type of a "Galatea observed" trope, is important for the Mannerist emphasis on the position of the viewer. This effect is even more pronounced in Cervantes because he has the shepherds call out to her as she changes direction within the movement of the scene. Cervantes also reminds us of the contrast between her erotically stimulating appearance and the untouchable and inaccessible demeanor of her movements. In the same way Cervantes' emphasis on the exaggerated effect of the sun and wind on her hair, fully utilizing the current rhetorical figures, becomes in itself part of the scene. This latter device is found in the painting with the classic placements of the cherubini both below and above Galatea, reminding us of the artifice involved. Galatea is also depicted playing a *zampoña*, the same instrument held by Piombo's Polifemo. As in other instances Cervantes has re-articulated the elements found in the Farnesina, so that the totality of his portrayal incorporates the same items but not in the same order as found in the palazzo.

In Cervantes the subsequent dialogue between the distressed shepherds and Galatea, again rather more self-consciously explicated than would be necessary in a realistic rendering of the scenario, dramatizes the triumph of the diva's wit as she escapes from the

multiple lover's snares shouted at her by Erastro and Elicio. The ease with which she deflects the lovers' complaints further foregrounds her "esquiveza" and at the same time stresses the inner tensions between the teasing tone with which she executes her escape and her actions.

The effect of this latter device arouses another response associated with Raphael's panel. Erastro, with a tone of bitter exasperation, shouts as she draws away: "¡Ay, enemiga, cuán al desgaire te vas, *triunfando* de nuestras voluntades!" (56, my emphasis). His lexicon echoes the famous *Trionfo di Galatea*, the title given to Raphael's painting. The rhetoric utilized is all deliberately conventional, but Cervantes' articulation hits the necessary notes associated with the Neoplatonic ideal of chaste beauty and, like Raphael, clearly separates his Galatea from the lascivious voluptuousness of Venus, and at the same time reminds us that this is art not life.

Cervantes further emphasizes her triumph by depicting her breaking into song the moment she is away from the shepherds. Her sonnet flaunts her sense of freedom as she escapes from love's snares. The first quartet makes the point:

Afuera el fuego, el lazo, el hielo y flecha  
de amor, que abrasa, aprieta, enfría y hiere;  
que tal llama mi alma no la quiere,  
ni queda de tal ruido satisfecha. (57)

Again the sonnet makes use of a long collection of poetic commonplaces, but at the same time pulls them together with considerable grace. Avalor-Arce suggests here the possible influence of a sonnet by Domenico Veniero but admits it is difficult to pinpoint specific antecedents for such widely practiced gestures. Nevertheless the poem is closely attuned to the specifics of the Galatea situation depicted by Raphael.<sup>7</sup>

One particular feature of Raphael's work, however, does draw an even closer link between Cervantes and Raphael since, according to Thoenes, it is a device displayed here for the first time in modern painting. This is the "delicato rossore" enflaming the cheeks of the nymph to Galatea's lower left. The use of the blushing device is entirely missing in Garcilaso, nor is it widely prevalent in sixteenth-century painting. Nevertheless, Cervantes makes a pointed use of it

in order, it would seem, to complete the beauty of his Galatea and possibly to compete with both Raphael and Garcilaso. He describes in some detail how Galatea and Florisa wash their faces even though their beauty cannot be enhanced by artifice. Nevertheless, and in contradiction of that comment, there is a crucial change in their faces:

Tan hermosas quedaron después de lavadas como antes lo estaban, excepto que por haber llegado las manos con movimiento al rostro, quedaron sus mejillas encendidas y sonroseadas, de modo que un no sé qué de hermosura les acrescentaba, especialmente a Galatea, en quien se vieron juntas las tres Gracias, a quien los antiguos griegos pintaban desnudas, por mostrar, entre otros efectos, que eran señoras de la hermosura. (58)

Cervantes's scene daringly transfers the "rossore" to Galatea herself but without requiring the urgent embrace of the sea-god suffered by Raphael's nymph, a feature too compromising for Galatea's chastity. In the same oblique way Cervantes, by means of metaphor, also incorporates the exciting image of the nude Graces into his Galatea portrayal but without disrobing her. Although he attributes the nudity to the ancient Greeks there is a panel in the adjoining Loggia of Psyche in the Farnesina where the Graces are depicted nude, along with other classicized nude figures of Venus, Ceres Juno, Cupid and Mercury.<sup>8</sup> In one of these panels Venus presents Psyche with a vial of water from the river Styx. Whether the nude Psyche is supposed to drink it or bathe herself is not clear. It can also be mentioned that by placing Galatea next to the stream Cervantes enters the missing water element associated with her ontology in Raphael and in most classic sources.

Only from a much broader critical perspective of the aesthetic scale can we associate Cervantes' Galatea with the debate of the "due maniere" found in the juxtaposition of the Piombo/Raphael frescos in the Farnesina. Nevertheless Cervantes' utilization of entrelacement and the diverse narrative genres and styles within the *Galatea* allows him to compare, by means of intertextuality, the various modes of storytelling within an overarching pastoral framework. These tales include a spectrum of violence, conflicts, and love, as well as a repertoire of distinct narrative "maniere" in a way

that contrasts their differences and similarities. *La Galatea* in this way is closely linked with the disposition of genres in the first part of the *Quijote*: the pastoral, byzantine, chivalric, morisca and Italian novelas are there disposed around the figure of Quijote himself, in much the same way as they are situated around Galatea in the earlier work. The arrangement of the tales constitutes a metafictional dance of the genres in which not only different kinds of stories but different "maniere" or modes of narration are examined. This in effect formulates an aesthetic debate found not only within the loggias of the Farnesina but within the broadscope of Mannerist art as a whole. Thoenes' identification of the Galatea *figura* as a type of icon for the movement coincides with Cervantes' self-aware manner of proceeding within this text.

It was perhaps this underlying concern with the role of art as it examines its own procedures that fueled his desire to complete the *Galatea* before his death. This would have been a suitable accomplishment for the mature artist of 1616, returning to the scene of his early *aventuras* in Italy, where by means of his encounter with Raphael or untold other artists he was introduced to the delights and distractions of Mannerist aesthetics.

In concluding Thoenes emphasizes the overriding importance of Raphael's Galatea as "un'esempio d'arte," existing itself as an instance of what it celebrates. The painting placed Raphael on the cutting edge of artistic development of his time and provided Agostino Chigi with a prime example of the innovative art of Raphael, freed from the restraints of the Vatican paintings. In this Chigi surpasses the glories of the Vatican by liberating Raphael from the politico-artistic agenda then dominating the Papacy. In return Raphael presents Chigi with a dazzling icon of the Goddess of the moment, triumphing over the theoretical and political debates that heated her specific aesthetic environment. She exists, as Thoenes notes, "unimpeded from any prescribed story" (my translation) nor does she coincide with any prescribed meaning. The painting likewise exists within a broad context of erotic concerns, a numinous expression of "le aspirazioni amorose e le ambizioni artistiche" of the youthful Raphael. What better image for an admiring Cervantes to seize upon as he begins his own search for the ultimate Galatea. Perhaps he even found her but because of the missing manuscript of his *Galatea, Part Two*, she has eluded us. Nevertheless

we do know that the Galatea agenda which established her both as an ideal of chaste and inspiring beauty and as a symbol of artistic power and beauty threatened by violence, explains her attraction for Cervantes. This in fact is also the narrative situation in which Cervantes leaves her at the conclusion of *Part One*.

And as it was for Rafael and Garcilaso her image is also linked with the transition between their early and mature art. In the case of Cervantes who, unlike the others, lived to an advanced age, her manifestation marks the beginning of his long search for the limits of his art. She represents the power of his "poiesis," the starting point for his effort to create a poetics of the novel.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Emilio Carrilla's study is in great part a *bibliografía razonada* which highlights critical studies of Hispanic *Manierismo*, some of which go back to the 1940s, in particular the crucial works of Dámaso Alonso. He also distinguishes the genre-linked features of the Spanish Mannerist movement as a whole and differentiates it from the Baroque. The term derives from Vasari's use of *maniera* as a term for style, a feature which emphasizes the artist's self-conscious incorporation of stylistic features into the work. On seeing an El Greco painting, for instance, the observer will recognize the work primarily by its style rather than by its content. John Hale (128) describes the rise of Mannerism in Italy as a type of escapism from the political situation dominated by Spanish and French incursions into the peninsula starting in the late fifteenth century. In Spain, however, it seems to be linked to the rise of mysticism. Whether linked or not, Spanish Mannerism reached its greatest level of intensity in religious rather than secular painting.

<sup>2</sup>Peter Bondanella traces the political utilization of the image of Lucretia in Italian and European painting from Botticelli to Rembrandt (51-52, 91-96). The sources of this view go back to Livy and formed part of the Humanist tradition in Europe from the Renaissance onwards. While the paintings often have a lurid sexual orientation, as in Titian, Veronese and Tiepolo, her heroic resistance to Tarquin was nevertheless portrayed as part of a larger political critique on tyranny in general. Rembrandt, however, portrays her clothed, alone and painfully effecting her suicide. Again the ultimate source for this view is to be found in Livy.

<sup>3</sup>See both text and illustrations in Hersey's study of the artistic renovation of Naples effected by Alfonso II. Illustrations #40-57 present a convincing collection of ideal feminine beauties as seen in the marble portrait busts



of several of these women. Their beauty typifies what can be designated here as the Renaissance "cool" as opposed to Raphael's Mannerist "hot." The dynastic intermarriages can be extrapolated from Hersey (30-43) as well as from Roeder. The edition of the *The Book of the Courtier* cited here also contains an introductory description of the interlocutors in the dialogues, including both Elisabetta and Margherita Gonzaga. Hale's study on the Renaissance contains a photograph of Isabella D'Este's study at Mantua (86), which shows a letter on her desk from Cesare Borgia. Hale emphasizes the key roles often played by such women in the various aristocratic courts and notes that Isabella was known in her own time as "the prima donna of the world." In contrast to Isabella's study, Hale provides another photograph of Lucretia Borgia's bedroom (93) and also shows miniatures of both Isabella and Lucretia (85). In spite of its title, Roeder's study does incorporate considerable information about women and also contains illustrations of portraits of both Isabella D'Este and Elisabetta Gonzaga. Judging from Raphael's portrait of the latter, her beauty must have existed primarily in the eyes of Castiglione, but his platonic love poems addressed to her clearly foreshadow Garcilaso's articulation of love for a married woman found in the *Primera égloga*. An idealized bust of such a woman by Desiderio da Settignano is reproduced in Hale (175).

Isabella D'Este, painted at 60 by Titian, directed him to portray her as she appeared at the age of 20. Whatever the accuracy of the portrait, Titian pictures her as a woman of great presence and intensity. Although women legally lost status in the Renaissance at the hands of the Inquisition, there obviously existed in the ducal courts a sheltered world in which they assumed great influence. This historical antecedent informs the expression of men's passions, both physical and spiritual, in a great variety of literary texts.

<sup>4</sup>The theoretical considerations of Mannerism in Italy are beautifully synthesized by S. J. Freedberg in his study of Caravaggio's rejection of it (52ff). In his description of Bronzino's Mannerist painting of St. John the Baptist he identifies a "distilled and eccentrically displaced sensuality" which characterizes a form of art that does not seek to portray nature. Rather "the reality it conveys is that of its powerful reality of art." Arnold Hauser's major study of Mannerism includes an essay on Cervantes. He also stresses its subjective eccentricity, anti-rationalism and its close relation to a 20th century sense of alienation. The latter feature is linked to the revival of El Greco at the beginning of our own century. Although Hauser's work antedates most of the debate about postmodernism, much of what he singles out as the distinguishing features of Mannerism is applicable to the postmodernist agenda.

<sup>5</sup>Bondanella shows that the long-running debate about the image of Rome as both sacred and sensual has its origins in the works of Livy and Tacitus (23-46). The rejection of Rome as the whore of Babylon by the Protestants is not substantively different from what is found in Valdés' and Delgado's portrayals of sexual excesses in the Holy City. This debate was inscribed in the Humanist movement long before the time of Luther.

<sup>6</sup>According to William J. Kennedy the exchange of fishermen for shepherds is original in Sannazaro (158) and constitutes an important renovation of the pastoral mode. It is nevertheless true that certain features of the field/sea transformation were anticipated in the Celtic tales that form the seedbed of various Arthurian tales. In certain tales, "The Voyage of Mael Duin," for instance, heroes had views of another world at the bottom of the sea, complete with herds of sheep or cattle. Thus the sea/earth interchange functioned as a crossover metaphor to life in the Otherworld. Many Otherworld heroes—Lanzarote del Lago is the most famous—were raised by water fays at the bottom of lakes, etc. The Irish tales are among the most primitive versions we have of this device but it was likely found in other Indo-European narrative traditions as well. Achilles also had a sea ontology, with a water nymph for a mother, and had to suffer a submersion in the River Styx in order to achieve his near invulnerability to death.

<sup>7</sup>Geoffrey Stagg at the 1993 Toronto MLA meeting of the Cervantes Society expressed his belief that the poem was added to the Galatea text after Cervantes' return from Italy. This might indicate that the entire Galatea entrance scenario was also revised at that time.

<sup>8</sup>The erotic ambience of both the loggias is in accord with the Alexander/Roxana frescoes for the nuptial bedroom. It is thought that the floating figure of a youthful naked Mercury on the ceiling of the Psyche Loggia might be an idealized portrait of Agostino Chigi, intended as a riposte to Margherita Gonzaga's claim that Agostino was too old for her. Galatea herself bears a marked resemblance to Raphael's beloved Fornarina whose portrait hangs across town today in the Palazzo Barberini. The home Raphael shared with her is now a restaurant just down the road from the Farnesina. Thus the artwork in the Farnesina bears many resemblances to the pastoral mode which was always something of a *roman à clef* in which both personal and political issues were only partially hidden. Given all these tempting features, how could the young Miguel have failed to visit the loggias?

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