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JUVARRA, LATE BAROQUE SCENE DESIGNER.
The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1962
Speech-Theater

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THE ARTISTIC APPROACH OF FILIPPO JUVARRA,
LATE BAROQUE SCENE DESIGNER

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
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By

William Russell West, A.B., M.S.

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1962

Approved by

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Adviser
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## ILLUSTRATIONS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with selected scene designs of Filippo Juvarra (1678-1736). Specifically, this study explores the artistic concepts and techniques that Juvarra used to create the visual effects of his designs. Juvarra is best known for his work as an architect and has received some attention from scholars in the field of art history. He has received less attention from theatre historians. Chronologically his life and works fall into a stylistic period termed Late Baroque. This study will apply the criteria of the visual arts of the Baroque era and its special subdivision, Late Baroque, to the scenic designs of Filippo Juvarra in order to determine, from a designer's point of view, how Juvarra created his scenic illusions.

Juvarra himself was a scene designer and an architect. The critics in both theatre and art history consider Juvarra's artistic stature worthy of considerably more attention than has been given him. What little attention has been given him has revolved around the same few works of art. Rudolf Wittkower, the leading Baroque art historian and scholar, has called Filippo Juvarra the architectural genius of the
Late Baroque period.¹ Tintelnot suggests that Juvarra's influence on the whole field of eighteenth-century scene design has not been valued highly enough, and that he was the only designer who was in a class with the Bibienas.²

Fortunately for the student of Juvarra the number of his works including sketches, drawings, and engravings which have been preserved are more than sufficient to establish a solid basis for an analytical study. Juvarra's work has never been dealt with in the manner which this study proposes to approach it.

This study is related to three areas of Baroque studies in particular. First, information concerning the Baroque painterly illusions of scenic design is quite limited even though research has developed a reasonable body of knowledge concerning seventeenth- and eighteenth-century staging techniques. This lack is pointed out by Rudolf Wittkower who feels that theatre scenic design was leading the field of artistic endeavor in the early eighteenth century. Next, oblique perspective (particularly in its fully developed form as corner perspective) has long attracted and mystified theatre historians. A study of Juvarra's concepts and techniques should help in understanding the effects of oblique

¹ Rudolf Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy 1600 to 1750 (Baltimore, 1958), p. 248.
² Hans Tintelnot, Barocktheater und Barock Kunst (Berlin, 1939), pp. 75, 79, 82.
perspective, the ultimate achievement of Baroque painterly illusion. Third, Juvarra left behind a great body of preliminary designs and tentative floor plans as well as finished drawings and engravings of his scenery. There is not a great quantity of this sort of material concerning other designers of the period; therefore, Juvarra provides an excellent point of departure for Baroque theatrical studies.

The basic purpose of the study as well as certain selective considerations have dictated the limitations imposed. In order for the analysis to be meaningful I have chosen to consider twelve designs in depth and detail. These designs were selected from a set of pen wash drawings executed in 1710-1711 for a proposed production of *Giunio Bruto* and a set of engravings by Juvarra's hand for a production of *Il Giro* in 1712. These are finished, detailed works which illustrate Juvarra's major approaches and many of his variations of these approaches. The perusal of works covering the whole span of Juvarra's known theatrical activity indicates that these plates typify the majority of Juvarra's designs. The visual effect of these designs is of primary concern. The staging techniques and methods of execution during an actual production are not dealt with except in two specific cases where the visual effect depends heavily on the staging techniques.

The critical attitude of this study emphasizes the similarity between Late Baroque scene design of Juvarra
and the allied visual arts of the period. This attitude is suggested by the circumstances of the historical development of Baroque arts. Homogeniety existed within the field of visual arts partially because Baroque artists were competent in several fields of artistic endeavor. As a consequence, analytical techniques relevant to one specific art form such as architecture can be applied to another specific art form such as scene design. There is a definite limitation to this theory, however, since no two art forms serve the same function and no artist approaches two differing forms in quite the same manner. For this reason the analytical techniques applicable to one art form cannot precisely explain another form. Therefore, only the broad theories and criteria used to explain architecture and city square organization will be applied to the analysis of Juvarra's scene designs. This critical approach will not only provide new information concerning Juvarra's personal approach to scene design, but it should suggest analytical approaches which could be applied to other designers of the period.

The general critical opinion of Juvarra's artistic endeavor is that he worked in the firmly established tradition of the day but did so with freshness and variety. Wittkowski feels that Juvarra was eclectic, picking and choosing among the architectural forms developed during the preceding 300 years. Juvarra molded these forms in "new and exciting ways." While appearing to be a traditionalist, he broke
decisively with tradition. By skillful use of form, he managed quite often to create light, airy structures which became more and more the ideal of the eighteenth century.\(^3\)

Lees-Milne also remarks, as do all the critics, that Juvarra was eclectic. But Lees-Milne places greater emphasis on Juvarra's "correctness." He feels that Juvarra's work was varied, calculated to gain the best effects of plasticity. The results were effective and extremely beautiful but always "correctly traditional." Lees-Milne feels that because of this correctness, Juvarra managed to remain essentially Baroque in an age that was Rococo.\(^4\)

Lees-Milne's opinion seems to be in contradiction to those of the other Juvarra historians. Actually it is not. Juvarra's changes in the traditional forms were subtle. Lees-Milne is aware of the variety and plasticity of Juvarra's work, but the correct foundation is always in evidence in his scene designs and architecture. It is exactly this unusual relationship which leads Wittkower to call Juvarra a "revolutionary traditionalist."\(^5\)

Tintelnot, as was pointed out, was definitely aware of some of the specific ways in which Juvarra altered the approach to scene design. He notes that one of Juvarra's chief contributions was

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\(^3\) Wittkower, pp. 240-41; 276-77; 281.


\(^5\) Wittkower, p. 241.
the abandonment of strongly symmetrical or even axially-related arrangements of wings, at least in open landscape settings.\textsuperscript{6}

The materials for this study have been drawn from three major sources: the original designs and engravings of Juvarra; the investigations of theatre historians in the field of Juvarra research; and the work of art historians in the area of theoretical concepts and analytical techniques of Baroque visual arts.

The drawings and engravings used in developing this study are all housed in the Ohio State University Theatre Collection. The extensive holdings of this collection include one hundred and ninety-two Juvarra designs. These designs were executed during the eight year period (1708-1716) that Juvarra is known to have actively engaged in theatrical activities. A primary source of this size and scope would seem to provide a firm foundation for a fair evaluation of Juvarra's efforts as a scene designer. The investigations in the fields of theatre and art history which are applicable to Juvarra studies are limited in number and scope, but there are some important texts which form the core of Juvarra study.

The basic work concerning Juvarra is the Rovere, Viale and Brinckmann, \textit{Filippo Juvarra}, printed in Milan in 1937.

\textsuperscript{6} Tintelnot, pp. 75, 79, 82.
With a few exceptions the sources of their bibliography were published in the eighteenth century. Wittkower considers this bibliography to be as complete as is possible. The Rovere, Viale and Brinckmann effort concerns itself with biography, architecture, and, in Professor Brinckmann's section, theatre. Brinckmann concerns himself mainly with the size of the Ottoboni Theatre where Juvarra did much of his work. He also mentions several museums which contain collections of Juvarra's works. In regard to the designs themselves, Brinckmann's chief contribution is a discussion of the types of designs from the point of view of their settings, architecture, gardens, woodland scenes and the like. Brinckmann makes passing references to Juvarra's possible influences on Baroque painters and discusses the freshness and life which Juvarra infused into his designs. The designs which Brinckmann includes are a representative sampling of Juvarra's work.

Another major work in which a considerable amount of attention is given Juvarra is Hans Tintelnot's Barocktheater und Barock Kunst, published in 1939. Tintelnot mentions the freshness of Juvarra's approach and spends considerable time in a generalized discussion of Juvarra's use of curved walls and overlapping and cutout sections of scenery. He also spends considerable time in general comparisons between Baroque scenery and Baroque architecture, but he comes to no real conclusions. Tintelnot discusses also the possibility
of influence from theatre to other arts or the reverse, but he fails to take a definite position.

Four sources from the field of theatre history which make brief contributions to Juvarra research are works by Gordon Craig, Paul Zucker, Allardyce Nicoll and Richard Southern. Paul Zucker in *Die Theaterdekoration des Barock*, 1925, devotes a few pages to Juvarra, mentioning the curved walls and stating that Juvarra's particular use of angled perspective was different from the Bibiena's use of it. Gordon Craig, in a pair of articles in the *Architectural Review*, 1926, lists several theatres in Rome where Juvarra is believed to have worked. Allardyce Nicoll in his *Development of the Theatre*, the 1937 edition, draws the conclusion that Juvarra used the same set pieces in varying ways for different settings. In a 1935 article, Richard Southern approaches the problem of staging cutout scenery and oblique perspectives by using a Juvarra setting and floor plan as part of his evidence. This is the extent of the previous investigations in the field of theatre history which bear in a direct manner on the specific problem of this study. Of the six sources listed, the Rovere, Viale and Brinckmann study is the only major work.

In the field of art history, the works which deal specifically with Juvarra are not plentiful. Only two sources devote any major attention to Juvarra and these deal primarily in terms of his architecture. One of these works, James
Lees-Milne's *Baroque in Italy*, 1960, a serious and factually accurate endeavor, is an excellent codification of information available elsewhere concerning Juvarra. Lees-Milne's expressed purpose is to prove a religious basis for the Baroque movement, a subject which this study does not broach in any manner. The other work, Rudolf Wittkower's monumental effort, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, published in 1958, includes information concerning Juvarra's early training and influences which proved useful.

The other major aspect of the problem under study is an evaluation and synthesis of the concepts and techniques of Baroque and particularly Late Baroque visual arts. Several works in the field of art history attack this subject. The major sources are Heinrich Wölflin's *Principles of Art History*, first published in 1915; T. H. Fokker's *Roman Baroque Art*, published in 1938; Rudolf Wittkower's *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, published in 1958; Sigfried Giedion's *Space Time and Architecture*, the third edition published in 1959; Paul Zucker's *Town and Square From the Agora to the Village Green*, 1959; and Wylie Sypher's *Four Stages of Renaissance Style*, 1955. These men all deal in theoretical terms with Baroque visual arts and use specific examples to support their arguments.

Needless to say these men do not all approach the problem in the same manner. Wölflin was the first major critic to consider Baroque arts in a favorable light. His major
predecessor, Jakob Burkhardt, the nineteenth-century critic, did not understand and could see no logical reason for Baroque arts. Woelfflin, by a comparison-contrast technique of Renaissance with Baroque, develops an explanation based on what can be termed a painterly theory. He describes in great detail the differences between the two eras based on his five points of the painterly approach. His criteria best apply to painting, so he treats painting first and then applies the painterly techniques to sculpture and architecture; however, his explanations (especially his discussion of architecture) are not entirely adequate. He does not attempt to define the limits of any of the subdivisions of the Baroque era by theory or by date. Nothing in his work makes an approach to the Academic trend possible. Regardless of these shortcomings his work is still extremely valuable and every serious scholar of the Baroque has made use of it.

T. H. Fokker formulates the concept of an interrelationship of space and form in order to analyze the Baroque. In this manner his explanation of architecture is quite sound. He then applies this concept to sculpture and painting and succeeds in making very enlightening analyses. In the process he also discusses infinity. Fokker also limits and divides the period into three specific eras, Early, High and Late Baroque. By comparison and contrast he fully develops a discussion of the differences between them. He
further develops the argument that there was a school of art known as Academism which developed and existed alongside the Baroque school. In this manner he is able to offer an explanation of many of the seeming contradictions in the Roman Baroque era. In the era of Late Baroque, Fokker does not seem to be as sure of himself and is not quite so clear as he is when discussing High Baroque.

Wittkower devotes his book to a discussion of the works of a myriad of Baroque artists. Though he does not claim to be definitive, he comes near it. In the era of the Late Baroque he feels that study and research is incomplete but he offers much theoretical and factual information. Wittkower's theoretical approach is not the same as Fokker's, but it dovetails very nicely with it. They agree on the dating of Baroque subdivisions and the major artists of each period. Wittkower openly disagrees with Woelfflin and Tintelnot on certain points. He does discuss the development of quadratura painting (illusionism in wall painting of architecture) and its relation to scene design.

Sigfried Giedion develops the theory of a space/time relationship in order to explain Baroque architecture. He puts great emphasis on the concept of infinity which was a Baroque discovery. But just as Fokker must discuss time in terms of his space/form concept, Giedion must discuss form in terms of his space/time concept. Since Giedion's book is a discussion of contemporary architecture, he does not
dwell on Baroque at great length, but his basic concept is useful in explaining Juvarra's work.

Paul Zucker, in *Town and Square*, develops his theory in relation to exterior, three-dimensional arrangements of civic piazzas and squares. His theory of the Baroque square is dependent primarily upon movement through space which is broken and/or heightened in effect by means of visual arrests or fermatas. All of the scholars concern themselves with movement and movement through space. Zucker's concept of fermatas and his application of it to large scale, exterior arrangements of architecture, whose purpose is entirely different from churches or palaces, is a unique contribution to Baroque criticism. Zucker has written considerably in the field of fine arts generally and city planning in particular. He was, of course, originally interested in theatre and his early book, *Die Theaterdekoration Des Barock*, 1925, has already been mentioned. It is perhaps because of his theatre background that he developed the idea of fermatas which are similar in a limited sense to the fermes of French seventeenth-century staging techniques.

Another critic whose concepts have proven useful is Wylie Sypher. Sypher has depended heavily on Fokker but because of his effort, Fokker's original treatise is much more understandable. In particular Sypher is most illuminating on the subject of the Baroque artists' preoccupation with infinite spaces. Sypher develops the analytical concept
that Baroque artists were concerned only with the illusion of infinite spaces and the movement through these spaces.\textsuperscript{7}

The references used in this study were all published after 1915. The majority were published after 1930. Not until this century has the Baroque era been given any detailed and considerate understanding. The nineteenth-century criteria for the most part derived from a feeling that Baroque was a malignant sort of art. Critics did not or apparently could not analyze it in any sort of a reasonable manner. Since the present discussion is not intended as a study of Baroque criticism but rather as an explanation of Juvarra's techniques for twentieth-century understanding, the bibliography is of recent date.

The body of the dissertation is organized in a manner which emphasizes the similarity between scene design and the other visual arts. This study consists of five main sections: the Introduction (Chapter I); a discussion of the influences in Juvarra's training and background (Chapter II); an explanation of the main theories of Baroque arts (Chapters III, IV and V); an analysis of selected designs by Juvarra (Chapters VI, VII and VIII); and the conclusions (Chapter IX). The second section treats the artistic influences which Juvarra absorbed. Juvarra was eclectic to

\textsuperscript{7} Several other sources have provided useful material. They are not listed here because their contribution applies only to one point or because they are obviously dependent on the works already discussed. These supplementary sources are listed in the Bibliography.
a high degree and used forms and techniques from the Academic school and the High Baroque school in a manner which is recognizable as typical of the Late Baroque school.

The third section (Chapters III, IV and V) is a discussion of the Academic, High Baroque and Late Baroque approaches to the arts by means of an exploration of the techniques of architecture and city planning. The fourth section (Chapters VI, VII and VIII) is an analysis of Juvarra's designs in terms of the approaches developed in the third section of the study. The designs are first described in terms of their basic organizational patterns, then in terms of the illusory techniques, and finally one complex design is analyzed in terms of the interrelationship of all of the techniques in Juvarra's repertory. The concluding section (Chapter IX) codifies the findings of the dissertation and points out further Juvarra studies which could be undertaken.
CHAPTER II

FILIPPO JUVARRA

Little is known of the private life of Filippo Juvarra, scene designer, architect. He was born in 1678 in Messina, Sicily, where his family were silversmiths. Presumably Juvarra received training in this craft. Later he was associated in some manner with a religious order and remained a celibate. Lees-Milne states that he was a secular priest, but no authority indicates with which holy order he was associated. Juvarra appears never to have had any specific duties as a priest and one might speculate that he was much too busy with his artistic endeavors to have ever devoted much time to a church office.

Although the details of his life are sketchy, there are some specific examples of Juvarra's early achievements as a craftsman. For example, in 1701 Juvarra's engravings depicting the decorations for the entry of Phillip IV were published in Messina by Nicolo Mario Sc lava;¹ therefore, one can conclude that Juvarra was a competent engraver and was in Messina, his birthplace, in 1700 or 1701. It is also

possible to trace the history of Juvarra the engraver in Messina to Juvarra the scene designer and architect in Rome and Turin. Sometime between 1701 and 1705 Juvarra had taken up residence in Rome. Tintelnot states that he left Messina in 1702. At any rate, in 1705 he won an architectural competition held by Clement XI. The renderings submitted for this competition are now held by the Academy of St. Luke. In 1706 Juvarra was awarded membership in the Academy of St. Luke in Rome.

Juvarra became the pupil of Carlo Fontana, the leading Roman architect of the day. Fontana had done a considerable amount of work on the Teatro Tor di Nona in Rome. It is thought that one Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni had produced an opera in this theatre in the late 1690's, so it is possible that Fontana and Ottoboni worked together. Ottoboni would no doubt have at least known Fontana since the Cardinal was of an influential Venetian family, high in social and ecclesiastical circles and a devoted patron of the arts. It seems quite reasonable that he would have been acquainted personally with the leading architect of the city. At any rate, Fontana's pupil (very likely his most outstanding one at the time), Juvarra, was employed by Cardinal Ottoboni to design a theatre and settings for productions in Ottoboni's

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3 Rovere, p. 119.
private residence, the Chancelleria. This association lasted from 1708 to 1714.4

Juvarra's next post effected his transition from Rome to Turin. In 1714 Juvarra became the Royal Architect to the House of Savoy in Turin. Under the auspices of this house Juvarra travelled extensively in the capacity of plenipotentiary and is credited with designing or helping to design buildings in many countries, especially in Portugal and Spain.5 He apparently ceased to design for the theatre shortly after going to Turin. Brinckmann states his theatre work extended only until 1716.6 Much later Juvarra did engage in a somewhat related field when he was placed in charge of the decorations, fireworks and festival operas for the wedding festivities of Carl Immanuel III and Anna Cristina in Turin in 1722.7 It is known that Juvarra was in Spain designing the Royal Palace in Madrid when he contracted influenza and died on January 31, 1736.8 Only these specific events in his life have been validated by scholars of Juvarra.

It is possible to establish the main influences which affected Juvarra's artistic development. Fortunately his

4 Rovere, p. 140.
6 Rovere, p. 140.
7 Tintelnot, pp. 83-84.
8 Tintelnot, p. 80.
work was sufficiently traditional to consider him as any other early eighteenth-century artist. Early eighteenth-century (Late Baroque) art was formed by the fusion of classicism or Academism with the main stream of High Baroque art. In the field of architecture at least, Gothicism influenced forms and concepts. Professor Brinckmann fully supports this concept and applies it specifically to Juvarra.

Wittkower feels that an early eighteenth-century artist had at his disposal a serviceable repertory of forms, approaches, and techniques which had been developing from 1400. Concerning Juvarra, Wittkower states, "There are those who fully master the repertory, choose here and there according to the circumstances, and yet mold it in a new and exciting way. The greatest among these revolutionary traditionalists is certainly Filippo Juvarra."

Juvarra reflects the High Baroque tradition. Carlo Fontana, Juvarra's teacher, had worked with the finest architects of the High Roman Baroque style—Rainaldi, Cortona and Bernini. Juvarra could hardly have chosen a better master.

The standard training of any artist in Rome in 1700 was the study and drawings of ancient, Renaissance and High Baroque

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9 Academism is discussed in Chapter III of this study.
10 Rovere, pp. 114-17.
12 Lees-Milne, pp. 142, 145.
monuments. It is known that Juvarra studied the High Baroque constructions of the two greatest architects of that style, Bernini and Borromini.  

Juvarra was also closely associated with the Academic school of thought. He was a member of the Academy of St. Luke which had been training artists in the precepts of Academism since the late sixteenth century. Further, Juvarra submitted drawings of some sort to the French Academy in Rome in 1709. The French officials saw fit to send the drawings on to the French Academy in Paris, the seat of European Academism. If the drawings attracted sufficient attention to be sent to Paris, they must surely have been of the Academic school of design.

A few of the designs available for this study display traces of Gothicism but documenting any specific source of influence must necessarily be speculative. Juvarra is not known to have studied Medieval architecture during the period covered by this study. There is no reason to suppose, however, that even in 1700 he was unaware of this style. He might well have known the medieval city of Noto which existed in his home land, Sicily, until it was destroyed by

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13 Rovere, p. 115.
14 Rovere, p. 116.
15 Rovere, p. 117. Among the extant work of Juvarra are four drawings of Gothic architectural works. These drawings were dedicated in 1732 to August the Strong of Sassonia.
a severe earthquake in 1693. Further, Borromini, Longhena and Guarini, all well known architects and predecessors of Juvarra, were influenced by Medieval elements. Guarini even wrote a treatise which discussed Gothic architecture.

Guarino Guarini (1624-1683) was Juvarra's predecessor as Royal Architect to the House of Savoy. Guarini was a mathematician, philosopher, theoretician, architect of note and scholar in general. His book, Architettura Civile, was published in 1737. The engravings included had been known since 1668. Guarini openly discussed the differences between Roman and Gothic architecture in his book. This consideration was significant since Gothic had been considered bad form, taste and style since 1400. Guarini did most of his work in Turin while Juvarra was still in Sicily. Since his book was not published until after Juvarra died, any direct influence of Guarini on Juvarra before 1714 is unlikely. But the fact that Guarini had written his book by the time Juvarra was five years old indicates that a reasonable and enlightening study of Medieval architecture existed when Juvarra was a young man. In addition to Guarini both Borromini and Longhena used Medieval geometric shapes

18 Wittkower, p. 274.
for some floor plans. Both of these men influenced later architects considerably, and Juvarra is known to have studied Borromini's works. These, or very similar sources, must have had some influence on Juvarra but the apparent effects on his scene designs are slight. Tintelnot feels that Juvarra's vaults and prison scenes reflect the Gothic tradition. Since only one design available to me was an obvious example of Gothic arches and a rosette window, the influence is too slight to develop further.

Through the synthesis of Academism, theatre, geometry and Baroque art, Juvarra was able to create scene designs and architectural works that are considered to be among the very finest examples of early eighteenth-century Italian art. Brinckmann believes that Juvarra assimilated his varied artistic materials, fused them, changed them, and gave them a new life. Andrea Pozzo (1624-1709) had prophesied that some one would do work superior to his own. Brinckmann feels that Juvarra, who had studied Pozzo, was this successor.

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19 This usage will be discussed under the architecture of Borromini and Longhena.

20 Tintelnot, p. 83.

21 This design is identified tentatively as a setting for the opera, Il Teodosia, performed at the Ottoboni Theater in 1711, and is catalogued under print file number GSE 14-1-157 in the Ohio State University Theatre Collection.

22 Rovere, p. 118.

23 Rovere, p. 114.
In seventeenth-century Italian art a style known as Academism coexisted with the Baroque style. Academism began to fuse with Baroque art about 1660 and by 1750 it had completely replaced Baroque. Classicism became the predominant style of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A man such as Juvarra, entering into the field of Roman artistic endeavor in the first years of the eighteenth century was, therefore, exposed to the precepts of Academism in the field of architecture and the field of theatre. A brief discussion of Academism is integral to a full understanding of the work of Juvarra.

Before discussing Academism there are several terms involved which must be defined to avoid confusion. The first is **classic**. As used by most historians of the Renaissance and Baroque and as used in this study, the term classic refers to "the short moments of perfect balance achieved by many styles...That is, it is perfect of its kind, and universally accepted as such."\(^1\) The term **classical** applies to

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"anything inspired by, or copied from the style of Antiquity" of either Greek or Roman derivation. Classicism (or sometimes classicistic) refers to an imitation of, not a derivation from, the works of antiquity or more often of the works of the classic peak of the High Renaissance. In this study the term Academic which is commonly used by historians to denote the trend in art under discussion has been adopted because the various academies of the day taught the precepts of this art form. Another reason for the use of this term is to avoid confusion with Classicism, Neo-classicism or Classic Revival which are the terms reserved by historians for the dominating art styles of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The usual critical terms Academic or Academism are used in this study, then, to denote that area of seventeenth-century art which relied in great measure on the classicistic approach.

Academism can be considered as beginning with the death of Michelangelo in 1573. After this date definite schools of thought developed among artists. One was composed of those who reacted to the turbulent and emotional art of Michelangelo and developed this approach into the Baroque

2 Pevsner, p. 69.
3 Pevsner, p. 69.
4 For a detailed study of the precepts of Academism, see Denis Mahon, Studies in Seicento Art and Theory (London, 1947).
forms, and another was formed by those who reacted to the contemplative grace and charm of Raphael's paintings (often referred to as *grazia*) and developed this line into the Academic forms and styles.⁵

One of the leaders in the field of Academism was Andrea Palladio (1508 or 1518-1580). Many of his works are typified by grace and a quiet contemplative charm.⁶ He had a thorough knowledge of Vitruvius and had done the illustrations for the 1556 edition of Vitruvius' work published by Barbaro d'Aquileia.⁷ Other early influential artists who reacted to the *grazia* of Raphael were: the brothers Carracci, Annibale (1560-1609) and Agostino (1558-1602), who founded the Accademia degli Incomminati (1582) in Bologna;⁸ and Federigo Zuccaro (1542-1609), who made the Academy of St. Luke in Rome into an art school (1593) and is considered the first Academic official.⁹

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⁶ This writer is aware that Palladio's work also has some characteristics of the style of Mannerism which extended in Italy from 1525 to 1600. But Palladio was also an academician and this aspect of his work is the more important to this study.


The Academists were faced with a difficult problem. They adhered to the objective approach of the Renaissance arts and considered the grazia of Raphael with its orderly, contemplative qualities as the model to be emulated. The influence of Michelangelo was to be avoided. Academism can be viewed as the adherence to and the imitation of the outmoded objective approach of a previous era, the High Renaissance. The emotional, subjective approach of the main stream of Baroque arts seems to have been more in keeping with the times, however, and the academists could not avoid being influenced by it.  

Federigo Zuccaro of the Academy of St. Luke wrote a treatise explaining the disegno interno. For Zuccaro the disegno interno, the idea in the artist's mind, became more important than the external world which the artist presumably copied. Zuccaro's critical approval of the subjective approach was in opposition to many academic artists who, faced with the conflicting approaches, chose to adhere strictly to an imitation of the objective approach. Paul Zucker says the results of this latter approach are apt to be "regular, reticent in expression, sometimes [guilty of] a certain dryness...to the reproach of 'academicism.'"  

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Some members of the Academic school managed to resolve the conflict and create works which were and are considered to be of considerable stature. Guido Reni (1575-1642) and Nicolas Poussin (1593-1665) were two such artists. Reni's ceiling fresco, the Dawn (Palazzo Rospigliosi, Rome, 1613), definitely reflects the grazia of Raphael. Wittkower refers to the "positive qualities" of Reni's work. Poussin's work is generally accepted by critics as being of the highest caliber.

Reni and Poussin were painters and the area of three-dimensional space composition is of more interest to this study. In this regard Zucker's analysis of city squares designed by Academists is useful. In essence Zucker feels that Academic architects and city planners purposely aimed at calm order in planning, or at a "somatic equilibrium," that they used the "reasonably expected" in place of surprise and the "finite" in preference to the infinite of the Roman Baroque. Zucker sums up his statement: "...the form of classicistic [city] squares evolves from a gradual summing up of visual impressions, experienced in time, step by step,

14 Rudolf Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy 1600 to 1750 (Baltimore, 1958), p. 223.
16 Zucker, Town and Square, p. 234.
corresponding to straight linear progression; the onlooker is led to a logically expected stop and final rest. 17

There is some question whether or not the Academic and Baroque schools were distinctly separate from 1600 to 1660 or were rather closely related. Arguments can be found or developed from analysis to support both points of view. The relation of the two schools is discussed by Sypher, 18 Hauser, 19 Fokker 20 and Wittkower 21 among others. From approximately 1660 to 1750, Baroque artists and Baroque arts became more classicistic. As Hans Tietze, 22 Hauser, 23 and Zucker 24 point out, Academism blended with Baroque. As a matter of fact, the spirit of antiquarianism, the serious concern with the preservation and reconstruction of monuments, and a study of ancient monuments for the sake of that study developed in Rome in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The French Academy (established in 1666) had much to do with

17 Zucker, Town and Square, p. 236.
18 Wylie Sypher, Four Stages of Renaissance Style (Garden City, 1956), pp. 219-20.
20 Fokker, I, p. 17.
21 Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy, p. 46.
23 Hauser, II, p. 172.
24 Zucker, Town and Square, p. 236.
this development, for the students of the Academy were concerned almost wholly with the copying of antique statuary. The popes of the 1670's nourished the concern with antiquities. The influence of Academism was felt strongly by the rising generation of Italian artists who had yet to establish themselves. It was into this aura of antiquarianism and Baroque classicism that Juvarra entered in the very early eighteenth century.

It is relevant to this study that the principles of seventeenth-century theatre are more closely allied to the Academic school than they are to the main stream of the Baroque. When the discussion of High Baroque is undertaken in the next chapter, it will be easily seen that seventeenth-century scenic art cannot be explained in terms of the dynamic space/form concepts of the mid-century Baroque arts. In the effort to find the place of scenic art in the arts of the century, it seems reasonable to attempt to relate scenic art to Academism since that form was the only other major school of art considered to have existed at that time. This relationship bears directly on the influences which formed Juvarra.

The study of seventeenth-century theatre customarily begins with Andrea Palladio's Teatro Olimpico (1580-84) which was as much the precursor of seventeenth-century theatre as Michelangelo's dome of St. Peter's (1564) was the precursor.

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25 Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy, p. 236.
of Baroque architecture. Palladio was quite familiar with the principles of antique theatre design and purposely adapted these principles for use in his Teatro Olympico. In this manner he introduced Academic precepts into practical theatre undertakings. Associated with this theatre are the famous scenic alleyways which became a standard form for the organization of scenic units. One can thereby associate scenic alleyways with the Academic school.

The wing system, another standard device of seventeenth-century theatre was established with its installation in the Teatro Farnese in 1628. Arranged in rigid scenic alleyways, the wing system provided for, in fact demanded, a progression from scenic unit to scenic unit. As used by early seventeenth-century designers, the scenes receded regularly and symmetrically into the distance ending finally at the vanishing point. Here we have the essence of Academism as described by Zucker—a regular, even progression in which the


27 C. G. S., "The Palladian Scene and Proscenium Before It Appeared in Teatro Olympico in Vicenza," The Mask, 10 (October, 1924), 160. Palladio himself positioned perisaktos in the doorways of his reconstructions for Barbaro's Vitruvius. Possibly Palladio, not Scamozzi, originally planned the scenic alleyways in the Teatro Olympico. A reproduction of the scenae frons appears in this article.

vision of the spectator is carefully led from point to point until the final resting place (the end of the perspective vista) is reached.

About the middle of the century certain changes began to appear in Italian scene design. As Baroque enters into the Late phase, there is an approach, by the better designers such as the younger Burnacini, which does not quite fit the criteria of Academism. Specifically, in this approach there are two forms, curved walls and angled vistas, which are so arranged as to suggest a marked advancement toward the development of the scene per angolo.²⁹

Scenes utilizing these forms and based on the technical means of the wing system of necessity tend to lead the vision of the spectator from point to point but not necessarily to a final resting place. The resting place, the back shutter of one-point or slightly angled perspective systems, does not exist in these arrangements.³⁰ The resources of this approach were fully developed by Juvarra.

²⁹ Since no invention ever appears full blown, one feels that the scene per angolo development could be traced in a direct line from the Teatro Olympico to the Bibienas.

CHAPTER IV

HIGH BAROQUE ART

Baroque as a style of art, that is as a meaningful configuration of forms, dominated European art for approximately one and a half centuries (1600-1750). At the peak of its development the Baroque style was characterized by a dynamic interrelationship of space and form which almost forcibly drew the spectator into a highly charged field where he was surrounded by curved forms, hidden lights, movements and tensions. The spectator, in order to appreciate the effect fully, was expected to allow himself to be drawn into a half real, half floating sphere. The art of the Baroque age was emotional; this emotion becomes especially apparent when Baroque art is compared to the Renaissance visual arts.

The art of the High Renaissance, such as Bramanti's Tempietto (1502) in Rome, Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper (1497) or Michelangelo's monumental sculpture, David (1504), are calm, quiet, perfectly ordered and balanced. These works were meant to be viewed from a polite and discreet distance. The spectator was not expected to become intertwined and enmeshed or to be overpowerled. The term "simple
dignity" might best describe the appeal and effect of High Renaissance work. Simple dignity meant to be appreciated from a distance was the last quality that a seventeenth-century or early eighteenth-century artist wished to achieve. Woelfflin describes the art of this period as the art of "passionate tension."¹ The work of the Baroque era was tumultuous, elaborate, overpowering and complex.²

The Italian Baroque age is generally considered as having extended from 1600 to 1750, a considerable period of time for one style to be dominant.³ It is not surprising that within this period there are several modifications and sub-developments all of which resemble each other in certain respects, and hence all are Baroque. But each of the resultant sub-forms—Early Baroque, High Baroque and Late Baroque—requires separate consideration.

The early, developmental state of Italian Baroque is usually considered as extending from 1600 to 1620 or 1630. The architect, Carlo Maderna (1556-1629), and the tempestuous


² James Lees-Milne, *Baroque in Italy* (New York, 1960), pp. 55-56. Lees-Milne presents the most complete etymological history of the word of any source. The derivation of the word *baroque* is not known for certain. Prior to the twentieth century the use of the term was pejorative.

and provocative painter, Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1573-1601), known usually as Caravaggio, are the most reputed artists of this period. The most famous names in theatre were Sabbattini, Aleotti and Parigi.

The High Baroque period reached its peak about 1660. The most widely acclaimed artists were Carlo Borromini (1600-1667), Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), and Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669). All three of these men were architects and left fine examples of architecture, though Bernini is best known as a sculptor and Cortona as the master of elaborate ceiling paintings typical of High Roman Baroque painting. It was during this period that Giacomo Torelli (1608-1678) was developing his amazing theatrical effects in Venice.

The Late Italian Baroque period was longer than either of the earlier stages. For some ninety years, from 1660 to 1750, the Baroque continued to be the most important art style in Italy. Wittkower entitles this era as Late Baroque Classicism and art historians agree that the work of this period is not as provocative or exciting as that of the High Baroque. Although the Baroque had passed its

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zenith much of the artistic endeavor of the Late Baroque is of considerable merit and stature. The most important architects were Carlo Fontana (1634-1714), Guarino Guarini (1624-1683) and Filippo Juvarra (1676-1736); the chief painters were Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696-1770) and Canaletto (1697-1768); the important names in theatre were Bibiena, Galliari, Mauro and, of course, Juvarra.

Late Baroque is an extension of High Baroque and many of its elements are common to the whole Baroque era. In order to anticipate, explain and clarify the work of Juvarra, it seems necessary to discuss High Baroque basic concepts, the techniques of their execution and the visual results of them as they affected the spectator.

The conceptual basis of the whole Baroque era was founded on the use of a rational science (mathematics) to create an emotional art form. Sigfried Giedion states that the interior of Baroque churches are

...marked by the inseparable union of two kinds of interests usually encountered separately; they are at once the products of purely mathematical speculations of the highest order of complexity, and completely visionary or mystical imaginative creations.

This unique combination of a scientific basis underlying an emotional subjective expression was effective in the fields of mathematics and philosophy as well as art. The manner

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8 Giedion, p. 108.
in which mathematicians approached their own field helps to explain the artists' use of this science.

Baroque mathematics had led to the discovery of infinity and infinite spaces; Baroque mathematics also developed the field of analytical geometry which involved the study of curves. Carl Friedrich describes Descartes' approach to the study of mathematics in the following manner:

Descartes' approach to geometry (and mathematics in general) may be called dynamic, in contrast to the static approach of classical Greek mathematics. He observed, so to speak, geometrical figures in the process of becoming, rather than contemplating them as fixed verities. More specifically he concerned himself, therefore, with the properties of curves, which he undertook to describe by placing them within a system of coordinates, and then stating the relation of successive points on the curve to these co-ordinates in the form of equations.9

It should be noted that Friedrich associates this dynamic attitude with mathematics in general which includes the development of infinity concepts as well as the study of curved forms. Here then we have the scientific basis of the conceptual approach--curves and infinity in the process of developing. Curves, growing and expanding, seeming to bend themselves before the eyes of the spectator as they surge, sui generis, into infinite spaces--this is the approach of the High Baroque artist as well as of the Baroque mathematician.

Obviously the two parts of the conceptual basis, scientific and subjective, are integrally related in this dynamic

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9 Friedrich, p. lll.
concept. The curve plotted by geometric principles takes on an expressive and emotional quality when it begins to impart the semblance of a surge toward infinity. This integral cohesiveness is typical of Baroque arts. This cohesiveness is inconvenient to those who would analyze Baroque arts, for it becomes almost impossible to discuss one feature of an art work without in some way discussing another feature. The analytical approach used in this study begins with the geometric configuration of the ground plans and the major shapes.

One type of Baroque art which made obvious use of curved surfaces was the central plan church. The central plan church was not a Baroque idea. Artists of the Renaissance had worked with the idea. Both Bramante and Michelangelo had intended that St. Peter's in Rome be a central plan church, but a long nave was eventually added. For one reason or another the idea never developed during the Renaissance. The Baroque artists seized the idea and developed a central plan church that was round or oval in appearance. One of the reasons the Renaissance artists never solved the central plan church was the altar: there was no way to emphasize the altar without either losing the feeling of a central plan or creating conflicts between the emphasis on the altar and the curved shape. Conflicts were not part of the Renaissance concept. Baroque artists dealt readily and gladly with conflicts; instead of attempting to decrease
the conflict, they increased it by countering one axial line of the oval or circle against the other axial line.  

Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), possibly the most famous Baroque architect and sculptor, was careful to use accepted geometric forms (accepted in the classic sense), as the basis for his endeavors. Bernini was an outspoken admirer of Michelangelo, so his fondness for classical form is no surprise. The purest classic form is, of course, the circle. He used this form for his central plan church, S. Andrea al Quirinale (Rome, 1658, Figure 1). The end walls of the chapel are plotted as segments of the circumference of circles, but these segments are set far enough apart so that the interior seems to be an ovoid shape.

The principle mentioned above (that is, setting the line of the axis in conflict with the transverse line) makes the ovoid shape more vital and alive, more dynamic. Under the discussion of Baroque space, Bernini's Piazza di San Pietro will be described fully. This piazza is formulated geometrically along much the same lines as S. Andrea. It is interesting to note that Bernini made obvious and knowing use of a classic form, the circle. But the architecture he designed was a derivation of classic forms, not an imitation of them. He was not an Academist even though he

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purposely studied and derived ideas from some classic forms.

Francesco Borromini (1599-1667) went even further and broke completely with the classical tradition which was implicitly accepted by most Baroque artists. For this break he was criticized by many people, including Bernini himself.\(^\text{12}\) Wittkower considers that Borromini's geometrical units were of medieval derivation.\(^\text{13}\) His San Ivo della Sapienza (Rome, 1642-1660) is in ground plan a six-pointed star created by the overlaying of two equilateral triangles (Figure 2). By cutting off the points of the triangles and making them convex in one triangle and concave in the other one, the interior becomes a star-shaped unit with alternating convex and concave walls.\(^\text{14}\) Here we have curves again, this time alternating in direction and pointed up by the implied straight lines of the primary geometrical configuration. The effect created is that of curves in the process of developing, expanding and contracting as they move around and up into the dome in an infinite movement.

The visionary or emotional portion of the basic concept is usually integrally related to the mathematic concept, always so in the finest Baroque efforts. The examples of


\(^\text{13}\) Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, pp. 132-33; 137.

\(^\text{14}\) Wittkower, "Rainaldi and Roman Architecture," 276.
the Borromini and Bernini churches just mentioned indicate as much. In the section on space/form relationships of the Piazza di San Pietro, the mathematical and visionary aspects are integrally related and will be discussed in relationship to each other by using space as the common factor.

The modelling and exploitation of space was one of the chief techniques by which Baroque artists achieved a visual form of the basic concept. Baroque artists used space in a positive manner. Space was molded and modelled and made to produce an effect on the spectator. All of the major critics in art history except Woelfflin base their efforts on the use of space. When space is so modelled or so constrained between two masses that a compulsion is generated within the spectator to cross this space, then the space has an active force in the composition. In other words, space becomes an active force when the forms which enclose the space are so related that the spectator becomes equally if not more aware of the space than he does of the form. This creates the feeling that the space existed before the form was placed in it. Fokker considers Caravaggio's painting, The Calling of St. Matthew (c. 1600), the first appearance of space as an important element of artistic expression.

This early Baroque work is rather obvious in its use of space. By means of pointing hands, the spectator is forced to look from Christ to St. Matthew. By means of turned faces, the spectator is forced to look from St. Matthew back to Christ. The space between the two principals actually becomes an important element in the composition because the spectator is forced to traverse the space in order to comprehend the meaning as well as the technique of the painting.

In defining space the form enclosing the space is mentioned perforce. There would be no meaningful space if it were not limited by the form. Form as used here denotes an architectural wall, a colonnade, a figure or group of figures massed together in a painting—any significant configuration of shapes. In Baroque arts the interrelationship between form and space is a more important consideration than either space or form alone, but at the core of Baroque approach was the idea that the form was occupying a certain quantity of the total space involved. Another way of saying this is that the Baroque artists considered that a form existed in space and not, as the Renaissance artists regarded space, that so much space existed because of the form.  

This matter is the subject of much critical discussion and is well-stated by Grose Evans in his article, "Baroque Harmony of Space and Form." It is because of this basic

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approach that space becomes an active factor and often rivals form for the position as the most important element.\textsuperscript{19}

One of the finest examples of the High Baroque use of space is the Piazza before St. Peter's church in Rome (Figures 3 and 4). This Piazza was designed by Bernini and construction extended from 1655 to 1668. Wittkower considers it the crowning achievement of the High Baroque.\textsuperscript{20}

The Piazza di San Pietro was originally conceived in three parts: the \textit{piazza retta} which appeared immediately before the church facade; the \textit{piazza oblique} which appeared as an ellipsoid with the obelisk in its center; and the \textit{Piazza Rusticucci}, never completed, which would have occupied the space between the ends of the new existing colonnade.\textsuperscript{21}

Bernini's original conception, including the \textit{Piazza Rusticucci}, is reproduced in Askew's article concerning Bernini in Marsyas.\textsuperscript{22} According to Zucker, Bernini himself gave up his original intention of enclosing the entire square.\textsuperscript{23}

The colonnade is a firm and definite shape integrally related to the facade of the church. As can be seen from the Figure, a visitor entering the \textit{piazza oblique} would


\textsuperscript{20} Wittkower, \textit{Art and Architecture in Italy}, p. 94.

\textsuperscript{21} Paul Zucker, \textit{Town and Square} (New York, 1959), p. 150.

\textsuperscript{22} Askew, figs. 8, 9, 10.

\textsuperscript{23} Zucker, \textit{Town and Square}, p. 145.
be aware of an expansion of space laterally as it is created by the outcurving walls. Farther into the piazza oblique the space is reduced again. Upon entering the piazza retta immediately before the church the space expands again, this time by means of diverging straight rows of columns. Thus the basic form molds the space into a series of expansions and contractions. This much can be deduced from a study of the photograph itself. Further, it is easy to see that once a spectator has entered far enough into the piazza oblique, he will feel surrounded. Woelfflin remarks that one feels the enclosure behind him when standing immediately before the facade of St. Peter's. Through the Baroque interrelation of space and form, a space has been molded, the force of the space made itself felt, and, because of the shapes of the forms and spaces, movement through the space is demanded.

A contradictory element was introduced by Bernini which has two effects. This contradictory element was based on "visual arrests—fermatas," as Zucker calls them. It is impossible to enter into the piazza oblique and move directly to the church. Placed in the center of the piazza is an obelisk and placed halfway between it and the wall of the colonnade on either side is a fountain. A visual line is established which momentarily stops movement. This

24 Woelfflin, p. 118.
25 Zucker, Town and Square, p. 145.
visual line is the transverse axis of the ovoid shape and while momentarily stopping the spectator, it also emphasized for him the shape of the space that surrounds him. In addition the spectator must move in a curved pattern to go around the obelisk, further accentuating the feeling of the shape of the form and space. This form/space complex is quite well-defined. Bernini allowed no room for confusion. The piazza oblique is based on the geometric form of two overlapping circles; the curved arms are segments of those circles; the fountains are at the edges of the circles. The whole is ordered on a very clear cut geometrical pattern.26

Another characteristic of High Baroque art is revealed through this monumental work, the Square of St. Peter's. The colonnade is formed into a definite pincers shape and is obviously of considerable bulk and weight and visually quite stable. The colonnade is, as a matter of fact, four columns wide or thick which adds to the bulk and stability, but Bernini had so arranged the columns that the definitely closed area seems to be open at certain points. In other words, a spectator standing still can see between the columns at certain points and his vision extends through and beyond the courtyard. As Fokker states, "The vast ellipse gives an impression of being clearly limited to one

26 Askew, 47.
who remains motionless—whereas the aspect and the density of the boundaries vary at every step as he moves in the piazz...The four austere rows reflect our own movements... Thus they seem to have a life of their own."

This sort of illusion of an obviously strict enclosure which seems so definite and indefinite at the same time led Zucker to comment on the "'hide-and-seek' of spatial impressions" which is a consistent characteristic in every one of the Baroque arts.

Bernini's Piazza San Pietro is a High Baroque conception, similar in many ways to the central plan churches mentioned earlier in this chapter. The basic geometrical configuration, the space enclosed, the definite-indefinite illusion are all integrally related. The whole is seen and felt as a continuum at one and the same time. The piazza is a High Baroque achievement because of the illusion of a limited-limitless enclosure of space, because of the sweeping force of the form and space and because none of the space is allowed to escape; that is, just as it appears that there is an opening out into infinity, the space is closed again. Thus the form/space complex acts and reacts again and again on the spectator. One of the reasons for

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28 Zucker, Town and Square, p. 233.
this interaction is that High Baroque artists very definitely and firmly set the limits of their composition which they then immediately set out to break down by illusory means. 30

Wittkower refers to this type of space/form relationship as dynamic. This dynamic approach could be demonstrated by many examples of architecture. It could also be demonstrated in sculpture such as Bernini's David (1619), or in a ceiling painting such as Pietro da Cortona's Glorification of Urban VIII (c. 1650).

Several characteristics of St. Peter's Piazza, a High Baroque effort, are typical of the entire Baroque period and therefore relate to the study of scenography of the Late Baroque period. The Piazza is a forecourt; it is intended to lead one to the facade of the church. It is true that St. Peter's Piazza sweeps; it does not lead, but some elements are present which can be considered as forerunners of Late Baroque style which did carefully lead the spectator. The particular element involved is the use of visual arrests, the fermatas. Zucker feels that the whole of the Roman Baroque attempted to mold space into a free flowing continuum and that the use of visual arrests gradually increased. 31

The use of the obelisk and fountains as a visual arrest in the Square of St. Peter's has been pointed out. Zucker

31 Zucker, Town and Square, p. 233.
implies that these visual arrests are one of the means by which the eye is carefully led from unit to unit, that is, from foreground to background. The visual arrest under question was used primarily to heighten the illusion of curved space, but the obelisk is so placed as to lead the spectator to the next element, or to cause the spectator to feel that more space existed beyond it. The central obelisk was a favorite device of Juvarra's; therefore, this obelisk in St. Peter's courtyard can be considered as a forerunner of a scenographic device.

Baroque arts had a tremendous vitality. In its own way, a Juvarra scene per angolo (Figure 20) is as vital and alive as St. Peter's Square. This vitality is most easily seen and explained in terms of movement in and through space. The suggestion of movement has been generally accepted as a characteristic of Baroque style since Heinrich Woelfflin first analyzed Baroque arts. This movement is apt to be in any direction, up and down, back and forth, around and around, or any combination of these directions. The medium, stone, paint or plaster, is of small importance; Baroque artists employed them all and in the process made them all move.

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33 Lees-Milne, p. 61.
Generally the historians and critics of the Baroque have associated movement patterns with the infinity concept of Baroque mathematics. One way or another the critics feel that the concern of the artists with movement is part of the attempt to create the illusion of infinity. Woelfflin's whole chapter on the open compositional style of the Baroque is based on the tenet that "the finished figure is replaced by the apparently unfinished, the limited by the limitless." Fokker specifically uses the term "infinity" in relation to the works of Bernini, Borromini and Cortona. Giedion states that in the "seventeenth century there appears the artistic employment of the infinity of nature." 

While works of art including stage settings might create the illusion of infinity, obviously they cannot recreate infinity. Wylie Sypher points directly at this problem:

Thus the 'secret' of baroque space is not its infinity; rather this illusion of infinity is due to a special access to 'farther' space that occurs whenever we seem to break through or pass beyond, hugely defined boundaries....

[Emphasis mine]

The San Pietro Piazza makes use of this "break through" technique at the main entrance to the piazza retta.

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34 Woelfflin, p. 149.
35 Fokker, I, pp. 254, 143, 221.
36 Giedion, p. 109.
37 Wylie Sypher, Four Stages of Renaissance Style (Gardon City, 1956), pp. 213-14.
Sypher's "break-through" technique can be related to Zucker's explanation in terms of *fermatas*. The spectator hesitates at the main entrance of *piazza oblique*, travels, either visually or physically, to the obelisk, hesitates, then breaks into the other side of the *piazza oblique*, hesitates at the entrance to the *piazza retta* and then breaks through into the space just before the facade. Each of these hesitations would be termed a *fermata* by Zucker. The whole is a series of expansions and contractions, emphasized by the *fermatas*, which seem to be continually expanding their borders because of the break-throughs. The whole complex, therefore, creates the illusion of expanding into infinity.

There exists a whole body of techniques to reinforce this movement. They are explored and explained in the clearest manner by Woelflin. Their introduction into the study at this point in the form of a detailed study of their painterly techniques would not be appropriate. These techniques for movement remain substantially the same for the Late Baroque period and were fully used by Juvarra; in fact, his whole approach is infused with the painterly. These painterly techniques will be discussed in a later chapter.

The High Baroque artist purposely set out to include the spectator emotionally and physically, if possible, in the active sphere of the art work. The spectator was literally
surrounded whenever possible. Even the single-sculptured figures were made to involve the spectator emotionally and physically. For example, Bernini's David (1619) in the act of throwing the rock causes the spectator "instinctively to turn away from David and look for Goliath...." 

Borromini, whose undulating walls and juxtaposed convex and concave shapes have already been mentioned, so arranged those forms to draw the spectator into the cavities and thereby make him feel the force of the molded form/space. 

In High Baroque art work the spectator is almost literally forced to share the space continuum of the work of art that he is viewing. This condition was not necessarily true of Early Baroque art works, and it is not necessarily true of Juvarra's scene designs.

This brief discussion of the basic approach of the High Baroque has been undertaken for several reasons. The first reason is to give some background for understanding the Late Baroque period. The second reason is to point up some approaches and characteristics which are typical of Juvarra and consistent throughout the Baroque period. The third reason is to point out that Juvarra's designs could not possibly be considered as High Baroque creations.

38 Lees-Milne, p. 119.
40 Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy, p. 92.
CHAPTER V

LATE BAROQUE ART

The Late Baroque era (1660-1750) has not received the attention from art historians that the Early and High Baroque eras have. Wittkower feels that any "attempt at a coherent vision" of the period would be premature, since, as he states, only recently "have a number of major architects been made the subject of individual studies."\(^1\) But the factual material and critical evaluations are of sufficient quantity to allow a reasonable discussion of the period.

The basic concept of the Late Baroque was the same as that of the entire Baroque era. If the basic concept underlying the arts of the chronological period of 1660 to 1750 were different, then obviously the period would be something other than Baroque; but the techniques of accomplishment and the visual effect created in the period can be sensibly related to and analyzed in terms of the same basic concept. Briefly, this conceptual basis involves a unique combination of a calculated intellectual basis, used to serve the purposes of a visionary, emotional approach.

\(^1\) Rudolf Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy 1600 to 1750 (Baltimore, 1958), p. 240.
During the Late Baroque, however, a change occurred in the execution of this concept. Giedion says, "Through a simultaneous exploitation of all the resources of painting, sculpture, architecture and optical theory," the Late Baroque artists achieved the intellectual-emotional inter-relationship which was the common Baroque characteristic from 1600 to 1750. The whole of an art work was not so completely integrated as it had been in High Baroque; that is to say that while intellectual and emotional appeals were to be combined to a high degree, a certain division existed between them.

The mathematical basis of the High Baroque was most often concerned with curves in the process of developing, with an infinity that expanded in all directions as the universe itself does. In the late seventeenth century, however, the infinity complex became more linear in a literal sense and artists began working with infinity in terms of "an indefinitely extended perspective." The "dynamic" space/form relationship of the High Baroque became a "scenographic arrangement." The scenographic approach builds up a space/form relationship in a different manner. Wittkower dwells at considerable length on the "deliberate scenic quality" of the style. One of Wittkower's

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3 Giedion, p. 109.
specific examples is the Facade of S. Maroello al Corso (Rome, 1682-83) executed by Juvarra's master, Carlo Fontana (1634-1714). He notes that the broken pediment with an empty frame set within it corresponds to the principle of theatrical wings which are equally unconnected, "a principle which is foreign to Roman High Baroque but inherent in Late Baroque Classicism."\(^5\)

The basic technique for obtaining a cohesive space/form relationship in this period was the interpenetration and accumulation of well-defined spaces and forms. The results, when well-handled, led to an intricacy of pattern and works of incomparable variety.\(^6\) Space was still equally as important as the form and this concept is most certainly applicable to Juvarra's work.

Another characteristic of this era is an excess of decoration which tended to obliterate the fact that the basic structure is not especially impressive and that the true aim and essential point of the Late Baroque is to captivate rather than impress.\(^7\) Wylie Sypher states, "The striking contrast between massive materials and their sedate

\(^4\) Wittkower, p. 242.
\(^5\) Wittkower, p. 244.
\(^7\) Fokker, I, pp. 14, 74, 289.
arrangement gives to some late-baroque architecture an air of unconvincing splendor. The vitality that resulted from this characteristic was frequently a surface agitation rather than the organic vitality typical of the High Baroque.

It is possible to analyze Late Baroque works of art in relation to the following artistic approaches:

1. Linear perspective was employed. The perspective was sometimes arranged so that it led in one main direction. Circular enclosures were also organized according to linear perspective. As a result the explosive sui generis effect developed in the High Baroque was altered substantially.

2. Forms were so arranged that the vision was led from unit to unit in the same manner that the wing system of a stage leads the vision from unit to unit. This creates a "scenographic" effect in the space/form composition.

3. The separate spaces and forms were clearly defined. These well-defined space/form units were attached and interlocked with each other in such a manner that an intriguing visual pattern was established. The undulating total movement of a Borromini interior was no longer the ideal.

4. The vitality was often a nervous, restless agitation that darted in and around the space.

One of the earliest examples of a well-designed work of art which can be analyzed in terms of the approaches just

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outlined is the church of S. Maria della Salute in Venice (c. 1650; Figure 5). This church was designed by Baldassare Longhena (1598-1682). Wittkower considers Longhena's S. Maria della Salute as an especially important architectural work. He states, "It is not sufficiently realized that in their search for new values many architects of the late seventeenth century turned from Rome to Venice and embraced Longhena's scenographic concepts." Since Wittkower links Longhena with Palladio, he is thus linking Late Baroque with the Palladian tradition and therefore with Classicism, a connection which Wittkower definitely intends.

This church is worthy of considerable attention. From the doorway of the church, the altar, framed by columns and an arch, is visible at the end of a sequence of arches. The visitor is led by a scenographic organization to the most important feature of the church. Once within the church one becomes involved in the interior arrangement of which one major section is a regularly-shaped octagon surrounded by an ambulatory. The octagon form was a relatively common Byzantine and medieval form but it was not used in the Renaissance or High Baroque. Pillars mark each corner of the octagon. Through one opening the altar is visible and through the other openings the ambulatory is visible. Every other space between the pillars is closed to form a niche for

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9 Wittkower, p. 194.
decoration. The pillars marking each corner are, in effect, two deep. Longhena has so arranged this cluster of pillars at each point so that they appear to be parallel rather than diverging as they normally would if the line from the center of the octagon through the corners were followed; consequently, all the views are regular, geometric and carefully ordered, not unlike the Renaissance in spirit. But it is to be noted that Longhena constantly determined the views; he gave no opportunity for the vision of the spectator to wander and the octagon is intended to be seen as a whole; therefore, it is Baroque not Renaissance in concept.  

One point to be made concerning this octagon which no critic touches upon but which bears directly on Juvarra's curved wall scene designs is that the octagon is obviously related to the oval-shaped piazza oblique of St. Peter's Square. The High Baroque curved enclosures make use of organic and total movement; Longhena's enclosure does not. Rather, it makes use of an accumulation of interpenetrating forms and spaces (arranged in this instance in a surrounding enclosure rather than in one perspective vista) which carefully establish the views the spectator is to see. The developmental relationship between High Baroque and Late Baroque curved space/form seems obvious though no historian

10 See Wittkower, pp. 191, 192, 194 for a discussion of S. Maria della Salute.

11 Sypher, p. 256.
mentions it. In the section dealing with Juvarra's curved wall settings it will be demonstrated that he used a variation of this approach adapted to the stage.

Wittkower's analytical technique of scenographic organization derives from his study of theatre arts. In other words, Wittkower, an art historian, is explaining architecture in terms of a theatre technique. (Fokker's accumulation of interpenetrating forms and spaces can be applied to seventeenth-century Italian scenery without misinterpreting Fokker's intent, although he never specifically mentions theatre.) Zucker sometimes explains Late Baroque in terms of the "techniques of a refined stage design."\(^{12}\) This suggests an extremely close relationship between theatre and other visual arts. Two critics discuss this subject specifically; one is Hans Tintelnot who expressed an ambivalence on the matter in his book, Barocktheater und Barock Kunst. Tintelnot feels that through the Galli-Bibiena, Juvarra and the Galliarì, spatial forms, curves, sweeps and multiple axis relationships became standard for the epoch and this change in taste manifested itself in architecture. But on the same page he seems to reverse himself by stating in effect that the Bibiena invention of the scene per angolo was an effective theatre utilization of the spatial forms, curves, multiple axes and the like already in existence.

Generally one gets the impression that Tintelnot would like to subscribe wholeheartedly to the idea that theatre influenced the other arts but for some reason seems reluctant to do so.  

Rudolf Wittkower definitely attributes a direct influence from theatre to the other arts. He states, "In the early eighteenth century the theatre had an even greater importance; it was certainly as significant for the creation of visual patterns as cinema and television are in the mid-twentieth century...." Wittkower feels that Andrea Pozzo's work, *Perspective pictorum et architectorum* (Rome, 1693), which was meant for theatre and church, is a pointed example of the fact that painting and stage design were considered identical operations. He also mentions Piranesi's multitudinous drawings published as *Carceri d'Invenzione* (1744?) and *Vedute di Roma* (beginning in 1748). In these, oblique perspective was blended with topographical renderings.

One type of art extant in Italy to which scenic design was definitely related was quadratura, illusionist architectural painting "aimed at extending real architecture into an imaginary space." Baldassare Peruzzi used the quadratura...
approach about 1516 when he painted the Sala delle Colonne in the Villa Farnesina. Quadratura work developed in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Any Baroque ceiling painting would serve as an example. Andrea Pozzo's work is considered by Wittkower as the finest example of illusionist architectural painting. The home of this style was Bologna which was also the home of the Bibienas. Wittkower states, "In the course of the eighteenth century it was the quadratura artists, culminating in the Bibiena family, who held all the trumps of a truly international art." Though Juvarra never studied in Bologna, he certainly made great use of illusionist painting of architecture. The matter of influence one way or the other in this area is an intriguing problem.

It is not within the scope of this study to develop this discussion to any extent. It is sufficient to state that two informed men, one a theatre historian, the other an art historian, feel that early eighteenth-century theatre exerted an influence on the other arts. This study is a favorable reaction to this idea since the whole of the study is an attempt to relate the concepts and techniques of an early eighteenth-century theatre designer to the concepts and techniques current in the other visual arts. The results of this study should help prove or disprove the tenets

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17 Wittkower, p. 312.
of Tintelnot and Wittkower, two men with unique thoughts.

Although the work of the Late Baroque is considered to be static in comparison to the High Baroque work, movement and movement through space (one of the important vehicles for Baroque vitality) was still an important quality. 18 The difference is created by the fact that the movement pattern was carefully ordered in a scenographic manner. The vision was deliberately led from one form across an open space to another form. Another way to illustrate the Late Baroque approach is to discuss some plans that were proposed for the altering of Bernini's Square of St. Peter, the classic example of High Baroque. It was mentioned earlier in reference to this Square that the proposed Piazza Rusticucci to be placed between the open ends of the curved colonnade was not constructed. Carlo Fontana, the leading Late Baroque architect, proposed placing a triumphal arch and clock tower at some distance down the street from the opening of the colonnade (Figure 4). The resulting view to a spectator would have been Fontana's arch, the ends of the colonnade at the entrance to the oval piazza oblique, the other ends of the curves at the entrance to piazza retta and then the facade of St. Peter's. The result would have been that the whole would have resembled wings of a stage setting with the facade of St. Peter's as

18 Zucker, pp. 150-51.
the back shutter, according to Zucker and Wittkower. The movement pattern indicated to the spectator would have been highly directional rather than the powerful sweep with which the Bernini conception immediately encompasses the spectator. This would seem to be an example of the close relationship in terms of spatial movement between High and Late Baroque; otherwise, Fontana's proposal, which did not include any structural changes in the square, could not have produced so marked an effect. Movement through space was still the intent of both ages. The Late Baroque technique for inducing this movement created a different visual and emotional effect.

Another example which illustrates the qualities of Late Baroque art is the Spanish Staircase. This is the classic example just as the Piazza di San Pietro is the classic example of High Baroque. The Spanish Stairs or the Scala di Spagna in Rome was designed by Alessandro Specchi and Francesco de' Santis and constructed between 1721 and 1725. Basically, the structure consists of a flight of stairs leading from a city square up a hill to the church of Santa Trinita dei Monti (Figures 6 and 7) which existed at the time of the construction of the staircase. It is clear from the Figures that the steps do not lead directly up the hill;

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19 Zucker, pp. 150-51.
20 Wittkower, p. 245.
they split, curve and rejoin. There are definite landings or balconies built into the staircase. Zucker terms these balconies fermatas and remarks on the use of these as forceful bilateral counter-movements which are contrary in feeling to the seventeenth-century unilateral movement.  

These bilateral fermatas do actually stop the flow for a brief time, then the movement is freed to move on to the next fermata. At each of these balconies the staircase stops, turns and then continues up in a direction different from the angle they entered the balcony. These definite stops and changes in direction can be related to Sypher's break-through technique discussed in the Chapter on High Baroque. At each of the balconies, space breaks out in a different direction and flows up and down (or back and forth).

This effect is similar to and would seem to develop logically from the High Baroque approach. But there is a distinct difference. High Baroque has a totality that is comprehended at a glance. This totality is intentionally overwhelming and reacts again and again on the spectator. In the Late Baroque the totality is revealed a piece at a time, so to speak. In the Spanish Stairs the end of the movement is eventually reached but only after several carefully calculated stops and shifts in direction, each revealing more of the staircase, that is, the space to be

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21 Zucker, p. 156.
moved through. Sypher uses the term "great precision" to describe this deliberate movement.22 The effect of a Late Baroque work may be charming or extremely impressive, but it is never overwhelming in the same way that a High Baroque work can be. Perhaps another way of stating the difference would be to say that High Baroque developed a space/form relationship which moved *sui generis* while the Late Baroque developed a space/form relationship which invited the spectator to move through it if he wished. This basic difference does make the Late Baroque work appear relatively static in comparison to the High Baroque.

If Late Baroque is a static art, then presumably the vitality is lost or reduced considerably. This is not true in Juvarra's scene designs. They have vitality to a marked degree, but it is of a different sort than the High Baroque energy. If Juvarra's concepts as a designer were essentially Late Baroque, an explanation of this vitality must be found in the allied Late Baroque arts. In the example of the Spanish Stairs it must be remembered that as a city square it is expected that people will move up and down the stairs. In this case the effect is somewhat different and one Baroque critic has stated, "As in a boat on a river going against the current, the steps of the Spanish Staircase seem to flow past the person who ascends or descends."23

22 Sypher, p. 258.
This describes an entirely different effect, one which the original designers surely had in mind. There is a definite movement through space, albeit highly directional, scenographic and obviously deliberate, nonetheless a powerful movement. This movement travels back and forth. Andrea Pozzo's ceiling painting in Saint Ignazio (Rome) is based on the same principle. (For a reproduction of this painting, see *Horizon* for July, 1960.) The point to be noted here is that the movement pattern contained and imparted some energy and life to the works of art, even, if in comparison to the High Baroque movement pattern, the vitality imparted by the basic form is reduced in amount.

Giedion has been quoted to the effect that Late Baroque artists used every technique at their disposal—those of architecture, painting, sculpture and optical theory—to gain effects. Through the use of these techniques a vitality and life are imparted to Late Baroque artistic endeavors. This vitality is overlaid to a certain extent; that is, it is not integrally contained in the original geometric conception of the ground plan. Furthermore, Late Baroque artists bent pilaster, cut arches up through entablatures and in general used structural features for decorative purposes. Fokker disapproves of this style and bluntly states, "These and similar decadent deviations are characteristic of..."

the last phase of any style, not only that of the Baroque. 25  
Decadent or not, this approach is characteristic of Late Baroque. 26  But even in the case of Juvarra, these overlaid techniques tend to be so much nervous surface decoration.

Wittkower calls attention to another of the techniques to which Giedion refers, illusory devices. Using Galilei's facade of S. Giovanni in Laterno (Rome, 1736) as an example, he remarks that the use of shadow helps define the elements of the facade. 27  In this manner a device usually thought of as being limited to painting is made to enliven and define a piece of architecture. These illusory devices were referred to briefly in the discussion of High Baroque. Bernini's St. Theresa in Ecstasy (1644-52) is an outstanding example of the use of a combination of the illusory devices of architecture, sculpture and painting. The illusory devices were the same for all the art forms; they were used consistently throughout the era and remain the same for the entire era. The difference between High and Late Baroque in this sense amounts primarily to the amount and obviousness of the use of illusory devices.


26  Nikolaus Pevsner, "Three-dimensional architecture from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries," Society of Architectural Historians Journal, 17 (Winter, 1958), 22. In this article Pevsner discusses the warped-binding-plane-arch used by Balthasar Neumann.

27  Wittkower, p. 252.
The critic who best explains these illusory devices is Heinrich Woelflin. In his approach to Baroque, Professor Woelflin does not explore the realms of mathematics at all, but rather the realms of illusionism. By means of his five principles of analysis it is possible to approach the illusory quality of Baroque art in an orderly fashion and eventually arrive at some useful analyses. Woelflin develops his thesis by means of a comparison and contrast with the art of the Renaissance. Since the Renaissance attitudes are not integral to this study only the portions of Woelflin's principles dealing with the Baroque will be considered.

Woelflin's five bases for analysis can be paraphrased from his book, Principles of Art History. They are as follows:

1. **The principle of the painterly approach.** The painterly approach decreases emphasis on the positive outlines of shapes. The viewer must be careful to allow himself to perceive only the impression of shapes. In this approach objects and shapes merge. The "...interest lies... in the apprehension of the world as a shifting semblance."

2. **The principle of recession.** "The baroque emphasizes depth." With the painterly quality obscuring exact outlines, objects perforce must be seen in relation to each other. These objects must also be seen in relation to a movement pattern. Woelflin describes this movement as
being "...essentially in the direction of forward and backward."\textsuperscript{28}

3. The principle of open form. The Baroque compositional style was very loose and free. There was no obvious attempt to make it appear a finite whole.

4. The principle of unity. The Baroque concept of unity required the perception of a work of art as a whole. The parts are formed into a totality. "Unity is achieved ...by a union of parts into a single theme, or by the subordination, to one unconditioned dominant, of all other elements."

5. The principle of relative clarity. The principle involves the "representation of things as they look," which relates to the principle of the painterly. But this principle involves another matter of the utmost importance in Baroque arts. "The explicitness of the subject is no longer the sole purpose of the presentment. Composition, light and colour no longer merely serve to define form but have their own life."\textsuperscript{29} (Emphasis mine.)

\textsuperscript{28} The movement pattern of High Baroque sculpture and architecture is not essentially back and forth; it is around and/or up. The general statement of Woelflin's that the movement pattern was essentially backward and forward is misleading. It applies to painting more or less generally for the whole Baroque era and it applies to some of the Late Baroque architecture. It applies also to Juvarra's Late Baroque scene designs.

Woelflin's thesis can, for simplicity's sake, be referred to as the painterly approach. In general the painterly illusionism concept can be stated as consisting of a blurring and blending of all the parts, subordinating the parts to a movement pattern and incorporating many illusory devices such as light and shade and compositional patterns, which reinforce and heighten the painterly illusion. A whole body of specific techniques, many of which are still valid in contemporary three-dimensional design, support and reinforce the painterly illusion.

Juvarra's designs are excellent examples of these techniques. (The techniques of painterly illusionism are discussed in Chapter VII at great length, with direct reference to his designs.) Even his quick preliminary sketches are infused with the painterly approach; in fact, the very sketchiness of these preliminary drawings is a Baroque quality. The Baroque artists worked quickly with smooth ease and their sketches were and are considered works of art. Juvarra was a Baroque artist who used the approach of the later portion of this era. In order to prove that he was a Late Baroque artist, a clear-cut set of criteria for judgment must be stated.

The whole Baroque Age from 1600 to 1750 has certain basic concepts which are characteristic of the period. The

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fundamentals are these:

1. A unique combination of an intellectual, particularly mathematical, foundation used in conjunction with or made to serve the purposes of an emotional, or subjective approach. In the total effect of a Baroque work of art the emotional quality dominated.

2. A movement pattern created by the interrelationship of form and space. Form and space were treated as one element but it was considered that the form existed in space, not the other way around. The pattern of movement through space was allied with an illusion of infinity or endlessness.

3. An intense vitality. A Baroque art work is alive. By one means or another the spectator is forced to give attention to it. The vitality is for the most part the result of the movement through space.

The Late Baroque period, 1660-1750, was based on these principles, and certain specific applications or techniques for developing these concepts characterized the era. The most important of these follow:

1. The mathematical or geometric foundation was usually in the form of linear perspective. The perspective was sometimes so arranged as to present a circular enclosure.

2. The interpenetration of clearly defined forms and spaces provided an interesting visual pattern which led the spectator in and through the space.
3. A great body of illusory devices was employed in conjunction with the space/form complex. In the total effect this use of illusory devices appears to be the dominant technique.

4. The vitality induced was usually a restless, surface-level agitation which produced a flickering pictorial effect. Early eighteenth-century art usually charmed and intrigued; it did not overpower the spectator.

The last three chapters have been intended to provide a brief explanation of the artistic milieu in which Juvarra was trained. In the next two chapters a minute analysis of his designs has been undertaken in an attempt to show the exact manner in which Juvarra used his training.
CHAPTER VI

JUVARRA PERSPECTIVE

Filippo Juvarra's scene designs are based on precepts that were common to the entire Baroque age of visual arts. The designs, based on a clearly delineated mathematical foundation, nevertheless reveal a subjective point of view. Juvarra's subjective approach led him into imaginative flights that would be meaningless and disorganized if it were not for their precise orientation. Tintelnot remarks on Juvarra's combination of a strong perspective discipline and space simulated by painterly means. The end result is that the one depends on the other.

Juvarra used every technique at his command to create unending spaciousness and furthered the Baroque quality by creating a ceaseless movement through the space. The movement and the space are of equal importance to the form. The seated spectator, fixed in one position though he may have been, was involved in this movement. Earlier it was pointed out that High Baroque demanded participation in the movement through space while Late Baroque only invited the spectator.

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Juvarra's space/form creations often did more than invite the spectator; in some of his designs he demanded involvement.

Fundamentally Juvarra worked and thought as a Baroque artist. His designs, however, display many elements that were related to the Academic school. The concern with static order and regularity and the concern with charm and grace can be related to Academic influence. In certain of his scene designs, the relationship to Academism is obvious. Some of the examples chosen for analysis bear a relation to the Palladio-Parigi-Sabbattini tradition. In most of his designs the influences of Academism or classicism were made subordinate to the Late Baroque qualities. This combination of Baroque approach and certain academic characteristics make Juvarra's work Late Baroque in style. His designs are always scenographic (as Wittkower defines the term). Sometimes this leads to dullness; usually the designs are quite alive and vital.

Juvarra created considerable vitality. Every major or minor detail in his settings is calculated to create movement that extends toward an illusion of infinity. Sometimes this quality is forced, and the devices rather obvious, but more often it flows spontaneously. A considerable portion of this vitality is the result of the painterly illusionism, the surface decoration painted on the scenic units. But the basic arrangement of the scenic units, conforming to
the mathematical foundation, establishes the framework for the vitality.

The designs chosen for a specific and detailed analysis of Juvarra's approach to scenic design come from the series of designs for the opera, *Giunio Bruto* and the opera, *Il Giro*. The special selection of designs from among those executed for these two productions was made on the basis of the particular technique to be explored and discussed. Dating both operas and identifying the engravings can be relatively certain. Those designs chosen from the group which Juvarra executed in 1710 or 1711 for a proposed production of *Giunio Bruto* were commissioned by Joseph I of Austria. The Emperor intended to produce the opera in Vienna. As the story goes, the Emperor received the designs in Vienna and was very impressed by them, but, unfortunately, died shortly after on April 17, 1711.² It may be presumed, therefore, that Juvarra executed the designs in late 1710 and/or early 1711. The designs are detailed penwash drawings and are among the most finished renderings by Juvarra's hand. In these Juvarra made full use of his repertory of techniques, but they are more than handsome pictures. Each of the settings is quite stageable in terms of early eighteenth-century stage techniques. The only place where

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Juvarra allowed his imagination to exceed the limitations of the stage was in his treatment of the floor. Each design has an elaborate floor pattern, an impossibility to stage.

The designs for *Il Ciro* used in this study are not specifically identified in any source. Brinckmann reproduces several preliminary drawings which he identifies for *Il Ciro*. In the original preliminary drawings of Juvarra held by the Victoria and Albert Museum, there is a series which belong together in point of style. These designs are designated in sequence through eight scenes. Some of these drawings correspond with those identified by Brinckmann as sketches for *Il Ciro*; therefore, all eight drawings are presumably for *Il Ciro*. These drawings correspond to engravings reproduced by Paul Zucker in *Die Theaterdekoration des Barock*. Although these designs are identified by Juvarra's signature, Zucker does not attribute them to a particular opera. The evidence indicates that these engravings are definitely copies of the original settings.

Brinckmann states that the opera, *Il Ciro*, was produced at the Teatro Ottoboni in 1712. Since the original drawing of the *Tempio* is dated 1711 and one copy of the original

3 See Microfilm 1224, Plate 16, Ohio State University Theatre Collection.

4 Paul Zucker, *Die Theaterdekoration des Barock* (Berlin, 1925), Plates 32, 33 and 35.

5 Rovere, p. 144.
score of the opera is dated October, 1711. The engravings could have been executed as early as 1711. The engravings are used as a source for this study because they are finished detailed renderings. The space at the lower right hand corner of the engraving where the engraver's name traditionally appeared is blank. Only Juvarra's signature appears and since Juvarra was a trained engraver, it is presumed that he did his own engraving. These engravings must certainly depict as nearly as any two-dimensional art could the exact intentions of Juvarra.

In analyzing the settings for Giunio Bruto with respect to the mathematical perspective, it becomes obvious that Juvarra used more than one mechanical arrangement. For the purposes of study it seems best to divide the mathematical basis into four types of perspective: one-point perspective, multiple-vista perspective, curved-vista perspective and corner perspective.

The problem of categorizing Juvarra's scene designs according to mathematical perspective is complex. Juvarra was most adroit at evolving mathematical bases for his designs. He mixed one type with another as a regular practice and he never settled into a stereotype. He did seem to use certain types of perspective for certain sorts of scenes;

thus he usually reserved his scenes per angolo for places of extreme importance such as throne rooms, and his curved wall designs were usually developed for exteriors such as city squares or cortiles. But even here there is no real pattern. Juvarra's imaginative ingenuity makes his set designs most interesting but it also poses tremendous problems to one who would analyze them because of the difficulty of establishing patterns.

The classification of perspective systems used in this study has been developed in the following manner. The definition of the term perspective is accepted as a "mathematical system of delineation concerned only with the appearance of objects to the eye." Further, it is considered that there were two general types of perspective in use in early eighteenth-century theatre. The first was parallel perspective. The system applies to the "representation of an object whose front plane is parallel to the picture plane. The receding horizontal parallel lines...converge to a single vanishing point that coincides with the point of sight." The second type was angular perspective. This type is "concerned with the object that is placed at an angle to the picture plane. Here the adjacent sides [of the object] form two systems of parallel lines, each of which has a vanishing

7 Miriam S. Bunim, Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective (New York, 1940), p. 6.
8 Bunin, p. 9.
point...situated...on each side of the point of sight."^9

Using these two extremes of perspective development for a framework of reference, the attempt was made to classify the Juvarra designs into two types, those with the vanishing points on stage (one-point perspective), and those with all the vanishing points off stage right and left (scene per angolo). It was soon discovered that a majority of Juvarra's designs had multiple vanishing points, some of which fell on stage and some off stage; therefore, there must be an additional category for the designs with multiple vanishing points at least one of which was on stage. This type of design is usually associated with multiple perspective vistas or alleyways, and will be referred to as multiple-vista perspective. These three approaches, one-point, multiple-vista and scene per angolo are the customary divisions. They were all established forms in Juvarra's time, though his use of the multiple-vista was unusual.

The remaining category, the curved-vista, has been developed to handle a type of Juvarra design that will not fit either reasonably or conveniently into any of the other three categories. This type is illustrated by the Cortile Reggio setting (Figure 12). There are numerous vanishing points both on stage and off stage. This type of design cannot be considered as belonging in either the one-point

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^9 Bunin, p. 9.
or the scene per angolo category. The curved-vista is more closely related to the multiple-vista category and can be considered a specialized variation of that form. However, the curved-vista emphasizes only one major vista while subordinating the multitude of minor vistas to such secondary positions that they provide only variety and no interference with the major vista. In the usual multiple-vista perspective each of the two, or more often three, vistas is of major importance. The effect of the curved-vista is quite different also. A dominant curve encompassing the whole stage has an entirely different visual effect from the multiple-vista or one-point or scene per angolo organization; therefore, for the purposes of this study the curved vista is considered as a separate perspective category.

As with any system of categories, there are materials that must be rather arbitrarily designated to this or that category. Juvarra complicated this problem by mixing two and three perspective systems together. He often started downstage with a one-point system, then placed a traditional forty-five degree scene per angolo approximately halfway up stage and then curved the angular vistas. In cases of this sort the design was considered as belonging in the category which was dominant. In the example just described, the design was considered as a multiple-vista one.

In order to simplify the study of basic forms, the settings chosen for this section have been schematicized so that
only the important forms and shapes are visible. If this is not done it is excessively difficult to disengage the basic arrangements of forms from the painterly illusions applied to them.

In discussing the designs the techniques of analysis developed in the field of art history will be applied. In order to explain and interpret Baroque arts, the various authors cited here used different approaches, all of which in one way or another apply to Juvarra's designs. A brief recapitulation of the primary analytical approach of each of the more important critics is given here in order to consolidate and clarify the various approaches:

Pokker considers the Late Baroque as depending on the interpenetration of clearly defined forms and spaces plus a great body of surface decorations.

Sypher feels that an important consideration is the illusion of infinity created by a break-through technique, by which he means that the forms prescribe definite limits which the artist immediately negates by breaking through the form into a space beyond it.

Wittkower explains Late Baroque in terms of a scenographic technique whereby the vision of the spectator is deliberately led from element to element.

Zucker considers the fermatas of extreme importance in three-dimensional arrangements.

By applying these techniques in combination, it is possible
to analyze the designs of Filippo Juvarra in an especially meaningful manner.

The first design to be considered is the Camera di Flavia, which is based on the traditional central one-point perspective (Figure 8). Many of Juvarra's one-point designs are varied and the steady movement to a vanishing point is almost eliminated or counteracted in some way. The Camera di Flavia, however, provides a fine example of Juvarra's use of central, balanced one-point perspective. The movement pattern proceeds directly up stage and stops. But even in this setting Juvarra has avoided stiffness and rigidity by curving the third set of wings. He has also suggested space off stage by doorways between the first and second wings, and openings behind the third wings. He also opened the ceiling by placing a balcony in the first border.

The second design is titled Città, Juvarra's stage version of a city square (Figure 9). The perspective is one-point with almost all the lines leading to one vanishing point. By two minor variations a basically traditional use of perspective is made a Baroque use. The vanishing point, the statue up stage, is not quite centrally located. In the up stage left corner of the design is a curved form which does not relate mechanically to the vanishing point. This curved form suggests more space than the dominant perspective system seems to indicate. This ability to suggest space is a typical Juvarra trait.
Another major feature of this design is the asymmetry. The stage left section of the design is open from the down stage wing and fountain to the upstage obelisk. By comparison, the stage right side is almost overloaded with scenic units. These wings are all cut out archways and they are staggered so that they are seen through and around; consequently, they appear to be much lighter and airier than their actual bulk indicates. A stairway about halfway upstage leads offstage, suggesting space. This space-increasing device was recommended by Sabbattini.\(^\text{10}\) The stage left side of the design, completely open as it is, suggests a huge amount of unseen space. This suggested space balances the cut out forms; therefore, the design does not appear unbalanced. In the hands of a lesser artist it could easily have been out of balance. The whole design exemplifies the interpenetration and interrelation of forms and spaces used not only for the attractive patterns that develop, but also for compositional stability.

A third feature of this design is the on stage focal area. The spaces are quite necessary to the composition, but Juvarra, while using the suggested space as a necessary element, has so arranged his forms that the attention is not directed out of the designs. The statue at the base of

the stairway literally points back into the design. The top of the curved structure leads back into the design. The visual line set up between the obelisk and fountain down-stage is quite strong and eliminates the tendency for the vision to stray out of the picture.

The space/form elements are so arranged that the vision enters the design at the posts surrounding the fountain, moves left to the onstage pillar of the first arch, moves upstage along the row of posts to the statue, crosses to the obelisk and comes back down stage to the fountain. Even if an individual spectator reverses this flow and moves from the fountain to the obelisk and comes down the row of arches, or varies it some other way, the effect is still the same. The movement pattern is trapezoidal and travels around the picture. Juvarra has avoided the balanced one-point approach which allows only for movement directly to the vanishing point where everything ceases. Juvarra's movement pattern is definite and continual. It is induced by the space/form relationship. It is not violent or overwhelming and in this case only invites participation. Of the 192 designs perused for this study, forty-two or slightly less than one-fourth are based on the mathematical principles of one-point perspective. Of these forty-two designs, only ten or fifteen are highly regular, balanced, academic works. It will be pointed out that Juvarra used angled or oblique perspective variations for the majority of his
designs which have been analyzed for this study.

The earliest form of angled or oblique perspective in theatre is found in Palladio's Teatro Olympico (1584). The standard academic form consisted of two or more (usually three) perspective vistas beginning well upstage and proceeding directly to a vanishing point. The vanishing point was sometimes common to all the vistas and sometimes each vista had a separate vanishing point. Sabbattini indicates such scenic arrangements in his drawings for Book One of his Manual.¹¹

Juvarra used multiple-vista perspective in many varied ways. The first example to be analyzed here is an uncomplicated setting. This design, the Stanza di Flavia, is quite closely allied to the Academic School (Figure 10). The Stanza is based on a strict progression of balanced and identical wings which proceed upstage to a statue. At this point the diverging alleys begin. They proceed in a strict and balanced manner. There is no interpenetration of forms, breakthroughs or fermatas. There is only a linear perspective and a scenographic arrangement of units. These are both Late Baroque traits as demonstrated by Giedion and Wittkower as well as Academic traits which were in use in the early seventeenth century. The Academic quality is dominant in this design. When compared to other of Juvarra's

¹¹ Sabbattini, pp. 60-61.
designs, the Stanza is "reticent in expression [and guilty of] a certain dryness." Juvarra was not so adept at pure classicism as he was in that unique combination of Baroque and classicism which formed the basis of the Late Baroque style.

In contrast to the Stanza is a Citta setting which is also based on a multi-alleyway organization (Figure 11). This design is rather complicated and the multi-alleyways are not readily recognizable as such. But three distinct alleys are present and they all proceed toward one main vanishing point placed at the extremes of upstage right (indicated by the vertical dotted line). Actually each of the windows in the extreme upstage right domed structure seems to contain a vanishing point. This is difficult to determine precisely from the drawing.

The columns downstage right and left are oriented toward a different vanishing axis. Again the drawing is not precise so that the vanishing points cluster at a point near center stage on the side and in the first archway of the central building (marked by x's on the diagram). This shift in vanishing points achieves surprising changes in direction in just the same way as the Scala di Spagna did. The mathematical basis of this design has been arranged in the Late Baroque manner, in definite contrast to the traditionally symmetrical scenic arrangement of the Stanza di Flavia.

The major organization of the space/form relationship depends on the huge downstage pillars which define this area but which allow a break-through into the central area beyond. The upstage structures are pierced again and again with archways which allow further break-throughs. Thus the illusion of space and then more space is created.

The movement pattern created by both the mathematical basis and the space/form leads the vision to upstage center and then far into the upstage right area. In both this Citta design and the Stanza di Flavia the vision is led through and out of the design. In the next chapter of the study dealing with the painterly illusionism, it will be demonstrated that Juvarra attempted to negate this effect (with considerable effect in the Citta) in order to keep the attention within the setting.

All of Juvarra's multi-alleyway scenes lie somewhere between the two extreme examples given here. More than half of the designs perused for this study, 107 of the 192, are multi-vista settings. He was less inclined to use the highly traditional form of the Academic school and more apt to complicate the idea by the use of several parallel alleyways which began at different points within the setting. The latter forms of the type of perspective as in the Citta depend for a major portion of their effect on the elaborate and varied combination of shapes both of space and form. As defined by Fokker, this is a basic component of Late Baroque
composition and one frequently employed by Juvarra.

Juvarra's curved-perspectives are worthy of considerable attention. The Baroque affinity for curves was discussed in the Chapter on basic Baroque approaches; it is, therefore, no surprise at all that Juvarra used them. Tintelnot was aware that Juvarra's use of curved walls was rather special in the field of scene design. A curve itself suggests life, vitality and movement. This is no doubt one reason why much of High Baroque architecture was based on this form. Perhaps the reason that Juvarra's use of sweeping forms is so intriguing lies in the fact that he used a typically High Baroque form in a typically Late Baroque manner. Two designs will be discussed in an attempt to establish some specific reasons for Juvarra's dependence on sweeping arrangements of forms.

The first design is a Cortile Reggio (Figure 12). This design displays the curved-vista in its purest form. The perspective basis places all of the multitude of vanishing points off stage. The arrangement of forms establishes a perpetual circular movement pattern. The illusion of infinity is firmly established by the domed tempietto which

13 Tintelnot, p. 128.

14 There is no setting in either Giunio Bruto or Il Ciro which makes use of a pure curved vista. The Cortile Reggio used here was executed for a theatre in Turin, according to Ernichmann; therefore, it must have been executed between 1714 and 1716.
provides a fermata and allows the spectator to see (break) through into the space beyond. The same effect is created by the large archway up left stage and by the top of the wall upstage. The firm perspective with invisible vanishing points, a definite movement pattern, and the illusion of space are characteristics of Juvarra. It is to be noted that one usual characteristic, the downstage focal area, is missing.

The sweep around the setting is established by the usual carefully ordered sequence of forms. The vision is led counterclockwise from one column to the next along the back wall to the statue and then around the tempio where the whole process starts over again. The views and the movement from view to view were fixed by Juvarra in much the same manner as the architect Longhena fixed the views in the octagon of the Santa Maria della Salute.

This design uses the characteristic High Baroque sweep of form. Its use here is definitely Late Baroque because it displays the typical scenographic arrangements of forms which lead the vision, because it displays the typical interpenetration of forms and spaces which provide interesting patterns, and because it displays the typical linear perspective which underlies the whole composition.

Juvarra's use of the pure form of the curved vista was extremely limited. Only seventeen of the 192 designs, less than one-eighth, were based on this form. Many of them
use the curved-vista as a subordinate element. Since the combination of perspective forms is the approach Juvarra preferred, a study of the combined perspective forms seems the more useful device for study in order to determine the effects of Juvarra's usage of curved vista.

The setting chosen to exemplify Juvarra's use of combined perspective forms is the Portico avanti al tempio di Giove from Giunio Bruto (Figure 13). The basic organization is ordered according to the precepts of corner perspective to which is added the curved vista. In addition, the openings between units three and four and between units four and five suggest a multiple-vista approach. This design would seem to defy categorization. It is impossible to overlook the definite angular placement of units two and five; therefore, the design is considered an example of corner perspective. Juvarra made the angular basis compatible with the curved vista by placing the downstage units in a semi-circle and by attaching them together at the top with curved units. The upstage colonnade emphasizes the sweep around the setting.

Juvarra's intent seems to have been to provide changes of direction with this complex perspective basis. Juvarra seldom intended a perspective vista to be enjoyed for its own sake but rather arranged them by adroit manipulation so that changes of direction became the important effect. Changes of direction within the setting have not been discussed at any length to this point. A glance at any design
used in this study (except Figure 8) will show that these changes are characteristic of Juvarra. The changes in direction of the movement through the space of the setting would seem to impress the movement on the spectator, help to establish the restless quality, and thus heighten the vitality of the design.

The combination perspective form used in the Portico creates an expanse of space that is open through one hundred and eighty degrees from proscenium wall to proscenium wall. The vistas receding into the distance are not limited to one, two or even three alleys. The whole setting suggests recession. For two reasons, the change of direction and the suggestion of wide expansion, it is felt that Juvarra relied heavily on the use of curved-vista perspective.

Two points may explain the fact that Juvarra seldom used this sweeping form alone. The curve itself as used in the Cortile Reggio will not allow the downstage focal area that Juvarra usually attempted to create. Too much attention is attracted to the circular movement pattern to allow any sort of a focal area or point. Another possible explanation lies in the fact that the contrast between the curved and the linear perspective caused both to be accentuated.

The accentuation of the two perspective types helps establish the agitated interplay between the upstage and downstage forms in the Portico. Despite this interplay Juvarra has managed to form an area downstage which serves
as a calm open space for the actors. This area is circumscribed by the six major scenic units. These units are arranged in conformity with the angular perspective basis and the implied lines established by these scenic units create a triangular pattern in the downstage area. These patterns converge at unit four. By means of the implied lines created by the linear perspective Juvarra created a minor space orientation which emphasized the downstage area.

The fourth type of perspective basis to be discussed is the full-blown corner perspective. This type was not used extensively by Juvarra. Only twenty-six of the 192 designs studied can be termed as scene per angolo. The Sala Regia from Giunio Bruto (Figure 14) is used as an example for study.

In this design the huge canopied throne dominates the design. The throne is located at the point of intersection of the two perspective alleyways. This point is further emphasized by the secondary alleyways up stage right. The recession of the perspective lines are subordinated to the throne. The interpenetration of space and form is clearly defined and there is the expected suggestion of spaces beyond each row of pillars or series of arches. It is to be noted that the top of the setting received considerable attention from Juvarra. Space is suggested overhead as well as upstage in many of the designs. Juvarra's ability to suggest space has already been commented upon.
It is the vitality induced by the combination of corner perspective and the intricate space/form relationship that is particularly interesting in this design. There is no organized movement but there is a diagonal movement from down stage left to mid-stage right. This is only a rudimentary beginning of a pattern, however. A fixed object, the throne unit, provides a focal point. The vitality engendered by the space/form complex has in effect no place to go; consequently, the agitated, restless quality of the vitality is emphasized. The vision literally flickers over the design, stopping occasionally at the throne. The effect of the Portico setting is very similar. This effect results in many of Juvarra's scenes per angolo. This fact further emphasizes the assumption that Juvarra was not interested in perspective effects as much as he was in space/form and vitality. The result is that the designs have a flickering, pictorial effect.

From this discussion of perspective organization and space/form relationships the following characteristics of Juvarra's work can be stated:

1. Juvarra organized his designs according to a firm perspective basis, but he did not allow the techniques of perspective to dominate his designs; rather, he used perspective to establish the beginning of recession into space. Seldom did he leave a vanishing point exposed thereby revealing the end of the space. Further, he used perspective
lines to change direction which added variety and vitality to his design.

2. The interpenetration of spaces and forms are visually the most important element in these designs. The eye is continually attracted to the interplay of columns and arches. The movement around and through the space/form complex dominates the recessional movement established by the perspective organization.

3. Juvarra usually established a downstage focal point or area. The necessity of this area is a function peculiar to theatre.

4. In the usual arrangement of a Juvarra design the focal area is surrounded by the illusion of space in many directions including up into the "heavens." The balance between these two conflicting effects depends partly upon the invisible vanishing points. This brings the discussion back to the first characteristic, the de-emphasis of the perspective system. Obviously, the techniques which create these characteristics are closely related and quite interdependent.

Juvarra consistently heightened and reinforced these basic characteristics by the use of several techniques of painterly illusionism. These techniques are the subject of the next chapter.
CHAPTER VII

JUVARRA ILLUSORY TECHNIQUES

This section of the study will consider Juvarra's designs as visual illusions. One critic of the Baroque era states that the "main intention of the baroque theatre was the obscuring of the boundary between reality and illusion."¹ Juvarra went to great lengths to establish the illusion. The following discussion of the several illusory techniques which Juvarra used is related to the two basic compositional qualities that Juvarra strove to maintain, that is, the effect of infinite, ever-expanding space and the effect of a downstage focal area. It will be seen that each of the illusory devices helped to maintain one or both of the compositional qualities.

The illusory devices are divided for discussion into seven main types:

1. the mathematical perspective
2. extreme reduction from foreground to background
3. overlapping arcade screens
4. atmospheric perspective

5. hidden vanishing points
6. tenebrism
7. rhythm patterns

These devices are all closely interrelated; one depends on the other for its effect. For the sake of clarity the attempt has been made to discuss each one separately with as little cross reference as possible.

The perspective organization is the pivotal device whereby Juvarra related his basic spatial concept with his painterly illusory devices. The appearance of space created by perspective means is an illusion. Juvarra was not always concerned with precise mathematical arrangements when he determined his perspective basis so that the illusion is not so scientifically induced as it might seem at first glance; or if it is created by strictly scientific means, Juvarra was apt to introduce elements which prevented the mathematical formula from dominating the illusory aspects.

Two designs from *Il Giro* have been chosen for examples of Juvarra's illusory uses of perspective, the cottage setting and the arbor setting.

The cottage setting (Figure 15) appears to be an informally arranged one-point perspective. The perspective recession seems to proceed upstage by means of the hedge and cottage, then to meander by the pathway to a vanishing area between the upstage trees and the house. This, one feels sure, is the illusion Juvarra wished to create. Actually,
there are two definite vanishing points in this design, one for the hedges located at the turn of the pathway, and another for the pair of houses located just at the stage left edge of the design, approximately midway from top to bottom. It must be emphasized that the visual effect of recession into space does not depend upon the ability of the spectator to relate the objects to the vanishing points; in fact, the spectator would have difficulty finding them since even with the aid of a ruler they are elusive. The point of this discussion is that the illusion of perspective recession into space is only loosely associated with the precise vanishing points.

In the second example, the arbor setting (Figure 16), the scenic units are clearly related to one of the vanishing points, but the illusion of recession is nonetheless still only loosely related to the mathematical foundation. This setting recedes in every direction in a sweep from proscenium wall to proscenium wall. The perspective vistas account for only three specific areas within the one hundred and eighty degree sweep which Juvarra has opened. It would seem reasonable to conclude that Juvarra was not interested in using the perspective to capitalize on it as an illusory device, but rather he was more interested in using the perspective as only one of several illusory devices.

The second illusory device to be considered is the extreme reduction from foreground to background. Technically
speaking, the effect results when a station point in mathematical perspective is taken quite close to the first object to be represented. The result is that the objects close at hand appear quite large while those in the distance seem by comparison to be quite small. The artists of the Renaissance knew of this device; Leonardo da Vinci mentioned it, but the exaggerated effect resulting from this device was not in keeping with the Renaissance concept and it was not used in the fourteenth century.2

The countryside cottage setting from Il Giro (Figure 15) makes effective use of reduction by contrasts in size of the same objects, a cottage and trees, in the foreground and in the background. These forms, placed as they are so that they must be seen in relation to each other, enhance the illusion of recession into space. As Woelfflin states, "This precipitous diminution...will always enforce the recessional movement."3 The exaggeration of comparative size increasing the illusion of depth is found without exception in all of Juvarra's designs; however, he varies the technique and seldom uses the obvious device of placing the same object in fore and background.

The Citta with Flavia and Portia (Figure 17) uses downstage columns which are so high that only the beginning of


3 Woelfflin, p. 85.
the second level is shown. The second major element, the obelisk, is not repeated in the design, but the top of it is shown. The next major unit, the curved arcade, is visible through three levels. Behind the curved wall, up right stage, is the suggestion of further buildings which are three stories high but greatly reduced in size. No architectural element in this design is an obvious repetition of another element; rather, the number of levels visible is the visual gauge of the reduction. This is really not quite so obvious as repeating the same object. This illusory device which gains its effect from an exaggerated and sudden reduction from front to back serves to enhance the illusion of never-ending space, for as used by Juvarra it suggests a rapid movement through any and all of the perspective vistas.

A third illusory device used by Juvarra is the overlapping arcade screens. This illusory device exists in the upstage section of the Citta with Flavia and Portia shown in Figure 17. Overlapping is an important device in many Juvarra settings. Three settings are used for examples in this study (Figures 18, 19, 20). Basically this illusory technique involves setting an arch, such as the bridge in Figure 18, in such a manner that the remainder of the setting must be seen through it. In Figures 19 and 20 this technique is continued through several layers of arcades. The result is that the effect of space is expanded. On
this point Woelfflin states, "The baroque coulisse and the baroque enframement have a peculiar power to drive things backward."\(^4\) In other words, the overlapping arcade screens serve the basic function of most of the techniques used by Juvarra, the creation of the illusion of spaciousness.

Another quality in Juvarra's settings which this device helps to induce is a total unity of settings. Woelfflin remarks on the Baroque "love" of "one form in front of another, the intersecting in front of the intersected," and he also remarks on the Baroque enjoyment of the "configuration which is yielded by the intersection."\(^5\) In order for a viewer to comprehend an intersection and one form placed in front of another, he must necessarily assimilate the whole structure at one time. One section must be seen in relation to the next section and on to the next in a continuing movement. This is a basic requirement of Woelfflin's painterly theory of the Baroque. The whole is more important than any single part. Juvarra's use of overlapping arcade units (at least in a downstage position as in Figures 19 and 20) contributes substantially to the total unity. One of the most important reasons for this unity is that the first arcades must be seen through in order to see the next arcade in its proper relation to the first one and so on

\(^4\) Woelfflin, p. 86.
\(^5\) Woelfflin, p. 222.
till the end of the vista, which the arcades oftentimes hid.

This study subscribes to the theory that the downstage arcades were literally cutout rigid scenic units which could actually be seen through. Whether or not cutout scenic units (that is, units made of lumber and canvas, not cut drops) were part of Baroque staging techniques has been a matter of some critical discussion. Richard Southern definitely holds that rigid scenic units made of lumber and canvas were cut out so that they could be seen through. Juvarras left several sketches with rough floor plans; one of these sketches is shown in Figure 21. The ground plan indicates flats placed in front of each other. The sketch indicates that the upstage scenic units were seen behind, that is to say, were seen through the cutout openings in the downstage flats. Southern's discussion of Juvarra's staging techniques suggests that he would agree with the assumption that Juvarra used cutout units. This study holds the assumption as more than reasonable. The illusory effect required in Figures 19 and 20 would not have been possible, at least it would have been greatly impaired, without cutout, rigid scenic units.


7 Southern, 1028-29.

8 Rigid scenic units rather than limp drops were required because of the contouring. Southern emphasizes this point on page 1023 of his article.
Apart from the painterly unity which downstage arcade screens impart, they help establish yet another related quality: a suggestion to the audience that more existed on stage than really appeared. It has been stated that the Baroque audience wished to be deceived and that the theatre artist made every effort to blur the line between reality and illusion.\(^9\) Woelfflin has been quoted concerning the "love" of overlapping and the "enjoyment" of configurations on the part of the Baroque artists and viewers. Statements such as these indicate that a Baroque audience liked to be duped into thinking that more existed on stage than was really there. The overlapping illusionary device created this effect, and suggested considerably more than existed either visually or in three-dimensional actuality; furthermore, these arcades must have teased the audience into trying to see around them. Juvarra's bold use of arcade units downstage amounts to an open invitation to his audience to attempt to see around the columns while knowing quite well they would see nothing more than he intended.

The Portico before the temple of Jove (Figure 20) is one of the best examples of Juvarra's use of overlapping arcade screens. In the Portico design Juvarra has made use of downstage and upstage arcades which overlap and interweave so that the illusion of space expanding in all directions is established, enforced and reinforced again and again.

\(^9\) Brieger, 148.
The use of the upstage overlapping arcade screens had a slightly reduced effectiveness. (Reference is made to the upstage arcade screens in Figure 20.) There are two arcades in the upstage area, that is from the steps on back. It is quite likely that the two upstage units were painted on one drop or perhaps on a series of flats that were set in a semicircle. In this arrangement these upstage arcades serve primarily to enhance the illusion of never-ending space. The spectator may well be intrigued by the fact that he cannot see what really exists but this interest is more the result of another illusory device, atmospheric perspective.

The fourth of the seven illusory devices to be considered is atmospheric perspective. Aerial or atmospheric perspective is not scientific. It has no mathematical foundation. This illusory device is intended to produce artistically the effect that distance and the intervening atmosphere create in the external world. In his text on basic design Gillam Scott states, "The progressively deeper veil of atmosphere through which light has to travel from distant objects modifies their apparent tones and tone relations. All contrasts tend to diminish."¹⁰ George Kernodle emphasizes the effects of this concept of atmospheric perspective on the Baroque designers; he states that in a setting

which depends on a recession of mathematical perspective "...more distant objects lose their effect of thickness." So in presenting objects which seem to be in the distance, colors are faded, outlines are blurred and objects are represented in two dimensions.

Juvarra used this illusory technique with great facility and exaggerated it for his own purposes. The Sala Regia (Figure 22) gains much of its effect from the atmospheric depth. The throne itself and the surrounding columns which reinforce the perspective lines of the corner perspective are all clearly focused, but the background is extremely sketchy and blurred. This presentation induces the illusion that the background is quite deep in the distance.

The combination of atmospheric perspective, extreme reduction in size and the overlapping arcade screens in the upstage areas all combine to induce the illusion of endless space, an illusion of infinity. The combination of these devices suggest much more than is actually ever shown. In this way they are much more effective for early eighteenth-century purposes than the more straightforward approach in Figure 24. In this design, the Stanza di Flavia, the reduction of background is not particularly extreme, the atmospheric perspective is not greatly exaggerated and overlapping is omitted. For these reasons one feels that the

setting is dull in comparison to the other examples.

The illusion of atmospheric infinity was used by Juvarra to help establish and maintain onstage focus. Although there is the suggestion of a considerable amount of space and architecture in the upstage areas, there is actually almost nothing; consequently, the spectator's attention must come back to the more important features such as the throne in the Sala Regia. In Figure 23 a perspective vista extends well into the distance at the up right corner of the setting. If these alleyways were handled in the same manner as those in the academic setting in Figure 24 the spectator's attention would wander considerably. Instead, Juvarra has used atmospheric perspective to great advantage. The recession into depth is only suggested in a sketchy manner and a statuary horse in the middle ground of the setting is far more important visually. This horse, facing across stage, directs attention back into the important area of the setting.

Color is important in aerial perspective or atmospheric infinity. Sabbattini recognized this fact when he stated that "...the back shutter should be painted in lighter tones than the last house, so that it appears to recede into the distance." The gray scale of Juvarra's drawings indicates

that he employed this technique. Wittkower states that the
typical eighteenth-century color scheme consisted of "broken
colours light in tone, blues, yellows, pinks, and much white." Later in a specific example Wittkower states that "...the
colours used here...are predominantly light grey and reddish
and greenish tones, in other words...somewhat similar to
those used by Juvarra, but entirely different from the heavy
and deep High Baroque colour contrasts."  

The original Giunio Bruto designs have been colored a
deep azure, a heavy red and a sulphur yellow. Brinckmann
feels quite sure that this coloring was done by someone
other than Juvarra since he feels that Juvarra's coloristic
sensibility would never have allowed such a color scheme. On the matter of color it is only possible to say that Ju­
varra used the light pastel shades typical of the time and
that he used even lighter and probably hazy blue shades in
the upstage areas in order to enhance the effects of his
atmospheric perspective.

The fifth illusory device to be considered is the hid­
den vanishing point. So far as is known the present status
of Baroque theatre research does not include any considera­tion
of the use or importance of hidden vanishing points. It

13 Rudolf Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy
14 Wittkower, p. 284.
seems very definite that a vanishing point that is out of sight is of great importance in creating the effect that Juvarra desired.

Juvarra went to great lengths to mask his vanishing points if he did not place them off stage. In many settings he did both. In some of his designs the vanishing point is in an unmasked up center stage position, but even in these cases Juvarra has minimized the obviousness of the position.

The hidden vanishing point is related in its effect to both the illusion of infinity and the onstage focus. In the Citta setting shown in Figure 17 the obelisk placed center stage masks the central vanishing point. This obelisk can be related to Sypher's "break through" technique of establishing the illusion of infinity, for it definitely establishes a limit or an end to the perspective vista which is immediately negated or broken through by the suggestion of further space established by the curving arcade behind it. Woelfflin would say that the obelisk lends to the Baroque painterly effects because the downstage pillars, the obelisk and the upstage arcades must all be seen in relation to each other, as a total unit in order for the arrangement to be effective. Zucker, of course, would term the obelisk a "visual arrest," or fermata, which forces the spectator to stop and change his direction of vision before proceeding further (in exactly the same way he must do on the
landings and balconies of the Spanish Staircase).

These three critics are really all attempting to describe exactly the same phenomenon from slightly varying points of view and they are all describing exactly the effect this obelisk has on the Citta design, for in a sense, and this is quite important, the design has no vanishing point. There is no place in the design for the movement pattern to come to a full stop. The huge obelisk looms in the path of vision long before the suggested recessional movement should cease. The recessional pattern should continue on through the archway behind the obelisk and it does, but the spectator cannot see it.

Corner perspective by its mathematical arrangement places the vanishing point out of the sight of the spectator. Figure 16, a series of arbors forming a cortile, is organized on the basis of corner perspective. The angular vistas create the illusion that they continue out of sight for some distance. Much more is suggested than is actually shown. This feature, inherent in oblique perspective, immediately establishes this effect without the necessity of masking the vanishing point by some arbitrary means. Juvarra usually capitalized on this effect by opening up his scenae per angolo in every direction. As a result the central pillar of Figure 16 masks an up center vanishing point. The placement of this pillar is not arbitrary, however, since it marks the intersection of the converging lines of the corner perspective.
These off stage vanishing points also help to keep the attention within the setting in the same manner that the masked vanishing point in Figure 17 does. Nothing up or off stage catches and holds the attention so attention is drawn back to the central pillar in Figure 16. The hidden vanishing point made it simple for Juvarra to keep the focus of attention within the setting, or, to be quite practical, within the acting area. Because there was no final resting place, Juvarra was able to maintain a movement pattern within the downstage area through the adroit addition of other illusory devices, devices which would not have been so effective had the vanishing point been in plain sight.

Juvarra was capable of using the onstage unmasked vanishing point and still achieving the illusion of infinity while maintaining an onstage focal area. In Figure 19 the one-point Citta design with the character Valerio in the foreground, the vanishing point is placed in an obscure, weak position behind the stage left top corner of the pedestal on which the upstage statue stands. All of the main structures including the temple are oriented mathematically to it. The curved arcade up stage left is oriented on a second vanishing point. This building is quite minor and serves primarily to fill up a space that could not be left blank for the sake of the design. No attention is drawn to this curved wall and absolutely no emphasis is placed on the angled vista created in this obscure position. The onstage
vanishing point is in no way subordinated to or weakened by the extremely minor perspective vista. For this reason the setting is considered as a one-point perspective design. Juvarra has not emphasized this precise point by placing it in such an obvious location as the temple doorway. Nor has he emphasized it by a regular progression of wings on both sides of the stage as he did in Figure 24. Rather, Juvarra emphasized the movement pattern, the overlapping arcade screens and the painted lighting effects. The result is that attention is drawn away from the vanishing point even though it is in plain sight and the effect is somewhat similar to that found in designs with hidden vanishing points.

Juvarra was usually intent upon reducing the effect of an unmasked vanishing point. As this discussion indicates, he developed a group of techniques to avoid or reduce the effect of the standard vanishing point. The most plausible explanation for this action would seem to be that vanishing points were for mathematical orientation only. They were not part of Juvarra's concept of the visual appearance of a scene design for the reasons indicated within the discussion.

Tenebrism, extreme contrasts of light and shade, is the sixth illusory device to be considered. Juvarra's use of tenebristic effects are typically early eighteenth century. As with many of the elements already discussed, there was a difference initially between its usage in the High and
Late Baroque periods. Wittkower best states the difference in a comparison of the work of Bernini and the work of the architect Bernardo Vittone (1704/5-1770). On this point Wittkower states:

But while Bernini focuses the concealed light in one particular area, the center of dramatic impact, no such climax is intended by Vittone. A gay, festive bright light fills the whole space and the differently lit realms... are only gradations of this diffuse luminosity.16

Juvarra usually arranged the "gradations of diffuse luminosity" in such a manner as to achieve the "inky foregrounds and radiant vistas" known to Italian painting since the late sixteenth century.17 Juvarra used tenebristic effects for three main purposes, to emphasize particular portions of the setting, that is, to help maintain a focal area; to emphasize the illusion of spaciousness; and to add the final painterly touch by blending the parts into a whole.

The bridge scene for *Il Ciro* (Figure 18) and the Sala Regia for Giunio Bruto (Figure 22) are presented as examples of Juvarra's standard use of tenebrism. The least light falls on the foreground and the most light on the background. In the Sala Regia the invisible light source is off up left stage and falls across the stage obliquely, thus following one of the perspective lines. In both of

16 Wittkower, p. 284.

these cases the illusion is created that the light is so brilliant that it makes the background hazy. The middle ground is apparently far enough forward that the hot light source is only capable of creating some shadows and the foreground is so far removed that it is in heavy shadow. In this arrangement of a dark foreground and a light background, the vision will be attracted by the lighter areas. But the lighter areas must be seen in relation to the dark foreground; therefore, the light areas appear as something set back in space. This effect which expands the spaciousness is operative in all of Juvarra's designs.

The Citta setting in Figure 17 illustrates the second purpose of tenebrism. The obelisk, placed in the middle ground, is the darkest object. Woelfflin remarks that tenebristic effects were used to accentuate spatial facts. Juvarra accentuated the obelisk for this reason with two main results. First, the supposed distance between the obelisk and the curved arcade behind it is established. Second, the obelisk becomes the most prominent element in the setting. The importance of this obelisk in maintaining the onstage focal area was discussed under hidden vanishing points. Juvarra emphasized the obelisk by darkening it, thus ensuring that it would serve to direct attention

18 Woelfflin, p. 85.
19 Woelfflin, p. 85.
of the audience into the downstage area. In this manner Juvarra used tenebristic effects in order to accentuate spatial structures and direct attention.

The third function of tenebrism, blending the parts into a whole, is exemplified by the Portico in Figure 20. In this design trios of pillars, such as those stage right of center, seem to develop out of one huge pillar, so heavy are the shadows. The junctions of the overhead balconies stage right and left with the supporting pillars are completely obliterated. The vision can move over the total unit without being distracted by architectural details. In the stage center set of three pillars, just enough architectural detail is shorn to keep the unit from being a dull dark surface but not enough detail to keep the vision from moving rapidly over the surface. This painterly unclearness makes it necessary to grasp the entire downstage architectural arcade as one visual unit which in turn must be related to the lighted visual unit behind it.

The Portico setting was the most extreme example of tenebrism found. In most of his designs (such as the illustrations from *Il Giro*) the use of tenebrism for blending is much less extreme; nonetheless, study of the Bridge scene (Figure 18) from *Il Giro* shows that Juvarra established a blend from dark to light to dark by a gradation of greys even though he did not obliterate the edges of his forms.
It is impossible for the vision to rest for any length of time in any one place in a Juvarra setting. Perusal of any of the designs in this study will indicate as much. One has the feeling that Juvarra purposely created a restless quality. This restlessness could be partially explained in terms of some of the illusory devices already discussed. This study suggests, however, that Juvarra carefully ordered certain elements in his designs in such a manner as to create a rhythm pattern which emphasized and reinforced the uneasy movement pattern of his designs. It is not necessarily related to any of the other illusory devices, but it is usually associated with the movement pattern.

The rhythm patterns established by Juvarra are irregular. They are so arranged that the vision of the spectator must move in long and short leaps up and down as well as back and forth. It is this irregularity which induces the restless, sometimes highly agitated quality in the movement patterns. Three designs have been chosen for discussion: the Giardino di Livia and the Portico from Giunio Bruto and the Bridge scene from the Il Giro settings.

The first design to be discussed is the Giardino di Livia (Figure 25). The movement pattern depends on the decorative features of the setting and the pattern ignores the modified corner perspective basis of the setting. The pattern is roughly triangular. The vision enters the design downstage left, travels diagonally to the curved structure
upstage right and back down the stage right side of the setting. Juvarra arranged various pieces of the setting so that the vision moves in long and short leaps back and forth and up and down. The spectator's vision is invited to enter the design at the extreme down left corner and travel the short distance to the group of two columns just up stage of this point. From the pillars the movement pattern leaps a longer distance to the white ball on the balustrade. From this point the vision can go in either of two directions: toward the curved wall from the white ball up to the urn of the setting or from the urn a longer distance farther up into the trees which are up stage left. From the trees the vision must make the very long leap down and well into the depth to the pyramid and then over to the circular structure. This route is secondary in the sense that the viewer would probably not have been attracted by it until the second or third time around the setting. The pattern in this especial area of the setting which seems to be dominant moves from the white ball up to the urn which is slightly stage right, above and behind the ball and from this urn the short distance to the urn up stage of it. From this point there is again a visual choice. The vision is invited on the one hand to make the long leap to the pyramid, or the vision can move the shorter distance down to the reclining feline, on down to the urn at the bottom of the staircase, from there a short distance to the gondola and
from the gondola a longer distance up to the circular building. A third variation is possible in this pattern. From the animal atop the stage left railing the vision can also move the long distance to the pyramid and then to the larger building. From the cupola the attention comes back down stage by two long leaps. The first leap is down to the darker animal stage right and from there up to the tree down right. The tree points stage left and the whole pattern starts over again.

The excessive complication of the rhythm in the *Giardino di Livia* causes the total effect to be one of only relative calm and tranquility. The apparent result would seem to be that the complications are all well upstage and the movement all leads to the calm circular structure. Nonetheless the suppressed agitation created by the complex rhythm patterns makes one believe that a group of armed soldiers could come raging into this setting and not seem out of place.

The second setting chosen for study is the *Portico* (Figure 20). The rhythm pattern here is far less complicated but it is far more agitated. The rhythm pattern in this design grows from the original placement of the scenic units and the tenebristic effects, not, as it does in the *Giardino* setting, from a careful arrangement of flower urns, statuary animals and so forth. This is not to say that the rhythm follows the wing pattern. Quite the contrary; the pattern completely denies the basic corner
perspective. The rhythmical pattern leaps back and forth in sudden staccato movements from the dark foreground to the light background. The effect is somehow not unlike a venetian blind being opened and closed rapidly. The pattern is quite simple. There is no subtlety, no carefully arranged alternate visual paths. The straightforward but violent leaps induced create the feeling of extreme agitation and restlessness. The soldiers which Juvarra has added to this scene for the benefit of his patron are not necessary to indicate that a violent action will take place. The rhythm pattern establishes this notion.

The third setting to be discussed is the Bridge scene from *Il Ciro* (Figure 18). In comparison to the agitated violence of the Giunio Bruto settings this design is quite calm and pastoral; nonetheless, the descriptive term "restless" can be applied to this design. It is impossible for the vision to rest at any one location but must move continually; therefore, it is restless, but in a positive sense because the effect which Juvarra created here is one of life and vitality which avoids the possibility of dullness.

The movement pattern of this setting moves from down stage left, up to the setting sun and back down to the stage right corner. The pattern in this design can just as easily be considered as starting in the down right corner. The rhythm beginning either down right or down left stage creates
a visual leap from ground level up to the center of the bridge. From this point the vision can travel stage left up and back to the tree and turret on the last upstage wing and thence travel up and forward in a long leap to the tree atop the downstage left wing. This tree points stage right and continues the pattern. Or from the central bridge position the vision can move the short distance stage right to the bridge tower and from there leap the long distance up and forward to the tree atop the down right stage wing. This tree points stage left and keeps the pattern in motion.

An alternate pattern of rhythm begins at ground level down stage left or right and travels to the clump of trees under the bridge and leaps to the sun. In other words, in two long leaps the vision travels to a vanishing area. The vision cannot rest there, however, for the rhythm pattern immediately demands that the vision move either right or left and up in either case and enter the rhythm pattern previously described.

The rhythm in this calm exterior moves in short and long leaps in the same manner as it does in the agitated Giunio Bruto settings. The physical points which establish the pattern are clumps of trees, that is, surface decoration, in precisely the same sense that the floral urns and so forth are added surface decorations in the Giardino di Livia. The pattern moves back and forth as in the Portico setting, but the effect of the rhythm is quite different.
Obviously there must be difference in application of the same techniques in order to achieve a different effect—and differences do exist. The pattern in the Bridge design is not as excessively complicated as it is in the Giardino, thus the suppressed agitation is replaced with a genuine calmness. The back and forth quality is not forced on the spectator as it is in the Portico, but rather flows easily and unobtrusively. Also it is to be noted that the distances to be travelled visually in the Bridge setting are mostly long leaps. There is no definite alternation of short and long distances. The vision of the spectator travels in a series of long, unforced movements. This it seems is essentially the difference in rhythm pattern between the calm Bridge scene and the agitated Portico and Giardino settings.

In the foregoing discussion the attempt has been made to consider each illusory device separately with no relation to the other devices in order to point out the primary effect of each device. As used by Juvarra the devices bear a close relationship and one often depends on another to a high degree, or, in many instances, one device reinforces the effect of another to a considerable extent. In the next section of this study designs will be discussed from the point of view of the total integration of all elements.
CHAPTER VIII

THE CORTILE FROM IL CIRO

The following discussion is set forth in an effort to show the interdependence and interrelationship of all the elements Juvarra used to create a design for a stage setting. The design chosen as the example for this purpose is a Cortile setting from Il Ciro (Figure 26). This design has been chosen because Juvarra incorporated all of his techniques into this setting.

In the discussion in Chapters VI and VII it has been established that Juvarra's work displays five primary characteristics:

1. A unique use of mathematical perspective.
2. A space/form relationship depending on the interpenetration of clearly defined forms and spaces.
3. Vitality or energy in the form of movement patterns and restless surface patterns.
4. The employment of a downstage focal area.
5. The illusion of ever-expanding infinite spaces.

These five characteristics are established and enforced by the combination of the objective, rational placement of forms in accordance with mathematical principles, and the
use of illusory techniques which can be most effective only when they are used intuitively or subjectively. It is the total interaction of all the separate parts that creates the finishing touch and definitely establishes Juvarra as a Baroque artist. The discussion to follow emphasizes the interaction. The discussion begins with the rational organizational basis and will treat each technique as it relates to the other techniques and to the five characteristics of a Juvarra design.

Juvarra's unique use of perspective usually involves the use of multiple vanishing points. They cause changes of direction which create several effects:

1. Space is opened in several directions.
2. The scenic forms can be set at angles to provide the convergences necessary for interpenetration.
3. The vitality is established in terms of movement into depth and in terms of a sweeping movement from proscenium wall to proscenium wall.

In the Cortile scene Juvarra has emphasized these qualities by the overlay of a curved-vista on the basic multiple-alley-way arrangement.

This complicated arrangement of multiple vanishing points also establishes an effect which is slightly different from those just mentioned. This effect works toward the detriment of the precise vanishing points. In the Cortile two of these points are off stage because of the oblique
perspective. The up center point is de-emphasized by the round central structure. The minor vanishing points required for the construction of the central unit are all off stage. None coincide with the upstage point. The effect which the minor vanishing points have in de-emphasizing the major point creates a peculiar double function. The de-emphasis enhances the three qualities mentioned in the preceding paragraph and it establishes the basis for the downstage focal area. Some inaccuracies exist in the drawing of this design which make it difficult to determine the precise location of the vanishing points. Since this difficulty was experienced with many of the designs, I would be quite willing to accept the theory that Juvarra purposely altered his geometry for his own purposes.

The forms in space are carefully oriented to the perspective basis. A glance at the setting indicates that all the architectural elements are constructed in accordance with one of the axes. At the same time the complex space/form arrangement attracts attention to itself. Visually one must notice the curves and sweeps and mentally leap across the spaces constrained between the forms.

Two effects are created through this space/form arrangement: attention is drawn away from the linear progression into depth, but the vitality begun by the multiple vanishing points is increased. This apparent contradiction can perhaps be best explained in terms of the sort of vitality
which Juvarra induced. Baroque vitality as defined in Chapter IV is best exemplified in terms of movement and movement through space. Juvarra concerned himself with movement in three different manners and these three manners usually occupied three different areas of his designs.

In the extreme upstage area of the Cortile setting the illusion of recession into quantities of space results. In the middle ground an arcade screen with emphasis on a continual, restless movement over a pierced surface allows glimpses into the depth of the scene. In the foreground a circular movement pattern between the downstage pillars and the mid-ground pillars establishes a focal area for the actors. These three areas work with each other to create an intense vitality.

The focal or acting area serves two functions. The one is a function peculiar to theatre arts; the actors must have some place to perform. The other is a function of the illusion of infinity; the calm downstage area functions as a space which the spectator must cross because of the attractive strength of the arcade screen. It is held that the focal area is no more important visually, if it is of equal importance, than the remainder of the setting. The layer

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1 The similarity between the Cortile and the preliminary sketch in Figure 21 suggests a relationship between these two designs. It is quite possible that the ground plan shown in Figure 21 is similar to the ground plan of Figure 26.
of vitality set up behind the acting area detracts from the foreground considerably. This leads one to make the conclusion that Juvarra was more concerned with the illusion of infinity than he was with providing an area of undisputed importance for the performers.

The creation of the illusion of infinite space is considered the prime objective of any Juvarra design. The perspective basis, the form/space arrangement and the vitality all combine to establish this illusion. It is held that one of the most important devices used to achieve this effect was the multiplicity of implied vanishing points. Most of the architectural forms are oriented to a vanishing point that is visually non-existent. The resulting suggestion of more space than can be seen enhances in great measure the illusion of never-ending space.

The five characteristics of Juvarra's designs are all established by the formal arrangement of forms and spaces in accordance with the linear perspective basis. The seven devices of painterly illusion are applied to this foundation in order to heighten the five characteristics.\(^2\) The effects of painterly illusion are interrelated and interdependent with each other and with the formal arrangement.

The curved/multiple-vista arrangement provides the cornerstone for the effects of (1) extreme reduction from

\(^2\) See pp. 92-93.
foreground to background; (2) atmospheric perspective; and
(3) hidden vanishing points. Extreme reduction is created
by a particular adaptation of linear perspective, the near
station point. The extreme reduction in turn emphasizes
the recessional qualities. Juvarra's atmospheric perspec­tive is operative only at the extremes of the depth where
it simulates the haziness experienced in the external world.
The masked vanishing point is not used in this design but
Juvarra has capitalized on the inherent off stage vanishing
points.

The interpenetration of forms and spaces provides the
basis for the overlapping arcade screens and aids the effect
of the hidden vanishing points. The overlapping arcades
are actually created by the forms set at angles to each
other. The implied vanishing points are even further ob­
literated by the space/form relationship, partly by attrac­
ting attention away from the points and partly by standing
in front of the vanishing points. In the Cortile Juvarra
did not use a form to mask the central vanishing point.
When Juvarra does use this device, the dependence of the
illusion on the arrangement of forms is quite clear.

The vitality created by Juvarra establishes a frame­
work for the use of (1) rhythm patterns, (2) tenebrism,
(3) atmospheric perspective and (4) extreme reduction from
near to far points. The rhythm pattern is inseparable from
the vitality in the form of a movement pattern throughout
the whole setting. Without the vital movement pattern there would be no need for variation in the form of rhythm patterns. The tenebristic effects are associated with the vitality and rhythm in that the alternating light and dark areas provide visual reference points necessary to the movement pattern.

Juvarra went to great lengths to create the live, restless feeling of his designs. In most of his designs, as in the Cortile, the restlessness is induced by a back and forth, to and fro, movement. His consistent and extensive use of the sudden change in size from the down stage units to the up stage units indicates as much. Without the desire for exaggerated movement patterns there would be no need to force the sudden push into depth on the spectator in this manner. The atmospheric perspective obliterates the background details and causes the attention to be redirected to the foreground. In this manner atmospheric perspective and extreme reduction work together. Atmospheric perspective is thus related to demand for vitality and depends upon this requirement for its meaningful application.

One more characteristic, the illusion of infinite spaces, is a necessary quality in order for the illusory techniques to be meaningful. All seven of the devices of painterly illusion depend on this characteristic for a portion of their effect. Various of the illusory devices depend on more than one characteristic for their full effect, for example, the device of atmospheric perspective. This
same technique also depends on other illusory devices such as tenebrism and extreme reduction for part of its effect. In other words, all the parts, pieces and painterly devices are closely related to the extent that many have double functions.

The double function of Juvarra's techniques is made clear when one considers the problem in the following manner. The past few paragraphs have been devoted to indicating the dependence of illusory techniques on the rational basis of the design. But it is also true that the effect of the basic organization would be minimal if the illusory techniques were not used.

The illusion of infinite spaces is reinforced by all of the illusory techniques. The reduction in size, the tenebrism, and aerial perspective all force the linear progress into depth. The arcade screen, the implied vanishing point, rhythm pattern and aerial perspective combine to prevent the vision from ever completely grasping all the space which is implied. In this manner the illusion of space which is established by the formal arrangement is completed.

The space/form relationship developed by intersections of architectural units is emphasized by the use of arcade screens, tenebrism and to an extent by the off stage vanishing points. The arcade screen, placed as it is across the center of the stage picture, makes it quite important
and attracts attention to the forms and spaces. The patterns of light and shade place the arcade in silhouette and, by modeling the architectural elements, cause the three-dimensional qualities of the intersections to be more meaningful. The off stage vanishing points direct visual attention to space/form qualities in a negative manner. The implied points do not attract attention to the extremes of depth; therefore, the central arcade becomes more important.

The vitality of the design requires all of the illusory devices. One of the reasons is that the vitality of a Juvarra design is closely associated with the illusion of spaciousness. One could say that Juvarra's spaces seem to burst suddenly open and the bursting releases great quantities of energy which infuse the *cortile* with a never-ending restless vitality. This is the visual effect. It is held that this effect results from Juvarra's use of the same techniques to achieve the spaciousness that he used to achieve the vitality of movement. The extreme reduction aided by atmospheric perspective and tenebrism create rapid linear movement. The arcade screen, the rhythm pattern, the implied vanishing points, and the shadow pattern combine to create movement through, around and over the setting.

This brief summary of Juvarra's specific approach has indicated the following points:

1. The formal arrangement of the design establishes a disciplined foundation for the visual effect of the design.
2. The components of the formal arrangement (that is, perspective, space/form and vital spaciousness) are interdependent and interact on each other.

3. The illusory devices depend on the disciplined foundation for their meaningful use.

4. The disciplined foundation depends on the illusory devices for its total effect.

5. The illusory devices and the formal arrangement interact and interrelate to produce the total effect.
CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The concluding section of this study is divided into three general areas of discussion: the first, Juvarra's place in the broad area of the Baroque and its sub-division, Late Baroque; the second, a restatement of certain of Juvarra's approaches and techniques; and, third, the possible directions of further Juvarra studies.

Juvarra's scene designs are unquestionably the creations of a Baroque artist. The criteria that any of the Baroque art historians have established can be applied to Juvarra's theatrical endeavors. He was concerned with a total effect and this total effect depended on the interdependence of all of the artistic techniques involved. The result was a painterly illusion. With the exception of Woelfflin, the major critics of Baroque artistic development consider the illusion of infinite spaces as the fundamental Baroque approach. Juvarra's insistence on spatial illusions has been emphasized numerous times during this study. A third trait characteristic of the Baroque era, and one employed by Juvarra, was the use of mathematics to create an illusory art. Taken together, these characteristics seem to substantiate the
foundation of Juvarra's work as definitely being Baroque in character.

The criteria of the specially defined era of Late Baroque also apply to Juvarra's work. The total illusion which creates the effect of endless space was based on linear perspective and a deliberately arranged network of cutout arcade screens. Applied to the surface were several illusory devices which dominated the visual effect. The total effect could be intriguing or it could be charming; it could be tense and overwrought or it could be idyllic and pastoral, but it was never grandiose and overpowering.

Juvarra also displayed an affinity for the traditional theatre forms which existed in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This affinity is most obvious in his use of linear perspective arranged in a multiple-vista organization. This usage relates Juvarra to the Academic school of thought. Since Late Baroque artists generally made use of Academic techniques, Juvarra's academic affinity ties him even stronger to the Late Baroque. Medieval influences are considered to have influenced Late Baroque artists, but the effect on Juvarra appears to have been very slight.

Several Juvarra techniques seem worthy of particular notice. His use of circular forms, his approach to angular perspective and his use of artistic effects which were dependent on staging techniques are the most prominent of his special approaches.
The typical Juvarra design includes a curving form somewhere within it. Torelli and the younger Bumacini had used sweeping forms to a limited extent in the late sixteenth century in addition to other of Juvarra's contemporaries who also used curved forms in a limited manner. Juvarra capitalized on the effects of sweeping vistas. It is held that he used this particular form in order to enhance the life and vitality of his designs and in order to prevent the linear perspective from dominating his designs.

Juvarra usually arranged his perspectives in such a way that there is seldom any one vanishing point or any one perspective vista which is dominant over the whole design. His method was to complicate the perspective basis so that the spectator had difficulty in comprehending it. Juvarra's ability at changing the direction of movement within the setting accomplishes this effect. The use of curved forms provided an excellent means for achieving this result.

Another feature of Juvarra's perspective is the de-emphasis of the vanishing points. The sweeping arcades and the invisible vanishing points both aided in achieving this de-emphasis. When a vanishing point was in the line of sight, Juvarra attracted attention away from it by several techniques. He weakened the point by placing it in an obscure position, by placing an attractive arcade in front of it, or by obviously masking the point with a scenic unit. It is firmly held that Juvarra did not want his mathematical
organization to dominate his designs. Rather than spelling out the size and amount of the space, he used perspective for the purposes of the Baroque illusion of infinity.

Juvarra's use of cutout arcade screen units is especially important to Baroque theatre studies. It is believed that Juvarra used cutout scenic units in positions near to center stage so that the audience was forced to look through them. This technical staging device contributed heavily to the artistic effect. The arcade screen depends for its effect on the fact that it can be seen through. The illusion of endless space depends partially on the fact that only a portion of the space can be seen—the rest is illusion. The arcade screen allows part of the space to be seen and at the same time blocks a portion of the view; therefore, the arcade screen is an extremely important device in the creation of the illusion of space. If the arcade screens used in the downstage positions were actually cutout so that the viewer could literally see through them, the effect would be heightened considerably. It is believed that the necessity for this visual effect is evidence to support the theory that cutout scenic units were used by Juvarra.

Juvarra's use of light and shade is so definite and so carefully arranged that it is held that he painted these effects on his scenery. He did not depend on the candles and oil lamps of his day to create the tenebristic effects required. The use and effects of tenebrism added greatly
to Juvarra's visual impressions. He could not sacrifice them to a mechanical lighting system that was not capable of producing effects as strong as he wished. Further, painted lighting effects were a tradition of Baroque arts. There is no reason to suppose that Juvarra did other than paint his lights and shadows. It is probable, since he was an excellent designer, that he judiciously placed his lighting instruments so that they reinforced his painted light patterns.

These special usages of Juvarra's all relate him to the main stream of Late Baroque visual arts. Juvarra's approaches would seem to be special adaptations for the stage of techniques that were used by architects and city planners of the day.

One point which this study effectively demonstrates is that Juvarra as a theatre artist was definitely abreast of the artistic trends of the time. This is proven conclusively because the criteria established by art historians apply to Juvarra's designs. Since this study is an approach to an analysis of the concepts and techniques used by a Late Baroque artist, it should provide some useful information for the critical endeavors of historians of Baroque art, a field which has not yet been studied with sufficient thoroughness.

Further insight into the Late Baroque art and Late Baroque theatre could be gained by several Juvarra studies which suggest themselves. These suggested studies include
a comparison of Juvarra's scene designs with his architectural works, a study of Juvarra in relation to the school of quadratura painting, a study of Juvarra's iconography, and a thorough biographical study of the man. Studies of this sort should be able to establish specific influences on Juvarra and establish specific influences which he had on later artists. At the present time both of these areas are very unclear.

The common assumption that theatre arts are always lagging behind the times does not apply in the case of Juvarra. This study is the first serious endeavor of any length which has attempted a minute analysis of Juvarra's concepts and techniques in the field of theatre design. Other studies have been concerned with two main topics: the size of the Ottoboni Theatre where Juvarra did much of his work and the possibility of its being a puppet theatre. Numerous areas of Juvarra studies have never been broached. We do know that Juvarra was prolific artist and left behind many drawings. Several of these designs include sketches of ground plans with indications of the wing arrangements, and several contain handwritten notations concerning shifting apparatus and staging techniques. Correlation of these plans and notations with the drawings of theatre plans extant should illuminate the study of early eighteenth-century staging techniques considerably. As a Late Baroque artist Juvarra was definitely abreast of his era.
Many materials are not yet available for study. The Rovere, Viale and Brinckmann work lists several collections of Juvarra's works in several European cities which are not yet available in this country. George Speaight mentions illustrated copies of the libretti of Costantino Pio, Il Teodosia and Il Giro in the Marucelliana Museum in Florence. The libretti illustrated with Juvarra's own engravings would make a reconstruction of the shifting plots of these operas possible. This would be a fine contribution to eighteenth-century theatre research.

This study of Juvarra's concepts and techniques has stressed the similarity between theatre design and the allied visual arts of the period. Many differences were created by the special needs of theatre, and a study using the same materials that have been explored here could be developed to expose these differences. The study of Juvarra's visual effects provides a necessary beginning to the detailed study of an important Baroque theatre figure. Many other studies can and should be conducted so that the area of Juvarra studies in particular and the area of Baroque theatre studies in general can be clarified and made understandable.
Figure 1

Ground Plan of S. Andrea al Quirinale, Rome
Figure 2

Schematic View of the Dome of S. Ivo della Sapienza, Rome
Figure 3

Piazza of St. Peter's, Rome
Figure 4

Ground Plan of Piazza of St. Peter's
St. Peter's Church

Piazza Retta

Piazza Oblique

Piazza Rusticucci

Fontana's Proposed Additions
Figure 5

Ground Plan of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice
Figure 6

Spanish Staircase, Rome
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Ground Plan of Spanish Staircase
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Schematic Drawing of Camera di Flavia Design
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Schematic Drawing of a Citta Design
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Schematic Drawing of a Cîtta Design
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Schematic Drawing of a Cortile Design
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Cottage Design for Il Ciro
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*Stanza* Design for *Giunio Bruto*
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Giardino Design for Giunio Bruto
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Cortile Design for Il Ciro
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY
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I, William Russell West, was born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, June 10, 1927. I received my elementary and secondary school education in the public schools of Uniontown. I enlisted in the United States Navy after receiving my high school diploma in 1945. Upon receiving my honorable discharge from the United States Navy, I enrolled at the University of Pittsburgh where I was awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1951. The Florida State University awarded my Master's degree in 1954. I was associated with this University and Long Beach State College, Long Beach, California, until 1958. In September of 1958 the Ohio State University accepted my application for study which has led to the Doctor of Philosophy degree.